STORYTELLING WITH MOBILE MEDIA

Exploring the Intersection of Site-Specificity, Content, and Materiality

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Introduction
In the emerging information landscapes that are experienced through mobile media, the site-specificity of data and the simultaneous removal of geographic fixity demonstrate two key features of our current interactions with these technologies. The main characteristic of mobile media is, obviously, their mobility, their ability to traverse geographic spaces. Throughout history—from clay tablets, papyrus, letters, and our current mobile computing devices—mobile media made it so people no longer had to travel to a message; instead, the message came to them. Instead of a message being inscribed onto a static surface such as the side of a building, the message was given through a medium that was mobile by nature, able to be carried to a site unrelated to its place of origin.

For voice conversations on a mobile phone, this can be seen in the fact that we ask a person, “Where are you?” when they answer the phone. This question would have been absurd if asked over a landline phone. The response would have surely been, “You know where I am; you called me!” You would know the answer because the phone call was a call to a specific place, not a specific person. As Rich Ling notes,

With traditional land-line telephony, we called to specific places in the sometimes misbegotten hope that our intended interlocutor would be somewhere near the phone we were calling... Such is not the case with mobile telephony. I call to the individual.

The essential mobile nature of mobile media could seem to belie the importance of site-specificity. While location matters since these are spatial media, this core feature may also gesture toward the thought that, since these media aren’t tied to a particular space, they are not indelibly tied to the specifics of any one spot. For example, it could be said...
that while an early papyrus does carry the inscriptions of its particular culture (such as a New Testament papyrus written in Greece), it is just as importantly understood by analyzing its impacts on the cultures through which it travels (such as the impact of the letters of the apostle Paul on the Galatia region of Turkey).

As I will demonstrate in this chapter, site-specificity is an essential feature of mobile media as exemplified by the various mobile storytelling projects I will analyze. As seen in mobile and locative stories, the content with which we engage will affect our experience of a space and, simultaneously, a space will always affect our experience of content. The mobile narratives discussed here offer an important lens into the ways that meaning and place making are tied to the act of storytelling, the role that materiality plays in our experience of the stories about a place, and how these practices comment on the "disconnected" mobile user.

**On This Spot and Urban Markup**

I recently experienced a mobile media narrative that exemplified many of the issues of concern for this chapter. The digital storytelling project, titled On This Spot, took place in the college town of Morgantown, West Virginia, site of the campus of West Virginia University. The Electronic Literature Organization commissioned the piece as part of its annual conference in 2012. While at the conference, the author of the story, Jeff Knowlton (widely written about as one of the co-creators of perhaps the first location-based mobile story project, 34 North 118 West) handed me a paper map with placemarks on it signifying the various locations of the story. I wandered to the first location (chosen at random among the possible spots I could have started), which was on a walking trail along the Monongahela River. I hunted for some sort of sign that would link me to the story, though I didn’t know what exactly I was looking for. This hunt (which was reminiscent of the locative game, Geocaching) was part of the joy of experiencing this story, as if I was hunting for hidden narratives about Morgantown, West Virginia.

After looking around for a bit, I stumbled upon a sign with a quick response (QR) code (see Figure 4.1). Once scanned, the phone played an audio clip that sounded like a documentary actor reading a letter from the Civil War era. This was Knowlton’s goal: to reference the documentary style of Ken Burns (especially in his famous series, *The Civil War*) and put a tongue-and-cheek twist on it. The result was a mix of historically accurate narratives blended seamlessly with humorous fiction that cut to the heart of the sentimentality of the ways we remember the past. For example, the first story I came upon was the reading of two letters between distant “lovers.” The first part of the audio clip read:

May 5th, 1851. Morgantown, West Virginia.

