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Selling the iPhone or Selling iCapitalism:
A Critical Analysis of Themes of Efficiency, Connection and Access in Apple's iPhone Advertisements

By

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Smartphones have become a near ubiquitous technology within Western society. Their mobility separates them from earlier technologies, such as the television, landline or desktop computer that are typically bound to a certain physical space. Smartphones are bounded less by time and space and because of this they become a fixture in our daily lives, a "natural" part of our experiences, and an integral part of our existence. They are embedded in our work, in our leisure, in our education, and in our culture. The smartphone is not only a tool for human activity, but also a powerful force that has reshaped these activities and their meaning.

Apple's iPhone is arguably the leading competitor within the smartphone industry and has been most widely embraced as the smartphone of choice. The iPhone is emblematic of the entire smartphone industry; an industry that is all about combining the worlds of work, social activities, and entertainment. The iPhone is a natural selection as a subject of analysis that could be generalized to smartphone use as a whole, as the Apple product sets the bar for most other brands, which then strive to create a product in their image. Apple has been, by far, the most innovative and trail-blazing brand in the smartphone industry in respect to its marketing strategies. This superior marketing initiative, specifically in regards to the iPhone television advertisement campaigns, has resulted in a large user base. Since its unveiling in early 2007, Apple has released 86 iPhone television advertisements onto network television.

In this paper I will apply a critical lens to the iPhone advertisement campaigns and their consistent and prominent ideological themes. The deconstruction and analysis of these themes is important because the internalization of these themes instructs the users' relationship with and use of their smartphones. The advertisements will be shown to promote a technological device and its features on a basic level, but more importantly a way of existing in the world on a more complex level. This paper will consider the commercial discourse and the idealization of our use

of the smartphone found in the iPhone advertisement campaigns compared to the lived experience of the smartphone user from sociological, psychological and ideological perspectives. This paper will also discuss how this commercial idealization, or the persuasive promises that Apple makes about its cellular device, may not in fact be in the best interest of the smartphone user. I will use the ads and their themes to reflect upon the subjectivities that smartphones in general create and the dominant hegemonic structures they uphold, specifically neoliberal capitalism.

I would like to explicate my biases. As a white, female from Canada I am speaking from a dominant and privileged position; one in which these technologies are relatively affordable and readily available for use. I recognize that while I have chosen to write this paper using the all-encompassing 'we', some of my readers' experiences will not resonate with the themes of this paper. I have written this paper from my subjective position within the world, while attempting to extend my observations and analysis to meet the positions of my readers.

A close analysis of all 86 televised iPhone advertisements illuminates three prominent themes consistent throughout the entire advertisement archive: *efficiency*, *connection* and *access*. The commercial themes are of importance because they repeatedly communicate to audiences and potential iPhone users how to engage with and make use of the technology. They work to embed ideas in the audiences' mind about what type of relationship can and should be held between the iPhone and its owner. Though Apple appears to be simply promoting a cellular device and its functions, these advertisements are simultaneously promoting a way of socializing, a way of working, a way of thinking and, overall a way of existing in the world.

Efficiency

A prominent and consistent theme identified throughout Apple's iPhone advertisement campaigns is the promise of 'efficiency'. The iPhone is marketed as a tool of efficiency, a device that holds the potential to make daily tasks easier and faster. Within the commercial discourse of the advertisement campaigns, speed and multitasking are identified as integral aspects of the efficiencies the iPhone has to offer.

Speed

Fast. This word reverberates throughout the entirety of Apple's iPhone advertisement series. Whether it's "faster", "fastest" or "twice as fast", Apple continually presents its device as the embodiment of speed. The commercial discourse of the iPhone favours the present, the most recent, and the linear, presenting images of new emails, new messages and new applications flashing across the iPhone screen. When what is most important is the 'right now', speed becomes invaluable.

At the heart of efficiency is the minimization of wasted time. Apple emphasizes the iPhone's speed in several advertisements to communicate explicitly to audiences that its device is the solution to this 'wasted time'. The earliest advertisements for the iPhone demonstrate the speed of the device in its ability to switch from application to application seamlessly, but more obvious claims of speed arrive with the promotion of the second model of the iPhone, the iPhone 3G. In an advertisement entitled "Hallway", which features two men in suits carrying a mysterious metal box down the hallway of what looks like a top-secret spy headquarters, the iPhone 3G is debuted. Within the advertisement the dialogue is short and sweet. The iPhone 3G is described as "the first phone to beat the iPhone" and the advertisement is quick to answer how.

Its ability to “surf the web and download data twice as fast” is pinpointed as the aspect of the device that makes this new model superior to its predecessor (Apple 2008d). Speed, here, is being sold to audiences as something they should want and value.

This emphasis on speed is repeated again in the first commercial appearance of the iPhone 3GS. The advertisement, entitled “Break-In”, employs the same spy-movie clichés as the last iPhone debut, using spy gadgets and music that is reminiscent of a James Bond movie. While this time the new model is set apart from its former in part due to its new video recording application, speed is still a central part of the iPhone 3GS’s superiority. Audiences are told in the last five seconds of the advertisement that the iPhone 3GS is “the fastest, most powerful iPhone yet” (Apple 2009b). With notions of speed and efficiency concluding the advertisement, and essentially summing up the product, it is clear that Apple wants to communicate that the speed of the device is the largest selling feature, despite other frills and whistles the iPhone offers.

The theme of speed is echoed throughout the 86 advertisements through the use of language such as ‘instant’, ‘automatic’ and ‘right away’. In a pair of advertisements, “Everyone” and “Unslow”, the iPhone3G is repeatedly referred to as “twice as fast” (Apple 2008e & Apple 2008f). In explaining what exactly 3G is, the advertisement “Unslow” states that “It’s what helps you get the news twice as fast, find your way twice as fast, and download files twice as fast” (Apple 2008f).

Though most speed-related references in the series of analyzed advertisements were specific to the speed of the device as an end in itself, the advertisement entitled “Delay” offers a more elaborated version of the potential of the device’s speed. A pilot, dressed in uniform, is shown standing in front of a black backdrop as he tells his testimonial of how his iPhone saved

the day. He says, “We were departing Chicago en route to Newark, New Jersey. We were told we were going to have a three hour delay, three hours, for an hour and forty-one minute flight. And as we were sitting there with our engine shut down, I turned on my iPhone and went to Weather.com and I saw that the rain showers had already passed the field. At which point we contacted our dispatcher and dispatch took another look at the weather and sure enough about thirty minutes later the tower called us and said you guys are clear to go.” The pilot concludes his anecdote with the statement, “Everybody was happy and life was good” (Apple 2007e). In this advertisement, the features of the device, its hardware or applications are not promoted as being fast; rather the device is more significantly shown as speeding up daily life. The message becomes less about the Internet or Weather.com as being fast and efficient applications in and of themselves, but the way that having the device fast-forwards the inconvenient, mundane events of daily life, that would be slow and tedious without the iPhone.

Throughout the iPhone advertisement campaigns, speed is sold to audiences as something to value. Though the ability to communicate, work, play, and socialize quickly and efficiently sounds personally beneficial, and in many ways it is, the speed of our devices and the resulting speed in which our cellular actions occur is mostly beneficial to the hegemonic structure of neoliberal capitalism, as it subtly promotes values of productivity and capitalizing time. In order to consider the way in which speed is co-opted for the benefit of capital and the neoliberal agenda, and used as a tool for discipline and control, it is first helpful to take some time to discuss the history of time-keeping and past conceptions of time.

For most of human history, people conceived of time as a continuous, cyclical flow. Time-keeping technologies emphasized the natural process of time; from sundials to hourglasses, to clepsydras, the natural elements of the sun, the sand, and the water were used as the markers

of time. There was no particular necessity to measure time with precision or to divide up the day into smaller pieces. Life was, in the words of Jacques Le Goff "dominated by agrarian rhythms, free of haste, careless exactitude, unconcerned by productivity" (Carr 41). The introduction of clocks into public space changed the way people worked, played, and behaved as they became members of an increasingly regulated society. Following this, the adoption of more personal tools for keeping time, such as chamber clocks, pocket watches and eventually wrist watches, had more intimate consequences. "By continually reminding its owner of time used, time spent, time wasted, and time lost, it became both prod and key to personal achievement and productivity. The personalization of precisely measured time was a major stimulus to the individualism that was an ever more salient aspect of Western civilization" (Carr 43).

With the popularization of the smartphone and its presence in the majority of our lived moments, the wrist watch seems to fill more of an aesthetic function, as people increasingly turn to their smartphones for the keeping and tracking of time. As time has historically come to be more deeply related to progress and productivity, the smartphone has amplified this relationship substantially. In the case of the smartphone, the technology used for keeping time and the technology used for productivity are combined into one device and conceptions of time and productivity are further conflated.

