

**Tracking the Self;
Women's Experiences with Self-Tracking
Technology**

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ABSTRACT

Self-tracking is currently on the rise with mobile device users who downloaded at least one health-related application onto their smartphone doubling between 2011 and 2012, growing to about 21 million individuals globally using their smartphones for self-monitoring their health in 2013 (BBC Research). Technology gives users the ability to record and interpret data about everything from their moods, sleep patterns, heart rate, to their calorie intake / outtake, and for this essay I will be focussing specifically on apps designed to track users' step-counts. I will be focussing on the way women explain their experiences with tracking their day-to-day activity, and arguing whether the data-self presented by these types of apps are truly reflective of their users. Self-tracking fits into an overarching trend of healthism and self-optimisation, with more people becoming invested in taking control of their health and activity to achieve the concept of a "better self", changing their behaviours and habits based on a system of quantifying experiences and urging users to reach a certain goal with their day. My interest is in the relationship of power between app and user when this happens, how they interact with one another, and what norms and discourses are reproduced by the use of these self-tracking apps.

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And finally, thanks to my parents and sister.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

“Few in depth studies have as yet been conducted into the ways in which lay people engage with health and medical apps, including non-users or those who take up some apps but then relinquish them shortly afterwards. We know very few details about how health professionals such as medical practitioners, hospital administrators, public health professionals and health promoters are incorporating apps and associated mobile digital technologies into their work practices. Little knowledge is available on the practices and tacit assumptions of app developers and designers and the companies that commission apps. Nor do we know how lay people and healthcare and public health workers might be resisting or subverting these devices or creating their own. Analysis of the circulations, transformations and repurposing of the digital data that are generated by apps requires further attention, as do the topics of personal data security and privacy as the domains in which personal health and medical data are collected and used expand. Detailed social research that is able to elucidate the situated knowledges, meanings and uses of apps offers immense potential for social researchers who are interested in health and medicine and in digital technologies.” (Lupton, 2014a, p618)

My initial intent for this project was to study the everyday actions of women, and my investigation into self-tracking applications was only as a way of keeping a record of these actions so that I could draw upon them later in interviews. With more research however, my focus became upon the applications themselves, and what their role was in how the lives of individual women were conducted and perceived. Self-tracking applications are on the rise, with tens of

thousands available across mobile platforms, as are the communities of people who use self-trackers. Critical analysis of self-tracking is an emerging field as a result, but despite this there is a lack of engagement on a personal level within the research. For my project, I wanted the focus to be on the experiences of women; what they observed when testing a self-tracker for four weeks, and how these perspectives fit into the larger conceptual discourses of self-tracking culture. My interest at this stage was the relationship that could be observed between the subject and the recorded data itself; how the users implemented the data into their lives, why so many people were using these trackers as a method of self-improvement, and what the idea of “improving the self” really broke down to. This led to an investigation into the Quantified Self Movement, and from there into the subject of knowing oneself through data. I was intrigued by this concept; a way of seeing yourself in the data that your body generates. And is that an accurate statement? Is the data generated by the body, or is there a deeper role that the technology itself plays in this interaction? When I started to see it as an *interaction*, that’s when this project became what it is now. I wanted to investigate the ways in which the user and the tracker interacted with one another. I wanted to treat them both as subjects, and unravel the relationship from there.

In short, in this thesis I will be examining the interaction between the user and the self-tracking apps, and using accounts of the participants to further explore what the implications of “measuring the self” might be on the women who integrate it into their everyday lives. I will argue that, in essence, the relationship contains an interplay of power and influence between the user and the app that should be acknowledged in assessments of the technology that tend to view it as passive or neutral. And building on this, I will examine why the data of self-tracking is often interpreted by users as a “mirror” by which we can see ourselves more clearly than we could without the data, and what this reveals about the juxtaposition of data and experience. I

will be using the participants' accounts of their experiences of the app to, in conclusion, examine whether data is passive or persuasive in the act of understanding the self.

In terms of wider critical contexts, this research draws from discussions of the self, as seen through the lens of technology, on a number of different levels; self-monitoring, self-knowledge, and self-improvement. I will also discuss how my findings interact with the modern health movements of wellness and healthism on the level of the individual.

Firstly I discuss the role of the self-tracking application as observed in the reported experiences of the nine participants, and analyse evidence of the productive power that this technology has over the behaviour and the perceptions of the user. From there, I discuss the implications of regarding apps as productive subjects in the relationship between them and the users, and what might be being produced during these interactions. I focus on the connection of health, beauty, and morals that arose from discussion with the participants, and what role and effect self-tracking has upon these areas. And finally I cover the role of the user themselves in this equation, and the way the interactions break down into questions of empowerment and authority. This discussion includes an analysis of the presence of healthism in the reported experiences of the participants, how it intersects with self-tracking, and why.

Key terms discussed in this research

What is Self-Tracking?

Self-tracking is the practise of using technology to detect, compile, and analyse data concerning an individual's lifestyle, behaviours, and daily activities. It is data collection on a personal level, conducted by the individual themselves. Although tracking the self is not a new phenomenon by

any means, the use of technology brings opportunities of data collection that were previously unobtainable. Fully automated devices can run continuously throughout the entire day or even when the subject is sleeping, and can track elements of the individual's life, such as heart rate, that are difficult or impossible for a human alone to quantify.

The kind of personal data produced by self-tracking that I will specifically discussing in this thesis is also known as "participatory data" which is defined as "any representation recorded by an individual, about an individual, using a mediating technology" (Shilton, 2012, p3). From the users' active participation in the production, capture, and sharing of data, of and for themselves, participatory personal data differs from research and surveillance data, traditionally collected by researchers, governments, or corporations, (Shilton 2012, p5) - although the corporations that create self-tracking devices do have access to the data.

Self-tracking technology spans many platforms, and in this study I will be focussing on the use of mobile applications (hereinafter referred to as apps) and wearable devices that can take the form of wristbands, watches, or pedometers that are worn on the individual's person. The scope of what these devices can track is wide and varied. The list includes but is not limited to perspiration, skin temperature, sleep patterns, heart rate, blood pressure, blood oxygen levels, calorie intake, calories burned, distance travelled, and daily steps taken.

But self-tracking doesn't stop once the data is collected; the process also incorporates what users then do with the information provided.

"The data that self-tracking practices generate have different forms of value for different actors and agencies. For the individual self-tracker, these data are opportunities to acquire self-knowledge, engage in self-reflection and optimise their lives. Self-trackers often seek to make meaning from their data. The practice is not simply about collecting

data, as this suggests, but also attempting to engage with such issues as what should be done with these data, how they should be presented and interpreted and what the implications are for self-trackers' identity and future life prospects and success." (Lupton, 2014b, p3)

Commonly, the purpose of collecting this data is to reflect upon patterns of behaviour highlighted in the records and to utilise this new knowledge for either better understanding of the self (see Quantified Self below) or to change these habits in a way that reflects a "better you" as a project of self-improvement. This aspect of self-tracking will be explored much further within this research.

What is the Quantified Self?

The Quantified Self, also known as Life Logging, is a movement predicated around the concept of self-knowledge through self-tracking (Wijninga and Droge, 2019). Gary Wolf and Kevin Kelly founded the movement in 2007, and in 2009 Wolf wrote an article for Wired called *Know Thyself: tracking every facet of life, from sleep to mood to pain, 24/7/365* to outline the concept of the Quantified Self as it currently stood.

"Two years ago, my fellow Wired writer Kevin Kelly and I noticed that many of our acquaintances were beginning to do this terrible thing to themselves, finding clever ways to extract streams of numbers from ordinary human activities. A new culture of personal data was taking shape. [...] Modern self-tracking systems can measure our bodies, our minds, and our movements.

[...]

When magnifying lenses were invented, they were aimed at the cosmos. But almost immediately we turned them around and aimed them at ourselves. The telescope became a microscope. We discovered blood cells. We discovered spermatozoa. We discovered the universe of microorganisms inside ourselves. The accessible tools of self-tracking and numerical analysis offer a new kind of microscope with which to find patterns in the smallest unit of sociological analysis, the individual human.

[...]

If you want to see the climate, you gather your data with hyperlocal weather stations maintained by amateurs. If you want to see traffic, you collect info from automatic sensors placed on roadways and cars. If you want new insights into yourself, you harness the power of countless observations of small incidents of change—incidents that used to vanish without a trace.” (Wolf, 2009).

The idea is still taking shape at this point, but it’s clear that the Quantified Self calls for the introspective understanding of ourselves as humans through better observations of our patterns of behaviours; patterns that, without technology, would be lost to us.

In the same 2009 article, Wolf announced that he and Kelly had set up a website to follow the project more closely. As Wolf puts it;

“With new tracking systems popping up almost daily, we decided to create a Web site to track them. We called our project the Quantified Self. We don't have a slogan, but if we did it would probably be ‘Self-knowledge through numbers.’” (2009)

In 2019 that website is still up and going strong, and that slogan suggested ten years ago has indeed become the tagline and an integral piece of the project. In 2011, Wolf posted an updated definition to correspond with the first of many Quantified Self conferences;

“In 2007 we began looking at some new practices that seemed, loosely, to belong together: life logging, personal genomics, location tracking, biometrics. These new tools were being developed for many different reasons, but all of them had something in common: they added a computational dimension to ordinary existence. Some of this was coming from “outside,” as marketers and planners tried to find new ways to understand and influence us. But some of it was coming from “inside” as our friends and acquaintances tried to learn new things about themselves. We saw a parallel to the way computers, originally developed to serve military and corporate requirements, became a tool of communication. Could something similar happen with personal data? We hoped so.” (Wolf, 2011)

What has remained integral to the Quantified Self movement in ten years is the fascination with the ordinary, with finding patterns in the everyday, and the dedication to introspection; using the data from technology to know more about yourself. The appeal of the Quantified Self movement is well summed up by David Pogue in an interview entitled “The Quantified Self: Data Gone Wild?” when he says,

"It's studying yourself as an interesting topic in ways that you couldn't study yourself before, I mean, this is just giving you self-awareness into previously invisible aspects of your life." (Pogue, 2013)

This concept of invisible information will be examined in further detail in this thesis.

Deborah Lupton expands on Wolf's initial explanation of Quantified Self by cultivating the language used in QS circles into the Human Machine metaphor.

“The Quantified Self is a movement to incorporate technology into data acquisition on aspects of a person's daily life in terms of inputs (e.g., food consumed, quality of surrounding air), states (e.g. mood, arousal, blood oxygen levels), and performance (mental and physical)” (wikipedia, 2013, as cited in Lupton, 2013a, p26). Lupton breaks this definition down into the construction of the body as a machine-like entity, with ‘inputs’ and ‘outputs’ (glossed as ‘performance’ in the definition) that can be readily measured and quantified.” (Lupton 2013a, p26). This relationship with the body, as a machine that can be measured and controlled, runs throughout the conversation of self-tracking and the Quantified Self, with the roots of such imagery of a human-machine hybrid shaped by Donna Haraway's conceptualisation in *A Cyborg Manifesto* (Haraway, 1991, p149-182).

Why specifically look at women's experience with self-tracking apps?

This is a question with many answers.

On one hand, practicality dictates that I narrow my focus within the field of data collection, or else be swamped by information. When looking in detail at specific users, the scale of this project cannot balance a sustained comparison between the way men and women use data collection, while also doing credit to the different fields of gender studies in a manner that doesn't swamp my own original research. Secondly, as a woman who has used self-tracking apps in the past myself, I felt in a better position to orient myself within the research and to speak on a more personal and involved level with the participants.

But most importantly, I believe it is essential to shine a light on women's experience in this relatively new field from the very beginning and continuing forward. When the research revolves around a vague and neutral appearing "user", it is important to open up that term and decontextualized it from old preconceptions we might automatically default to without intending to. If we assume users to have a male perspective, we reinforce a practice by which alternative perspectives are othered and devalued. The best way to do this is by listening to women's experiences, women's voices.

"A focus on experience has been seen as a way of challenging women's previous silence about their own condition [...] Feminism must begin with experience, it has been argued, since it is only from such a vantage point that it is possible to see the extent to which women's worlds are organised in ways which differ from those of men"

(Maynard, 1994, 14)

Valuable research on how women use self-tracking apps does exist, and has contributed to my wider reading for this thesis¹, but I wanted to avoid making distinctions between “self-tracking” and “self-tracking for women” by looking at a more ‘generically gendered’ topic, like walking, rather than only looking at apps that cover fertility, menstruation, or sexual health². Namely because by assuming such a divide;

1) the apparent gender-neutrality of “self-tracking” goes unquestioned, and

2) the two separate categorisations infer that women do not contribute to or take part in the former

Building upon these two points, which carry deeply rooted bias and misinformation, the gap between the two categories – women and the proposed ‘normal’ – widens, and women are phased out of the main narrative, taking up the conversation on the side-line instead. In her 2019 book, *Invisible women: Exposing data bias in a world designed for men*, Caroline Criado Perez explores these types of “gender gaps” (p xi -xv); how they appear, and how they impact the lives of women shaped around them. The gaps are often conducted around silence, a female shaped “absent presence” which have consequences ranging from “shivering in offices set to a male temperature norm [...] or struggling to reach a top shelf set at a male height norm” to “crashing in a car whose safety measures don’t account for women’s measurements” or “having your heart attack go undiagnosed because your symptoms are deemed ‘atypical’”. All as a result of “living in a world built around male data.”

Perez’s theory of gender data gaps build upon de Beauvoir’s theory of the woman as Other by introducing that concept to a modern context, wherein data plays a significant role in the process of Othering. The world runs on algorithms built on data riddled with these gaps, set to a base level of male = neutral. Data becomes truth to many (a concept this thesis will delve into

on a much deeper level) and these truths can be inconvenient to women in some contexts, and deadly in others, especially a medical context. Which self-tracking apps now apply to; further into this thesis I examine a participant's account of using data collected through a self-tracking app when explaining symptoms to her doctor which was, for her, extremely useful for explaining her situation. The further entanglement of health within concepts of self-tracking, especially step-counting apps as I focus on in later chapters, highlight how pertinent this context of data in these kinds of scenarios is to this research.

“Numbers, technology, algorithms, all of these are crucial to the story of Invisible Women. But they only tell half the story. [...] Statistics are a kind of information, yes, but so is human experience.” (Criado Perez, 2019, p xi -xv). This feeds back into Maynard's point on feminism, and I will be focussing that other half of the story, on the interplay and influence of both data and experience, in greater depth throughout this thesis. It is also why I will be doing so from the perspective of women.

Which feeds into my very last answer to the question; why specifically look at women's experience with self-tracking apps?

In feminism and women's studies, there are certain texts that are so influential they always manage to make their way onto every reading list. *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir, mentioned above, is one of these texts. Published in 1949, it is considered a classic by most.

It continues to amuse me - a feminist writing my thesis in 2019 - therefore, that de Beauvoir begins her introduction saying;

“I hesitated a long time before writing a book on woman. The subject is irritating, especially for women; and it is not new.”

This is such a familiar feeling, a full 70 years later. The conversation has moved into the digital age, into a new context of online data, AIs, and quantified selves, but it still isn't new. It is still, at many times, certainly irritating that we have to have the conversation at all. But the conversation is evolving, and changing, and we must continue to be a part of it.

Methodology

Firstly, a disclaimer:

- This was just a small group of nine women. Larger groups would have produced more variety of responses, but the number was limited by how many women responded to the call for participants and the scope of the project itself.
- Of the women who participated in the interviews, there was a significant amount that shared a similar age and occupation. The call for participants was distributed through several different channels but, in the end, it was a majority of students who signed up. The age and occupation of the participants is not the focus of this study, but they remain factors that affect the experience and perspectives that may be reflected in this study, and should therefore be considered.
- Similarly, all the women who responded identify as cisgender. The call for participants did not specify this as a condition. The requirements were only “Identify as a woman, and own either an iPhone or Android smartphone. 18+ only.” (Please see appendix 10, p452). This project discusses issues of women’s bodies and concepts of feminine gender, and I, the author, believe that these topics benefit from all perspectives and should not be limited to only cisgender women. However, the discussion for this project draws from the experiences of the women I interviewed, and therefore my conclusions are based upon that data.
- Finally, all of the women possessed full mobility. This project goes into the subjects of health, wellness, and the societally perceived morality of both, which would be enriched

by the perspectives of those with limited mobility. However, this topic would deserve more time and a greater word count than this project had the scope for.

The topic of self-tracking is a relatively new one, and the more perspectives we can bring into our research the better it will be. For any projects on this topic operating on a larger scale than I could achieve, I urge you to consider this when going forward.

The Method

To test the participants' interaction and relationship with the self-tracking app, they were asked to download the app onto their personal mobile phones and test it for three to four weeks. Every participant was offered a guided session to help them download the app, and again at the end to remove the app from their phones (if they wanted it removed). A three to four-week trial was selected to give participants enough time to grow accustomed to the app and to generate enough data to discuss later in interviews conducted with each participant separately. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured schedule, to allow for the participants to talk freely about their experience while still ensuring key topics were covered. For transcripts of all the interviews, see Appendices 1 - 9.

While using the app, the participants took screenshots of their data at the end of each week, to keep a record of it. They either kept this data and brought it to the interviews themselves, or they sent the screenshots to me to be kept on a secure laptop; the choice was given to each participant based on whatever was most convenient to them.

The focus of my study was not on the data itself. It made no difference to my results how much or how little they walked during that test period; what I was investigating was how the women themselves regarded the data. Hence the need for a semi-structured interview structure, which

allowed the women to explain their experiences and for me, as the interviewer, to follow it up with relevant questions brought up during the discussion. This allowed the conversation to be more participant led.

Before the interviews, I conducted a pilot interview with a volunteer unaffiliated with my research. Based on feedback, my questions were rewritten to be more open-ended and more responsive to the participants. The interview questions were then tested again, to ensure the feedback had been properly implemented.

When it came to analyse the interviews, I used thematic, narrative, and discourse analysis methods. Thematic analysis was used to tease out the prominent themes in individual interviews and commonly recurring trends when compared across the board. Due to my semi structured style of interview, I ensured that the key topics were always covered. However, many more topics were identified with the thematic method and used to shape the direction of the research.

I used narrative analysis in close connection with thematic analysis to approach the experiences that the participants were bringing to the interview and how they themselves understood them. This narrative approach was helpful in bringing in context and questioning, not just the themes that the participants were bringing up but also how they were choosing to represent them.

Finally, I employed discourse analysis to go deeper into the significance of the language the participants used. My style also brought in aspects of literary discourse analysis, because it allowed me to pick up on word choice and break down their meaning as though I was approaching a text.

What wasn't included

When I was writing the interviews, I created four vignettes of data [see appendix 11] collected from a tracking app similar to Pacer that displayed vastly different recordings. This data was generated by myself, using the tracking app, but this fact was never divulged to the participants. The different step counts displayed in the vignettes were 265 / 10000 steps, 5973 / 10000 steps, 10776 / 10000 steps, and 21973 / 10000 steps. These particular statistics were chosen to encompass a wide variety of possible results, from “severely underperforming” to over double the 10000-step goal.

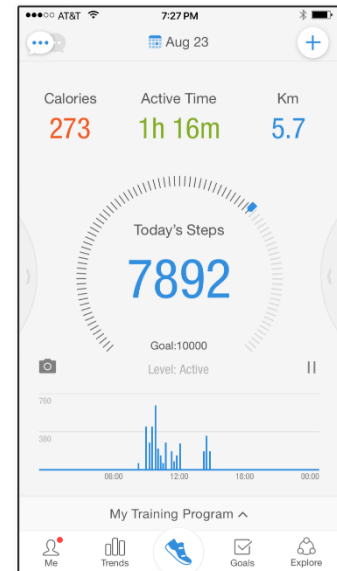
The intention of these vignettes was for the participants to observe each one and, with no further information given about the age, gender, occupation, etc of the people / person who recorded the data, for them to give me any impressions they could gather, *only* from the data provided. This was designed to observe what the participants could extrapolate from data. I wanted to test a concept from within the Quantified Self movement that posited that through data one could know themselves; the vignettes were a way of attempting to recreate this from the outside. To see whether patterns could be identified from the data alone, or whether this process required pre-existing knowledge to properly interpret everything the Quantified Self claims you can draw from data.

The participants *were* able to draw their own conclusions from the data, some accurate and some not, but they were as a whole wildly inconsistent. A few themes emerged from different participants, such as the days of lower activity being from individuals that were older in age, and some participants even correctly guessed that the data belonged to me. However, though the results were interesting, they didn't hold enough significant bearing on the research to be included in the end result. It was a good thought experiment, and could perhaps be the basis of

future research, but for this particular project I felt it was moving the focus away from more important topics.

The App

For this project I used the app Pacer, created by Pacer Health. It's title on the android app store is "Pedometer, Step Counter & Weight Loss Tracker App", although it appears on your phone as just "Pacer", and it's advertised under the "Weight loss, health & fitness" category. Pacer was specifically selected because it met all of the criteria for the four week trial.



I tested Pacer and five other self-tracking apps myself for four weeks before the trial to determine which worked best for my

requirements. Whichever app I selected was going to be downloaded onto the participants' phones, therefore it had to be suitable for both iPhone and Android devices, and it had to be free of charge. It had to be suitable for people who had used similar apps before this trial, and those that had never used a self-tracking app before. Pacer only requires an email address to set-up an account, and is user friendly with a clear and uncluttered user interface. It displays the calories burned in the top left, the accumulated time spent moving in the top middle, and the distance in kilometres top right. The step-count itself is displayed very clearly in the middle of the page, with a progress wheel surrounding the number. The font is large and easy to read, and there are no flashing images. This screen [above right] is what you see as soon as you download the app and register an account; the settings do not require any changes from the users.

For this trial the app also had to be able to run in the background; which means it doesn't require activation. Instead, it just consistently collects data, even if the app is closed. This was important for two reasons;

- 1) Practicality. An app that required activation every time it recorded would be more of an inconvenience to the participants, and would affect results.
- 2) I wanted participants to be able to engage with the app as much or as little as they wanted to. An app that runs in the background can be completely ignored, or participants could choose to check their progress frequently, once a day, or once a week if they so desired. Because I was studying their relationship with the app, I wanted as little input in how the participants would interact with it as possible.

Consequently, because I needed an app that would run in the background, it had to be an app that wouldn't drain the battery of the user's phone. Pacer is not a complex app comparatively, and therefore has little effect on a phone's battery life.

Pacer is not, however, perfect. I wanted to find an app with a map feature, which would have enabled the users to track their movements around their environments, but apps with this feature were either not available on both iPhone and android platforms or were expensive to download. Also, the version of Pacer that the participants used during the trial is the free version; there is an option to upgrade to "Premium" for a fee. The free option had limited functions in comparison to the Premium, which included features such as guided workouts, a "Smart AI coach", and access to the global community that uses the app. However, since none of the features held much relevance to my focus, the free option seemed more appropriate. There are genuine benefits to keeping the app functions minimal; aside from just the battery usage, it also offered a single focus on the activity of walking, which was what I wanted to discuss with the

participants. In fact, I attempted to track down a step-counting app that didn't include a calorie counter for this very reason, but the task proved impossible. All of the step-counters I investigated included a method of tracking how many calories burned while walking so, instead of attempting to exclude this element, I adjusted my focus to reflect this. The final downside of Pacer is that it is, obviously, an app. As far as self-tracking goes, wearable devices offer more consistent results because they can be on your person at all times, whereas phones are not. However, when regarding the self-tracking movement it's important to remember that wearable devices such as Fitbits cost over £100, whereas tracking apps are available for free, making them far more widely accessible.

The Participants

For the sake of anonymity, all of the participants were given randomly generated pseudonyms. The goal for this study was to have six participants, but I tried to recruit at least ten in case any unforeseen circumstances arose. In the end, twelve women responded to the call for participants, but three were unfortunately removed from the study either because they stopped responding after the initial show of interest or they could not attend the interviews.

The participants were recruited using a volunteer sampling method, within and beyond the university in order to maximise the variety of respondents. This would both enrich the research and offer better anonymity than recruiting from any one particular group of women. The call for participants was distributed via email and handed out in physical forms during lectures across different subject departments at the university, to both students and faculty members. A contact in a running group also distributed the call for participants amongst the members. The women who volunteered also agreed to spread the word to their contacts. Interestingly, some women responded to the call for participants after being reassured by myself and those who had already

signed up, because they were anxious about appearing “lazy” if they did not record enough steps during the three-four-week test period. In any future research, a call for participants could attempt to address this concern earlier. The volunteer sampling method was used to increase the likelihood of finding participants in a timely manner, but also created a bias in who responded to my call for participants; mainly women similar in age and circumstance. Volunteers are typically more cooperative, which I experienced as a bonus in building rapport within the interview context, although this level of cooperation cannot be generalised to the wider population. This may affect the impact of the results. However, a completely random sampling technique was not practical for this project, since it works best on a larger scale than I was aiming for and would have required more time and financial support than were available. Similar problems would have emerged had I used a stratified or systematic sampling technique.

Because an important focus of this thesis was individual experience, I elected for one-on-one interviews with each of the participants separately. Examining the personal relationship with the data would have been incongruous with a group setting, which may have encouraged a group bias or for individual participants to lie about the amount of steps recorded for the sake of comparison with others. I also didn’t want to risk any participants to be put off from examining any personal or potentially embarrassing subjects due to the presence of others within the interview space.

The Ethics of the Research

This study is compliant with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Code of Federal Regulations, 45 CFR § 46.102(2009). This study posed minimal risk to participants. The probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research was not greater than any ordinarily encountered in daily life, or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests. This study was approved by the ELMPS Ethics Committee, and is compliant with the relevant codes of practice and ethical guidelines.

Each participant was given a randomly generated pseudonym, which will be used to identify them throughout this paper and grant them anonymity within my research. All locations mentioned during our interviews have been replaced with “Location” and, to differentiate for context, “City” when referring to the city where the majority of the participants are based, since it acts as a common ground in the interviews. For further information on anonymity, see the below section; Anonymity and Third Party Data.

All participants are over 18 years of age. The research and discussion do not focus on areas of mental health, learning difficulties, or physical disability. The topics discussed in the interviews cover daily step counts and relationships with technology, which are not considered sensitive topics. The participants’ perspectives of gender is also discussed, but the interviews were conducted individually to minimise any potential embarrassment, and the discussion was always participant led; they were not required to talk about anything they were not comfortable with. Participants were made aware of what topics would be discussed at the start of the process. None of the participants are classified as “vulnerable individuals”.

The scope, expectations, and intentions of this study was explained to each and every participant individually before they were involved in any stage of this research. Information for participants

[see appendix 12] was given in a document to be read beforehand, which outlined who I was, what the intent of the research was, what their part in this project would be, and clearly outlined their right to anonymity, data protection, and to withdraw from the research. Each participant signed a consent form [see appendix 13] to give their informed consent before any research began.

Ethics and Third Party Data

Before embarking on this research, strict guidelines had to be laid out and met in terms of the relationship between myself, the researcher, and the participants when it came to the data collected. I wanted the participants to have as much control over the data as possible, partly because it would contribute to how they interacted with the data, but also because it was important to keep them in control during the process as much as possible. The data discussed in this thesis had to be handled carefully, with the full knowledge and consent of the participant, the latter being obtained before the process began with their understanding that it could be retracted at any point during the entirety of the thesis project. At every step, I as the researcher had to ensure clarity and care about the information they were providing and my own intentions towards it.

The researcher has a dynamic of power over the information provided by participants, which is why ethical standards in research are meant to protect the participant and their data. These standards define the relationship between researcher and participant.

However in research such as mine, conducted using self-tracking apps as tools for collecting data, a second relationship dynamic is present that must be considered, and that is the relationship between the app – and, more importantly in this context, the company that owns the app – and the participant / user. What is fascinating, but also important from an ethical

standpoint, is where these two relationships begin and end. Research lives on past the production of a final product and can be read and expanded by any number of people once it's out in the world, but the data provided by the participants will still exist in the context for which they gave their consent for it to be used, within the bounds of the thesis. Any further research that builds upon the conclusions drawn from the data should conduct their own primary research, also bound by ethical use. There may not be a precise tangible end to how the participants' data is used in research, but it is still protected by the same terms and in the same context that they agreed to in the beginning.

But the relationship between the participant and the app company can live on far past the research, in ways that are far harder to track.

When my participants joined this research, they essentially gave their consent twice, to two different parties; the first being myself through a document I wrote explaining the research and their part in it, which I discussed with the participants in a meeting beforehand where they had the opportunity to question, contest, or refuse any or all parts of the document. The second form of consent that gave was to the Terms of Service provided by the app company, Pacer Health, who provided the Pacer Pedometer app used in the research. It must be acknowledged that most people do not read Terms of Services before agreeing to download an app. The structure of the app discourages users from having to read the Terms of Service document, putting it behind a link you have to follow to reach the document outside of the app itself. This link is presented as small, grey text at the bottom of the screen, easy to miss. From my experience on this research, I've learnt that it would be best to go through these terms of service with the participants to ensure that they've at least read through them.

The language of the entire document is much more concerned with protection of the company than the user, making it clear that the company makes no warranty that the service will be error free, or virus free, that they are not responsible for any costs should the use of their service result in the need to replace equipment, and that they are not liable for the truth or accuracy of the information provided by the app. The section most important to this thesis, User Content, is also one of the relatively shortest sections in the document. In this section, it explicitly states that Pacer Health does not guarantee confidentiality of the user's content.

But what content is this referring to? There is the data collected through the use of the app itself of course, which in this context refers to users' step counts. This is not information commonly regarded as personal to the user, and that might be the content users are considering when they agree to the Terms of Service. But when you sign up to the Pacer app, it also collects initial information from the user to set up the account, and this information includes your gender, your height, and either your email address or your Facebook account. The height information is so that it can more accurately calculate the user's length of stride, and the email address or Facebook information is so that the Pacer company can contact you. The gender question has only two options, male or female. You can, however, skip the height and gender questions if the user prefers, which most of my participants did.

These are, however, the only aspects that you can choose to opt out of. By creating an account and signing up to Pacer, you automatically agree to Pacer's Terms of Service. Once you sign up, your agreement is automatically given; the act of signing up *is* your agreement, which is not made obvious to the new user. Agreeing is not an independent action, instead being automatic, and does not even require any evidence or confirmation that the user has even read the terms in question. This means consent is implicit, rather than explicit.

So, in short; the terms set out by the app are not written with care or confidentiality of the user as a priority, but the protection of the app company instead, while the user's consent is not explicitly given, nor can it be revoked. The fundamental differences between how the users' consent is obtained and treated could not be more different between the researcher and the app company.

But how separate are those two parties? A third relationship exists when self-tracking apps are used as tools of research, and that relationship is between the researcher and the app.

I chose Pacer to use for my research because it met my criteria of needs for my research.

Because of my research, the Pacer Health company gained nine new users, even if only temporarily. This actively benefits them, even if the timespan of the app use was brief; because the app, though free to download, is ad-supported, which means that it makes its money by displaying ads on its home page. The app requires either your email address or facebook account in order to sign in, information from which can be used to create target ads for you on the Pacer app. For example, I used my email address to create an account on the Pacer app, the same address I used to sign up to Amazon, an e-commerce marketplace. This link means that Pacer can display Amazon ads on my Pacer homepage; and not just generic ads for the service, but ads for specific items I have been looking at on the Amazon store. This is anecdotal to my own experience, but it is representative of exactly how ads on these apps work.

“The character of Web 2.0 media is such that users are usually both the audience for, and producers of, media content and therefore targets of advertising and responsible for drawing in an audience who is exposed to advertising” (Till, 2014, p449).

This constitutes “digital labour” from the user, which is also free labour for the companies that run the apps. “This ‘free labour’ generates vast amounts of income, but is not paid, because

corporations have successfully convinced users that it is leisure, not labour, through the erosion of the distinction between work and play” (Scholz, 2013 as cited in Till, 2014, p449).

We can therefore see that the relationship between researcher and app is mutually beneficial, though the I as the researcher still gain more from the exchange than the app does, a point I will return to subsequently. For now, we can see the net of data on Pacer widen again, from your step-counts, to your gender and height, to your specific online browsing habits.

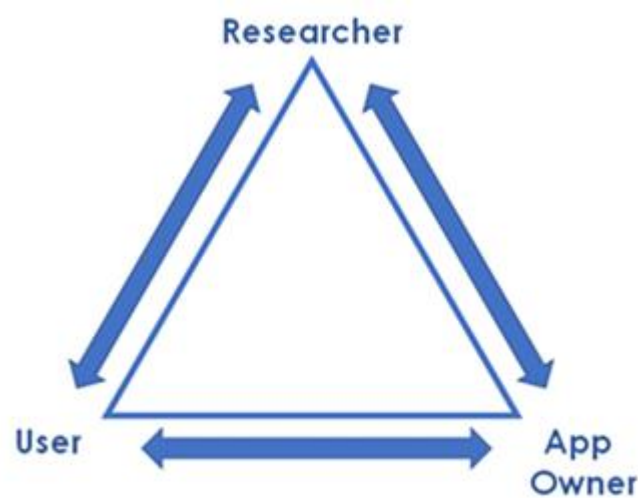
But there can be wider implications to data sharing than just invasive ads.

“When we record our data in digital systems [...] we also become part of systems where our data are accumulated and analysed by a service provider, and often sold to unidentified third party companies. [...] Users have very little knowledge of who gets to see and benefit from their data.” (Lomborg and Frandsen, 2016, p1020).

As I have mentioned, you also have the option when creating an account with Pacer to use your facebook account rather than your email account. This links the two accounts, Pacer and Facebook, in similar ways as I outlined for email. In early 2018, Facebook was involved in a scandal when it was revealed it had harvested the personal data of its user base (estimated 87 million people were affected; BBC News, 2018) and improperly shared that information. The data harvesting affected people who used the Facebook service specifically, not services like Pacer, but when there is an open flow of information between companies like this it underlines what little protection there is.

When I ask my participants to download and use the Pacer app, it is an endorsement of that app. The app benefits from 9 new users, and I gain a highly effective tool for my research. The benefits are clear in this relationship for either party.

When users sign up to this app, though they gain the service of the app for the extent of the research period (and beyond if they chose so), they are also made vulnerable. Lastly, in this dynamic of user / participant, researcher, and app, as the researcher I benefit massively from the participants' use of the app, my research hinges upon it. The users do not gain a benefit as such, but they are assured my respect, and due care and protection of their information. I picture it as a triangle of dynamics, benefits, and power;



The dynamics of power within research is generally considered asymmetrical in favour of the researcher (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2008, p259 - 72; Limerick, Burgess-Limerick, and Grace, 1996, p449 - 460). But the inclusion of the app shifts this dynamic. The user / participant in this dynamic comes of the worst, which means we need to reconsider the ethics of research when using third party apps.

Before I propose how we might do so, moving forward, I would like to briefly discuss the information shared in this thesis. The body of the research concerns the participants' accounts of their experience with the app; the actual data collected, aka the participants' step counts, is not addressed. Similarly, everything discussed in the interviews and used in this thesis is entirely protected by the conduct of ethical research, and is not shared with the app company

in any shape or form. The cross-section of data shared between the researcher, app, and user / participant, namely the step-count themselves, is fairly small. If we can assure the safety of the participants' information during the process, it is still extremely useful to use apps in the primary research into self-tracking.

Therefore, when using apps in research, researchers should walk through the Terms of Service with each participant and answer any questions they can. Blank, temporary email accounts can be set up for each participant, to be used only for signing up to the app. And finally, to offer sessions to the users after the apps are no longer necessary to the research process in which the researcher shows the participants how to delete their account and uninstall the app completely, rather than just deleting it from their phone. I offered the latter to my own participants, but none of them deemed it necessary; some wanted to keep the app, which they are free to do, and the rest were already confident they could do it themselves. I still believe it is an important measure to offer, and in the situation that they do turn it down, as long as they are fully informed from the beginning, they should be able to make that decision.

These suggestions are only what I observed from my own experience using apps in research. The way apps and companies use, distribute, and do or don't protect data is an emerging concern, and very recent events like the Facebook scandal are just beginning to set a precedent for what we need to adapt to in order to protect information in the digital age. After the scandal, Facebook announced it would be limiting the information available from them to third party apps, but this had implications for the dating app Tinder which, similarly to Pacer, uses Facebook in the creation of accounts on their service and therefore suffered errors with the login system after Facebook's announcement (BBC News, 2018). The ethics of research will

have to keep up with this shifting context, hence why an introspective examination on how we apps beyond a simple tool is important at this stage.

Conflict of interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

My relationship with the research

Long before this project was conceived, I used a self-tracking device in my own everyday life. I used a Fitbit to track my steps, calorie intake and outtake, and body weight. This came up during interviews with some of the women I was talking to, when we discussed stories of our experiences; how they were similar, or where we differed. A lot of what they told me resonated with my own experience, and I cannot deny a personal investment in this research. I believe my own participation in the subject strengthened my understanding and allowed me better insight to follow up questions with the participants. While discussing the subject with participants, there were times when I openly spoke about my own experiences and perceptions as a user of self-tracking devices and when writing this project, I made the decision to include a few of these quotes alongside quotes from the participants. I tried to keep this practise to a minimum, because I wanted to focus as much as possible on the voices of the women I interviewed and to draw conclusions based on what they brought to our conversations. I only used quotes that occurred in the setting of the interview with the participants when prompted by the direction of the conversation. These quotes were analysed in the exact same manner as quotes from the participants, and analysis was conducted after a degree of time had passed after the interviews had taken place to afford me better distance to critically examine my own perspectives on the topic.

These are measures I took to ensure that the analysis was not led by my input alone, but my presence in this work is far deeper than the quotes I used from the interviews. To not acknowledge this, to attempt to remove myself from the equation and not hold my own voice to the same level of analysis as the participants would be disingenuous as a researcher. I acknowledge that I have a place in this research, as a woman who has routinely monitored her own health through apps, and I hope that my work benefited from this personal aspect.

Reflexivity is a position that I find essential within my own research. I believe every researcher is present within their own research, and to assume your position is completely objective is to say that your perceptions are universal and above human difference, or to ignore all differences entirely. But even if not all researchers agree with this position, it is at least true for this particular thesis, in which I am questioning methods of interpreting data and arguing that our own perceptions and experiences have an intrinsic role in how we do so; to turn around from this position and say that my own evaluations are not affected by my experience would therefore be disingenuous and contradictory to my core argument. As such, I have tried to be open, candid, and reflexive at every stage of my research, but most especially in the interview process. I implemented reflexivity here to create a participatory model of interviewing. At all points in this thesis, I refer to the people I interviewed as participants, rather than interviewees, to evoke and reinforce this position.

In *Interviewing Women; A Contradiction in terms*, Oakley highlights some of the “rules” of interviews meant to reinforce objectivity and eliminate “extraneous material” (Kanh and Cannell 1957 cited by Oakley 1990, p31) while ensuring the passivity of the interviewee. Within this structure, the interviewer is in a position of detachment necessary to “see the interviewee as an object under surveillance.” (Oakley 1981, p33). There is a clear hierarchy, with the interviewer in

a position of control over the subordinate interviewee, which Oakley argues supports the male “paradigm of inquiry” and is “morally indefensible” (1981, p33).

Even aside from the morality of treating any fellow human as an object for your own gain, it is also an ineffective method of finding out about people’s lives. A stronger method is to base the interaction on a non-hierarchical relationship, and to do so the interviewer must be prepared to share their own experiences and invest themselves into the process (Oakley 1981, p33). Oakley argues that reciprocity breeds intimacy, which creates an environment more conducive to sharing personal experience. I believe that by implementing this responsive, open style of interview with my own participants, in which I was prepared to answer questions and bring in my own experience, the participants responded in kind and more nuanced, in depth discussions emerged.

When discussing Oakley’s method of participatory interview, Letherby concludes that;

“clearly, respondents have more control over this type of interview which means, in turn, that they have more control over the whole process of research” (2003, p83).

While I agree that the participants had more control over the interview, able to steer the conversation to new topics and return questions to me in more of an equal interaction, I approach the latter half of Letherby’s statement with more caution. After the interviews, I was available at all times should any of the participants need to contact me about any topic or concern, whether we’d covered it in the interview or not, and the participatory interviews themselves became the primary basis of my conclusions in this thesis, but I would acknowledge that the participants’ control of the research was still reduced once the interviews were over. After the interviews, I as the researcher combined it with further research and my own interpretation; thus adding another layer to their contributions regardless of how closely I tried

to draw from them. This power of the researcher is yet another reason why reflexivity is so important; to be as open and as clear about this stage of the process as possible, and holding myself to the same standard as the participants so that my voice does not overpower the people who made this research possible.

Chapter One-

Data through the Looking Glass

When reading the relationship between a self-tracking app and the user, it is easy to mistake the app as a passive receiver of data and the user as the active producer. In the case of step-tracking apps, by the act of walking the user creates the data that the app receives and quantifies into an accumulative step-count. In discussions of apps, the language often reflects this concept, for example when Lauren Constantini refers to the body “radiating” data in her talk on how Wearable Tech Expands Human Potential (TEDx Talks, 2014) and numerous sources refer to the app’s role as “collecting” data (Lupton, 2014a, 615, 617, 618; Ajana 2018, p 8, 9, 101). The power dynamic as suggested by such language is one-way, radiating from the user and collected by the app. The reason we use apps to collect the data our bodies emit is because without the use of technology that information is invisible to us; without technology or medical expertise it is beyond human capabilities to track our heart rates, sleeping patterns, or calorie expenditure. Again, this concept is reflected in the language surrounding self-tracking apps; Constantini calls this “invisible data”, and Lupton claims that the data assemblages of self-tracking apps “make visible dimensions of the body that previously were hidden, and expose them to often vast audiences by generating digital quantifiable data about bodily functions and behaviours” (Lupton 2014a, p614). The app is conceived of as a metaphorical black-light, exposing elements of the body that were “hidden”. The data was always present, that point is vital, but through the use of technology it can be seen and understood.

“Digital monitoring practices tend to position the body as a data repository, with specific digital sensors and other monitoring devices used to target various parts or functions of

the body to uncover and extract the information contained within so that it may be rendered useful. Tropes of dissection and flaying of the body, as well as those referring to x-ray visions, depict data collecting practices and technologies as bringing previously invisible bodily information into plain sight (Grinberg, 2017; Amoore and Hall, 2009; Lupton, 2016).” (Lupton, 2018, p4)

Digitised self-tracking technologies similarly participate in regimes of truth, drawing on their imputed scientific neutrality to do so. Many proponents of these technologies, and their users, champion their ability to uncover previously hidden and mysterious aspects of and patterns in self-trackers’ behaviours and bodies.

“They suggest that the human senses and modes of recording and remembering information are ideally augmented by the affordances of these technologies. These data are commonly represented as allowing fine details of humans to be identified and analysed, and brought together in new ways to generate further insights” (Lupton, 2018, p5)

Because of their supposed scientific neutrality, self-tracking apps are trusted to reveal these previously unseen depths, which become the basis of new insights into the body. Julie Palmer draws the connection between seeing and knowing in her discussion of ultrasound images in the abortion debate, exploring how seeing can often be conflated with objective knowledge especially when technology¹ is used, because it introduces a “specifically scientific objectivity”.

In her words;

¹ In the discussion of fetuses, the technology in question is ultrasounds, and in the discussion of self-tracking behaviours technology refers to apps and other tracking devices.

“The image is presented as if it provides immediate access to the real: a sonogram, like a photograph, has what Sontag refers to as an ‘innocent’ relation with reality (Sontag, 1979: 6) and is therefore seen as an accurate reflection of the world rather than a peculiar construction of the organic foetus, visualised in a particular way.” (Palmer, 2009, p181).

This concept applies in a similar fashion to self-tracking technologies; the data appears to provide a way of seeing what was always there, a way to access “the real” that was unavailable before, in a way that is even more accurate than our own perceptions due to the advantages of technology.

This concept was reflected in the experiences of some of the participants who tested the Pacer app for several weeks. Though she had not heard of the term “Invisible Data”, one of the participants, Alice, who uses a Fitbit device to track many of her actions and behaviours including her sleeping patterns, approved strongly of the concept (See Appendix 8, p.382).

Interviewer: What do you think of that [Invisible Data] as like a concept, as a phrase, as a term?

Alice: That’s really clever, that’s- I never thought about that, but it’s true that... That’s kind of the gap that these apps and devices are trying to fill of that know. We know when we wake up and we feel tired. But there’s no way of us to know, like we can say generally I know when I went to sleep and I know when I woke up, but- And we can say “Oh I had a good night sleep, I had a bad night sleep” but we don’t actually know, like, how many times did we wake up in the middle of the night. How often were we sleep versus rolling over and just resting, trying to fall back asleep. So- But it’s true, it’s our bodies, we should know... but then technology measures our heart rates all night long while we’re sleeping so it can tell you you’re awake, you’re asleep. That’s really interesting.

In her words, the data provided by the technology “fills the gaps” in what we are capable of knowing without technology, and the way it does so is by providing concrete, quantifiable, and visible data that is measured by technology, which is less fallible compared to human experience. It is precise, providing numbers such as “how many times did we wake up in the middle of the night” rather than the vague and questionable feeling of having a good night's sleep or a bad night's sleep. The data is described much like a missing link between experience and certainty. (See Appendix 8, P. 383).

Interviewer: [continued] And the app gives you... gives you a number, gives you evidence you can see

Alice: Mm

Interviewer: You can physically see it

Alice: Yeah and then that might prompt change, so that might- SHOULD prompt me to say “Ok then well I need to be, like, doing whatever I can to make sure I’m getting more sleep.” Um, but it also kind of justifies how I’m feeling. So like when I’m feeling really tired and I look and it says, like, on an average, y’know, “oh you only got five and half hours sleep” I say “well THAT’S why I’m so tired.” And I don’t know if that’s always true. I mean, I think, logically, getting less sleep you’re gonna feel tired. But if I’m feeling a certain way if I can look at data that explains that, it makes me feel better.

The data plays a supporting, validating role to the users’ own knowledge, and a large part of that is due to being able to see and explain what they are feeling. The concept of the Quantified Self hinges upon the concept that data allows you better know yourself. The numbers, provided by

the infallible technology as a way of lifting the veil on what was always present but previously unseen, tell us more about our lives and bodies than we could know without them.

Some of the language surrounding invisible data can be troubling, however. The body's information is not always referred to as invisible or hidden, sometimes it is secret; "Like other biometric technologies, self-tracking devices are viewed as able to peer inside the body, releasing its secrets (and possibly uncovering its lies)" (Lupton 2013a, p27). So not only does the body hide information from us, it can also lie to us. Embodied knowledge is presented as fundamentally untrustworthy in comparison to the information ascertained by the app.

Further exploration into these concepts can turn the relationship between the productive user and receptive technology on its head. If we look at the way some of the participants described their experience with the app, we can see how its role is far more productive than initially thought. Emma, a student participant, explained how the app affected her (Appendix 2, p.154-155);

Interviewer: Um, did you like using this app?

Emma: Yeah it was quite fun actually. Yeah, I kinda like the daily- I did feel like I walked- Tried to walk more though.

Interviewer: Yeah

Emma: Because, like, it's like the days when- But I think that's a good thing. Because some days if I was hungover, say, like, there'd be literally five hundred steps and that's so bad that I haven't walked this much. And then I'd just like go to the shop or something, I don't know, I think it was good.

Interviewer: Did it change sort of how you thought about walking then? Like would you, say you'd been hungover would you have made yourself walk to the shops before getting the app

Emma: No

Interviewer: No

Emma: I would have literally done nothing all day.

Interviewer: So having that, like, number did sort of make you-

Emma: Yeah

Interviewer: Did it motivate you?

Emma: Yeah. And I have heard before that ten thousand steps is supposed to be, like, an average you should do a day. Which I was no way hitting before I came to [city]. Like literally I was doing nothing. So... Yeah just... Especially days when I just spend the whole day in the library and eat crappy food, to walk ten thousand steps then you don't feel so guilty- Well I don't feel so guilty

Interviewer: Yeah. I think as a student, that's definitely one of the things, it's very sedentary, you're at your desk

Emma: And you want to eat crisps, yeah. You don't want to be eating an apple.

What Emma's describing is the effect of her behaviour being changed and shaped by the app itself, prompting her to act in a way she wouldn't have done without the presence of the technology. Despite the fact that Emma's lifestyle as a student is one that means she is at her most productive while stationary at her desk, Emma highlights the fact that she felt better when

she moved more and pushed herself to walk when she wouldn't normally have done so, such as when she's hungover. Her behaviour is influenced by the ability to put a number to it, she uses the example of five hundred in this extract, which quantifies an otherwise nebulous idea of how much she's done that day. She also mentions the number ten thousand, which is the goal she wants to reach by the end of the day. Walking becomes an achievement, and every step you take becomes part of a larger picture that adds up to an end goal. In this scenario every step matters, which explains why Emma is more motivated to walk to the shops when she has the app than when she didn't. The app is more than a passive reflection of her normal activity, it has an active role in what she does throughout the day.

Interviewer: Did you think more about walking when you were using-

Lucy: Yeah! One hundred percent! Definitely did.

Interviewer: OK, um, did you think about it differently in any way?

Lucy: Um

Interviewer: From, y'know... But what you're sort of saying is you don't think about walking-

Lucy: I think it kind of became more of like... I'm trying to think of- it's hard to describe it. But... Like, before, when I don't have these apps, I just- I just didn't think about it. And now it was kind of like "Oh, OK, I need to walk this bit further to kind of like... reach this goal, and that was always in the back of my mind, so yeah I think I became a lot more kind of... Like I thought about it a lot more

Interviewer: You were just more aware of it

Lucy: Oh yeah! Yeah, yeah

Interviewer: And it also- I had that too. When I had my Fitbit it did change how I thought about walking. For example, like, we didn't live very far from the corner shop that sold newspapers and my mum would say "Oh, could you go and just get me a newspaper." And I was like "No" until I had my Fitbit and then I was like "I really want to- Oh, I just need 1000 more steps"

Lucy: Exactly

Interviewing Lucy lead to a conversation I, as the interviewer, also related to (Appendix 5, p.269-270). Much like the participants, I am also a woman who has used self-tracking apps and other technologies in the past, and I recognised a lot of my own behaviour in their descriptions. What Lucy and I struck upon was the way that using the self-tracking app can affect your awareness of walking, which is behind a lot of the changes in behaviour while self-tracking. As Lucy explained, we don't usually think about the act of walking itself, perhaps because the mundanity of simply moving around our environment doesn't require active mental engagement, but monitoring each step that contributes to a quantifiable goal at the end of the day makes us more aware of this otherwise overlooked action. The device allows us to see the number go up in real time as we walk, and encourages us to actively check the amount by displaying it on the phone's lock screen or alerting us when certain milestones are reached, all of which makes us conscious of our steps. My mistake in the interview was asking "how" the technology changed how Lucy thought about walking, when in fact without the app she wouldn't have thought about it at all. Rather than walking being an automatic, unconscious action, it becomes a present thought "in the back of my mind" (Appendix 5, p.269).

When using the self-tracking app makes the act of walking become more prominent to us and challenges us to change our behaviours, it can also transform the meaning of walking for us.

When I interviewed participant Holly, she revealed that using the app impacted not only how much she walked, but her reasons for doing so (Appendix 3, p.191-192).

Interviewer: So I was about to ask, how do you feel about this recording, is it a good recording, is it a bad-

Holly: I think it is. That's a lot of exercise. That's like better than the past few weeks

Interviewer: You sound a little bit surprised

[Holly laughs]

Holly: It's a lot! Um, yeah, so... Was that... I'd done something. Because my behaviour changed as a result of the app.

Interviewer: Ohh! That's interesting!

Holly: I know!! I was annoyed at myself for doing it as well! But some days I was like "Hmm, I might just go out for a walk now" [Holly laughs] And I like walking! And I do sometimes go out for a walk, but then I do that just to get some exercise, just to like clear my head and think and listen to music

Interviewer: And when you were doing it in order to get more steps on the app, that changed it?

Holly: Yeah! I wasn't going out to just, like... go out. I was going out to get more steps. I'm angry at myself for doing that.

Interviewer: The recording became the purpose

Holly: Yeah

Interviewer: Rather than like a background... addition

Holly: Yeah

Holly recognises that before using the app she would walk for pleasure or exercise, but with the app she would walk in order to create more data. How the app perceived her became important enough to her that it became the purpose of her walks, which from her account she clearly resents. What we can see from these accounts is the error in assuming that the self-tracking technology is a passive receptor of data when in fact it has a tangible role in the user's behaviour and can generate new meanings.

Interviewer: Yeah. Did you enjoy using the app?

Jo: Yeah it was quite good, it was interesting to see, because I spoke about it with Emma and she'd be like "Oh I've hardly done any steps today" or she'd be like "Oh I'll walk here, it'll take my steps up" and I noticed that I did that as well

Interviewer: Mmm

Jo: Like the more I was, like "Oh I've only done three hundred steps today, maybe I'll walk to a shop!"

[Interviewer & Jo laugh]

Jo: Yeah, it was good though

Interviewer: So it was kind of- Because you were saying before that it's not really the sort of thing that you think about or care about but the app changed that slightly?

Jo: Yeah, it just made me more conscious of what I'm doing and like how active it perceived me to be.

Interviewer: I'm interested that you said "How active it perceived you to be"

Jo: Well yeah because like the whole cycling thing, I also don't always keep my phone on me, because I think on some of the days it had really high counts of steps, but that's because I kept it in my apron at work. I mean, I'm literally running around, but um, yeah. A lot of the time- My phone has really bad battery, so a lot of the time I'm charging it, like when I'm in the library and stuff. (Appendix 4, p.226).

What fascinated me in this interview was the way that Jo described the app as being able to "perceive" how active she was. Whether intentionally or not, by describing it in this way she suggests the app can generate its own impression of her based on her activity. It isn't a technological term, but a more human one, and by using the word "perceived" specifically, she implies that the impression that the app draws of her is fallible, based on observations but not necessarily truthful. Jo explains in this extract how the app can be misled, being able to collect data when she's working but being limited by her phone's battery so other types of activity is missed by the app. The app cannot record her activity in certain circumstances which alters its overall perception of her. The dictionary definition of perception is "to come to an opinion about something, or have a belief about something", and while a dictionary definition is not the only meaning a word can have, it does help to illustrate the common understanding. From this definition, we can begin to understand that what the app collects is not a concrete truth generated from cold hard data, but an impression based on how it believes the user to be.

What these women report from their experiences is the way the app affects their behaviour and how they consider the act of walking itself. It is not only a recording of data, a reveal of something present but invisible, but an active production of such data. It is an interaction between user and app that produces this data, the relationship between body and technology, rather than it coming

solely from one individual source. Deborah Lupton refers to the production of user and app interaction as digital data assemblages, or “data doubles”.

“Webster [53] uses the term “bio-objects” to describe the assemblages created by new biotechnologies. We might productively view the assemblage that is configured via the interactions of human bodies and apps as a digital bio-object, as are the digital data that this assemblage produces. These digital data assemblages, which have also been referred to as “data doubles” [8,60,61], comprise new forms of patienthood and embodiment when configured via apps. They make visible dimensions of the body that previously were hidden, and expose them to often vast audiences by generating digital quantifiable data about bodily functions and behaviours [8].” (Lupton 2014a, p614)

The way she describes this act of production is important for several key reasons. Firstly, she uses language such as “making visible” that which was “previously hidden”, evoking the same imagery as that of Invisible Data; a lifting of the curtain to reveal what was already there. However, she also uses language such as “generating data” and “data that this assemblage produces”, which also acknowledges the productive, active role that the app technology has in the data that is measured. What I believe this highlights is the duality of how the app functions in its relationship with the user; revealing the previously unknown numerical values of bodily functions while simultaneously being an active producer of such data and how it is known.

“Technologies offer partial vistas of people’s lives in the form of data doubles that become part of the processes of knowledge formation; data doubles are ways of knowing that can be reflected on and used for various purposes” (Ruckenstein, 2014, p69).

Quantifying the act of walking by recording it as a numerical and accumulative value reportedly alters the relationship users’ perception of their relationship with walking, which means the app

has a transformative power over what it records. Simultaneously, users report a better understanding of their walking when it is quantified, offering more information in ways that are more easily understood than can be achieved without technology. But can the app give us a better understanding of an act it is actively affecting?

Lupton uses the term “data doubles” to describe the assemblage of data produced by the interaction of human and app technology.

“In relation to surveillance technologies, assemblages are constantly created and recreated when information about individuals is derived via surveillance technologies and then reassembled for various purposes.” These technologies create and recreate certain types of subject – ‘data doubles’ or ‘data selves’ – “which can then be scrutinised, monitored and used for various purposes, including intervention” (Lupton, 2012, p237)

Data doubles are constantly shifting in reaction to the data, and it is how the app technology reassembles them for their intended use that shapes the data double that the user can then interact with. The main use of these, as Lupton puts it, is to be a reflection or clarified image of the user that can then be assessed and critiqued on their behalf. Kevin Haggerty and Richard Ericson explain it as;

“The observed body is of a distinctly hybrid composition. First it is broken down by being abstracted from its territorial setting. It is then reassembled in different settings through a series of data flows. The result is a decorporealized body, a ‘data-double’ of pure virtuality.” (D. Haggerty, R. Ericson, 2000, p611)

They use language such as “broken down” which Lupton seems to echo in her use of the word “reassembled”, both of which suggest an initial disunity of the data before it is reformed for a

new purpose. When the data is broken down, according to Haggerty and Ericson, it is as a result of being extracted from its context. In the example of step-tracking apps, each step is taken out of its context as an individual action with a purpose of movement, pleasure, or any one of the hundreds of reasons we might need to walk, and transformed into one part of a continuous accumulative action for the purpose of reaching a set goal for the sake of productivity or fitness. The effect can be decorporealizing, which Haggerty and Ericson describe as an effect of the “pure virtuality” (p611) of the data double, which suggests it exists entirely in a digital space. I can understand this effect coming as a result of the limits of data collection; though technology has come far enough to collect data on your heart rate, blood pressure, sleeping patterns, walking behaviour, eating habits, and so much more, the effect is not yet all-encompassing bodily experience, meaning the “body” it represents is one of small parts meant to represent a whole. A data synecdoche of the body. Whether the data double is an example of “pure virtuality” is a different matter, however.

It’s connection to, even reliance upon, the body it forms data around gives it an anchor to the non-virtual world that makes me hesitate to call it purely virtual. If the data is collected to help people to better know themselves, on a deeper level of self-representation or simply better equipped to recognise patterns of behaviour, an entirely virtual, incorporeal assemblage of their data seems ineffective. There is instead a constant interaction and back-and-forth of information, giving the data double a highly responsive connection to the non-virtual. Because of the technology that produces it, it can evolve as quickly as the user does. Lupton attributes this at least partly to their format;

“Due to their simple format and location on mobile wireless devices, apps can be easily downloaded and carried around for constant reference or updating the user’s own

information or comments and sharing these with others [...] Another distinguishing feature is the function of many health and medical apps that connect them to sensor technologies in smartphones or wearable devices that promote detailed and continuous monitoring of bodily functions and behaviours. Unlike older-style websites, such apps are able to facilitate the generation of constant digital data on the user's body that can then be transmitted in real-time to healthcare providers or carers or friends and followers on social media sites." (Lupton, 2014a, p611)

The constant access to the user and generative data allows apps to form a "double" of the user from their data that is never static. Although many of the participants in my interviews expressed frustration at the app not recording whole spectrums of movement during times when phones are impractical or not permitted to be carried, which affects the overall recording at the end of the day.