My Very Dear Caroline,

I arrived at Morgantown yesterday and began proceedings to purchase land and stocks. Nature has provided a bounty of resources in this beautiful and magnificent place. Coal, water, and many types of clay are in abundance . . . I have found an Eden where my dreams of establishing a pottery and making fine tablewares and beautiful and proper tea sets can be made manifest. All that I could dream of is here but you, Caroline . . . I hear your voice call my name in the rustling of the trees. I see your smile in the ripples breaking upon the banks
of the river . . . My heart aches for the distance that separates us. I know this burden has not been mine alone to carry . . . My fortune will shortly be secured here in Morgantown. I am overcome with a great joy knowing that I will finally be able to ask your father for your hand in marriage.

With the greatest of love and affection,
Abner Albert Obadiah Johnson

The sender of this letter is given an immediate reply in the audio clip, which is read by an actress embodying many of the documentary styles of Ken Burns:

Tullahoma, Tennessee. June 7, 1851.
Dear Abner,

I have never known a man so energetic, so industrious, so inventive in his capacity to lie as I have known in you. You have, no doubt, said these same words to the common women of ill repute in Pittsburgh. For two bits, they may engage you in congress, but I would rather drink my own bathwater than offer my hand in marriage to you.

Most sincerely,
Caroline Davenport

The narrative of this place thus pulls the participant in to the historical genre and setting, only to flip all expectations on their head. The story asks the participants to lay bare their own sentimentality when it comes to remembering the past. Nostalgia will not fit into this locative story project. It therefore stands in stark opposition to the

Figure 47.1 One of the signs for the mobile storytelling project On This Spot, posted along the Monongahela River in Morgantown, West Virginia. When the QR code is scanned, it unlocks the audio of the fictionalized love letter (and response) that serves as a satire of the Ken Burns style of historical nostalgia.
many site-specific narratives that surround On This Spot. As participants walk between story locations along the Monongahela River trail, there are many stories that sit beside Knowlton's project and they take shape in plaques, kiosks, city signs, and graffiti.

The stories about a place, especially the site-specific ones that take the shape of urban markup, are sometimes durable like the many historical markers along the park that described the site's significance to the Civil War. For example, a historical marker next to the Westover Bridge retells how Morgantown residents (as citizens in a "Unionist stronghold") engaged in tactics to keep the confederates from looting their town. This sits alongside plaques commemorating various Morgantown citizens who have died, often with short narratives about their lives. These durable inscriptions engage in a very particular style of narrative: based on the limited amount of space the plaques and markers have for communicating a story, the story is often simplified and designed to evoke a sense of nostalgia. They evoke this nostalgia to emphasize the significance of standing in this particular location (i.e., the spot is full of history and is thus full of weight and importance). These durable inscriptions also fit in line with the authoritative history of the place: they tell the narrative that is agreed upon by those in power.

These inscriptions thus contrast the ephemeral inscriptions that are intermingled throughout the space. For example, on the day I experienced On This Spot, there was a 5k running race happening; while I hunted for the signs posted for the locative story, I had to navigate between signs put up for the race and the many advertisements erected for runners and onlookers to see as they stood along the trail. As I walked the trail the subsequent day, all of the signs related to the race were gone. These ephemera signify messages and stories that are immediate; they may not have weight or significance in one hundred years (or even the next day), but they have importance because they communicate the moment in a way that durable inscriptions cannot.

Ephemeral inscriptions also communicate a wider range of stories. Unlike the signs for the race (which were mostly corporate or procedural signs), other forms of ephemeral urban markup—ranging in forms like street art, stickers placed by local college students, or graffiti—tell the stories of those who are typically not in positions of power. When I came across one of the final spots of the On This Spot project, I stood next to a large mural painted on an underpass wall. As I scanned the QR code posted on the On This Spot sign with my phone, I met a group of homeless and displaced people bathing in Deckers Creek, which sat immediately opposite from the mural. The mural had the large message painted on it, "We Are All Downstream." The mural was designed and created by a local environmental group and was sponsored by local grants and a national insurance company.