For Foucault, these changes in the way we conceptualize of time have ideological consequences, specifically in relation to practices of discipline and control. Foucault argues that traditional institutions of discipline and control such as prisons, schools, factories and hospitals did not control their subjects through force or violence but rather through more internalized, insidious mechanisms of discipline. The objective of discipline was the creation of the docile body; one who could be "subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, *Discipline &*

Punish 136). One way in which the docile body is formed is through the fixing of individuals in time and space. The organization and discipline of individuals is made further possible through the dividing of these times and spaces into smaller and smaller parts, i.e. the prison cell, the timetable. The dissection of time and space into smaller fragments makes detailed control and intervention possible. If we consider the calendar application on the smartphone, a widely used organizational and scheduling tool, we can see how the device presupposes that its users want their time to be divided and subdivided into small fractions of time. Months can be divided into days, days into hours, hours into minutes and the calendar application allows for the insertion of appointments, meetings, and plans into each fraction of time, inviting us to capitalize on smaller and smaller fragments of time.

Discipline does not come from the calculating of individuals' time but rather from the regulation of the way that individuals experience time. With the smartphone calendar application, individuals internalize time as something to be exhaustively used, ever-expanding, and not wasted. The calendar function is just one example of how speed becomes of value to the disciplinary function as the goal is to extract from time "ever more available moments and, from each moment, ever more useful forces. This means that one must seek to intensify the use of the slightest moment, as if time, in its very fragmentation, were inexhaustible or as if, at least by an ever more detailed internal arrangement, one could tend towards an ideal point at which one maintained maximum speed and maximum efficiency" (Foucault, *Discipline & Punish* 154).

The smartphone intensifies the use of time in a very similar way to Foucault's disciplinary institutions. These institutions were arranged so that each and every moment was filled with many different, but ordered activities. Combined with this was the rhythm imposed by signals, whistles and orders, which the prisoners/workers/school children/patients deeply

internalized as temporal norms that were intended to "teach speed as a virtue" (Foucault , *Discipline & Punish* 154). The smartphone replaces signals and whistles with beeps and vibrations, but just like the rhythms of Foucault's disciplinary institutions, the sounds of the smartphone remind its owner to be productive, and to do it quickly. Smartphone users execute 'different, but ordered activities', from social networking, to email, to SMS, to mobile games in a manner that capitalizes on the time of life, dividing and subdividing fragments of time into smaller fractions of non-idleness. Speed is of the greatest value. The smartphone, like Foucault's disciplinary institutions, serves to "economize the time of life, to accumulate it in a useful form and to exercise power over men through the mediation of time arranged in this way" (Foucault, *Discipline & Punish* 162). The smartphone becomes a potential tool for control and the subjectification of its owner.

The smartphone positions its owner as a useful subject within the hegemonic system of neoliberal capitalism, a system based on productivity, independence, privatization, free markets, profit, and competition. The speed of one's device comes to symbolize the economic potential of the subject as a smartphone user. Speed is integral to the functionality of our modern capitalist society; the faster one works, the more they can produce, the faster one consumes, the more they can buy. The speed of our devices is directly beneficial to capital and the neoliberal agenda, as seen, for example, in its ability to create revenue for big business through data mining. The faster we surf the web from our smartphones, the more links we click and pages we view, the more opportunities search engines such as Google have to collect information about our likes, dislikes, demographics, and daily routines and to turn this data into profit through selling this information to advertisers (Carr 156). Here, we are not asked to be directly productive, but even in playful moments with our smartphones, such as browsing the Internet and participating on social

networking websites, our actions are converted into value through the buying and selling of data. These playful moments are capital productivity disguised as light, carefree leisure.

The commercial discourse of the iPhone advertisements surrounding notions of speed and efficiency has more than ideological consequences, as it implicitly promotes neoliberal capitalist values, but also deep cognitive and psychological consequences. The advertisements showcase the speed of the device, setting expectations about the speed of the actions performed on the device. Because we are offered a device that is 'fast', 'faster' and 'twice as fast', we internalize that the work we do and actions we perform on the device must accordingly be 'fast', 'faster' and 'twice as fast'.

Cognitively, speed takes a toll on learning, knowledge and thinking. Carr argues that intellectual technologies, such as the smartphone, and their accessible search engines "promote speedy, superficial skimming of information and discourage any deep, prolonged engagement with a single argument, idea, or narrative" (156). With most web pages being viewed for ten seconds or less (Nielson, "How Users Read on the Web"), the reading taking place on the Internet via smartphone is not facilitative of deep thinking. The smartphone invites us into an environment that "promotes cursory reading, hurried and distracted thinking, and superficial learning (Carr 116).

Speed fosters little time for reflection or contemplation. As we communicate in ways that ask for nearly instantaneous responses, we don't allow sufficient time to consider complicated problems or to engage in self-reflection (Turkle 166). Turkle poses the question: "When is downtime? When is stillness?" In a world of rapid response and a sense of urgency and fear about not keeping up with the world, stillness makes people feel anxious (Turkle 289). The

smartphone helps to facilitate the modern obsession with speed and "an accompanying impatience for all that does not move faster and faster. When we become accustomed to speed, it is natural to be impatient with slowness (Lightman 11).

What are we missing when we avoid the un-fast? What is being lost in our rejection of stillness? We lose the ability to be comfortable with self-reflection, to be alone with one's thoughts for longer than a few minutes. We do not embrace silence and meditation, but rather have grown accustomed to, and, in many ways, comforted by the beeps, hums, buzzes and rings of our smartphones. Lightman suggests that we have lost a part of our 'inner selves' when we don't permit ourselves to 'waste time', to let our minds wander freely or to disconnect from the rush and speed of daily life. This inner self is the part of us that "imagines, that dreams, that is constantly questioning who I am and what is important to me" (Lightman 19). Our borderline obsession with speed is placing at jeopardy some of the most essential aspects of human consciousness and stifling ontological contemplation and reflection.

The cognitive and psychological consequences of speed and its accompanying commercial rhetoric contribute to feelings of anxiety from stillness, impatience with the un-instant, and do little to cultivate self-reflection and deep, sustained contemplation. Ideologically, speed contributes to the hegemonic structure of neoliberal capitalism and functions as a tool of internalized control and discipline. However, these ideological and psycho-social effects cannot be seen as mutually exclusive consequences of a smartphone-accelerated life. Rather, these ideological and psychological effects fuel each other, complexly interacting and contributing to each other's development.

According to ‘attention economy’ theory, the production and consumption of information requires the investment of attention, which is understood to be a limited resource (Goldhaber 1). The speed at which our smartphones operate and the way in which they accelerate our lived experiences leave our attention capacities constantly maxed with continuous flows of information and stimuli. The more tactile psychological consequences related to speed and attention such as cursory reading and a lack of deep, prolonged thinking, lend themselves to the creation of people who are uncritical of the ideological systems they are situated within. Since the speed of smartphone technology and the constant flow of information that this speed allows essentially demands that tasks are done quickly on the device, users are left with little time to contemplate more broad, abstract ideas such as the hegemonic structures that this speed is actually being productive for. The smartphone fosters a way of information processing that encourages us to never focus too much on the present task because the promotion of speed requires that we are always anticipating the next task. This lack of attention and lack of prolonged consideration leads to uncritical thinking and the complacent, docile and submissive behavior that follows this thinking. These modes of thinking and behavior allow neoliberal capitalism to flourish, an ideological system that is hegemonic and arguably repressive in nature.

Multitasking

When speed is not enough, the commercial discourse found in the iPhone advertisement campaigns asserts that tasks can and should be performed simultaneously, in an action that our culture has come to refer to as ‘multitasking’. Multi-tasking has widely been championed and embraced as an integral aspect of efficiency, minimizing time and increasing productivity as its primary objectives.

Apple promotes its device as an essential tool for multitasking in several of its iPhone advertisements. In an advertisement entitled "The Winger," a young ballerina at the New York City Ballet tells audiences about her dance-related blog. She describes that her iPhone allows her to mobile blog from back stage, snap photos from the wings, and send these directly to the website so people can see what's going on in real-time. She says she could be backstage in her dressing room preparing for the show while working on her blog. She concludes with, "It's multi-tasking, it's important… even for ballet dancers" *(*Apple 2007g*)*. By this "even for ballet dancers" afterthought she implies that the ability to multitask is no longer solely important to the corporate ladder-climber or the stay-at-home mother, but now, with the help of the iPhone, everyone from ballet dancers to high school students to librarians, can and should be taking up multiple tasks simultaneously in order to be as efficient as possible.