June (Appendix 7, p.327)

June: Yeah. I work at a shop in town. [shop name]. Um, and... I was kind of annoyed because I could've- I think your friend had the same issue because you told me about this, um, she does a lot of steps but in place where you can't monitor it. Because I'm not allowed my phone on the shop floor and I kept on trying to sneak it in my pocket and my manager would be like "take that out"

Christine (Appendix 1, p.115)

Interviewer: Right, so you would you say Fitbit is your favourite? [In a comparison between Fitbit, Moves, and Pacer. Fitbit is recorded from a wristband, whereas Moves and Pacer are phone-based apps]

Christine: yes! yes

Interviewer: and that's because of the accuracy

Christine: Um, because of the accuracy, because I can wear it all the time, and... things like Moves and Pacer - unless you've got your phone with you, and I'm not completely addicted to my phone - might feel like it sometimes – when I'm walking around here I more often than not leave my phone in my office and I'll go to walk to another meeting so it's not accurate in tracking

This feeds back, in part, into Jo's comment about how the app "perceives" her (Appendix 4, p.115), since it forms its impression of her without all of the data that she knows is available. Alice complains that the app, due to the app being limited to the phone, it doesn't pick up on an entire portion of her daily movement. The app requires a connection between the user and the phone on which the app is installed, which isn't possible in all scenarios. Christine mentions Fitbit (Appendix 1, p. 115) which, due to its format as a wearable device external to the phone app that compiles the data, gives her the impression of being more accurate than the Pacer app which is limited to only the app which is not able to constantly be on her person. How the app "perceives" them to be is different from how they know themselves, because it can only construct this data double, or data perception, from what it is able to record. And due to the nature of compiling all the data into one value at the end of the day, an accumulative step count, distance, and number of calories burnt, the app has a different impression of the user's entire day by missing out one area of activity at any point in the day.

The data "double" that is constructed would therefore not be a perfect reflection of the user. Even despite this, the near constant stream of data remains an advantage the app technology has over methods of measuring activity and behaviour based upon a "snap shot" view, as when

someone visits a medical professional for example. The advantages of a continuous record include the wider scope of data it can collect making it easier to observe patterns and changes, and events which are unpredictable have a better chance of being caught on record. Therefore the “perception” or “double” the self-tracking apps produces of the user is still arguably more informed. But the constant presence also means that the app has an even greater effect on the user’s behaviour. The ability of apps to constantly update the user on their progress towards their goal, the record of “good” days and “bad days”, reinforcing the new behaviour each day all contribute to the effect.

So, what can we take from this? What is the data double? It offers the user a reflection, a way for them to see themselves in their habits and behaviours, as perceived by the app technology as far as it is capable of recording. But simultaneously, it is productive element that actively changes the user’s behaviours. Therefore, can it be considered a viable tool to view oneself when it is responsible for actively changing you? To explain how it can be both, despite being based on seemingly incompatible concepts, I had to reconsider my own understanding of the data double from when I first approached this subject. Instead of a “reflection” of the user, it can be rethought of as a subject separate from the users themselves. Lupton, Haggerty and Ericson all use language that is more supportive of this interpretation; Lupton refers to it explicitly as a “certain type of subject”, and when Haggerty and Ericson refer to “a decorporealized body” (p611) they aren’t referring to the user but to the body of the data itself. If we consider the data double a subject unto itself, it also requires a re-examine of how we can use the term subject in this context.

The data double is not a subject in the same way the user is, but to treat them as two distinct, connected subjects better suits the interactive relationship between them. The data double is a dynamic, evolving assemblage, and even considering the limits of what it is capable of recording

about the user strengthens the idea that what it represents is not a perfect static reflection of the user, but a model built in their likeness. It's constant interaction with the user is what makes it capable of teaching the user more about themselves, but it represents them in a period of change with the app itself being partly responsible for that shift. The relationship between app and user is one that is never still, what Lupton refers to as "a continual loop of the production of health-related data and response to these data." (Lupton, 2012, p237).

In summary

In this chapter I examined the relationship between user and app; how it appears at first, and what might be at work behind that initial imagery. The former is that self-tracking apps are used to collect data about ourselves, a practice of reflection that reveals information previously invisible to us. This implies that the app must be a neutral surface to reveal this reflection of the user, the concept of objectivity being supported partly due to its perceived scientific neutrality.

However, the participants' accounts of using the app also reveal ways in which the app influenced their behaviours, such as changing their habits to walk when they wouldn't normally do so. The use of the app even changes how they reportedly think about the act of waking, changing it from an automatic, unconscious action to a purposeful activity that they are actively conscious of. Furthermore, a perception of them is formed out of how active the app records them as being - perceived being an interesting choice of words here from Jo, because the connotations are so subjective.

The image user as recorded by their self-tracking data, or data double to use Lupton's term, is therefore beginning to seem less like an objective reflection of reality, and we are beginning to see the back and forth of influence between the user and app. The app, if it can offer a

reflection of the user, offers one with the power to change the behaviour and thoughts of the user, making it a distorted reflection at best.

Chapter two- The How

If we understand apps as productive influences, the question that follows must be how is it being produced. In order to examine this question, I will first look at the functions and interface of some self-tracking apps on the market, comparable to Pacer, to analyse how the app functions can affect the way the user responds to and is influenced by the experience. Secondly, I'm going to turn to the experiences of the participants in my research to ascertain what effects Pacer had on their behaviour and perceptions in the three to four-week trial period.

Step Counter - Pedometer Free & Calorie Counter by Leap Fitness Group is the highest rated "step counter" on the Google Play app store, with 37,090 downloads, an average rating of 4.5 out of 5, and a recommendation as Editor's Choice. It offers simplicity, tracking only your steps, calories burned, time, and distance travelled, compared to more advanced apps such as the Samsung Health app, with 353,102 downloads, which tracks your food, caffeine, water intake, weight, sleep, stress levels, heart rate, blood pressure, blood glucose levels, and SpO₂ on top of your steps. It is designed for average mobile phone users rather than medical professionals; people who are interested in their own health rather than educated in it. The intended audience is clear from the emphasis on the ease with which the user can operate the "clear design" and the lack of in-depth medical or anatomical information provided. The simplicity and ease of use appears to be the selling point of the app, with the in-store description of the app assuring the potential user thus;

“All this information will be clearly displayed in graphs. Just tap the start button, and it starts counting your steps. Whether your phone is in your hand, bag, pocket or armband, it can auto-record your steps even your screen is locked.” (Leap Fitness Group, 2017)

The language also speaks of the self-sufficient nature of the app. Wherever your phone is, whether it is locked or in use, data will be constantly recorded. The low-battery-use element of the app also facilitates this constant self-sufficiency, allowing the app to run in the background with minimal impact on the user’s regular use of the phone.

Constant collection allows the technology to create a reflection of the user that can keep up with the ever-changing nature of humans. While a single static image may never be perfect, the overall recording provides a highly responsive representation of the user’s body. These representations of the body are dissimilar to previous understandings of the body, due not only to advances in technology but also the structure of the apps themselves. Their availability, mobility, and ease of use means that with 2.71 billion smartphone users worldwide (Holst, 2019) free apps can be downloaded with widespread access and kept close, collecting data constantly in a person’s day to day lives rather than as a snapshot view in a medical appointment, recording and saving data previously unknown to users without medical knowledge or training.

This type of previously unknown bodily data is often referred to as “invisible” data (Pogue, 2013) made visible (Lupton 2014a, p614) by its collection and display in apps like step counters, meaning the representation of the body demonstrated by the apps can be unfamiliar, but often regarded as more truthful for that fact. The information gathered by apps can appear to be more trustworthy than our own bodily experiences; the machine is so much more reliable than the human, the numbers easier to prove than the feeling. Lauren Constantini uses the example of sleep trackers in her TED talk; comparing a night of unmonitored sleep, from which you wake

with the impression you either slept well or not, and a night of fully recorded sleep with trackers that can tell you how much time you spent in REM sleep, your resting heart and breathing rate, and how external factors such as noise, light, and temperature affected your quality of sleep. Collecting previously unknown information on our body renders previous ideas about our bodies incomplete without such data, and thus the impression of our bodies appears incomplete. When apps give us access to such information, they not only make the invisible visible, but by doing so they create a new reality for our bodies that is better informed, better quantified, and better understood. And what is better understood is better controlled.

Self-sufficiency may be common to self-tracking apps, but interaction between the app and the user is not eliminated; in fact, it is essential. Step Counter - Pedometer Free & Calorie Counter claims on its Google Play store page (Leap Fitness Group, 2017) to be “the most accurate one you can find”, yet the accuracy of the step-counter is based largely on the user. The information provided by the user about their body (height, weight, etc) forms the basis of the calculations for step-counting and calories burned. The users are also “welcome to adjust sensitivity to make pedometer count steps more accurately” (Leap Fitness Group, 2017), meaning the accuracy of the “most accurate” step-counter is in the hands of the users’ own interpretation of the data.

It is this act of interpretation, the interplay between the human and the non-human, that gives the data meaning. Despite the language surrounding apps about the invisible data they recover, an act similar to the lifting of a veil, associated with the neutrality of self-sufficient technology untainted by human uncertainty, self-tracking apps remain to be sociocultural products that are not produced in a vacuum of cultural discourse and meaning.

The form of apps affects how they collect data, as we have previously discussed, but it also affects how that data generates meaning. Step counters are classified as tools of Health and Fitness, a

category which is often conflated with weight loss. Step counters frequently provide a calorie counting function, with nine out of the ten most highly rated apps in the Google App store specifically mentioning this aspect in their description. In contrast, though every app mentions health, only one app, Samsung Health, mentions heart rate or blood pressure monitoring, which walking is meant to improve (National Health Service, 2016a)

Another common feature of step-counters is badges that you “earn” for completing certain milestones. Pedometer & Step Counter - EasyFit Free by Mario Hanna (2017) provides rewards for meeting certain step counts and burning a particular quantity of calories, which it equates to different food types represented in the imagery of the badges. For example, you can earn a badge for burning the equivalent calories of 2 large milkshakes in one day.

This creates the meaning of a healthy diet as food earned by an equivalent number of calories burned. It also equates a healthy person with someone who is purposefully losing weight and constantly monitoring that loss, exhibiting great control over the body and its appearance.

It is in this circuit of discourse that meaning is embedded into the data of apps, stemming from huge conceptions of health, mobility, and the body and reduced to quantified numbers too easily confused with truth rather than culture. Meaning is embedded from both ends of the process; from how the apps are made with the function to deem bodies worthy of reward, to how they are used with the intention of bettering yourself by changing the representation of your data body.

In this way, traditional conceptions of the body are reproduced through the use of apps. The cultural norms reproduced do not even have to be strictly to do with health and fitness. The fifth most highly rated step counter in the Google Play app store with 349,671 downloads, simply named Pedometer by ITO Technologies, Inc. (2015), requires the user to input their gender, age

and weight in order to calculate the “correct number” of calories they should be aiming to burn in a day. There is a bias in western culture that men require more calories than women, with the National Health Service recommended guideline being 2,500 calories for men and 2,000 for women (National Health Service, 2016b). In fact, calorie intake is based more on weight, height, and exercise, which is more individualistic than can be plotted on a male–female binary.

“Sedentary people of both genders will keep their weight stable by taking in about 13 calories per pound of body weight each day. Moderate physical activity boosts this requirement to 16 calories a pound, and vigorous exercise calls for about 18 calories a pound. On average, a moderately active 125-pound woman needs 2,000 calories a day; a 175-pound guy with a similar exercise pattern needs 2,800 calories. And like women, men will lose weight only if they burn more calories than they take in.” (Harvard Health, 2006)

This means a man and a woman of the same weight require the same number of calories, although if a man follows the 2,500-calorie recommendation for his gender it is likely he will gain weight at a greater rate than women consuming 2000 calories.

Step counters, and other self-tracking apps like them, have a generative power disguised behind the mantra of the quantified self of knowing yourself through data. It might be more accurate to say the representation of your body created by your data, and the meanings embedded within, undergoes a process of embodiment. Due to the social circuit within which step counters operate, they shape bodies in line with dominant social norms, but the question remains whether such generative power can be used for more rebellious, individual bodies.

In a study of “mobile apps used to self-track features of users’ sexual and reproductive activities and functions”, Deborah Lupton argues that self-tracking apps are more likely to be instruments of discrimination rather than rebellion for anyone who does not conform to health standards.

Patterns revealed by the huge amount of data that self-tracking apps are capable of recording only further establish and create new social norms, rendering the people who fall outside of which as deviant and immoral. She regards self-tracking apps as disciplinary for the body;

“...rendering it amenable to monitoring, tracking and detailed analysis of the data thus generated, and producing ever-more-detailed categories of behaviour. These technologies configure a certain type of approach to understanding and experiencing one’s body, an algorithmic subjectivity, in which the body and its health states, functions and activities are portrayed and understood predominantly via quantified calculations, predictions and comparisons.” (Lupton, 2014c, p453)

But step counters have capabilities beyond that of their primary function which, if taken advantage of, can change the nature of their relationship with the human body. For example, many step counters now come with mapping functions which allows the users to plot where they’ve walked alongside the data of how long their journeys took and how many steps they took. With this function, step counters can deliver a different insight into the relationship between users and their environment. With self-tracking it is possible to update the concept of the flâneuserie or flâneur to the modern age, to track how people negotiate their surroundings with data that relates the body to the environment in new ways. This is an external rather than an internal perspective on gathering data, but one which could reveal patterns that affect day to day lives just as significantly.

One situation where this could come into play is tracking the movements of women in larger cities or at night, scenarios which have been the focus of gender social activism in recent years. 64% of women of all ages having experienced unwanted sexual harassment (House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee, 2018, p10), and street harassment is a problem that affects

how women are able to exist in public spaces, causing women to change their habits and behaviour in that environment in order to feel safe, with almost 50% of women consciously engaging in “‘safety planning’ when they go out in the evenings” (Kearl, 2010, p122). By tracking which paths women take around their environment, checking factors such as time for how busy or lit their journey would have been, it would be possible to track this phenomena of “safety planning” and how aspects of gendered harassment affects the way a woman’s body exists within and is altered by their relationship to the public space they occupy.

From this, we can see the potential of apps, but what can we observe in the reported experiences of the women I spoke to? According to the Quantified Self theory, the purpose of self-tracking apps is to encourage self-reflection in the user by recognising patterns in their behaviour based on the data gathered. But when I asked a few different participants what they thought the purpose of these kinds of self-tracking fitness or health apps (as walking apps are classified on digital distribution platforms) were, their answers suggested that that these patterns of behaviour in the data are not only the basis of self-reflection, but self-improvement.

Interviewer: -what do you think... why do you think there are so many [tracking apps] out there, why- what do you think the purpose of them is really?

Lorna: I think... it’s (long pause) probably to do with like (long pause) health but then like by extension-

Interviewer: mm

Lorna: -weight management and stuff-

Interviewer: mm

Lorna: -just because there is, like, a function to put in your weight and stuff and there's sort of... stuff about calories on it (long pause) and there's things like that and I think just... if you were the kind of person who wants to like... lose weight but (long pause) you you're not necessarily kind of like (long pause) you know you get people who do like the full on kind of like (long pause) I'm gonna lose 50 pounds-

Interviewer: yeah

Lorna: -I'm gonna go to the gym every day I'm gonna eat healthy every day like no carbs-

Interviewer: yeah

Lorna: -I think it's a bit more casual than that

Interviewer: mm

Lorna: just in terms of like (long pause) you can track how many calories you went through walking and stuff and there are kind of like (long pause) ah just do this quick one hundred calorie workout and stuff-

Interviewer: yeah

Lorna: -so I've just kind of like assumed that it's sort of aimed at... maybe like young women who-

Interviewer: yeah

Lorna: -... are like concerned about their weight but not... sort of like (long pause) overly concerned

Interviewer: yeah

Lorna: sort of thing-

Interviewer: and busy women as well

Lorna: yeah... I would've thought so

What Lorna describes (Appendix 9, p.415-416) is the ability to change one's behaviour based on the data gathered by the app. You can lose weight by monitoring how many calories you consumed in a day, which prompts actions such as doing quick calorie-burning workouts. The implication is that the user doesn't simply take in this information in order to better know themselves, but to increase their activity or burn more calories than they were previously. Participants considered walking-apps to be on the 'low-end' of fitness apps, suggesting that they're suitable for people who don't partake in frequent or high intensity exercise but who wish to increase their general daily activity. Lorna phrases it as less "full-on", with the advantage of being quicker and more suitable to people, young women specifically, who are not "overly concerned" about their weight. The modifier of "overly" is especially interesting because, by virtue of there being a possibility of thinking about it too much, there must be a correct amount one should be caring about one's weight. There is a spectrum of how much attention this issue deserves, making it possible to care too much and too little. Caring "too much" might be the example Lorna used earlier in the extract, describing behaviours such as losing a large amount of weight, going to the gym every day, and eating according to a diet such as not consuming carbohydrates every day. The implication of such a description is that this is a very high-effort method that involves more than time and thought than average.

I believe this speaks to the wider desire of 'natural beauty', which essentially refers to appearances that fit the high level of cultural expectation without requiring a high level of effort on the part of the woman. Trends like the "no-makeup makeup look" (Xue, 2018), which entails

using cosmetics to create the same image of the same specific beauty standards without the effort being perceivable to outsiders.

The effort one puts into one's appearance, be it your makeup or your weight, is a point of judgement. The results are expected to be the same, flawless skin and low BMI, because this is regarded as the desirable standard, but the effort one puts in to achieve it should not exceed a certain amount. If the effort is too obvious, if your makeup is too "unnatural" or you go to the gym too often, then the myth of beauty as natural and effortless is exposed as false. If people know you have to work hard to be beautiful, you have been exposed as ugly. While natural beauty is revered, the attempt to achieve it is an embarrassing secret.

Research has been done into the specific emotional labour that women undertake in order to keep up appearances, which is known specifically as "aesthetic labour", in different service sectors such as retail and hospitality (Warhurst and Nickson, 2007, p104), and specifically the airline and fashion modelling industries (Taylor and Tyler, 2000, p83-84; Entwistle and Wissinger, 2006, p775-776), but there is an overarching pressure for a woman to monitor her appearance in order to appear appropriately professional in any working environment, and beyond the workplace to just to be considered "presentable" in public. Achieving this standard of beauty with makeup takes constant maintenance. It must be applied every day and then conserved throughout the day, and on top of that is the time and effort it takes to seek out, learn, and master the tricks and skills in order to achieve it. Step counters take a similar level of constant monitoring; tracking your calories and movement throughout the entire day, with prompts and milestones encouraging users to check in on their "progress" frequently to ensure they are meeting their set goal, are all small but accumulative actions that become on an ongoing production, much like that of makeup. The step counter apps themselves use the language of

“daily step targets”, which implies that this method of maintaining your body should literally be an everyday occurrence.

It is important to remember that step counters are not explicitly for the purpose of monitoring weight, despite the fact that finding one without a calorie-counting function is an impossible task, but the focus is instead on “low-key’ exercise, returning to Lorna’s original point (Appendix 9, p.415-416). Apps specifically for weight loss do exist, but they have a very different appeal; step counters invoke similar sensibilities about daily exercise and burning calories, yet the aim obviously isn’t to drop a large amount of weight but to maintain the expectation for your body’s health and appearance. When asked how she regards her relationship with her body, Emma, another participant, responded with an open discussion of how she monitors and maintains her body’s particular image with the use of apps (Appendix 2, p.169-170).

Emma: I’m very, like, um... conscious of maintaining how I look, definitely, with my body. Especially with, like, um, my stomach because I... Is that what you mean? [interviewer nods] Oh, I’ll just carry on

Interviewer: Literally anything is-

Emma: Yeah, so it’s just kind of like, um, I do a lot of yoga and stuff, like... yeah. I’m trying to be more flexible. I’m very, like, body-conscious I guess. But in, like, a positive way, like I feel... But when I- I guess it could be a negative way- But when I do more stuff like yoga and trying new things like tai chi or... do different sorts of exercise, it makes me feel better, I guess

[...]

Emma: So... Yeah, when I- I am actually really bad with this sort of thing, so I just downloaded two more apps that're like thirty days when you do, like- one's an ab one and one's just like a full body. And you just do, like, seven minutes on each one. I don't know, I think I'm just very body-conscious of just staying the same.

With thousands of apps available for free of charge, easily downloaded onto a mobile device and just as easily removed if the user wishes, they offer less commitment than more involved methods of monitoring your body's appearance and health such as gym memberships, and from the comfort of the user's own homes. They also offer less of a service, being limited by the functionality of mobile applications, but this can actually be a good a thing; one app that Emma mentions specialises specifically in abdominal muscle workouts, and both apps work on a thirty-day schedule and only require seven minutes each day. These apps allow Emma to focus on what areas of her body she deems appropriate, and to her own schedule. It's only seven minutes a day, for thirty days, and this means it doesn't fall into the same high-effort category as going to the gym, despite the fact that it takes a high level of mental concentration and engagement with the app. Hence why step counting apps fall into the desirable niche of monitoring and maintaining your appearance without appearing "overly concerned" to others, or even yourself.

Interviewer: What do you think the purpose of them [the walking apps] is? Why do you think people download them?

Lucy: I guess to encourage people to exercise. Um, because I know we do have quite a big problem with like obesity and stuff, that I guess probably that- I think the bands [step counters attached to wearable devices worn on the wrist] are probably more of like an accessory as well

Interviewer: OK, yeah

Lucy: Cos they do they look really nice. Um, yeah but definitely to get people to exercise more as a motivation to go to the gym and stuff

When Lucy explains (Appendix 5, p.258-259) what she thinks the purpose of these apps are, her language is notably positive; she uses the words “encouragement” and “motivation”, which also suggest that the app has an influence on how much activity you do, specifically with a focus of increasing that amount. Lucy even suggests that using the app is a gateway to doing more exercise, such as going to the gym, but she clearly views this as a positive change rather than one made under pressure from the app. Doing more exercise is implied to be a solution for the “problem” of obesity; yet another link between weight and health brought up by a participant. Seemingly, you cannot talk about one without the other;

Interviewer: Um, what do you think the purpose of these kind of apps are?

Emma: So the first thing that comes to my mind is kind of like for people who- I think in this whole society, like jobs and stuff, people literally sit in front of a desk all day. And it's like- I think it is to do with awareness. Obviously like, people want to lose weight whatever, but I think it's more the fact, like... Yeah I don't know, I think people just sometimes forget, they go to work on the same London- get the same tube, they sit down all day, then they go home and that's it. So it gets them thinking that they should be walking more and stuff

“People just sometimes forget” (Appendix 2, p.155) is evocative of precisely how self-tracking apps can transform user's perspectives on the activity that they're monitoring. Prior to having your steps counted, how much you walk and move around your environment might fade into the background and fail to be considered amidst all the other day to day activity. But having an app

that constantly monitors and updates you on the progress of your steps can increase that awareness.

This calls back to the idea of walking as an activity that needs to be consciously and constantly managed by the individual, which by extension implies that people who do not, people who work at desks or offices where getting up and walking around to meet an expectation of activity, are not hitting some predetermined goal arbitrary to their position and health condition. On the other hand, the effect can sometimes be a positive one on the individual. Christine reported how her Fitbit device helped to break up her day and had a beneficial effect on her mental state (Appendix 1, p.116);

Christine: It's [her Fitbit device] got a little thing that buzzes every hour that says you haven't got- you haven't walked 250 steps yet, and again that's really good because when you are stuck in the office and doing everything, and it buzzes and you're- I'll just go for a walk. If I walk around [place of work] that's my 250, and I've had a bit of fresh air I've walked around.

This is important to Christine because, as she described it; "I spend most of my time in meetings or sitting in my office so I've got fairly sedentary work" (Appendix 1, p.111). She describes feeling "stuck" in a "sedentary" environment, and the Fitbit's notification is an excuse for her to be able to remove herself from that situation and get some "fresh air" (Appendix 1, p.116). But the implication of falling behind a goal, of not having done "enough" by a certain point in the day, suggests an obligation to perform this sort of behaviour. The apps have an encouraging and motivating presence, that can be seen by the way it prompts Christine into action and the way she responds positively to the notification – "that's really good" (Appendix 1, p.116) – but there

is a thinly veiled idea of mandatory expectation and accountability beneath the language that both participants have used.

Apps are not developed and produced in a social vacuum; they are built by humans who are affected by overarching social bias and structural hierarchies that are reproduced in the products they create. In a world that prioritises beauty and productivity in individuals, concepts of health and fitness are closely tied in with these concepts. Step counting apps are surrounded with the language of self-improvement through self-monitoring. As we have established, it is a misconception to think that step-counting apps are merely reflective. A step counter is not downloaded out of mere curiosity, people use them with constructive intentions; to get healthier, to move more, to lose weight. Bodies become projects to be worked upon. There rises the concept of the perfectible body, a body which not only looks a particular way but operates and moves a certain way. A body that moves is a productive body, a body that is burning calories is a deserving body, a monitored body is a moral body. A body conceived as healthy and a body capable of movement are the two main objectives of step-counting apps, but there is a reason that people are anxious to build their own bodies in such an image. Health and ability are the basis on which assumptions of productivity are made, and bodies that are seen as lacking in either are perceived to be a burden on society, undesirable, and immoral for their lack of effort and self-care (Harjunen, 2017, p8).

In summary

In the previous chapter, I established that the relationship between the app and user is one of back and forth influence, with the app being a more productive subject than it may appear on the surface. In this chapter, I build upon that understanding to investigate how that production process manifests.

Invisible Data, explored in further detail in this chapter, implies that there is a gap in our knowledge of our bodies that we cannot have without technology. The data gathered by technology is deemed more trustworthy than our own experience, which is burdened with human fallibility. The inclusion of Invisible Data, data unknown to us before such as heart rates and sleep cycles, in our perceptions of our Selves creates a new reality for our bodies; a better informed, better controlled reality. Self-tracking apps often promote themselves as self sufficient, without the need for human uncertainty, and all of this contributes to the objective, technologically certain reality of data.

“When digital technologies are employed, the practice of self-tracking appears even more scientific, because computer devices, platforms, and algorithms are viewed, like the numbers they generate, as neutral, apolitical, unbiased, and more accurate than human perceptions and judgement” (Lupton 2013a, p27).

This is data -cold, technological, and cleanly removed from uncertainty - that we can rely on.

But this assumption hinges on the false idea that the self-tracking apps are built and operate in a vacuum, when it is actually the human interaction with the apps that gives them, and the data they collect, meaning. It is present from the very beginning of an app’s life; the way apps are constructed with badges the user wins for displaying particular behaviours, thus setting up which behaviours and bodies are worthy of praise, then encouraging change to fit with these ideals with calculations of calorie intake based on algorithms that have very little to do with the unique user. It’s a practise of disciplining the body, especially bodies that do not conform.

This is how meaning is produced through the relationship of user and app. But the focus on change reveals these apps to be more instruments of “self-improvement” than self-reflection.

In this chapter we begin to see what kind of improvements are meant, based on the

participants' accounts - and it all seems to come back to health and body weight. This will be further unpacked in the next chapter, where we build on the understanding of how meaning is produced to focus on what that meaning is.

Chapter three-

The What

Step-counting apps, and really any app that helps to track aspects of health and fitness, belong to a wider cultural trend of “Wellness” which took off in the 2000s, though the term has been in circulation since 1959 (Dunn, 1959, p786-792). The Wellness movement as it’s known today took initial inspiration from the 1948 World Health Organization’s preamble which reflected emerging approaches to what constituted “health”. In the preamble, the WHO stated that;

“health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (World Health Organization, 1946, p1).

What is significant about this definition is in the last portion of the quote; “not merely the absence of disease of infirmity” which signified a conceptual shift from a dichotomy of health and sickness to what HL. Dunn described as a graduated scale with death on one end and “peak wellness” on the other. “Peak wellness” was defined as “performance at full potential in accordance with the individual’s age and makeup” (Dunn, 1959, p787). The concept of “full potential” is still vague, and even Dunn clarified that;

“since the nature of this goal is ever changing and ever expanding, we will probably never reach it in absolute terms; but we can come to know and appreciate its essential characteristics in relative terms” (Dunn, 1959, p787-788).

What is vital about Wellness, even in its original conception, is the concept of differentiated levels from low to high, the peak of which was no longer simply “health” but “positive health” (Dunn, 789, p786). If “healthy” is considered to be more than the opposite of illness, but rather

a wider category broken down into low and high levels of health, it allows for more nuanced ideas of people's health and acknowledges that even someone who is not currently suffering from an illness can still take steps to improve their health. Improvement is not something that can really exist in a dichotomy of health and sickness, and so with the introduction of Wellness we can see some of the early roots of the self-improvement movement present in and encouraged by tracking apps.

Even in 1959, the discussion of Wellness contains elements that reappear within the core values of the modern self-tracking movement. According to Dunn, Wellness requires people to look inwards to achieve a greater knowledge of oneself, much like the mantra of the Quantified Self.

“It is the author's view that the central bastion to be conquered involves teaching people how to 'know themselves.' Psychology tells us through laboratory demonstrations that our perceptions of the outer world are indissolubly linked with the concepts and emotions fixed inside our minds and body tissues. Without a knowledge of one's inner self, understanding of the outer world cannot have breadth and depth.” (Dunn, 1959, p790).

Introspection and self-knowledge are not new concepts, but it is important to note that what Dunn is describing is not only a mental exercise; the inner self is composed of both the mind and the body, both of which need to be understood to achieve good health. For Dunn, the spirit, mind, and body had to work in harmony, rather than with a focus on one at the deficit of the others, and economic and environmental factors also had to be brought into consideration, thus expanding the definition of health beyond only the physical body.

Nowadays, Wellness has evolved beyond the concept initially outlined in 1959. The National Wellness Organisation (NWO) defined six “dimensions of wellness”; occupational, physical, social, intellectual, spiritual, and emotional, which expand the concept of health even further to

cover more areas of life beyond the physical body. The NWO, while acknowledging that different perspectives of Wellness do exist and can be applied in many ways, also outlines a three-part definition of Wellness;

1. Wellness is a conscious, self-directed, and evolving process of achieving full potential
2. Wellness is multidimensional and holistic, encompassing lifestyle, mental, and spiritual well-being, and the environment
3. Wellness is positive and affirming

“The definition of wellness long used by the National Wellness Institute is consistent with these tenets ... Wellness is an active process through which people become aware of, and make choices toward, a more successful existence.” (Nationalwellness.org, n.d.)

There is an emphasis on improvement towards a “more successful existence”, much like Dunn’s goal of “performance at full potential” (1959, p787), that comes from a self-driven motivation of the individual. It’s about the conscious choices an individual makes about their own health, putting them in a position of better control over their own health.

Wellness encompasses the self-tracking movement because of this focus on the control that the user has over their own health and facilitate the practice of opening up activities of everyday life to scrutiny and improvement (Ruckenstein, 2014, p80). Self-motivation to achieve a better lifestyle and better health is a driving force for many people to download apps like Pacer, since “it is assumed that the production of such hard/objective data is the best way of assessing and representing the value of one’s life and that better ‘self-knowledge’ will result” (Lupton 2013a, p27). Using apps to monitor and gather information on your daily actions and behaviours is a very pertinent example of self-motivated health. Christine uses a tracking-app to monitor her asthma

(Appendix 1, p.118-119), using the data it gathers to not only manage her condition better but more accurate in predicting it.

Interviewer: Right so, how does the app help you know yourself better?

Christine: Urm things like my heart rate. So I have- I have asthma, so, um, so I can tell if my heart rate is going up that I'm going to come down with a bug, so I know to up things like my Ventolin and things because, um, my heart rate tends to go up just 2 or 3 beats a minute more than it would when I'm at my peak fitness. So if I'm kinda seeing it going up to 60 beats a minute or whatever as my basal rate I'm thinking; mmm, I'm obviously coming down with something, chances are it's gonna be a cough or a cold probably, need to up my Ventolin so that my asthma doesn't get any worse. So there's no method or medical thing the doctor wouldn't say that but...

Interviewer: No, but-

Christine: -No, but it's still useful.

The app gives Christine access to information on her condition that otherwise would have had to come from a medical professional, although Christine voices doubt that a doctor would agree with her own observations. In an age when technology affords greater access to specialised information to lay persons, individuals are gaining more authority in regard to their own health. Professionals are no longer the gatekeepers of knowledge in these areas, and medical practise is beginning to shift to acknowledge this. In 2017 the National Health Service released "Involving people in their own health and care: statutory guidance for clinical commissioning groups and NHS England" (p7) in which they outlined guidelines for better accommodating this new kind of responsible patient.

“Involving people in their own health and care requires services to shift the focus of support from ‘what is the matter with you?’ to ‘what matters to you?’. Not only does this acknowledge the individual as an expert in their own care, but it also gives people greater choice and control over the care and support they receive. To achieve this a new, more inclusive conversation needs to take place between staff, individuals and their carers. By identifying needs and agreeing together the goals that matter to each person, health and wellbeing needs are better met and people are supported to manage their health, and the impact it has on their lives, more effectively. This section outlines some of the ways in which this changed conversation can be supported.” (Involving people in their own health and care: Statutory guidance for clinical commissioning groups and NHS England, 2017)

Apps can be an important part of this conversation between patient and professional, in a positive way for the user. Christine reported an experience she had with a medical professional, which she believes was fundamentally changed by the presence of an app she had been using prior to the appointment to track her physical activity, heart rate, basal rates, and sleep pattern (Appendix 1, p.132-133).

Interviewer: You see there’s a lot of facts and figures and knowledge that you’re coming up if that if you think about it just previously that’s- you could only learn that through a doctor

Christine: Yeah yes

Interviewer: And now you know all of this off the top of your head, you could just tell me in quick fire succession things about basal rates, heart rates and things that the app had told you-

Christine: -told you. yeah

Interviewer: Um, I find that really, really interesting

Christine: In fact I was offered- 'cos I know someone who runs the private medical clinic in [city], um, and they said "did I want to come in for a kind of complete body check", 'cos they were just testing how they do it, it was professional etc etc oh yeah. And I was like "ok I'll come in" and I came in with all my Fitbit data, and I said, um - 'cos they were supposed to give you a kind of MOT for yourself – "you may want to look at this". "Oh my goodness that data is so useful!" [quote refers to response from staff at medical clinic]. And I mean if this could be linked to your medical records or something- people will always say there's inaccuracies and errors, there are, but overall this is going to give an indication far better than me going into a doctors and saying I haven't slept for months or my hearts just racing all the time. Actually, having this watch won't be 100% accurate, but would certainly tell the doctor if my heart rate was 100 for 2 hours a day or I was genuinely getting two hours sleep a night. Um, so I-I think that as medi health and E Health grows these sorts of things will become fundamental. The issue comes then in terms of whether insurance companies will be allowed to look at them and say, "well actually you're a risk because we know anyone who's got a basal heart rate of 70 and above is more likely to die of xyz".

With the medical information that Christine can draw from the self-tracking app, she is able to inhabit a position of authority in conversations about her own health and body, proving that:

"self-tracking, because of its making visible patterns regarding calorie intake, exercise, sleep, and so on, may be seen as a resource for empowering the individual user vis-à-vis health care professionals" (Lomborg and Fradsen, 2016, p1019).

The data may not be completely accurate, she acknowledges, and apps can't hold up to the standard of equipment available to medical professionals, but they benefit from being easily accessible and offering constant recording. In a hypothetical situation, if Christine had gone to the doctor about her increased heart rate, any measurement taken at the time could only offer a snapshot of an issue that may not surface all of the time. An app that consistently measures heart rates over long stretches of time can detect anomalies as they occur and log that data for prosperity. It is this concept of evidence to validate one's experience that gives Christine, and self-trackers like her, a sense of authority in medical situations. This type of behaviour heralds a new type of patient, one known as the "digitally engaged patient", dubbed so by Deborah Lupton in *The Digitally Engaged Patient: Self-Monitoring and Self-Care in the Digital Health Era*.

"In contemporary discussions of patient consumerism, the discourse of patient engagement is brought together with that of digital medicine to construct the figure of what I term 'the digitally engaged patient' when lay people are advised that they should use digital technologies as part of patient engagement practices. For some commentators, the Web 2.0 era has heralded new ways of encouraging patients to be more engaged in healthcare and preventive health endeavours that go well beyond using websites to seek out health information or participating in patient support groups."

(Lupton, 2013b, p4)

However, being more engaged with this self-driven method of health and wellness also fits into a larger model known as Healthism, a term coined in 1980 by Robert Crawford in *Healthism and the Medicalisation of Everyday Life* to describe the effects of new health movements, especially those of self-driven health and self-care, on the "definition and solution to problems related to 'health'". Healthism is a discussion of the repercussions of putting the responsibility for a

patient's health into their own hands; it is, effectively, a double edged sword. While on the one hand, it gives people access to more information and grants them better control over decisions made about their health, but on the other hand we must consider what the meaning of responsibility is when something goes wrong.

“Healthism situates the problem of health and disease at the level of the individual. Solutions are formulated at that level as well. To the extent that healthism shapes popular beliefs, we will continue to have a non-political, and therefore, ultimately ineffective conception and strategy of health promotion. Further, by elevating health to a super value, a metaphor for all that is good in life, healthism reinforces the privatization of the struggle for generalized well-being.” (Crawford, 1980, p366)

In chapter two I discussed the implications of the language used by the participants during our interviews, which reflected reproduced social power structures and ideas of morals based on health and productivity. If women are expected to care a specific amount about their health and weight, with the moral implications that have become associated with these subjects and the way they have become extensions of one another, then self-trackers like step-counters become enablers for this perception of responsibility. Responsibility to constantly monitor and maintain, or risk being perceived by themselves or others as being less productive and less caring about their own physical condition.

“The most notable features of healthism focus on the individual, personal responsibility, and the idea of free choice. In the context of healthism, health is understood in individualistic terms. It is understood as a matter of will which can be controlled by one's own actions, and yet somewhat paradoxically, “doing” of health is not volitional [...] In this respect, health is regarded as a duty; people are expected to pay attention to their

health and monitor it themselves at all times. This “doing health” has become an essential part of managing the self and governing the body” (Harjunen, 2017, p68)

The pressure and guilt of performing good health in this way, of actively carrying out tasks set by apps built to replicate what is widely deemed as healthy behaviours, means that the user is not as in control as it appears on the surface with this type of self-driven health movement. And furthermore, the implication that health is under the control of the individual creates a very uneven playing field for those. “When notions of health, wellbeing, and productivity are produced via data drawn from self-monitoring, the social determinants of these attributes are hidden” (Lupton 2013a, p27-28) such as people with genetic / inherited conditions, or conditions that are chronic or ongoing, those whose environments or financial situation inhibits them from being able to actively pursue a particular idea of health, and those unfortunate enough to be fully healthy but to possess a body type deemed unhealthy by popular culture are doomed to fail in the world of healthism. And by “elevating health to a super value, a metaphor for all that is good in life” (Crawford, 1980, p366), to fail at keeping one’s body at a perceivably acceptable value of health becomes a failure on a personal level as well.

“A health that can be ‘chosen’, however, represents a somewhat different value than a health one simply enjoys or misses. It testifies to more than just a physical capacity; it is the visible sign of initiative, adaptability, balance and strength of will. In this sense, physical health has come to represent, for the neo-liberal individual who has ‘chosen’ it, an ‘objective’ witness to his or her suitability to function as a free and rational agent” (Greco, 1993, p369-370)

In this equation of personal health driven by the individual, apps can become this “objective witness” (p370) to methods of governing the body, and perhaps more.

In summary

In this chapter I tried to answer what is being produced as a result of the interaction of power between app and user, focusing on the concept of “improvement” that emerged in the previous chapter.

To understand this, we first have to widen our gaze from self-tracking apps to the wider culture in which they are produced. For this, I introduced the concept of Wellness, which is characterised by differentiated levels of health, low to high, which transformed the ideal state of being from “healthy” to being in possession of the even higher level “positive health”. This was transformative because it allowed more nuance in the understanding of people’s health, but also because it introduced the concept that there is more to strive for than being without illness; even someone in full health can take steps to improve. Previously, the dichotomy of “health” and “illness” wasn’t conducive to any concepts of improvement, being instead two binary states of being you either were or weren’t. Wellness is now a more complex concept, with 6 dimensions of Wellness to strive for. Most importantly, it is now focused on the conscious *decisions* of the *individual*.

This is the condition within which concepts such as the responsible patient occur; encouraging people to be more involved with their own health given that, with the increased access to information, doctors are no longer gatekeepers of that knowledge, and therefore must accommodate these new waves of patients. The responsible patient is also the empowered patient, the data and information at their disposal serving to validate the patient’s own account in this new dynamic. This will be expanded further in the next chapter, but for now we will consider the digitally engaged patient, the patient who is more knowledgeable, more empowered, and more self-driven.

But a counter argument, in the form of Healthism, arises. If health is the responsibility of the patient, so too is ill-health. There is also a conflation of good health and good morals; if health is self-driven, ill-health is a personal failing. These are the power structures in which self-trackers exist, rather than vacuums, and these are what they reproduce. The individual responsibility to be active, to be healthy, to be actively losing weight, these behaviours are encouraged and rewarded by apps, replicating “healthy habits” as defined by this culture of moral health and individual responsibility. By the same logic that “good” habits are encouraged, bad habits are a poor reflection on the person themselves.

Data collected from apps can appear as a good way to gauge and validate your own experiences and performance against this measure. The question remains however; why? It all comes back to the apps’ apparent superior objectivity and insight into invisible data, and in the next chapter I will be examining exactly why we trust these qualities in self-tracking apps, why we seek them out to validate our experience and, finally, what the consequences of that might be.

Chapter four-

The Why

In our interview, Christine related her experience with the concept of “evidence” that the app provides for her (Appendix 1, p.134-135).

Christine: Yeah I think so I think over the years um..... I’m yeah I’m pretty good at recognising the signs of what makes me tired, what kind of-I know when I’ve had bad things to eat and things and so yeah I mean I’m fairly in tune, I don’t- I’m not a hypochondriac I don’t kind of go around thinking “oh my goodness I must be feeling this or I must be feeling that” or what have you, but I think this confirms the fact that for me. I know I don’t need to eat as much as 2000 calories a day um unless I exercise um that.... Yeah that I’m fairly fit and I can tell when I’m feeling fitter so obviously with things like my asthma, it’s quite interesting when I’ve been on a run and I know I’m struggling with my asthma I have been working harder, but I know that ‘cos I can feel that my chest is tighter and things like that so....

Interviewer: So, it sounds like that it confirms

Christine: Yeah more that it confirms what I kind of partially knew and it gives me data to evidence it I suppose

Interviewer: Mmm

Christine: Which is what I like rather than going on “it was really really tough run today” when actually it wasn’t um because your heart was good basically, it was a hard run because legs were aching not because of anything else going on in your body.

Interviewer: Is-is that idea of evidence, the numbers to back up the experience, is that important to you?

Christine: Yes I think so I think if somebody just said if-If it had just come and all I got at the end of it was “yes you’re fit and healthy, you’ve had a really good day and you’ve drunk about the right amount of water and you’ve moved about the right amount” it would be like: where’s the evidence, where’s the proof? Where’s the data? So, I wouldn’t- I wouldn’t like if all the data behind the scenes had just been given the top-level information “yes you’re fine”. I do like to be able to go back and compare and-and kind of think about how I was feeling when I did that exercise or when I wake up in the morning and did I have a good night’s sleep? And I look and yes I did. And I feel ok so it confirms

Interviewer: Yeah so this doesn’t disrupt your relationship with your body in fact it helps it.

Christine: No yeah [meaning agreement]

Firstly, Christine discusses her body in more emotive, physical descriptions. She describes how her chest physically feels tighter when she’s “working harder” on her runs (Appendix 1, p.134), and her word choice is notably sensory. She demonstrates awareness of what that physical reaction means in terms of her body’s wellbeing, in this case alerting her to her asthma. She mentions “recognising the signs” (Appendix 1, p.134) of what makes her tired and knowing when she’s eaten something bad. She is aware of her body and its reactions and draws upon that

primary information, but also reveals an insecurity about not knowing the full picture when it comes to interpreting these feelings. She mentions the behaviour of a hypochondriac, which she denies being and clearly regards negatively, summarising it as “oh my goodness I must be feeling this, or I must be feeling that” (Appendix 1, p.134). Her words suggest an anxiety which stems from the inability to know exactly what one is feeling, and this lack of knowledge can cause exaggerated interpretations based on limited understanding of feelings. In contrast, tracking technologies provide the control and safety of concrete data to validate one’s feelings. In Christine’s words “it confirms what I kind of partially knew and it gives me data to evidence it I suppose” (Appendix 1, p.134). The data is something tangible which fills the gaps of “partial knowledge”, which clearly alleviates the anxiety of a feeling you cannot name or prove.

In the exact same way, however, the tracking technology can completely alter her perception of her body. She talks about a run being “really tough” because of signs from her body such as “aching legs”, and having that perception reversed by what data the tracking technology has collected instead (Appendix 1, p.134). Despite talking earlier about how she gauges how much she’s struggling on a run from recognising signs of her body’s fatigue, here she talks about the limits of how much her body can do as defined by the data rather than her physical reaction. In both instances, whether confirming or altering her perception, the data offers a definitive answer that is preferable to the vagueness of feelings.

Where then, does the authority lie? We’ve seen how the self-tracking app pacer has the power to affect perceptions and behaviours of the women interviewed for this project, in ways that reproduce power structures of beauty and morality, and in this example that Christine provides, it appears that the very experience of her body is undervalued in comparison to the app. She poses the questions: “where’s the evidence, where’s the proof? Where’s the data?” (Appendix

1, p.135). Without evidence to back it up, her actual experience doesn't hold as much power. By extension, anything that the app does not record can potentially also become devalued as well. To elaborate this point, I want to return to a point that Jo made, referenced in chapter one (Appendix 4, p.226).

Jo: Yeah, it just made me more conscious of what I'm doing and like how active it perceived me to be.

Interviewer: I'm interested that you said "How active it perceived you to be"

Jo: Well yeah because like the whole cycling thing, I also don't always keep my phone on me, because I think on some of the days it had really high counts of steps, but that's because I kept it in my apron at work. I mean, I'm literally running around, but um, yeah. A lot of the time- My phone has really bad battery, so a lot of the time I'm charging it, like when I'm in the library and stuff.

The reason I bring this up again is because the app is only able to record the activity it is both programmed to and present for. Any activity, such as cycling, that the app is not programmed to detect is therefore not included in its data. And any steps that are taken when the phone is switched off cannot be counted by the app, and are similarly not present for the data for that day. Alice reported a similar experience, and the missing data was a point of frustration for her (Appendix 8, p.372-373).

Interviewer: Ok. Did you like it [the Pacer app]?

Alice: I... Didn't. Because I felt like I wasn't getting credit for everything that I did. Because I don't always have my phone on me. In fact I often don't have my phone on me. So, I'll set it-only when I'm walking somewhere, like if I'm walking to class or something I'll have

my phone in my bag. But if I'm just walking around the flat or even- my best friend lives two floors down from me and so she and I run up and down between each other's places all the time, even if it's just to, like, pop up and say something quickly or to grab something from the other person's room, whatever. And I never take my phone

Interviewer: No, why would you? Yeah.

Alice: So, like I'll text from upstairs like "hey I'm on my way down" but then there's no need to have it

Interviewer: So there's a whole type of walking, the indoor sort of like... y'know when you're not getting from A to B but just sort of moving around in general that the app doesn't really pick up for you.

Alice: Yeah, and when I'm at work

Interviewer: Right, because you're not allowed your phone

Alice: I'm not allowed my phone at the bar so we leave everything in the staff room. So then I'm walking round quite a lot and yeah, and for anyone connected to their phone, who has their phone on them, that's great, but since I don't carry my phone on me...

Interviewer: Yeah that's fair enough

This is a problem limited to mobile phone-based apps; wearable devices minimise this problem by being physically attached to the user, though human error still can't be completely written off. I have personal experience of using a Fitbit watch and forgetting it at home, and I shared Alice's frustration, feeling like I wasn't "getting credit" for the steps I'd taken. Being given "credit" for taking steps is another nod to the new morality aspect of walking, because the user feels owed some kind of recognition for the steps they take in a positive way; it is a credit to themselves and

their abilities. This particular phrasing is very indicative of how the function of the app excludes and prioritises certain aspects of activity, and this begins to extend to the user as well. Because steps taken outside of the app's recording are still steps taken, but they are not validated in the same way when they don't count towards the end of the day goal or have data to evidence them. Steps taken without the "objective' witness" (Greco 1993, p370) of the step-counter are not considered as worthwhile as steps taken without it, which lends power to the app over the user's own experience.

I also observed an interesting way that function of self-trackers can demonstrate a type of authority over the user during my interview with Christine. The Fitbit wearable device has a reminder function, that causes it to buzz when it's alerting the user that they have fallen behind on their step target. This occurred during our discussion, and I found the effect it had on both the participant and I very interesting when I looked back upon this interruption (Appendix 1, p.143).

Interviewer: What does the phrase walk like a woman mean to you?

Christine: Walk like a woman? [pause] Tall, proud

Interviewer: Ooh, yeah

Christine: Yeah if I say walk like a woman it's kind of like I'm gonna make- [Christine's Fitbit has vibrated, interrupting her] It's just buzzed I've got- It's 10-to-3 [referring to the time on the Fitbit watch] it's saying, "feed me!" 61 more steps to do

Interviewer: we're nearly done Fitbit

[Interviewer & Christine laugh]

Christine: Um yeah walk like a woman I think it's kind of walk into a place and turn heads for whatever reason whether you're going there for power, sex or whatever it's kind of like...

When the Fitbit interrupts Christine, we see the effect the device can have beyond passive recording. Its reminders are interruptive, stopping Christine mid-thought so that she can address the device before continuing her sentence. After the interruption she rewords her response slightly, and while it is likely a small change, it does highlight the influence that the Fitbit has upon the conversation. Christine withdraws from the interview to exchange words with the device, responding verbally to the reminder, and the way Christine personifies the Fitbit is demanding and childlike. As the interviewer I also responded to the Fitbit, talking to it directly in an almost reassuring way, prompted by Christine's personification of the device. At this point, the Fitbit has its own presence within the interview, almost becoming a third party to our conversation.

In this exchange between Christine and her Fitbit, we also see the influence that the device has over the regulation of her time. The reminders are set to keep the user on the timescale of 250 steps every hour, a schedule which may be harder to upkeep for users who have more stationary jobs or lives that cannot be organised around a step-per-hour schedule. This could affect the relationship that users may have with their devices, especially when it's framed as a goal-achievement system in which the user is responsible for "achieving" or "failing"; external factors such as jobs and lifestyles can prove to be obstacles making the goal harder to reach, but which the device has no way of detecting. While Christine gives the Fitbit a childlike voice, its reminder is more authoritative. It claims her attention away from the conversation to give her instructions. It's important to establish the effects of issues like this when discussing the matter of self-driven health or wellness, to deconstruct what it actually means to be an individual responsible for your

own health. If you take into account the pressures and guilt highlighted by healthism and the ways in which the apps can alter the users' behaviours and perceptions, it can appear that the relationship between user and tracker is very unbalanced. However, the relationship and interplay of power between the two subjects is actually far more nuanced. In chapter one I argued that it is a detriment to the understanding and discussion of self-tracking apps to consider them as passive subjects, but it is just as important now to recognise that, although there are influences in effect that should not be ignored, the users are not passive recipients in this interaction either. Many of the women I interviewed reported ways in which they navigated authority with the app, though they manifested in distinctively different ways which I will now outline.

At the end of my interview with June I asked her, as I did with all of the participants before the discussion closed, whether she had any questions she would like to ask me. She wanted to know my answers to some of the same questions I'd just asked her (Appendix 7, p.365-366).

Interviewer: So, so yeah, I haven't- I'll be honest I haven't gone through and answered all of the questions myself, but yeah. Was there a question in particular you wanted to know the answer to?

June: Um [pause] About whether- we spoke mostly... but the one about, like, having the app on your phone, did that make a difference to you, and how you're aware of your body?

Interviewer: Ooh, um. [pause] Yeah. I dunno, I don't know if it made a difference, but I think there was an extra thing, if that makes sense. I... y'know, I know that I've done a lot of walking because my legs hurt or because I can remember doing a lot of walking

June: Yeah, yeah

Interviewer: Y'know. But then this had an extra like, um... another thing to check, sort of thing.

Here, the language that the interviewer ²used suggests that, even as a user of a self-tracking app, she perceived her body through the sensory experience of walking, how the act physically made her feel, and considered this experience to be separate from the tracking technology. The technology is perceived as an additional outside element to the relationship between user and body, rather than integrating entirely. However close the data may be capable of making users feel with their bodies, for some users this gap between the technology and their own experience will always be a factor that prevents the relationship between body and technology to ever feel entirely seamless. The form of the self-tracking technology is a likely component to that disconnect; while the app remains on a separate device, the separation between user and the technology is tangible. Many of the participants have expressed a dislike of the app being based on their phone for the sake of practicality. Having a separate component from the body means the activity it records is limited to what the phone is present for, with examples such as the gym and work where phones are impractical or impossible to have on one's person meaning that periods of high activity go entirely unrecorded. It creates a dissonance between the user's experience and the app's perception, which can cause frustration and less trust in the data. Even in self-tracking technologies that are attached to the body, the presence of the technology itself

² As both the author of this work and the interviewer in this situation, I have chosen to refer to "the interviewer" in third person in this passage of analysis, following the same formula as all other quotes included and analysed in this work, in an attempt to treat it as I would a quote from one of my participants. I acknowledge that, as the author, I have greater insight into my own words than those of the participants I interviewed. However, as I explained in the introduction, I also acknowledge that I have a place within this research as a woman with an experience of using self-tracking apps and devices. In the moment referenced in this passage the dynamic of the interview had switched when the participant started asking me about my own responses to the questions. The quote was generated from a discussion with the participant, still in the context of the interview setting. I believe the result is worthy of a place in this discussion.

can remain dissonant to the user; by the very process of its purpose it makes its presence as a separate entity known. “Bodily sensations become phenomena that are mediated and augmented through machines, transformed into data and then communicated back to the human user” (Lupton 2013a, p27); this filtering effect when it feeds back the data, augmented and less familiar than before, is why the relationship between user and app remains as one of two subjects rather than of a true hybrid, at least for now with the limitations of our current technology.

When I asked June earlier in the interview what she thought the purpose of the app was, she openly reported that she did not believe everything the app had to say about her activity throughout the day (Appendix 7, p.331).

Interviewer: What do you think the purpose of this kind of app is?

June: [pause] I don't know. I think- I suppose, well it's obviously to monitor your steps and to see how active you're being, but the thing is you should probably KNOW [word emphasised] how active you're being anyway like it shouldn't have to be down to probably quite an inaccurate app, you can't- Like I walked round the house with it and it didn't track my steps, like just as an experiment and I don't really know what it's measuring because it can't be very accurate and like-like your friend who goes to the gym, and at work, like it's not actually measuring my steps.

June is clearly prioritising her own perception of her activity over what the data is telling her. This distrust comes down to two factors; her trust in her own ability to gauge how active she is, and the inaccuracies that she uncovered by experimenting with the app's capabilities. She is interacting with the app outside of the interface as it was intended, but critically investigating its form and functionality so that she can draw her own conclusions. June had never used a tracking

app before this trial of Pacer, and by the end of the experience she was not a converted woman (Appendix 7, p.331-332).

June: I guess it [the app] might be a useful aid if you're trying to get more active and be more aware of your body, um [pause] and like yeah if that's something you're consciously trying to do I guess it might be helpful

Interviewer: Mm. You said to be more aware of your body, do you think it does make you more aware of your body?

June: I th-Um [pause] I think... um, it [the app] doesn't make me more aware of my body in such a literal way because I think, like, I think one's own self can make you do that, if you know what I mean. But I think that it... makes you aware of like... it quantifies something that you wouldn't necessarily have quantified yourself I think. So more aware of your movements in like a more like obvious way

June regards the effect of the app as external to herself; it makes her more aware of the steps she's taken, "in an obvious way" the language of which suggests that she doesn't believe it's more than surface-level observations. She claims that this does not affect her core awareness and relationship with her body, which remain separate from how she regards the data from the app. She outright says (Appendix 7, p.344);

Interviewer: Um, did tracking and recording your body in this way with the step-counter, did it affect your relationship with your body, did you feel closer to your body, did it feel like it was getting in the way of your body, or did it have no impact at all?

June: Um, no I wouldn't say it had any impact on how I feel about my body. Or how I'm in touch with my body. Because I would still sort of privilege how my body feels over what the app tells me.

It did come up in our conversation that June finds the concept of quantifying the experiences of the body troubling because it goes against the methods she prefers to be in touch with her body (Appendix 7, p.333).

Interviewer: So, they call that Invisible Data, that the technology makes visible for us. It's data that was always there but with technology we can finally see it. What-What do you think of that as a concept, as a phrase?

June: Mm. [pause] I [pause] For myself personally, um, I would find that sort of thinking quite worrying. For me to do. Because I know what I'm like. And I know that to quantify myself in that way, um, sort of moves away from stuff that I find really valuable like sort of mindfulness and knowing your body without the numbers really mattering.

Mindfulness is "a form of awareness [...] it's a direct intuitive knowing of what's going on from moment to moment both in the outside world and in the inside world." (Williams, 2016). Meditation is a common method of mindfulness, and its main focus is reconnecting with the body and being in the moment. The use of technology is incompatible with this ethos, as is prioritising data over your own experiences of your body. Yet, despite this obvious impasse between the two methods, self-tracking and mindfulness both encourage connecting with your body in order to better know yourself, and could both be classified as forms of pursuing Wellness. The difference really comes down to the preferred method of connection; meditation or apps. I included this detail about June because it may help to explain why she prioritises her own experience over the data of the app and can so clearly recognise that in her own behaviour. It may also speak to her

attitude going into this trial, hence why she found the app so incompatible to her normal habits and sought ways to prove the app wrong.

However, on the other end of the scale is Christine, a self-proclaimed “addict” of self-trackers. But she also regards the apps critically and adjust her interactions with them accordingly (Appendix 1, p.115).

Interviewer: Right, so you would you say Fitbit is your favourite? [In a comparison between Fitbit, Moves, and Pacer. Fitbit is recorded from a wristband, whereas Moves and Pacer are phone-based apps]

Christine: Yes! Yes

Interviewer: And that’s because of the accuracy?

Christine: Um because of the accuracy, because I can wear it all the time and- like Moves and Pacer, unless you’ve got your phone with you, and I’m not completely addicted to my phone -Might feel like it sometimes. When I’m walking around here I more often than not leave my phone in my office and I’ll go to walk to another meeting, so it’s not accurate in tracking, whereas this tracks absolutely everything 24/7 so, um, the the feedback you get on Fitbit is much more accurate I think, in terms of what I’ve done, how I’ve slept, what my hearts like as well ‘cos I’ve got the heart rate tracker.

Christine values the app based on how accurate they are. But her idea of accuracy comes entirely from her own perception of their performance, even when some of them, like the heart rate tracker, is monitoring something she herself cannot quantify without the trackers. It shows how much her own opinion really does affect these “objective” technologies. Like June, she has grounded reasons based on her own observations for distrusting some of the results from

different trackers, and she clearly prioritises one type of self-tracking device over another for that exact reason. Interestingly, she also judges them against one another to determine their accuracy (Appendix 1, p.114).

Interviewer: Yeah you've clearly got your fair share [of self-tracking devices]

Christine: (Laugh) I compare them all because they're all slightly inaccurate and they all use slightly different things so um so I have slightly different reasons for using them

She's has mentioned on several occasions now that she does not regard the trackers as completely accurate; she is aware of the limits of trackers and how they affect the data she receives. By comparing the trackers and the data that they collect to determine which she deems as accurate, she's engaging with the subjects on a very active level and not taking the results at face value. Despite how much she uses the apps to validate her own experiences, she is still critically engaging with and interpreting the data before she applies it to herself.

Thirdly, there are also instances when the data collected by the app goes directly against the user's perception of their own activity. When this happens, it seems it can go one of two ways; it's possible for the user to agree more with the data than their own perception, or to reject the app for relaying what the user perceives to be false information. Christine admitted that she tends towards the former (Appendix 1, p.119);

Christine: no but it's still useful and then sleep I'm absolutely paranoid about not getting enough sleep so I find it quite reassuring to- I think "oh I've had such a bad night", I look at it and see no I've had 7 hours, [I] think "oh I feel fine then"

(C and C laugh)

Interviewer: That's so interesting

Christine: So this morning- yeah, yeah, it's very psychological

We can see that even when she wakes up feeling as though she's had a bad night's sleep, the data from the tracker completely flips this perception. On the other hand, in a discussion with June, the interviewer³ revealed an inclination to believe her own experiences over the app, but usually only in specific situations (Appendix 7, p.367).