Spray painted on top of the mural were several messages including, "Get Bitches Get Money," and next to that, a line and arrow pointing to a response from another person: "Means Nothing." Another person spray painted a message that certain group of people "rocks," to which someone responded by crossing out "rocks" and replacing it with "Are Dumber Than Shit." These graffiti are by no means literary, nor do they offer deep narrative; however, they point to a practice that is important for my study of mobile stories: often in the face of corporate and well-funded narratives, ephemeral inscriptions offer the voiceless a means to shout.

These are the messages of the moment, even if the message is insignificant (like "Get Bitches Get Money"), the larger message is profound. Graffiti stand as a visual response to the well-funded message of the mural. In this case, for example, the message of the graffiti communicated something along the lines, "The funds used to clean this creek
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only give me a cleaner place to bathe. Maybe it’s the same corporate greed that pollutes these waters that leads to a group of people being homeless in this town.” Similar sentiments can be seen in various places around West Virginia in graffiti or street art that reads, “Stop Mountaintop Removal,” a response to the socially and environmentally hazardous method of obtaining coal that is in widespread use across the state. As Mark Halsey and Alison Young argue,

Graffiti writers . . . recognize their works form a critical part of the plane of signification investing urban landscapes . . . [M]ost understand graffiti writing to be an affective process that does things to writers’ bodies (and the bodies of onlookers) as much as to the bodies of metal, concrete and plastic, which typically compose the surfaces of urban worlds.4

The signs for the mobile story On This Spot seem to fit within the long history of this kind of urban markup. Here I reference the term “urban markup” as utilized by Malcolm McCullough when he compares durable and ephemeral inscriptions such as the “epigraphy” of stone inscriptions on the side of a building or the ephemera like “irreverent advertising [often displayed on billboards, which] made most acts of lasting inscription seem pompous.”1 He notes

The expression “urban markup” is a shorthand for the participatory aspects of mobile, embedded and “locative” media. The latter include many applications of geographic positioning systems (GPS) but also technologies of tagging, sensing, and urban screens. Urban markup turns the privileged reader into an active tagger, an embodied interpreter, and at some level, and with some unstudied degree of access and duration, also a cultural producer.6

The reading interfaces for On This Spot fit well within the paradigm of urban markup. They are ephemeral in many senses: Knowlton put them up the evening before I got to experience the project, reminiscent of the way a “tagger” or a graffiti artist would quickly throw up a message onto a wall. They are thus ephemeral in the way that a project could be created and installed quickly to offer a different narrative about the town than has been told for hundreds of years. Yet, the project also has similarities to durable inscriptions. It requires a smartphone to be a participant since the signage is only machine-readable.

From the perspective of the human eye, the QR code does not convey its message (but only communicates the potential for access, or, from some perspectives, communicates an invitation to engage with the latest gimmick of mobile culture).7 There is thus a barrier to access that has echoes of many corporate or government messages placed through urban markup that signify exclusion of some people. The narrative experience of On This Spot offers a fascinating layering of guerrilla art with the act of occupying the space of privilege (in the fact that I could read a story that many around me couldn’t, both because I knew about it and because I had the technology to access it).

Site Specificity <> Content Specificity
The narrative of On This Spot is entirely dependent on the sites at which it takes place. When asked by the audience at the Electronic Literature Organization conference if
they could hear a sample of the audio, Knowlton hesitated, noting that the story needed to be experienced in situ since the environmental context was as much a part of the story as the words were. This was proven to be the case: while the experience of listening to the story in the auditorium at the West Virginia University was compelling, it was a completely different experience from listening to the story at the site for which it was created. As I argued in Mobile Interface Theory, content is non-transferable across media and across situations; instead, as we are implaced, we give context to the information we interact with. The place at which a story is read will always impact the meaning and experience of the story and, vice versa, the story will always impact the experience of a place.