In another advertisement, entitled "Multi-People," the iPhone is shown performing a variety of functions, "all without ever leaving the call" (Apple 2009c). Hypothetical scenarios proposed in the ad include, being on the phone with a client and checking the email he sent; chatting on the phone with a friend and changing the time of a dinner reservation; and talking on the phone with a spouse and suddenly realizing your anniversary is a week away and ordering flowers, all while still on the call.

In an advertisement entitled "Commute" the iPhone is demonstrated to extend its multitasking abilities past the limitations of the smartphone. Here, a man commutes to work via train and is able to send a sales report to a colleague and catch up on the news during his ride, thanks to his iPhone (Apple 2010b). This iPhone advertisement promotes the temporal combination of actions that can be performed through the iPhone with daily activities such as commuting. These moments of time, from riding the train to waiting in a grocery line, would

have previously been empty of any work productivity and possibly used for daydreaming or relaxation. These times of idleness and non-productivity are presented to us as wasted time. The iPhone is offered as a tool to turn this 'wasted time' into efficient productivity, helping us to manage and optimally utilize our personal time. The development of Bluetooth technology has helped to normalize this ever-more intensely overlapping and capitalizing of time. Driving a car, an already cognitively demanding task in its own right, can now be coupled with other tasks that require mental concentration such as phone calls to employers, friends and family. The commercial discourse of the iPhone invites users to increasingly overlap actions in order to achieve optimum efficiency.

Multitasking has not always been held in such high regard. Previously, school children were discouraged from having music or the television on in the background as they completed their homework, so that they could focus their undivided attention on their work. Cognitive tasks were assumed to be done best one at a time. Subtly, over time, multitasking which was once considered something of a blight was reconceptualised as a virtue (Turkle 162). Over time, "the conversation about its virtues became extravagant, with young people close to lionized for their ability to do many things at once. Experts went so far as to declare multi-tasking not just a skill but *the* crucial skill for successful work and learning in digital culture" (Turkle 162). Henry Jenkins argues that "multitasking is a skill *all of us* need to embrace if we are going to manage the flow of information in our lives" (Jenkins, "The Skill of the Future").

Many psychologists see it differently, however. Psychological studies on multitasking do not point to new efficiencies and increased productivity (Armstrong & Sopory 1997, Pool, Koolstra, & Van der Voot 2003, Rogers & Monsell 1995, Rubenstein, Meyer, & Evans 2001). Rather, they show that multitaskers do not perform as well on any of the tasks they are executing

(Turkle 163). Multi-tasking imposes what neurologists term ‘switching costs’; every time we shift our attention to another task “our brain has to reorient itself, further taxing our mental resources” (Carr 133). The multitasking brain “takes time energy to change goals, remember the rules needed for the new task, and block out cognitive interference from the previous still-vivid activity” (Jackson 79). One study found that, when there is a crawl on the television during the news, people remember ten percent less of what the news anchor says. Maggie Jackson, author *of Distracted: The Erosion of Attention and the Coming Dark Ag*e, states that multi-tasking, especially when it comes to complex actions, is in fact inefficient and that we are living in a ‘culture of distraction’ rather than a system of hyper-productive multitasking. As well, she asserts that the creation of knowledge from information requires a certain kind of attention and focus that is not possible when we multitask.

The iPhone is touted as the ultimate tool of efficiency through the promotion of its speed and multitasking capabilities. What is given little consideration, if any, in these advertisements is whether these forms of efficiency are in the best interest of its users. Instead, speed and multitasking, as the ultimate efficiency package, are sold to audiences as things they should not only want, but cannot realistically afford to be without. Considering the previously discussed cognitive and ideological effects of these types of efficiencies, from changes in the way we experience time, to superficial skimming of information, to the dissection and capitalizing on smaller fragments of time, it becomes clear that the embracing of speed and multitasking as a means of efficiency is actually in the highest interest of capitalism and its functioning.

Connection

The prominent theme of ‘connection’ that threads itself through the discourse of the analyzed iPhone advertisements is epitomised in one particular moment of an early advertisement entitled “One Thing”. A man is shown giving a testimonial of his experience with the iPhone. The last remark he offers to the audience, in referring to his iPhone, is “That’s my lifeline*”* (Apple 2007c). By metaphorically comparing his iPhone to a life-saving rope, he indicates the technology’s importance in connecting him to all things he deems vital to his life. This primacy of connection is echoed throughout the iPhone advertisement series.

To People

The iPhone is presented commercially as a tool of social connection, one that enables conversation with friends and family all over the globe, enhances one’s social life and keeps us in the loop with what people in our extended social circles are up to. Initial advertisements demonstrate social connection features such as email, visual voicemail, social networking applications, text messaging and even the “archaic” voice phone call. A more recent advertisement, entitled “First Steps,” promotes the new video recording feature of the iPhone and shows a mother recording her baby’s first steps. She excitedly explains that “My son started walking the other day which was amazing. So, I recorded it, sent it to everyone right away and then we all jumped on the phone at once to talk about it- which was kind of amazing too. We would never have shared all that without the iPhone” *(*Apple 2010a). Here the iPhone is being glorified as a tool that connects friends and families and enables them to share monumental moments in life that may not have previously been shared in such an immediate way in the past. The commercial discourse of this advertisement promotes a type of connection where we share more, with more people, more often and with more speed.

The question remains, whether virtually sharing this moment, imposing certain medium-specific temporal and spatial restrictions and reducing the experience to a hyperlink or video file effectively changes the moment. Does sending this video of her child's first steps, that prior to modern mobile recording and distributing technologies would have been an intimate moment experienced just by those present, make the moment less meaningful? Does the technological mediation of these experiences affect their sanctity and their previous, more intimate nature? When we experience life through the lens of a technological recording device instead of experiencing these events unmediated, the nature of our experiences and the value of memory shifts.

The first four advertisements following the launch of the iPhone 4 apply a similar narrative style and focus on FaceTime, the face-to-face video-calling feature. Again, the emphasis is on the iPhone's ability to connect people as events such as a wife telling her husband she is pregnant, a woman revealing her new haircut to her significant other, a grandfather seeing his granddaughter for the first time and a dad seeing his daughter with her new braces are all shared through FaceTime in this series of advertisements (Apple 2010d, 2010e, 2010f &2010g). What Apple seems to be promoting is that the iPhone can bring domestic happiness through the technological mediation of experiences and that these mediated experiences are equally sufficient to the corporeal experience. However, we must consider whether something is being lost when these experiences are not being shared in person. When it is a physical impossibility to reach out and give someone a congratulatory hug or a rub on the back for condolence, what else are we forfeiting when we forfeit physical contact?

Though it cannot be denied that the iPhone, along with its smartphone competitors, such as Blackberry and Android phones, have offered unprecedented ways of connecting to others, the

types of connections and relationships that these devices facilitate must be considered. The smartphone, as a communicative device, is not particularly facilitative of prolonged, intimate discussion. Rather, the character limitation of an SMS message and the temporal limitation of a voicemail, along with the social norms of efficient smartphone use that have been established, all urge a sense of speediness and brevity to the nature of the communication. Our heavy use of our smartphones as a communication tool means "all matters - some delicate, some not - are crammed into a medium that quickly communicates a state but is not well suited for opening a dialogue about complexity of feelings" (Turkle 268).

Perhaps the mobile phone industry is simply keeping in stride with the changing nature of social relations which have moved toward "less-bounded, less-structured informal networks where [users] manoeuvre through multiple sets of ties shifting in saliency and frequency of contact" (Wellman et al, 163). More likely, it is the smartphone endorsed apps, like Facebook and Twitter, along with its other features such as text messaging and emailing that are fostering and perpetuating less personal, involved, intimate and meaningful interactions amongst those we contact. Many new technologies, and particularly the smartphone, "encourage us to hold at a distance the world of immediate, face-to-face contact" (Lightman 15). Though smartphone enabled means of connection such as text messaging, emailing and social networking have their purpose and can be very useful, they are "fundamentally impersonal and anonymous" (Lightman 15). Smartphones do not make meaningful and more personal connection impossible, but the nature of the device and its applications does little to encourage it.