Interviewer: And then sometimes I'd purposefully be like "I'm going to go on a really long walk today"

June: Yeah

Interviewer: For exercise, to walk the dog, and I'm going to bring my phone because I want to see how many steps I do. And then it's not as many as I think it was, so... I know what you mean in the way that you kind of... you kind of know what you've done. But then the app is telling you something different and that disagreement was always an interesting thing for me

June: Yeah, yeah

Interviewer: Because I did have a moment of "who do I believe?"

June: Yeah, do I believe the app? Yeah

Interviewer: Definitely. And I was definitely more inclined to believe it when it said it had done- I'd done more than I thought I had. When it told me I had done less I thought I had I was like "No, no, I know"

³ Please see previous footnote. This discussion was taken from the same portion of the interview, and is included for the same reasons.

June: Yeah, yeah

Interviewer: -“[more] than you, definitely”

June: It's a weird thing isn't it, why-why is having more steps better than not having more steps? It's like a... weird idea

In this interaction, we see how the user's subjective bias can cause them to adjust their own perception of the apps' accuracy, much like a confirmation bias, in order to fulfil a more positive outlook on their activity. As June observes, this bias likely originates from the way exercise has been moralised to mean high activity is an achievement and low activity is something to be ashamed of, making it more likely for users to believe a higher step-count than a lower one. On the other hand, the dismissal of the information from the app might be based on the user prioritising their own perceptions over the app, or it could be an interaction between both of these reasons coming into play via the user's subconscious perception of the data.

And lastly, the concept that trackers have of a goal to meet by the end of the day can create a fascinating back and forth of authority between user and tracker (Appendix 8, p.376-377).

Interviewer: Yeah. Do you ever find yourself, like you're done, you've got home, there's nothing more to do at the end of the day, but you're looking at it-

Alice: Oh, if I'm really close then I will get up and walk around the kitchen. I'll walk downstairs. I'll do something

Interviewer: Yeah

Alice: It depends on how close I am, but yeah if I'm within probably seven hundred and fifty, then...

Interviewer: Just about meeting that goal

Alice: Yeah

This behaviour can be interpreted two ways. One, you can observe the way that the app changes the behaviour of the user based entirely on meeting the step-count goal for that day. At this point, Alice is not walking for the sake of her health or to exercise, she's only doing it to reach the correct number that makes her feel rewarded, despite the fact she even acknowledges in the interview that she regards the goal of ten thousand steps, which is her step-count goal on the Fitbit, as completely arbitrary (Appendix 8, p.376);

Alice: Yeah no, I mean obviously I feel better about the ones [Pacer's recordings of days] that are all closer to ten thousand. Which is funny because I do know that ten thousand is a made-up number. And that they've done studies that say that that's – that obviously it's better to be more active than not active but there's no magic about ten thousand

Interviewer: No

Alice: But it's something that- It's- I think, if you have a goal it's nice to meet the goal.

Interviewer: Yeah, definitely. And it's something about reaching that- Do you ever find that, um- Oh, what is the goal on your Fitbit?

Alice: It's ten thousand

Interviewer: It's still ten thousand?

Alice: So, when I reach ten thousand it will, like, show a display of fireworks and buzz

Interviewer: And you like that?

Alice: I do!

The goal is its own objective that she wants to meet just for the sake of hitting the number and having it acknowledged by the app. On the other hand, running up and down the stairs can also be interpreted as a way of manipulating the app's recording, and Alice has her own reasons for wanting to hit the goal everyday (Appendix 8, p.377);

Alice: So you can set up weekly competitions, and then, like, throughout the week it'll say, like, "so-and-so's ahead" or "you're really close to catching up with" and I'm quite competitive

Therefore, is it the app manipulating Alice's behaviour, or Alice manipulating the recording for her own social reasons?

These examples were chosen to highlight the nuance in the relationship of power back and forth between user and tracker. From the participant group's experiences we can see instances of the app both empowering the user and changing their behaviours, and instances that prove that the users are not passively receiving the data but constantly questioning and interpreting it based on their own perceptions. There are numerous facets of this relationship, and each one is also extremely dependent on the character of the user and the properties of the tracker, making it hard to establish a pattern, but this interaction also has such depth of levels that it is truly worth studying further.

In summary

In the previous two chapters, I have discussed how meaning is produced in self-tracking apps, and what that meaning is, given the wider cultural trends within which the apps are constructed and implemented. In this last chapter I considered why self-tracking apps are able to do so, for which I took the focus back in from wider culture to the individual interactions that constitute that relationship.

The main reason that emerged from the interviews as to why apps are able to influence the user is the concept of evidence, which ties into the concepts of objective knowledge and individual responsibility that I have discussed before. Specifically, the concept of evidence vs the experience or awareness of our own bodies.

There is an underlying insecurity that the latter does not give us the “full picture”, stemming from the intrinsic subjectivity of experience; often the experiences of our bodies are difficult to interpret and even harder to relay or relate to others. In contrast, tracking technology offers control and the “certainty” of data, which can often be utilised to support those vaguer feelings and validate them for the user. The information from data is a tangible way to fill the “partial knowledge” of experience.

However, this introduces a power dynamic in which the app and its data can also alter perceptions and behaviour in the user through their interaction. Experiences with no “proof” of evidence behind them become inferior to those “proven” with data. But this relies on the conceit of the app being not only objective, which I have already disproved in previous chapters, but near omnipotent as well, as the app cannot record absolutely everything. In fact, many participants made a note in our interviews, often with frustration, on the gaps in the app’s ability to record their activity. When activity *is* missed, the user does not gain credit for it

- language loaded with the moral reward afforded to desirable activities by the app, suggesting the desire isn't just for an objective witness, but an approving one.

And it doesn't stop at the activity the app is designed to record. The fitbit app was also revealed during the interview with Christine to influence her regulation of time. What is clear is the presence of a power dynamic, constantly in flux between the user and the app and, given everything I have discussed in this thesis, seemingly unbalanced in favour of the app.

But this is not the conclusion I have come to, because I believe that ignores the incredible nuance to the relationship and, most importantly, the fact that the users have agency to navigate this shifting exchange of give and take. Although the app has the ability to influence a great deal, even subconsciously, about the way we view our activity and our bodies, the technology is still a third party to our experience and is known to be such. All the women I spoke to were able to reflect on their interactions with the app with great insight, acknowledging any changes it provoked in their behavior and showing a keen awareness of the app's limits. There was never, in any of the women I spoke to, a complete trust in the app or the data it produces. Within the spectrum of this nuanced relationship, different women had different accounts. Jo prioritised a mindful awareness of her body without technology, whereas Christine relies more on the app for that purpose; but even she, the most experienced and enthusiastic about self-tracking in the group of participants, considers the apps she uses and their accuracy critically. Each of the users' own subjective biases can influence how "accurate" they believe the data to be, generally meaning that reports from the app of desirable high activity are believed by the user, even if it is unexpected, but activity reported lower than predicted is dismissed, often as an inaccuracy of the app.

Any interaction between user and app is revealed to be full of micro transactions of power and influence, happening in quick succession or even simultaneously. It all circles back to that initial idea of the app being a reflection of the user, a concept we can now understand is truly only the surface level of the relationship.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have attempted to display the nuanced relationship between user and self-tracker, to demonstrate how different it is from how it may appear on the surface. Neither the user nor the self-tracker is a passive subject during the interactions between them, which I have characterised as a constant back and forth of authority and empowerment. Rather than acting as a mirror by which one can glean a vision of your true Self, the app actively works to change the behaviours and habits of the body that it is recording, based upon a standard of what it means to be active, productive, and moral in our society. But even as I highlighted the ways in which apps occupy a more active, productive role than previously assumed, my conclusion is not that the apps are therefore in a position of total authority, because by examining the accounts of real users in close detail I was able to emphasize the user's own empowerment and influence within the relationship.

The technological world to which data selves and self-monitoring belong is not an arena that many women feel comfortable entering. Greater effort is being made now to open doors for women, often phrased as "getting women into" STEM areas, and this is undeniably a positive and welcome change*. But alongside this rise of women in technology it is essential to acknowledge that women's issues have been present within technology from the beginning; only vastly, dangerously underrepresented. We do not need to "get them in", they are already here.

Anecdotally, when I was explaining my own dissertation to well-meaning and genuinely interested family members and colleagues, a matter I had to qualify multiple times was that when I was talking about "apps" I did not mean "period tracking apps". I was not looking at how

women used apps specifically designed for and entirely marketed towards them, I was looking at step-counting apps. I always received confused looks and often further questions of what that had to do with the subject of Women's Studies, or women at all for that matter. Which I find interesting, since women tend to spend much more of their lifetime walking than they do bleeding.

Self-tracking devices in particular, and the social movements surrounding them, offer a fascinating meeting point of many intricately intersecting concepts. Even just those I have touched upon here in this thesis include the interaction between digital and physical, the morality of fitness alongside the conflation of health and beauty, self-monitoring versus self-awareness, how our bodies are monitored and how such acts affect our own perceptions of our bodies and selves. And at the epicentre of these ideas, we find women.

Sometimes, technology gives old issues new faces. The way women's bodies are subject to monitoring, particularly in acts of self-surveillance, is one such familiar issue given new ground by self-tracking apps. In 1975 Foucault examined the process of self-surveillance in *Discipline and Punish* and his work, despite the gender-neutral terms upon which it was written, has become greatly influential to several feminist schools of thought. In 2004, Angela King wrote a response to Foucault's ideas, *The Prisoner of Gender: Foucault and the Disciplining of the Female Body*, pointing out the flaws from Foucault's gender-neutral approach and shedding light on what that approach cast into shadow; namely the way that women's relationships with their bodies can exemplify the themes discussed in *Discipline and Punish*. If self-tracking is the latest step in how we can monitor our bodies we should take the time now, while it is still relatively new, to examine the gender-neutral terms on which it also began. Terms which,

under closer inspection, reveal a gender gap where women's data and experiences can all too easily be lost.

When women's own experiences and perspectives are overlooked in data, decisions made based on that data invariably stack against women. This problem is compounded for women of colour, LGBT+ women, and disabled women. It is essential that women's testimonies and experiences are part of the data and that they are a part of the decision-making process from the ground up, rather than people in power using misguided statistics that only reflect their own perspective back upon them. This is why the question of how women use self-tracking step-counters matters. On the subject of walking, there is a troubling absence of information relating to women. The little data that is available suggests that women are more likely to walk and use public transport than men, with women having very different travel patterns that include making more trips than men (World Bank, 2017, p38). But women also have to endure more obstacles that hinder or prevent their mobility; "Although there is no database on public-transit-related crimes, there is evidence that security issues constrain women's mobility. The lack of personal security, or the inability to use public transport without the fear of being victimized—whether on public transport, walking to or from a transit facility or stop, or waiting at a bus, transit stop, or station platform—can substantially decrease the attractiveness and thus the use of public transit" (World Bank, 2017, p7). When talking to my participants about their experiences of walking while using the app, the topic of personal security was brought up multiple times. How these women traversed their environment, where they were able to walk and when, even for how long, was all tracked by their mobile devices. With the steep rise in step-counter users, the data that is currently being generated on a large scale coupled by the testimonies of the female users is a veritable goldmine. This could have implications for simple

interventions such as increased lighting on roads or, on a larger scale, the way we use urban planning to build environments that work with women rather than against them.

The implications on the outer world is one reason to examine self-tracking when it comes to women, the other is how the data and how we interpret it reflects inwards. When technology is not providing a new lens with which to view old issues, it is giving women new opportunities and grounds to explore their Selves, to deconstruct and examine their bodies in new ways. And if this does prove to be a new methodology for women's introspection it must be acknowledged, examined, and, if needs be, criticised as such.

The narrative of the Quantified Self movement, as I have examined within this thesis, outlines the use of self-tracking apps, step-counters included, as the means of optimising one's body, habits, and self. This focus on optimisation and productivity works in a very one-size fits all approach, relying on the assumed neutrality and objectivity of technology and ignoring the differing circumstances of users. Women are the ones who suffer for this misguided misinterpretation of neutrality. The apps, under the guise of this neutrality, seemingly produced in a cultural vacuum, are actually built on a foundation of cultural norms in the context of the society that produces and uses them (2014a, p607), and their presence in the everyday lives of women can become part of the reproduction of such norms. These norms include the complex interactions of wellness, health, fitness, and morality; concepts which severely affect women. Wellness encompasses more and more expectations (World Health Organization, 1946, p 1-2), which have come to dictate how and why women should act in their daily lives. And more than that, it becomes an obligation, the absence of which suggests a moral failing of character (Crawford, R., 1980, p366; Greco, M., 1993, p369-370). We already see the backlash that women face when they do not dedicate enough of themselves to all-encompassing health; the

vitriol that women not conforming to the current cultural norm of body image particularly endure, but all women face if they are not seen to be sufficiently engaged with the topic of their own health and appearance. Women are made responsible for a specific view of health that must be actively pursued at all times for the purpose of reaching an unachievable standard for simply existing.

These damaging norms are tacitly encouraged and reproduced by self-tracking, but I do not believe they are inherent within these apps. The danger exists only when there is silence on the matter. An open conversation about the flaws, with opportunities to respond to them and to use self-tracking devices in more positive ways is the direction we should be taking. Technology is neither inherently objective nor inherently gender-neutral, two concepts that tend to also be falsely understood as synonymous anyway, but it can be a useful lens to turn inwards – as long as we are aware that it has an active part in that process, and how that can influence our own understanding.

Implications

This research has implications most of all in the way we use apps in research going forward.

This stems not just from my conclusions, which are limited by the scope of this project, but suggest that we consider the power relations of app and user with more nuance, but also from the process itself.

Firstly, greater work needs to be done in the examination of experience and subjectivity within the context of self-tracking, and it would be good to reflect those ideas in our own research as well by bringing in more first-hand user accounts of their experiences. The dialogue reflects the

topic itself; too often focussing on the data without balancing it with the users' experiences themselves. A more qualitative approach to quantified data.

Secondly, based on the understanding of the app as I have laid out in this thesis as a subject that not only influences but benefits from participants who use the self-tracking technology for research, ethical measures of research need to be updated accordingly.

Both would benefit from a project larger than this one, in terms of both number of participants involved and apps tested, for better variety and comparison.

Appendix 1

Christine

INTERVIEWER: Oki doki, excellent right, (pause) Right

CHRISTINE: ye

INTERVIEWER: first of all thank you so much for doing this,

CHRISTINE: Pleasure

INTERVIEWER: it's been so helpful. Er would you mind telling me a little bit about yourself?

CHRISTINE: um yes um so I'm Christine? I work at [a university] and I am a keen runner um I'm how old am I (laugh) 53 years old um and I enjoy keeping fit but running is my only type of keeping fit I spend most of my time in meetings or sitting in my office so I've got fairly sedentary work

INTERVIEWER: mmm

CHRISTINE: um but do run at a distance running sort of half marathons um so I run about 4 times a week and I do Bootcamp 3 times a week

INTERVIEWER: Oh what's Bootcamp?

CHRISTINE: Just um circuit training

INTERVIEWER: Oh it sounds really intense

CHRISTINE: It is quite intense yes circuit training three times a week 6 'til 7 in the morning

INTERVIEWER: Wow right so um before we start do you have any questions for me?

CHRISTINE: No I'm just happy to answer your questions

INTERVIEWER: If there are any questions you don't want to answer that's fine we'll just skip them and there won't be any problem er a couple of things I've noticed doing the interviews that there's a little bit of pressure that I ask a question you immediately answer but some of these questions if you want to think about them for a bit

CHRISTINE: ok

INTERVIEWER: or come back to them then that's all good there's no time pressure or any thing

CHRISTINE: right, right

INTERVIEWER: right do you do a lot of walking?

CHRISTINE: Um no I run more than I walk (small laugh)

INTERVIEWER: mmm ok

CHRISTINE: I probably I've used moves tracker for 8 years so I've got 8 years of walking I probably do 3 miles a day maybe

INTERVIEWER: wow

CHRISTINE: but that's steps around

INTERVIEWER: mm

CHRISTINE: that's not going for a walk over a day I usually do 3 miles minimum

INTERVIEWER: so you say you use moves tracker which app is that?

CHRISTINE: It's called Moves

INTERVIEWER: I think I had a look at that

CHRISTINE: right

INTERVIEWER: for um for as which app to take

CHRISTINE: right

INTERVIEWER: Yeah I did I really really wanted to use this one because I liked the map part of it but it's not available for free on android

CHRISTINE: Arrr

INTERVIEWER: which is seriously a shame

CHRISTINE: arr right ok

INTERVIEWER: so yeah so one of my questions is do you use other trackers

CHRISTINE: yes I do I use Run Keeper to track my runs

INTERVIEWER: mmmhmm

CHRISTINE: I use Moves to track where I am in the world because I do a lot of travelling so if I go and sit in a restaurant in Bahrain then it'll show me where the restaurant is so if I ever go back there I go can that was the restaurant I went to let's find it

INTERVIEWER: That sounds amazing what was that called

CHRISTINE: That was on Moves

INTERVIEWER: that's on Moves

CHRISTINE: because the maps there it tells you where you are and if you make a conscious effort when you're in the place to say oh that's where I am I'll mark it so I was at Freshways this morning no last week

INTERVIEWER: I hadn't even thought of it beyond the locations of work and home

CHRISTINE: yeah yeah no so it's really really good in that respect

INTERVIEWER: brilliant

CHRISTINE: um so I use that so I use Moves all the time it's I mean it's almost like my kind of diary where have I been what have I done um and then I have Fitbit

INTERVIEWER: Erh

CHRISTINE: which I track everything on

INTERVIEWER: Uhhuh

CHRISTINE: um so and what else do I use Run Keeper Moves Fitbit I think that's it

INTERVIEWER: Right

CHRISTINE: and Pacer at the moment

INTERVIEWER: right

CHRISTINE: I feel addicted to these

INTERVIEWER: Yeah you've clearly got your fair share

CHRISTINE: (Laugh) I compare them all because they're all slightly inaccurate and they all use slightly different things so um so I have slightly different reasons for using them

INTERVIEWER: Yeah when I was yeah testing to see which one worked I had about 6 apps on my phone and they all gave me different results

CHRISTINE: yes yeah Fitbit is the most accurate on steps

INTERVIEWER: Yup

CHRISTINE I've phoned, Runkeeper is normally ok every so often it'll do a little jiggle and you suddenly realise you've been running at 30 miles an hour which is probably not accurate today

INTERVIEWER: Probably not

CHRISTINE so er yeah

INTERVIEWER: right so you would you say Fitbit is your favourite

CHRISTINE: YES yes

INTERVIEWER: and that's because of the accuracy

CHRISTINE: Um because of the accuracy because I can wear it all the time and my new shoes do things like Moves and Pacer unless you've got your phone with you and I'm not completely addicted to my phone might feel like it sometimes when I'm walking around here I more often than not leave my phone in my office and I'll go to walk to another meeting so it's not accurate in tracking whereas this tracks absolutely everything 24/7 so um the the feedback you get on Fitbit is much more accurate I think in terms of what I've done, how I've slept, what my hearts like as well 'cos I've got the heart rate tracker

INTERVIEWER: I was going to say, I was going to ask you what other features do you have?

CHRISTINE: so on that it has kinda how many stairs you've gone up so you can set it so already I've done 2 point already today, calories, how many minutes of exercise, how much sleep I got I

didn't get much resting heart rate and then its got a little thing that buzzes every hour that says you haven't got- you haven't walked 250 steps yet and again that's really good 'cos when you are stuck in the office and doing everything and it buzzes and you're- I'll just go for a walk. If I walk around [place of work] that's my 250 and I've had a bit of fresh air I've walked around and done and I can also track all my food directly in there as well I can put it all in there I'm pretty bad at doing that but when I do do it it really helps with losing weight you just add the different food so um you can put porridge for breakfast you just add the food um and then that tracks it back again it's the whoops to the rest of the um day so you can look at how much food you've got or how much food you've eaten and how many calories

INTERVIEWER: so there's an intake and an out take

CHRISTINE: yeah so I've used 1800 calories today but I've eaten 200 more because I've had my lunch and a biscuit just now

INTERVIEWER: so you can also track water

CHRISTINE: oh that's the other thing I've found I am completely addicted

INTERVIEWER: (Laugh)

CHRISTINE: This is Thirsti

INTERVIEWER: Oh what? I have never heard of that

CHRISTINE: so this was made by the [University] graduate

INTERVIEWER: Oh

CHRISTINE: that was part of young entrepreneur

INTERVIEWER: Oh that's nice

CHRISTINE: I bought one of those last year he set up his own little business he's been on Dragon's Den and basically you put it in um you drink it's all about the pressure and then it tells you how much you've drunk (pause) because you set it with how big the um the bottle is

INTERVIEWER: that is brilliant

CHRISTINE: and then if you drink it out of a cup or a different bottle you just manually put it in so

INTERVIEWER: Oh my goodness I'm so impressed that is so cool

CHRISTINE: and then if you haven't um if you haven't drunk for a while where are we thirsty um what am I doing yeh um then it won't do it because I drink fairly frequently it sits on top and glows and says drink or it sends you what I find a bit irritating it sends messages but they're slightly on the rude side kind of like what the pucker are you doing?

INTERVIEWER: MMM

CHRISTINE: and I just think mmm I don't particularly like those, but it does remind you to drink so you can say it can send me a message

INTERVIEWER: can you disable the messages

CHRISTINE: you can yuh yes I think so yes app, yes app, I could do so yeah so

INTERVIEWER: right

CHRISTINE: and then I've asked Fitbit if they'll integrate Thirsti with Fitbit because if the 2 would link wouldn't have to manually put it in when I'm drinking

INTERVIEWER: Definitely

CHRISTINE: yeah

INTERVIEWER: My goodness well clearly you are addicted you've got gadgets for everything.
Um what got you started with them?

CHRISTINE: Um I started with the gadgets when I started to run I started with RunKeeper um about 5 years ago when I started running I enrolled to do a marathon um and so I think I just went online and found something that would give me an online training program to run the marathon because I'd never done any running um so I used RunKeeper then and then the other thing that started me the university staff again about 5 years ago for charity they offered all staff a pedometer just little click on pedometer and my team did it um and it was a competition across the whole university but also worldwide there were kinda I can't remember how many million people did it it was phenomenal

INTERVIEWER: All within universities?

CHRISTINE: no in any business anywhere um all sorts of businesses it's still going I can't remember what it's called um so we all got a little pedometer and then we'd wander round and then in the university there was an inter university competition

INTERVIEWER: Yeah of course

CHRISTINE: um and the after that my husband gave me a Fitbit um because I enjoyed it so much which had the app which I really liked and then I just upgraded and upgraded to the Fitbit that I've got now so it was purely I love statistics and I kinda love knowing about myself in all sorts of different things so this was really useful I needed the motivation so I needed to kinda see what I'm doing

INTERVIEWER: Right so you think you love knowing about yourself through this how does the app help you know yourself better?

CHRISTINE: Urm things like my heart rate so I have- I have asthma so urm so I can tell if my heart rate is going up that I'm going to come down with a bug so I know to up things like my Ventolin and things because urm my heart rate tends to go up just 2 or 3 beats a minute more than it would when I'm at my peak fitness so if I'm kinda seeing it going up to 60 beats a minute or whatever as my basal rate I'm thinking mmm I'm obviously coming down with something chances are it's gonna be a cough or a cold probably need to up my Ventolin so that my asthma doesn't get any worse so there's no method or medical thing the doctor wouldn't say that but

INTERVIEWER: No but

CHRISTINE: no but it's still useful and then sleep I'm absolutely paranoid about not getting enough sleep so I find it quite reassuring to I think oh I've had such a bad night I look at it and see no I've had 7 hours think oh I feel fine then

(C and A laugh)

INTERVIEWER: That's so interesting

CHRISTINE: So this morning yeah yeah it's very psychological

INTERVIEWER: It sounds like the app helps you feel more in touch with your body with your heart rate

CHRISTINE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Sleeping yeah I find it very interesting that you believe the app over your own experience so that you feel that you've been rested you don't feel well rested but the app

CHRISTINE: I know

INTERVIEWER: but the app tells you. Why do you think you believe the app?

CHRISTINE: Urm I think sometimes with having had three children you if you've been consciously awake and tossing and turning it can feel like a very long time I don't know if you've ever kinda woken up in the night urm and you can think you've been awake for HOURS and actually you've looked at 3 o'clock and it's actually only been 15 minutes but you just feel because you've tossed and turned whereas this it tells me and I can see so I never look at the clock now when I wake up and I think ok I'm tossing and turning it'll tell me in the morning urm and I think I know that I've had 6 hours I can cope on 6 hours or 5 hours but urm so I do find it useful and I've got a husband who snores and I sometimes feel he's kept me awake the WHOLE night and I look at the app and it wasn't that bad really

INTERVIEWER: (laugh)

CHRISTINE: So yeah it's weird like you say you do believe it more of course sometimes I say oh I feel fine and I look and I've only actually had 5 hours sleep and you kinda psychologically think oh I should be tired then it does does yeah it kinda has more control over me than me just thinking oh I feel good or I feel bad yeah

INTERVIEWER: It changes your perception

CHRISTINE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: That's really interesting. Urm what was your experience of using Pacer?

CHRISTINE: urm it was very easy to use obviously you just you just do it with your phone and so I haven't actually gone into it at all because I've got other apps I didn't feel it gave me anything else that I couldn't get from Moves or Fitbit or in fact because it meant I had to take my phone with me and I knew you were tracking it it was frustrating because I kept thinking you're gonna think I don't do much at all

INTERVIEWER: (laugh)

CHRISTINE: but actually I've done an hours exercise before lunch well before breakfast rather
urm all you see is actually on the 4 days I go running you see me doing some exercise whereas
actually I've done loads here it said I've done 2000, two and a half thousand steps on Pacer but
actually when I've gone onto my Fitbit urm I've done 8000 steps because of my fitness training

INTERVIEWER: That's a big difference

CHRISTINE: and because walking around and all the time I haven't had ma phone urm I've been
tracking so I think it's fine if all you want to do is track running or walking exercise then go for it
like Moves but if you want to track your body and your fitness and your general movement
then you need something that is strapped to you.

INTERVIEWER: MMmm

CHRISTINE: unless your phone is strapped to you and I know there are some people who just
like ma daughter you can't kinda get it off her any sort of time which is fine but I think I can't
use it in my Bootcamp because obviously you don't wear a phone or whatever

INTERVIEWER: No

CHRISTINE: so Bootcamp, cycling obviously Fitbit doesn't do swimming but here are waterproof
Garmins and Fitbits urm doesn't do your heart so it just gives you a very small picture of
actually what somebody's fitness is like

INTERVIEWER: mmmm

CHRISTINE: So I think it's fine if you have your phone with you all the time and all you're wanting to do is check you're moving enough during the day ok fine but there are a lot better ones out there

INTERVIEWER: MMmm

CHRISTINE: So I will remove it once we've finished the experiment

INTERVIEWER: Absolutely yeah and I think also that urm I think it is brilliant that you use so many from my research it's brilliant so going forward with the questions don't think you have to answer just for Pacer

CHRISTINE: No no that's fine

INTERVIEWER: urm so you didn't check Pacer very often

CHRISTINE: No but I do check Fitbit all day I mean I'm forever oh I've done 8000

INTERVIEWER: it buzzes doesn't it?

CHRISTINE: and this every hour it will buzz to make you walk around you don't have to make it do that so

INTERVIEWER: Does it not buzzes when you've hit your target

CHRISTINE: YES yeah which is really good so yeah um you you press it and it will fire sparklers and fireworks and what have you, so you can be running along and oh I've done my paces

INTERVIEWER: so that's a sense of achievement?

CHRISTINE: Yeah yeah yeah kinda phew and it's one of these things and you'll hear from anyone who wears a Fitbit I do walk up and down stairs at the end of the day to make sure I've done enough

INTERVIEWER: mmHmm

CHRISTINE: things or I lie down in bed like this [Christine mimes moving her hand up and down to activate the motion sensor in the Fitbit]

Both laugh

INTERVIEWER: surely that's cheating?

CHRISTINE: I'm still exercising so it's not steps but I am physically moving I have been known to do that I have done that when I'm about a 1000 under I will lie in bed and do that

Laughter

INTERVIEWER: Ok

CHRISTINE: but many more than that and I think oh I can't be bothered like yesterday I went to the theatre instead of going running and I think I did 8000 steps in the day because I didn't have ma Bootcamp (whisper) oh I don't care

INTERVIEWER: Yeah exactly you can have some days off

CHRISTINE: Yeah exactly and overall that's overall you can look at your general weekly steps are I mean 120000 steps last week which is pretty good but very varied because I do a lot of racing at the weekends and then yeah normally Tuesdays and Wednesdays, Tuesdays and Fridays are my worst days because I don't do any running and I don't have any exercise classes so urm

INTERVIEWER: Ok

CHRISTINE: So I do, so I do I mean my ideal is to get green stars every day I am quite motivated by that to achieve it so

INTERVIEWER: When I was using the, 'cos I did try quite a few of these for the purpose of this test and I a couple of them did have that badge urm thing

CHRISTINE: right Ok

INTERVIEWER: thing and I didn't like it personally

CHRISTINE: OK

INTERVIEWER: No I thought urm

CHRISTINE: you feel under pressure?

INTERVIEWER: yeah a little bit but that obviously motivates you

CHRISTINE: Yes yes I'm very much motivated by competition and I see this as kind of competing with myself and I've done quite a lot of the urm challenges so you can get these challenges where you press on it and you have to invite people, invite people who are your friends you kind of compete with them to do the most steps in a day so I've done a few of those over time urm. They're quite fun my daughter and her fiancé, my husband and my son, we all had Fitbits at one time and there was quite a bit of competition between her, her fiancé and me because we were both fairly active urm it's like he's been out there and I'm just about to go to bed I'd better get out there (Laughter) so even though we weren't anywhere near each other we could complete through it

INTERVIEWER: Oh that's excellent

CHRISTINE: They've all stopped wearing, oh no I think they are still wearing it but they are not as focused. For me it is. I mean I go out to dinner in an evening dress with this on my wrist because I don't want to take it off

INTERVIEWER: 'Cos you don't want to take it off

CHRISTINE: I mean you know how you kinda get a ring mark where it goes in I've got a Fitbit mark (laughter)

INTERVIEWER: Oh no

CHRISTINE: It never comes off urm

INTERVIEWER: and you wear it to sleep as well

CHRISTINE: Yeah so my husband bought me one of the really nice urm attachment straps for it for Christmas because he said he was sick of me going out in a really posh ball gown with this flippin' great Fitbit on the end

INTERVIEWER: I mean if you are going to wear it all the time you might as well have something that looks good

CHRISTINE: Exactly exactly.

INTERVIEWER: Urm but there's you've talked about the differences between the Fitbit and Pacer and I find that interesting because Pacer is clearly not all round fitness

CHRISTINE: No yeah very different use of it

INTERVIEWER: What do you think the purpose of those kinds of apps are?

CHRISTINE: Urm (pause) I think that they're. My feeling is they are more for people who just want to make sure that they're doing the steps each day they've kinda read something that says you must do 10,000 steps and it's it's a relatively easy way of kinda tracking them urm (pause) but I feel there's a big issue with them because you have to be holding your phone to do it

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

CHRISTINE: part of the whole issue around people not getting out, not doing things is because they are completely addicted to their screens

INTERVIEWER: Mmmm

CHRISTINE: and I think if you are then saying in order to do any exercise you've got to have your phone with you it almost goes counter to what people are trying to do which is to say that you need time away from your phone to be doing some thing else which is good for you urm so I'm not convinced by those whereas with Moves because it's got the map and I use it as a diary I'm not really using it to track my activity I use it as a comparator if I've been for a run and I think Runkeeper is a bit off I think I'll check it against Moves urm so I didn't feel it really had anything apart from those little exercise things you can do there's more kind of suggested exercises that was quite good but again you could get those on the other I mean you can get those on Fitbit there's a yoga thing, various exercises so I didn't think it really had much to offer that would make me down load it urm

INTERVIEWER: I'm getting the impression from what you are saying that it seems that Pacer is on a slightly more casual level. It's just for people who want

CHRISTINE: Just kinda yeah justa justa

INTERVIEWER: for people who want

CHRISTINE: Just wannar kinda wannar a little bit of a look at what they are doing. If you look at that I was racing on Saturday so I did a lot a lot of steps on Saturday 'cos I had my phone with me but the rest of the week I've actually been quite active 'cos I've had Bootcamp

INTERVIEWER: I think if you look at the stairs

CHRISTINE: Oh that's flights oh yeah yeah I did a lotta hills you're right urm (pause) oh what's that (mumbling)

INTERVIEWER: I think if that's ...

CHRISTINE: oh yeah you're right so actually over the week there was less difference I mean that was a big day but the others weren't as different because I put in a lot of steps just by general walking around especially on days when I know I'm not going running or I know I'm not going to Bootcamp I will make more of a conscious effort to get to my 10 or 11 thousand steps in my case

INTERVIEWER: yeah

CHRISTINE: Urm

INTERVIEWER: Ok urm if we look at some of the data you've sent me from the past couple of weeks

CHRISTINE: Yup

INTERVIEWER: How do you feel about these recordings?

CHRISTINE: urm (Pause) oh that's flights.....

INTERVIEWER: yeah that's flights and these 2

CHRISTINE: yeah I mean it shows the kind of main, my main running day is Sunday so I would see that urm as I say I know Monday Wednesday Friday I do Bootcamp probably do what do I do I probably do 3 to 4 thousand steps urm at each of those sessions so it's not picking up things like that so it looks fine but because there's such a big difference between when I go big running and just ordinary running urm

INTERVIEWER: big running and ordinary running

CHRISTINE: No yeah these'll be a 5 mile run where these are kind of 14 to 20 mile runs

INTERVIEWER: right

CHRISTINE: Urm so yeah I mean I think it represents my activity in terms of very active at weekends and then 3 peaks kind of during the week or 2 peaks during the week and slower days so I think it's representative but it doesn't clearly show you what I've done so if somebody was critiquing me they would say oh you're not very active on a Wednesday or a Friday are you well actually I am I do an hours sit ups, press ups and burpees, before you've even got out of bed but it's just not shown. I mean it's very clear they are nice graphs it's very clear in terms of how it shows itself

INTERVIEWER: do you see yourself represented in the data of any of your apps not just Pacer?

CHRISTINE: urm.... In terms of if I look at it do I think I'm kind of an average person for my age or something?

INTERVIEWER: Urm you sort of talk about how you go on these runs, I mean do you look at the data

CHRISTINE: Oh I see

INTERVIEWER: You can sort of see. I mean you refer to Moves as kind of a diary can you sort of see your weekly life?

CHRISTINE: yes yes

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

CHRISTINE: yes I mean certainly in Moves because it shows where you've been so while I'm sitting in here it will have a little button thing on my Moves data that says you're up er oh yeah. You're at work all day or you went over to the innovation centre for an hour or I went over to campus west for an hour and I can see all that so that kind of tracks my whole life so as I say I use it as kind of diary. It tracks my exercise, it can track my cycling as well so in that respect it's quite nice

INTERVIEWER: Clever as well

CHRISTINE: But in terms of my health and fitness I feel that Fitbit does that much better and I do look back over the exercise I'm always fascinated by my heart beat and it kind of tracks you so your kinda average person down here in terms of fitness but I'm way up here

INTERVIEWER: I mean you're excellent

CHRISTINE: excellent but then it's quite funny where is it here it says learn more um where are we no it's not there there's a lovely one where if you press on it can actually shows you compared to an elite athlete um oh yeah there we go so that's so I'm up here and this is kind of the average pool (word not clear)etc um and then what's that and then if I'm yeah yeah if I did more exercise I could improve, if I lost a bit of weight I could improve um yeah so if I got down to my goal weight I could improve it but then it shows me next to Sarah Hall who's an elite athlete it's yeah I've still got a way to go um

INTERVIEWER: that's really good

CHRISTINE: but this shows me that compared to the average person the gap between an average person and me is the same as the gap between me and somebody like Sarah Hall so there is a significant gap between me and the average 54 year old but there's a massive

difference to get up to Sarah's thing she is only about 20 so (Laughs) so I will never get to her but it's things like that I find really interesting and then there's a lot kind of around sleep patterns um... which again you... it kind of shows you when you've been awake when you've been in REM sleep when you've been dreaming and that I have found fascinating because there's times when I know I've been in a dream or I've literally woken up and I'm still not sure if Fitbit does it. Is that this morning? I literally was dreaming and I knew I was dreaming and I remember my dream and I woke up um and so there is it's definitely monitoring REM sleep

INTERVIEWER: that is

CHRISTINE: but I think it must be something to do with heart rate um

INTERVIEWER: it is that accurate

CHRISTINE: But it's absolutely fascinating

INTERVIEWER: It's absolutely incredible because you can literally look back on this sleep record and know when you were dreaming

CHRISTINE: yes yes and there was on night I had a massive amount of dreaming and I remembered lots of really vivid dreams and I was this is weird 'cos I don't normally dream that much and um I was thinking I've obviously had a very dreamy night and then other times when I know I've been really tired and I've gone straight into deep sleep

INTERVIEWER: Mmm yeah and you can see that

CHRISTINE: and then most of my dreaming happens kinda towards the morning and I can tell I rarely wake up with my alarm but when I do I'm very often in a dream state um and I'll see it 'cos it's dream wake and it's kinda oh my alarms gone off so those are just I mean you can see I'm completely obsessed by it all (loud laughter)

INTERVIEWER: I think it's really lovely to be able to track when you were dreaming

CHRISTINE: yeah yeah I was in a dream

INTERVIEWER: there's a tum I've come across in my research it's called invisible data

CHRISTINE: right

INTERVIEWER: and it's this idea that our bodies have they emit if that's the right word types of data like our sleeping our breathing our heart rate our step count but without technology we are not equipped to read them to see them there's the idea that technology makes invisible data

CHRISTINE: Oh I like it yeah

INTERVIEWER: I was going to ask do you like concept?

CHRISTINE: Yeah really do because with the use of technology I can now I now have an idea, if you'd come and said to me how many steps do think you've done today and I hadn't looked I would have had a pretty good idea because I' so now aware of how my steps translate to movement into counts heart rate yeah I can't tell I know when I'm ill it's rising um and sleep I'm really bad at working out when I've had a good nights sleep and when I haven't but um so yeah so that definitely it's given me the data that I know is there in a visible which I really like so yeah yeah I like that

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Have you ever have you ever disagreed with the data

CHRISTINE: Urm I suppose the closest I've come to disagreeing with the data is round the sleep 'cos I sometimes think I've had a REALLY bad nights sleep so last night as my husband was flying in for Spain and I'd been out so um I knew it took me a while to get to sleep and then

I woke up at ten past five and I thought oh it's not worth going back to sleep 'cos I've got to get up in half an hour and I'm thinking oh I haven't had enough sleep I'm going to be really tired and I've had what 5 hours 48 minutes which was actually perfectly fine enough um and I felt really tired but as soon as I got up I felt absolutely fine as I always do in the mornings so I was kind of thinking that I knew that I hadn't had much sleep so I would feel tired but actually my body was completely refreshed and fine so yeah so I think the sleep ones where I don't really understand it well enough to be able to look and say well if I have 2 hours of deep sleep even if that's all I got I would be fine and it's probably one of those things like I do keep thinking I should really, really look at my sleep pattern and then I could understand why I feel exhausted on some nights when it looks like I've had 7 hours sleep but that's because I've had light sleep and REM or just deep sleep or whatever um but no I mean crazily I trust these things I know the calorie thing is people say an awful lot about whether you should have 2200 calories I think my basal calorie intake should be about 1600 and I've done lots of other tests with my physio and people where you've stood on scales and they've measured basal metabolism and things like that so I'm pretty confident that Fit bit is a fairly good accurate um indicator of my calorie spend. Um because I know my basal rate if I didn't do anything all day would be about 1600 so I know that's probably what my food intake should be on a day when I didn't do anything at all

INTERVIEWER: You see there's a lot of facts and figures and knowledge that you're coming up if that if you think about it just previously that's- you could only learn that through a doctor

CHRISTINE: Yeah yes

INTERVIEWER: and now you know all of this off the top of your head you could just tell me in quick fire succession things about basal rates, heart rates and things that the app had told you

CHRISTINE: told you yeah

INTERVIEWER: um I find that really really interesting um

CHRISTINE: In fact I was offered 'cos I know someone who runs the private medical clinic in [city] um and they said did I want to come in for a kind of complete body check 'cos they were just testing how they do it was professional etc etc oh yeah and was ok I'll come in and I came in with all my Fitbit data and I said um 'cos they were supposed to give you a kind of MOT for yourself you may want to look at this oh my goodness that data is so useful and I mean if this could be linked to your medical records or something people will always say there's inaccuracies and errors there are but overall this is going to give an indication far better than me going into a doctor's and say I haven't slept for months or my hearts just racing all the time. Actually having this which won't be 100% accurate but would certainly tell the doctor if my heart rate was 100 for 2 hours a day or I was genuinely getting two hours sleep a night um so I think that as medi health and E Health grows these sorts of things will become fundamental. The issue comes then in terms of whether insurance companies will be allowed to look at them and say well actually you're a risk because we know anyone who's got a basal heart rate of 70 and above is more likely to die of xyz

INTERVIEWER: interesting

CHRISTINE: Um

INTERVIEWER: Interesting that's a tricky one isn't it? Um some people have talked about how in terms of how they feel in tune with their bodies which is obviously different for everyone. Some people have talked about how the app can feel as a way as a way of connecting to their bodies. Other people have talked about sort of creating a third party in that relationship

CHRISTINE: Right

INTERVIEWER: So first of all what is your relationship like with your body? I know it's a huge question but would you say you feel in tune with it?

CHRISTINE: yeah I think so I think over the years um..... I'm yeah I'm pretty good at recognising the signs of what makes me tired what kind of I know when I've had bad things to eat and things and so yeah I mean I'm fairly in tune I don't I'm not a hypochondriac I don't kind of go around thinking oh my goodness I must be feeling this or I must be feeling that or what have you but I think this confirms the fact that for me I know I don't need to eat as much as 2000 calories a day um unless I exercise um that.... yeah that I'm fairly fit and I can tell when I'm feeling fitter so obviously with things like my asthma, it's quite interesting when I've been on a run and I know I'm struggling with my asthma I have been working harder but I know that 'cos I can feel that my chest is tighter and things like that so....

INTERVIEWER: So it sounds like that it CONFIRMS

CHRISTINE: Yeah more that it confirms what I kind of partially knew and it gives me data to evidence it I suppose

INTERVIEWER: MMMMM

CHRISTINE: which is what I like rather than going "it was really, really tough run today" when actually it wasn't, um, because your heart was- basically it was a hard run because legs were aching not because of anything else going on in your body.

INTERVIEWER: Is-is that idea of evidence the numbers to back up the experience is that important to you?

CHRISTINE: Yes I think so I think if somebody just said If-if it had just come and all I got at the end of it was yes you're fit and healthy, you've had a really good day and you've drunk about

the right amount of water and you've moved about the right amount it would be like where's the evidence where's the proof? Where's the data? So I wouldn't- I wouldn't like if all the data behind the scenes had just been given the top level information yes you're fine. I do like to be able to go back and compare and and kind of think about how I was feeling when I did that exercise or when I wake up in the morning and did I have a good night's sleep? And I look and yes I did. And I feel ok so it confirms

INTERVIEWER: Yeah so this doesn't disrupt your relationship with your body in fact it helps it.

CHRISTINE: No yeah

INTERVIEWER: That's really interesting . Um do you feel like you're um however you identify your gender is connected to your body?

CHRISTINE:Um how does that?

INTERVIEWER: it's changing subjects a little bit um..... when however you identify your gender do you think that your body influences how you identify in terms of gender or your gender influences how you feel about your body at all?

CHRISTINE: Um.....I like being a woman and I like having a woman's body and I know and I know overall my body will be different from a man's and I would never compare my data with male data

INTERVIEWER: Ok why's that?

CHRISTINE:just because I know that the metabolism and everything else of men and women is different so I just think there's no point. I'm not trying to be a man I don't expect to be the equivalent of a 54 or a 53 year old man so why would I bother looking at their data? But I will compare myself with women of the same age or older or younger but I would never compare

my body stats with that of a man um I'll compare my heart rate with my husband's heart rate but that's just so I can wind him up um but no I would never think of myself as a non gender so therefore would compare me with everybody or kind of work the same but then in an exercise class, I don't do many mixed exercise classes, in a mixed exercise class I may well try if I brought a male friend or a female friend with me to an exercise class I would probably work harder to try and beat the bloke that I would the woman um I'd be more encouraging to the woman come on we can do it we can do it whereas with the bloke I'd want to try to impress him as to just how strong I was absolutely

INTERVIEWER: Yeah yeah so but when I'm running I have no um I know that I can't beat fast men of my age because that's just not possible but I suppose when I do race again I compare myself with other women so what are the stats that I look at? I look at women who are my age and where I came in he rankings and I will look at where I came in the field of women but I will also look at where I came in the whole field of runners which is men and women but I wouldn't look at MY number and where I came against the men as a direct comparison. I'm interested in the overall population and out of 10,000 people in the race did I come 5,000 well that great 'cos I'm 50% right in the middle of the whole population but I might have come in the top 2,000 women or what ever I feel great 'cos I'm above average for the women of my age so yeah I guess there is some gender

INTERVIEWER: Yeah and there is a gendered aspect to the data that you are looking at in terms of

CHRISTINE: Calories?

INTERVIEWER: yeah definitely

CHRISTINE: yes yes

INTERVIEWER: and also just like saying things like metabolism are different between the genders so that is reflected in the data that they record

CHRISTINE: yes yes it is and the base lines that they use for creating those algorithms my data will be based on women's average data and heart rate so that they can work out my base level so absolutely and that doesn't bother me because I am female of a certain age so yeah

INTERVIEWER: if we look at this data it's from a similar app to that you are using

CHRISTINE: Oh yeah yeah

INTERVIEWER: before we go any further I'm just going to tell you these examples weren't taken from within your participant group ok and they will not be shared with anyone

CHRISTINE: I don't care

INTERVIEWER: the only people that will see is me and potentially my supervisor. So is there anything you can tell me about these people based on their data? Age, gender, jobs that sort of thing? And just for the sake of the recording could you refer to them as figure 1 figure 2

CHRISTINE: right yeah yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Thank you

CHRISTINE:they've got 2 weekends of data Um and it's the same person or are they different people? Or am I supposed to guess that?

INTERVIEWER: You're supposed to guess that.

CHRISTINE: Um no it doesn't tell me anything. I mean in theory it could be 2 people, 1 person who's older and fairly inactive and only gets up around 6 in the evening um and then there's

somebody else who walks a lot more at the weekend um walks or runs um kind of does some exercise around lunch time and in the afternoons. But No doesn't really tell me anything.

INTERVIEWER: No

CHRISTINE: likewise it could be the same person cos that person in figure 3 or 4 may have been ill in December and may have been well in October. They may have had a weekend break. I mean I know when I go off on holiday, my weekend break data is just phenomenal because I just walk miles. Um I mean no it tells me nothing really um

INTERVIEWER: Sounds like there's a couple of guesses you could make but there's nothing that you would want to...

CHRISTINE: No I wouldn't want to stake my life on it

INTERVIEWER: Absolutely

CHRISTINE: yeah it could be 4 completely different people I suppose yeah....

INTERVIEWER: right excellentok....Do you think um walking is linked to gender at all? Not just in the fitness sense but also getting from A to B sense?

CHRISTINE: in terms of do women think more about walking than men?

INTERVIEWER: In what ever sense it occurs to you

CHRISTINE: Um no I mean my feeling is walking during the day when you are not Actively doing it as a past time or as an activity I think is predominantly influenced by your work and your home life so whether you are a man or a woman if you have an office-based job, you are by default not likely to work walk as much. If you are a nurse or a doctor in a large hospital you are likely to do a lot more walking. I don't think it's a- and I don't think women think I must go

for a walk or men think I must go for a walk but if you said to people do you like walking they would assume that- you or I would assume and I think most people would, you mean do I like going out to the country side or to a city and going for a walk not do I just like being up on my feet and being active um so I think walk if you talk about walkING people assume you are talking about a premeditated act of going for a walk

INTERVIEWER: True that's true

CHRISTINE: Um so..... yes or no to whatever the question was! (laughter)

INTERVIEWER: that's fantastic. Do you think dieting is gendered?

CHRISTINE: yeah. I think more women actively diet and probably spend what they feel is their whole lives on a diet um I think men do diet I think they do worry about their diet but I don't think I think you'd find a much smaller proportion of men are able or think about it in terms of calories and think again women have used the data of calories as their thing rather than saying I' jus going to have salad and fruit and apple and not think about calories but I'm just going to eat healthily and cut out sugars and fats and carbs and things like that where as men think going on a diet is oh yeah I've stopped eating cake (Laughter) It wouldn't be oh I'm reducing my calories by 600 by this but if you ask a woman so I'd be oh I'm on a 1200 calorie diet and I'm only eating this. I don't think in general and it's a big generalisation but I think it's women tend to diet by calories um in the main whereas if I say to my husband oh you need to just cut down Or you need to go on a diet he would just say I'm going to stop eating XYZ um

INTERVIEWER: Food groups rather than calories

CHRISTINE: Yeah yeah and hopefully they would be the high fat food or they would have smaller portions or what ever you wouldn't think about counting calories you'd just think ok I

need to lose 10% of my body weight well if I cut down 20% off every plate then that's going to work. Um and doesn't become as obsessed by it so

INTERVIEWER: Do you think exercise is gendered?

CHRISTINE: um I think the type of exercise that people do is possibly gendered um so you don't get many people many men in a Zumba class for example um so I think are different types of... gender there are some like running is a real genuine mix our group that we run with is completely mixed abilities, ages and genders and things but um.. and I think I think when possibly when women exercise very often and I'm the same they are doing literally I exercise so I can eat cake, it's that sort of thing. Whereas men, again a generalisation, men exercise because they want to they do want to have a fitter body but they wouldn't necessarily think I'm going for a run and then so I can have a piece of cake when I get home whereas quite often I'll think oh that's great I can have a really big lunch or whatever. I kind of associate my run with ahh it's a bar of chocolate whereas I don't think men necessarily do again because it's all about calories because I know how many calories or women know how many calories they expend when they run and they can work it out because they know a Mars bar is 360 calories or what ever um

INTERVIEWER: MMM

CHRISTINE: So I think exercise there are differences in why and how people exercise by gender so..

INTERVIEWER: Finally do you think sleeping is gendered?

CHRISTINE: um..... yeah I do to a certain extent because I think if you speak to any woman who's had a baby ...(low laughter) and they will always say that.... They have never slept as well

since having children that they are attuned and lighter sleepers and whether light sleeper is right and actually they are lighter sleepers but they are more attuned to waking to noise um .. I do know women who so say I put my head down on a pillow and I'm straight out and I'm like really? Um but I hear more men saying nothing keeps me awake I put my head on my pillow and tell myself I'm going to sleep and I go to sleep and I'm Really?

INTERVIEWER: How do you do it?

CHRISTINE: How do you do it? Yeah tell me tell me but I think there is something in that whether men or women need less or more sleep than each other then no idea... I think it's just people. So my daughter needs very little sleep so she can go to bed 11,12,1 in the morning and ok she might be fowl in the morning when she gets up at 7, but she will be wide awake um... whereas my husband he goes to bed really late and he's awful in the morning he's just genuinely tired whereas if somebody tries to keep me up late I just can't do it but at 4 o'clock 5 o'clock I'm fine I'm running around ready to say hello to everybody and everyone is (grumbling noise) oh just go away (Laughter) so I think it's individual I don't think ...sleep is as gender the differences are as extreme apart from after children when I think women in general will say they sleep as heavily or as long yeah

INTERVIEWER: Can you think of anything that you do in your daily life that is completely ungendered

CHRISTINE: Um.....I guess my work is to a certain extent I mean it doesn't matter whether it's really hard 'cos I'm I guess everything I do I do because of who I am and who I am is a woman so therefore the way I approach anything is because I'm approaching it as Christine, as a woman, and it's possible that if I was a man I would do this job in a different way um how that would be different and how that would manifest itself I don't know so..

INTERVIEWER: Yeah I guess what you're saying is that being a woman is part of your identity so all the things you do are because you are you and part of you is 'cos you are a woman

CHRISTINE: yeah yeah so I don't think um and and..... certainly men and women do things.... Differently but I don't think

INTERVIEWER: Like what

CHRISTINE: UmI think I's just general communication styles are slightly different um I think... the environment you're in gender stereotypes you without knowing it it's that kind of unconscious bias um ...and you just see it as almost impossible to overcome um I think you.... You see it all the time. I mean a little kid falls over a little girl falls over they're likely to get a bit more of ahhh are you alright? If it's a boy it's kind of just brush it off. And that just manifests itself through life you kind of there's more emotion potentially more emotional responses with women not kind of weeping, wailing, crying but just more of an intuition kind of approach very often and and how we do things. I don't think you can separate anything from gender because gender and the environment and nature and nurture determines who we are and how we do things

INTERVIEWER: Mmmm

CHRISTINE: So I've got a very male brain um when I've done some of the other Psychology experiments

INTERVIEWER: Ok

CHRISTINE: um kind of in terms of what-what they would say, kind of logical, um, structured; all those things come from much more male rather than female type brain, um, a lot less empathy, um, than you would naturally see in a female much poorer in visual clues things like that. 'Cos

the whole loads of things- I've done a whole load of things for the Psychology department and it's like... but-but that's me in a way that's nurture / nature, kind of chemicals in the body who knows, so yeah I think- I think it's really hard to say a woman would do this and a man would do this, but I think everybody- everything we do is impacted by gender I think you kind of see the gender neutral but it's really hard because there's still gender there whether you're male, female or feel you are a mix of both there's- there's still gender influences in whatever you do

INTERVIEWER: definitely. That was brilliant

CHRISTINE: Excellent right (laughter)

INTERVIEWER: What does the phrase walk like a woman mean to you?

CHRISTINE: Walk like a woman?... tall proud

INTERVIEWER: ooh Yeah

CHRISTINE: yeah if I say walk like a woman it's kind of like I'm gonna make- It's just buzzed I've got- It's 10 to 3 it's saying "feed me!". 61 more steps to do

INTERVIEWER: we're nearly done Fitbit (LAUGHTER)

CHRISTINE: um yeah walk like a woman I think it's kind of walk into a place and turn heads for what ever reason whether you're going there for power sex or what ever it's kind of like

INTERVIEWER: Does the phrase walk like a woman and walk as a woman are they different to you?

CHRISTINE: Oh walk as a womanno I think they're the same. Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Mmmmm

CHRISTINE: and then I guess that the opposite walk like a man then if someone says walk like a man if someone says to me walk like a woman my immediate think is, stand tall upright powerful. If you say walk like a man it seems more SOLID block um

INTERVIEWER: mmmm What about walk like a human? What does that image look like?

CHRISTINE: All I can think of you know the graph from ape to person I just think that's

INTERVIEWER: OH Yeah

CHRISTINE: I just think that's walk like a human is kind of where did we evolve to?

INTERVIEWER: mmmm

CHRISTINE: And so again that's a neutral feeling it's the it's the evolution of the ape through to the man and it says walk like a human that's the image of kind of the androgynous form of an upright

INTERVIEWER: mmmm mmm

CHRISTINE: just means upright I think

INTERVIEWER: and you said WE as well which is interesting so it's clearly quite you know walk like a human is involves everyone

CHRISTINE: everybody yeah

INTERVIEWER: Yeah so that's interesting um has anything ever happened to you while you were walking that you feel is linked to gender in any way?

CHRISTINE:um only if I've been walking in high heels and I've got my heel stuck in that flipping wheel thing that's outside so I mean those are the only things wolf whistle when people are looking at you that's obviously gendered related but um no No I don't think so. You

can get into all sorts of things can't you through when I' running even to the fact that women have to wear a sports bra and things like that and you do see women running passed and you think oh my goodness you'd get a better bra and things like that (Laughter) and it's things like that where you think that's obviously gender, it' s an impact of gender on the fact that you're a woman and you're running but you wouldn't look to a man to see if the boobs were bouncing but you notice that

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

CHRISTINE: as a woman for women no I think kind of anything that happens because I'm a woman has either been because I've been wearing stupid shoes or people's nature of looking at somebody just like kind of a young man with great legs runs passed me I'll have a look (laughter)

INTERVIEWER: yeah um Have you ever changed how you walk or wear you walk for any reason linked to gender?

CHRISTINE: Um yes I mean um I would never walk across [name of a local Nature Reserve] or [name of a section of open land] here at night on my own but Is that because I'm a woman? It probably is because I'm a woman would I do it if I was a man? I don't know because I can't put myself in a man's shoes do you know It just seems silly to put yourself in any undue risk so yeah in the winter I don't run in the same places as I run in the summer because I just think it's silly to run down dark places. If I fell over and there's nobody to help me I'd be stuck there for ages so it's more about health and safety I think so I don't think

INTERVIEWER: mmm so a small gender factor but also in the mix of

CHRISTINE: In the mix of just general safety and I know a lot of my male friends would say the same they won't run across the [Nature Reserve] or whatever in the dark because it's just silly to do so

INTERVIEWER: yup

CHRISTINE: and actually it was more about so in the winter I tend to run at about 7 in the morning which can be pitch black um and it's more about the fact that it's dark and could be slippery and I may fall when there's nobody there rather than being a woman and thinking every man is going to be trying to attack me um so yes that bits more about general safety I think

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. Do you think walking apps like the one you tested and the ones you still have should incorporate more gendered features?

CHRISTINE: I think there's probably enough because I think they're all backed up especially when you're looking at if there's anything other than just the pacing um then I think the algorithms behind are based on gender because more often than not you're asked to put in whether you're male or female and I think Pacer did

INTERVIEWER: I think Pacer did yeah

CHRISTINE: Yeah so I think if you're ever putting in male or female gender then there's obviously some algorithm behind which is saying ok well if you walk 20 paces and if your weight and everything else then there's some sort of calculation that's done which will say for a woman of your age of your weight this is how many calories you're likely to burn but I don't think um I can't think of anything else you'd actually want that would make a difference I mean 10,000 steps for everybody to do if you're a man or a woman is actually a relatively small number of steps so

INTERVIEWER: Is that your goal; 10,000?

CHRISTINE: I put mine to 11 (laughter) yep yep so er I aim to do which is only 77,000 in a week um but I do well over 100.000 and every week but it's kind of again I do get a bit obsessed because actually overall over a week it doesn't matter whether I do them all on one day or spread them over a week but I do get a bit obsessive about doing 11,000 (laughter)

INTERVIEWER: mm

CHRISTINE: which I needn't do because I know over in a week I'll definitely be doing more than that on average

INTERVIEWER: Sounds like you've got a goal in mind and you just wanna

CHRISTINE: Yeah yeah, if somebody sets me a target then I' gonna do it

INTERVIEWER: that's a very good attitude. That was my last question so do you have any questions you want to ask me before we end

CHRISTINE: um so presumably your assignment is more on gender issues in activity or in sport or whatever

INTERVIEWER: It's about um it's about gender in different apps and whether or not an app is influenced by gender and I chose walking as a good example because I just felt like it was fairly universal

CHRISTINE: yeah

INTERVIEWER: it has these interesting aspects to it and I just wanted to see how you know whether or not these sort of fitness apps or whether or not they can sort of help us connect to the issues around gender

CHRISTINE: yeah I don't know whether there's more women using apps than men um I think in terms of running apps like Garmin and Strava probably more men are using that because they're more competitive male kind of not athletes but people who run or cycle than women. Women tend to do I guess that's a gender thing isn't it? So women tend to do the more kind of social social exercise things um so if you look at most classes apart from things like Spin which seem to bridge the gender gap but most classes will be more women in it than men um and then you go to a gym it can be fairly even but possibly more men in the gym doing the social stuff and then running and cycling where you may do as a group but actually it's an individual activity um those sorts of individual activities tend to be where you use Strava or Runkeeper or Garmin so therefore I suspect more men have those sorts of apps than women and women are probably more the ones doing the calories and calorie counting and generally doing the step stuff but who knows

INTERVIEWER: Yeah no I can't find a statistic on which gender uses which ones so

CHRISTINE: Fit bit I mean Fitbit is really good at getting back to you 'cos I quite often Tweet them just to ask them questions so if you did ask Fitbit and say what's the proportion of men and women signed up on Fitbit, I'm doing a study they'd probably answer you um

INTERVIEWER: I'll definitely give that a go thank you

CHRISTINE: I mean Pacer may have one as well so er I donna

INTERVIEWER: Ok fantastic

CHRISTINE: so when's it got to be written up by?