Various environmental factors—including physical ones such as the way the sunlight reflects off of the reading surface (from the iPad’s glossy screen to the bright white of a print-bound book) or social ones like the number of people in a room and the noise that a crowd generates while the reader attempts to focus on the words—will alter the experience of reading a story. Since these factors are variable, reading the same story in different places can produce a dramatically different reading of a text and its meaning. Similarly, the narrative of a story will augment the experience of a place by imbuing the site with meaning; in essence, this impact of narrative on a space is what Yi-Fu Tuan refers to when he discusses the transformation of a space into a place. He writes, "Space is more abstract than ‘place.’ What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value.” Locative stories highlight the simultaneous impact of a space on a story and the transformation of a “space” into a “place” through narrative.

For many of these mobile narratives, the physical environment serves as the setting of the story, thus leading to a truly immersive experience. As Scott Ruston notes of projects like On This Spot, “Spatial Annotation Projects . . . link a mobile narrative with a particular place, shaping understanding both of the experience of a place and of the self that has that experience.” We understand a space through the stories told about that place, and simultaneously, we understand those stories through the media by which they are conveyed.

Similar place-making practices through mobile storytelling can be seen in projects like [murmur].[murmur], which has been written about several times since its launch in 2003 in Toronto, is a project that placed large, green, car-shaped signs around several cities worldwide with the message, “Hear You Are.” Beneath the message is a phone number and a sign-specific (thus site-specific) code that unlocks several oral narratives about that specific place. The recorded audio stories usually begin with a situating phrase such as, “We’re on North Almaden Boulevard near Carlyle Street facing east, looking at the side of an abandoned building,” or “Right now, we’re on Church Street, looking at ‘The Barn,’ which didn’t always look like this.” As Ruston argues of the [murmur] project and his experience of the San Jose, California version of it:

While some of these contributions are well-told stories with an intriguing hook and a tight narrative arc . . . many of the anecdotes are more rambling, stream-of-consciousness memories or simple accounts of one event after another. This fabric of stories becomes a loose tapestry involving the broader San Jose community, highlighting especially the influence of powerful businessmen, the loyalty to neighborhoods felt by the local residents, and, above all, changes to and
growth of the city. To use another metaphor, the anecdotes are like the bits of bone fragments, pottery shards, and building materials found at an archeological dig site: small clues that must be combined with the current appearance and use patterns of a given location to tell the whole story of that place.¹⁴

This archeological metaphor has also been applied to electronic literature and hypertexts and works well to inform an analysis of site-specific stories like [murmur].¹⁵ Like hypertexts, the small narrative pieces of [murmur] congeal into a larger story that is always transforming depending on the time, social context, and platforms through which it's experienced. Ruston goes on to say, “In this way, stories made available via mobile media are retrofitted by visitors onto the experience of particular locations, producing a narrative system that helps transform spaces into place.”¹⁶ This transformation is two-fold: stories impact a place and a place impacts a story. This dialogic relationship is the core feature of mobile narratives and what makes them such compelling interfaces of interaction.

Materiality and Mobile Story Interfaces

Curzon Memories is a similar project to [murmur] in that it makes audio interviews site-specific, placing the oral narratives recorded by people about the history of a cinema in Bristol, U.K., around the perimeter and inside of the movie house. This mobile story project was designed by Charlotte Crofts and runs as an app on smartphones. Crofts notes that the project is concerned with “both the culture and technologies of seeing: how we might use new screen media as a lens through which to understand the old cinematic apparatus and in turn historicize the new media.”¹⁷ The project’s focus on the storytelling apparatus clearly links the materiality of the mobile device to the physical spaces that the stories augment. For example, as participants stand at one corner of the Curzon Cinema and reach a placemark on the map interface, an audio recording launches of Muriel Williams recounting being in the cinema when a bomb was dropped during World War II:

That night it was absolutely packed. The film was Rio, and the star was Basil Rathbone. Towards the end, about 20 to ten [o’clock], an air-raid warning flashed on the screen. People could leave if they wished, but most people stayed in; they wanted to see the end of the film. [Background sounds of an air-raid siren are heard. The sounds of bombs being dropped and exploding. Glass shatters.] It was a terrific bang and the lights went out. . . There was no panic, but to be quite honest, I don’t think they realized how close the bomb was.¹⁸

Immediately following Williams’ account, another audio clip pulls the participant out beyond the screen of the mobile device and toward the physicality of the building itself. This next audio interview points the participants to look closely at this part of the building where you can still see evidence of the bomb: “I saw the shrapnel in it and you can still see it. You can still see it now on the sunrays [an architectural feature of the building] outside. You can still see the mark of the bomb.”

Materiality becomes an important concept when considering a reader’s relationship to these mobile storytelling projects. This is true not only of the material nature of the space itself (i.e., how that space communicates its social and cultural relationships) but
also of the material nature of the medium through which the story is communicated and experienced. As such, the affordances and constraints of the medium will completely transform the way the content is experienced. For mobile media, as highlighted in mobile storytelling projects like On This Spot, [murmur], and Curzon Memories, the affordances and constraints sit at the intersection of our experiences and the interface’s perceived potentials and limitations. Jeff Ritchie offers several examples of this interplay between affordances, materiality, and the experience of content in site-specific, location-aware narratives. For example, the mise-en-scène of the places at which a story is told affords particular narrative experiences—such as the affordance of “simultaneous and successive experiences”—but constrain others, such as the difficulty of editing a site in order to “strictly control the views of the audience.”

Physical spaces reveal information depending on the structure of that space’s particular material features as well as the reader’s experience of temporality and distance between narrative elements, which “unfold[s] over time in a linear, successive manner.”

Caroline Bassett, addressing similar concerns about the materiality of the apparatus of storytelling, notes that in some approaches to narrative theory, the “narrative machine...becomes something that enables an already existing narrative.” The result of this approach is, ultimately, an erasure (or, at best, a casual dismissal) of the physical medium through which story is conveyed. She argues, “In this sense narrative is not only indifferent to but works against the machine. At the height of narrative, technology fades away and only ‘story’ remains evident to the reader.”

And while many (if not most) narratologists, like Janet Murray (whose theoretical approach is critiqued in Bassett’s analysis), would argue that it is impossible to separate form from content, there does tend to be a trajectory of analysis that privileges the content above all else and positions the medium as a means to simply access content.

Digital technologies, for example, are often studied in their effective or ineffective ways of communicating content. While the relationship between form and content has been thoroughly debated between the New Critics, Reader Response Theorists, and New Historicists, a thoughtful consideration of the material conditions of these media deserves renewal as we again search for critical language to describe emerging mobile narratives and content conveyed on these mobile devices. Indeed, the materiality of mobile stories offers important inroads for broader studies of mobile media. Ultimately, these projects demonstrate the integral relationship between content and the material conditions that situate that content; that is, the content is never isolated from the larger network of particular bodies, physical spaces, material devices, infrastructures, and the cultural contexts of these elements.

Deep Connection and the “Phone Zombie”

Mobile storytelling projects vary widely in their material form, genres, and ways that they utilize site-specificity. For example, projects like Erik Loyer’s Ruben and Lullaby has readers use the affordances of the iPhone’s accelerometer and touch screen to interact with two lovers in a fight. The story can be interacted with anywhere and doesn’t utilize the locative and site-specificity features of the mobile medium (though, as I have argued here, the site at which it is read will still always affect the content). Another mobile story project, These Pages Fall Like Ash, gave people a print-bound book with a story that was missing pages. The goal of the project was for readers to gather these pages by
traveling around with a smartphone to various locations and filling in the blanks with site-specific digital content. The content was unlocked when a mobile device moved within range of a Wi-Fi access point (run on a Raspberry Pi) at different locations around Bristol, U.K. Thus, while some mobile story projects live entirely on the screen (and aren’t considered locative media), others use the screen as a springboard into engagements with transmedia narratives and site-specific interactions.