The smartphone has provided users with new tools for managing, mitigating, controlling and negotiating the types of interactions they have. Voicemail functions as a way to circumvent directly speaking to someone, as it has become common practice to dial directly to a recipient's

voicemail without their phone even ringing. Caller ID allows for the screening of calls. Personalized ringtones further assist in the screening process, as the mobile phone does not even need to be removed from the purse or pocket to know who is calling. Call waiting allows us to leave one conversation for another or to line up for someone's attention. Even our face-to-face interactions become 'pauseable' as it has gradually changed from impolite to socially acceptable to interrupt a physical conversation to attend to a text message or an incoming call. The mobile technology has "herded us into a landscape where we are increasingly available as communication targets and we incessantly strategize how to control social contact" (Baron 213). The tool that commercially boasts about its ability to connect people more often and in more ways than ever before is seemingly being used in a semi-subversive way, a way that in fact thwarts the very connection the commercial rhetoric promotes.

Wellman and his colleagues contest that the popularization of the smartphone has led us towards a more flexible autonomy using social networks. The smartphone device "implies the responsibility for people to keep up their own networks with more freedom to tailor their interactions" (164). This 'tailoring' of social interactions is seemingly problematic as many smartphone users have come to avoid face-to-face communication and strongly prefer text-based conversation as opposed to speaking on the telephone. Turkle acknowledges a phenomenon of beginning to use less personal means of communication such as emails, Facebook, and SMS messaging when the alternative is sparse communication with people we care about. She explains, "we become accustomed to their special pleasures- we can have connection when and where we want it or need it, and we can easily make it go away" (160). This tailoring of social relations and the selection of media that facilitate a more simplified form of interaction has arguably created troubling patterns of connection and disconnection. Some of these patterns

include “teenagers who will only ‘speak’ online, who rigorously avoid face-to-face encounters, who are in text contact with their parents fifteen or twenty times a day, who deem even a telephone call ‘too much’ exposure and say that they will ‘text, not talk’ ” (Turkle 178).

Social relationships are increasingly seen as something to be ‘managed’, and the iPhone offers to help. Referring back to Wellman and Hogan’s notion of *personal responsibility to maintain one’s own network*, the smartphone embodies a more independent form of existence, lending itself to the neoliberal philosophy of individualism. It becomes the responsibility of the individual to manage their social network, to stay connected and to be on the grid. Smartphone users have expressed feelings of processing their friends “as though they were items of inventory or clients” (Turkle 189). Sentiments of having ‘taken care of that person’ or ‘crossed her off my to-do list’ become commonplace as the smartphone funnels all of our relationships into the logic of work and relationships become a neoliberal ‘responsibility’ rather than something to add depth and meaning to one’s life. When the smartphone allows us to avoid, control and strictly manage our social connections “there is a risk that we come to see others as objects to be accessed- and only for the parts we find useful, comforting, or amusing” (Turkle 154).

In addition, smartphone technology seems to encourage the physical isolation of our bodies in order to best use the device. Being alone can begin to seem like a precondition for connecting to others because it is easier to communicate if you can focus, without interruption, on your screen. The spaces in life that would have once been an opportunity for spontaneous conversation with a stranger, from waiting rooms to bus stops to park benches, now seem to be filled with individuals tethered to their cellphones, all mentally in another place than where they physically are. Thomas Friedman, writer for the New York Times shares this ‘alone together’ sentiment as he details a taxi ride he took in Paris:

"The driver and I were together for an hour, and between the two of us we had been doing six different things. He was driving, talking on his phone and watching a video. I was riding, working on my laptop and listening to my iPod. There was only one thing we never did: Talk to each other" (Friedman 4-5).

Sherry Turkle asks the question: "What is a place if those who are physically present have their attention on the absent?" (155). As we opt to text, listen to music, email, stream videos and make phone calls instead of sparking up a conversation or simply enjoying the company of those sharing our physical surroundings, our smartphones help us to increasingly isolate ourselves, even within arm's length of other people. The promise of the iPhone is social connection, an idea that is reiterated throughout the course of the commercial campaigns. However, this type of connection may be disconnecting us from those we are physically with. We defend our always-on, constantly connected culture "as a way to be close, even as we effectively hide from each other" (Turkle 281).

Aside from effecting the quality and nature of our social relations, the constant connection to people promoted by the iPhone advertisements also has more internalized, psychological ramifications. Younger smartphone users, particularly teens and young adults, "have a terrific interest in knowing what's going on in the lives of their peers, coupled with a terrific anxiety about being out of the loop" (Hafner 11). These feelings of anxiety are consistent with other reports and findings that link this uneasy psychological state to the societal pressure and expectation that the smartphone owner will be always on and always connected. For some, this anxiety stems from the belief that "if they stop sending messages, they risk becoming invisible" (Carr 118). Some report discomfort when they are without their cellphones and feel they need to be connected to others in order to feel like themselves (Turkle 176).

Paradoxically, another impact of constant connection is that it can contribute to a sense of loneliness or anomie. In Robert Putnam's heavily cited book, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, he explores many possible explanations for what he describes as a growth in social isolation since the 1960s. One factor that he empirically singles out as contributing to the decline in social capital in America is the surge in hours spent watching television in the recent decades. He contests that the technological 'individualizing' of our leisure time has played a role in the increasing isolation of individuals within society. This 'individualizing' or 'privatising' of leisure time is first recognized to have taken place with the popularization of the television then with the computer and accompanying Internet. Now, with the smartphone, our leisure time, a time used in the past for club membership, civic participation and social gatherings, is now even more intensely isolated. We stream videos by ourselves, play mobile games by ourselves and browse the web by ourselves. Even our communication via smartphones is most effective when we are by ourselves. When mobile technologies have led to social isolation, we look to other technological developments to resolve this loneliness. We turn to technology to fix the problems other technologies have created. Sociable robots have been created in order to offer companionship in Japan, as "the Japanese take as a given that cell phones, texting, instant messaging, email, and online gaming have created social isolation. They see people turning away from family to focus attention on their screens" (Turkle 146).

Along with direct social contact, the iPhone advertisement series also promotes a different nature of connecting to people; a connection based more on surveillant practices than on the previously discussed social, communication-based connection. One advertisement entitled "Facebook" features the Facebook application and explains that, unlike the spatially limited parameters of desktop computers, the iPhone can provide access to Facebook wherever

and whenever, offering the potential for constant connection to Facebook friends. The social media application is offered to potential consumers as a way to 'check' what's going on with online friends; the main character in the advertisement is shown browsing a Facebook friend's digital photo album (Apple 2008a). The type of social interaction being promoted here is one of 'being in the know' about a person and their daily activities and interactions, about virtually checking in on them and their online activity, and less about direct communication with them. The advertisement does not allude to any attempt to actually contact the Facebook friend whose album the subject is viewing, but rather the message is being sent that checking in on friends from a distance is a sufficient replacement for social contact or communication of a more direct manner.

Another advertisement offers similar assertions of an increased connectivity through surveillance-like applications. This time the featured application, Loopt, is highlighted in an advertisement that is part of the 'Dilemmas' campaign, where the iPhone is proposed as a solution for various life difficulties. In this case, the identified dilemma is the difficulty of keeping in touch with friends. Apple is quick to offer a solution to this problem through a purchasable iPhone application. Loopt, a social GPS application, informs users of where other Loopt subscribers are located and what they are doing there. In this advertisement, Loopt is held as an exemplary means of the iPhone "solving life's dilemmas, one app at a time" (Apple 2008i). In the case of the Loopt application, the surveillance of friends via social media is heightened, as GPS coordinates allow users to identify the exact location of other Loopt users. This is offered as the solution to staying in touch with friends, though the link between knowing where a person is located at all times and actually engaging in social contact with them is unclear. With both of the

applications that the two advertisements are promoting, connection becomes more about checking, watching, and observing each other than about actual communication.

The promotion of a more watchful, surveillance-oriented connection has consequences of discipline and power relations. Returning to Foucault's conception of discipline and control, surveillance works to normalize human bodies and to promote the internalized surveillance of the self. Foucault takes up Jeremy Bentham's architectural prison design in order to give birth to his theorization of the 'panopticon'. Through a combination of structural elements including windows, solitary cells, and tower height, as well as the use of light and shadows, the architectural characteristics of the panopticon creates a paradoxical relationship between prisoner and guard. The structure renders the prisoner visible to the gaze of the tower guard at all times, while the prisoner, situated within their cell, is never able to ascertain whether they are currently the subject of this gaze, or even whether the tower is occupied by a guard at a given moment. The design of the prison substitutes the need for a constant human surveillance with an internalisation of control and "a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault, *Discipline & Punish* 201). Self-discipline is the ultimate goal of the panopticon. To monitor one's own behavior as an internalized and unconscious reaction to the threat of the disciplinary gaze is at the heart of Foucault's theory of panopticism. This same internalized monitoring of one's own behavior is arguably being played out each time a smartphone user 'checks-in' to a restaurant on Loopt or posts a status update on Facebook. We assume and in a sense, hope, others are watching and we act accordingly.