INTERVIEWER: The deadline is in December so

CHRISTINE: Is this Masters level

INTERVIEWER: yes yes once all the interviews are done I've got my analysis then it's just writing
it

CHRISTINE: yeah

C; so

CHRISTINE: excellent

Appendix 2

Emma

INTERVIEWER: Before we start are there any questions you've got about the research or the interview?

EMMA: No. Go for it

INTERVIEWER: Any questions you don't want to answer, that's fine it won't be a problem, we'll just skip them and move on

EMMA: OK

INTERVIEWER: I'm happy to explain any of the questions if I haven't phrased them in a way that's helpful. Uh, and something I've noticed with a couple of these interviews is that there's a pressure that I ask a question and you immediately have an answer

EMMA: OK

INTERVIEWER: But if you need time to think about it, that's honestly- that's brilliant

EMMA: OK

INTERVIEWER: We can come back to a question or- Just take your time

EMMA: Cool

INTERVIEWER: Ok! Could you tell me a little bit about yourself?

EMMA: OK, um... So, I'm Emma, I'm twenty-three, I study [name of university course], I previously was at [location] uni, I did business management. I'm thinking about, that I love doing exercise, I

play a lot of netball at the moment. Just because I guess this is to do with, like, movement [E laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Do you live on campus or off campus?

EMMA: Off campus. I live in the centre of town, [name of student accommodation]

INTERVIEWER: Oh! That's really nice!

EMMA: Yeah, it's, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, how do you get onto campus?

EMMA: Walk. I have a bike but it's like, I feel like cycling on the main road is quite stressful

INTERVIEWER: Oh, fair enough

EMMA: And also I kind of feel like my legs get more toned when I'm walking compared to cycling. I don't know

INTERVIEWER: So you have-

EMMA: That's like literally my options

INTERVIEWER: No that's really good. Do you do a lot of walking, do you think?

EMMA: I don't- So, like, when I was in [previous university location] I used my car all the time, I never used to walk, and since I've been in [current university city] it's like I've just started walking so much more and I can notice it in like, I feel better.

INTERVIEWER: Oh really

EMMA: Like I've done more, yeah. So yeah I'm trying to walk a lot more, but I wouldn't say I walk loads. I try to

INTERVIEWER: But it's- It's sounds like you- Do you have your car here?

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: OK, so you still choose to walk over driving?

EMMA: Because of the parking issue

INTERVIEWER: Ohh

EMMA: Which I'm kind of glad, like, it is an issue, so I've actually been able to walk more.

INTERVIEWER: Ok so you enjoy walking?

EMMA: Yeah which is a new-found love

[C laughs]

EMMA: Honestly, I would never walk anywhere. And like back home, as in home-home, you can't walk anywhere because it's just too far, so you have to, like, drive

INTERVIEWER: Where do you live?

EMMA: [location] near [location]

INTERVIEWER: Ohh Ok. Um, have you used a self-tracking app before?

EMMA: So I've used the one... called... oh my god what's- something like... um... One that counts your calories and you say how much you've eaten

INTERVIEWER: Right

EMMA: And then you scan the food you eat

INTERVIEWER: Oh OK

EMMA: And then it counts your calories for exercise but also, like, the walking, like steps from the Apple... Because Apple has its own thing

INTERVIEWER: Right, did that- Is that the one that comes pre-downloaded onto the phone?

EMMA: Yeah, so that- and it synchronises with that. So you know how many calories you- But that's just, yeah, I can't be arsed. It's useful, but that's it.

INTERVIEWER: OK, sorry I'm a bit confused, is there- Are there two apps or is-

EMMA: So there's one app called Health on Apple that tracks your steps and stuff normally

INTERVIEWER: Gotcha

EMMA: So I don't really look at that. Ever. But then I downloaded this calorie counter, but then it does like- You set how much you want to eat per day and then it gets the data from the Health app, and then puts it onto this app

INTERVIEWER: So they synch up

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Oh that's cool. Why did you download that?

EMMA:... To try and... I can't remember what I said. To maintain and... just get a bit more muscle. Because you put, like, a goal in and then you just, yeah. You kinda say your weight and everything and how many calories you eat a day

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Did you find it helpful?

EMMA: Not really, no. It was just – I felt like you- It becomes too obsessive. I don't know

INTERVIEWER: Right. Like checking it?

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, did you like using this app?

EMMA: Yeah it was quite fun actually. Yeah I kinda like the daily- I did feel like I walked- Tried to walk more though.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: Because, like, it's like the days when- But I think that's a good thing. Because some days if I was hungover, say, like, there'd be literally five hundred steps and that's so bad that I haven't walked this much. And then I'd just like go to the shop or something, I don't know, I think it was good.

INTERVIEWER: Did it change sort of how you thought about walking then? Like would you, say you'd been hungover would you have made yourself walk to the shops before getting the app

EMMA: No

INTERVIEWER: No

EMMA: I would have literally done nothing all day.

INTERVIEWER: So having that, like, number did sort of make you-

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Did it motivate you?

EMMA: Yeah. And I have heard before that ten thousand steps is supposed to be, like, an average you should do a day. Which I was no way hitting before I came to [city]. Like literally I was doing nothing. So... Yeah just... Especially days when I just spend the whole day in the library and eat crappy food, to walk ten thousand steps then you don't feel so guilty- Well I don't feel so guilty

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. I think as a student, that's definitely one of the things, it's very sedentary, you're at your desk

EMMA: And you want to eat crisps, yeah. You don't want to be eating an apple.

INTERVIEWER: No. It's snacking. Yeah, definitely. Um, did you check the app frequently? Or did you sort of let it run in the background?

EMMA: No I checked it quite a lot

INTERVIEWER: OK, why?

EMMA: Just to see- I don't know! Yeah, just to see how many I've done. See if I've reached the top- Yeah, just check if I've reached it basically

INTERVIEWER: Um, what do you think the purpose of these kind of apps are?

EMMA: So the first thing that comes to my mind is kind of like for people who- I think in this whole society, like jobs and stuff, people literally sit in front of a desk all day. And it's like- I think it is to do with awareness. Obviously like, people want to lose weight whatever, but I think it's more the fact, like... Yeah I don't know, I think people just sometimes forget, they go to work on the same London- get the same tube, they sit down all day, then they go home and that's it. So it gets them thinking that they should be walking more and stuff

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, I guess because really when walking is just getting from A to B it's not something you really consciously think about

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So, you're saying the app just makes you more, like, aware

EMMA: Yeah, and it's like- I don't know, it doesn't take much time to say like walk instead of drive, sometimes. Or like, I always think I've read this book, silly fashion feminist rubbish, but

[C laughs]

EMMA: But she's like, um, if you just get off two stops before- I'm thinking about the tube, because I've been there – If you get off just two stops before you're, like, supposed to get off, like, having that extra walk makes such a difference to your, like, wellbeing in general

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

EMMA: Also I guess [A laughs] Uh, there is adverts on there as well, so they are making money

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Obviously

EMMA: Of losing weight. And people's running ability and stuff

INTERVIEWER: Were there any- Were the adverts of a kind or were they all different?

EMMA: I think they were all games and stuff

INTERVIEWER: Oh.

EMMA: Like it was random stuff. It wasn't anything- Just random

INTERVIEWER: Um, did you- So do you get the impression these are aimed at a particular group of people? Or is it just...

EMMA: So I did think about this, I don't know why they did it in blue. That kind of makes me think they're trying to make it more, like, gender neutral? I don't know, even though it's like, some of the women's ones are like really women's, you can tell. So I think this one was alright. But I can't really imagine any guys I know downloading it

INTERVIEWER: Oh really, why? Could you explain that?

EMMA: Just I think they see exercise as more as going to the gym

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: And they don't think walking really matters. So I guess it's more... unless you want to lose weight. Which guys don't tend to want to, unless they are overweight, or whatever, and they want to. They tend to want more muscle

INTERVIEWER: Mm, which walking doesn't do

EMMA: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: No. And some step counters do come with a calorie counter as well

EMMA: Yeah exactly

INTERVIEWER: Implication. Yeah, ok. Where did you hear about the ten thousand steps by the way? If you remember?

EMMA: [Pause] I feel like I may have seen it on Facebook.

INTERVIEWER: Right

EMMA: I know that's not the best... quality articles. I don't know, I feel like my brother may have told me, and I feel like- Did it not come up on the app?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, the app does recommend it at the beginning

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: You can set the goal, but it recommends-

EMMA: Yeah I think I've heard that- I don't know where I've heard that

INTERVIEWER: No that's fine, it's an interesting one because it's a figure that a lot of people know but-

EMMA: -Not sure where it's come from.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: I think it's from just these articles, like these random things you see on Facebook

INTERVIEWER: Mm, yeah. Right! If we look at this. This is- Here's the data, the things that you sent me in the past couple of weeks.

EMMA: OK

INTERVIEWER: Thank you for that by the way

EMMA: That's alright!

INTERVIEWER: Um, right! Um, could you tell me about any of these weeks, why- What you did on any of these days?

EMMA: Right, so... This will be hard to remember. So the big ones tend to be nights out.

INTERVIEWER: Right, OK.

EMMA: So like, yeah. Wait, so, twenty-sixth of February.

INTERVIEWER: These dates are when you sent them to me

EMMA: So that'll be- What day are we today? Day...

INTERVIEWER: We are the twenty-third today. If that helps.

EMMA: That's really hard to remember.

INTERVIEWER: That's OK.

EMMA: They're definitely, like, days where I was hungover.

INTERVIEWER: Uh, the low activity days?

EMMA: Yeah. Or [pause] I feel like this- If this is the week I'm thinking of, I think I did some tourist-y things in [city]

INTERVIEWER: Oh nice!

EMMA: Um...

INTERVIEWER: Because, I mean this Wednesday of the first week is crazy high, I mean you were almost at fifteen

EMMA: That is ridiculous. That would be... The week... I literally don't remember

INTERVIEWER: No that's fine.

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But, um, how do you feel about days like this where you almost hit 15k which is a crazy amount of walking? As opposed to, say like this Thursday, which was your lowest day I think?

EMMA: I think it would be nice to do things like this all the time, but you'd have to have a whole day out of walking. And that just can't happen, I know that's just not... That is just- I think it's- What I do is I kind of compare. So if I see, like, I don't know, these have been good, so I figure it weighs it out a bit.

INTERVIEWER: By the way, I think you did more than alright, you're hitting the 10k

EMMA: Yeah. I think that's what I do, I average it, I think about it- So when I do check it, I, like, a few times a day or whatever, I'm looking at how... Whether I can let myself off or whether I can drive, sort of thing

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

EMMA: I think. Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So have you looked at your- these trends, these past weeks before?

EMMA: What do you mean, like the weeks before?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, well, um-

EMMA: During the week I will check, like so if it's sort of like- So today, I'll do it, I'll just do what I normally do. Yeah so I'll just look and be like- Wait is that this week? Yeah. So I'll look and if I've done loads I don't need to worry about the other days so much

INTERVIEWER: Don't need to think about it so much

EMMA: Yeah. I do look at the average a lot.

INTERVIEWER: Cos your averages are, they're varied, but always very high.

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: I mean, this one's crazy.

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So, yeah

EMMA: No, I do, yeah. It's quite fun actually. But then I feel I could get a bit obsessed with it. I get a bit obsessed with apps and stuff, so.

INTERVIEWER: Oh, ok. Um, why do think that is?

EMMA: [Pause] So, um... from... Things to do with weight and stuff, my mum's very conscious of it

INTERVIEWER: Right

EMMA: Very, very conscious of her weight. Even though she's so skinny. And I think- So, she weighs herself every morning. I just, like, hear the numbers a lot, and I feel like that's kind of... in me too now. I think I've been, whatever, socialised into thinking about numbers a lot. I don't actually care, but it's always just there, like always in the back of my mind sort of thing.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. No, I know what you mean. And it's- It's... You almost have to learn a new habit to not care

EMMA: Yeah! Exactly. And it's not- It's not like it's- It doesn't take over my life or anything, but sometimes I think about it and I'm like "Wait. I don't need to think like that." So I, like, correct myself.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Do these sorts of things make it easier to think about it more? Because, I mean...

EMMA: [sighs] Yeah. I don't- I don't know, because I just think [pause] Because obviously it is, for me it is important to stay the way I am, I don't want to lose weight, I'm happy with what I am, but I don't know whether I just think it's- yeah, makes me change my habits too much. Like I'll be like "I'll walk here" but then I'll go to the gym for like an hour and a bit. Then because I haven't done the steps I'll think "Oh my God." And I definitely carried my phone with me on the treadmill to get more steps

[C laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Oh my goodness!

EMMA: Yeah, I know, I'm a bit obsessed with it

INTERVIEWER: That's really, really interesting. Um, especially because a lot of people said that they, um, they don't take their phones into the gym, so it wasn't recording all of those steps

EMMA: Oh, see I'm- Yeah, I always have my phone, because I always, like, do reading or something when I- Because I spend a long time in the gym, so.

INTERVIEWER: God you're doing your brain and your body. That's very impressive

[A&C laugh]

EMMA: I'm like, if I'm going to go there for two hours I need to, like, sit and do some reading still.

So.

INTERVIEWER: I'm impressed

EMMA: Take my iPad down sometimes as well. To read.

INTERVIEWER: Um, do you think, y'know, someone could look at this data and sort of get a feel of your lifestyle and sort of who you are from this?

EMMA: Yes... to an extent. But I feel like... I have been trying a lot more in [city] to walk more. So if it actually would be me, I'd probably rather get a tube or drive, or a train. So maybe it's telling me about my lifestyle in [city]. But maybe not...

EMMA: I'd say definitely a Masters student. That you could- I don't know why, but... Yeah. Undergrad was a lot more... Don't do anything really

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: Just tried to get a good night sleep really. Yeah, so. Yeah, maybe. Maybe this is the new me.

[A laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah! I think you're right, I think context is really important; the fact that, like, you're at this stage in your life, you're in [city]

EMMA: I think so, yeah. Yeah, definitely.

INTERVIEWER: Um, there is a term that I've sort of come across while researching this, it's called Invisible Data. and it's this idea that there is data about the body that is invisible to us without the role of technology. Stuff like step counts, heartrate, um, sleeping patterns, that sort of thing. That is technically happening within our bodies but we, as just normal humans, there's no way- I don't know what my heartrate is right now, but with technology, technology can tell me what my heartrate is, right now. Um, and it's this idea that technology makes invisible data visible.

EMMA: Right

INTERVIEWER: Um, what do you think of that as, like, a concept?

EMMA: Yeah, no that makes sense. If that's what you mean. No, that's... yeah. I think technology's brought a lot of things, like, visible, I guess.

INTERVIEWER: Like what?

EMMA: Just like, if you think about social media, just bringing awareness to, like, everything. Like new stuff you wouldn't have heard of. But yeah I think it's important that we are... like, made aware of all these things inside of our bodies. But then it's this, like, medical stuff- I guess it's kind of... Ok, so before Women's Studies I was kind of like "Oh yeah if you're fat, you're going to get

this, that, and the other.” After doing this thing- this course, I’m kind of like “but all that knowledge has come from science, that’s all men, and, like, you haven’t, like”- So I’m a bit... struggling to decide whether it’s a good thing or not. Basically. So.

INTERVIEWER: That’s really interesting. Um, did the data ever disagree with your own experiences of what’s been happening- Like was there ever a day that you felt like you walked a marathon and then the step counter told you that you actually you hadn’t hit your goal, or vice versa

EMMA: Other way around

INTERVIEWER: Other way around?

EMMA: Yeah, so I would just be like doing my own thing- I remember I went shopping in town, just like wandering around, and then I checked it and was like “woah!” I thought I did just literally go from shop to shop to shop and walking around the shop...

INTERVIEWER: That’s the one that always surprises me, because I’m like “oh I’ve just been shopping for two hours” you don’t think of it as an activity

EMMA: No, exactly

INTERVIEWER: But you’re on your feet the whole time

EMMA: Yeah. It’s even when you’re in a shop, literally going from one shelf to the next

INTERVIEWER: Yeah! It’s the easiest way to hit the...

EMMA: Yeah. I think it was definitely that way round, rather than the other way around.

INTERVIEWER: So you felt like you hadn’t walked that far, but then the step counter actually told you

EMMA: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Alright, so, who do you believe, you or the app? If you got home and you felt you hadn't walked very far but the app was telling you-

EMMA: - The app.

INTERVIEWER: You'd believe the app. Is there a reason as to why?

EMMA: [Pause] I guess I trust my phone a lot. Because we're so de- Yeah... Yeah I think I- But then you do hear of some people that say that it can react to just, like... this [shakes her phone in her hand] I don't know... whether that's how it works.

INTERVIEWER: I think, um, I think for a lot of apps it's a that motion but it's also- some of them track your actual distance

EMMA: Like where you go as well

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Um, is it to do with the fact that it's technology that you- or the fact that there's a number that you can sort of see in front of you that makes it easier to...

EMMA: Believe

INTERVIEWER: Believe

EMMA: Probably the number and the technol- Yeah, both. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um.

EMMA: Like I wouldn't probably believe it if I was counting it myself, because I'd just probably- Sometimes when I count I, like, miss number, so, like when I'm- yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Well it's so easy to do that

EMMA: Yeah. Exactly!

INTERVIEWER: Especially if you were counting-

EMMA: So I think it is the technology, definitely. Trust it more.

INTERVIEWER: More reliable.

EMMA: Yeah, yeah that's- Yeah. Definitely

INTERVIEWER: Um, did- We've already sort of touched upon this, but did the app make you think differently about walking?

EMMA: Yeah, it made me... Like... I think it- Yeah, like we said about shopping. Made me think about stuff that I can do that isn't necessarily walking on its own, do you know what I mean?

INTERVIEWER: Mm, walking just for the purpose of walking

EMMA: Yeah, yeah. Just like doing things. Yeah. I think living in town has helped though as well. Because if I was out of town I'd probably drive into town

INTERVIEWER: Right

EMMA: Rather than- I literally go into town so much more because it's right on my doorstep

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Yeah.

EMMA: Say that question again

INTERVIEWER: Um, it was just does it- did the app make you feel or think more about it or think differently about it?

EMMA: I think more about it, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Yeah! Um, right, if we can have a look at this data, which was taken from an app similar to the one that you were testing for us, um. Before we start these weren't taken from within your participant group, your data won't be shared with anyone but me and potentially my supervisors.

EMMA: OK

INTERVIEWER: Just so that you know.

EMMA: That's fine.

INTERVIEWER: Um, is there anything you can tell me about the people that recorded the data? You know, their lifestyles, their job, age, gender

EMMA: Right. Let me just- So this is the steps they did in a day?

INTERVIEWER: Yes, it is indeed.

EMMA: Shit.

INTERVIEWER: Oh, and for the recording, if you could refer to them as Figure 1 and Figure 2

EMMA: OK

INTERVIEWER: Just so that when I'm listening back

EMMA: OK

INTERVIEWER: Thank you

EMMA: It's very varied.

INTERVIEWER: Mm.

[A laughs]

EMMA: That would be hard to say. What they actually do.

[long pause]

EMMA: Right, I'm going to go out there and just guess. So say if this person is, like, someone who can work from home. Maybe. Or is like a... Because then if they were working from-oh no then that would be so... Figure 4, sorry. You'd think they'd definitely be at home. [Long pause] I think that's really difficult to say.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: What they do

INTERVIEWER: That's a fair answer

EMMA: I don't think you can. Because it's so varied. Like I guess with mine you could see... that I did, like, a reasonable amount each day and that would be like "oh they're definitely walking to one place and coming back"

INTERVIEWER: The consistency

EMMA: The consistency, yeah, would kind of tell you something. [Pause] What's the gap between them? Are they- Oh they're a day apart, but then like a... Couple weeks. [Pause] No, I don't- I don't really know

INTERVIEWER: No, fair enough

EMMA: I don't know what these- What are these things?

INTERVIEWER: Uh, those are when they did-

EMMA: Oh, it's the time!

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, it's the times, and that's when they did the walking.

EMMA: So the- So Figure 3 and Figure 1 are at six. And then those, Figure 1 and Figure 2, are at twelve. That could say something. Kind of consistently. But... I mean, that could be anything.

INTERVIEWER: Mm.

[pause]

EMMA: That is a lot of walking!

INTERVIEWER: It is a lot of walking.

EMMA: Yeah, I'm not sure. [A laughs] Sorry!

INTERVIEWER: No, no, no

EMMA: That's quite difficult!

INTERVIEWER: That's part of the answer to be honest! Um, right, OK, so, I kind of want to talk about technology and the body. Um, and just to start that off, do you- What would you say your relationship is like with your body? Do you feel connected and in tune with it, or is it something of a different relationship?

EMMA: Yeah... Yeah, I do, I'm very, like, um... conscious of maintaining how I look, definitely, with my body. Especially with, like, um, my stomach because I... Is that what you mean? Oh, I'll just carry on

INTERVIEWER: Literally anything is-

EMMA: Yeah, so it's just kind of like, um, I do a lot of yoga and stuff, like... yeah. I'm trying to be more flexible. I'm very, like, body-conscious I guess. But in, like, a positive way, like I feel... But

when I- I guess it could be a negative way- But when I do more stuff like yoga and trying new things like tai chi or... do different sorts of exercise, it makes me feel better, I guess

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, and you said that- now that you're in [city] and you're moving more, you said that made you feel better

EMMA: Yeah, it did, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Could you try and describe how you feel better?

EMMA: It's definitely just what I look like.

INTERVIEWER: Oh really?

EMMA: Yeah, definitely.

INTERVIEWER: Ok

EMMA: So... Yeah, when I- I am actually really bad with this sort of thing, so I just downloaded two more apps that're like thirty days when you do, like- one's an ab one and one's just like a full body. And you just do, like, seven minutes on each one. I don't know, I think I'm just very body-conscious of just staying the same.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Um, so, you have, by the sounds of things and correct me if I'm wrong, you have an image of your body that you are trying to maintain

EMMA: Maintain, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, ok! Um, do you feel like your gender, however you identify, is connected to your body? Are those two concepts linked to you?

EMMA: Um... I would say yes. It is. But I think- I just think about my family, like, we're a very, like... Like my brother he's also very similar, we keep in shape, that's just- I guess it is from my

mum as well, but... I wouldn't say it- In our family context it's because I'm a girl that I do it or because he's a boy he does it. I think we're just a very, like- We like looking...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

EMMA: The way we do. And we're a very active family, we'll always, like, do things, so I think it's just ingrained in me to just keep-keep doing that

INTERVIEWER: And that's more to do with your family background than your gender?

EMMA: Yeah, and it's actually because we find it fun as well. Like all the exercise. It's a distress. For some people, doing certain things is a distress, for me it is exercising and doing different sort of things.

INTERVIEWER: So exercise helps you feel distressed, calmer

EMMA: Yeah. I think so.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

[E laughs]

INTERVIEWER: So, does recording and tracking your body- And I'd be interested to know with the context of the apps you've just downloaded as well-

EMMA: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: Does that help you feel more in tune with your body? Is it a third party that kind of interrupts that relationship or does it do absolutely nothing?

EMMA: No, it definitely does. Because-

INTERVIEWER: It does what, sorry?

EMMA: It does keep me in tune with my body

INTERVIEWER: Ok, thank you

EMMA: Because, like, so, say if I'm, um- So I haven't done it in a few days, and I think I need to, like, do it because then- Because I can see the difference straight away and it makes me feel like stronger and, like- And obviously, like, I'm playing loads of netball now, with uni

INTERVIEWER: Mm

EMMA: With uni and outside of uni. So I think keeping track of it is important for me because I want to win. Because I've got to run a lot and keep fit. So...

INTERVIEWER: It sounds like, um, it helps you keep on top of your body which in turn helps you with, like, lifestyle stuff

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Like playing

EMMA: Also I- I keep underlining this, I'm obsessed with my appearance, I would say. Yeah, quite vain, so.

INTERVIEWER: I think, who isn't though?

EMMA: Yeah. So I'm like constantly- I'm like one of those- I like look at myself in the mirror and I'm like "Right! I need to sort this out" But it's not like I'm saying- I'm not saying I'm fat, I'm not saying I'm unhappy, I'm just like, there's little things that just... Yeah. I think the apps just help me to remember to do it.

INTERVIEWER: Or what you can do about it

EMMA: Yeah. And it's kind of like as well when I'm- So I'm normally in a relationship. And I was seeing this guy, um... for the last however many months. Kind of like slowed it down, slash ended it, but I feel like I always turn to, like, exercise and being in tune with my body when I'm not with someone more. And I feel like these apps, I've just downloaded them... I don't know if that's got some sort of

INTERVIEWER: No, it's really interesting

EMMA: Yeah, I don't know, it just makes me feel... Cos then I'm not- I don't know, yeah. I always don't feel as happy with my body when I'm with someone. Than when I'm not. Because I don't do as much exercise.

INTERVIEWER: So, working on your body helps you feel better with it, and that's something you do-

EMMA: And that's more- Yeah. That's, like, more... Makes ME feel happier. That no guy can tell me that I look good if I don't feel like I'm doing it

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: And it's not even that I don't think I look good, it's the fact that I know I haven't been exercising.

INTERVIEWER: Mm

EMMA: Whether that's to do with... me feeling I don't look good or just not exercising, I'm not sure.

INTERVIEWER: Well, it's going to be- Those two things aren't going to be able to be...

EMMA: Yeah, they'll be combined

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely. Yeah. No that's really, really interesting. Um...

EMMA: But that's a thing I've consciously noticed, since I slowed it down with this guy recently. I was like "oh my god" like I realise how much... less... times I've been to the gym. So like last term I literally did the gym every night. And then this term I was like, I haven't been in so long. I didn't go at all January or February.

INTERVIEWER: Well I'm sure a lot of it's to do with timings. When you've got to- Well, you haven't GOT to see another person

EMMA: Yeah, it is. I was just like "ugh, compromise"

[E&C laugh]

EMMA: Yeah, so.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. So it's something that you sort of- Well, it sounds like you're working on yourself when you're more... by yourself.

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So

EMMA: Yeah, it is good. But then I'm- Yeah. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Um, is there anything you do that helps you feel more comfortable with your gender identity? And I'm happy to explain that or give an example

EMMA: Yeah, can you explain?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, sure, um, my example is [long hair, femininity]

EMMA: [A laughs a little] I don't want to sound cocky, but definitely my body does.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: Because, like, guys will comment a lot. And also I think it's because I'm half Indian, don't know if that- that exoticness, boys like.

INTERVIEWER: Right.

EMMA: Talking about boys, I guess it's like that they kind of... make me- remind me that I'm a woman

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: A lot

INTERVIEWER: And that's definitely to do with your body

EMMA: And I don't know if that's ba- I don't think it's a bad thing, for me.

INTERVIEWER: No

EMMA: Because I like attention. I can't, like, I'm not gonna lie. Um... Yeah I reckon that's my main source of...

INTERVIEWER: Mm.

EMMA: What else?... I guess because I've got, like, dark hairs on my legs, dark body hairs, that reminds me- I think every time I go to wax my legs or do my underarms, I kind of think "for fuck's sake." Like, why?

INTERVIEWER: Yep!

EMMA: I think that's probably, like- Yeah, I always get that feeling whenever I'm removing hair from my body

INTERVIEWER: Ok, yeah. Um, would you consider walking to be something that's linked to gender in the same sort of way?

EMMA: So I guess, like, the way I think about walking is like it's gonna tone up my bum.

[C laughs]

EMMA: Like genuinely. And I guess that is definitely a gendered thing. For me. Because it's like big bum, boys like big bums. Definitely shouldn't say that- I like having a big bum too. So, yeah. I guess. What else?

[pause]

INTERVIEWER: No, that could be fine

EMMA: Yeah, Ok

INTERVIEWER: Um, do you think dieting is gendered?

EMMA: [pause] Yes, and no.

INTERVIEWER: OK

EMMA: Yes because... obviously women have to be slim, the so-called like "perfect" whatever body. But then I think boys also have a lot of pressure in a different way. Like, I just see some of my friends, not close friends but friends of friends, guys who are dieting in a way where they, like, fast and then they get a lot of vitamins and proteins and it's like- I think that is still dieting, but when I immediately think of the word "dieting" I think of women losing weight

INTERVIEWER: Mm hm.

EMMA: But then I think... now thinking about things like that more, since this course especially, it makes you think of the other side as well. Because they- like, guys do have a lot of pressure. And some of them go to very extreme lengths to... diet. I guess, which is, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Do you think exercise is gendered?

EMMA: Yeah definitely. Well if you go to a gym you've got, like, women in cardio and men in the weights. That is literally, like I can't believe that still happens so much

INTERVIEWER: I know

EMMA: And I'm still so scared to go to the weights section if there's guys there

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: I'm pretty sure [Jo] would have said that as well

[E&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Uh, do you think sleeping is gendered?

EMMA: [Long pause] Um... [pause] Maybe. I'm thinking about my family and that, like, my brother goes to sleep really late all the time. And my mum says my dad used to do that as well. And then when he got married to my mum, then he started to go to bed early. That's the only thing I can think of. Oh I don't know, I like to sleep loads, but whether that's gendered or not...

INTERVIEWER: Can you think of anything that is completely ungendered?

EMMA: No

INTERVIEWER: No?

EMMA: No, I don't think so, no.

INTERVIEWER: There's just this element of gender in just everything?

EMMA: Definitely

INTERVIEWER: What does the phrase "walk like a woman" mean to you?

[E laughs]

EMMA: Like, I can picture a woman in, like, heels. Probably moving her hips, sort of in like a... that "independent woman" sort of way

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

EMMA: In a suit, with a skirt. Or something ridiculous

INTERVIEWER: So, do you think there's a difference between "walking LIKE a woman" and "walking AS a woman?"

EMMA: As a woman, to me, seems like just walking... however you want. I don't know

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: But walking LIKE a woman just seems like that's been made, that's someone's... Oh I don't know, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Well, there's some expectations there.

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, is there a difference between "walking as a woman" and "walking as a human"? Are those two different images?

EMMA: Yeah, walking as a human image is just walking.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: Like, there's no [pause] gender? No gendered implication to it. I wouldn't think so.

INTERVIEWER: Would that be there's none of that behaviour like swinging your hips or-

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Wearing a suit and stuff like that

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: OK. It's just...

EMMA: Walking

INTERVIEWER: Just walking

EMMA: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: In the purest sense of it

EMMA: Yeah, literally

INTERVIEWER: Is there an important difference between walking as a human and walking as a woman?

EMMA: Important?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, as in are the two images... Uh, how do I rephrase that?

EMMA: No I think you can, because I think there's- Like it is important because it will remove- So in my mind I've got stereotypical woman that has to walk and talk and dress and be a certain

way. And what I think about as a woman, that's, like, classy but then still like... available basically. That's what I see it as. Elegant, but then still... But then walking as a human you just walk how the fuck you want to walk and no one's there like looking at you, you don't feel like you need to walk a certain way, you just walk

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: I think that's what – I think it is important, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Thank you!

[A&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: I didn't know how to-

EMMA: That's OK I just had to think about it

INTERVIEWER: Um, has anything ever happened to you while you were walking that you feel was linked to your gender in any way?

EMMA: Oh, yeah, plenty of times. Like a main one was when I was in [location], me and my friend were walking back after a late night at the library and, like, guys were literally following us home. And just generally, like, ugh, I hate walking down that- So, I don't know if you know the main road in town [road name]

INTERVIEWER: I think so

EMMA: And there's a little alley way I have to walk down

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, yeah, yeah

EMMA: To get to uni. And I walk down it and I'm just like, I always have to look behind me and it's like, even in the daylight, I'm thinking like a church, like, there's definitely areas where you

could, I don't know... Don't want to think about that, but still I'm like so wary. So when I'm on my own I don't think I actually enjoy walking as much as I would want to. Because I'm always worrying about something, or... I'm always on the phone, like a lot when I'm walking to... not feel so scared

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

EMMA: But I'm quite a scared-y cat, so. I really am, like, so badly

INTERVIEWER: No, I'm the exact same, especially- do you know [the field] to get onto [university] campus?

EMMA: Oh yeah

INTERVIEWER: That's the way I get into town because I do live on campus, and I'm terrified of that field at night

EMMA: Yeah. And it's awful, it's so bad, but yeah. I think that's maybe one of the reasons I wanted to drive in [previous university location] as well.

EMMA: Just because it is, like... Yeah, we used to stay quite late and stuff, we always get taxis just because it's safer, and it's rubbish but...

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Um, have you ever changed how or where you walk in a way that's linked to your gender?

EMMA: Yeah, well I just sometimes don't go down the alley, like, I go round the side or I walk faster. I've definitely ran a few times. Um, yeah, that's- I think that's quite a regular occurrence for me, definitely.

INTERVIEWER: Um, and going back to the walking app, do you- Would you want to see walking apps aimed more at particular genders? Or are you-

EMMA: I don't think it needs to be- Yeah, no. I don't think that would help anything. Maybe worsen the problem.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Um, and final question is are you planning on keeping the app or are you going to take it off your phone?

EMMA: I might keep it actually! Just because it's not too... invasive. Like it's not like those calorie ones where you're literally scanning what you're eating and counting all that rubbish. But it's still- It's good for me to know what- That I am walking, cos yeah sitting at uni all day you need to still be walking I guess

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, brilliant!

Appendix 3

Holly

INTERVIEWER: To start off, do you have any questions for me about the research or the interviews, or anything?

HOLLY: Um... no

INTERVIEWER: Awesome!

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: A couple of things to say; if any of the questions you don't want to answer, that's absolutely fine we'll just skip them, no problem. I'm happy to explain anything if I haven't phrased it very well. And take your time to think about the answers, with interviews I feel like I ask a question and people feel like they have to answer immediately, and that- If you need to think about it, that's no problem. Um, first of all, can you tell me a little bit about yourself? Just like, as a person?

HOLLY: As a person?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, yeah!

HOLLY: OK

INTERVIEWER: Like, are you a student- obviously I know that one

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: But do you work as well? You know, where do you live, that sort of thing?

HOLLY: Um, no I don't work. Hm, ok. Where to start? I'll tell you my hobbies, that's a good place to start. So I run- I say I run, I help with a Cub group in [location]

INTERVIEWER: Brilliant

HOLLY: So that takes up more of my time than I thought it would. Which is OK. So I really enjoy that. I'm a Scout, that's very important to me. So I do a lot of Scout-y things with my life

INTERVIEWER: Did you- were you a Scout when you were a kid?

HOLLY: Yeah, well I was a Guide up until fourteen and then I went to Scouts and...

INTERVIEWER: Oh, I see

HOLLY: So yeah I've had a lots of Scouting adventures in my time

INTERVIEWER: Cool. Do you live on campus or...

HOLLY: I live off campus

INTERVIEWER: OK, how do you get onto campus?

HOLLY: I walk or I get the bus [H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Which do you prefer?

HOLLY: Well, um, I- Last term I walked a lot. But I found that when I was in the library every morning I was hot and sweaty. And I think I was just, like- I was trying my best, I was walking too fast, and then it took me ages to just cool down before I could start work. So I just thought, fuck this I'm just going to take the bus

[H&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: And it's pretty cheap, the bus around here

HOLLY: I live in [location] so it's free from [location] if I get the [bus number]

INTERVIEWER: Oh! That's brilliant

HOLLY: If I had to pay for it I wouldn't get it. God no [H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Fair enough. Um, so do you do- Are you the kind of person that walks for fun, or is it just getting from A to B?

HOLLY: Um, yes. I'm a hiker, so

INTERVIEWER: Oh! Of course! Doing a whole holiday of it! Of course!

HOLLY: I know!

INTERVIEWER: Um, and have you used a self-tracking app before?

HOLLY: Never

INTERVIEWER: Never? So this is your first time?

HOLLY: Yep

INTERVIEWER: How did you find it? Did you like it?

HOLLY: Um. [Pause] I didn't

INTERVIEWER: Brilliant!

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: What didn't- Tell me everything, what didn't you like about it?

HOLLY: Well [sighs] [Long pause] I watched- Like, I already knew this, but I watched that programme, The Truth About Exercise or something

INTERVIEWER: I will write that down

HOLLY: But the- They talked about the ten thousand steps, and there was also an article on the BBC website about it. So... Yeah. Because I already knew that, like, exercise to make you fitter is much better to do, like, short and really intense rather than lots of, like, moderate exercise, it just doesn't get you anywhere. So yeah. I found... So yeah I sort of decided, like, "no why would anyone want a tracker app?" And I also found it's another way of, like, to feel like I'm failing, because like I've got to ten thousand steps, like, two days out of however many. And it's just another thing to not make me feel very good. So, like, before, when tracking apps became a thing I was like "what the hell, of course I'm not getting one!" And then new research came out and I'm like "hmm, maybe I should try this for once." So for these few weeks I've been "oh, I can't wait to delete this". Um, but this morning I was actually like "Oh no! I've been waiting for this for ages and I'm going to delete today! Like, what?!" I'm not sure how I feel about this anymore!

INTERVIEWER: That's-That's strange- First of all, sorry you didn't enjoy it that much!

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Um, but as [inaudible] it's really interesting!

HOLLY: It is interesting!

INTERVIEWER: So... Just picking up the fact you said that you felt like a failure, like you hadn't achieved-

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: -the ten thousand steps, and you talked about the Truth of Exercise, so you- you knew that the ten thousand is kind of...

HOLLY: Bullshit

INTERVIEWER: It's all derived from

HOLLY: Nothing, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Apparently, a guy in Japan.

HOLLY: Yeah! Yeah, I know that!

INTERVIEWER: So

HOLLY: Just this marketing company

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, exactly!

HOLLY: Like, what? How has this become a thing?

INTERVIEWER: Exactly!

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Very strange. But you know this, you know that- that it's more important to do... brisk exercise and get your heartrate up than it is to just walk an arbitrary number, but you still- you still felt negatively?

HOLLY: Yeah. [Long pause] I think it was the days when I'd look and I'd literally only done, like, a thousand steps today. Um... But then I'd still, like, felt like a had a full day and I didn't feel like I had excess energy, like I sometimes do when I know I haven't done anything all day

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: I think that was interesting

INTERVIEWER: So, this is actually a question I ask a lot later in the interview, but it's very interesting that you say, like, you had this perception of your day, like you said it was a full day, you didn't feel like you had excess energy, but there was still, according to the app, some kind of lacking there

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So you... would you say that your perceptions of your day and the app's perceptions of your day, if you could describe it as that, were misaligned in some way?

HOLLY: Yeah, absolutely

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: And also the days when I had, like... I do a bit of aerobics as well, and I've been doing it more recently to try and get my fitness up for [holiday], and then obviously I wouldn't have my phone on me while I was doing that, so then when I looked it was like "I know I've done more than that!" So I try, like, to not look at my phone as well, so often in the library I'll, like, go to the toilet or just go walk around the library, generally, just for something to do

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: And I wouldn't take my phone

INTERVIEWER: No

HOLLY: And I have started to take my phone so it records it. And thinking "what am I doing with my life?" Like, rise above it Holly. [laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. So you- Did you- You didn't check it very often?

HOLLY: Um... I did though. Well. I don't know!...

INTERVIEWER: How often would you say you checked it?

HOLLY: Sometimes- I don't know, because it varied a lot. Some days I became quite obsessed with it. And was literally checking it all the time, like "oh wow! What am I up to now?" And other days I sort of like forgot about it. I'd be intrigued like "Ooh, I wonder what I'm up to now?"

INTERVIEWER: Do you think it's a healthy habit, to check these apps?

HOLLY: No. Not at all

INTERVIEWER: Why do you think that?

HOLLY: I think it's like, um, it's such an arbitrary measure. It actually counts for nothing but yet it becomes an obsession. It's like, I never weight myself as well, for like the same reasons. I make a point of it. I don't know how tall I am either, which is why I had trouble with the app

INTERVIEWER: [laughs] yeah, same!

HOLLY: I just don't see the point! Like it's just another thing to make you feel pressure, it's just another social construct

INTERVIEWER: Mmm. What do you think the purpose of these kinds of apps is?

HOLLY: Um... I don't know. In what way, do you mean like in terms of like consumer use?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah! I mean, there are millions of apps like this out there on the market, it's crazy how many there are. But y'know- And people- Loads of people are using them

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Why do you think that is? Why do people download these and keep them on their phones and check them and use them?

HOLLY: I suppose it's like... Oh I don't know. For the same reason people weigh themselves. To make them feel like... now I'm just talking bullshit, I'm not really answering the question

INTERVIEWER: No, no, no, it's fantastic

HOLLY: To feel like they're achieving something, maybe?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

HOLLY: And like... I don't know, if people do believe that ten thousand steps- I suppose ten thousand steps is better than doing zero exercise, but- even if it's not a perfect way to increase... like your fitness, but... I- I don't know. Well they're obviously made because people use them. And obviously the advertising revenue comes in. Um... Apart from that I don't know. Because I just wouldn't choose to use one

INTERVIEWER: No, that's fair enough. But did you get the impression it was aimed at anyone in particular?

HOLLY: I suppose when it talked about calories and stuff, definitely people who are like health conscious.

INTERVIEWER: So it's fitness and health conscious. You know, it's... yeah definitely. Right. Could we look at some of your data that you've recorded? -Pick any week

HOLLY: Ooh!

INTERVIEWER: -That we can sort of, y'know, a week where you've got something we can talk about

HOLLY: Sure

[pause to retrieve data]

HOLLY: Hmm. Was this week one? It's the oldest so I assume it's week one. Yep.

INTERVIEWER: Yep? OK Let's look at that. Right. How-

HOLLY: That's quite a good week!

INTERVIEWER: Excellent! So I was about to ask, how do you feel about this recording, is it a good recording, is it a bad-

HOLLY: I think it is. That's a lot of exercise. That's like better than the past few weeks

INTERVIEWER: You sound a little bit surprised

[H laughs]

HOLLY: It's a lot! Um, yeah, so... Was that... I'd done something. Because my behaviour changed as a result of the app.

INTERVIEWER: Ohh! That's interesting!

HOLLY: I know!! I was annoyed at myself for doing it as well! But some days I was like "Hmm, I might just go out for a walk now" [B laughs] And I like walking! And I do sometimes go out for a walk, but then I do that just to get some exercise, just to like clear my head and think and listen to music

INTERVIEWER: And when you were doing it in order to get more steps on the app, that changed it?

HOLLY: Yeah! I wasn't going out to just, like... go out. I was going out to get more steps. I'm angry at myself for doing that.

INTERVIEWER: The recording became the purpose

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Rather than like a background... addition

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So, your weekends are clearly the lowest

[B laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Um, activity

HOLLY: I have no idea what I did that Saturday

INTERVIEWER: Fair enough. Um, is there anything you did do that you can remember from these days? I realise it was a while ago-

HOLLY: I remember... The Tuesday I went to a [inaudible] social, which is like, a half an hour walk from my house.

INTERVIEWER: Right

HOLLY: And then we were walking to town. And then I got there and I was like "Oh shit I don't want to drink." So then I walked away home, which was a good forty five minutes

INTERVIEWER: Oh goodness

HOLLY: So, hence the-the... the, like, fourteen thousand steps that day or something

INTERVIEWER: Yeah you went way over the 10K there

HOLLY: I did.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: Yeah. What did I do that Saturday? I cannot remember. Because that is- that is not very many steps at all!

INTERVIEWER: I find that! Because I- I've also been testing some of these apps and, y'know, we're students; a lot of our time is spent sat in the library

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: You don't walk around a lot

HOLLY: No!

INTERVIEWER: There's always a bit of dichotomy, it's either I'm sat at my desk all day or I'm walking into town and walking round town

HOLLY: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. So how do you- How do you feel about your Tuesday versus your Sunday, for example? Because Tuesday is your highest activity day, and then the weekends are the lowest

HOLLY: I'm racking my brain to think what I did on the weekend, but I can't

INTERVIEWER: So, the activity is clearly linked to- you know what you did

HOLLY: Yeah. What did I do? What did I do that day? This is going to bug me until I remember.

[C laughs]

HOLLY: Can we look at a different week?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, of course!

HOLLY: Because I had more things to say about...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, brilliant

HOLLY: This is! Ok, this is The Week [emphasises the last two words]

INTERVIEWER: This is The Week? [mimicking her emphasis]

[H laughs]

HOLLY: It's the week I became, I think a little bit obsessed with it.

INTERVIEWER: Ok what week was this?

HOLLY: Um it was [inaudible mumbling to herself] Ah, Ok, because at the weekend I didn't do very many steps at all and I was quite annoyed with myself, so like three thousand on the Saturday- that was the day I felt like I'd had a full day because I'd had- I was at home in the morning, and then I got the train back to [city]. So I feel like that's- that's a full day!

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely. And travelling takes it out of you

HOLLY: It does. So I felt quite tired when I got home. I was like "oh, that's really not many steps at all" And then on the Friday, um-

INTERVIEWER: And this- Is this the next week?

HOLLY: Yeah, yeah, this is umm- Yeah the Friday after the weekend before

INTERVIEWER: OK. Gotcha

HOLLY: Um... So on the Friday I met [Lorna] in town for something, and rather than getting the bus, which I usually do, I thought "you know what, I'll walk today" And then I spent ages walking around town, and then I walked back from town, and I was like really tired afterwards, I thought "this is just-" It took ages as well, it was like "this is such an inefficient way-such an inefficient transport method"

INTERVIEWER: [laughs] It is! We have the technology!

[H&C laugh]

HOLLY: I was like “next time I’m getting the bus!” Like, why did I walk? I know why I walked, but...

And then-

INTERVIEWER: Did- did you walk because of the app?

HOLLY: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Wow!

HOLLY: I walked there because of the app, I didn’t walk back because of the app, that’s because I was with Lorna and she likes to walk to places so I was like “whatever.”

INTERVIEWER: Gotcha

HOLLY: Um... Yeah, and then I did aerobics afterwards. And then before aerobics I was really tired, and I was like “why have I done this to myself?” Like, you know you’re getting your full exercise at the end of the day, why are you trying to get your steps up?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: Um, yeah, and I felt like I, around these days [sighs] I was getting quite competitive with [Lorna]. Which really annoyed me.

INTERVIEWER: Ah, I see [C laughs]

HOLLY: And I was like “this counts for nothing! Why are you... caring about how many steps your friend is doing?”

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: Um, yeah so that was a lot of steps that day.

INTERVIEWER: Mm, it was. So, sorry, there's just- So much there that's really interesting, um... It's interesting that-that the app changed how you walked, and you're so aware that it changed how you walked and your reasons for walking. But on days that you felt like-Like that weekend where you took the train and it was clearly a very full day, but then the app told you it was a low activity day

HOLLY: Yes, it fucks you up

INTERVIEWER: Exactly. But who-who do you agree with? I know that's really odd. But, like, I've had that as well where I feel like I've done loads today, I feel tired today, and then the app tells me I've done nothing, do you believe yourself or do you believe the app? In terms of-

HOLLY: I don't know! Somewhere in between I guess... Because if it wasn't for the app I would be like "that was a full day" and then app tells me and I think "oh! Ok. Well I supposed I haven't walked that far. But..."

INTERVIEWER: It's the app that makes you question it in the first place

HOLLY: yeah, yeah. Absolutely

INTERVIEWER: Hm, yeah, Ok. Uh, have you look back on data from these- Before this

HOLLY: No

INTERVIEWER: No, you just check the daily step count

HOLLY: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: OK, gotcha. Um, do you think the stuff we discussed about... you know, you choosing to walk into town and everything, doing aerobics, do you think that's reflected in the

data? If I looked at this data, without you, having not heard what you did, do you think I'd be able to see... your lifestyle, your-the events in the data?

HOLLY: Um, yeah, I think so

INTERVIEWER: Yeah?

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, there is a term that I've come across in research that's called Invisible Data. And- yeah, I know [responding to B's unimpressed expression] I would explain it as, um, the idea that there is- our body has data that we cannot perceive without technology. Step counting is one of them, in that without technology, without the technology of the app or a Fitbit or whatever you would never... within reason you couldn't count your steps.

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: You would- There's also- there are apps, or technology, to track your breathing, your heartrate, to track your sleeping patterns, just things that without the technology we couldn't do. The technology makes this invisible data that is present, it makes it visible.

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: What do you think of that phrase, of that concept? Do you agree with it, do you like it?

HOLLY: I suppose it's true.

INTERVIEWER: Mm

HOLLY: But... Why'd you need to? Like why does the average person want to know how many steps they've taken?

INTERVIEWER: That's very

HOLLY: Like your breathing rate! Ok, in hospital, yeah you need to know that! What does the average person need to know that for? Like you know in yourself if you can breathe or not. And if it's comfortable.

INTERVIEWER: There is this idea about the Quantified Self, that you know yourself better through your data, that if you- if you know your breathing and your sleeping patterns, your step counts then you somehow know yourself better

HOLLY: Bullshit

INTERVIEWER: So you don't agree with that one?

HOLLY: Not at all!

INTERVIEWER: Brilliant. Yeah. But why don't you agree with it? Would you mind expanding?

HOLLY: No, no, because... That's not how you know yourself. That's... I suppose that is about your body, but I think knowing yourself is knowing your personality, I suppose, knowing what you react to, knowing, I don't know, your triggers and... knowing what motivates you and all that jazz

INTERVIEWER: More personality, more

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Less to do with the physical

HOLLY: Who you are rather than- I think the body is important but... I think knowing your breathing rate or the steps you do... I don't think it counts for anything.

INTERVIEWER: Hmm. The next section is sort of about technology and the body. Um, what would you say your relationship is like with your body?

HOLLY: In what way?

INTERVIEWER: It's- How connected do you feel with your body?

HOLLY: Oh my god

INTERVIEWER: It's a huge question to drop in, I do- I do understand that, but you know, a lot of people- there's mind and there's body, and you were just talking about how who you are is your personality, not your physical breathing, stepping, that sort of thing. But do you... do you think you are your body? How connected- What's your relationship like with it?

HOLLY: Um, OK, so [pause] I've always thought of my body as really weak, just because I've never been very good at sport and stuff [H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Same, so

[H&C laugh]

HOLLY: And then, over the summer, I went to work at this international sales centre. I don't know if I've told you this story before, but I'm going to tell it again [H laughs] And I was made a hike guide, and I was like "what have you done this for, I can't- I don't like hiking. Like, it's going to kill me. I really don't like hiking"

INTERVIEWER: Well clearly that's changed

[H&C laugh]

HOLLY: Yeah! And then within a few weeks I really started to enjoy it, and then... They're really focussed on, like, development and stuff, they talk through SPICES, so social, physical blah blah blah. And then that's how I started thing about myself, and particularly my body. Cos, like, the hikes got easier the more I did, and I really started to enjoy them, and sort of... know what my

body could do, which I was... honestly quite happy about. Um, so yeah, I think my relationship with my body has improved. I know that it does have physical strength, it CAN do things. I think I've always given up at, I think, most physical challenges before, because I just found them too hard. I suppose

[H&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: Like, I dunno [pause] What sports have I done?... I've never really had self-motivation in terms of sport. But then that's something else people tell you you should do. But I don't like it, so I'm not going to do it.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: Don't make me feel guilty for not doing it. Um, does that answer your question?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah! That's brilliant! Um, does your- does your concept of your gender connect to your concept of your body at all? Are those two things related in your mind?

HOLLY: Um [Long pause] I'd never thought of that... I suppose no. [H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah? That's a very fair answer, yeah.

HOLLY: Um, but then I suppose in terms of, like, like sport and stuff...

INTERVIEWER: Mm?

HOLLY: [pause] I don't know- I suppose that is... mildly gendered, maybe?

INTERVIEWER: Mm hm

HOLLY: Cos when I- I dunno. When I played with the boys before, they've always been like- they've always been very good at sport. So I dunno maybe that's why I've thought of my body as weak. I dunno.

INTERVIEWER: What sports do you do?

HOLLY: Um, not any more, I don't really play sports anymore. [H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: What sports did you used to do?

HOLLY: Um, I did Taekwondo in my teenage years

INTERVIEWER: Brilliant. I used to do Taekwondo

HOLLY: Did you?!

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. I also gave it up

[H&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: But that's not a sport that's typically separated by gender

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Like, football is hugely separated

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But Taekwondo is- It's more... I guess it's more based on size? Or in my experience it's more based on size. Which does have a gendered aspect to it, but much, much less so.

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, did tracking and recording your body in the form of your step counts like this, did it make you feel more, less connected, did it not make a difference at all? To your body, I mean.

HOLLY: Um... I don't think it made a difference

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, fair enough. Again, if you believed in Quantified Self

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: You'd think it... very important. Right OK, if we have at these. And I have to tell you that these examples weren't taken from within this particular participant group. Your data will not be shared with anyone within the group, the only people to see your data will be myself and potentially my supervisors.

HOLLY: OK

INTERVIEWER: Just to let you know! Um, is there anything- whoops. You can tell me just about the people that would have recorded this data, from looking at their data? And if you could refer to them as Figure 1 and Figure 2, just for the recording.

HOLLY: Cool

INTERVIEWER: Thank you

HOLLY: So this is someone who walks everywhere

INTERVIEWER: Mm hm

HOLLY: Someone who's walked into town and back, and then walked into town, hung out for a bit, maybe gone for a drink.

INTERVIEWER: OK

HOLLY: And then walked back again. I think from the times. But then it's not just one walk, it's lots of walks. Hmm. I don't know. I don't know what to make of that. But that's a lot of steps. Like this person's walked FAR. Um, hmm. [pause] This is someone who's had a lazy day

INTERVIEWER: That's Figure 4 yeah?

HOLLY: Yeah, Figure 4

[B&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Although I think I'd know which one you're talking about just from the word lazy

[B&C laugh]

HOLLY: Had a nice, chilled out Sunday.

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

HOLLY: Which I respect. That's what Sundays are there for. Walked to the kitchen, walk back again. Watched a lot of Netflix.

INTERVIEWER: Perfect day to be honest with you

HOLLY: Got up very late

INTERVIEWER: Is there anything you think you could- [C&H laugh] Nobody saw that...

HOLLY: It's all good!

[H&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Is there anything you think you could tell me about, um, their jobs, their gender, their age, from the data?

HOLLY: Umm... No

INTERVIEWER: No?

HOLLY: No.

INTERVIEWER: No, you really- I like what you're saying, walking to town and back maybe, that's-
I really- But

HOLLY: Yeah I think maybe someone walked somewhere and walked back again. Or maybe went shopping. Because that a sustained period of walking.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. But in terms of those general things, you couldn't really... guess that from their data?

HOLLY: No, no.

INTERVIEWER: OK. Right. Is there anything that you do that makes you feel more... more comfortable with your gender? Or your gender identity? [pause] If I need to explain that, I can.

HOLLY: Yes please

INTERVIEWER: Um, well, for example [story about hair 25.00 for reference] So is there anything that you do that, yeah, makes you

HOLLY: I'd never thought about this before [pause] I have had- well. I've had a little think about this, because one of my essays is sort of in this area. Um, so one thing I get in Scouts is that the uniforms are shit, and then there's the trousers as well. But I point-blank refuse to wear the trousers. Because they make me feel like a man

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

HOLLY: So I wear, like, jeans that- not really improve, but like, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Absolutely. So there's- So you still wear trousers, but you wear jeans and that makes you feel not like a man

[H laughs]

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So what are these trousers like?

HOLLY: They're just- They say they're women's but they're just, like they're not fitted at all. They come round the waist and there's this massive belt that comes with them, they're just very masculine, and they come in wide leg. I don't know how they're the female version, maybe they're shorter, smaller? I don't know. But they're just straight up, straight down, they're literally look like man's trousers, and I've seen a picture of me wearing them and I thought "ughh"

[C laughs]

INTERVIEWER: No, that's not happening!

[H&C laugh]

HOLLY: Yeah, since I've seen that one photo- since I've seen that photo I just literally refuse to wear those trousers. Ever again

INTERVIEWER: What's wrong with jeans though? If you're going hiking and stuff, jeans are fine

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Um, do you- would you ever consider walking to be something that's linked to gender?

[pause]

HOLLY: I have also had a little think about this

INTERVIEWER: Oh, brilliant!

HOLLY: So I wanted to explain in my essay, so, um, the [University course name], one of the questions is, uh, produce a photo essay of yourself and critically analyse the relationship between gender identity and the social world and... something else. See I never- Everyday practise, that was it. So my plan was to take- to include the Scout thing and comment on that, and then the other thing I thought of was like when I go mountaineering, and then I thought "oh maybe that's a masculine thing" but now I've like, thought a bit more... sorry, what was the question again?

INTERVIEWER: Um, do you see walking as something that's linked to gender, in the same way as wearing jeans or having long hair?

HOLLY: That's it. OK. So then, I was thinking "Oh hiking and mountaineering are very masculine things, I suppose" but then I thought about the outfit and apart from the... outfit, mountaineering is very... feminine. Sorry, I'm getting off the point

INTERVIEWER: No, no, no, it's really interesting. What- what-

HOLLY: So like, uh, in all the [ramps?] there's a female line for everything. Apart from the other day, I was looking for mountain boots, and they had loads of men's mountain boots and they had, like, zero for women

INTERVIEWER: [sarcastic] brilliant. Love it

HOLLY: I was, like, furious! I was like, why?!

[H&C laugh]

HOLLY: Sorry, I'm getting off the point again. Yeah, so then, the outfits, I had like bright pink gloves

INTERVIEWER: Wow

HOLLY: Yeah. Men can wear pink gloves, but I don't know how they would choose to. And then they'd feel feminine. And then, like... yeah, all my clothes are quite... feminine for like outdoorsy stuff, like all the [inaudible] are very cut and female shaped. I don't feel like a man would ever wear that, if that makes sense

INTERVIEWER: Mm, that-

HOLLY: Even though it's more masculine than my everyday clothes. And then, oh yeah that's the belt I wear for hiking, like I just needed a belt and it's like pink, checked

INTERVIEWER: Wow!

HOLLY: And then the buckle- such a chav belt- it's like white with a cherry on it, like diamantes

[H&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: I can't imagine you wearing that!

HOLLY: No one sees it, but it's like...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: I quite like it now

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

HOLLY: It's just become a thing.

INTERVIEWER: Why is that your HIKING belt?

HOLLY: I don't know

INTERVIEWER: [laughs] OK

HOLLY: I only ever wear two belts, I wear this one, which is new because I decided I needed it, and then yeah... I think it's because I didn't like the belt that came with the trousers because it was just a... I don't know, it looked like a piece of paracord, with a buckle. They're horrible. I was like "I'm not going to wear that". So I think it was the only belt I had at the time because I didn't wear belts

INTERVIEWER: And it just became your hiking belt

HOLLY: yeah

INTERVIEWER: Aw, that's quite nice actually!

HOLLY: So yeah, it's my feminine thing.

INTERVIEWER: Is there anything about the physical act of walking...

HOLLY: That's why I was like... Um.... No

INTERVIEWER: No?

HOLLY: Not at all

INTERVIEWER: Fair enough, completely. Um, do you think dieting is gendered?

HOLLY: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Do you think exercise is gendered?

[pause]

HOLLY: Yes. Yes

INTERVIEWER: Um, do you think sleeping is gendered?

[pause]

HOLLY: Yes?

INTERVIEWER: Oh, really? Why do you think sleeping is gendered?