Even within the handful of mobile storytelling examples I’ve discussed here, the reading practices of each is vastly different. Interestingly, what may look incredibly similar from the perspective of an onlooker—that of a person staring into a mobile device while wandering around a site—are practices that are enormously different from design, authorship, and usability standpoints. From my research of mobile storytelling projects, I have seen countless examples of the inversion of the “phone zombie,” that is, the person staring at their phone, wandering slowly (and, perhaps, thoughtlessly), and seemingly disconnected from their immediate physical surroundings. Instead, mobile story projects demonstrate that a person staring into a screen can actually be someone who is deeply connected to the space he or she is moving through.

The cultural response of categorizing someone staring at his or her mobile device as a “phone zombie” is an outgrowth of two things. First, such critique fits with what I call the “sensory-scribed body,” a mode of embodiment that is simultaneously a phenomenological experience of the body in a particular place as well as an experience of inscription. Inscription here works both ways: we inscribe our landscapes with these mobile phones (and, has been argued throughout this chapter, this kind of inscription is an act of place-making that deeply alters our understandings of our bodies in those spaces) and we are simultaneously inscribed while using our devices.

In the case of the phone zombie, this is an inscription from without, a hailing of the body as a particular body engaging in a particular mode of embodied practice (“disconnection”). Secondly, the phone zombie is an outgrowth of the problematic idea that there is an “ideal” mobile phone user that becomes the template for all other uses of these devices. This ideal user relates to the phone zombie because the moment one is inscribed as such is almost always without regard to what that person is doing on their phone. Such content and interactions are either assumed (because, it is thought, “users” tend to use their devices in fairly stock and expected ways) or overshadowed by the signifying action (e.g., “It doesn’t matter if she was texting or using social media, the point is that she wasn’t paying attention when she walked into the fountain at that Philadelphia shopping mall”).

This second point gestures toward the significance of mobile storytelling projects. These projects take what is perhaps our most intimate device and get us to think about it in new ways. These projects take the affordances of a mobile device and, alongside existing tools for the device, employ “creative misuse” to use the device in unexpected ways. Performing echoes of Jacques Derrida’s *bricolage* and Michel de Certeau’s “tactics”—practices that bring together heterogeneous elements in order to create something altogether new as a response the top-down “strategies” of those who seek to fix/ground the ways we use these elements—mobile storytelling projects ask us to view spaces anew through tools that are used in new ways. As such, mobile narratives can serve as a reference point for other mobile and locative projects in the ways that they ask us to consider the relationship between the interface, spatiality, and content as always interrelated and co-constitutive.
STORYTELLING WITH MOBILE MEDIA

Notes

6 McCullough, “Epigraphy and the Public Library,” 63.
7 This latter interpretation is captured in a humorous way by the Tumblr, “Pictures of People Scanning QR Codes,” which doesn’t contain a single image, thus referencing the idea that these codes typically go un-scanned by users. See http://picturesofpeoplescanningqrcodes.tumblr.com/
9 Yi-Fu Tuan, Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 6.
12 Sun Liccardo, “(former) Norte Dame Marker,” [murmur] (San Jose, CA), http://sanjose.murmur.info/place.php?253507
13 Terry Thompson, “418 Church St.,” [murmur] (Toronto, Canada), http://murmurstoronto.ca/place.php?253507
15 See George Landow, Hypertext 3.0: Critical Theory and New Media in an Era of Globalization (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). Chapter 1 offers important insights about “linking” in hypertext that can apply in meaningful ways to the experience of mobile, locative stories.
16 Ruston, “Storyworlds on the Move.”
18 Transcribed from Curzon Memories App, iPhone, 2013.
24 Farman, Mobile Interface Theory, 31–34.