The Loopt and Facebook applications are notably unique from more traditional regimes of surveillance that are typically linked to panopticism. The use of these applications provides smartphone users with arguably more agency as participants opt-in to their own surveillance,

becoming active subjects rather than passive objects of surveillance. The tracking mode of connection being promoted through the iPhone advertisements appears to complicate the traditional relationship between see-er and seen. Instead of overtly being used as tools for restriction and control, Loopt and Facebook are promoted through promises of liberation, empowerment, self-expression, identity creation, and social interaction.

Despite their empowering potential, iPhone applications that promote 'watching' and 'checking up on' the other, and therefore an internalized surveillance of the self, are potentially problematic. With tracking having its roots in practices of criminality and racism, the social media applications Facebook and Loopt are arguably inherently tied to hegemonies of repression and control. The ideology behind tracking is closely tied to Foucault's concept of biopower, in which dominant powers in society attempt to control and regulate the corporeal body, including its physical place within space (Foucault, *History of Sexuality* 140). The very nature of Facebook and Loopt renders users vulnerable to exploitation because, while it provides individuals with a means to express their selves and connect to friends, it equally offers opportunities for the enhancement of other kinds of power such as law-enforcement and targeted marketing research (Lyon 211,213).

As individuals come to rely on iPhone-enabled social media applications, such as Facebook and Loopt for social connection, our relation to surveillance is not only naturalized and normalized, but made necessary. Through the self-reporting of information, such as our physical location, we invite others to capitalize on this information and may be likely to accept further propositions of data collection in the future. When we have already provided our location, what can a name and email hurt?

The iPhone advertisements I have discussed here assert that their device will connect users to people in more ways and in greater frequency than ever before. Apple is not alone in this emphasis on connection. In fact, RIM's slogan "always on, always connected" echoes the same sentiments. Though the promise of increased connection to people might be fulfilled, this 'always on' way of life does not necessarily facilitate deep, meaningful contact. Rather, it encourages us to 'manage' our relationships like work contacts and, as Turkle and others have argued, can produce negative psychological states, specifically anxiety and loneliness. Modes of connection offered through the iPhone that enable a more distant, watchful form of connection are tied to notions of self-surveillance and internalization of docility and conformity.

To Work

Apple promotes its device as a way for the user to seamlessly navigate between their work life, social life and home life. Several advertisements highlight how the iPhone can allow users to access work files, use work management applications, and communicate with employees, co-workers and employers all while outside of the office. One advertisement entitled "Work Friendly", says the iPhone "works great with work" because it "instantly updates your work calendar, pushes your work email and automatically updates your work contacts" (Apple 2008g). This 'pushing' and 'instantly' and 'automatically updating' of work related information serves to blur the line between work and the rest of life. With the iPhone, emails and work phone calls are free to infiltrate the spaces and times previously designated for leisure, social, and family time. Instant updates take the decision away from the smartphone users about when to check work emails and give the hardware the power to intrude on family vacations and weekends.

The advertisement previously discussed entitled “Commute” which features a man speaking to a co-worker and accessing work files while on his commute also promotes the iPhone’s ability to connect users to work more than ever before. In referring to this connection to work and his ability to access a work file, the commuter expresses, “The iPhone saved my day, even before it started” (Apple 2010b). What is not discussed is why audiences should interpret this constant connection to work as a positive thing. Presumably, Apple is implying the efficiency of the device, but what is actually being created through this constant connection is the never-ending work day. Though the office and the hours of 9-5 for many are still the perceived markers of the work day, with smartphone technology we can be reached and are expected to contribute and produce at any hour of the day in any physical place.

Another advertisement entitled “My Show” features a testimonial from an off-Broadway theatre producer. He explains that the iPhone allows him to track and maintain the fan website and at the same time email the director, relay the fans responses to him, and make the appropriate changes. He explains, “With this phone I can accomplish every single area of my business that no other phone has been able to do. And it makes me a better business man and a better artist at the same time” (Apple 2007f). An advertisement entitled “Office” targets small business owners and features some iPhone apps that help to make a small business run efficiently. One application demonstrates that you can ring up a customer’s order and process a Visa transaction. The advertisement also shows that, through iPhone applications, small business owners can print shipping labels and track FedEx shipments (Apple 2009a). All of these advertisements, though explicitly making promises about the smartphone user’s connection to work, more implicitly echo themes of efficiency through speed and multitasking.

The commercial discourse found within the iPhone advertisements encourages the fusing of work and social life into a nearly indistinguishable union, where the work day is fluid and unstructured. With the advent and wide adoption of mobile technologies we have experienced a shift from the structured 9-5 office hours to the always connected 24/7 working hours. To consider this shift and why many seem to have embraced this way of life, we must first consider a brief history of labour practices and lay some theoretical groundwork.

Prior to the last century, most people lived in close proximity to their places of work -- on farms, above stores, in back rooms of school, and in boarding houses. Coworkers were very often family members, neighbours and friends. "With the rise of modern technology -- electrification, motorized transportation, communication systems -- and the growing importance of bureaucratic work organization, the separation between work and personal life grew more definite" (Gant & Kiesler 3). This rise in modern technology and industrialization gave birth to twentieth century concepts such as commuting to work, rules against personal calls and emails at work, and 'personal time' that reflect a differentiation of the social meaning of both time and place. These are all characteristic of the Fordist industrial factory model of labour, which created strong distinctions between work and home life. Punch clocks, uniforms, and factory settings worked to delineate the boundaries between work and leisure.

But today, wireless smartphone technologies, which enables people to "cross space, time, activity, and social networks, promise to bring us back to earlier times when the boundary between work and personal life was less distinct and to influence the meaning of space and time" (Gant & Kiesler 3). This shift in conceptions of time and space is largely due to a transformation of the primary organizational model of labour, which has shifted in the recent decades from the Fordist industrial model of labour toward the Post-Fordist 'social factory'. Fuelling this shift is

the ideological system of neoliberal capitalism accompanied by the tools that make this shift in labour relations possible – the network, wireless technologies and, more of course, the smartphone. As labour practices have shifted from farm to factory to computer, we have arrived at what many theorists identify as the 'social factory', which is where labour situates itself today. As Franco Berardi states, the 'social factory is a system of labour that is "flexible, precarious and permanently on-call – and equipped with the latest iPhone" (11). Within the 'social factory' value production does not occur solely in the determined and recognized workplaces, or as an activity by a paid labourer (Terranova, 'Free Labor' 33). Labour can be performed in one's living room, value can be produced in an online chat forum, and commodities can be made in one's garage, in a virtual world or in a word processing document. That is the essence of the social factory within which we have become labourers.

The social factory is most markedly characterized by a shift toward 'immaterial labour' as the dominant mode of production. Immaterial labour is that which produces an immaterial good, such as a service, knowledge, affect, or communication (Hardt 94). Fordism exploited physical bodies (muscles and arms) as a way to produce value. Within post-Fordist modes of production, immaterial labour exploits the mind, language, and creativity as they become the primary tools of value production (Berardi 21).

Smartphones intensify our participation in immaterial labour and, through this, the mobile devices realize the neoliberal capitalist dream of "absorbing every possible atom of time at the exact moment the productive cycle needs it. In this way, workers offer their entire day to capital and are only paid for the moments when their time is made cellular" (Berardi 90). Consistent with this notion of offering each lived moment to the benefit of capitalism, a study on cellphone usage habits found that participants reported checking work email from a variety of

diverse locations. These locations included church pews, the bleachers at a basketball game, with friends at a bar, the gym, the doctor's office and every room in their home (Mazmanian, Yates, & Orlikowski 4). The shift toward immaterial labour and away from the spatial confinements of the factory or office allows every room to be potentially transformed into a place for work. Every train, every plane, every waiting room is an impending office.

This model of labour, enabled by popular smartphone adoption, is arguably more exploitative than the labour relations of the industrial working class in the 1960s who organized a revolt based on their growing estrangement and alienation from their labour. The increasing production of value through immaterial labour gives way to more "intensive forms of control" and a "mutation and intensification of exploitation" (Terranova, 'Of Sense and Sensibility' 32). Lazzarato's idea that immaterial labour "involves a series of activities that are not normally recognized as 'work'", may be the key to its exploitative power (Lazzarato 136). When we do not consider our actions to be 'work' we are presumably less likely to seek direct monetary benefit from them, enjoy them more, and be less aware or care less if somebody else is benefitting monetarily from our actions. This could include anything from 'checking in' on the Loopt application, to surfing the web, to signing up for an email mailing list; all these actions performed on a smartphone are sites of immaterial labour that produce value for marketing and advertising sectors through data collection. As the content of labour has become more immaterial, simultaneously the limits of productive labour have become uncertain (Berardi 75). Labour is no longer localized in the factory but transversal and deterritorialized, permeating every fragment of time and space and inviting every fragment of mental activity to be transformed into capital (Berardi 88, 24).