HOLLY: I think this whole concept of getting your beauty sleep, becomes a very feminine thing. I don't know, beyond that I don't think so

INTERVIEWER: Do you think sleeping is gendered to the same degree that dieting and exercise is?

HOLLY: I suppose not

INTERVIEWER: No?

HOLLY: No, I don't think so

INTERVIEWER: If you could identify a reason, or not a reason sorry, a difference between sleeping and, say, dieting- because you answered that one immediately. Dieting, yes, gendered. Sleeping? There was a longer pause. Which was great. Can you think what is the difference that would account for that?

[Pause]

HOLLY: I thinking, dieting... Because there's this whole cultural, social construct about the ideal shape you have to be- sorry. I feel like I keep fumbling this and you can't record

INTERVIEWER: No, no, no it's fine

HOLLY: Um, yeah, dieting is just like really super gendered. Like so many diets and things are obviously aimed at women. And this whole social construct that women have to... I don't know, appear in a certain way.

INTERVIEWER: And that isn't present in sleeping?

[pause]

INTERVIEWER: To the same level?

HOLLY: No. There aren't as many external factors

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

HOLLY: Yeah, if that makes sense

INTERVIEWER: No, external factors, definitely. Yeah.

HOLLY: Yeah, external factors. I don't know what that means. It's come out now! [B laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Brilliant. Um [pause] What does the phrase "walk like a woman" mean to you?

[pause]

HOLLY: I don't know. I've never heard that before. What is walking like a woman?

INTERVIEWER: That's your reaction to it. Do you like that phrase? Would you apply it to yourself?

HOLLY: Anything- Do anything like a woman is a horrible phrase

INTERVIEWER: You don't like it?

HOLLY: No!

INTERVIEWER: Do you think there's a difference between walking like a woman, or doing anything like a woman, and doing it as a woman?

HOLLY: I don't know.

[pause]

INTERVIEWER: Well, you said you didn't like "walk like a woman", what- why? What were the images that that phrase conjured up for you?

HOLLY: How do you walk like a woman? It's just putting one foot in front of the other. How is that gendered? I don't know. But now you've said that I'm thinking of how a woman walks and how a man walks. I think... gait, I suppose. Posture, rather than... walking? I don't know.

INTERVIEWER: yeah

HOLLY: But I suppose there's walking as in literally taking one step and then walking as in a distance.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely. Definitely. And... now that you've said that, one of my other questions is do you think there's a difference between walking like/as a woman and walking like/as a human?

[pause]

HOLLY: Oh! Oh! That's a good question.

INTERVIEWER: Oh, thank you!

[H&C laugh]

[long pause]

HOLLY: I don't know. I don't have an answer to that.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. No, that's fine. To be honest, that's my whole dissertation

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: So if you were like yes, there's a definitive answer, brilliant! There you go, all my conclusions done!

[H laughs]

HOLLY: I don't, like... I don't think of myself as woman, I think of myself as a human when I go out- or do I? I don't know!

INTERVIEWER: Mm. but I think that's so interesting, because what... when you're doing anything as a woman, what do you do as a woman? What do you not do as a woman? Is it... one of my questions is, is it reductive to say you do everything as a woman, do you sleep as a woman, do you eat as a woman?

HOLLY: I just... I just live my life.

INTERVIEWER: Exactly! But what- what is that?

HOLLY: yeah [long pause] I don't know! [Pause] So deep! I like your question

INTERVIEWER: [silly voice] Thank you very much

[H&C laugh]

HOLLY: That's a hard question to answer, but I like it! [pause] what do I do as a woman? I suppose... I don't know. I can't- when I think of myself I can't separate- or can I? Being a woman from who I am. Because I think that is... very important.

INTERVIEWER: Mm

HOLLY: But... Do I do things as a woman? [Pause] I think this is very interesting, I might be completely off topic with this

INTERVIEWER: No, go for it

HOLLY: Because I feel like- I went to this feminist talk, like, ages and ages ago, and then- they had all these feminists on stage, and then this one rival person to, I don't know...

INTERVIEWER: Balance it out?

HOLLY: Yeah!

[H&C laugh]

HOLLY: And they were saying, um, we need more female role models and she was like "well, no, we don't, we just go and do it, you don't have to think about yourself as a woman the whole time. You're just a person, in this place." And they were like "no, but like, it does make a difference having... role models and things" And I completely agree, I think you do need female role models to be able to see yourself in that position. Um...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, I'm- I'm listening to an audiobook by a female comedian and she's talking about the fact that she's a FEMALE comedian, not a COMEDIAN. And the fact that the "female" prefaces the fact that she's a comedian and a lot of comments she gets after gigs are "you're really funny for a woman"

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: And she's- yeah, she says she doesn't talk about being a woman, that's not the basis of her humour, and yet it's such a- it's her title. Y'know. Um, and she said "what's the

difference between a female comedian and a comedian? Why isn't it a MALE comedian?" for example.

HOLLY: I completely agree with that

INTERVIEWER: Where does gender come in, where does gender stop?

HOLLY: I don't know. I feel like you need to give me another question to like...

INTERVIEWER: Is there anything in your life- this is also a deep one I'm afraid- is there anything in your life you do think you do as a woman?

HOLLY: I don't know! I don't think so... I suppose in situations where... Like, I'm... in the minority as a woman. I think of my gender more. I can't think of a situation when I've done that.

INTERVIEWER: I know what you mean. I... I did English Literature before this, and when I was in a seminar room I felt differently when it was more women speaking or when it was more men speaking, definitely.

HOLLY: This is going to sound really weird but in [University course relating to gender] I don't think of myself as a woman that much

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

HOLLY: Yeah! How does that work, it's a [University course relating to gender] department! I'm basically here because I'm a woman, but then I really think about...

INTERVIEWER: And WHAT is a woman is all we talk about!

[H&C laugh]

HOLLY: I don't know. What do I do as a woman? I suppose... I think also [University course relating to gender] has influenced this, but a couple of weeks ago I was at a meeting for the Scouts, with

like all the important people, and I definitely was in the minority there. As a woman. And it think it must have been the first time in a while when I was like in the minority as a woman. Because in a Women's Studies department it's just so... so female. And that was- I was very.... Much more conscious of... the gendered things that other people were doing, for the first time. Like it was the first time I could feel a man mansplaining to me. I've never been able to identify that before then. He definitely did look down on me because I'm younger and female. What a prick

INTERVIEWER: Yup, basically

[H&C laugh]

HOLLY: Yeah, I don't know. But the hiking thing, that was definitely- my gender was definitely a thing in that as well.

INTERVIEWER: Why was that? Were you in a minority there or was it-

HOLLY: I actually wasn't. I guess it surprised me, because I just assumed all the hiking guide roles would be predominantly male.

INTERVIEWER: What do you mean?

HOLLY: Because seven hiking guides are chosen out of thirty, like... shorties. And they were- It was, yeah, four female, three male. I guess I assumed they would all go to boys because they would choose the people who are best at hiking, and for what I can see they tended to be men because they were just stronger and faster [H laughs] And I said that to my boss at the time, and he said "Well, no. Being a hiking guide isn't really about being physically fit, because the groups aren't going to be physically fit, so you don't need that. If you can do that hike once, you'll be fine. It's more about being able to be responsible out in the mountains and being able to respond to situations" and I was like "oh, ok, I guess I am good at that type of thing"

INTERVIEWER: Mm, yeah

HOLLY: That's completely off topic

INTERVIEWER: No, that's brilliant. That actually kind of reminded me, weirdly, of... the Oscars. Um, like award ceremonies like that, when it's like "oh we're not looking for... specifically a female or specifically a black person, or anything, we're just going to award the best person!" And it's a bit like "yeah, but the best person is ALWAYS a white man."

HOLLY: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: So, maybe try and expand a little. Yeah, it's when- Do you think, coming at it from the opposite way, do you think it's reductive to say that, y'know, you are currently eating your lunch in front of me

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: If I told you you're eating that, you're eating your lunch as a woman, is that reductive? To say that you do everything as a woman? Or is it true?

HOLLY: I don't know, and now I don't know how I feel about my lunch

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

HOLLY: Is this gender?

INTERVIEWER: Exactly! It's a very healthy lunch

HOLLY: It is [pause] I suppose- I don't know! [long pause] I'm thinking is this something that's typically female? I don't know. In my undergraduate I was in the minority of girls in my house. I don't know. I feel like that's not really related to anything.

INTERVIEWER: No, it's all related, it really is

HOLLY: It's chicken and pepper and rice- Is that female? I have a feeling it is

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

HOLLY: Because like all these instagrams you get that are all about healthy cooking and healthy eating are all female. Maybe that's just the people that I follow. Not that I actually seek them out, but. But no, Made in Chelsea girls do a lot

[C laughs]

HOLLY: Lucy Watson, her new thing is cooking!

[H&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: But then instagramming food is just a- is just a huge thing, doesn't matter if you're male or female or anything

HOLLY: No

INTERVIEWER: So, right now

HOLLY: I'm using a spork. That's a very phallic thing

[H&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: But- so there are definitely factors of your lunch right now that you- and obviously we're two women meeting up for lunch and an interview, y'know

HOLLY: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: There's- If we picked it apart I'm sure there's hundreds of elements of gender that we could find in this, but do you think- you know, what is your gut instinct when I say you're eating that as a woman?

[pause]

INTERVIEWER: Analyse your lunch! [C laughs]

HOLLY: I suppose there could be an element of truth in it. Like I'm sitting cross-legged. I feel like I'm sitting in a very feminine position right now

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: I don't always. Yeah, I feel like that's a fair thing to say.

INTERVIEWER: Um, cross-legged, when I heard about manspreading for the first time

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: I was like "yeah, I'm gonna I'm not gonna cross my legs, I'm gonna take up space!" and I just could do it! I just couldn't. Do it. Crossing my legs is so instinctive and automatic now. That I can't- I can't sit like that! I just can't do it! It's too embarrassing! But if a guy does it I just nudge him. Um, right. Um, has anything ever happened to you while you were walking that you would say is linked to your gender?

HOLLY: Um... When you say walking does that include hiking?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, can do, of course

HOLLY: Hm. I dunno. Because going out walking... No? I don't think so? Um... I don't know. Um... I suppose hiking is like... Sometimes when- I tend to be at the back of the group a lot. And then I do think "oh god" like, going back to the weak and female thing I do think of that sometimes. When I'm at the back. Um, I don't know. The other day I fell, and I screamed, and it was a very girly scream, but I WAS quite scared.

[H&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: OK.

HOLLY: Yeah, that could be linked to my gender. I don't know. What sort of things are you thinking of?

INTERVIEWER: Well, first of all, your examples are brilliant. But I have personally... been catcalled while walking. Just, y'know, from vans or guys just walking, and for me it's always a moment of... and I think this definitely has something to do with why I picked this topic for my dissertation, but I always felt like I was walking as a... human, or as a person, and then someone catcalls me and I have that moment of "nope, I am a walking as a woman"

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Y'know, I'm reminded that I'm a woman, and that is a man, and that is a male-female interaction that I just have to put up with. Or don't HAVE to put up with- No. That's wrong.

[H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: But that I do experience because I am... perceivably female

HOLLY: yeah. I've never had anything like that. I've had a lot of- When I'm wearing shorts, I've had a lot of men in white vans stopping to stare, but that's it I think. I've never been catcalled

INTERVIEWER: No, that's fair enough. But have you ever changed how you walk or where you walk in a way that's to do with your gender?

HOLLY: No

INTERVIEWER: No?

HOLLY: Never

INTERVIEWER: Um. That's brilliant, actually. Um, and do you think walking apps like the one you've tested should incorporate more gendered... aspects to them?

HOLLY: Um, no

INTERVIEWER: No

HOLLY: I think. I don't know. I don't like walking apps, I don't think they should exist

[C laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Fair enough!

HOLLY: Just don't see the point! Why would you do that to yourself?

INTERVIEWER: So, the last question I'm going to ask you is do you think you'll be keeping the app?

HOLLY: No

INTERVIEWER: But I can anticipate- [C&H laugh] That you will be deleting this as soon as possible

HOLLY: Maybe also to make space on my phone

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

HOLLY: Cos [Lorna] was like "oh keep it for when you're in [holiday destination]. I just want to know how far you walk." I think it would be interesting to know how far I walk when I'm hiking. Because I never actually... I've never been hiking when I've had this on my phone

INTERVIEWER: That's true.

HOLLY: Definitely be intrigued to find out

INTERVIEWER: I mean, it would probably be incredibly high. But you say you're kind of intrigued to know

HOLLY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: For what reason?

HOLLY: To compare it to a normal day I suppose. Cos I know the one on June's phone was really high, and I know she didn't go hiking that day but she went for a walk around a lake or something. And I thought that was pretty cool. But it didn't sound that intense or anything. Hiking is a bit more intense, I'd just be intrigued. To compare it to a normal day.

Appendix 4

Jo

INTERVIEWER: OK, before we start do you have any questions for me about the research or the interview?

JO: Nope

INTERVIEWER: No? Cool. Um, any question that you don't want to answer, we'll just skip it, that's fine, it won't affect anything, um, I'm happy to explain anything if I haven't phrased a question in a way that's understandable, um, also something I've noticed from other interviews is that there is a bit of a pressure that when I ask a question you have to answer immediately, um, but I'd prefer it, if you want to take a pause and think about it that's fine, or we can come back to a question or whatever. There's no time pressure for you to answer, basically.

JO: OK

INTERVIEWER: So, first of all, could you tell me a little about yourself?

JO: I am Jo. I am studying a Masters in [University course]. I am twenty-three. Um... I'm in [city] for a year. Whenever people ask that question you always go through the "who am I, what am I doing, where am I in the world?"

INTERVIEWER: My brain always goes to hobbies and I have no hobbies. I'm like "I am a completely uninteresting person!"

JO: I don't do a lot in my spare time!

[J&C laugh]

JO: I'm a waitress. My favourite colour is green.

INTERVIEWER: Very useful, thank you

JO: Yes!

[J&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Do you live on or off campus?

JO: Off campus

INTERVIEWER: How do you get around?

JO: Um, so, a combination of cycling and walking. Because when it's raining, basically I have a really old crappy bike and it doesn't have any, um, mud guards on it. So when it rains I get absolutely covered in mud.

INTERVIEWER: And it's a really good look with mud in that line up your back

JO: I turned up to work like fairly recently when it was absolutely pouring down and I had mud all over my face when I walked in. I was like "Hi everyone!"

[C laughs]

JO: And nobody told me. I saw, and I was like "Oh! Good!"

INTERVIEWER: Um, so do you prefer walking or cycling?

JO: I prefer cycling just because it's easier. But I don't mind walking sometimes. But it just tires me out. It hurts my legs more. I've got a dodgy knee- nothing major, but I get a really painful right knee. So yeah, I just prefer cycling, it's just way easier

INTERVIEWER: Do you think you do a lot of walking? And I mean for exercise, pleasure, getting from A to B, do you think you walk a lot?

JO: Mm, yeah. I think so. Because it's like a twenty minute walk to uni and I go to the gym at uni as well, so, I usually try and like... two birds with one stone. And my work is just off [location] so I always cycle there or walk. And that's like forty minutes.

INTERVIEWER: Mm, that's decent

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Which gym do you go to, [campus 1] or [campus 2]?

JO: Um, [campus 2]. The sport centre one

INTERVIEWER: Uh... No I think the sport centre might be [campus 1]

JO: oh is it?

INTERVIEWER: Um, it's irrelevant, but, um. Um, have you used a self-tracking app before, either a step counter or anything else?

JO: No. I've got the Health app on my phone

INTERVIEWER: Ok

JO: And if I know I'm doing a lot of stuff I'll occasionally look at it. I think when I was waitressing last year I, um, me and my friends would always use the Health app to see how many steps we'd do, because we'd do sixteen-hour days literally like walk loads

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, on your feet that whole time

JO: But yeah I haven't really done walking apps before then

INTERVIEWER: Did the Health app come on your phone already?

JO: Yeah, yeah, it's- So it's on the iPhone, you can like- I think when you have an Apple watch you can connect it and do your steps and stuff.

INTERVIEWER: Sounds similar, something that comes predownloaded onto your phone. What does it record exactly?

JO: Um, I'll have a look. Let's have a browse. [pause] So you can put all your... stuff in, like your details. I think it's actually quite cool, so if someone- So if you lose your phone or something is wrong with you, people can get your Health details up if they want to. So flights, steps.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. So, yeah, mostly step related

JO: Yeah, basically

INTERVIEWER: Right, that's interesting.

JO: You can connect it to other stuff, but it is pretty cool.

INTERVIEWER: So you haven't downloaded an app for yourself. Is there a reason for that?

JO: Um... I'm just not bothered, to be honest. I know that I do quite a lot. Something I've noticed as well, on the, um, app that you downloaded, it doesn't pick up my cycling.

INTERVIEWER: Mm

JO: So I'm like "well there's extra stuff I'm doing that's not being counted!"

INTERVIEWER: I know, it's so irritating. Especially when it shows you haven't done anything and you're like "no I have!"

JO: Yeah, yeah. I don't know, it's just not really been a thing, it's not something I think about, how many steps I'm doing a day, because I'm fairly active. I don't drive as well, so.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Did you enjoy using the app?

JO: Yeah it was quite good, it was interesting to see, because I spoke about it with [Emma] and she'd be like "Oh I've hardly done any steps today" or she'd be like "Oh I'll walk here, it'll take my steps up" and I noticed that I did that as well

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

JO: Like the more I was, like "Oh I've only done three hundred steps today, maybe I'll walk to a shop!"

[C&J laugh]

JO: Yeah, it was good though

INTERVIEWER: So it was kind of- Because you were saying before that it's not really the sort of thing that you think about or care about but the app changed that slightly?

JO: Yeah, it just made me more conscious of what I'm doing and like how active it perceived me to be.

INTERVIEWER: I'm interested that you said "How active it perceived you to be"

JO: Well yeah because like the whole cycling thing, I also don't always keep my phone on me, because I think on some of the days it had really high counts of steps, but that's because I kept it in my apron at work. I mean, I'm literally running around, but um, yeah. A lot of the time- My phone has really bad battery, so a lot of the time I'm charging it, like when I'm in the library and stuff.

INTERVIEWER: And actually these kinds of apps, they do have a problem with draining the battery, because if they're in the background constantly counting, they're constantly draining the

battery. It was something I had to think about when I was finding these apps to download, yeah.

Um, do you check it frequently?

JO: Um... ish. Maybe like once or twice a day? Like if I'm walking to or from somewhere, just to see, because I think I turned the notification thing off but as soon as I go onto the app like two seconds later it'll send a notification saying "You've already done this amount of steps!" But um... Occasionally.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. And that was mostly the daily step counts, not the overall weekly trends?

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, was there anything you didn't like about it?

JO: ... No. Apart from the fact it didn't count my cycling, which obviously... I was like "damnit!" But yeah, no, that was fine. It was good.

INTERVIEWER: What do you think the purpose of this kind of app is?

JO: Um... Well the only thing I've encountered with people counting their steps is people that do weight watches

[C laughs]

JO: Um, like, a lady at my same work, last year, she lost a lot of weight but she had arthritis so she tried to only get her like ten thousand steps in and eat well. So that's what I associate, like, those kind of apps and... counting your steps with... I don't know, I guess it's good to make sure you're doing a certain amount of activity, or if you're trying to train for a half marathon or something. Or something like that. Oh! I did use the Nike app, but that was more to see how many miles I'd done as opposed to actual steps.

INTERVIEWER: Oh, interesting

JO: Like when I was, um, training before, for the last half marathon, but that was- I hate running, so. I don't remember

INTERVIEWER: That was for the training, not for like the-

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, did you get the impression the app was aimed at one group of people in particular?

JO: Um... Not particularly... I thought it was fairly easy to use.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: And, I think that- there's the trend thing. Hang on, let me double check.

[pause]

JO: On the explore page I thought that it was quite cool that it had the March 5k race and stuff, and like the challenges. So I guess in a way- I don't know, it's bad because... you do associate step counting with middle aged women that are trying to lose weight. I think I do in my head.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: As a group activity, as opposed to like... I guess in that way... I suppose I do? Just because of the association with weight loss.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Well, y'know, all step counters come with a calorie counter,

JO: Yeah. I don't think I know any man that would use one. Like in my life anyway

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. Um right, we're looking at the data you've sent me, which I've printed off, um, and I was just wondering if you could tell me something about what happened on any of these days?

JO: Um, so I think this was the day I walked [city location] with my boyfriend [laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah! That's crazy high

JO: Yeah. We walked all around [city]. Did the [city location], but also went to, like, pubs on the way. So we basically created a mini bar crawl [laughs]

INTERVIEWER: That sounds amazing

JO: Yeah, it was a lot, to be fair. And then other days I literally did nothing.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. So what did you do on Sunday, in comparison

JO: If there's nothing on there then... it's usually me staying at home instead of going to the library. Like, maybe going around the house. Maybe going to the shop, but that's literally it. Just staying at home. Working from home.

INTERVIEWER: Which is kind of necessary as a student.

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: How do you feel about these recordings?

JO: Um... Yeah, it's weird. Like, the jump from an average of six thousand to an average of nine thousand is pretty crazy.

INTERVIEWER: Mm

JO: But- Wait- I'm trying to remember what I've been doing... all these times....So what's that?

Eleventh... So is that the day I sent it to you?

INTERVIEWER: Yes

JO: OK. So that week, what did I do? [pause] What did I do? Did I walk? [pause] No, I just- I just worked

INTERVIEWER: I find it, um- from my research- It's interesting that you check you diary rather than- So these-these activities aren't... Like, they're not linked in your head, you can't look at that and go "oh I remember that I-" I mean you can with this one, the [city location] walk

JO: Yeah, I remember that one, but, like, nothing else really

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. And you can't-like they're not- what you did on those days aren't linked to the data

JO: No. I have a really bad memory as well, so usually I have to go back to my diary [pause] I also have an actual diary. I can't rely on my phone, because half the time it deletes my stuff. Let me have a look. What am I doing with my life?

[pause]

JO: OK, so that week I went to the gym like four times

INTERVIEWER: Sorry, which week?

JO: Um, the week that that recorded. I went to like one class, I have work twice, and babysitting. And I went to the library. And I went to the gym like four times.

INTERVIEWER: Right

JO: I think it's, um, that week is particularly... I don't know. [inaudible] than the others. Just because I was walking to pick up the, um, kids from school I think. [pause] Oh wait, no, I was only babysitting on the Friday and Saturday. Yeah I don't know, just work. It'll just be work. Because I've noticed that, since we've been doing this... work always adds loads of steps. Because I always keep it in my apron.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. I found when I was working- I worked in a hardware shop, and I was so shocked at how many steps I did

JO: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: Just in the day. Like when you're- when it's a kind of job like that, you're supposed to be on your feet the whole time. it just... You're constantly moving

JO: Yeah. You just don't think about it though. I don't know. I mean, I hadn't thought about it, and then I thought "Oh, you're actually doing quite a lot"

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Um, so do you think someone looking at your data could sort of tell, like, your lifestyle? The fact that you have a job and everything, and that you're a student, from this?

JO: I mean [pause] Maybe, but I mean, I'm quite- Like I look like I'm quite inconsistent.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Well, you're quite consistent between the first two weeks, and then there's a huge jump in the last one. Like your average is nine thousand. That's crazy

[pause]

JO: Yeah, I don't really know, because I think I went from doing, like- This is when my boyfriend was staying. So every time we went anywhere we usually got the bus

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: [laughs] Or he drove, because we had his car. I wasn't walking to uni. And then this week was slightly more. But no, I don't know that anyone would be able to tell. Because it seems like... a really random amount of steps to do.

INTERVIEWER: Um, you talked about having your boyfriend over, and the fact that that made you get the bus more. It just made me think whenever I'm going into town with friends, I get the bus

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: If I'm going into town on my own, I walk. Why do you think that is, why do you think you got the bus when your boyfriend was here?

JO: Umm... I don't know really. Laziness? I don't know. A lot of the time as well, we would get the bus in and then walk home

INTERVIEWER: Mm

JO: So we'd go out for dinner and get drinks, or whatever... I think it was on... I don't know. It was either on that Friday... we went to [other city], and that's probably why there's slightly more. Because we stayed out quite late. Even then, I don't know... that's not that many. Just don't do anything! [laughs]

INTERVIEWER: I mean, you've got your boyfriend over

JO: I know. We always do that

INTERVIEWER: Um, there is a term I've come across in my research, it's called Invisible Data.

JO: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: It's this idea that there is a range of data that our body has, that we cannot perceive without the help of technology. So the idea of step counts, of heartrates, of breathing,

sleeping patterns, things that without technology to record it there is simply no way that we could know that

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, so the idea that technology makes that invisible data visible. What do you think of that concept, that naming?

JO: Um, yeah, I think it's quite true. Like, particularly sleeping patterns and steps. It's not something I would ever be conscious of without it, I guess, like, I feel particularly tired one day like for example after walking the walls, because I know that's a lot, but I think like... putting an actual number on it makes it significant, in some way.

INTERVIEWER: Why, why is that?

JO: I don't know. Well because you... There's the whole thing of "Oh ten thousand steps is an average" like for a day if you're an active person, so I suppose it kind of puts you on this like... I don't know. Puts you on a scale.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: Of... how active you are, I guess

INTERVIEWER: Is it- does a number make it more tangible?

[pause]

JO: Umm... I guess? I don't really know.

INTERVIEWER: But you would agree that there is- that technology has that role in making us more... aware, or more able to see that part of our body

JO: I think so. I think so. And it's not necessarily a bad thing at all. I think it makes people more aware of... making a decision to, I don't know, walk to the shops instead of drive.

INTERVIEWER: Mmm, yeah. And also you said that it's not something you usually think about, the app made you think about it, so... Don't know where I was going with that, but

[J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, it's- You're more conscious of it

JO: Yeah, definitely. Definitely.

INTERVIEWER: Um, but did the data ever disagree with your own perceptions? Because, you were talking about how you- you know, at the- when you walked the walls you knew that you were tired. Did you ever have a day when you got in and you're tired, you feel like you've walked a lot, and then the data says "No, you haven't walked a lot". Or vice versa?

JO: Um... I don't think so. Again, it's only with the cycling that. Because recently I'm cycling way more. So I'm having to go further distances, now I can't be bothered taking forty five minutes out of my day rather than fifteen / twenty minutes of cycling. But that's it really. Like there's – not glitches, but a few times I've checked it and it doesn't come up straight away. And then, um... Yeah I thought it was really interesting as well, looking at the overall

INTERVIEWER: Ooh! That's really interesting

JO: Because- when was it? I think it was the other day, because I thought the seventeen thousand was a lot, and then... on the sixteenth I did loads of walking because I had to pick up the children I'm babysitting for from school and stuff and I ended up doing twenty-three thousand. And I was like "How have I done this?!"

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: Like on most days, when I knew I was tired, it was kind of like confirmation, like, “You can be tired”

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: Do you know what I mean?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. It’s very like “you’re allowed to be tired.”

JO: Yeah, you’re allowed to sit there and watch Netflix, because you’ve done these steps! [J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: That’s really interesting! Um, did the- So the app made you think more about walking, did it make you think differently about walking at all?

JO: Um, I noticed my style a few times- similarly, like I said about [Emma], like I made the conscious decision to walk instead of cycle, because I thought “oh, I’ll get my steps up” but that’s about it really

INTERVIEWER: Was it about meeting that goal?

JO: Um, I guess so, I was just seeing how much I could do in a day, just like... just curious

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Alright, so, kind of want to talk now about technology and the body. So... what would you say your relationship is like with your body? Do you feel quite connected and in tune with your body, or...

JO: Um... I don’t know. [pause] So... On like what kind of level, like emotion, feeling, or?

INTERVIEWER: To be honest with you, I think I’d be interested in all, in whatever that sort of makes you think of.

JO: Like... I don't know. That's a hard question.

INTERVIEWER: It's a very- it's a BIG question, I do realise

JO: I guess sometimes. So like, this reminds me of the class discussion, like talking about when you get tight in your chest when you get worried or your heart skips a beat, or your stomach skips a beat, like when I trip over accidentally. But, um... I suppose... I guess... I don't know if this is linked, but I've been going to the gym more so I've been more conscious of my body, I suppose

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Conscious in what way, how it feels, how it looks?

JO: Yeah. Probably both. Just because I'm trying to be healthy- [C&J laugh] As I'm eating cake! It's good cake!

INTERVIEWER: Yeah it is good cake

JO: Um, yeah, I guess in terms of... physical body, I'm slightly more conscious because I'm trying to be more healthy. The app has kind of... I don't know... been helpful in a way.

INTERVIEWER: Mm

JO: But um... Yeah, in terms of like emotion thing, I don't know. It's kind of like the whole "mind body dualism" thing. But I don't know, I don't really... I guess I'm the person that if I get like upset I don't want to do things, so I suppose there's that connection there. I don't... see myself- I don't know, it seems very up in the air. Like, it feels like a weird thing to say that I'm very connected with my body. I don't know, I don't really... in some ways I feel like I am, but in others...

INTERVIEWER: I mean, that's a very good answer to be honest with you. Um, however you identity, do you feel like your- the concept of your gender is linked to your body in any way?

JO: Um... Yeah I guess so. [pause] I've thought about this way more since I've been at [city] actually. About like my concept of body hair and like taking time out of my day, cutting my legs, like... it's useless. [pause] I guess in the way I dress, in the way I- that people perceive me. [pause] No, I don't know. [pause] [J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Um, does tracking and recording your body- does it change how you feel in connection to your body? Does it make you feel more connected, less connected, or doesn't it change that at all?

JO: Um, no I think it did, because I was more conscious of what I was doing, where I was going, how I was going to get there, I feel like I did- Even in like day to day, because I normally wear trainers usually, but I made the conscious decision- If I knew I was going to walk somewhere in the rain, I would put my boots on, because I knew in my trainers my feet would get wet. But then- because I always wear comfy shoes anyway, I just casually- put trainers on because I knew I was going to be walking everywhere. I don't know if that's...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, that's cool. Um, right, if we look at these... [speech about vignettes] Um, is there anything you can tell me about the people who recorded this data? Uh, their age, their job, their gender, anything

[short pause]

JO: No, not really

INTERVIEWER: Mm

[pause]

JO: Just their level of activity really. [pause] That's crazy, that's seven hundred calories burned from walking around!

INTERVIEWER: I know!

JO: That's madness. Ten miles.

[pause]

JO: I suppose- I don't know, there's an association- I don't necessarily think... of like a specific- Oh, but then again, maybe I do. Like Figure 1 for example, like twenty one thousand steps, like... basically double average, I don't know you probably- I'd probably just assume it's a man.

INTERVIEWER: Ooh! Any reason, or just...

JO: ... No. Just... I don't know. I don't know why! It just seems like such a random thing to do. But... then nothing else really... That one's quite average. That's kind of a half average and that's very minimal, but like I've been the person to do literally three hundred steps in a day. So yeah I don't know why I assume active- activity- Basically going by biological determinism, isn't it? [H laughs]

INTERVIEWER: But that's interesting, so- the over achiever, you kind of associate a male, for some reason or another, does that mean you associate Figure 4... Would you associate that with gender differently?

JO: Well I don't know, because I think anyone is capable of doing that. But I don't know why... Yeah. [pause] maybe someone that was slightly older?

INTERVIEWER: Mm

JO: Or disabled

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: To get around. or had to rely on transport because they didn't live close to anywhere... No, nothing else really... sticks out. Yeah, that's really odd that I associate... the overachiever with a male. That's so depressing isn't it?

[C laughs]

JO: Ingrained my psyche

[C laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Anything else?

JO: No

INTERVIEWER: Right! Um, is there anything you do that helps you feel more comfortable with your gender identity, something you can do everyday? Um, I can explain that differently, or give an example

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: For example... [story about hair] Is there anything like that in your life?

JO: Um... I guess... makeup. For example, today I put makeup on and it didn't look nice. I couldn't do my wing properly. I spent ages doing it, and I was literally- I was going to leave my house at half nine and ended up leaving at twenty past ten. And I was like "I can't get it right!" And I ended up taking my makeup off and leaving like this, so like...

[C laughs]

INTERVIEWER: I have been there! The wing rage is-

JO: I've done it every time! Like I will try, I'll try again. But no like... because my- the past year, well, the beginning of the year when I was still at home I spent loads of money on makeup and I

really like the way the- I don't know. It's not even necessarily the way I look it's just the process of doing it I really find it enjoyable and I do like- I do notice that if I do look particularly colourful or like [inaudible] colour or technique or something like that, and I guess that does make me feel like... more feminine. And like you were saying about your hair, it's the upkeep and the buying products as well. But, um [pause] I don't know. I guess also as well, I've thought about this, like, when we were talking about body hair and stuff like that, when I was younger, I never used to get my arms out... so I used to never take my jumpers off at school and I used to get really hot and get nose bleeds

INTERVIEWER: Oh my god!

JO: yeah I know! But that makes me think of work, and how I'm always serving food and stuff and I always have my arms out and like... I don't know sometimes it makes me like... If I'm particularly conscious about my arms, they can sometimes feel somehow more masculine. So I don't know whether or not... particularly in a professional environment, I make up for that by wearing makeup, so I wear- I'm the only person at my work as well that wears trousers, all the women wear skirts and wear typical like dolly shoes and stuff, but like I've worked as a waitress for years and I know for a fact that my feet are absolutely going to ache so I got those like... unisex, pretty ugly, like they're called foot buds and that sounds SO weird, but they're super supportive so I always wear those, and slim trousers, and like a t-shirt to work with my arms out, and an apron. So I guess sometimes I'll wear like particularly... feminine makeup

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

JO: So I don't think I'd wear makeup except for the fact everyone is wearing skirts.

INTERVIEWER: That's really interesting.

JO: It is weird, I think it's being in a professional environment, like men shave their faces when they go to interviews and stuff

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: I feel like there is that kind of thing with women, because obviously body hair isn't something that's socially acceptable a lot of the time. So particularly at work I feel like... I don't know, maybe I make up for whacking my arms out and living my life-

[C laughs]

JO: -Non-apologetically

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: I don't know what else

INTERVIEWER: No, that's so interesting. It just reminds me, when I was working at the hardware shop I specifically started toning my makeup down

JO: Oh really?

INTERVIEWER: Because I- There's a lot of lifting in that job, of heavy equipment and sacks of bird seed and I... There's not many female staff, and there was definitely this idea of "Oh you can't lift the heavy stuff, you're a woman, leave it to the men" sort of thing. And I also wore all black, black t-shirt, black-trousers, um, and I just felt myself toning down the makeup because I wanted to look less girly because I wanted

JO: You have to make up for the fact that...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. And also I found that customers didn't take me- Like, they walk into a hardware shop and they've got, like, a plumbing problem and they want to talk to a staff member

about what fitting they need, and I'd go up and help them and they wouldn't- they'd be like "alright, but can I speak to someone else?" and they would just then confirm what I said, and so I wanted to tone down my makeup so that customers would take me seriously as well. So yeah, that's probably irrelevant, I just wanted to-

JO: No, no, that's really interesting, because I feel like with makeup I do it to perform femininity to a certain extent, and like recently as well whenever it's a busy Friday or Saturday I'm usually put upstairs so I'm running around and it's just not feasible- I don't want to wear foundation if it's just going to fall off my face

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, absolutely

JO: And when it's hot you don't want to- Literally I've just been wearing mascara and some eyebrow gel, like really bare

INTERVIEWER: [to someone else] Oh, sorry

JO: Like you get to the stage as well, like, I've been there six months now and I'm just like "eh, whatever, it's my face." But I feel like at the beginning I tried to really perform because, you know, smiley waitress, like you're supposed to be able to get tips, as if my blush is going to make a big difference, I don't know

[C laughs]

JO: Yeah. It's really interesting though.

INTERVIEWER: Mmm... It is weird. Um, do you consider walking to be something that's linked to gender in the same way as makeup and long hair?

JO: Umm, not really. I wouldn't say so. Just because it just depends on... situation. I don't know. Because I don't drive, I've always relied on, um... stealing a lift off someone or just walking everywhere or cycling

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: I don't really... I don't know. Especially as a student as well.

INTERVIEWER: The fact that you walk a lot is more to with the fact that you're a student than your gender?

JO: Yeah. Yeah. No definitely

INTERVIEWER: Um, do you think dieting is gendered?

JO: Sorry?

INTERVIEWER: Dieting. Do you think dieting is gendered?

JO: Oh yeah definitely

INTERVIEWER: Do you think exercise is gendered?

JO: Um... Not so much, I feel like there's extremes of exercise, there's like a massive craze at the moment of being as muscly as you can be, especially- I'm so bad about following all the people on Instagram, there's this massive craze of like-Oh, what's it called? Fit not...?

INTERVIEWER: Oh

JO: I'm not sure what it is

INTERVIEWER: Um... oh damn, that's going to annoy me. Is it just Fit not Thin?

JO: Um, no, it's something like that

INTERVIEWER: I think it's catchier than that

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: That's going to really bother me

JO: Cos loads of celebrities like jump of the band wagon, they're like "Oh yeah, hashtag this" and like I suppose... it's good because it makes people less likely to, I don't know- Because I'm starting to re-watch Friends and I was looking on Buzzfeed the other day about all of the serious issues

[C laughs]

JO: That like no one's really thought about until the last couple of years. Because I was thinking about this, I watched it a couple of years ago at uni, and there were lots of little things that went over my head but I think particularly studying Women's Studies and now looking at... like... noticing how thin they are and like the Atkins diet was a thing back then, so I feel like that was very much a nineties, early two-thousands thing, whereas moving on from dieting people like are kind of doing this thing like "feeding your body right" and like... I support veganism, but like I think a lot of people kind of use it as like a fad on Instagram and stuff

INTERVIEWER: Mm

JO: Certain people anyway. It's just another thing to "feed your body right" and- as opposed to like going- being a vegan for ethical reasons, which most people do

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JO: Yeah, and I think so- I think dieting... definitely is, but I think it's just because a lot of men don't talk about it, or do it... or like [inaudible] not as much. Because I've noticed one guy at work, [name] he's going to the gym and stuff quite a lot, and we usually can have like bread and stuff

as we're working our shift, and the chef's will occasionally give us, like if they've made a new dish or whatever, and I've noticed he'll turn down certain stuff whatever like "oh yeah I'm just trying to watch what I eat" sort of thing and "I've got to do this, this, and this" so I was like oh OK. But then I guess... In that way women are more likely to say... oh I can't remember it- whereas... I don't know, there's a certain like... whatever it is with women anyway where they state that they're on a diet, I don't know. I've just noticed that not many men do.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah definitely. I think there is a big difference between saying "oh I'm watching what I'm eating" which is just like... trying to be healthy, I'd think- I think that means you're not going to eat cake, whereas "I'm on a diet" that makes me think of calories and regulating what you eat, you know not just "I'm just not going to eat cake anymore"

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Um, do you think sleeping is gendered?

JO: [pause] Um, I think people perceive it to be. Like, typical lazy boy teenager. But like, I'm lazy so

[C&J laugh]

JO: Yeah my boyfriend always moans at me because I used to nap all the time. I haven't actually had a nap in ages. And he was always like "why are you like this?" and I feel that's such- that's maybe, I dunno... he perceived typical teenage boys or like boys in their twenties to be lazy but actually a lot of my friends are slob and lazy

INTERVIEWER: Can you think of any act like dieting or sleeping that is completely ungendered, or not associated with gender in your mind?

JO: Ummm [long pause] Um. So like any act at all? Doing anything? I don't know, showering?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Although... all the things you do in the shower, because I'm immediately thinking of like shaving my legs as something you do in the shower, because I do shave my legs

JO: Yeah that's true. Um... [pause] I guess I'd say maybe... like travelling in general, like walking or cycling, but only because I know I do those things, so I know they're not gendered in my head. But then I guess... sometimes I associate men's cycling with like physical road bikes and like being all into Rapha and cool bikes, I don't know. I don't know, that's a really hard question

INTERVIEWER: It is, yeah

[C&J laugh]

JO: Can you think of any?

INTERVIEWER: Um, [sighs]

JO: For you personally anyway

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

JO: Do you want some more cake?

INTERVIEWER: Yes! I think it always depends how deep you're willing to go with it, because I think like you said with showering, that is completely ungendered until you think about shaving your legs in the shower or the kind of like shower creams and how they're like... advertised to different people. I was going to say eating, because that's just- you're putting fuel in your body, it's nothing- But then what you eat, how you eat, where you eat, is so up to gender, so... Yeah.

JO: I was going to say as well, I was thinking as well, there are things I do like daily but like... maybe brushing your teeth? I don't see that as gendered. Dental hygiene maybe? Just in general [J laughs] I was going to say cooking, but I think in my head that's still massively gendered,

because like I enjoy cooking and I'm quite good at cooking, and baking, and I guess... That's how I was brought up, because my mum cooks and then I did, and my brother.

INTERVIEWER: I remember- I can't remember where I heard this, but I remember that um "men are chefs and women are cooks"

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And that's always stuck with me

JO: No, yeah, no I noticed that actually! All of the um waitressing jobs I've had, the job I have here, there's no female chefs apart from [female chef's name] who's like... um, a pair of hands, so she's like on one station and she went to college and things but she's not like a chef-chef

INTERVIEWER: Mm

JO: And I only know one female chef, like quite well. I feel like in that environment, I don't know. It's a very toxic environment anyway.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Um, what does the phrase "walk like a woman" mean to you?

JO: [pause] Mmm... [long pause] I don't know. Walking around with a massive false smile on your face.

[C&J laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Oh my god yeah

JO: "You should smile love!" yeah

[C&J laugh]

JO: Yeah, I don't know. Having to maintain a posture I suppose, and walking in a particular way so that, I don't know, you look dainty. And you're not slouching. I don't know. I guess in that way. But it also makes me think of it being used like to take the piss basically, and walk how you want. Like a woman. Just walk like a human! Walk how you want to walk!

INTERVIEWER: I do think- my next question is do you think "walk like a woman and woman and walk like a human" do they mean different things to you. And you're saying that, you know, walk how you want, just walk like a human, so there's a difference there for you?

JO: Um... I think... I don't know. Walk like a man I suppose just has an association of pride and like... unapologetic... person with a penis basically. And being able to sit on a bus and man-spread. Walk like a MAN, you can do that! It's fine! Whereas walk like a woman is, I don't know, slightly more loaded because... I don't know, there's- in my head anyway, there's an association of having to perform certain... I guess.

INTERVIEWER: So there's walk like a woman which has certain... connotations and images. Walk like a man... And walk like a human, is that a separate category, or is that the same as those two categories?

JO: I'd say that that... yeah, non-gendered, just be who you want to be. Do what you want to do and get on with your life. Without these obstructions, either like...

INTERVIEWER: So walking like a woman is dainty

JO: Well I think that's the... I don't know... that's the association, but I feel like walk like a woman would be also be used to... I don't know, I could imagine it during a like a feminist rally or something. "Walk like a woman" like be proud. So I guess, turn it on its head

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, context is important

JO: Yeah. But I guess walk like a man is much more gen-like, general. The masculine association of like standing your ground and taking up space.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Yeah. Um... has anything ever happened to you while you were walking that you feel was linked to your gender?

JO: Oh yeah definitely. So... Just feeling unsafe, in general. Like, walking anywhere at a certain time of night, or even like just as it's getting dark, walking down a street and being conscious of who you are and the fact that you're female and men like walking really close or shouting stuff at you when they're drunk or like anything like that. But also- I don't know if I spoke about this before but I also, like I'm really conscious of my footwear a lot of the time, and like in these situations but I'm the person that always wears trainers... and I think I was talking about this, it was in my Gender and Violence class last year, like thank god we're going through a trend now where trainers are cool

INTERVIEWER: yeah

JO: And everyone can wear them. Because there's a certain safety in knowing that if I need to get going I can absolutely leg it. It's so bad that... It's a constant every day thing isn't it, just walking down the street and being alert. Or getting from A to B and someone saying "oh you should get a taxi" and I'm like "no, it's fine I'll walk" after going- I've had a few drinks but I'll walk home and knowing that you're putting yourself at risk. It's crazy

INTERVIEWER: Have you ever changed how or where you walk, in a way you think is linked to your gender?

JO: Um... Just the simple thing of sticking to main roads.

INTERVIEWER: Like lit places?

JO: Yeah. Like if I'm on my bike then there's a cut through I go like to and from work, or I can go that way from town as well, but if it's not lit if I'm on my bike it's fine because I can whack my phone light out I can just absolutely blitz it through. I walked through there the other day, and there was a guy that was like a bit drunk walking behind me and I wasn't sure, because I'm always like- I'm the sort of person that's like "no I shouldn't judge people" but then I'll be like looking over my shoulder behind me and I'll be like [in a worried voice] "ohh ok!" [J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah absolutely. And it's almost that like am I paranoid? He's been walking behind me for a long time, but he might just be going in the same direction as me

JO: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: That internal debate you have. Um, do you think that walking apps like the one you've tested should have more gendered aspects, like appeal more to different genders or do you like

JO: I mean I don't really see the point, because if you like want to be conscious of... what you're doing then... It shouldn't be gendered at all, it should just be- I don't know, if you want to be more active or making a conscious decision to kind of like... monitor what you're doing and how you're doing it then... Go for it, but... No, I feel like-No. It shouldn't be gendered. I feel like... it just... I think it buys into the idea that women can't be fat but men can, and like it's ok because he's a man, it's funny. Whereas women get completely like [inaudible at 47.11] for it. And the more these things are open, the easier it is for people to access it. Because even older generations might not necessarily feel comfortable using technology to an extent, but people like my grandpa whose like eighty, I think he he'd really enjoy using apps like this because he's recently got a new phone and he's all technology driven now

[C laughs]

JO: He, like- they live in Spain, so he'll like disappear and go for like an hour walk on his own

INTERVIEWER: Oh wow

JO: But he's got his phone, so my nan can ring him, blah, blah, blah. Anyway, I feel like people like him could really enjoy like just monitoring and seeing how much he's doing. And I think gendering, making things more appealing to certain people would just... I don't know. Put people off

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, close it off a bit

JO: Mm

INTERVIEWER: Alright, for my very last question, are you planning on keeping the app or are you going to get it off your phone?

JO: Um, I might keep it, just see what happens really. But like you said I've got the other one, and I don't know like as a comparison like how effective both of them are like I haven't actually compared. But um, I'll keep it for a bit.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. I mean, there's no pressure to, I'm just curious

JO: No, no, yeah definitely. Because I'm pretty sure- hold on a sec. Yeah I think it's- I think- I don't know if they link up but like they're both exactly the same, so.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, certain apps do link up, which I find bizarre... one of the other participants, she's got like hundreds of these types of apps

JO: oh really?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah I know, and as soon as she downloaded this one, it synced up and it had already told her- even though she'd only got it that day it was telling her how much she'd walked that entire week. Because it had just linked up

JO: Oh!

INTERVIEWER: yeah

JO: Technology!! It's taking over!

[C laughs]

INTERVIEWER: It's all connected!

Appendix 5

Lucy

INTERVIEWER: Ok then. Right so, the initial stuff is supposed to be a brief introduction like “hello my name is Charlotte, you know, tell me a little bit about yourself but obviously I know a little about you [C & L laugh]

LUCY: A little bit!

INTERVIEWER: So, um, the stuff like, y’know, what do you do as a living, do you study, that sort of thing. Just like a small profile of like who you are as a participant, as a person sort of thing

LUCY: Um, I’m doing an MSC in [university course title], um, I’m living on campus to do it

INTERVIEWER: Lovely, so that means you don’t have to walk very far for your-

LUCY: Exactly

INTERVIEWER: That’s cool

LUCY: Wake up really late [C & L laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Perfect

LUCY: Just roll out of bed

INTERVIEWER: I still roll out of bed at the last possible second

LUCY: God, same. This morning I had a 9am, and I woke up so late, it’s just...

INTERVIEWER: I think you KNOW you don’t have to get up too early so you just-

LUCY: Exactly

INTERVIEWER: -put it off, yeah. So, do you do any walking like at all, for pleasure or otherwise?

LUCY: Um, I would say like in terms of like would I get the bus or like public transport, I prefer to walk like into town and stuff um

INTERVIEWER: Why, why is that?

LUCY: I don't-It's like, especially if it's a nice day. And as well I just don't like getting the bus, I just find it quite stressful.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah same! Like, I never have the right amount of money

LUCY: Exactly. Like, oh my god, when I was going home the other day I had so many suitcases and I just like fell over-

INTERVIEWER: Oh no!

LUCY: -on the bus, it was really embarrassing. So, I think also for like I don't know just like scenery and stuff with walking and, yeah. And like to listen to music as well walking along so, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. Um, have you used a self-tracking app before?

LUCY: Um, I have. Like briefly. Not for that long.

INTERVIEWER: What was it? Which app and what was it tracking?

LUCY: It was like- I think it was like a wrist band that I had, I think it was called UP. Um, and it was just tracking like calories and like how many steps I walked so kind of like the same

INTERVIEWER: OK

LUCY: So.

INTERVIEWER: Did you like using it?

LUCY: Um, I didn't like wearing the band-

INTERVIEWER: Oh, OK

LUCY: -I found that quite, like, awkward, it didn't fit me properly. So I just kind of stopped using it.

INTERVIEWER: Was it not adjustable?

LUCY: No.

INTERVIEWER: That's stupid.

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: One size does not fit all when it comes to wrists [laughter from C & L]

LUCY: It was just really big

INTERVIEWER: Oh OK, that's really weird because with a FitBit you can adjust it

LUCY: Yeah, I don't think it was as advanced as the FitBit

INTERVIEWER: Oh I see. So, you stopped using it mostly because the band was uncomfortable?

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Alright. Um, right, what was your experience using the app? Did you like it?

LUCY: Yeah I did like it. It was quite nice to see like how many steps

INTERVIEWER: Oh, you liked that?

LUCY: Yeah, I don't know, I liked that, because it was like, I don't know, like you have that recommended 10,000 steps and it was nice to know, like, some days that I'd like gone past that

or achieved it. Like it comes up on my phone so I can see when I'm walking like going up and stuff and I don't know I just like-

INTERVIEWER: Yeah definitely!

LUCY: -quite liked it, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Um, and you said that you like that you'd sort of like achieved that

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And I think "achieve" is an interesting choice of words. So you- it felt like a positive like-

LUCY: Oh yeah, yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Like I've done this. You know, this is something-

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: -achieved in my day

LUCY: I guess it was good motivation as well to get out and walk more, and go to the gym and stuff

INTERVIEWER: Cool, did you set the 10,000? Because at the beginning it does ask you if you want the 10,000 or if you want to set your own, so did you choose or did you just go with the...

LUCY: I think I just went with

[Laughter from C & L]

INTERVIEWER: Did you check it frequently, you said it turned up on your phone

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So, did you find yourself like looking at it?

LUCY: Oh yeah definitely, quite a lot

INTERVIEWER: Oh really?

LUCY: Yeah like everyday

INTERVIEWER: Wow

LUCY: Unless I knew there was a day where I was just going to be like sitting down

[Laughter from C & L]

LUCY: Yeah, don't wanna know how many steps I've done

INTERVIEWER: I'll check it on a day I've done a marathon

LUCY: Yeah

[Laughter from C & L]

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. Um, was there anything you didn't like about the app?

LUCY: Um [pause, thinking] I don't think so. I mean, there was- I don't know if it's just me and my like- I'm really bad at technical stuff, but you couldn't see like other weeks, I didn't-

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

LUCY: I did think that was kind of annoying, because

INTERVIEWER: It is a bit

LUCY: It would have been nice; oh last week, how many steps I've walked and stuff

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely

LUCY: So yeah that was probably the only thing for me

INTERVIEWER: That's an aspect you can get if you pay, which is really annoying

LUCY: That's really annoying

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, and the free version you can check the week, but then after the week it just disappears

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: That's why I asked people to take screenshots, just so that

LUCY: Right

INTERVIEWER: So we'd have like a record

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, what do you think the purpose of this app and apps like it - you're familiar, there are so many apps like this on the market

LUCY: Oh yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Like what do you think the purpose of them is? Why do you think people download them?

LUCY: I guess to encourage people to exercise. Um, because I know we do have quite a big problem with like obesity and stuff, that I guess probably that- I think the bands are probably more of like an accessory as well

INTERVIEWER: OK, yeah

LUCY: Cos they do they look really nice. Um, yeah but definitely to get people to exercise more as a motivation to go to the gym and stuff

INTERVIEWER: And the bands as an accessorise- as an accessory, they are kind of like 'look I exercise'

LUCY: Yeah! Exactly!

[L&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: But with exercise, do you mean... Could you, and this is silly, could you sort of explain what you mean by exercise because did you find that you did more what you define as exercise when you had the app for example?

LUCY: Yeah so walking, I did a lot more walking. Um, like I did try to do a bit more at the gym and stuff like on the treadmill

INTERVIEWER: OK

LUCY: But like exercise can be like anything really cos, yeah for me it was like walking and going to the gym

INTERVIEWER: And you'd count even like walking to you lecture or something-

LUCY: Oh yeah

INTERVIEWER: -would count as exercise to you. Yeah, definitely. Alright, um... Do you wanna look at the data from the last week, if you could get that up

[Pause while Lucy retrieves last week's data graph]

INTERVIEWER: Right, do you think this was a good week for you?

LUCY: Um,

[C&L laugh]

LUCY: No, no

INTERVIEWER: Why not?

LUCY: I mean, last Wednesday was really good

INTERVIEWER: OK, how many-

LUCY: – I did 16,000

INTERVIEWER: Oh, very good, wow! That's almost double

LUCY: Um, but yeah no, the rest of the week was pretty bad. But I know that because I haven't really... like I went home for the weekend so I didn't really do much then

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. That's one of the questions, did anything happen this week?

LUCY: Yeah, I went home. I was trying to do work so I was kind of like sat down for most of the day

INTERVIEWER: Oh yeah definitely feel that

LUCY: I mean yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Um, how do you-how do you feel about the recording of this past week? Because you said that its not your best week, apart from the Wednesday which was pretty impressive

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So, do you have any feelings about that?

LUCY: Um [pause] Like, I don't think it really affects me that much. Like, I mean I'm really proud of Wednesday, that I did that many, but I think in terms of like this week I'm like "oh I need to make sure I go to the gym and try and do a bit more."

INTERVIEWER: Sort of make it up, as it were

LUCY: Yeah. But I don't sit there and think "oh my god, like this is awful." Yeah, I don't really like think about it

INTERVIEWER: It isn't- it doesn't impact on your-

LUCY: No

INTERVIEWER: But, you say it's not a very good week, does that mean- what does that mean exactly? That you didn't hit your goals or...

LUCY: Yeah, so I didn't hit 10,000, which, yeah...

INTERVIEWER: OK. Do you [pause] well, I was going to say do you feel bad about that but you've already said they don't really affect you

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Could you tell me about anything on a particular day? That would explain why you moved a lot, or why you didn't – like what happened on Wednesday that made-

LUCY: Um, I went to the gym. But like obviously I did a gym class but I couldn't carry my phone with me. So I would probably have done a lot more.

INTERVIEWER: Oh! So Wednesday would have been EVEN more impressive

LUCY: Yeah, obviously I couldn't carry my phone. And then I decided to walk back from the gym so that, like, increased it

INTERVIEWER: Right. So, even though YOU know you did more on the Wednesday, the data doesn't specifically reflect that

LUCY: No.

INTERVIEWER: But you still look back and you still know?

LUCY: Yeah. No, yeah. [meaning yes]

INTERVIEWER: Um. Have you looked back on weeks before, like this? You know, what we're sort of doing now, look at the weeks as good weeks and bad weeks?

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Have you done that before? While you're using the app

LUCY: Umm, yeah. No, as in like, you mean, looking back?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Yeah just sort of like at the end of the week do you sort of check and go "Oh, OK, that's how many steps I did"

LUCY: Yeah. And it tells you as well like your average for each week

INTERVIEWER: Do you think that's a good habit to be in, to check the app?

LUCY: Um [sighs] I think if you get too obsessive about it, that can definitely [pause] like...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY: Lead to... I think quite bad... being in a bad place

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY: People do become really obsessive

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY: Um, no.

INTERVIEWER: I guess that's quite true of a lot of things, if people obsessively check anything

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, so, sort of going back to the Wednesday, you said that you... you were happy with the data but you know you moved a lot more

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Do you sort of... It's difficult to describe. Do you see yourself in the data, do you see your lifestyle and your experiences, do you- y'know, you went to the gym on Wednesday but that's not specifically recorded. But Wednesday is still a good day for you.

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So... what I'm saying is do you look back on the week and sort of... see your week in the data, does that make sense?

LUCY: Oh no yeah definitely.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY: Like... As you were saying, the days where I go to the gym, like definitely. But then, obviously being a masters student, as you well know

[laughter from C&L]

LUCY: There is a lot of work to do and you can't always...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY:... be like, doing stuff all the time. You do just have to sit down, and I do definitely have days like that, where I just have to like stay sitting in.

INTERVIEWER: And you can sort of look back on the week and go "Oh that's the day I went to the gym, and that's the day..."

LUCY: Yeah, like I know. Yeah. From looking at it

INTERVIEWER: That's the day I didn't move from my room!

[laughter from C&L]

INTERVIEWER: That's the day I had a deadline!

[laughter from C&L]

INTERVIEWER: Do you think it would be obvious to anyone else... looking at your data, looking at that past week, they would obviously be able to see that Wednesday is a good week [note: I meant day] But they wouldn't know that you went to the gym, for example

LUCY: No

INTERVIEWER: So, do you think... do you think you see something different in the data that other people... don't know. Does it... reflect everything... that... That's a really bad way of phrasing that question. I mean, what I'm basically saying is if you looked at that data and I looked at that data without knowing what you did this week, would we have the same impression of your week?

LUCY:... um... Like probably... not. But... cos again, y'know I don't carry my phone everywhere with me, so. There are definitely more days when I would have done a lot more steps. And then you wouldn't... you'd just see like all of that. You wouldn't know where else I've been

INTERVIEWER: So there's a small gap, in between, y'know, what you've actually done and what it is able to record, really

LUCY: Yeah, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: OK. Um, there is a term called Invisible Data. Which is information of-about our bodies, from our bodies that we can't see.

LUCY: Right

INTERVIEWER: Without technology. Um, can you... So, does that make sense? As in, a lot of people sort of talk about step counting as an example, that we would never... We have no way of knowing how many steps we take in a day

LUCY: No

INTERVIEWER: without technology

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But even if we didn't know how many steps we took, there are still steps taken. So that's invisible data. That we can't see without technology. Um, can you think of any examples of information that you wouldn't have known without the app? Or did you sort of- or did it not really tell you anything you weren't already aware of?

LUCY: Um... I think in terms of like days where I think I'm not actually doing a lot, actually I'm doing a lot more than like what I thought

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

LUCY: Like even if it was just like wandering to the kitchen, like I don't know, popping to Nisa, I don't count that as doing a lot but then actually it's a lot more than what I thought

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. So it's- there's a, like... you might have a perception of a day as being

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: You know like being "Oh this is a really lazy day"

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: "All I did was walk to [shop name]" But you look at the app and it goes "Ah, actually"

LUCY: Yeah! Actually it's more than-yeah

INTERVIEWER: Oh, OK. Um, what do you think of the idea of Invisible Data?

LUCY: Um, in what way?

INTERVIEWER: I know I've described it very, very briefly, um and only just now, but do you agree? That, um, that there is data – to put it one way – about our body that can only be revealed by technology? Or is it something- or is that just a concept that doesn't sound realistic?

LUCY: Mmm...

INTERVIEWER: Like I say I realise I've only just, very briefly explained this

LUCY: Yeah, that's a hard question.