Berardi asks the questions: “How did it happen that work regained a central place in social affectivity and why did society develop a new affection for work?” (83). It does seem peculiar that after decades of enjoying work-free leisure time we now allow ourselves to be constantly “electrocuted” by our smartphones and relentlessly summoned to put or minds to work and dedicate our time to the production of capital (Berardi 90). One possible explanation Berardi offers stems from the impoverishment of everyday life and our estranged relation to others. We have renewed our affection for work and increasingly dedicate our time to capital and enterprise because “daily life becomes lonely and tedious: metropolitan life becomes so sad we might as well sell it for money” (Berardi 83). As people’s social ties weaken, in part because of the sociological influence of smartphones previously discussed, individuals engage more closely with and dedicate more time to labour as a result of the poor social connection. The cycle perpetuates itself.

A second possible explanation for embracing and accepting the cellulary extended work day may have to do with the nature of the labour being performed. Classical industrial labour had little relation with pleasure or communication. Communication was actually discouraged, fragmented and obstructed while workers were active in front of the assembly line. “Industrial labor was characterized mainly by boredom and pain” (Berardi 84). Workers’ disaffection for industrial labour meant that all desires, pleasures and passions were located outside of capital. The opposite is true in the new social factory: desire and self-realization are now often achieved through work. Neolibral capitalism was able to gain “psychic, ideological and economic energy, specifically thanks to the absorption of creativity, desire, and individualist, libertarian drives for self-realization” (Berardi 96). It seems that no desire, no vivacity exists outside the realm of economic enterprise. As immaterial labour workers invest their specific competencies, their

creative, communicative, and innovative energies in the social factory, work "tends to become the center towards which desire is focused, the object of investment that is not only economical but also psychological" (Berardi 78). We are drawn to our work because we consider our creative and intelligent energies to be the best parts of ourselves.

Constant connectivity, whether it is between people or to work, is an increasing reality of the twenty-first century. Apple's advertisements embody this cultural norm, particularly in its initial nine commercial spots. While these early ads each demonstrate different selling features that separate the iPhone from its competitors, they are tied together as a single campaign through their identical ending. Each advertisement ends with the camera focusing on the iPhone as an incoming call is answered. Apple promotes a very specific discourse about connectivity; one that encourages smartphone owners to always be available and that discourages disconnection or untethering from the device.

What is being sacrificed when our smartphones compel us to connect constantly to others and to our work? What psychological price does the "constant stress of our permanent cognitive electrocution imply?" (Berardi 90). We may be neglecting the time that we physiologically and emotionally need to maintain or restore our ability to focus. Studies have shown that directed attention and reflection are easily fatigued in modern urban environments that are characterised by their connectivity culture and heavy use of personal technology. (Herzog et al., 1997; Kaplan, 1995). Kaplan's study indicates that the consequences of attentional fatigue are "lowered ability to concentrate and solve problems, heightened irritability, and a greater proneness to mistakes or accidents" (165). When we participate in the culture of constant connectivity we deprive our minds of the time they need in order to restore and reflect, two processes Kaplan indicates are crucial to the functioning of cognition. Unmediated, true

solitary moments become less and less frequent as we participate in the culture of the always-on, making ourselves permanently available for connection.

Increasingly, people feel as though they must have a reason for disconnecting, for taking time alone and for not being available for calls (Turkle 202). However, "if your phone is always on you, seeking solitude can look suspiciously like hiding" (203). Here connectivity is accepted as an established social norm; it is abnormal to disengage or to be off the grid. Constant connectivity is simultaneously defended through rhetorics of safety and security. For many, smartphones embody a safety net; whether it be through tethering them to their mothers or to the police department, the device provides comfort through connection. For Westerners, the trauma of 9/11 is part of the narrative of connectivity culture. 9/11 forced upon many the experience of being cut off from the comfort of connectivity. In its shadow, "cell phones became a symbol of physical and emotional safety" (Turkle 247). When parents provide their children with cellphones it is often for the sake of safety. There is an implied understanding that youths will keep this phone on them and turned on at all times and that this connection will function as a shield to protect them from harm. This seems to be a new nonnegotiable: "to feel safe, you have to be connected" (247).

To The Device

The iPhone connects us to others, but we also feel a compelling connection to it. The commercial discourse within the iPhone advertisements validates and propels our feelings of intense attachment to our mobile technologies. In the previously discussed advertisement entitled "One Thing", a man is featured explaining that he once had to carry four different electronics on him, but now, with the iPhone, he only needs to carry one device. He states, "I never forget my

phone," (Apple 2007c) exemplifying the common tethered relationship between smartphone and smartphone user, a relationship where the phone is always with its person, whether it be in a purse, back pocket or hip holster. It seems we have become so attached, so connected to these devices that the purse, pocket, and holster begin to feel obtrusive in our need to feel physically connected to our smartphones. We hold them in our hand in times of non-use, connecting machine directly to flesh. We take them out of our purses and pockets at restaurants and place them on the table, placing them directly in our visual field. Increasingly, it is not enough to know our smartphones are with us. We want to experience them through our senses; see them, feel them, hear them.

Another advertisement, "All These Years", reiterates this promotion of physical connection to the iPhone. The faceless voice explains, "All these years you've gone through the day without email like this in your pocket, or stock updates like this in your pocket, or Internet like this in your pocket. And you survived. The question is, how?" (Apple 2007a). Similarly, an advertisement entitled "Amazing OK Go", states "It's amazing what fits in your pocket these days!" *(*Apple 2007b*).* What is implied is that the user will unquestionably carry the device in their pocket, or at least in another transporting device that will be with them at all times. The advertisements are not attempting to persuade their audience to feel connected both emotionally and physically to the device; those connections are taken as given. Within the commercial discourse of the iPhone advertisements campaigns, audiences are explicitly told how important the iPhone should be to them. It should become a permanent, physical fixture, fastened to their bodies at all times, not left in desk drawers or in cars, but something that is just as necessary to have on our bodies as clothes or eyeglasses.

This constant physical connection to our smartphones has consequences for our subjectivity and conception of self as our devices become ever more coupled to our sense of our bodies and minds (Turkle 167). The smartphone and the physical body are no longer separate entities, but rather "have become so deeply intertwined (through use and reliance) that they fundamentally change who we are, and how we navigate the external (and in many cases, the internal) worlds and niches we occupy" (Benedikter & Fitz 64). Donna Haraway, and many cyborg theorists who followed, have discussed this relationship between flesh and machine and its creation of the 'cyborg subjectivity'. Smartphone technologies are naturalized in their relation and contact with the body, forming a 'cyborg subjectivity', where the body and machine fuse together and are conceptually indistinguishable from each other (Haraway 291). Haraway's cyborg, which she describes as a "cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism" is useful as a metaphor for considering the modes of subjectivity that are created when technologies are so heavily incorporated into the conception of self that dichotomies between human and technology, flesh and machine, begin to disappear (Haraway 149).

In many ways the smartphone has become a prosthetic extension of the physical body, extending the flesh's capabilities both physically and mentally. The deep connection that has been formed between our physical bodies and smartphone technologies is embodied in several common experiences and sentiments: referring to being away from one's smartphone as 'feeling like they are missing a limb', feeling phantom vibrations even when the cellphone is not on them (Stone 3), and having feelings of anxiety when the smartphone is not physically near their body (Turkle 157). In our fully tethered lives, we embrace our cyborg identities and we adopt technologies that further integrate the flesh with machine, such as bluetooth technology, which

offer wearable technologies that naturalize our experience with these technologies further, making the artificial feel real.

Not only does our physical connection to our smartphones foster new subjectivities and ways of conceiving of 'the self', they also have more neurological implications. In a psychological experiment performed on monkeys using tools, the monkeys' brains gradually came to consider the tools as part of their bodies; the monkeys' brains began to act as if the pliers were now their fingers (Umilta, Escola, Instkirveli, et al 2210). This suggests that the consistent and heavy use of our smartphones may cause our brains to interpret the devices as physically part of our bodies; not just metaphorically machinic extensions of our selves but now neurologically accepted parts of our bodies. Similarly, our intense use of and nearly constant physical connection to our smartphones has "shaped the physical structure and workings of the human mind" (Carr 48). Previously, the brain was considered to be a physiologically static organ, hardwired in a specific way that would remain relatively constant and unchanging over the course of a person's lifespan. Neuroplasticity, widely accepted today by brain specialists, refers to changes in neural pathways and synapses which can be created by changes in behavior, environment, neural processes, and bodily injury. The neuroplasticity of the brain enables intellectual technologies, such as the smartphone, to weaken or strengthen neural circuits within the brain, which affects human consciousness at an empirical and biological level (Carr 48). These studies reveal that the technologies we use consistently and frequently actually alter the physiological structure of the brain and markedly change the way we think.

The nickname 'crackberry' for RIM's smartphone, the Blackberry, is symbolic of the addictive and compulsive relationship many smartphone users express to have with their device. In a research study, 90% of participants indicated feeling a compulsion to check incoming

messages and have difficulty disengaging from their cellphones. When asked, most were unable to describe why they felt compelled to check and the best explanation came from a need to reduce their anxiety over being disconnected (Mazmanian, Yates, & Orlikowski 11). For many people, addiction is the only possible way to describe the way they feel as they text and drive even though they know it's dangerous, stay up late BBMing even though they become tired from the loss of sleep, and leave physical conversations to answer phone calls even though they know it to be impolite.

Emily Yoffe explains the neurological workings behind our compulsive smartphone behaviour. She describes that electronic communication such as email, Facebook feeds, texts and Twitter (all available through the smartphone) activate the dopamine system, the same system that is activated when an individual uses cocaine. The 'seeking drive', one that has a deep motivation to activate the dopamine system, turns connectivity into a craving. "Since we're restless, easily bored creatures, our gadgets give us in abundance qualities the seeking/wanting system finds particularly exciting. Novelty is one" (Yoffe 9). The dopamine system is triggered by discovering something unexpected or by the anticipation of something new. If the rewards come unpredictably -- as email, texts, tweets, updates and phone calls do -- we get even more carried away (Panksepp 2005).

The most recent iPhone advertisements promote the newest model of Apple's smartphone, the iPhone 4S, and introduce Siri, an intelligent personal assistant. Siri is shown in the advertisements to share in iPhone users' every lived moment, from the intimate and monumental to the public and mundane. Several ads ("Siri Rock God", "Siri Road Trip" and "Date Night") feature iPhone users utilizing Siri for cancelling appointments, accessing recipes and setting timers (Apple 2012a, 2012b & 2012c). What is particularly interesting is that the last

request for Siri in each of these advertisements is less task-oriented and resembles a conversation one would have with a close friend. This is paired with a change in tone, one of a more intimate nature. Apple is seemingly suggesting that Siri could be considered more than just simply a resource for organization and information, but a confidant, an alliance, or someone to invest secrets and hopes in. With Siri, the connection of user to iPhone becomes based more on intimacy and companionship than on identity, utility or compulsion. In a fast-paced, individualistic culture, Siri may be seen as highly desirable for giving the basics of companionship without the demands of friendship. Just like Tamagotchis and Furbies of the past and robots designed to care for elders of the future, Siri is a relational artifact that is "given autonomy, primitive psychologies and [is] designed to stand on [its] own as a creature to be loved" (Turkle 19). Siri embodies the thesis of Turkle's book, in that we are coming to invest more in and expect more from our technological devices than from each other. Siri is explicitly framed as the answer to managing all of our other connections and the iPhone advertisements invite audiences, more implicitly, to invest emotionally in Siri and to connect more deeply with their device.

Access

The iPhone is touted as an instrument that provides users with wide and nearly unlimited access to resources that make everyday life easier and more enjoyable. Advertisements feature individuals accessing games, email, music, the web, social networks, maps, and more, all from the 5cm-wide screen of the iPhone. In particular, the advertisements emphasize the device's ability to provide iPhone users with access *to information* and to *products*.

To Information

Access to information, primarily through the Internet, is an extremely prominent theme within the iPhone advertisements. One advertisement entitled "Meredith" features a young adult male explaining a sticky situation he was once in. He says, "I was sitting in a restaurant with my girlfriend, we were going to meet her boss and her boss' fiancé. I had never met either but she couldn't remember the fiancé's name and they were coming in like three minutes." He then continues as the advertisement becomes a testimonial about how his ability to access information from his iPhone saved him and his girlfriend from a potentially embarrassing situation. He explains, "And then I said wait, it's on their wedding website. So I took the iPhone out, under the table, and I was like pulling up the wedding website, and just scrolled down to see the name." At that point they were able to stand up and "confidently" introduce themselves (Apple 2007d).

Another advertisement, entitled "Bet", reiterates the sentiment of how access to the Internet in your back pocket can assist with unexpected parts of day-to-day life. A close up of the iPhone is shown, as a hand types into the Google search engine "basketball all-time scoring leader". The search results are presented and the faceless voice is heard saying, "The next time somebody bets you you're wrong, but you know you're right, you can just look it up, right there. Then you have the Internet and five bucks…in your pocket" (Apple 2008b).

As a society, we have collectively shifted from privileging 'what is known', toward privileging 'knowing where to find it'. We arguably place greater importance on resourcefulness than on knowledge in its pure form. It's not about actually knowing who the third Prime Minister of Canada was, but knowing how to access that information when it is needed. The web has come to serve as an artificial memory. As we continually outsource our memory to the Internet

and to our devices, they become what Carr terms “technologies of forgetfulness” (193). As previously discussed, the neuroplasticity of the brain causes certain responses to strengthen and others to weaken based on behaviour. The daily use of smartphones, search engines, computers and other similar technologies “stimulates brain cell alteration and neurotransmitter release, gradually strengthening new neural pathways in our brains while weakening old ones” (Small & Vorgan 1). What is being weakened due to our frequent accessing of the Internet are the synapses related to memory and recall (Carr 28). The tools humans have used to “support or extend his nervous system -- all those technologies that through history have influenced how we find, store, and interpret information, how we direct our attention and engage our senses, how we remember and how we forget -- have shaped the physical structure of the human mind” (Carr 48). Today, smartphones and their access to the Internet are collectively restructuring the human mind, with our memories paying the price. Marshall McLuhan wrote that our tools end up “numbing” whatever part of our body they “amplify” (63-70). When we extend some part of ourselves, in this case our memory through access to information, “we also distance ourselves from the amplified part and its natural functions” (Carr 210).

The web allows users to access a nearly infinite amount of information and this in turn has encouraged a certain type of surfing. Skimming has become our dominant mode of reading. Skimming was once a means to an end, a way to identify information for deeper study. Now with the overwhelming amount of information waiting to be consumed, “scanning is becoming an end in itself -- our preferred way of gathering and making sense of information of all sorts” (Carr 138). Our shift towards this more cursory method of reading is diminishing “a primary kind of knowledge”: the ability to know, in depth, a subject for ourselves, to construct with our own minds rich connections and to think deeply about a topic (Carr 143). What is particularly

interesting is the paradoxical effect that this diminishing of our creative minds has on the neoliberal system. Immaterial labour, central to the functioning of neoliberalism, exploits our creative energies for the sake of the capitalist agenda. While depending on our creativity in order to sustain itself, the neoliberal system is simultaneously dumbing down our creative minds through the promotion of superficial skimming and a saturation of information. Capitalist neoliberalism is potentially self-defeating, as the system promotes behaviour that contradictorily weakens the very intellectual energies that it requires for its own survival.

We have reached the point of information and stimulation overload. Our devices are not only faster, but they also store more and more data and we are constantly faced with an avalanche of information. "In the face of this avalanche of facts, far more than can be excavated or digested, it becomes easier to confuse information with knowledge" (Lightman 12). What seems to be at risk along with our cognitive memories in our constant seeking and accessing of information is our ability to acquire a truer, deeper form of knowledge.

This overwhelming availability of accessible information via smartphone can lead to negative cognitive states such as anxiety, panic and depression. These can occur "when the speed and complexity of the flows of information overwhelm the capacities of the 'social brain' to manage these flows, inducing a panic that concludes shortly thereafter, with a depressive plunge" (Berardi 10). These feelings of anxiety are commonplace to students whose Internet research leads them to countless articles on their direct topic and social media users whose Facebook and Twitter feeds are too continuous to keep up.

The iPhone is promoted for its ability to provide its users with a vast access to information. However, the iPhone also allows us to access information about ourselves, and in

turn allows others to access this information as well. With the help of the iPhone and its applications we become information for others to access. An advertisement entitled “Brilliant” demonstrates the iPhone’s map application. The commentator says, “Having a phone with a map is smart. But having a phone with a map, that knows where you are, and gives you step-by-step directions to anywhere…that’s brilliant” (Apple 2008c). Directions at the tip of your fingers is promoted as yet another one of the numerous ways that access to information through the iPhone assists the user in day-to-day tasks. Though seemingly beneficial, as access to GPS coordinates and directions can make for more time efficient, less stressful travel, we must also consider who else has access to our locations and specific GPS data. The ‘Drop Pin’ application is featured in this advertisement, which is similar to Loopt in that the user makes public their whereabouts through their iPhone. The commercial discourse within the iPhone advertisements is insisting that our documentation of our physical place within the world is important, but who is it important to?