INTERVIEWER: I'll make a note that that's not really-

LUCY:-No! No, like, I'm just trying- I'm just thinking about it. Um, like I think with these apps, thing is it's only taking in one kind of aspect, like y'know I could go to the gym and then it records that, then I could also come back and eat like four different takeaways or something and it doesn't, it doesn't know that

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, I see what you mean

LUCY: But I don't know if that really answers your question

INTERVIEWER: No, no, I know what you mean because it is- it's one dimensional in that way

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: In that it doesn't take everything into account

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Mm, definitely. Because as well there's different levels of mobility for everyone, in terms of achievement. You know just walking to [shop name] might-

LUCY: -BE an achievement, yeah

INTERVIEWER: On some days, definitely. Um, oh that really relates to the next question, which is: Did the data ever disagree with your own experience- and when I say disagree, it's sort of what we already talked about, how you saw y'know on days you hadn't moved a lot then you found out you had moved

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, so the question was could you give an example? Which you already have, but could you explain how you feel about that? You kind of explained that in a positive way

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Did it ever happen the other way around? That you thought you'd walked a lot and then you look at the app and you go "Oh what?! ONLY that many?"

LUCY: Yeah. Yeah I know the... Like, one of the days I've got like a placement [Lucy is referring to a work placement] and I had to walk quite a bit to like get to it and stuff and I remember thinking "Ah, I've done like loads of steps today" and I remember looking at it and was like "Oh." [tone of disappointment]

[C&L laugh]

LUCY: "That's REALLY not that many!"

INTERVIEWER: You feel like you want to shake it like "Are you sure?"

LUCY: [laughing] Yeah

INTERVIEWER: "That's all you want to record?" Yeah

LUCY: I just think like when it tells you how like long you've been active for, sometimes it's a bit like "that's pretty depressing"

[C&L laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Um, but you... There's a tendency to believe the phone over your...

LUCY: Mm

INTERVIEWER: Perception of it

LUCY: Yeah. Well 'cos it's like data, this must be valid like, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Mmm. Um, MORE valid than your sort of perception?

LUCY: Umm... [sigh. Pause] Like, I think... some days I just don't really think about how many steps I'm taking

INTERVIEWER: Definitely

LUCY: No one really does. And then so you look at the phone and assume that “Yeah that’s it. That must be right.”

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. Because, like you say, it’s not something you think about, it’s not something you CAN think about, unless you have OCD or something you can’t count every step you take, and the phone does so there is definitely... y’know. That adds to its believability

LUCY: Yeah, like exactly

INTERVIEWER: That’s interesting. Um, this also links which is good, um did you think more about walking when you were using-

LUCY: Yeah! One hundred percent! Definitely did.

INTERVIEWER: OK, um, did you think about it differently in any way?

LUCY: Um

INTERVIEWER: From, y’know... But what you’re sort of saying is you don’t think about walking

LUCY: I think it kind of became more of like... I’m trying to think of- it’s hard to describe it. But... Like, before, when I don’t have these apps, I just- I just didn’t think about it. And now it was kind of like “Oh, OK, I need to walk this bit further to kind of like... reach this goal, and that was always in the back of my mind, so yeah I think I became a lot more kind of... Like I thought about it a lot more

INTERVIEWER: You were just more aware of it

LUCY: Oh yeah! Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: And it also- I had that too. When I had my Fitbit it did change how I thought about walking. For example, like, we didn’t live very far from the corner shop that sold newspapers and

my mum would say “Oh, could you go and just get me a newspaper.” And I was like “No” until I had my Fitbit and then I was like “I really want to- Oh, I just need 1000 more steps”

LUCY: Exactly

INTERVIEWER: “So I’ll go and do it” so it did definitely change that.

LUCY: Yeah. I know this is really random, but my dad had a Fitbit and almost to like get to his steps he’d run up and down the stairs

INTERVIEWER: I’ve done that! I’ve one hundred percent done that. Because it does become like a goal.

LUCY: Oh yeah. One hundred percent.

INTERVIEWER: So instead of it being something you don’t think about, it’s something that y’know, there’s a number attached to it.

LUCY: Yeah. And you try to-you make more time for it

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

LUCY: To like, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: And it’s- and the beginning you sort of said like... it’s exercise.

LUCY: Mm

INTERVIEWER: I didn’t think about walking as exercise before I got my Fitbit, personally.

LUCY: Right. OK.

INTERVIEWER: Well, walking long distances I did. But not-not walking to the shop.

LUCY: Mm Hm

INTERVIEWER: But then I think once I had a Fitbit I was like “yeah, I’ll get a little more EXERCISE in, y’know.” Alright, so, slightly deeper stuff, I want to talk about technology and the body. So, yeah feel free to ask me to clarify any questions and take your time because these are slightly bigger questions.

LUCY: OK

INTERVIEWER: The first one is, how connected do you feel to your body?

LUCY: Oh. So as in like, do I know...

INTERVIEWER: I think, like... in one of our seminars we had a conversation about emotions and sort of our body and where we feel them in the body and some people were saying that they- everything they experience is very much in the mind and other people say that they feel things in their body and obviously some people do have negative relationships with their body and they feel that disconnect between them, so I know it’s very personal and I’m not asking you to get into depth about it, but do you- how connected do you feel with your body?

LUCY: Um, no I do think I feel quite connected to it. Like I think I’ve got quite a positive...

INTERVIEWER: That’s good.

LUCY: ... like, relationship with my body, but then kind of like you were saying earlier like with my mind though that’s like a completely different story. Um, but yeah I don’t feel like any negativity

INTERVIEWER: Um, do you... connect your idea of your gender to your body. Are those two concepts- or not even concepts- are they connected in your mind?

LUCY: Again, sorry, like what...

INTERVIEWER: No, fair enough. Um, you... identify as a woman?

LUCY: Yeah-yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Is that concept of how you feel as a woman, is that to do with your body, is it connected to your body in any way? Or is it connected to... outside factors like... behaviour- though is that connected to the body? Do you feel you're a woman because of your body in any way?

LUCY: Yeah. I think it's quite a big part.

INTERVIEWER: Do you mind explaining?

LUCY: Um, well I guess like- I'm trying to think. Like... y'know, obviously as a woman you've got certain things with your body that makes you a woman, like periods and stuff, so like a hundred percent. Yeah, my body definitely does connect with gender, definitely

INTERVIEWER: And the two things are linked in your mind?

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, Does tracking and recording your body as you've been doing for the past couple of weeks, does that have anything to do with your connection to your body, does it change it at all, do you- did you feel more connected knowing this fact- more facts about your body, did you feel less connected, or did it not affect it at all?

LUCY: Mmm... I would probably say... like, maybe a bit less connected

INTERVIEWER: OK, could you explain that?

LUCY: Um, I'm trying to think how to phrase it

INTERVIEWER: Take your absolute time

[C&L laugh]

LUCY: Um, I think- I don't know if this is going to make any sense but... like I think that before... I think I probably felt way more connected, because I thought, like, I knew my body a lot more and then when the app... like as in before I thought I was getting enough exercise all that kind of stuff and then with this app I feel like that's kind of proven that quite wrong... I dunno, I don't know how to phrase it

INTERVIEWER: No, no, no that's great. And I-I relate very strongly as well

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: When I was using it

LUCY: It's like-it kind of makes you question like "Oh." [disappointed] "Am I doing enough?" like...

INTERVIEWER: It-It's like second guessing

LUCY: Yeah. I don't know how else to elaborate...

INTERVIEWER: That's OK, I mean that's great. Do you want longer to think about it or...

LUCY: Um [long pause]

INTERVIEWER: I suppose... it's sort of... a little bit like, um- this is-this obviously like my-my experience

LUCY: yeah-yeah-yeah

INTERVIEWER: But I found it a little bit like a filter, as in like there was the experience and then there was what the phone or the Fitbit was recording and it almost felt like... like a filter. Does that... Is that anything like what you were trying to describe or...

LUCY: When you said it's like a filter, what...

INTERVIEWER: Like... A way of seeing... my, I guess my body and my step count specifically in a way that I hadn't ever before

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But in the same way as a filter is not just a way of looking in it's also- it does also change it slightly. Like you said you- you feel like you're doing a lot, or you feel like you're doing nothing

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And then the technology has something completely different to say and it's like... that change. I don't want to put words in your mouth.

LUCY: No-no-no. But you kind of start to question...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY: Like question yourself. I don't know how else to phrase it. Kind of like before the app I dunno I felt kind of like confident in myself and like what I was doing with my body like exercise and all of that, and now this like I said makes me question-makes you question whether like... yeah

INTERVIEWER: OK. That's brilliant. Um, what I have here are just a couple of examples from an app LIKE the one you've been using, but slightly differently. Differently? Slightly DIFFERENT. Um, obviously these examples weren't taken from within the participant group, your data will not be shared with anyone in the group. The only people that will see your data will be me and my supervisors. Just to let you know. But is there anything you can tell me about the people that recorded this data. Literally anything about their lifestyles, their jobs, gender, sort of similar to what we did when we looked at your week and that Wednesday- you, you get it.

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Anything at all. Um, and for the recording if you could just say which figure you're referring to

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Thank you

LUCY: So figure one. Just like for me looks very active. Like definitely. Um...

INTERVIEWER: I know it's obvious, but where are you getting that sort of conception-

LUCY: Well the daily steps, like twenty-one thousand nine hundred and seventy-three, is a lot. And especially as it's got like the ten thousand as like the recommended

INTERVIEWER: So that's... over double right?

LUCY: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: So clearly very active.

LUCY: And then like in comparison to figure four it's like a dramatic decrease... Clearly like- I don't know-But then it also depends on that day.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah definitely

LUCY: 'Cos like... like that day they could have been hiking or like whatever and then figure four they could have-like what I was saying, they could have just been sat at a desk all day and just not done a lot at all

INTERVIEWER: So, beyond their activity, is there anything that you think you could guess from their data? Anything-And if you can't that's also fine, but is there anything? Like would you guess what sort of job they might have, or is there not enough

LUCY: I just don't think there's enough there.

INTERVIEWER: That's fine

LUCY: Especially to like talk about what like gender, which gender they could be like... they could be like male or female, just because they've done more steps doesn't mean they're a specific gender. Um, like I don't- in terms of their job... More active, could involve more walking around, rather than an office job? Like that's what I could gather from that. Yeah not- I mean, not a lot

INTERVIEWER: Cool, that's good, yeah-yeah-yeah. Um, going back to talking more about gender now. Um, is there anything that you... do that you can think of that makes you feel more comfortable with your gender?

LUCY: Um [long pause]

INTERVIEWER: I mean, if it helps, my example is I am growing my hair out. Um, and that just makes me feel more girly than when I had like my short hair.

LUCY: Yeah, I was going to say like... clothes. Makeup. Like, I guess when I wear makeup I feel a lot more... like feminine. Um... like hair as well.

INTERVIEWER: So, all sorts of like everyday sort of things. I mean how often do you wear makeup? I'm assuming you wear clothes most days

[C&L laugh]

LUCY: Well you know there are some days where I just don't feel like it!

[C&L laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Yup! Living free!

[C&L laugh]

LUCY: Like, it depends what I'm doing. If I've got lectures and stuff then I'll make a bit of an effort, but then if I'm not doing anything I won't so.

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

LUCY: Like, I wouldn't say I wear makeup that often. Like everyday

INTERVIEWER: OK. But in a more public setting, would you say?

LUCY: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Um, would you consider walking to be anything that's linked to gender in the same way as makeup is? I know you said from the-the vignettes that you couldn't guess the gender from their walking patterns but do you think walking is linked to gender in-in-not just in step counters but like in general

LUCY: Hm. [Long pause] Um. [Long pause] I'm gonna say no. Like I'm not sure why. But...

INTERVIEWER: Interesting

LUCY: I just don't think like- I dunno I just don't think walking... I don't know, for me I just don't think it has anything to do with gender. I just-I just... No.

INTERVIEWER: No, that's fine.

LUCY: But I can't think of an explanation as to why

INTERVIEWER: No, that's fine, that's really interesting. Yeah-yeah-yeah. Do you think dieting is gendered?

LUCY: Mm... I think it's more... `more male and female. Like, woman.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Do you think exercise is gendered?

LUCY: Yeah. Yeah, definitely. I think more men, more male

INTERVIEWER: Do you think sleeping is gendered?

LUCY: Hmm. Interesting question!

[C&L laugh]

LUCY: No.

INTERVIEWER: No.

LUCY: No.

INTERVIEWER: So, the reason I'm asking those is: what do you think the difference is between those actions? That you feel are gendered in some way and those that aren't. So walking, sleeping, you said aren't gendered. Um, exercising, dieting are gendered, in different ways. Do you think- Can you think of the difference between them?

LUCY: Um... I just kind of realised actually, earlier I said that walking was exercise, but then I've just said exercise was gendered

INTERVIEWER: Oh!

LUCY: So that's really interesting!

INTERVIEWER: That is interesting!

LUCY: But I think when you say exercise I just, like, the first thing that popped into my head was like guys like in the gym and like all that kind of stuff

INTERVIEWER: Oh yeah definitely

LUCY: Yeah! With the weights

[C&L laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Admiring themselves in the mirror.

LUCY: I think dieting- Like I know this isn't really answering the question

INTERVIEWER: No-no-no it's ALL good, this is great

LUCY: But I think there's just so much more pressure for women in terms of like technology, social media. A hundred percent.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

LUCY: There's like way more pressure on women. To like have to look a certain way. And their bodies to look a certain way.

INTERVIEWER: Definitely

LUCY: Um, so I think that's why that like jumped into my head. But in terms of like there's a difference... um...

INTERVIEWER: So, you're sort of talking about like the social pressures on dieting

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: As one example

LUCY: And I'm- there's also like social pressure on exercise as well for guys to have to like-

INTERVIEWER: Definitely

LUCY: With their body

INTERVIEWER: Two sides of the same coin. But not sleeping.

LUCY: No

INTERVIEWER: No. There isn't... I mean... if you think about the way that... I don't know why but a mattress advert jumped into my head, and it's always a man and woman

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Y'know, the woman is always wearing... like, always a very modest nightgown sort of thing and the guy is ALWAYS in a t-shirt and boxers, like there's SO MUCH gender, just in that. But I agree with you, I don't view sleeping as a gendered thing. But it's sort of... where does that line begin? Between dieting which is gendered, sleeping which isn't, and then walking which... is kind of a middle ground

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: 'Cos you said exercising is and walking isn't. That question by the way is like my whole dissertation so I'm not expecting an answer!

LUCY: Oh OK!

[C&L laugh]

INTERVIEWER: But yeah, what-what do you think- where do you think the line is or-or why do you think there is a difference?

LUCY: Um. I'm sorry, I don't know if I'm being like...

INTERVIEWER: No-no-no-no-no

LUCY: - dim. When you say where the line is? As in like?

INTERVIEWER: Well, if you think of... in my mind, like a sliding scale between non-gendered thing and gendered things. Where is the line where it becomes gendered?

LUCY: Ohhh

INTERVIEWER: Does that make sense?

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: That's just how I visualise it. So I should have explained that. But sleeping, which we both agree, is on the non-gendered side, dieting and exercise IS. Where does it go over, do you know what I mean? Or why is there a difference? Very confusing, I'm sorry!

LUCY: No, I'm just thinking. Um [long pause] Why is there a difference?

INTERVIEWER: I mean you already talked about- about how these images popped into your head

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Of like... specifically men, I'm assuming weight lifting, because that's the image I have in MY head

LUCY: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: And then dieting is all... there's all this pressure. And I guess you're talking about the cultural

LUCY: Mmm. Mm hm.

INTERVIEWER: The cultural pressures. And the expectations really of what people look like

LUCY: Oh yeah, definitely

INTERVIEWER: But there isn't that same pressure on

LUCY: Like sleeping

INTERVIEWER: Sleeping and walking, yeah. Just why would you think that would be? Does everyone sort of sleep the same, but people don't exercise the same?

LUCY: Um, well I guess like... with sleeping like... I don't know if this is going to sound really weird but... no one like SEES that. That's very like private, a very private thing. Then like I was saying earlier about exercising and like dieting that's so much more public. And, like I was saying with the massive influence and like all that pressure to have to look a certain way

INTERVIEWER: Definitely

LUCY: Yeah but like sleeping is definitely a much more private thing. No one really asks you like-

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

LUCY: "So, how's the sleeping going?" But it's just not something that's really discussed that much. Like dieting and exercise, there's always that at the forefront

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. There are now tracking apps that do track how you sleep

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: How long you're in REM sleep, how, y'know, how often you wake up sort of thing. Do you think- like, does that make sleeping more public?

LUCY: Mmm [considering] [long pause] Like... I don't know.

INTERVIEWER: I guess it possibly makes you more aware of sleeping, in the way that you didn't really think-

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: -of walking really before the app

LUCY: Like I wouldn't say it makes it more public

INTERVIEWER: No

LUCY: Like you said, yeah, it definitely makes you more aware of like how you sleep and your sleeping pattern. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: That's fair enough. Um, what does the phrase "Walk like a woman" mean to you? Do you like it, do you dislike it? And why?

LUCY: No, I don't like it

[C&L laugh]

LUCY: Sounds horrible!

INTERVIEWER: Why, can you explain

LUCY: Well 'cos like I was saying earlier I don't think walking is gendered so -at all – so, why-walking like a woman just sounds so... sexist. But how does a woman walk? Like...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY: Do they walk differently to guys?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, exactly. Um, if someone were to walk as a human, do you think there's a difference between that and walking as a woman?

LUCY: Definitely

INTERVIEWER: What's the difference?

LUCY: It's a lot more, like general I guess. It includes everyone like male, female. Walk like a woman is just so...

INTERVIEWER: Specific?

LUCY: Yeah. Specific. And it's just weird

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. And that's an important difference?

LUCY: Yeah. Definitely

INTERVIEWER: Um, OK. Has anything ever happened to you while you were walking that you feel was linked to your gender, in any way?

LUCY: Mmm [sigh] I don't know if this is relevant, but I remember like when I was just walking down the road and like a van drove past and honked at me

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY: It's like, what am I doing? I'm literally just walking. I'm not wearing anything like... I'm not like- I don't know, like, not that there should be a reason, but I'm literally not doing anything, I'm just minding my own business, walking down the road like why... just why?

INTERVIEWER: In terms- I agree, walking like a woman is a horrible phrase, but walking AS a woman has it's... own problems I think. Do you remember when we went to see the cinema [meaning: see a film at the cinema] I can't remember what we went to see but we arrived too late and we had to like- you took my on that whole walking tour of [city]

LUCY: Oh yeah!

INTERVIEWER: Do you remember that there was- a guy followed us?

LUCY: Yep, yep

INTERVIEWER: That was so weird.

LUCY: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: And it's like- and what's even weirder is that that's not an uncommon-

LUCY: Oh yeah, I've had that so many times

INTERVIEWER: [in agreement] so many times

LUCY: I remember a while ago before I came to Uni I was on a night out with my friends and we were just walking into town, just walking, and these guys turned around and started following us and start like cheering

INTERVIEWER: Cheering?!

LUCY: Yeah! And whistling.

INTERVIEWER: Oh my God

LUCY: So we have not like-

INTERVIEWER: No

LUCY: What, what are we doing? Like why?

INTERVIEWER: Just trying to get from A to B here dude

LUCY: Yeah! Just want to start drinking

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Um I think also, um, walking-walking home that night- well, that morning actually [referring to when C went to meet H in town, at about 4am, to walk home with her after a night out]

LUCY: Oh yeah! [laughs]

INTERVIEWER: With- y'know, you had... some concerns about walking home

LUCY: Oh yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, and they- yeah, I think they're concerns that we've all had.

LUCY: Mm [agreement]

INTERVIEWER: Not wanting to get into a taxi, y'know not wanting to walk home where- where there aren't streetlights

LUCY: Yeah. Like there should be no need for it. I guess it's like, for me I just- if I walk back on my own I just feel so... like, not powerful and like I just feel very...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Self-conscious I think

LUCY: Very! Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, have you ever – kind of want to skip to this because I know you better – but um have you ever changed how you walk or where you walk in a way that you think is linked to your gender?

LUCY: Umm... I've definitely changed like where I walk. I guess that links to the whole night out thing and coming back on my own. Like I've chosen more public paths to walk back on. Um, I don't think I've ever changed like the way I walk, no.

INTERVIEWER: Um, do you think the walking apps like the one you tested SHOULD include more gendered features?

LUCY: Mmm [considering]... That depends what the benefit would be. Of doing that

INTERVIEWER: Do you think there would be a benefit?

LUCY: I don't think there would. Like I don't really see what- I don't know, I don't really see what it would do-

INTERVIEWER: Yeah that's fair enough

LUCY: - to put it on there

INTERVIEWER: Yea, because looking at the-looking at these vignettes, it's the sort of thing you could never-

LUCY: Oh, no!

INTERVIEWER: -guess someone's gender from. And is that, is that better? Should apps be more clearly gendered, or would that be... not great?

LUCY: I don't think it would be great. Yeah, I think it just kind of like... I don't know, I guess I kind of incorporates the whole "walk like a woman" thing when you start having gendered, like, walking apps, I don't know.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, and- So, you don't like the phrase "walk like a woman"

LUCY: Yep, yep

INTERVIEWER: So the idea of incorporating gender into walking is potentially a negative thing for you?

LUCY: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Or-Or incorporating certain aspects of gender-

LUCY: Yeah, yeah. Yeah-yeah-yeah

INTERVIEWER: OK.

LUCY: Yeah, definitely certain aspects

INTERVIEWER: Do you know what aspect that is?

LUCY: Oh [sigh] I don't know. I can't think of anything off the top of my head.

INTERVIEWER: That's fair enough.

LUCY: I bet it'll come to me later

INTERVIEWER: Well, if it does please- please let me know

LUCY: Yeah-yeah-yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, but I guess "walking like a woman" there's immediately the idea of, well, what kind of woman? There's so many-

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: -Kinds of women

LUCY: How does it sound to you?

INTERVIEWER: Walk like a woman?

LUCY: Yeah, like what do you associate?

INTERVIEWER: Umm. Well, an image does pop into my head. When I hear “walk like a woman”.
I think of that catwalk sort of walk

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: I think of heels.

LUCY: Yeah for some reason the image that popped into my head was you know the Virgin advert

INTERVIEWER: [gasp]

LUCY: With like the air stewardesses

INTERVIEWER: Yeah-yeah-yeah

LUCY: And they're like walking down. For some reason that just pops into my head

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, that's an UBER feminine, like, display almost

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, for sure. But I think, yeah, but that's almost a caricature. Walking LIKE a
woman

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But then, but when we were sort of talking about experiences we've both had
linking walking to gender, or walking AS a woman.

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: You know. I-I definitely think we were followed that night BECAUSE we're women

LUCY: Yep

INTERVIEWER: I definitely think you were honked at- I've also been honked at – BECAUSE we're women

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And so I think this- there's a really interesting difference between walking LIKE a woman, which I hate, and walking AS a woman which has its own-

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: -problems. So, yeah. But then, going back to the fact that walking isn't gendered.

LUCY: No

INTERVIEWER: But there are- we've discussed aspects of walking, as a woman... again, so, walking isn't gendered and yet there are so many aspects of it that are

LUCY: Yeah, yeah I get what you're saying

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

LUCY: [sighs] It's a really hard one

INTERVIEWER: Yes! That's my dissertation!

[C&L laugh]

LUCY: It's really interesting though

INTERVIEWER: Thank you

LUCY: It really gets you thinking

INTERVIEWER: Yes... thinking in circles

[L laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. I mean, that's the last question so- if there's anything you wanted to discuss, any questions you have, then go ahead. But yeah, I think has honestly, genuinely, opened up some really interesting thoughts in my own mind about [pause] y'know. When you said like "oh I can't think what the gendered aspects are", I completely agree with you.

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And I think that's really interesting

LUCY: Mmm. Would you say walking is gendered?

INTERVIEWER: [sighs] Would I say walking's gendered? I like how you're now interviewing me!

[C&L laugh]

LUCY: I'm just interested!

INTERVIEWER: No-no-no, I-I agree with you. That it's almost like... when I picture walking I just picture... getting from A to B.

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And that's not, or shouldn't be gendered. And yet I also consciously walk on better lit paths- when I was dropped of at university with my Dad, he showed me- I have such a terrible sense of direction- he walked me from campus to town to make sure I knew how to get there

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And we walked the field way and he told me “do NOT walk this way at night”. Um, and we didn’t even have to say why. He was concerned. I didn’t even argue. I was like “oh no, of COURSE I’d NEVER walk this way at night”

LUCY: Oh yeah, no

INTERVIEWER: Um, but that’s because I’m his daughter. And it does occur to me whether he’d ask that, or he’d ask that of me if I was his son. Y’know?

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, which is... It’s interesting. I think there are lots of... attachments to walking. Almost like, if you- y’know you were saying you got honked at, you weren’t wearing certain things-

LUCY: And it shouldn’t be like that

INTERVIEWER: No I completely understand, yeah

LUCY: You should be able to wear whatever you want. Like, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Well walking is, as you said, public.

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So... there’s... It’s a minefield really

LUCY: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: Y’know. My supervisor talked about walking in heels, how it changes how you walk y’know. All of my shoes are flat

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Don't have time for heels

LUCY: Ugh, yeah

INTERVIEWER: But when- In that image I've got of a woman, she's wearing heels.

LUCY: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Interestingly, you don't see walking as gendered, so what do you see it as? What is the alternative?

LUCY: Like with walking, just something everyone has to do.

INTERVIEWER: Again, everyone. Just general.

LUCY: Yeah, not like man or woman or whatever. Whatever, like, it's just something everyone's got to do.

INTERVIEWER: Like sleeping

LUCY: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: Just something you got to do

LUCY: Exactly

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely. Cool, thank you very much!

LUCY: You're welcome

Appendix 6

Madison

INTERVIEWER: Yeah I'm more interested in how people feel about the data they've collected rather than-

MADISON: OK

INTERVIEWER: - Than the data itself. I'm definitely doing qualitative not quantitative

MADISON: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: So yeah, right, um, before we begin do you have any questions about the interview or about the research or anything?

MADISON: Um... I'm a bit curious about what you're doing, but you can... I don't know. Is it better to tell me about that before or after?

INTERVIEWER: I think-

[M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: I don't know, I think it will – hopefully come across in some of the questions

MADISON: OK

INTERVIEWER: And then I'll be more than happy to talk about it afterwards if you want

MADISON: For sure

INTERVIEWER: Um, couple of things. [answering questions, explaining questions, taking time, etc]

Cool right. First of all could you tell me a little about yourself?

MADISON: Ok, um, so my name is Madison, I am twenty-three, and I'm doing the Taught MA in [University course title] with a Humanities focus. Um... I'm... slightly active

[C laughs]

MADISON: Like I don't drive so the vast majority of the time when I'm going anywhere or doing anything I probably am walking, but I definitely don't necessarily go and do things... um, everyday. So...

INTERVIEWER: So would you say that more of your walking is the getting from A to B

MADISON: A hundred percent

INTERVIEWER: Right, yep.

MADISON: A hundred percent

INTERVIEWER: You don't... you're not the kind of person that strolls for...

MADISON: Um, I do but not in the kind of weather we've been having recently

INTERVIEWER: Oh, right

MADISON: There have been days where I've just been not touching the outside world for as long as I can avoid

INTERVIEWER: I'm going to stay in my fortress, yes, I completely agree. Um, so you get around most places by walking.

MADISON: Mm hm, or bus

INTERVIEWER: OK, which do you prefer? Bus or walking?

MADISON: It... Hmm. I prefer walking, but up to like a certain distance

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

MADISON: Um, but- So for example, the walk between... my house and campus is like thirty minutes and I usually- well, I mean last semester I walked that everyday instead of getting the bus, but I have been getting the bus- In fact I don't think I've walked in the last couple of months because I've just been... cold and grumpy [M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

MADISON: Um, but I do prefer walking that kind of distance. If it's getting towards forty-five minutes to an hour I'd probably look at... If I can bus part of my journey, and then if the bus is worth it. Because sometimes you have to walk a lot out of your way just to get to a bus stop

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

MADISON: And then it can take you like four stops and then you still have to walk a lot on the other side. Um, and then I'm like, I'm just going to walk even if it is like an hour walk because the bus isn't value for money.

INTERVIEWER: Mm, yeah. I find the buses round here pretty cheap

MADISON: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: As well

MADISON: yeah

INTERVIEWER: Which makes it even more tempting

MADISON: Definitely. Especially in comparison to my home town. Where, like, a twenty-minute journey is like four pounds.

INTERVIEWER: I- I live in this tiny little village, and so we have one bus

MADISON: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: Which doesn't have a timetable, just arrives when it wants to

MADISON: Oh Christ

INTERVIEWER: And it is SO expensive to get anywhere because we're in the middle of nowhere.

That's irrelevant, but

[M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Um,

MADISON: Mine at home isn't that bad, but like

INTERVIEWER: No, it can get really expensive, and what's worse is I can't walk anywhere I have to get the bus

MADISON: Because you're in the middle of nowhere, mm hm.

INTERVIEWER: Have you used any self-tracking apps before this?

MADISON: Um... I don't necessarily use an app regularly, but I used to have a little pedometer that I always wore.

INTERVIEWER: Right

MADISON: Back when I used to do waitressing so I was always interested in how many steps I'd done during a shift

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

MADISON: And, um, to be fair, I do- So I have the regular Health app which is on iPhone

INTERVIEWER: Which- Sorry

MADISON: Which tracks how- Which tracks your walking anyway. And then I do have another app that also- one of the features it has is something that tracks how far I walk. And I check those on days where I feel like I've done a lot of walking

INTERVIEWER: [laughs] yeah

MADISON: So I don't work anymore, but back in like October and December I worked at waitressing, so I did check then during my shifts and in September my mum and I went to [holiday desination]. And I checked my apps every day then because we were doing, like, thirty-five thousand steps a day

INTERVIEWER: Yeah of course

MADISON: Sort of thing, and I was like "Mum guess how many steps we've done today?!" Um, and stuff like that so it was really fun, but I don't look at it on...

INTERVIEWER: average

MADISON: On the average day. I only check it when I feel like it will stand out, that kind of thing.

INTERVIEWER: That's really interesting

MADISON: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: So, when you say you had a pedometer I'm assuming you mean one that's like on your wrist

MADISON: No I had a clip on one that went on the-

INTERVIEWER: Oh!

MADISON: On my waistband

INTERVIEWER: Cool. But an external one-

MADISON: Or in my pocket or- Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: Ok, so why did you get that?

MADISON: Um, well I couldn't have my phone on me when I was working

INTERVIEWER: Of course

MADISON: And... I mean, when I first got my pedometer it was like- it was a couple of years ago, so I don't know if smartphones necessarily had the apps or I wasn't as tech savvy, or I didn't have a good enough phone sort of thing. Um, so I just ordered a pedometer from the internet. Because it was- It was cos I was talking to one of the other girls that I waitressed with, saying like "oh I wonder how much we do in a day?" sort of thing. Um, so then we both got pedometers so that we could see [M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Was there like a competition?

MADISON: A little bit sometimes I think. And I think especially with us, um, because we were quite hardworking, we'd be like "oh I bet so-and-so doesn't have as many steps"

[C&M laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Waitressing is one of those jobs where you're on your feet All. Day.

MADISON: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: You are walking so much

MADISON: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: I found when I was working- I worked in hardware shop, and I think the fact I was in doors all day, never leaving the one building I just didn't feel like I walked a lot

MADISON: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: But then, my app was like "no, no"

MADISON: "You do!"

INTERVIEWER: "You do!" [C laughs]

MADISON: It's cos- You don't realise because you're constantly like wandering the shop floor, like, or going in the back to get something or just little things

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, just short distances

MADISON: Uh huh

INTERVIEWER: So you had- you said you have an app that ONE of the things it tracks is steps, what else does it track?

MADISON: It's like a calorie counter one

INTERVIEWER: OK. Right, is that one where you have to... like scan the food and it...

MADISON: You might be able to scan it, but I don't, it just has a database that you search through

INTERVIEWER: Ohh! That's cool. Alright. And how long have you had that one?

MADISON: [pause] Um... somewhere between six months and a year

INTERVIEWER: Wow

MADISON: I don't know exactly. It's just one of the things on my phone

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. And you still use it?

MADISON: Um, I don't really. It's just , like... Yeah it's just another one of the things on my phone.

I think I used to use it a lot but I don't really so much anymore

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Um, why did you download it?

MADISON: Um, I downloaded it because I just wanted to be keeping track of what I was eating more and that kind of thing. Um, oh and- actually no, also I- at the time I had gone vegan, and I was having loads of energy related issues and my doctor wanted me to keep a food diary. So I used the app as part of keeping my food diary.

INTERVIEWER: That's really smart. Ok, did you like this app that you were testing?

MADISON: Oh, Pacer?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

MADISON: Yeah, um... the whole thing about not being able to see your trends past the last seven days-

INTERVIEWER: -I know

MADISON: -was a little bit frustrating. But I did like the fact that it had trends for walking, because like I don't think the Health app or any of the other ones have that necessarily. So I liked seeing my days of walking in comparison, sort of thing. Um, but yeah it was annoying that it was like limited to seven days.

INTERVIEWER: Mm, yeah. I think- You can pay to get the premium account and then it shows you like the monthly-

MADISON: -Yeah

INTERVIEWER: -ones, which is irritating I definitely- I do agree. Um... how do you feel about the food tracker one. Because I don't- When I asked you, you reacted a little bit negatively, before you realised I was asking about Pacer

MADISON: Ah

INTERVIEWER: Is that me making-

MADISON: No, no, no, I think you are right, that I think that, um... I just am not... very into, and in fact I'm probably more against, the whole calorie counting app type thing.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

MADISON: Um, but it was just for ease for when I was keeping track of the food diary kind of thing and having it on me all the time. Um, but, no I think they can get... quite... obsessive and- Especially with... the way they make it- Or try to make it very community based. Um, and then therefore competitive and that kind of thing, so. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. That's fair enough. So, you don't like the calorie counting aspect. There is calorie counting on Pacer, is that-

MADISON: -I hadn't realised that

INTERVIEWER: Oh really? Ok

MADISON: I probably just haven't had enough of a play around that um... [long pause] Yeah, cos... I guess because the, um, the step thing comes up before like the body weight and other things I hadn't realised that... Yeah. Are you sure? Because even when I go on the input thing, it has-

INTERVIEWER: Oh, I'm sure Pacer has a calorie part... can you go back to the main

MADISON: Of course

INTERVIEWER: Yeah... Yeah, top left, calories: a hundred and twenty-eight

MADISON: Oh! Isn't that just how many, um, you've burnt

INTERVIEWER: Yeah! That's all Pacer does

MADISON: Ohh, Ok

INTERVIEWER: It doesn't do intake it only does outtake

MADISON: Ohh. OK! Yeah, I mean I had kind of noticed that, but um... Not... Not hugely.

INTERVIEWER: Mm.

MADISON: And I like the fact that it's only that as opposed to like a lot of the other ones where they are like logging intake, outtake and like obviously your exercise so it's like outtake.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, I think because Pacer is more focussed on just the walking it just shows you how many calories you've burnt doing the walking

MADISON: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: So... Was there anything about it you didn't like?

MADISON: Um. No. I thought it was pretty user friendly. I was tempted and interested in the whole like My Coach thing

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

MADISON: But I wasn't interested enough to pay for it

INTERVIEWER: No, that's fair enough

MADISON: But um... no, I didn't really spend an awful lot of time on it, so.

INTERVIEWER: No, that's fair enough

MADISON: No I didn't- There wasn't anything I found that I disliked

INTERVIEWER: Did you find yourself checking it quite frequently or did you just let it run in the background?

MADISON: No there's like a couple of days where I am a few days late, um, taking my weekly screenshot or that kind of thing because I was like "oh shit I need to do that!" [M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: No, it's fine.

MADISON: So, no I think it was just in the background

INTERVIEWER: Good, alright. What do you think the purpose of this kind of app is?

MADISON: Um. I think this one is just to see how active you are and how many steps and that kind of thing you are taking in a day. Yeah. I do think this one is quite good for the- it is what is seems to be, as opposed to maybe some of the others where they are much more to do with weight loss or that kind of thing. This one does seem to be like quite straight forward. This is what you're doing in a day, kind of thing.

INTERVIEWER: That's good. Do you think it's aimed at a group of people in particular?

MADISON: ... Um... I don't know

INTERVIEWER: No that's fine

MADISON: Um... I... Yeah I'm really not sure

INTERVIEWER: No- that's an answer in and of itself

MADISON: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Sure. Um, do you want to look at some of the past data weeks- some of your screenshots

MADISON: Sure. So this was my first one.

INTERVIEWER: Is it-

MADISON: -Yeah you can scroll across

[long pause while we look at the screenshot]

INTERVIEWER: Hm. Your averages jump around quite a lot

MADISON: [Laughs] Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: That's something I'm definitely noticing

[pause]

INTERVIEWER: Wow! This day's crazy. The Friday of the first week

MADISON: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: You were almost at fifteen

MADISON: So this was, what? The twenty-fifth of February. Twenty-fifth? Wait no- I'm going to go on my calendar app. We can work out what I was doing that day. [laughs]

[pause]

MADISON: So that makes it the twenty-third. So... Ah! OK, I didn't do a crazy amount this day, but I did- I met my friend to go to the cinema, but he got held up in work for an hour and a half, and I did spend that hour and a half just kind of walking around because I was really cold, and I didn't just want to stand still. Um, and then we went to the cinema society they have here on

campus. And then we walked home after the cinema, because he lives quite near me as well, so I did a solid hour and a half of walking around when I was waiting for him because I was waiting from work, and then that thirty-minute walk home. So.

INTERVIEWER: Well, that'll explain it, definitely

MADISON: Mm hm. And I think that other one with, um, an average around- Yeah, again, this Friday... was... [pause] that's a surprising day I did a lot of walking on. I went to a doctors appointment in the morning, and then I walked... to the train station. But then I got a taxi from the train station to my friend's house. And then we went food shopping. So I walked around inside a big food... a supermarket. But then... we got a taxi home again because we had a lot of shopping and we were feeling lazy

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, yeah

MADISON: So, um, that's a surprising day that we did so much walking

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

MADISON: Because that one again is nearly fifteen-thousand or getting towards it. But, um... Like with the other day that was so many as soon as I'd seen what I'd done that day I was like "oh yeah, that makes sense why it was so high" but this one does not make any sense to me at all. For why it's so high.

INTERVIEWER: That's so interesting to me. That's one thing we're kind of going to talk about more later in- in my questions, but um... how did you feel, because you were clearly describing a day where you don't perceive a lot of activity, but the app tells a very different story, how do you feel about it when the data sort of disagrees with your own-

MADISON: I'm really confused [laughs] And I'm trying to be like, did I just completely forget about a part of my day? But, I really don't think I did. Because I... Yeah. It's wild... I don't know at all.

INTERVIEWER: But, it sounds like it's almost got you doubting, like "did I go on a hike and I've forgotten about it?!"

MADISON: Mm hm! Mm hm! Or did I just, like, I don't know, wander into town and THEN go... to my doctor's appointment. But I know I didn't, I KNOW I didn't, but I feel like there is definitely something that I've somehow missed in my day that then makes it so abnormally high.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. I mean, were you tired at the end of that day, do you remember?

MADISON: Mmm... not... particularly. Ooh!

[C laughs]

MADISON: I think the Thursday night was the night we went out and I got really, really, really drunk.

INTERVIEWER: Right

MADISON: So after midnight the dancing were probably counted on that Friday

INTERVIEWER: Oh I see!

MADISON: Ahh! That explains it

INTERVIEWER: That would explain all the little- Yeah

MADISON: Which is why- So I KNEW nothing had happened on that Friday

[C laughs]

MADISON: But suddenly there's so many steps. Yeah so it would be interesting like if you could somehow see it as in what's before you went to sleep and what's after you went to sleep

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

MADISON: As opposed to just midnight.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely, especially-

MADISON: - Cos I assume that is what it is.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. And that's a really interesting point actually, because even, like, if you go out Thursday evening and you may still- well, actually this is my perception of it, but if you go out Thursday evening and you get home at like one AM, I still think of that as Thursday

MADISON: Mm hm!

INTERVIEWER: And then looking back on the data-

MADISON: Definitely, definitely

INTERVIEWER: That's interesting

MADISON: Which is why, again, why I looked at the Friday and I was like "hmm, I didn't do anything on the Friday" because, yeah, in my mind that was Thursday this is Friday.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, that's really interesting. Um... let me go to the most recent one. Ok. Without checking your diary

MADISON: Yeah. Love it

INTERVIEWER: Could you tell me anything that happened on this day that might explain high activity or low activity

MADISON: OK so that's sent today, so that's yesterday. Um [pause] No. I don't even think I left my house. For the first time, until... like two PM.

INTERVIEWER: Wow! In that case that's a lot-

MADISON: And I didn't go out on Wednesday night, so it couldn't have been that. But I walked, like, maybe like a twenty-minute walk into the town centre, and then back again. And then did the same later on that day. But, um, no, nothing... that would seem to be so much more than the rest of my days. Um... No.

INTERVIEWER: Sure. Um-

MADISON: And when I was- I went and met people, I met them for coffee so I was just sat down when I was with them and not wandering about. But.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. But I find that there's a lot of things that are- that involve more walking that we sort of think of a bit differently

MADISON: Mm hm.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think anyone looking at your data would be able to get an impression of you, of your lifestyle? You know, the fact that you're a student, the fact that you go out in the evenings, that sort of thing. Do you think they'd be able to get that from- just from your data?

MADISON: No. I feel like my data could be interchangeable with, like, someone that has an office job or something. Or that works maybe. A little bit to work and back, that sort of thing. Um, no, especially because like you're- There's no... There's no timescale on the days for it, whereas I think if there was, if they could somehow do it by like time of day that you're most active or that sort of thing. I think my most active time of the day probably is between like... nine PM and

midnight. So I feel like that might, um... put me out there as someone with a less conventional kind of lifestyle, if that kind of thing was visible

INTERVIEWER: That would also give someone a clue as to your age as well, because there's not many much older people

MADISON: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: That would be doing that

MADISON: Yeah, definitely. But yeah, just with the, like, numbers and broad data, no not at all

INTERVIEWER: OK. There is a term that I've sort of come across in my research that I'm really interested in [21.00 Invisible data] What do you think of that as a concept?

MADISON: I think that could be pretty accurate, because, um- Yeah, I feel like it's only on a day you KNOW you've done absolutely nothing or that you've done a huge amount of stuff that you could kind of guess how much you've done, or, um, or you're aware you've done not very much at all slash you're aware you've done a lot, so now from the days where I was in [holiday destination] I know what a day with a high step count is like. Because me and my mum would be guessing and I'd be like "Oh, I bet we've done thirty-three thousand steps today" you know all that kind of thing, because I knew that it felt like a lot, but I only knew that that was a reasonable number to guess because of having had a pedometer before. So pre-technology, yeah I would have been able to say, I walked a lot today, but I had no way of gauging it in terms of... kind of like numbers of steps. And yeah, like, sleep, like I could always be like I feel like I haven't had much sleep last night or I feel like I slept well last night, like we say all of these kinds of things like about the quality of sleep as being like "oh I must have had a really bad nights sleep" or that kind

of thing. But yeah it's only if you're using technology that you actually know if that's true or not. It's just kind of guesswork about your body otherwise.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. So, in terms of, you know, you wake up and you feel like you've had an awful night's sleep, you still feel tired, and then your app's saying "no, no you got a full eight hours of well rested sleep" um... would that- Do you think that would change how you then felt?

MADISON: Hmm. Interesting. Um... [long pause] I don't think it would change how I felt but I think it would be something that I would be, like, aware of and be like "well why, if I supposedly had such a good night's sleep am I still feeling so tired?" And then I would kind of be thinking "Oh, is it something with my diet or like is it something"-Especially like myself personally, like mental health related or that kind of thing. Um, but I don't think it would give me a placebo effect sort of "Oh actually I am really well rested" kind of thing. I don't think.

INTERVIEWER: No, that's really interesting. Um, did the app make you think more about walking or think differently about walking than before when you weren't tracking your steps?

MADISON: Hmm... I don't necessarily know if THIS app did

INTERVIEWER: OK

MADISON: I think our whole kind of culture of like... you should be more active and eat less sort of thing does make me very aware of whether I'm heading towards a day where I haven't gone outside kind of thing and I am thinking like I should at least walk to the shop or do something like that kind of thing so that I get out of the house and am a bit more active today. Um but I don't think it was the app specifically, I think it is, like, our culture, which I guess the app is kind of like a symbol of, or part of

INTERVIEWER: And a product of, yeah

MADISON: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: Did it- but did it help with that? You know you say you feel like “oh I should go out” and the app’s saying you are a thousand below your step count, did that... exacerbate that feeling or did it...

MADISON: Um, I don’t think it had an impact for me just because I wasn’t regular enough with checking the app on those days, kind of thing. It was just a sense of I know I haven’t really done anything today and technically I probably should. [M laughs] Whenever I’m at home, my mum’s like “How can you really not leave the house for an entire day?” Like, please let me just sit in bed and watch things on Netflix [M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Very easily! Is the answer

[C&M laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Um right. Couple of questions about technology and the body. Um, first of all what would you say your relationship is like with your body? Do you feel connected, do you feel in tune with your body or is it a different relationship?

MADISON: Um, yeah I’d say I feel pretty in tune with it. Um... What are some examples of things people say? Or have said? Like how do you know if you’re in tune with your body or not?

INTERVIEWER: Um, well, I guess a different way of phrasing that would be do you feel comfortable with your body?

MADISON: I think so, yeah

INTERVIEWER: I guess what I mean by in tune is... y’know... I’m personally trying to be more in tune with it, like, um... Yesterday I was out walking and, um... this is a bit of weird story, I just

realised, but I was out walking and my feet were really hurting, and I was like “doesn’t matter, just ignore it” and then when I got home my feet were kind of bleeding. And it’s like I probably should have listened to what my body was saying and not been like... ignored it.

MADISON: Not just tried to push past it, uh huh

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, just slowed down. So I feel like- Is that the sort of relationship you-

MADISON: No I do think I am definitely in tune with my body then. Yeah. And like, aware of when not to push things more and, yeah

INTERVIEWER: OK, um, do you feel like your gender, however you identify, is connected in a way to your body? Are those two concepts linked for you?

MADISON: ... Um. I’m one of those people where I don’t understand why gender is a thing.

INTERVIEWER: OK

MADISON: Um, so. Whenever someone asks me that kind of question, like, I don’t know, because I don’t have any feelings about gender myself. My only relationship with gender is how others gender and perceive me.

INTERVIEWER: Is that to do with your body?

MADISON: I don’t... Maybe a little, but more to do with how I present my body, and like the fact that I am like very feminine and that kind of thing, in like my dress and appearance. Um, the- I don’t, not so much JUST my body.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. No, OK, that’s really interesting. Um, does tracking and recording your body through any of the apps you’ve kind of used, um, does that- do you feel that they affect your

connection with your body, do they make you feel more connected, less connected, or does it not affect it at all?

MADISON: Um... [pause] I don't... I don't think it impacts it. But I don't know whether that's just because apps aren't a big enough part of my life to impact it, kind of thing. Um, like I said I was very much like- usually I was like "Oh no! I haven't checked it or taken a screenshot" sort of thing, so um... It would be interesting to see if I did something where I had to check an app more regularly, if that would then, um, impact, like, my daily- Like if I did check the app everyday kind of thing, would it make me a bit more like "Oo, I'm really low on steps today" and that kind of thing. I think my relationship with the app was too... withdrawn to have much of an impact.

INTERVIEWER: That's fair enough. I think that's definitely how a lot of people use these apps, so it's important to know that not everyone checks them every single day and that sort of thing. Right, um, if you could have a look at these.

MADISON: Ok

INTERVIEWER: [not from your participant group speech at 29.45] Um, right, is there anything you can tell me about these people, age, gender, job, lifestyle, from this data. And for the sake of the recording, if you could refer to them as Figure 1, Figure 2

MADISON: Uh huh

INTERVIEWER: Thank you

[long pause]

MADISON: Um, I mean, I think if I were to make a guess- And it definitely is a guess, because I don't think you can know anything about these people from... Or this person from any of the figures.

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

[pause]

MADISON: Gosh. They are wildly different aren't they. Um. [pause] They don't seem to be a morning person

INTERVIEWER: [laughs] mm hm

MADISON: Like, on Figure 4 there's a little bit of a... And Figure 4 is the day where they really don't take many steps, at all, whatsoever. But there is a little bit of a blip at maybe nine AM. But on none of the figures really is there anything else before perhaps ten-thirty, eleven. So... Um... I'm gonna hazard a guess they're not a morning person and perhaps... therefore... not- Mm. I was going to say not employed but then they're all Saturdays and Sundays aren't they. So, maybe they are employed and they're having some rest on the weekend. That's going to be my guess. They're having a nice weekend lie-in. Um, which would also explain why Figure 1 and Figure 2- They have a lot of steps. So they have a nice lie in and then they're like "Oh shit I need to get everything done with my weekend."

[C&M laugh]

MADISON: "Because I have to be back at work on Monday."

INTERVIEWER: That's very relatable

MADISON: Um... But the Saturday and Sunday which is two days after each other as well, Figure 1 and Figure 2, are not the same weekends, but Figure 3 and Figure 4 are the same weekend. Um, so that's a little bit more interesting because you can see what someone is doing two days in a row. Um... And- Which on the Sunday is apparently not very much at all. And then on the

Saturday, like a more average kind of day... it's SO highly concentrated around six PM on Figure 3 that... I don't know, maybe they... went running?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah?

MADISON: Maybe? Like, the only thing they did with their Saturday was they went on a run? Around six PM... So maybe they are... kind of health conscious. And to be fair they do often have- Like when they do have... None of the Figures have a maintained kind of walking-

INTERVIEWER: That's true

MADISON: -across the hours. Um, it happens in little spikes. So I'm going to say that's when someone's exercising. So I think this person is employed, um and kind of health conscious and do exercise.

INTERVIEWER: That's brilliant!

[M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Thank you very much! No, that's really interesting, and that's so nice to hear you working through that as well. That was-

MADISON: Do I get to know about the person? And if any of that is true?

INTERVIEWER: Um, y-yeah you can, we can talk about it afterwards

MADISON: [laughs] that was fun, I liked that

[C&M laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Um, alright, so- uh, talking more about gender and walking now, and I know that you said that you have- you don't really know why gender exists, so, in which case... This question might be different for you, but, um, is there anything that you do that makes you feel more

comfortable with your gender identity?... Any sort of act or action you can take? And, um, I'm happy to give an example of my own if that would help

MADISON: I think that might help, just because of my relationship with gender

INTERVIEWER: Sure! Um, an example I have is [hair story 34.23] So is there anything like that?

MADISON: Yeah, I mean, yes and no. Because like yes towards being a feminine person. But no towards that therefore meaning... being a woman.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, no of course

MADISON: Um, like I think that... disconnect still exists for me, but um... So, I mean yeah, I LOVE doing my makeup. And I wear pretty much a full face of makeup most days, but especially if I'm actually doing anything. Some days with Uni it doesn't happen, because I'm just like no I have to get out of bed earlier and bed is more important-

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

MADISON: -than makeup. Um, but any time when I'm actually doing something I do enjoy putting on my makeup. And that is definitely a very... feminine thing, and therefore is quite gendered to a lot of people. But I don't think for me it makes me more aware of being a woman, it just makes me more aware of my very feminine presentation. Which is something I just enjoy. So, yeah, gender and like... presentation... they aren't quite linked up to me... in a way they are to a lot of people. I think I've managed to like... I think I've decided to, and therefore managed to, unlearn that kind of connection.

INTERVIEWER: That's really interesting. So, there is a- that disconnect between presenting as feminine and not- that doesn't impact your gender IDENTITY?

MADISON: Mm hm, yeah. I kind of, like... just... gender identity is like... nothing. It's just like null. Zero. Not applicable, that kind of thing. Like, I just don't feel like it has any meaning or purpose or role in my life. Um, but then, like... typical or like traditional gender presentation, like, is something I do take joy in.

INTERVIEWER: No, that's really, really interesting. Um, would you consider walking to be something that's gendered?

MADISON: No

INTERVIEWER: No? Um, do you think dieting is gendered?

MADISON: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Mm hm

MADISON: Um, definitely, I think that's definitely like a... a... women's thing. With like society and the kind of pressures that a lot of women are put under to, um... endure- And I think it does happen to a certain extent to men

INTERVIEWER: Mm

MADISON: And I feel like there's definitely an ideal body shape for men, but the men that don't fit it are not... like, rejected by society in the same way that women that don't fit in the ideal body are. So there's- There's all sorts of like perfect, ideal bodies, um... but... it's very loud and vocal and made a very big deal when a woman doesn't fit into those kind of things. Whereas like a guy, the perfect exists, but... there's less of a backlash if they don't fit into it maybe.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Do you think exercise is gendered?

MADISON: ... Different types of exercise are gendered in different ways. So like anything weighty or like violent, so maybe like boxing or martial arts or wrestling or that kind of thing, um are all... And, um, maybe just like plain running, are all kind of gendered towards, like, men. Whereas anything like... trampolining or gymnastics... [M laughs] Is it OK, do we need to move?

INTERVIEWER: Um, maybe we could pause just while they're getting their stuff all together.

[M laughs]

[interview is paused to move to a different, quieter location]

INTERVIEWER: Right, Ok! Start again.

MADISON: Um, yeah, so I think weight lifting or violent sports like wrestling and boxing and stuff, um, and just plain running are kind of gendered towards men, whereas like gymnastics or athletics or... um... dance and other kind of sports are gendered towards women. Um... So, yeah, exercise definitely is gendered. But I don't- I think it's more specific than that, like I wouldn't just be like exercise is for men or exercise is for women, like, specific types of exercise are specifically, like, supposed to be for men or women.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think sleeping is gendered?

MADISON: [pause] No?

INTERVIEWER: Mm

[M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Do you think there's- Or, what is the difference between exercise, let's say, one of the examples you used was boxing I think, what is the difference between boxing and sleeping, why is one associated with a gender and one isn't.

MADISON: Um... I think... I... I think boxing is gendered because it's very active, and I think it's the idea of violence behind it, is seen as a masculine trait. Um... whereas I feel like sleeping is... like, recognised as something everyone has to do. Um, whereas not everyone has to box

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

MADISON: So, um, sleeping is more of a basic human... activity than... than boxing is, essentially

INTERVIEWER: One is a necessity

MADISON: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: That's interesting. Um, I'm just really interested, this isn't actually one of my questions, but I was really interested the way you were sort of talking about your gender. Um, do you... think it's accurate or reductive to say that some- that you do things as a woman? Like, are we sitting here together as women? Are you drinking coffee as a woman? You know?

MADISON: Um... That's probably a really good example for what I mean when I say gender doesn't mean anything to me except how people perceive me. Because I would never be like "I am sat here, drinking coffee, as a woman", but like if... suddenly...

[interrupted by choir]

MADISON: But if there was, like, a fly on the wall, like someone describing a scene or something, they'd probably be like "two women are sat having a conversation" sort of thing. Um, so yeah, gender isn't... one of the lenses that impacts how I act and how I think, apart from I know that everyone else... perceives me as

INTERVIEWER: And you're aware of that

MADISON: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: It's not, um, it's not an internal lens, it's not how you look at yourself but you're aware it's an external lens

MADISON: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Alright, that's really interesting. Um, right going back to the actual questions. What does the phrase "walk LIKE a woman" mean to you?

[M laughs]

MADISON: Mmm...

INTERVIEWER: And you're not the first person who's laughed! [C laughs]

MADISON: Um, I feel like it's something I've heard before. But, like... I don't know what context I've heard it in before. But, um [pause] In fact, in a way, it might be easier to say what I think "walk like a man" would be. Because I feel like... Or to do it comparatively. Because women, I'm thinking more like... shorter steps and like in heels. So maybe, like, less stable. But... Did you take the phrase "walk like a woman" from a specific thing, the specific context?

INTERVIEWER: Um, there's- No. I couldn't actually tell you where I heard it either.

MADISON: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: But it is something that I think I have maybe been... told? Or... It's in that-

MADISON: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: General mix of sit like a lady, and talk like a lady

MADISON: How you present and hold yourself, especially in public.

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

MADISON: Yeah. Um, like talk like a lady, yeah. And like... Yeah. Public behaviour kind of thing.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Well, do you think there's a difference between walking like a woman and walking like a human?

MADISON: [pause] No

INTERVIEWER: No? So they kind of-

MADISON: But I think

INTERVIEWER: It's the same image for you?

MADISON: Well I don't see the difference between them. But I think someone using either of those phrases means different things. Like I feel like if someone were to do a scenario that was "walk like a lady" or "walk like a woman" even, um, they would mean a very specific kind of like... maybe more of the kind of model-y type.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Catwalk

MADISON: Each foot in front of each other, hips swinging a little bit, like, upright kind of walk. Versus if someone walked like a human, you'd just walk. [M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

MADISON: Um, so... Yeah. There definitely is differences in either of those phrases then. Utilising those words for a different purpose

INTERVIEWER: Mm

MADISON: But, like there shouldn't be a difference between them.

INTERVIEWER: [laughs] Yeah. No, I completely get where you're coming from. Um, has anything ever happened to you while you were walking that you feel was linked to your gender in any way?

MADISON: Um... Like, definitely catcalling, street harassment type things. Um. [pause] Often the way someone might be if they ask you if you have, like, a lighter or a cigarette or something, spare change, and then if you say no, kind of thing. Um, like I've definitely- The other day I was walking, there's like a court house or something like that just near [location] in town, or something like that, and there was a guy who just outside there and he asked me if I had a cigarette and I was like "No, I don't smoke, sorry" and then I kind of walked on a little bit, and then he called me a prissy bitch, and I was like "m'kay"

INTERVIEWER: What?!

MADISON: And then this bus driver was like stood there and he was like "Oh, he's just been let out of prison, sorry, ignore him" and I was like, I mean I'm fine I was just walking away, but whatever. Um, but I feel like both of those are kind of like kind of gendered, because like obviously him calling me a prissy bitch but then also this bus driver who's trying to like care for me when I'm already like ten feet past him, walking away kind of thing. Um, so yeah I definitely do think that, like, just walking around thing happen that are gendered.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Have you ever changed how or where you walk

MADISON: Mmm

INTERVIEWER: In a way-

MADISON: Yeah definitely, like, um, from the train station to where I live there's like three different paths that I could take and depending on the time of day I'll take different ones. Because the quickest one is not lit at night, so I don't walk it, but yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Ok, um... Just, you are the... I think tenth maybe person I've interviewed, obviously I've interviewed all women, and... every single time I ask these questions I get pretty much the same answers back. About how, y'know, catcalling or not being able to walk somewhere at night. And it's just...

MADISON: It's so, so, so prevalent

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. I mean-

MADISON: There's no...

INTERVIEWER: That's what I had in mind when I wrote those questions but it's just-No one has had a...

MADISON: Like no hesitation. Like "hm, has that happened?" Just like an immediate "Yeah, yeah". Exactly

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. It's just- It just strikes me a bit, that's been consistently... Anyway. Um, do you think walking apps like Pacer, uh, should they be more targeted to women or different genders? Should they have incorporated those kind of aspects or... should that be kept out of walking apps?

MADISON: Um... I don't necessarily think I can think of any benefits for including gender in any of them. To be honest the only time I feel like gender can ever be useful [I laughs] is in like analysis. So like anything that's gendered, like... all of the stupid shit that does get gendered like razors and biros and all- like, Doritos, all of the BS that does NOT need to be gendered at all. Um,

down to the more apparent things that might initially make more sense about being gendered, like makeup or clothes and all of those kind of things, with all of them I'm like gender is not actually useful for this is any way. Like, if I were to wear a t-shirt from the guys' section, like it's not harmful. So, gender is not a useful concept, the only time I think gender is really a useful concept is for analysing situations and interactions and that kind of thing. So, no I don't get why Pacer would need to be gendered.

INTERVIEWER: That's an absolutely brilliant answer

[M laughs]

INTERVIEWER: My last question is just do you think you'll be keeping Pacer, or will you get rid of it?

MADISON: Um, I might keep it. Just because I do like the whole thing about like being able to see how much you've done in like a week. I feel- Like if I was going on a holiday or something like that where I typically do a lot of walking because I'm exploring new places it would be cool to be like "oh! I've done a LOAD of steps this week" kind of thing. Um, and also I do have, like you know how a lot of people are like "oh I do not have a lot of space on my iPhone" kind of thing, I have a really big one so, um, I'm not worried about things taking up too much space. So yeah I probably will keep it just for... curiosity. If I have a really active... That kind of thing.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah! Um, brilliant!