Our physical location “matters increasingly from the point of view of contemporary regimes of governance. Mobile phones, in conjunction with other technologies, such as GPS, may be used to monitor, observe, and trace their users continuously and in real time” (Lyon 211). Notions of surveillance resurface in our consideration of iPhone enabled access to information, as the data produced through our accessing of these applications is transformed into surveillance capacities intended to map the travels of consumers, employees and citizens. As most smartphones have GPS and mapping software built directly into the device, users often unwittingly opt into their own surveillance and the power relations that follow through use of their smartphone.

To Products

Within the commercial discourse of Apple's iPhone advertisements, ideas of access and consumption are conflated. Consumption is cleverly marketed under the guise of 'access', as though Apple is doing its customers a favour by bringing purchasable products and applications to the user. All of the 86 advertisements analyzed had some aspect of consumption within them. They are all selling the iPhone, a smartphone device with a starting price of about five hundred dollars. Others promote purchasable applications. Others feature these purchasable applications that, then, help users to spend their money in other places. The core of this commercial discourse is explicitly summarized in an advertisement entitled "Shopper". The man featured in the advertisement states: "I'm a much smarter and faster shopper with my iPhone" (Apple 2010c).

These advertisements assume that audiences do in fact want easier, more efficient ways to buy and that they even want to buy in the first place. One particularly blatant promotion of consumption is in an advertisement entitled "Dilemmas/Shazam", which describes one of life's dilemmas: "when you don't know what song is playing and it's driving you crazy" (Apple 2008j). The advertisement introduces the Shazam app as a solution to this problem, as the app allows you to "just hold up your iPhone to the song, and in seconds you'll know who sings it and where to get it" (Apple 2008j). The iPhone is shown as directly connecting to iTunes after the song has been identified, the file primed and ready to be purchased for download. As the advertisement ends with the commentary "That's the iPhone…solving life's dilemmas, one app at a time" (Apple 2008j), the commercial discourse argues that life's little idiosyncrasies can and should be solved through consumption.

In a set of three advertisements within the "Changes Everything" campaign, the iPhone's App Store is featured. Here, it becomes clear that having the iPhone alone should not be deemed

sufficient (Apple 2008h). The App Store promises to help make users' phones better, more fun and more efficient. With new apps being engineered everyday improving one's iPhone becomes an ongoing process; never final, never finished, but always requiring the purchase of one more app.

Conclusion

As smartphones have become tools for our constant consumption, they contribute to the perpetual cycle of capitalism. We work quickly and often with the help of our iPhones, so that we can consume quickly and often. We want to consume quickly so that we can quickly get back to producing. As previously discussed, iPhones and smartphones alike, do help to increase efficiency through speed and through multitasking. When labour and workplace related efficiency has increased, "workers haven't typically lobbied for fewer hours, but used the disposable income to purchase material goods" (Lightman 38). The smartphone has become the ultimate tool of capitalism: one that helps us to produce, demand, consume and get back to work.

For Berardi, "advertising is based on the creation of imaginary models of happiness that consumers are invited to replicate" (92). Within the iPhone advertisement campaigns, these imaginary models of happiness take the form of three pervasive themes: efficiency, connection and access. These dominant themes have been shown to have sociological, psychological and ideological effects on the lived experience of the smartphone user. New subjectivities are created through smartphone use including the 'docile subject' and the 'cyborg subject'. Smartphones have been shown to be a part of the neoliberal agenda to create people who are connected and

productive during all moments of time. The device that many of us have embraced and welcomed as permanent fixtures in our daily lives may in fact be a tool of subtle oppression.

The psycho-social effects of the themes promoted in iPhone advertisements help to fuel the ideological system of neoliberal capitalism. In the case of *efficiency*, the cognitive and psychological implications of speed and an accelerated life encourage users to engage in cursory reading, skimming, and superficial thinking, and they overload users with constant flows of information. These psychological effects produce smartphone users who are uncritical of the ideological system which they are contributing to, as the speed with which they perform their cellular activities and in turn live their daily lives is not facilitative of a slowed down, prolonged contemplation about such ideological matters. The widely championed and commercially promoted asset of multitasking further asserts that an individual's time is to be optimally used and capitalized on. The embracing of speed and multitasking as a means of efficiency is in the highest interest of capitalism as it keeps smartphone users uncritical and at the same time constantly producing and consuming.

The psychological and sociological consequences of the forms of *connection* that are being promoted through the iPhone advertisements further contribute to the functioning of neoliberal capitalism. The weakened social ties that result from our 'relying more on technology and less on each other' (Turkle) and the processing of our friends and family as contacts 'to be managed' (Wellman and Hogan) are sociological consequences of smartphone use that promote individualism, a core neoliberal philosophy that promotes an 'every man for themselves' mentality. Another sociological consequence of the type of connection promoted by the iPhone advertisements is social isolation, as it is easiest to connect to others through our smartphones when we are physically apart from others. We isolate ourselves as a precondition for connection,

but this isolation turns out to be directly beneficial to the capitalist neoliberal agenda. The impoverishment of everyday life and estranged relations to others that Berardi discusses and our preference of engaging with our technologies rather than with each other that Friedman covers in his Paris taxi ride anecdote are sociological consequences of smartphone use and driving forces for people's willingness to work more than ever. Social isolation and weak social ties are beneficial to neoliberalism as we have more time to contribute to capitalism when we are not distracted or compelled by our social relationships.

The smartphone's ability to constantly connect users to work means that virtually every room or space has the potential to be transformed into an office and every smartphone user has the potential to offer their entire day to the production of capital. With smartphones being an increasing vehicle for labour, immaterial labour increases as a result. As many users' cellular activities fall outside the realm of what is traditionally thought of as labour, smartphone users do not always seek monetary compensation for their immaterial labour efforts. The blurred distinction between work and leisure, a sociological effect of smartphone use, allows for greater worker exploitation and free labour.

Further psycho-social effects that result from the form of connection promoted by Apple's iPhone advertisement campaigns include anxiety and discomfort in being disconnected from our smartphones. This intense connection to our smartphones is also due to the technology being an extension of our subjectivity, our brains understanding the devices to be part of our physical bodies, the compulsive and addictive nature of cellular activity and the perceived companionship that is derived from applications such as Siri. All of these are psychological and sociological consequences of the connection to the iPhone that is commercially promoted and all contribute to the perpetuation of the neoliberal capitalist system. The psycho-social effects of

smartphone use that create feelings of intense attachment to our devices mean that we are less likely to abandon our smartphones and therefore less likely to abandon a key tool for the functioning of neoliberalism.

The theme of *access* promoted by the iPhone advertisements encourages accessing information and accessing products. At the same time that accessing an overwhelming amount of information can cognitively and psychologically encourage shallow reading and thinking smartphone users also become data to be accessed. GPS, mapping and data-mining applications all participate in a type of surveillance function. The surveillance function operates in a directly beneficial way to the system through capitalizing on our data and turning it into commodities but also on a more insidious level through its promotion of discipline and control. We psychologically internalize that we are always a potential subject of observation and discipline ourselves accordingly, in the same vein as Foucault's panopticon. Both the capitalizing on data and the smartphone user's self-surveillance are effects of smartphone users that contribute to the success of the system of neoliberal capitalism.

However, the pscyho-social effects of smartphone use that appear to be upholding the neoliberal capitalist agenda may be their very demise. The system relies on immaterial labour, which can be anything from sharing photographs and contributing to a virtual world to filling out a survey online and software production. Creativity, imagination and intellect are substantially more important to immaterial labour than they were to industrial labour, which previously dominated the economy. Yet, the psycho-social effects of smartphone use that cause users to think shallowly and engage with information quickly and superficially end up stifling these creative, imaginative, and intellectual abilities. The creative capacities at the heart of immaterial labour are supressed by the fast-paced and multitasking atmosphere characteristic of neoliberal

capitalism. This inability to foster creative energies threatens to risk the future of immaterial labour, which is vital to the system of neoliberal capitalism. The system itself may be self-defeating.

When we examine the smartphone closer what is sold to us as a tool for efficiency, connection, and access reveals itself as something actually quite different: a tool of production, a tool of consumption, a tool of surveillance, a tool of distraction, a tool of forgetfulness, a tool of anxiety, and a tool that keeps us running on the hamster wheel of capitalism.

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