Appendix 7

June

INTERVIEWER: Do you have any questions for me, before we start?

JUNE: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Oh, lovely

[J laughs]

JUNE: The question that I've been thinking of is, I'm just wondering... what you're doing? 'Cos I didn't- I didn't know before 'cos- I think I asked but I don't know if it was because... the sort of thing you tell someone after they've done it or- but yeah I was just intrigued

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Um, the sort of thing I'm looking at is, um, how certain everyday actions are... gendered

JUNE: Oh yeah

INTERVIEWER: Sort of whatever that term specifically means

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, and, why certain acts are gendered, what are the differences between the acts we consider gendered and acts we don't consider gendered. And what I'm really interested in is if we-if we don't gender an act what- what is it if it's not gendered

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: It's a bit... theoretical, I think

JUNE: Yeah. I remember you told me this outside [shop]

INTERVIEWER: Oh yeah

JUNE: And I remember thinking that's really interesting that like... what you don't do, what you do do if you don't do gender

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, exactly. I think- This will come up in the interview, but one of the questions I have is like... what do you do as a woman and what do you do as a human and...

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And what are the differences there, because that could be really interesting

JUNE: Ah cool!

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, thank you for asking!

Any questions you don't want answering can be skipped, take your time answering, I can explain any question that I haven't phrased in the most understandable way, we can return to any question as necessary

INTERVIEWER: Could you tell me a little about yourself? Just to start off. Like, um, obviously I already know you're a student and everything but do you- do you have a job?

JUNE: Yeah. I work at a shop in town. [shop name]. Um, and... I was kind of annoyed because I could've- I think your friend had the same issue because you told me about this, um, she does a lot of steps but in place where you can't monitor it. Because I'm not allowed my phone on the shop floor and I kept on trying to sneak it in my pocket and my manager would be like "take that out"

[J&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: "No, no it's for research! I'm not texting!"

[J laughs]

JUNE: Exactly. So yeah I work in town, um, I go climbing as a hobby, um [pause] What else? um, I've recently been thinking about astrology so I'm a Leo

INTERVIEWER: Ooh! I will definitely make sure that's in there!

[J&C laugh]

JUNE: But it's funny because I was talking and like, um, thinking about like um, especially with [university course], about personality and all that and I don't identify as a Leo so it's one of those weird ones

INTERVIEWER: That is interesting

JUNE: So yeah, um, what else to tell you. What sort of things are you after?

INTERVIEWER: Well, do you live on campus, do you live on campus?

JUNE: No I live in, um, [Location], so that's 20 minutes from campus

INTERVIEWER: OK, and how do you usually get onto campus?

JUNE: I used to cycle, now I walk

INTERVIEWER: OK. Um, do you do any walking like in general? Would you say you go walking for fun or is walking a getting from A to B thing for you?

JUNE: I think, um, for once I sit in one end of the category, usually I'm in the middle, but I really love walking.

INTERVIEWER: Oh brilliant

JUNE: Yeah. So like if something's- like we go climbing at, um, [climbing gym 1] as well as [climbing gym 2] which is on the other side of town in [Location]

INTERVIEWER: What was the name?

JUNE: [climbing gym 1], it's a climbing wall

INTERVIEWER: Ooh

JUNE: And there's one in [location] which is closer to where I live but the other one is in [Location] and, like, it's about, nearly a two hour walk and for some reason I just really enjoy it

INTERVIEWER: Aw

JUNE: So-

INTERVIEWER: That's a lot of exercise though! You exercise there, you exercise when you're there, and then you exercise to go back, that's too much exercise

[J&C laugh]

JUNE: I'm not a very good climber, like I do it as a hobby but I'm REALLY not very good

INTERVIEWER: I-I used to climb, I did it to try and get over my fear of heights

JUNE: Oh yeah

INTERVIEWER: And I think it worked. Because y'know, when you're dangling up there it does help, and it's fun

JUNE: Yeah, yeah. It is fun, yeah. But I'm not, I'm not very strong at all, I find I get to the top of the route and I'm more scared because I'm more tired so it's... yeah

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, yeah. And you see people just zip up and you're like "alright. Alright show off."

[J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: "Does gravity not apply to you?"

JUNE: Yeah, exactly, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, cool, have you used a self-tracking app before?

JUNE: No.

INTERVIEWER: No, none at all, not just for walking, at all?

JUNE: No

INTERVIEWER: [surprised] Oh! Cool, brilliant

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, what did you think of this one?

JUNE: Um, I thought- It was weird because [pause] Like, um [pause] Like I'd often find myself like checking it as I was walking and getting annoyed that the paces weren't going up and obviously it takes like a few seconds to collect the steps, and I'd often check it as like a thing to do like y'know how you check Instagram, Facebook, whatever and I'd check the steps as well. It felt weird because like it meant nothing to me, like it wasn't- It was like vaguely interesting like "Ooh, I've done six thousand today" and then when I hadn't done that much I'd get a bit annoyed when it was like completely unfounded, it made me feel like a big blob when it's not like... necessarily... true. If you know what I mean

INTERVIEWER: No, yeah. Yeah, definitely not. Um, so, you said- Do you think you checked it quite frequently then?

JUNE: Yeah I'd say at least like once a day, or twice a day. Um, and 'cos my partner has a Fitbit, so she's always like really into checking like her fitness and her steps and things and she'd always be like "Oh! Done 10,000 steps" 'cos it buzzes and then I'd be like "Oh yeah how many have I done?" and like- So if she hadn't been- If she hadn't been aware of her steps I might not have been as aware of mine

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JUNE: Yeah, it just sort of reminded me like "oh yeah I have an app for that"

[J&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: What do you think the purpose of this kind of app is?

JUNE: [pause] I don't know. I think- I suppose, well it's obviously to monitor your steps and to see how active you're being, but the thing is you should probably KNOW how active you're being anyway like it shouldn't have to be down to probably quite an inaccurate app, you can't- Like I walked round the house with it and it didn't track my steps, like just as an experiment and I don't really know what it's measuring because it can't be very accurate and like-like your friend who goes to the gym, and at work, like it's not actually measuring my steps. I guess it might be a useful aid if you're trying to get more active and be more aware of your body, um [pause] and like yeah if that's something you're consciously trying to do I guess it might be helpful

INTERVIEWER: Mm. You said to be more aware of your body, do you think it does make you more aware of your body?

JUNE: I th-Um [pause] I think... um, it doesn't make me more aware of my body in such a literal way because I think, like, I think one's own self can make you do that, if you know what I mean. But I think that it... makes you aware of like... it quantifies something that you wouldn't necessarily have quantified yourself I think. So more aware of your movements in like a more like obvious way

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JUNE: So aware of your body's movements as opposed to your actual body

INTERVIEWER: That's so interesting that you used the word quantified as well because- have you heard of the Quantified Self?

JUNE: No

INTERVIEWER: It's a whole movement that's all to do with these self-tracking apps that- their slogan is sort of um... "you are your data"

JUNE: Oh

INTERVIEWER: Um, and I was going to talk about this later but I will skip to it now because it's come up, there is this idea of, um, within the Quantified Self there's this idea of invisible data which is the data that our bodies are... that our bodies have but we cannot perceive without technology. With the way that now self-tracking apps can track our step-counts, our heart rate, our sleeping patterns, things that without technology we, y'know there's no way of doing that. You could conceivably count every step you take in a day, but I mean imagine if you lost count [C laughs]

JUNE: You'd be so mad, yeah

INTERVIEWER: So, they call that Invisible Data, that the technology makes visible for us. It's data that was always there but with technology we can finally see it. What-What do you think of that as a concept, as a phrase?

JUNE: Mm. [pause] I [pause] For myself personally, um, I would find that sort of thinking quite worrying. For me to do. Because I know what I'm like. And I know that to quantify myself in that way, um, sort of moves away from stuff that I find really valuable like sort of mindfulness and knowing your body without the numbers really mattering. For example, like, I was actually talking about this the other day. Who with? Probably my colleague actually. When um... like sometimes you know stuff about your own body that you just know as a fact. So like when I'm really anxious I get really cold. Um, and it's like probably a common thing but it's not usual for everyone who ever gets anxious to get cold it's just something I know about myself, and I know that if, um... if I fall asleep passed twelve o'clock I'll only get like four hours sleep, so like, there's stuff that you just become familiar with like when you just sort of have, like- take notice of your own body and I think quantify it in a way means that it's then in a pattern and it's very easy then to be like "Oh, well I got six hours the other night, why haven't I got this much this night" and it's- That somehow dictates your behaviour rather than your behaviour dictating it, if you know what I mean, like it's a circular thing and I think for some people that might be really helpful and since being with Sophie I think that really helps her because she quite likes routine. Whereas for me I don't like that sort of regimented, patterned, data-ed, quantified- I don't like- For me that doesn't work. It makes me stressed. Whereas with other people like with [partner's name] I think she likes it because, um, like yeah it gives her routine and it's something for her to like watch and it's interesting to her to watch in that very data way. Um, so I don't think it's bad [inaudible at 12:45] I just think it's bad for me.

INTERVIEWER: When you talk about quantifying those sorts of experiences, so seeing it as a number, seeing it as a graph and a pattern, is that what quantifying means for you

JUNE: Yeah, well... yeah. If it's not please explain it. Well that and sort of applying numbers to stuff that I think is like- Like numbers can be applied to it but to me it's true form is more conceptual. So like knowing how you've slept shouldn't necessarily be how many hours you've had. Or like it should just be the feeling of how you slept, if you slept well or badly or stuff like that. Or like if you've done like a lot of walking that day, you know yourself that you've done a lot of walking, it doesn't matter if it's like six thousand steps or fourteen, like you feel like you've done it. Whereas some people need to know how many steps it is to know if it's a lot.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. It's sort of like at the end of the day you know, my legs are tired I've done enough walking it's not-it's not to do with a number it's to do with how you feel

JUNE: Yeah-yeah-yeah

INTERVIEWER: I watched a talk with a lady-by a lady who was sort of talking about these apps and the health benefits they can have and she did talk about the sleeping trackers specifically. She said, y'know, "You go to sleep, you wake up, and you think 'I've have a really good night's sleep that night' but the app can tell you that actually you had a really restless sleep and then you can, y'know, use that to get a better night's sleep". And I thought that was crazy to hear. But if you wake up feeling rested like "I've had a good night's sleep" why believe the app?

JUNE: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: When it tells you "you haven't had a good night's sleep"

JUNE: Yeah. It's counteractive isn't it?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah exactly. Did you ever have experiences with the app where it counteracted what you-

JUNE: Yeah. Yeah there were occasions where like, um- Because everyone wants to reach that ten thousand marker, that arbitrary thing, and I think "Yeah, definitely made it today", I look and I've done like six thousand and I'm like "damnit. Why?" and then I'm like "Wait. Put that away" like you know that you've done walking and you know that you're happy with yourself today so don't let some app- Because I think one of the days I was at work or something or, I think I just thought I'd done more, and I just hadn't according to the app but... yeah, so it has, there has been like a disparity between what I actually think and what like the app says but more often than not it is, like-They're aligned if you know what I mean?

INTERVIEWER: Mm. So more often than not?

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Right. That's so interesting. Um, I'm gonna- We've kind of skipped forward because all that stuff was really, really interesting, but, um, gonna skip back again. Um, to look at your data from the past week.

JUNE: Oh yeah! Do you want me to send my latest ones?

INTERVIEWER: Um, well I've got these ones

JUNE: Oh, great yeah

INTERVIEWER: Which we could have a look at

JUNE: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: So [pause to show J the graphs] So these are from a couple of weeks. How do you feel about any of these recordings?

JUNE: [laughs] Um. How do I feel? That's an interesting question. As in like, emotionally, like how I feel about them

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

JUNE: Like, initially, it sounds silly, but kind of pleased. Because I'm like "Oh yeah look at how many steps I've done!"

INTERVIEWER: I mean, it is a lot of steps

[J&C laugh]

JUNE: I think, like [pause] I feel quite lucky in a sense because that week I was bedridden for the first two days

INTERVIEWER: Oh no

JUNE: And then the last two days I went walking in the [location]. Um, so it like... I remember thinking at the time "Oh this will make up for earlier in the week when I was ill" as though it's something I need to make up for!

INTERVIEWER: But that's definitely a headspace you get into where it's like "I've got to just make up that last few steps". I did think it was interesting that, um, on these two weeks your weekends were lower

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And on this one, like, your weekend is huge, like, in terms of activity

JUNE: I think that's because on the weekend I usually work and that's when I can't have my phone on me

INTERVIEWER: Ah, I see

JUNE: So, that would be generally walking to and from work and like I might go climbing afterwards

INTERVIEWER: Right

JUNE: Um, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: I see, right. So, can you tell me something that happened on one of these days

JUNE: OK. It's weird because I don't usually do this and it's not because of the app that I've been doing this but the past three weeks I've really taken note of my, um... Uh, what I've been doing each day because of the strikes. So I've been thinking what I've done with my time. So I could probably tell you

INTERVIEWER: That's so interesting

JUNE: So, um, on one of these days... [pause] OK, so that day, Wednesday, I remember I was feeling better because Monday and Tuesday I had like, well, I had stomach pain so I had to eat, like, in some ways, horizontal. So, um, the Wednesday it was- It snowed on these two days, and the Wednesday it was the first Wednesday of the strikes, um, I think. Yeah that would make sense because that's [inaudible]. And I went into Uni to do, um, a session with, um... the [university study group] people, and there were only four of us, 'cos I don't think people managed to get in because of the snow. Um, so that for me was pretty good. And then we went and I had lunch with [course mate] afterwards and then I- what did I do afterwards [pause] And then I went

home... I think. [Pause] Yeah, can't remember what I did in the evening. I think it's because I remember what I did in the day, I think I probably went climbing

INTERVIEWER: Do you- Have you looked at- Have you looked back at weeks like this before? Like while you had the app or was it- did you just sort of check the daily counts

JUNE: I did look back on the weeks actually. I found the trends quite useful, even though, like they'd often overlap

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Useful how?

JUNE: I dunno just to sort of see like how active I'd been that week, but not active I mean like how [long pause] I don't know it's more of a comparison thing I think like if I'd done like [pause] six thousand steps one day I might look and see "oh when else did I do that?" so I can remember what I was doing, if you know what I mean

INTERVIEWER: So you can sort of... see that you've done six thousand, you've done six thousand before and that has, that links to what you were doing that day for you

JUNE: Mm hmm.

INTERVIEWER: OK that's interesting because I was just- One of the questions was "Do you think other people will be able to ascertain- glean anything from- towards your lifestyle just from looking at your data? As it's sort of laid out here?"

JUNE: Hmm. [Long pause] I don't know.

INTERVIEWER: I mean it's clear from, if you're looking at all three of these, you can tell that this Monday and Tuesday are quite anomalous, and you can explain that by the fact that you were sick and bedridden, um, but y'know all that stuff about y'know walking in and everything

[referring to walking into university in J's anecdote] do you think other people can tell that from your data?

JUNE: I don't know, I wouldn't imagine so because there could be so many- I mean, well, other than- 'cos I literally did less than a thousand steps one of these days so they would have probably an inkling that I was in the house all day, um, but with the others I don't know because there could be loads of reasons why someone would do that much walking in a day. Um, I don't know how much people who like work in an office would have, um, or like...

INTERVIEWER: Well it's clear you don't work in an office

JUNE: Yeah

[J&C laugh]

JUNE: They might think that I've got like a varied lifestyle. Although these two weeks look kind of similar don't they

INTERVIEWER: They do!

JUNE: That's quite good.

INTERVIEWER: Um, did the app make you think more about walking than- or think differently about how you walk than before when you didn't use the app?

JUNE: Um, to be honest, no.

INTERVIEWER: No?

JUNE: No. Like, it's put a number on what I walk but it like hasn't made me like walking more or it hasn't changed my perception of walking

INTERVIEWER: Mm, OK. Um, right. I kind of want to talk about technology and the body now, so a big question but what-what is your relationship with your body like? How connected do you sort of feel with it?

JUNE: Hmm. [long pause]

INTERVIEWER: Because you were talking earlier about how, y'know, when you feel anxious you feel cold which is obviously quite a bodily experience

JUNE: Yeah! Yeah, um [Long pause] Yeah I think if you'd asked me this last term I wouldn't have been able to like- I wouldn't have given the same answer because this term especially at the start of the term I had a session with [university lecturer] – you were there

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

JUNE: Yeah, yeah!

INTERVIEWER: Was that the meditation?

JUNE: Yeah! About becoming aware of your body and it sort of made me realise that I am in touch with my body but I wouldn't have said I was, whereas now I recognise that's what that is, so like I think, y'know quirks about our bodies and its like whether you... It's like how you acknowledge that [inaudible] So, what was the question again so I don't-

INTERVIEWER: It's, uh, what's your relationship like with your body, how connected do you feel with it?

JUNE: I think fairly connected. Like, um, yeah, um I know- I think it's quite predictable now. I know what my body will do. Although with illness lately I've been having, um- I think also because I'm celiac as well, so I'm quite in tune with what my like general digestion and stomach and like

feelings are because it- Like if you haven't digested stuff well, um, you notice it in lots of different ways so I get headaches and like really lethargic, um, because essentially like, I'm malnourished um [pause] So I think that's probably why I'm so aware of it because like in order to get diagnosed I had to be aware of like what my body was doing.

JUNE: [continued] So I do feel quite in touch, um, in like a physical sense. Like I know what my body is like, what it feels like in a physical way, like I feel [bitchy / itchy] or tired. But like in terms of like mindfulness [pause] Like stuff that's less tangible I wouldn't say I'm quite in touch

INTERVIEWER: Hmm Ok. It's- Because earlier you were talking about, it sounded like you were very in tune with your body, it sounded like you listen to your body

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: In terms of what it needs and the way that you were sort of saying like you know when you've done enough walking for example

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: It's listening to your body in that way

JUNE: Yeah, I think I- Yeah that's true I do, I definitely do do that. I meant like in a non-tangible way, I meant probably like in a spiritual way or possibly something like that, I wouldn't say I'm like that, but I am quite good at being like... "Oh, I've eaten something dodgy" or like I feel- One thing I do do actually, which I probably- Would answer your question a lot better, was that if I'm feeling like sad like I have like a heavy feeling on my chest. And that probably informs me that I'm sad before my brain does. So if I've had like- It doesn't happen often, but like if I've had an argument with someone that's not quite resolved I'm like- Because none of my friends or myself are like particularly confrontational so it's quite easy to just say "Oh yeah it's fine let's just forget

about it". But if I'm not quite OK about it I'll feel it before I think about it. Like so I think that's probably a way...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Um, did you feel like your gender, however you identify, is connected to your body? In any way?

JUNE: I don't feel like a woman.

INTERVIEWER: OK

JUNE: I think. [Pause] Like to me I- Like I- Again, like it's so weird that you're asking me all these things because I've recently become really aware of this stuff

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Being on the course I feel like it's-

JUNE: -Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Put a lot of questions in my-

JUNE: -Yeah. Yeah exactly. I think, I look at my body and, um, I don't like- Obviously it's a female's body, but like that doesn't mean anything to me, like I don't feel female, I don't really know what that feels like, I just know my body exists in the way that it does and that's called female.

INTERVIEWER: Mmm, yeah. And "called female" by others not by yourself

JUNE: Yeah. Yeah, like it's not something that I would cling to. Like it's not an identifying thing that I'm like "I am female" because like it doesn't mean much to me whereas if someone was like, or if I was to say like [long pause. J laughs] Like weirdly like I was like "I'm a Leo" or like I-I am I Leo but I don't identify as I Leo, that would probably tell you-me more about me than saying I'm a woman. But then again that's not true because I'm on a [university course related to gender] course. As in, I think I'm aware of the fact that I'm a woman but I don't feel like one.

INTERVIEWER: I do- I do know the feeling where it's sort of like [pause] Well for me personally it's kind of like I am, I feel like I am a woman because I've been that all my life and I've been told that all my life and I feel as comfortable with a woman as any alternative

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Y'know I don't feel like I want to be anything different

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Even though I don't exactly feel like... inherently woman

JUNE: Yeah, yeah! That's exactly how I feel, you just put it really well

INTERVIEWER: Oh!

[C&J laugh]

INTERVIEWER: That's really nice actually to-to hear that

JUNE: Yeah!

JUNE: 'Cos I thought I was the only one.

INTERVIEWER: No, it's an odd one, it's an odd one isn't it? Where y'know, trying to imagine myself in a different body is like "no, that's not more appealing"

JUNE: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: "It's not less appealing"

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: It's just...

JUNE: It's a bit nothing-y

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. This one's fine.

[C&J laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Um, did tracking and recording your body in this way with the step-counter did it affect your relationship with your body, did you feel closer to your body, did it feel like it was getting in the way of your body, or did it have no impact at all?

JUNE: Um, no I wouldn't say it had any impact on how I feel about my body. Or how I'm in touch with my body. Because I would still sort of privilege how my body feels over what the app tells me.

INTERVIEWER: OK. I think it's, y'know, to do with this idea of the Quantified Self again, this idea that you can be so much more in touch with your body if you... Y'know if you "know it better" in huge quotation marks because if you know it's data, but then is that knowing your body better? You say that you kind of listen to your body, you clearly know when it's upset, when you are upset

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And things like that. But, um, does putting a number on it make it clearer? Or does it get in the way?

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Right. These are some more data. These are from a tracking app a lot like the one that you were tracking. Before I say anything else, these examples weren't taken from within your participant group, your data won't be shared with anyone but me and potentially my supervisors

JUNE: Cool, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Just so you know

[J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Right. Um similarly to what we sort of did with yours, which was you sort of telling me what you'd done on certain days, telling me about y'know, can you tell me anything about the data here and who might have recorded it, like I don't know; age, gender, their job, anything about them just from their data

JUNE: Yeah. Ok. So... This person here-

INTERVIEWER: -Oh! I always forget to say this. For the recording could you refer to them as Figure 1, Figure 2

JUNE: Oh yeah

INTERVIEWER: Just so I know when listening back

JUNE: Sure

INTERVIEWER: Thanks

JUNE: So Figure 1... Um... Are they different people?

INTERVIEWER: Can't say

JUNE: Aah OK. I don't know, it depends. So it could be the same person who has like just a very varied lifestyle, um [Long pause]. OK [Long pause] So... Oh so they're weekends, I see. They're all- All the Figures are on the weekend. Saturday and Sunday. So I- This person could... So pretty much consistently walking, in Figure 1, in the morning. Um... Stopped during the day and then in

the evening as w- That is a tricky one. [Long pause] Because it's like, they're consistently walking but they're doing like a lot of steps and then fewer steps and then a lot more again.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, it's spikes isn't it.

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: It's spikes and then almost like nothing

JUNE: Yeah. But twenty-one thousand steps, that's quite a lot. Hm. I don't know what that could be, maybe they're walking- Maybe they went on a big long walk, like a daily walk-uh, weekend walk, and then went for a run in the evening

INTERVIEWER: So fairly active?

JUNE: Yeah. Um, yeah. I don't know

INTERVIEWER: Yeah that's brilliant, brilliant

[J laughs]

JUNE: And then this person, um. Sunday [spoken quietly, to herself]. Maybe they went shopping or something. So... Then had a quiet evening.

INTERVIEWER: Sounds nice

[J&C laugh]

JUNE: Yeah! Um.

INTERVIEWER: That's Figure 2

JUNE: Figure 2, yes. Sorry. Figure 3, um... Maybe they're hungover. Because-

[C laughs. J joins in]

INTERVIEWER: I really like that [inaudible]

[C&J laugh]

JUNE: 'Cos they've stayed in bed all day, or they've not moved all day, or [not] had their phone on them all day. And then in the evening they've gone out for a bit. Maybe to walk the dog or something like that. I should imagine the dog would be walked in the morning. Um, yeah. And this person might be ill.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JUNE: Given... from my experience of being in bed all day, that's roughly what mine looked like. So, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: No that's brilliant, that's fantastic. But you... Would you be able to guess their gender from that?

JUNE: Despite myself I want to say that the first person was male. But there's no reason for that, I just imagine him as like a family dad who took the kids out for a walk during the day and then in the evening was training for a triathlon

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

JUNE: Because that's so common with a lot of my friends' dads, that's what they do. [J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Right, I see, OK

JUNE: That is my imagination. But I could- You can't tell from a graph. I know men and women are both active, men and women can be hungover or ill or whatever, so I don't- I don't...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. No, that's really good, thank you. Um, right. Is there anything that you do that makes you feel more comfortable with your gender identity? I can explain that if that's too vague

JUNE: Yeah, could you explain it

INTERVIEWER: Um, I have recently- well not recently actually, I have started growing my hair longer, I used to have it very, very short. And while I had it short it didn't make me feel masculine or anything, but having it longer it now makes me feel a lot more feminine than when I had it shorter, and I think it's because- Partly because of other people, partly because I now spend more like money on it, like products and stuff, so I spend time on my hair which means- Which to me feels like a feminine past time

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: It's also- I do recognise the fact that I don't see long hair as gendered, but I wouldn't- If I wasn't female I might have a harder time having longer hair. It would be less acceptable

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: So for a lot of reasons, having longer hair for me, everyday, that's something that is slightly more... feminine. To me. So is there anything like that for you?

JUNE: Hmm. Again, you're asking all these really interesting questions which I've very recently been thinking about. So, I- It would have been interesting to have this conversation before [university course related to gender]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah! Oh my God, yeah

JUNE: Yeah! [laughs] Um, because I might have had totally different responses just- I will answer your question in a second

INTERVIEWER: No-no-no-no, this is- It's all good, it's all good

JUNE: Yeah. Right Ok. Because I was thinking that if- Had you asked me about "do you feel like a woman" or like, um- is that one of your questions

INTERVIEWER: Yep

JUNE: Like before [university course related to gender] I would have been like "Yeah I feel like a woman" but since unpacking it, actually I don't- I actually don't identify with it. Um, and I probably would have felt pressured to say yes. So in terms of like- I... It's all very tied up because recently I've been thinking about like changing up my style

INTERVIEWER: OK

JUNE: Because I used to look like- If I've got like- I'll show you my student card

INTERVIEWER: Oh really?!

JUNE: Yeah [laughs] I used to be all dolled up, all the time and like-

INTERVIEWER: Oooh!

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: It hardly looks like you! [referring to the picture on the ID]

JUNE: I know!

INTERVIEWER: Wow

JUNE: I know. So like I used to wear makeup all the time and I used to love, like, putting it on, like I find it quite creative as well, um, and I used to like, I don't know, have nail polish on, long hair- I still have quite long hair but as in- no actually I've always had my hair up but I always took more care when I was- when I did my hair up. Whereas now... I think it's because like potentially going out with another woman and like-and like wanting to identify as a lesbian I've somehow like realised that maybe my reasoning for doing this was tied up with getting male attention as like a teenager. Um. And now that I've realised that's something I don't necessarily want in that way I don't bother with it anymore. And that's what I used to think but I think now that actually did give me a lot of joy. I love painting my face and I love feeling feminine because that's what ties me to feeling feminine, like having make up on and like putting effort into my appearance and I used to see that as something that I- Yeah, I still do see it as, I occasionally do get really dressed up and I feel really feminine, um, and yeah I don't know, like why it is. Cos then if I'm not doing that now then does that mean I'm happy with like how I am now and I wouldn't say that I am happy, I just feel- I don't feel unhappy. But I would also- I would potentially prefer it if I was a bit more feminine. So I'm thinking about going back-Because right now to answer your question I don't really feel feminine, like, on the daily. Because I don't wear makeup, I don't really take care of my appearance and I think that's partially at work for the shop I do work at just 'cos we get a new uniform every four weeks for free so like all of- a lot of my wardrobe is [shop name] clothing and-

INTERVIEWER: Oh, that's amazing!

[J laughs]

JUNE: It's really cool, but a lot of the clothes-they don't really fit me very well and they don't really suit me, um, like my colouring. Because they drain me, or they're really patterned so like, this might sound really ageist but they do age me, I look a bit like a school teacher

INTERVIEWER: No, well that's- that's the customer age they're aiming for so- It makes sense

JUNE: Yeah, so there are some stuff I really like, and I wear out of work, but because I can't afford to buy clothes, like, outside work my wardrobe has slowly been taken over with clothes I wouldn't necessarily choose to wear. So I've sort of like worn that and I've just sort of been alright with it because, I think primarily, more than anything else I'm quite a pragmatic person so the thing with not wearing makeup is that I used- like, it was partially because I wanted to identify with being a lesbian, um, which is kind of bullshit I know that now, um, but also because, like, the stuff would never get off! Like, you ever get that?

INTERVIEWER: [laughing] oh my god

JUNE: Yeah it's always a little bit of black under-

INTERVIEWER: Yep!

JUNE: It used to drive me crazy

INTERVIEWER: You swear it's all off and then in the morning-

[J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: It's still under your eyes

JUNE: Exactly! And I think it's when I started going out with [partner's name] that I realised that because she doesn't wear makeup at all and I realised that I- and my best friend doesn't either, and I was in some ways kind of envious because "[sigh] you don't have to deal with all this

rubbish” like, on your face. But then I realised that actually, like- So I think at the minute I don’t feel- Like I don’t really do anything that makes me feel feminine but I- if I was to, if I were to it would be to put on a face of makeup, especially my eyes and like do something with my hair, probably get a fringe back. Cos I think... yeah. So yeah- I think, yeah, there’s- Like today, this is the most feminine I’ve been, ever.

[C&J laugh]

JUNE: In the past few weeks. Cos, like, again, cos I spend a lot of time climbing and like in general sports gear I don’t really bother

INTERVIEWER: That’s really, really fascinating

[J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: So thank you

JUNE: [laughing] S’alright!

INTERVIEWER: Would you consider walking to be something that’s linked to gender?

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: OK

JUNE: I think so

INTERVIEWER: Could you explain?

JUNE: I think, um... Like, maybe it’s because I do a lot of walking a hiker. That the people, um- I think you could definitely walk... in whatever way you walk it is in some way gendered, because like if the circles that are doing, um, like the hiking that I’m going to [holiday destination] with they’re quite like, hardcore. So they’ll, like, really rush up a route to get to the incline. And if

you're the sort of person like me who just likes to walk up a hill, that's quite- I think not as impressive. So it's somehow linked to being womanly or a wimp or something. And equally if you are in the hiking circles where people do prefer to hike than climb, um, it's often, like... um, quite like a... It's overrun by people who like to do a big long walk and then go to the pub. Which I like to do myself, but they tend to be men, grouped together.

INTERVIEWER: Right

JUNE: So I find that walking is kind of gendered. I feel in whatever way you're doing it, so if you're walking because you're not climbing then you're a woman but if you're walking with men then it's-somehow you feel a bit left out anyway. Because they're- I don't know, they're all lovely and they're all my friends, but I'm very aware of the fact that I'm a woman when I do it with them

INTERVIEWER: Mmm. I know what you mean, it's that odd moment when you're sort of- yeah, just AWARE that you're the only woman or aware you are a woman in this group of- that's not like overly masculine or anything-

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But it's just... Just that awareness like "I'm the woman here"

JUNE: Yeah, yeah! Like the token woman

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. I get that, yeah. Um, do you think dieting is gendered?

JUNE: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Do you think exercise is gendered?

JUNE: Yes, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Do you think sleeping is gendered?

JUNE: Sleeping?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JUNE: [pause] What do you mean- I mean with the others I haven't hesitated to say yes, but with-
Now I'm wondering what do you mean by gendered?

INTERVIEWER: Mm.

[J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Gendered is a huge term, but I think in the way you were so quick to say that dieting is gendered... Y'know, there's- There is a gender aspect to it, there is- Well for me personally, I don't want to influence your answer, so I'm worried, yeah. But when- Certain actions I picture a man or a woman specifically

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And then other things are- I struggle to- [sigh] I'm going to explain this differently. If you had to, y'know you got a man and woman and you had a load of activities like dieting you'd put them in one or the other, and then exercise you'd put in one or the other, and then with sleeping I wouldn't know where to put that

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Which I think means, for me, is the best way I can describe being like... ungendered in my mind, as in I don't have- I don't associate it with a gender. If that makes sense

JUNE: Yeah, yeah. I think that's true, I think there are some potentially gendered- there could be some gendered aspects of it, I think that, like, um, in my own household... and I'm going to contradict myself anyway, but I got the idea that men didn't sleep very much and-because... like

[J laughs] [long pause] As in... I don't know, all the women that I know have quite a lot of sleep and all the men don't really have a lot of sleep. Just from what they've said. But then that's not true at all because I don't sleep very-like, a lot. So- and I'm a woman so [J laughs] So that's just showing you it's all bullshit. So... Yeah. There you go, I don't know

INTERVIEWER: Um, yeah [C laughs] Do you think there's a difference between sleeping and dieting for an example in terms of how they're gendered?

JUNE: Yeah. I think dieting is heavily aimed at women. As in the dieting culture, dieting, um, like programmes, ways of making money, all designed exploiting women. And by making them feel bad about the bodies they already exist in. Um, whereas sleeping, I don't think people feel bad about sleeping

INTERVIEWER: And it's not... advertised to people in the same way

JUNE: No

INTERVIEWER: OK. Um, does the phrase "walk like a woman" mean anything to you?

JUNE: Um. Not to me personally. But I can imagine what it might mean. Like. So like, it could mean... like walk like [pause] It's-it's like, in my head when you said walk like a woman I imagined a woman in heels, like, with a power walk

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JUNE: Y'know like, commanding the room, like a woman, using her womanliness

[C laughs]

JUNE: Like, draw attention to the fact that she is there, y'know. Like, yeah. So I could imagine it as a stereotype.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Stereotypes- When you were describing it I was thinking, like, OVERTLY womanly

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Like, I don't feel like I don't walk into a room and it's like "I'm a woman!"

JUNE: Yeah! Yeah exactly

INTERVIEWER: It's just like-

JUNE: I just walk into a room

[C&J laugh]

INTERVIEWER: But therein lies my- how do you do that differently? Do you think there's a difference between walking LIKE a woman and walking AS a woman?

JUNE: Yes. I do, because I think walking LIKE a woman is put onto you. So, someone says you're walking like a woman or she's walking like a woman, they've got this preconceived notion of a woman that they're referring to. Whereas walking AS a woman, like, I can relate that directly to my own experience. So, like, walking AS a woman isn't held with such positive or negative connotations, I almost think of it walking as a woman in this space am I safe? Or, like, walking as a woman through this area are people noticing me, like, I think it's- yeah. Has a more relatable...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Has anything ever happened to you while you were walking that you think is linked to your gender in any way?

JUNE: Yeah I think, like, um- As in walking because I'm walking or just walking from A to B?

INTERVIEWER: Ooh, um, what do you mean walking because you're walking?

JUNE: As in like people have gendered me or said something to me when I'm walking because of my walk or...

INTERVIEWER: Oh, um

JUNE: Or just when I'm walking in a space?

INTERVIEWER: I'd be interested in both answers if you have them

JUNE: Yeah, cos my housemates take the mick out of me all the time because I have quite a manneristic walk

INTERVIEWER: Oh OK

[J laughs]

JUNE: Like, its quite like... Like, they call it quite bouncy.

INTERVIEWER: Oh OK

[C&J laugh]

JUNE: And so they've never... And, like, the words that they've used have been more feminine words. Like, um... Can't think of what they'd say. It's more that they've noticed that I have a particular walk and, like, they would call it a feminine walk [J laughs] But not in so many words, if you know what I mean, that's what I've gleaned from what they've said. Because we laugh because, like, I have quite a few mannerisms that they pick up on and that they [inaudible] and my walk is one of them, basically. Um, and I think that I have been... Just remind me of the question

INTERVIEWER: Um, it was has anything happened to you while walking that you think is linked to your gender?

JUNE: Yeah. Um, so like, being catcalled maybe. Or like, um, I've been walking with [partner's name] before and we've had- We're obviously in a-we're holding hands, obviously a couple, so we've had, like, verbal abuse from people because of that. [J laughs] You know what I mean?

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Yeah.

JUNE: Yeah. Um, and, um, what else? Like, I think in the walking circles because I'm quite slow, like, people have, like, maybe... Yeah, said that I'm not keeping up with the men

INTERVIEWER: Oh, Ok

JUNE: Like, got to keep up with the guys, sort of thing.

INTERVIEWER: Ok, um. Have you ever changed how you walk or where you walk-

JUNE: Umm

INTERVIEWER: - In a way that's linked to your gender?

JUNE: I definitely stopped walking with the group for a while. With the walking group. Because, um, I... like, I wasn't as fast as them, and it seemed like a big deal to them that I wasn't as fast. And it made me feel quite embarrassed. Um, and I would, like, hold everyone up. And it's inconvenient for everyone basically if someone- if there's one person in the group that's not keeping up, it makes the day a lot harder. Um, so I felt embarrassed. Um [long pause] I would have taken a route home, like I took a route home last night which was more well lit because I was aware of like- I was just aware of my safety, which isn't necessarily gender based, but there is obviously...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JUNE: Yeah, it's more of a problem for a woman to be alone-

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JUNE: -than a man, so.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Well, you say that's not necessarily gendered but sometimes I, um, I forget that certain things I do aren't normal to everyone's experience.

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Especially, I get that moment when I'm talking to guy friends. So, I remember very clearly being in conversation with a guy talking about how to walk home and he was like "Ah I'm just gonna take the shortcut home over the field" and I was like "Are you crazy? No! It's not lit!"

JUNE: Mmm

INTERVIEWER: And he was like "Why is that a problem? I've walked it a hundred times, I'll still know my way" but I was like "I am not talking about not knowing your way, I'm talking about it being unsafe"

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And it just...

JUNE: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: Talking from two completely different points, and it was an odd conversation

JUNE: Yeah. Like, yeah, that's interesting, because I had the same conversation with, again with my housemate where I was just like "it is a problem because how many times have you walked

home with your keys in between your hands?” And he was like “oh yeah”. Like literally EVERY time, like. It’s something that’s in my head that might not have occurred to you, because we were talking about how someone had- We were walking home, down [Location] and, um, he was- this guy, who-he looked like a normal guy- I don’t know what that means but [J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: There was nothing exceptional about him

JUNE: Yeah, exactly. And he was walking quite close behind me and I kept like going into the side, like, expecting him to overtake, and like indicating that I wanted him to overtake and like looking at him, and then I think the penny dropped for him was that- he wasn’t a threat, he realised that I thought he could be, so he gave me a really wide berth as he overtook me. Which, if he, if it was daylight or I hadn’t been looking at him he probably would have overtaken like a normal person but because I was like clearly uncomfortable with him being there, I think he realised that, like, he SUDDENLY realised, because I think before he was like “why is this girl being weird?” And I think he was like “Oh! Because she thinks I’m a threat!”

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

JUNE: I-Yeah. I think sometimes men don’t really...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, yeah. I just- I was walking home from town once with a friend and, um, there was a guy walking behind us, which is fine! [C laughs] We were just walking on the pavement, he was walking behind us, it was completely normal. But then we, um, we stopped because we were like “which way are we going?” like, you know, it was dark, we were like “Where-where are we going?”

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And he stopped, which was... a little unusual but not crazy. And then we were like “Oh! We’ve gone the wrong way!” so we turned around and started walking the opposite way and he turned around and started walking the opposite way as well

JUNE: Ohh

INTERVIEWER: And it was just a bit like... I mean it was just suddenly SO uncomfortable. It was suddenly... like our conversation got very, very stilted because I think we were both suddenly like “That’s really weird”

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: “We’re not going to say anything because he’s right behind us but that’s really odd.” And you know it’s that sort of thing where you’re like... you keep making different directions and he’s still behind you and then he eventually st- I don’t know if he was following us! I genuinely don’t.

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But it felt like he was. It stopped when we got to a traffic light and we crossed and he just didn’t, he got to the traffic light with us and then we crossed and he just didn’t.

JUNE: That’s really strange

INTERVIEWER: It’s so strange! And it’s just the sort of thing where- I think that’s what I had in my mind when I wrote that question

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Sort of thing

JUNE: Yeah, I can definitely relate. Like that time I've just told you about, there's been loads of time I've, like, been aware of the fact that I'm a woman and had, like, yeah the same thing like someone was walking quite close behind me and I kept on- it was in the day this time- and I kept looking at him like this is- it got weird.

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

JUNE: Like you've been too close behind me for too long now

INTERVIEWER: That's the thing! There's a mental timer

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

JUNE: So I stopped, pretended to look at my phone, and turned around sort of into him, like in a way that was sort of like "oh, I'm late for something! Turn around" And he sort of like looked a bit, like he didn't know what to do with himself, and that made me like really nervous then because it was like oh I-in my head I thought I was crazy and then he's confirmed the fact that no I'm not because this potentially could be a threat and, like, yeah, I ended up walking very quickly in one direction and he sort of dithered and then went off in another. So yeah, that happens, yeah.

INTERVIEWER: But I think, I think what always strikes me when that happens to me is that I always feel like I am... I'm just walking. You know? I'm not- I j- I don't know what I'm walking like but I'm walking as a person

JUNE: Mm Hm

INTERVIEWER: And then something like that happens, you get catcalled from a van or someone starts following you, a man starts following you, and then suddenly it's like "I'm walking as a woman"

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: You're suddenly reminded

JUNE: Yes!

INTERVIEWER: Suddenly, y'know, and I think that's...

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Is uncomfortable

JUNE: It is uncomfortable. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think there's a difference between walking as a woman and walking as a human?

JUNE: Yeah. I would say so. Like, um, when before when you asked me LIKE a woman and AS a woman, I automatically thought oh, walking as a woman is walking in a certain space as a woman. Whereas walking as a human in this sort of... space, is totally different, I think, like you're not aware of the fact that you're a woman. Like much you just described when you're like, you're focussing on something else and there's literally nothing gendered that you're doing, I think that's probably walking as a human

INTERVIEWER: Mm, so it's- Human is a non-gendered, general-

JUNE: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -thing. OK, um, do you think walking apps like the one that you've tested should incorporate aspects that are more gendered, more targeted towards gendered people, or not? Or do you prefer them as they are?

JUNE: [pause]I- Yeah-I can't imagine what benefit there would be for gendering them. Because in some way that would reinforce all this stuff that we're trying to undo. Unless there was a specific problem that women or men generally face when walking. Maybe like the one you've just suggested, like... walking as a woman in a space where you're not necessarily comfortable. Because of the widespread sort of general understanding that there could be a threat. But then I don't know if that would be a walking app. I think-

INTERVIEWER: Exactly

JUNE: It would be a safety app

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, which do exist and they are- they're just separate apps. Ok, um, and the very last question is are you planning on keeping the app or are you- do you want to get it off your phone as soon as possible?

JUNE: Neither really I'm sort of ambivalent towards it

INTERVIEWER: Ok

JUNE: Yeah, like, it's kinda fun to have a look, but it also doesn't mean anything to me. It kinda- I was oddly interested in getting a Fitbit because it's sort of always attached to you, but... not really? Like, so, yeah probably, I might delete it at some point if I've not got enough...

INTERVIEWER: Space

JUNE: Yeah. I might keep it for [holiday destination]. Just to see [J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, yeah. Cos that's going to be a lot of walking!

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Make you feel really good about yourself

JUNE: Yeah!

[J&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Do you now that I've finished my questions, do you have any questions for me?
At the end of this?

JUNE: What were your answers to all these questions?

INTERVIEWER: Oh my goodness

[J laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Well I always feel like when... when I'm interviewing people I'm trying to do it in a semi-structured way, which means that it's allowed to be more of a conversation because I like, y'know when I was-when you were talking about your experience walking as a woman, I want to talk about my experience

JUNE: Yeah, yeah, exactly, and I want to hear it as well

INTERVIEWER: So, so yeah, I haven't, I'll be honest I haven't gone through and answered all of the questions myself, but yeah. Was there a question in particular you wanted to know the answer to?

JUNE: Um [pause] About whether- we spoke mostly... but the one about like having the app on your phone, did that make a difference to you, and how you're aware of your body?

INTERVIEWER: Ooh, um. [pause] Yeah. I dunno, I don't know if it made a difference, but I think there was an extra thing, if that makes sense. I... y'know, I know that I've done a lot of walking because my legs hurt or because I can remember doing a lot of walking

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Y'know. But then this had an extra like, um... another thing to check sort of thing. But I-I sometimes found I disagreed with the app. A lot of the time. Like, I found that I-I thought I'd done way more or I'd done way less and I think it actually weirdly, it's to do with what I consider to be walking in a very strange way. I found that I did the most walking when I was working, because I was allowed my phone on me, um and when I was shopping, neither of which I considered to be high activity.

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Do you know what I mean? Like I knew that at the end of a working day I felt tired, but that's just because working is tiring

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: I-I was a bit like I stand behind a counter all day, and I didn't realise how many times I run up and down the stairs, how many times I carry deliveries from the front of the store to the storeroom at the back, how many routes of the shop I do with customers, y'know. Um, so I went from thinking, like, "Oh why am I always tired at the end of the day? I'm not doing anything" to "Oh my god I'm doing a lot!"

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, and then with shopping, it's kind of like, I'll be like "I'm not-I've hardly walked anywhere"

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And then realising afterwards "Oh my god I've hit ten thousand already"

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: And I'm not even done shopping yet! And then sometimes I'd purposefully be like I'm going to go on a really long walk today

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: For exercise, to walk the dog, and I'm going to bring my phone because I want to see how many steps I do. And then it's not as many as I think it was, so... I know what you mean in the way that you kind of... you kind of know what you've done. But then the app is telling you something different and that disagreement was always an interesting thing for me

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Because I did have a moment of "who do I believe?"

JUNE: Yeah, do I believe the app? Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. And I was definitely more inclined to believe it when it said it had done- I'd done more than I thought I had. When it told me I had done less I thought I had I was like "No, no, I know"

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: -"Than you, definitely"

JUNE: It's a weird thing isn't it, why-why is having more steps better than not having more steps? It's like a... weird idea

INTERVIEWER: I think there's a lot of, um, there's a weird moral aspect to being healthy and active

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And being productive. They're all bound up together in, kind of, our... society? I think.

JUNE: It's just not mirrored by what's true though is it? Loads of people are so productive even though they don't walk

INTERVIEWER: Exactly. And I think it's got some, y'know, the idea that you walk more means you're healthy is... that's so flawed in so many ways. Because the kind of walking I do isn't the kind of walking you do, I don't go hiking, I just walk, y'know. Shopping, mostly

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But now that I'm living on campus, y'know, I-So I'm not at home I don't walk the dog anymore. So [sighs]. My walking isn't... it's not getting my heartrate up, it's not like... 'cos the ten thousand steps is kind of arbitrary. It's kind of irrelevant

JUNE: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: So. It's about doing, I think it's ten minutes- although that's probably made up as well, ten minutes of something that gets your heartrate up. And your breathing-slightly out of breath. So, I think sometimes I check it and think "Yes, I hit ten thousand! That means I've exercised!"

JUNE: Yeah, yeah

[J&C laugh]

INTERVIEWER: Noo it doesn't [C laughs]

JUNE: Yeah, yeah. It's weird isn't it. Where do you work?

INTERVIEWER: I used to work in a hardware shop. I don't work there anymore. I worked for a year before coming here

JUNE: Oh yeah. It's interesting, like the whole thing is really interesting, like how we want- we have a need to scien-tify everything and have it in numbers for it to be more believable and logical

INTERVIEWER: Yeah definitely

JUNE: There are other ways of sort of arguing the fact that you are feeling active.

INTERVIEWER: It's definitely easy to argue for something when you've got like numbers to back you up

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And I do think there is definitely a case of we believe numbers are more truthful than feelings

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: I think, y'know, like... I think we have an idea of technology that it's neutral. That it's objective, which obviously doesn't exist

JUNE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But it really, really isn't. There are a lot of ways that um- The fact that I couldn't find a step counter without a calorie counter

JUNE: Oh yeah

INTERVIEWER: Y'know? I think that really says something, about the purpose of the apps that nobody is just... downloading them because they're curious to know how many steps they do. It's very productive.

JUNE: Yeah, exactly. And I think also it's really bad for-If say someone does want to lose weight or whatever, like focussing on the number

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

JUNE: So my mum's trying to lose weight for her health, and she's always focussing on this number on the scales. And it's like, it's about how you feel. The whole reason to do it is for your health and how you feel in yourself. Like, if you feel better than that's what you're aiming for

INTERVIEWER: Exactly, yeah.

JUNE: She does a lot of swimming as well, and in some way she's gained a bit of muscle, so it's bullshit anyway!

[C&J laugh]

JUNE: Yeah. But thank you very much

INTERVIEWER: Thank YOU so much, it's been really interesting

Appendix 8

Alice

INTERVIEWER: Alright, would you mind telling me a little bit about yourself? Just to start off?

ALICE: Yeah, so... I don't know, what do you want to know?

INTERVIEWER: Um, well the usual questions are like, are you a student, do you work, that sort of thing? Which of course I already know about you, but

ALICE: Just so you have it on the record. So I am a [foreign national] and I'm a student, I'm a postgrad in [university course], um 27. So I'm coming back to education after taking several years off, I took my undergrad and then worked as a nanny house manager and then worked as a primary school maths teacher. Then came back to do my masters and now PHD in [university course]

INTERVIEWER: So you live on campus?

ALICE: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Uh, how do you get round places?

ALICE: Um, walk or cycle

INTERVIEWER: Mm hm, which do you prefer?

ALICE: Um, it depends on where I'm going- Oh, and the bus. So, when I go to town I always take the bus. I have one friend who always insists on walking to town and frankly I don't really like it. So I'll do it with her but if I'm going to town for anything else, I don't know why because it's not that far.

INTERVIEWER: No, it's- I find it's always further than I think it is though

ALICE: Yeah. I'm like "Oh twenty, twenty-five minutes, that's really not bad, I can do that" but then afterwards I'm walking and I always think "this is taking forever" And so, for me when I'm going to town it's to do something so I want to get to whatever it is I'm doing even if it's just like going to the grocery or something. I have on my mind, like, "I want to go do this" and so I feel like the bus can take you- Even though it probably doesn't take me there faster

INTERVIEWER: No, I think it does. But- Especially if you're walking with a friend, I find- I swear that doubles the time it takes you to get anywhere. But it sounds like when you walk somewhere you are walking from A to B

ALICE: Yeah. I'm walking to get to something.

INTERVIEWER: Um, have you used a self-tracking app before?

ALICE: Yes. So I have a Fitbit, um, and before I had a Fitbit I had- Oh what was it called? Oh a Jaw Bone.

INTERVIEWER: Jaw bone?

ALICE: Yeah, it's called, like, Up by Jaw Bone.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. That's an app?

ALICE: They're devices connected to an app. So both of those are fitness trackers that you wear that are connected to an app. I've never used just an app. By itself.

INTERVIEWER: Ok. Did you like it?

ALICE: I... Didn't. Because I felt like I wasn't getting credit for everything that I did. Because I don't always have my phone on me. In fact I often don't have my phone on me. So, I'll set it-only when

I'm walking somewhere, like if I'm walking to class or something I'll have my phone in my bag. But if I'm just walking around the flat or even- my best friend lives two floors down from me and so she and I run up and down between each other's places all the time, even if it's just to, like, pop up and say something quickly or to grab something from the other person's room, whatever. And I never take my phone

INTERVIEWER: No, why would you? Yeah.

ALICE: So, like I'll text from upstairs like "hey I'm on my way down" but then there's no need to have it

INTERVIEWER: So there's a whole type of walking, the indoor sort of like... y'know when you're not getting from A to B but just sort of moving around in general that the app doesn't really pick up for you.

ALICE: Yeah, and when I'm at work

INTERVIEWER: Right, because you're not allowed your phone

ALICE: I'm not allowed my phone at the bar so we leave everything in the staff room. So then I'm walking round quite a lot and yeah, and for anyone connected to their phone, who has their phone on them, that's great, but since I don't carry my phone on me...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah that's fair enough. Who do you think this app is aimed at?

ALICE: Um, I guess most people my age and younger. You never see them without their phones. My sister for instance, she's five years younger than me, she's twenty-two, I've never seen that child go anywhere without her phone. She doesn't walk from the living room to the toilet without taking it with her. And I swear for her it's- she thinks we're gonna, like, read all of her-read all the messages on her phone, which is dumb because it has a lock screen. And we're not that

interested. But for whatever reason she just like carries it with her, like it's part of her body. But I know that that's more common than for me, like I'll just even sometimes forget it at home. Like I'll go out to the gym or something and not take it with me. But I think that that's more of an unusual approach. To cell phones.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

ALICE: So I think we currently live in a time, and like our generation pretty much always has their phone on them. So for- So for anyone who doesn't want to pay for a fitness tracker, but wants to keep up with how many steps they're doing, meet goals, any of those reasons that you use a fitness tracker, um, then a phone app works really well

INTERVIEWER: It has its advantages and disadvantages for sure. Um, did you check it frequently?

ALICE: No. I only checked it when I sent in the weekly updates. But I check my Fitbit all the time.

INTERVIEWER: Interesting. So what's the difference-

ALICE: So, I think because I knew I was getting credit for most things on my Fitbit, I would check it- And because it's on me. It's on my wrist so I can literally just look down-

INTERVIEWER: It's good-

ALICE: -and see

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, yeah

ALICE: -Like, how many steps I've done right away without having to pull out the phone to check. And I think it's habit as well. If I never had a Fitbit or anything I think I would be much more interested

INTERVIEWER: Oh I see

ALICE: I think I would have put more effort into carrying my phone with me at all times, instead of thinking “well, it’s fine even if that doesn’t track it accurately I know that my Fitbit is.” So I think it’s because I have another one

INTERVIEWER: That’s interesting. Um, does your Fitbit also tell the time?

ALICE: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Is that- Does that contribute to the fact that you check it often?

ALICE: Yes, because whenever I look to see what time it is then I can have a peek. And it shows the time, the date, and then underneath is the steps, so literally just every time I check the time I can have a quick glance at the steps.

INTERVIEWER: How often do you think you check your Fitbit? Roughly, obviously

ALICE: Yeah, no, I mean for... Obviously it depends on what I’m doing, because there’s times when you’re not going to-there’s times like in class or at work when you check your time quite frequently, especially if it’s slow or y’know whatever. But I would say probably much more often than I think. I would like to say twice an hour, but I’m sure I check it more than that. But I don’t always look at the steps every time I’m looking at the time. But it is very easy to be glancing at both, not consciously. So even though I’m checking the time and I’m not intending to look at steps I think I probably am often looking at the steps

INTERVIEWER: No I completely understand, there’s a step counter on my phone that it shows the step count on the lock screen so whenever I check the time, it’s the same thing, I’m not checking the steps but I

ALICE: But you see it

INTERVIEWER: You see the steps, it registers even if you don't mean it to. Alright, I have here a couple of your weekly, um, graphs, and obviously the one you already sent me. Can you tell me how you feel about any of these recordings? We can look at the one from this week if you would like to do that one instead.

ALICE: Yeah no, I mean obviously I feel better about the ones that are all closer to ten thousand. Which is funny because I do know that ten thousand is a made-up number. And that they've done studies that say that that's – that obviously it's better to be more active than not active but there's no magic about ten thousand

INTERVIEWER: No

ALICE: But it's something that- It's- I think, if you have a goal it's nice to meet the goal.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely. And it's something about reaching that- Do you ever find that, um- Oh, what is the goal on your Fitbit?

ALICE: It's ten thousand

INTERVIEWER: It's still ten thousand?

ALICE: So, when I reach ten thousand it will, like, show a display of fireworks and buzz

INTERVIEWER: And you like that?

ALICE: I do!

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. "yes I've done it!" Do you ever find yourself, like you're done, you've got home, there's nothing more to do at the end of the day, but you're looking at it-

ALICE: Oh, if I'm really close then I will get up and walk around the kitchen. I'll walk downstairs. I'll do something

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

ALICE: It depends on how close I am, but yeah if I'm within probably seven hundred and fifty, then...

INTERVIEWER: Just about meeting that goal

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But you can adjust the goal on the Fitbit?

ALICE: You can, you can change it to be higher or lower, and I actually used to have it higher, um, when I was working as a teacher I- There's- The Fitbit app allows you to compete with other people

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

ALICE: So you can set up weekly competitions, and then, like, throughout the week it'll say, like, "so-and-so's ahead" or "you're really close to catching up with" and I'm quite competitive

INTERVIEWER: [laughs] OK. Alright, could you tell me something you did on one of these days, like...

ALICE: Oh yeah, what was that day! Ok

INTERVIEWER: Because that one is unusual

ALICE: It is, yeah. And I remember thinking "Oh this is gonna look so good"

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

ALICE: Um

INTERVIEWER: You went over fifteen, that's crazy

ALICE: Two... six... [the numbers refer to her checking the date] Let me check what um, oh I wish I had my planner on me, I would have been able to see... [long pause] No I don't remember. [long pause] I definitely would have done something like, gone here there and everywhere

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

[long pause]

ALICE: I'm really disappointed in myself that I can't remember what I was doing

INTERVIEWER: It's interesting because a lot of other people that I've spoken to, they can- They- Especially if there's high activity they can sort of- Looking at the graph almost like prompts them to remember

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But I guess this was a little while ago, to be fair. Like, almost a month ago.

ALICE: Yeah. And... It really might have been something as little as walking around town a lot. But I can't think [pause] what. [pause] There was one day, that [friend's name], my friend who always insists on walking to town, wanted to go into town. And then, I bet that was the day. She wanted to go into town, so we went into town, we ran a bunch of errands, did some shopping, walking round, and then I came- walked back to campus and then my best friend and I always take the bus, but I do remember one day we walked and that might have been the day we then walked back to town

INTERVIEWER: Oh right

ALICE: And walked back again.

INTERVIEWER: That would definitely explain it. You think that's this day?

ALICE: Yeah. And then that would have been before we had the rule of no phones at work. So I might have been able- I didn't always have my phone on me at work but if I'd had my phone on me at work, cos I did s-a couple of times, um, not frequently, even before they said you can't have you phone... you have to keep your phone upstairs, I kept it on the bar, like on the back with my, um, jumper. So, just because I didn't want it to fall out of my pocket onto like the dirty bar floor. So I didn't usually. I didn't- Even then I didn't carry it in my pocket. But if I had, that would've- And I know I definitely would have been working that day because it's Friday

INTERVIEWER: That would contribute, right. Could you explain one of the days of lower activity?

ALICE: Oh yeah, Sundays. I do nothing on Sundays. So- That's not true, it's not that I do nothing, but I don't go anywhere that I take my phone with me

INTERVIEWER: Oh, ok

ALICE: So, like Sundays I'm normally- I don't work on Sundays. So I'm usually catching up on stuff at home. So it's my like, laundry, dishes, catch up on any work, read, watch TV, like it's very much my stay-at-home day. So, like, I'll be going back and forth upstairs and downstairs to [friend's apartment], but I don't take my phone with me, and so like those days yeah I have like a hundred and-And that's the sad thing, that's not even because I took the phone [bad audio] early in the day, that's literally just how many steps I have. It's like a hundred steps

INTERVIEWER: Considering all of your other days are quite high activity, it's fine to have like one day a week of rest, especially with your job

ALICE: Yeah. So it's definitely a day of rest. But it's also a day I don't go anywhere. So any steps that I'm doing are around the flat, aren't going to be counted because I don't have my phone on me.

INTERVIEWER: That's fair enough. Um, you kinda said that you-

ALICE: Oh, and I wonder if this last week that I went to [city], because I had one week where I should have literally no steps, because I literally laid down on my friend's couch for like nearly a week

INTERVIEWER: Oh, was that the week you just sent me?

ALICE: It might have been the week I just sent you. Let's see

[long pause]

ALICE: Yes, and [pause] Yes, so it was the end of this week, so that day I went onto the- I was on the train, so I was walking around train stations, because it's like three trains to get to her parent's house, um, and then I was at her parents' Sunday- I took the picture a day late, but Monday should equally look like there's nothing. And Tuesday, nothing. And then Wednesday I came back.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, you can see that can't you. That's really interesting. Um, do you think if someone who didn't know you looked at this data, do you think they'd be able to tell something about your lifestyle? The sort of thing you just described, like walking to town, going shopping, your job, the fact that you're a student, do you think people would be able to guess that from your data, can you kind of see it in your data?

ALICE: [Pause] I think that they would, they could probably tell that... I do things in the day, that I move around. But that I'm not, like, an avid exerciser. Not that that's a word, I just made it up. Um, because I very rarely am over ten thousand. But I'm also very rarely at this thousand, two thousand point. Um, usually around six. Like six thousand, you move around. Um, but you're not, like, going to the gym or walking far distances to get to work. I don't know that they'd be able to

tell, like what- Because actually, my job should- I think if someone saw the data and then I told them what I did they'd say "you're not running around a bar. Like, you don't have any steps."

INTERVIEWER: Mm, because of the-

ALICE: But it's the discrepancy in the data versus the actual

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. And then there is always that gap between- Well, do you think there is always a gap between reality and data?

ALICE: I think there's probably a slight gap. My... How I use the app affected it, had I been more vigilant or more into the app being quite accurate, I could've asked my boss can I have my phone if I don't use it, kind of thing, and had it on me, or really thought about the fact that when I run downstairs, carry my phone with me. When I run to pick up a parcel, carry my phone with me.

INTERVIEWER: So do you think that gap between reality and the data is smaller in the data that is recorded by your Fitbit?

ALICE: Yes. Yes, because... Except for when I take it off to charge it, I'm always wearing it. So, even- like you can see, I don't know if- I've pretty much had my phone with me so there might not be a big gap today. But [long pause] Yeah it's not too much today because it says seven thousand eight hundred on the app and nine thousand three hundred

INTERVIEWER: Mm, that is a difference though

ALICE: And, and today's a weird day that I've carried -Because I've been out, I've come in and walked around campus and stuff I've had my phone on me

INTERVIEWER: So do you think you're better reflected in the Fitbit data?

ALICE: Yes, probably

INTERVIEWER: Um, have you heard of the term Invisible Data?

ALICE: No

INTERVIEWER: It's a term I've come across in my research that I find really interesting, it's this idea that there is data that our body is... emanating, radiating, whatever- that is present in our bodies, this invisible data that without technology we can't see. Stuff like, um, how many steps we take in a day is a good example but also our heartrate, our breathing rate, our sleeping patterns, things that we even though they're to do with our bodies we simply cannot measure them as human beings. So technology comes in to make that invisible data visible. Do you- What do you think of that as like a concept, as a phrase, as a term?

ALICE: That's really clever, that's- I never thought about that, but it's true that... That's kind of the gap that these apps and devices are trying to fill of that know. We know when we wake up and we feel tired. But there's no way of us to know, like we can say generally I know when I went to sleep and I know when I woke up, but- And we can say "Oh I had a good night sleep, I had a bad night sleep" but we don't actually know, like, how many times did we wake up in the middle of the night. How often were we sleep versus rolling over and just resting, trying to fall back asleep. So- But it's true, it's our bodies, we should know... but then technology measures our heartrates all night long while we're sleeping so it can tell you you're awake, you're asleep. That's really interesting.

INTERVIEWER: So you think technology actually helps you to feel more in tune with your body?

ALICE: And more, like- It's, I think it's a control thing for some people, like, just the control of knowing. And for other people it's a way of helping change a lifestyle. So... Like I wouldn't have known- I would have known that I felt really tired last week and that I wasn't getting a good

night's sleep, I knew I wasn't sleeping very long, but without the Fitbit I wouldn't have known that I was actually only getting between three and four hours of sleep every night. And I got a little notification saying "you're getting less than the recommended amount for a female of your age" like, which is a very formal way of saying... you know it was saying you should aim more between seven and eight hours of sleep. So... Y'know I generally knew that I was getting less, I knew what time I was getting to sleep and waking up, but I would have even said I was getting more than I actually was.

INTERVIEWER: And the app gives you... gives you a number, gives you evidence you can see

ALICE: Mm

INTERVIEWER: You can physically see it

ALICE: Yeah and then that might prompt change, so that might- SHOULD prompt me to say "Ok then well I need to be, like, doing whatever I can to make sure I'm getting more sleep." Um, but it also kind of justifies how I'm feeling. So like when I'm feeling really tired and I look and it says, like, on an average, y'know, "oh you only got five and half hours sleep" I say "well THAT'S why I'm so tired." And I don't know if that's always true. I mean, I think, logically, getting less sleep you're gonna feel tired. But if I'm feeling a certain way if I can look at data that explains that, it makes me feel better.

INTERVIEWER: It "explains it", so it gives you the- it gives you the why, or?

ALICE: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: What-

ALICE: Yeah it's the same way that if you're trying to work through, like, a new academic concept. And then you find an academic who's written on it and has a theory that supports your idea, you

have an idea and ideas are valid in themselves, but someone else's work supports that and you're like "Oh, ok, great. I can move on with this because it's supported by someone else's valid research."

INTERVIEWER: It's something backing you up

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: But has it ever happened to you that the opposite happens? That you wake up and you think "I've had a terrible night's sleep" and the app goes "nope, you've had a good night's-"

ALICE: -Oh, yes!

INTERVIEWER: OK

ALICE: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Well how do you feel about that?

ALICE: [Pause] I think that [pause] Well honestly I think I kind of ignore it those days. If I'm like "I'm so tired, I must have been tossing and turning all night" and then, exactly, it says "you got eight and a half hours sleep and it was mostly deep sleep" Not even like light sleep! I'm like "... Well that's bullshit!"

[C laughs]

INTERVIEWER: Oh that's really interesting, so-

ALICE: So it's like I like it when it supports- But that's most things I think, you like what supports your beliefs, you kind of ignore what doesn't. And then some days actually I think I can convince myself a little more "I'm really not AS tired as I think I am." It's like I did get eight hours sleep, so

I'm tired but I'm not... absolutely shattered. I'll be alright. So while I think "Oh that's bullshit, there's no way" I do think- I do then convince myself from that data "Ok well, maybe like I'm a little tired but must be like from the previous night or something." Still catching up. Kind of justify it.

INTERVIEWER: That's interesting. So... in terms of... If you had to say who you trusted better, yourself or the app... It sounds like you fall slightly more on the side of the app.

ALICE: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Generally

ALICE: Yes

INTERVIEWER: OK

ALICE: And I know that- So then I was actually just thinking a minute ago I wonder if I'd never had fitness trackers, how I would- how I would- I mean I think that I would operate very differently.

INTERVIEWER: can you explain that, I think that's really interesting

ALICE: In that... I potentially would trust my own feelings... like physical feelings more than I do at the moment. Cos at the moment I feel like I can... check an app to see how I'm sleeping, check an app to see how active I've been, rather than just generally thinking to myself and feeling "oh, I've been- I've had a really busy day, I've done a lot today, and felt proud of that." Instead of relying on... can I be proud, have I done ten thousand steps?

INTERVIEWER: Mm

ALICE: Cos some days I feel that I'm quite active and then I look and I've only done six thousand steps. it just depends on what I've done. Maybe I've walked somewhere I normally cycle. So while both are forms of physical activity, walking feels... a bit

INTERVIEWER: It takes longer, it's more involved I think, y'know

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: That's something

ALICE: So... Like if I- I always cycle to the gym. Cos it's on [campus location], but if I were to walk to the gym I would feel like I'd really accomplished something.

INTERVIEWER: Mm

ALICE: But at the end of the day, cycling's exercise as well, cycling- I should potentially feel proud about doing that too.

INTERVIEWER: Mm

ALICE: Um, so, yeah I think I might trust my own body...

INTERVIEWER: More if you didn't have the app

ALICE: More if I didn't have the app

INTERVIEWER: That's really interesting. In terms of the app's authority, in order for you to believe it, why do you think that is, is it because... like, is it having a number, or?

ALICE: Yes, I- Very much. As a math's teacher. I like numbers, I like data, I things that can be proven. So it's kind of providing that for daily life. Rather than an academic sense.

INTERVIEWER: And you can prove you had a bad night's sleep, to continue to use that example, because you can show that you didn't have enough REM sleep and that you were only in a light sleep for most of the night. Um, rather than- you find it harder to prove just that you feel tired?

ALICE: Yes, and I suppose there's really no reason for that. But it's the same with academic work, we feel the need to prove it with other people's theories and data. Rather than just accepting that ideas are valid, and things like that, on their own.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely. I'm really interested-

ALICE: I mean, that's a personal tendency as well

INTERVIEWER: No, no, no it's really interesting and I don't think you're alone in it at all. So, um, I'm really interested in the relationship between technology and the body. If I can ask you a couple of questions, and you don't have to answer them, we can move on and it's fine, um, but what would you say your relationship with your body is like? How connected do you feel with it?

ALICE: So... I've [Pause] I'm just trying to think, how to- how to put it into words

INTERVIEWER: 'Course. There's no rush

ALICE: I don't often think about my body. I think it's just kind of a-a vessel that gets me from point A to point B. It does what it needs to do. It's not until something's wrong with it that I usually pay attention. If I'm sick or if I've broken a bone or something like that. Obviously then it's, like, the failure of the body... that I tend to recognise before- I know some people are very in tune with their body and how they're feeling and... physically and emotionally, and I've never been one to focus on that. So... I wouldn't say that I'm terribly aware, but I... This term we did the- Was it in, um, [university course topic]-

INTERVIEWER: I thought it was [different university course topic]?

ALICE: Oh was it [different university course topic]? That we did, like, the meditation and things like that and now I've got a very physical job and things like that, and I'm training for, um, an outdoor swim so going to the gym, wearing a swimming costume, all the time, really seeing my body in different ways, I'm definitely more aware

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, and as well you're endurance training, so you must- Well, I say you must but-but- Do you listen to when your body is tired, when it's improving, y'know, that sort of thing? Do you have that kind of relationship?

ALICE: Yeah I notice it more when I'm sore, after a workout. And, oddly enough, I do trust that over an app. If I say like Oh I've not done- I didn't really swim- Maybe only a hundred metres further than I normally do but I feel sore so I think oh I really must have been working my body more. Or- Yeah, so I- If I feel it in my body, sore muscles that sort of thing, I was really working out, and I do trust my body in that instance. More than an app.

INTERVIEWER: Interesting. Do you know why you trust that particular instance more?

ALICE: Maybe it's [pause] Yeah I'm trying to think why because... Maybe the other things are daily activities, just everyday walking from point A to point B so I'm getting credit for something I shouldn't get credit for, when I check the app and I'm getting credit for walking when I would have had to walk- I needed to go to the groceries and buy toilet paper, like that's not going to change. So, it's like I'm getting credit for something in my daily activity- But when I'm working out, like, if my body can tell me you're really-Like an app can tell you how many steps, but my body can actually tell me if what I've done has physically changed me to make me a stronger person.

INTERVIEWER: That's really, really interesting. Um, does your – however you identify – does your concept of your gender and your conception of your body, are those two things related, do you think of them in tangent with each other?

ALICE: So I identify as a woman. And, I guess I'm very much aware that I have a female body. In that... More than just sex parts. Um, you know in- Because often we're told men can do things that women can't. At work, if I'm carrying cases, you know, the men often carry two cases of beer at a time and I'll carry one. And I do tell myself, um, oh it's because they're a lad, like of course. And I-I know better. As a student... intellectually I know better but society- like, societally I've just continued to somehow buy into these

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, at my work, we have to lift bird seed, we have to tell the boss our maximum weight, so the weight we can't go over

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And I put down my maximum weight and he made me go ten kilograms under that, because he was like "You- I don't feel comfortable with you carrying that weight, that's too heavy, leave that to the men"

ALICE: Oh, yes it is very much- Because I one day went to do the glass bins. So we have big rubbish bins for glass, and we have to carry those, like, out of the club to the glass recycling and dump them in. They get really, really heavy. And so I was doing them one day and-and I did- One of the guys at work said "Oh no we'll take care of that. You don't need to do that." Um, and he wasn't saying "Go do something more girly"

INTERVIEWER: No

ALICE: He just... Because I was doing the same other jobs. But something about that heavy lifting, because it is significantly heavier than you carrying cases of beer and stuff like that. That was to be left to the men

INTERVIEWER: And there's something about... Y'know, being looked after, like "Oh that's- Oh don't hurt yourself"

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: - Is something I heard quite a lot. And that was always- I was always like "No I trust how much I can lift" I didn't pick that number- I'm not trying to show off

ALICE: Yeah you weren't showing off you were picking an honest number, you wouldn't have said you couldn't carry seventy if you really couldn't've, because that-

INTERVIEWER: Exactly. And I let it go, because it was like honestly if you guys want to carry the heavy stuff

ALICE: Exactly! And that's the thing with the glasses. I thought "well it's not true that women can't but... That's fine if you want to"

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Yeah. I know exactly what you mean when it's like- when you say having a woman's body is more than just sex parts, it's- It's how your body does things, how you're body's allowed to do certain things

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And not others. Definitely. Yeah, um, does tracking and recording your body- and I mean this through the app and also your Fitbit and any other ways that you record it – Does that help you feel... more connected to your body, or less, or does it not affect it?

ALICE: I don't think I've ever thought about it as... In those terms.

INTERVIEWER: OK

ALICE: But... thinking about it now in those terms, I do think it makes me more aware of my body. Even- But in a bit of an impersonal way. Because it's, like, providing a number. It's saying "Your body has done this" rather than... Me feeling like I've done this

INTERVIEWER: Hmm

ALICE: So it's a bit of a disconnect.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, I see what you mean.

ALICE: In that, it's saying "You've done this many steps" but thinking of them as steps is different than kind of an overall experience of your body moving and getting places, and what that does to the whole body rather than just... steps.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah! Yeah, definitely. Would you say then- [phone dings]

ALICE: Sorry

INTERVIEWER: It's fine. Would you say it's a bit of a third person, a third party in- in the relationship of-

ALICE: Yes, yes, definitely. So... makes me aware but in kind of a... Yeah, a third party way

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Interesting. So it makes you feel more connected because you are more knowledgeable of your body, in a way, but that knowledge comes at a bit of a distance?

ALICE: Yeah, it's a bit of an impersonal knowledge because it is these... It's a single thing it's tracking. It's tracking how long you've slept or how many steps you've taken, but that's really not

the full experience of the body. It's a specific part of the body. Um, so... It's made me aware of an aspect of my body but not necessarily making me aware of my entire body

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, I really like that. Um, right, if we could look at these. These are taken from a step counter a little like the one you were testing. Um, before we do anything I have to say these examples weren't taken from within this participant group, your data will not be shared with anyone within the group, the only people that will see it are me and potentially my supervisors.

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: I know you guys have been sharing them anyway, but it's- it's good to say. Um, is there anything you can tell me about the people that would have recorded this data? Anything about their age, gender, job, anything [Pause] Oh, and for the sake of the recording if you could refer to them as Figure 1, Figure 2

ALICE: Yes

INTERVIEWER: Thank you

ALICE: I mean, I can say that... Like how active they are, because of the times you can kind of generally guess- Like, Figure 1 this person is very active, and they're active in the morning. Um, I would say that's probably between twelve and noon. And then... Again, in like the evening. Which does make me think that they... Quite late in the evening. So, [inaudible: mumbling to herself] My initial thought was that they were young. I don't know why. Because they didn't get up early in the morning, they got up a little later in the day, and then potentially were at work from twelve to six, but then were active in the evening. And until later than I would think an older person- I

think of older people as coming home and kind of sitting down in the evening and eating dinner, watching television, talking to their spouse

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

ALICE: Whatever. Um... Rather than going out again

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

ALICE: Then [Long pause] Figure 2 [pause] looks like, y'know they're kind of active in the middle of the day. So maybe that's at work. And they have an active job. Or, it could also be someone who's out running errands. Um, but that's quite a lot of steps to have done- They've done ten thousand seven hundred steps, essentially just between like ten and two

INTERVIEWER: Yeah!

ALICE: So...

INTERVIEWER: There are a couple of teeny tiny little ones in the evening-

ALICE: Yeah! Exactly, like, some movement, y'know, walking around... doing bits and bobs, whatever. But either they went to the gym and really smashed it for like four hours

[C laughs]

ALICE: Or they have, like, a job that their fairly active, so they get a lot of steps. Because that seems a long time to go to the gym for

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. I mean, unless you are really intense about it

ALICE: Yeah. I was going to say, because I do think sometimes- This could be... There's not an example but sometimes you could have, like, kind of generally active in the day but then one big spike and that I would say is someone going to the gym. Or something that's like an intentional-

INTERVIEWER: Purposeful exercise

ALICE: Rather than kind of like general exercise throughout the day

INTERVIEWER: Mm.

ALICE: Yeah like Figure 4, where they've done- I imagine that's me on a Sunday. Just like... hang out at home

INTERVIEWER: And it is a Sunday!

ALICE: It is a Sunday! Ah ha, maybe that's- Maybe other people...

INTERVIEWER: Mmm

ALICE: Also have lazy Sundays

INTERVIEWER: I didn't- I think it is quite common. For you know, relaxing-

ALICE: Like- Oh I would say Figure 3. That person probably went to the gym, or something. All of their steps are done within a, like, forty-five-minute period

INTERVIEWER: Mmm. Brilliant.

ALICE: I mean, these are obviously all speculations.

INTERVIEWER: No, absolutely, of course. But you said this person was probably young, did you say anything about the age of the other ones?

ALICE: [Pause] They're so general I don't think necessarily you can tell from activity.

INTERVIEWER: Mmm. Yeah that's fine

ALICE: Not always. I think sometimes you can make guesses, like that one I made a guess but... I mean, based on... what I've seen. Did I explain well enough why?

INTERVIEWER: Yes, perfectly! Yeah, yeah. And do you think you could guess any of their genders?

ALICE: No

INTERVIEWER: No. No, that's brilliant. Thank you. OK, um, is there anything that makes you feel more comfortable with your gender identity? [Pause] Anything that you do, sort of, everyday?

ALICE: [Long pause] I don't think particularly- Because I'm comfortable with it, so I think... Well I don't have, like, terribly positive or terribly negative, I just... feel

INTERVIEWER: OK, not makes you feel more comfortable but is part of that relationship... with your gender that is more of like a daily thing for you?

ALICE: [Long pause] I don't know, I don't often- I know this is kind of an odd statement for a Women's Studies student but I don't often think about my gender identity. So... It just kind of... I've just kind of accepted it as it is. Um, and so then I don't- don't think about it much. Um, and I know some people very intentionally choose what they wear or make up or their, um- and I do all of those things but with less active thought involved. If that makes sense

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely. Um, would you consider walking something that's linked to gender?

ALICE: I don't think so because I think it's one of those things that everyone has to do

INTERVIEWER: Everyone has to do, yeah

ALICE: So, you can choose different- Well... OK. As far as step counting, everyone has to walk. So, everyone's going to have steps at some point in the day. Walking to the kitchen, walking to the shops, walking to work, whatever. Anything that you do. But I think HOW people walk can very much be tied to gender. In how people carry their bodies. Especially if you think about, um,

before, like... the LGBT, like, were really accepted, um, and I would say now we're getting there but there's obviously vast improvements to be made. I mean like in the seventies, eighties, I know particularly gay men would change how they spoke and they walked as a form of being identified by other gay men without having to say it all the time. So then in that instance walking is huge. It's a safe way to tell other people your sexual preference, without having to Out yourself. And potentially be in danger- And, I mean, still be in danger, but

INTERVIEWER: In that way it's almost like a code

ALICE: Mm hm

INTERVIEWER: Other people who know will see that walk

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And know what it means, and then hopefully other people don't know what that...

ALICE: Exactly, so that's what I said, there'll still be danger in it

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

ALICE: But it's still- It's the use of something you do every day... for a very different purpose.

INTERVIEWER: So it kinda sounds like... there's an idea of walking that is just... for a purpose, getting from A to B

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Going to the shops. And you wouldn't say that that is gendered

ALICE: No

INTERVIEWER: But there are ways in which you can...

ALICE: Like women swinging their hips a little bit more, um, depending on maybe the audience and if they're trying to attract attention. Or if they're not trying to attract attention. How people hold themselves in a very confident manner or very... more kind of reserved, small steps versus the- like a swagger. But you know, like, different- You can tell a lot about a person if... you think that they're happy or upset or content based on their physical body as they're walking. But then that's different than the walking itself, it's very much...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, and obviously completely impossible to pick up on from an app

ALICE: Exactly! That's what I'm saying. It's like... the app can tell you how far you went but it's not going to tell you anything about... how you were walking

INTERVIEWER: It'll tell you that you walked five thousand steps, it's not going to tell you if you walked them in heels or if you walked them with a bit of a swagger

ALICE: Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely. Um, do you think dieting is gendered?

ALICE: I think it's definitely marketed towards women. As far as, um, like [pause] advertisement goes. Magazines and... Definitely.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think exercise is gendered?

ALICE: Ah, it depends- Yes. Because often when you see in magazines or... anything, um, even just in conversation, it seems like certain types of exercise are more acceptable for women and some types of exercise are more acceptable for men. Like, weight lifting; a very manly thing

INTERVIEWER: Yup

ALICE: Pole dancing, you don't go to a class and expect to see men in there with you. So- Or, like, Zumba dancing or something like that. Are definitely – And then you have... treadmill, something like that, that anyone can do. That doesn't seem gendered. But there are definitely certain forms of exercise that I think... Society tends to tell us are for one gender or the other.

INTERVIEWER: Mm. Do you think sleeping is gendered?

ALICE: Sleeping?

INTERVIEWER: Mm hm.

ALICE: Oh! I did read a study once that women need more sleep than men, because our brains actually usually do more than men's.

[C laughs]

INTERVIEWER: OK.

ALICE: But, like, it's the way that... And so... I'm questioning, like, how much to buy into it because I don't know a lot about neuroscience. But I- I've read some places that there's no difference and other places that there are actual differences in how the brain operates. Um, more linear patterns of thought versus more, like, branching out and things. So I- Obviously a lot of that I think is socially constructed. But neuroscience might argue... otherwise. But that women's brains, according to the study, women's brains did more during the day, and so women actually needed more sleep

INTERVIEWER: OK, to recharge all of that

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: Ohh, Ok. Right, can you think of any acts that you think of or society has constructed as being completely without gender?

ALICE: See I would have said sleep until I read that study

INTERVIEWER: Mmm.

ALICE: Um. [Pause] And I would say... walking, as in getting from Point A to Point B.

INTERVIEWER: OK.

ALICE: And... Eating? But then that's very difficult because... I think HOW we eat and what we eat is very gendered, but the necessity of eating is not

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

ALICE: But the act of eating is, I would say, very gendered

INTERVIEWER: What do you think the difference is, between the acts that we just talked about as being gendered and the act of eating which is ungendered- Interestingly you said eating isn't when dieting is so gendered. Where do you think the difference is between those two things? Why do think one is gendered and the other isn't?

ALICE: Well I- And that's where I even think eating is gendered in what we eat and how we eat. But it's – So the act itself shouldn't be gendered because it's – Everyone has to eat.

INTERVIEWER: A basic need

ALICE: The basic need is the same- But HOW we go about it is very different. Even just sitting down at a restaurant and you watch how a woman picks up her burger and how a man picks up his burger. And obviously these are generalisations, not... hard and true facts. They're not facts they're- But, we often think of women as being kind of cleaner and more careful and not chewing

with their mouth open. You know, aware of how they look when they eat. Especially on a date or something. Um... And men not so much.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, that's really interesting. What does the phrase "walk like a woman" mean to you?

ALICE: What came into my mind immediately- It's terrible – is, like, a woman wearing heels, kind of like swinging her hips a little bit when she's walking, things like that. But that's bullshit. I mean, we know that it's, um... [Pause] I lost my train of thought. But, um...

INTERVIEWER: So like a woman in heels

ALICE: Yeah, so, but then obviously walking like a woman could literally just be walking AS a woman. Like, being a woman who is walking. There is nothing-

INTERVIEWER: Do you-

ALICE: -womanly about that necessarily. But there can be.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. Do you think there's a difference between the phrase walk LIKE a woman and walk AS a woman?

ALICE: Oh, yes, I guess- Yes. So... It's- Then that's very much society saying how a woman- Like a woman is society saying how a woman SHOULD look or walk and do things. Walking as a woman is literally- Could be as simple as being a woman and walking.

INTERVIEWER: Yep. Um, do you think there's a difference between walk like a woman and walk as a human?

ALICE: [Pause] Yes because, like, as far as how society expects women to behave differently from men. I don't think we're at a point where we can make distinctions between saying everyone's

human. I mean that's the idea- We would like to all- But I don't think at this time, we can ever just say that- We can, like conceptualise that human is general, it's ungendered and all that, but in actuality... it's- it's all very gendered

INTERVIEWER: Mm, yeah

ALICE: I don't know if I explained that very clearly at all

INTERVIEWER: No, no, you really did. Um, has anything ever happened to you while walking that you feel was linked to your gender?

ALICE: [Pause] I mean, like cat calling. And things like that. Um [pause] And so... that's- Actually that is tied to walking AS a woman because I think that's not even necessarily about me and my physical appearance, it's just about men feeling that they can say what they want to anyone who walks by with boobs. Yeah, um.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, definitely. Have you ever changed how you walk or where you walk in a way you think was linked to your gender?

ALICE: Yes, when I'm walking at night or by myself I walk faster. I walk with more of a purpose, um... I- In the same way that we talk about women sitting and taking up less space, when I'm walking alone, especially at night, I try to take up less space to be less noticeable. That's obviously hard to do because you take up the same amount of space, but I think that's how I feel

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

ALICE: Rather than how I actually appear on the street. But I tend to... I don't know, just kind of get somewhere quickly. Um, and less noticeably.

INTERVIEWER: yeah

ALICE: And I don't think that men often feel like- I don't think men feel the same level of like insecurity

INTERVIEWER: No. I was talking to- Do you know the fields that's sort of like a shortcut between campus and town? The [location name] field?

ALICE: Oh yeah, yeah, yeah

INTERVIEWER: Um, I was talking to a male flatmate about how I would never, ever walk that field at night, ever

ALICE: Oh no, 'cos there's no light! None whatsoever

INTERVIEWER: No light whatsoever. And I remember as well that when my dad dropped me off at campus we sort of exploring ways to get into town and he said "under no circumstances are you allowed to walk through that field at night"

ALICE: Yeah

INTERVIEWER: And he was just like "Why? Why wouldn't you walk through it at night?" And I was like "Because there's no light!"

ALICE: Yeah!

INTERVIEWER: And he was like "No it's fine, you're not going to fall over, it's fine" and it's like that's not what I meant at all

ALICE: I'm worried because someone might grab me and then, like, no one

INTERVIEWER: Yeah. So it was very interesting, it did definitely feel like that conversation was happening two just completely

ALICE: Different

INTERVIEWER: Different worlds

ALICE: Yeah. Like how did he not get that. That's interesting you say that, one of my flatmates... refuses to walk though that field. When it's dark. But I think that it's... he's not said it explicitly, but other conversations I've had with him have indicated that- that as a queer man, it makes him feel... less secure. Walking alone. Um, more likely to be targeted. And so I wonder if that's...

INTERVIEWER: Yeah I think

ALICE: I think so

INTERVIEWER: Yeah I don't think safety planning in terms of walking is entirely a woman's-

ALICE: -Yeah that's what I was saying, it's like with everything, everything's complicated and even I've indicated in just about everything I've said when I'm saying men and women this and that, but um

INTERVIEWER: You can only

ALICE: Obviously it's all... subjective and... There's so many other factors. But yeah that's definitely...

INTERVIEWER: Mm.

ALICE: One that I've just now thought about as you were talking about your male flatmate.

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. Um, do you think walking apps like the one you've tested should be more gendered? Do you think they should try and appeal more to different genders? Or are they fine as is?

ALICE: I think it would be such bullshit if they tried to do that, the same way that they make pens for women and they just make them pink

INTERVIEWER: Yeah

ALICE: That if-if all they're able to track is literally the number of steps taken, then you don't need to gender that. I mean I think people would probably try. But I don't think there's a need to.

INTERVIEWER: Definitely. Um, and my very last question is are you planning on keeping the app or are you going to delete it off of your phone?

ALICE: Um, I probably won't delete it probably because- Well actually, I just very rarely delete thing cos I'm not worried about storage space on my phone so I just don't think about it. Like I'll have- I have like a taxi app from London

INTERVIEWER: Oh!

ALICE: Obviously, like, I'm not going to be using that

INTERVIEWER: You might!

ALICE: And like, an Underground map. But like- Cos I just think, like, "maybe I'll go back and use it" and then I won't have to redownload it

INTERVIEWER: Just in case!

ALICE: So, you know, probably keep it, but just because my phone's full of all kinds of things

[C laughs]

ALICE: I don't know how often I'll use it

INTERVIEWER: Your phone is like an archive

ALICE: It is!

INTERVIEWER: That's so cool. Um, and do you have any questions for me before we finish?

ALICE: No

INTERVIEWER: Brilliant, thank you so much!

ALICE: Yeah, thank you

Appendix 9

Lorna

INTERVIEWER: (long pause) brilliant, right so... the first... stuff... is just like an introduction of...
you as a person like-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -do you work are you a student obviously I already... know that but you-

LORNA:/yeah/

INTERVIEWER:/yeah/... um

LORNA: [inaudible] so yeah I'm I'm a student...

INTERVIEWER: brilliant

LORNA: I (long pause) um I'm studying [university course] of course

INTERVIEWER: ah excellent choice

LORNA: /[laugh]/

INTERVIEWER: /[laugh]/

LORNA: um I don't have a part time job at the moment... I have one like during the holidays but I
don't-

INTERVIEWER: oh ok

LORNA: -like work during term time... erm anything else [laugh]

INTERVIEWER: no do you live on campus

LORNA: I live like half way between town and-

INTERVIEWER: ok

LORNA: -campus

INTERVIEWER: so how do you get on to campus usually do you walk get the bus

LORNA: erm I pretty much always walk unless it's like raining heavily-

INTERVIEWER: ok

LORNA: -and then I'll get the bus but like even then I can try and stick it out [inaudible]

INTERVIEWER: yeah... what uh why do you choose walking

LORNA: ... um it's free /like [laughing]/

INTERVIEWER: /yeah [laughing]/

LORNA: I'm a I'm a sort of reasonable distance I think it take I times myself in the first week I think it takes about thirteen minutes to walk from my house-

INTERVIEWER: yeah that's pretty pretty good walk actually

LORNA: -to [university building] so yeah

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: it's like not too long but... you know

INTERVIEWER: /yeah/

LORNA: /yeah/

INTERVIEWER: do you do any walking... uh [inaudible] for fun or is it just is it just for getting from a to b sort of thing

LORNA: um like when I'm at home with my mum I'll go for walks with her but like during-

INTERVIEWER: oh that's nice

LORNA: -yeah [laugh]... during term time like not... really cos like where I live-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -I sort of live in the countryside but in [university city] obviously there's not like... a whole lot of scenic walks just from like-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: [road name] /you know/

INTERVIEWER: /yeah yeah definitely/ um... have you used self tracking apps before

LORNA: ...no this is the first time

INTERVIEWER: oh really

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: oh wow ok... um (long pause) did you like using this app

LORNA: ... like yeah actually-

INTERVIEWER: oh really

LORNA: -I found myself checking it quite a lot just because-

INTERVIEWER: ok

LORNA: -... like I've heard that you know (long pause) you're meant to do ten thousand steps a day

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: ... and I can't I couldn't really conceptualise that so when I like-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -downloaded the app I found myself checking it quite a lot and I kind of have a bit more of a measure now of like what's ten thousand steps is

INTERVIEWER: oh that's [inaudible] so-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -a couple of questions one where had you sort of heard that ten thousand steps was... the you know the goal

LORNA: ...um.. I think it was my friend's.. Mum-

INTERVIEWER: right [laugh]

LORNA: -who is kind of like... she's not... like super sporty but she'll do things like... yoga and like-

INTERVIEWER: right

LORNA: -pilates and all that occasionally go to the gym... um and I just heard from her-

INTERVIEWER: mmhmm

LORNA: -that you're supposed to ten thousand cos she had a step counting app-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -on her phone... but I think like (long pause) I've just I've heard it in like a few places-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -but I think she was the first person I heard it from

INTERVIEWER: ...and you said that before you sort of heard of this ten thousand steps but you couldn't... conceptualise it-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -as much and now... how has the app helped you to do that

LORNA: ...I kind of I know that roughly walking... from my house to campus and then (long pause) back again

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: that I know that gives me roughly sort of between (long pause) like four and five thousand steps

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: so that's kind of given me a bit more of an idea of about (long pause) the distance... so I'm kinda like you know if I (long pause) walk from... home to campus and back and then home to town walk round town a bit more and walk back that's-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -that's around ten thousand steps

INTERVIEWER: mm... has that changed the journey for you at all cos you previously said that you timed it and you knew it was thirteen minutes and now you know it's about four thousand steps-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -has that... does that change how you think of the journey at all

LORNA: ...um (long pause) not really no-

INTERVIEWER: oh

LORNA: -I kind of think about it just in terms of... cos part of me wants to do ten thousand steps a day now now that I-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -I'm counting it so I kind of think of it in terms of like... oh if I walk instead of getting the bus-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -that will kind of be like (long pause) a click a getting closer to the goal

INTERVIEWER: yeah... that's really interesting and you saw it as a goal that you wanted to reach

LORNA: yeah and like... I have kind of heard that like... ten thousand is a random number that they've just picked cos it's not much science behind it or at least-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -that's my understanding (long pause) but just kind of like knowing about it made me kind of think like well I should probably be doing that cos I don't really exercise much

INTERVIEWER: right

LORNA: like I'll occasionally go to... aerobics society

INTERVIEWER: oh right /laugh/

LORNA: /laugh/ I don't really like it that much so-

INTERVIEWER: ohh

LORNA: -I'm not like a huge kind of working out sort of person so I kind of-

INTERVIEWER: oh

LORNA: -feel that if I do ten thousand steps a day (long pause) that kind of makes up for my like
lack of-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -doing proper exercise [laugh] just a little bit

INTERVIEWER: ohh I see so... walking... that walking as exercise is quite important to you

LORNA: yeah just like (long pause) if I (long pause) like... did aerobics class that day I'd kind of like
go a bit more easy on myself in terms of-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -step count

INTERVIEWER: yeah yeah yeah

LORNA: ...but... yeah... like I try to walk quite briskly so it's like... um (long pause) I'm not gonna
like call it cardio but-

INTERVIEWER: [laugh]

LORNA: -just cos I'm like that's a bit of an exaggeration but like-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -if you go a bit faster and you get a bit slightly out of breath so then-

INTERVIEWER: yeah if it gets your heart rate up yeah

LORNA: -yeah exactly... I feel a bit healthier if I do that

INTERVIEWER: ohh brilliant and that's a positive feeling obviously

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: ...uh you said you checked it quite a lot how frequently would you say that you checked it

LORNA: ...like (long pause) two or three times a day

INTERVIEWER: wow

LORNA: [laugh] yeah like... just sort of... it would sometimes just be in the library when I was like procrastinating but um (long pause) sort of when I've spoken to like other people doing... your um study-

INTERVIEWER: oh yeah

LORNA: -like we've been like comparing /[laugh]/-

INTERVIEWER: /[laugh]/ oh

LORNA: -and stuff just kinda be like oh [inaudible]

INTERVIEWER: I I found that so interesting because a lot of apps that are... that have that like social element to it and I find it just really interesting that you guys were immediately doing like the comparison [inaudible]

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: so yeah... oh well that's great... um did is there anything you didn't like about the app

LORNA: um (long pause) there wasn't really anything like I majorly disliked I don't... think um (long pause) [cough] I'd like try to put my weight in but I don't know actually how much I weigh-

INTERVIEWER: oh [inaudible]

LORNA: -so I'd like try and guess-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -but then I was like (long pause) that's not really something I wanna get like super bogged down in

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: so

INTERVIEWER: yeah definitely... um did you... get the impression that this app was aimed at anyone in particular

LORNA: ...um... yeah I kinda felt like it was probably more... aimed at women... just because like-

INTERVIEWER: oh really

LORNA: -when I was sort of... flicking through it there was that page about um... like you can do those little exercises-

INTERVIEWER: mmhmm

LORNA: -and there were a picture of like a woman in sports gear for that

INTERVIEWER: right I see

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: so just like the imagery that it uses sort of thing /ok/

LORNA: /yeah/

INTERVIEWER: um... what do you think the purpose of these sort of apps are like the app your using there's obviously a million others like it-

LORNA: mm

INTERVIEWER: -what do you think (long pause) why do you think there are so many out there why what do you think the purpose of them is really

LORNA: I think... it's (long pause) probably to do with like (long pause) health but then like by extension-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -weight management and stuff-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -just because there is like function to put in your weight and stuff and there's sort of... stuff about calories on it (long pause) and there's things like that and I think just... if you were the kind of person who wants to like... lose weight but (long pause) you you're not necessarily kind of like (long pause) you know you get people who do like the full on kind of like (long pause) I'm gonna lose 50 pounds-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -I'm gonna go to the gym every day I'm gonna eat healthy every day like no carbs-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -I think it's a bit more casual than that

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: just in terms of like (long pause) you can track how many calories you went through walking and stuff and there are kind of like (long pause) ah just do this quick one hundred calorie workout and stuff-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -so I've just kind of like assumed that it's sort of aimed at... maybe like young women who-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -... are like concerned about their weight but not... sort of like (long pause) overly /concerned/

INTERVIEWER: /yeah/

LORNA: sort of thing-

INTERVIEWER: and busy women as well

LORNA: yeah... I would've thought /so/

INTERVIEWER: /yeah/... alright... um right now it's time to look at some of your data from the /past week/

LORNA: /ok/

INTERVIEWER: um... you can pick any week... that you want um... any week that you're proud of or week that you didn't do a lot of walking it's up to you-

LORNA: ok

INTERVIEWER: -um... and we're just sort of gonna like... talk about it so-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -um how was this week... for you

LORNA: um... so... yeah this is my um (long pause)

INTERVIEWER: oh wow

LORNA: [inaudible] so... tuesday and thursday are like kinda... six thousand and that was like campus and back [laugh]

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: and um (long pause) yeah they're days when everyone's super active but then obviously I have days where I've done all my sixteen thousand-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -um-

INTERVIEWER: do you remember what you were doing those days

LORNA: ... I think on wednesday (long pause) yeah wednesday I did do something... wednesday was national women's day right

INTERVIEWER: uh oh /right/

LORNA: /ok/ so yeah I remember I walked in... I think I had gone for... possibly to campus (long pause) and then walked into town to go to a talk that was on

INTERVIEWER: right

LORNA: and then I walked slike back to campus again to... go to aerobics that night so... that was like a really active day for /me/

INTERVIEWER: /yeah/

LORNA: doing aerobics and that... um it's just that I wasn't sort of trying to be active it was just I had a lot on-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -that day-

INTERVIEWER: yeah definitely

LORNA: -and I ended up just walking a lot I guess

INTERVIEWER: and you said that on wednesday you also went to aerobics and that is obviously... not gonna be picked up by the app I assume-

LORNA: yeah no

INTERVIEWER: -so-

LORNA: I wasn't holding my phone or anything

INTERVIEWER: does that (long pause) affect how you see the data cos obviously it still looks like a great day for you in terms of activity but you-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -know that you did even more activity on that day

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: so is that... how do you feel about that

LORNA: um... like I sort of I do feel good about myself when I'm healthier obviously

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: um (long pause) yeah so like (long pause) compared to like the days where I only did like six thousand like... I would rather be doing as much activity because... not only is it kind of like...

I know-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -I've been healthy but also there's like the kind of element of like... that your body kind of feels more... you know like it's been used and like-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -your... like you get that kind of good exercise feeling

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: so... yeah I prefer my days where it's kind of like (long pause) not necessarily like fifteen thousand-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -but sort of around ten thousand like... you kind of prefer those days I guess

INTERVIEWER: yeah... and I think there's definitely a feeling that you get after you've exercised like you say your body feels like it's being used and you just feel (long pause) that (long pause) yeah you feel like you've exercised you've done-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: good for yourself... but then it's it's weird because you can also look back and go oh that was... a good-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -exercise day... you know (long pause) definitely... um (long pause) have you... looked at... the your data from the past week like this before (long pause) or do you just sort of check it day to day

LORNA: um I'll occasionally like go on the graph-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -just to sort of (long pause) like have a look but like kind of the main thing I focus on is how many have I done today

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: I think I mostly look at (long pause) friends thing just to kind of like take screenshots... or occasionally be like (long pause) I've been like high activity but-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -it's not like the main focus of the app for me

INTERVIEWER: yeah... do you think it's a good habit to check... in with these kind of apps frequently

LORNA: I think it depends like how much you're invested in it like I think if you were like obsessed that's probably not the healthiest thing-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -that uh um I think that if you're just trying to like monitor (long pause) how active you've been and then kind of like adjust your lifestyle to it I don't think there's anything wrong with that

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: I don't... yeah I think it just is the level with which-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -you're involved in it

INTERVIEWER: everything in moderation

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: um... there is term called... invisible data... which... I can describe as this idea that there is information that our bodies are (long pause) relaying to us that we can't see without technology-

LORNA: mm

INTERVIEWER: -which is the idea of for example without this step counter you could nev there is no way... that you as a normal human could know how many steps you've taken that day so-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -there is information and... yea other things that a self tracking apps can... now record like... breathing heart rate sleep /patterns/-

LORNA: /yeah/

INTERVIEWER: -they're all these things that we just can't... register on a human level but we can with technology people call that invisible data

LORNA: ok

INTERVIEWER: do you... what do you think of that term... invisible data do you agree (long pause) with that (long pause) concepts

LORNA: um (long pause) I guess yeah (long pause) like (long pause) I suppose it's a good way to describe it because (long pause) yeah like you say breathing is a good example-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -you kind of wouldn't ever (long pause) like record your own (long pause) breathing would you-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -and I suppose like technically (long pause) if you were... you know gonna be like really hard on yourself you could sort of count your own steps

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: ...but... oh my god /[laugh]/

INTERVIEWER: /[laugh]/

LORNA: it's you wouldn't want to would you-

INTERVIEWER: no

LORNA: -so (long pause) especially if you were doing like fifteen thousand /[laugh]/

INTERVIEWER: /[laugh]/ oh my god... imagine if you lost count [laugh]

LORNA: oh my god (long pause) but that's the thing that's another thing like you would... I'm sure like you would like stand up just to go to the loo or something-

INTERVIEWER: oh yeah

LORNA: -and be like shit I didn't count

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: so yeah (long pause)

INTERVIEWER: so /there is/-

LORNA: /pretty interesting/

INTERVIEWER: -there is a role... of technology that allows us to (long pause) see that invisible data for want of a better word

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: mm ok (long pause) did the data ever disagree with your own experience as in (long pause) I I use self tracking apps and there's definitely days where I feel like I've been really active and then I've checked the step count and I've gone no way I've done more than that

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: or the opposite way around where I don't feel I've moved a lot and then (long pause) it's recorded more steps then (long pause) I thought it did did that ever happen with you or did it (long pause)-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -line up

LORNA: um when I first started using it and I found out the sort of (long pause) s going to campus and back was six thousand

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: um I was kind of thinking (long pause) aw I thought like (long pause) it would be more than that-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -cos just like I said I didn't know how to conceptualise it (long pause) and I've had days where I've hit ten thousand (long pause) when literally what I've done is like gone to uni in the morning and gone to the library walked home... then gone to town and just kind of walked around shopping

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: and bec I guessed just cos I don't feel that (long pause) you know you're shopping walk is not kind of like-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -active and I've got home and I've been like oh wow I've like hit ten thousand

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: like things like that have surprised me-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -like yeah

INTERVIEWER: I really like that your shopping walk is not like exercise /like yeah/

LORNA: /yeah/

INTERVIEWER: yeah no I completely agree with you you don't it it doesn't (long pause) register in the same way in your head yeah

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: alright um (long pause) I wanna move on to to sort of talking about technology and the body... with all of these questions... with anything you don't wanna answer... just tell me and we'll move on there's nothing there's literally no problem

LORNA: ok no problem

INTERVIEWER: um... sort of... could you just describe... your relationship with your body how (long pause) you know don't have to go into any detail but do you feel connected to your body is it... you know (long pause) anything

LORNA: um (long pause) I have like... a bit of a weird relationship with it cos I feel like I'm not sort of like super connected to it

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: I don't really know how to describe it (long pause) like (long pause) yeah I don't know

INTERVIEWER: you you say you don't feel super connected to it

LORNA: yeah like I ki (long pause) part of me is like (long pause) you know my mind and my body are like the same thing I kind of-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -don't really think of my body (long pause) so much as like (long pause) I don't know that is quite a tough question

INTERVIEWER: yeah I I it's a it's a it's a big question as well to throw in but you saying your mind and your body are the same thing to you

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: ok

LORNA: although s to be fair though sometimes I kind of feel like I wish I could like have a different body and stuff

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: you know like (long pause)

INTERVIEWER: yeah we've all been there

LORNA: yeah the this is like the one I'm in and I can't get out of

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: obviously

INTERVIEWER: um (long pause) go on were you going to say something

LORNA: no

INTERVIEWER: sorry... do you think your gender is connected to your body how you conceptualise the both of those

LORNA: yeah like (long pause) definitely like I think if I wasn't a woman I would be a lot less critical of my own body

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: I think like (long pause) just... you know you get kind of bombarded with how our bodies should be and stuff and I think... like... that's (long pause) very gendered not to say that obviously you know (long pause) you don't... have men who... are really concerned about their own body of course-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -I think that just like when you're like a woman... you do end up sort of well in my experience anyway [laugh] you do end up getting very well very fixated on your body and stuff (long pause) and like I've had times in the past where I've thought of like oh I wish I could just be a man so I didn't have to worry about this sort of thing if I was a man I could just like... eat that extra thing and like not worry about it but

INTERVIEWER: one hundred percent yeah (long pause) um did tracking and recording your body sort of change (long pause) your relationship with your body at all does it did it make you feel (long pause) more connected... with you body knowing how many steps you were taking or (long pause) less or not at didn't make a difference

LORNA: I don't really feel like it made that much of a difference to be honest

INTERVIEWER: oh fair enough

LORNA: no

INTERVIEWER: alright so we're gonna look at some (long pause) vignettes of... stuff from a self tracking app (long pause) a lot like the one you were using

LORNA: mm yeah

INTERVIEWER: and... I just (long pause) first of all have to say... that... these examples weren't taken from uh within this participant group your data will not be shared with with anyone within the group-

LORNA: ok

INTERVIEWER: -the only people to see your data will be me and potentially my supervisors just to let you know

LORNA: ok

INTERVIEWER: um ok is there anything... in the broader sense you can tell me about the (long pause) about this data about the people who would've recorded it their age their job their gender (long pause) you know (long pause) anything about them... just from looking at this the data

LORNA: uh um (long pause) well I just kind of think this person would be like [laugh] really active

INTERVIEWER: yeah that's oh could you sorry could you refer to them as figure one and not just-

LORNA: oh sorry

INTERVIEWER: -just for the recording sorry

LORNA: yeah no problem figure one (long pause) I feel like they'd be someone who's really active they moved a lot sort of (long pause) in the morning-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -then... again in the evening

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: like (long pause) pretty late (long pause) and they burnt a lot of calories obviously

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: I don't I don't know it's hard to say what kind of job they do because they've that weird period where they don't really do anything

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: maybe they were like going out partying or something

INTERVIEWER: /[laugh]/

LORNA: /[laugh]/ I don't know (long pause) figure four kind of like (long pause) makes me think of (long pause) someone who's got like an office job that they like-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -drive to... and then... just sit down all day

INTERVIEWER: yeah just at a desk

LORNA: yeah... makes me a bit depressed looking at that cos like I felt that if I was that inactive I'd just kind of be like (long pause) I'd feel a bit guilty

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: but

INTERVIEWER: why do why would you feel guilty though

LORNA: just cos like (long pause) I'm not doing (long pause) any like moving around (long pause) I mean obviously they could've (long pause) done something like (long pause) done a sport... like (long pause) and they've not had their phone for some reason-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: can't recorded it but like... I don't like the idea of kind of like having such a kind of stationary lifestyle because I think I'd feel a bit like restless

INTERVIEWER: yeah (long pause) definitely

LORNA: figure 2 is pretty similar to mine I think

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: like in terms of my averages (long pause) um (long pause) yeah there's this pretty consistent period around (long pause) the middle

INTERVIEWER: yeah that's true

LORNA: I couldn't like work out what they do from that though

INTERVIEWER: no

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: no no that's really really great um (long pause) anything else or are you ready to move on

LORNA: um (long pause) no I'd say that's like (long pause) that's most of my thoughts [laugh]

INTERVIEWER: yeah yeah

LORNA: -it's hard to like tell from the data like-

INTERVIEWER: no that's that's part of the point to be able to see

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: so yeah (long pause) alright (long pause) is there anything that you do that helps to make you feel more comfortable with your gender

LORNA: um (long pause) yeah like I guess (long pause) I sort of tried to have like... an appropriate level of like femininity

INTERVIEWER: oo appropriate level

LORNA: [laugh] yeah like I feel sort of I'm quite (long pause) I'm feminine but not like girly-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -if that makes sense

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: you know like... I have long hair and I wear makeup (long pause) and like I'll tend to kind of wear um... dresses and stuff but I.. sort of don't try to be like (long pause) wearing loads of pink or like bright colours

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: and sort of like overly cutesy

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: because like (long pause) yeah I feel kind of if I didn't (long pause) wear (long pause) makeup that's kind of like one of those things that I would kind of feel a bit like (long pause) I'd feel like a slob like I don't think people who don't wear makeup are slobs that's just kind of like-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -I don't feel one hundred percent clean because like I guess it's part of like my (long pause) waking up brushing my teeth washing my face kind of routine

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: so like because it's so incorporated into (long pause)-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -washing it feels like (long pause) hygiene thing and I know it isn't

INTERVIEWER: no that's really interesting-

LORNA: but [laugh] yeah

INTERVIEWER: but it's part of your routine it's part of your everyday it's something you do and it makes you feel more feminine but not girly

LORNA: yeah like... I I don't (long pause) wear like loads of makeup it's kind of like my face and kind of like-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: foundation bit of lipstick bit of eye makeup

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: and it's... yeah it's kind of like my standard I won't wear like loads of... eyeshadow or like really bright red lipstick or anything (long pause) um (long pause) it's just to kind of like (long pause) not kind of like be like really decorative but like kind of like (long pause) raise my level of beauty from kind of like (long pause) you know what I mean-

INTERVIEWER: yeah I know what you mean

LORNA: -instead of being like bare faced I'm kind of like uping (long pause)-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -like my attractiveness a little (long pause) just

INTERVIEWER: yeah make yourself feel better

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: and your eyeliner is always amazing

LORNA: oh my god thank you /[laugh]/

INTERVIEWER: /[laugh]/ yeah very impressive and every single day yeah

LORNA: [laugh]

INTERVIEWER: very impressive (long pause) um would you consider walking to be something that's linked to gender (long pause) in the same way as makeup and

LORNA: ...um (long pause) kind of like yes and no I suppose

INTERVIEWER: ok

LORNA: cos (long pause) I feel like if you're kind of gonna talk about walking as an exercise-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -I feel like it's more of feminine thing... like (long pause) if you know sort of when people are like ill or in hospital or something and then like they're allowed to like gentle exercise-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -walking or like swimming and stuff I feel like (long pause) because it's not like... macho-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: it's kind of it's more of a feminine exercise than (long pause) say if you were going to gym or doing like boxing... all things like that they're obviously more kind of like seen as more manly-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -but if you're not looking at it as an activity... like as in like a sports thing and just kind of like seeing it as... like a function

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: (long pause) then (long pause) I'm not I feel like less certain then that is gendered

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: just compared to like (long pause) compared to like if you had a car (long pause) I feel like maybe that's like slightly more manly but /it's/-

INTERVIEWER: /mm/

LORNA: -not something that's like super (long pause) overtly more manly-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -or like no one would be like oh you're such a pussy for walking /instead of driving/

INTERVIEWER: /[laugh]/ no-

LORNA: but it I think just (long pause) yeah it's like (long pause) just very slight-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -if you're just looking at it in terms of like a function I guess

INTERVIEWER: mm... no that's really interesting um (long pause) do you think dieting is gendered

LORNA: oh definitely

INTERVIEWER: um do you think exercises is gendered

LORNA: ...um I think like the types of exercise... are like definitely gendered

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: because like if you sort of (long pause) like I'll occasionally go on youtube and just like do a work out of that like just sort of five ten minutes-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -in the morning (long pause) and sort of... what I've found is kind of like if you're doing (long pause) like... a woman exercise on youtube-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -it's kind of like oh like oh don't worry you're not gonna get like bulky muscles-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -you're just gonna get thin tones and then when it's like kind of like if I see a man in the thumbnail I'm not gonna click on it because I'm kind of like (long pause) this is gonna be one that's like aimed at... gaining really like-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -buff and things like that

INTERVIEWER: yeah there's male exercise which is tends to be building muscle-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: -and then there's female exercise which tends to be... burning fats

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: definitely

LORNA: yeah that's something I've definitely seen

INTERVIEWER: um do you think sleeping is gendered

LORNA: oo (long pause) I feel like there's a kind of the concept of like beauty sleep

INTERVIEWER: oo

LORNA: but uh [laugh] yeah sort of women will kind of um (long pause) possibly slightly more aware of like... oh I want to go to bed earlier so I don't have like eye bags

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: I don't think it's got like (long pause) the biggest impact cos I think if you're like the kind of person who likes to stay up late-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -that's not gonna get... in the way of like-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -the thought of (long pause) looking shit the next day (long pause) um (long pause) I don't know I feel like if... you were a man and you sort of said to your (long pause) like friends oh I gotta get an early night tonight-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -I think things like that they'd kind of... they might tease ya a bit but I I don't know

INTERVIEWER: no

LORNA: I don't think that they're the like seen that happen but I feel like that happens possibly at night-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -I don't know

INTERVIEWER: but... do you think there are (long pause) different... degrees to which those acts that we talked about are gendered like... the dieting you were like oh definitely

LORNA: yeah [laugh]

INTERVIEWER: and then exercise there was you said some really interesting stuff about how that's gendered... and then sleeping it was more of like a (long pause) yeah I guess with you know beauty sleep and stuff so there's like (long pause) it's almost like (long pause) different degrees to which acts can be gendered

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: why do you think that... is

LORNA: ah

INTERVIEWER: just in in your own words you know

LORNA: (long pause) like just because of like (long pause) constructs of like femininity and masculinity like there are some acts that are like inherently more like (long pause) I don't know I want to say peaceful but when I'm thinking of sleep-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -you don't really think of sleep as like manly cos it's not like... /[inaudible]/

INTERVIEWER: /mm/

LORNA: kind of lame (long pause) um... and then (long pause) the things like dieting... I guess that's like (long pause) you know obviously there's like more (long pause) pressure on women to like-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -be thin and be beautiful and things like that (long pause) and I guess perhaps with exercise as well (long pause) it's kind of also about the beauty standards but-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -because.., like I say I feel... exercise is gendered sort of within itself

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: like the beauty standards are like different obviously for men and getting bulky and getting lean

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: um (long pause) yeah I guess it comes back to kind of like... reinforcing like the image of femininity and masculinity perhaps

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: definitely

LORNA: [laugh]

INTERVIEWER: um (long pause) what does the phrase walk like a woman... mean to you (long pause) do you like it do you dislike it

LORNA: I don't know

INTERVIEWER: does it conjure any images for you

LORNA: I guess like it depends on context cos if I like saw (long pause) the phrase like walk like a woman-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -and like accompanied by like a picture of like... a woman in like high heels kind of like... I kind of like be like aw fuck off with that

INTERVIEWER: [laugh]

LORNA: kind of like fake empowerment kind of-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -thing that seems to be like kind of like used to sell products a lot of these days

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: but if it was something like (long pause) if I saw a like woman kind of like (long pause) walking confidently or like...

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: if it had like something to do with (long pause) woman like action being empowered
/[laugh]/

INTERVIEWER: /yeah [laugh]/

LORNA: that would kind of like the... look and feel empowered kind of thing-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -then like I'd be a bit more (long pause) yeah (long pause) cos it it reminds me of like that... this girl can

INTERVIEWER: ok

LORNA: like you know the um (long pause) where you like get pictures of like girls doing like sports and stuff and it's like... this girl can

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: it's kind of like (long pause) yeah I feel like walk like a woman can either be kind of like reinforcing (long pause) the whole thing of like (long pause) walk in this feminine way or it could be (long pause) like (long pause) be proud of yourself-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -woman kind of thing-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -like I think it's (long pause) it's quite contextual.. the phrase

INTERVIEWER: mm yeah cool

LORNA: yeah I don't really know

INTERVIEWER: do you think there's a difference between the phrase walk like a woman and walk as a woman

LORNA: oo (long pause) yeah (long pause) I feel like I'd have to think about that a bit more-

INTERVIEWER: yeah I know-

LORNA: yeah

INTERVIEWER: I mean to be honest with you you can take (long pause) don't ah it feels weird cos it's an interview and you feel like you need to answer immediately but... we can come back to it or you can just think about it if you like

LORNA: I think like my immediately (long pause) my immediate thoughts are kind of like walk as a woman (long pause) I don't know it feels maybe like more like (long pause) I don't know there's a tough one they definitely feel different though-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -but it's hard to put it into words

INTERVIEWER: (long pause) h how what (long pause) what was your immediate reaction you say they felt different how do they feel... different (long pause) was there a ca did you feel different reactions to both of them

LORNA: yeah (long pause) like walk like a woman kind of at first felt a bit like (long pause) you have to be like this

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: and then sort of walk as a woman also kind of felt you have to be like the woman (long pause) but (long pause) I don't know

INTERVIEWER: no that's fine... um n (long pause) kind of on a similar vein though... do you think there's a difference between walking... like or as a woman... and walking as a human

LORNA: (long pause) yeah (long pause) just like in the sense that (long pause) you know... women is kind of like... the other so

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: it's it kind of (long pause) feels like (long pause) you know walking is like the norm and then walking as a woman is sort of like... the other

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: kind of... thing (long pause) yeah

INTERVIEWER: so walking as a human... just... it sounds like you're saying that's just the standard walking you know and (long pause) walking like a woman there's expectations on (long pause) how you're walking

LORNA: I feel like walking as a human it kind of like implying (long pause) walking as a man in a way

INTERVIEWER: ok

LORNA: you know like if you're putting the two phrases next to each other

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: I know that like walking like as a human could be like... seen as non gendered

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: but (long pause) when they're next to each other in particular (long pause) it kind of feels like (long pause) walking as a man (long pause) no sorry walking as a human is kind of-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -talking about men I think if you said (long pause) walking as a human then walking as a man (long pause) they would kind of feel more similar

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: just because of like you know the whole thing of like woman and race

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: the other

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: kind of men I guess

INTERVIEWER: that's really really interesting

LORNA: [laugh]

INTERVIEWER: so that's great... um... has anything ever happened to you while you were walking... any kind of that you feel like was linked to your gender in any way

LORNA: yeah like I've been catcalled a couple of times

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: and like I feel like compared to my friends I've been extremely lucky

INTERVIEWER: oh

LORNA: and like compared to my mum at my age

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: she's like told me a lot things that have happened to her that (long pause) really unpleasant

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: and I just... I feel like (long pause) pretty grateful cos like sometimes I hear my friends' stories and I'm just like... oh my god that that's happened to me but like... but like-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -at such a lower level and not that shit

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: so like (long pause) I have... recent example I can think of well it's not that recent it was like last year (long pause) but I was walking... home at night and I was like walking with a male friend... and like he had to go down one road and I was going down another and literally just as we parted

INTERVIEWER: [laugh]

LORNA: these guys pulled up to me in a car and like offered me a ride... and like I just (long pause) a bit drunk sort of shouted like no /[laugh]/

INTERVIEWER: /[laugh]/

LORNA: and like my male friend was like still in ear shot... and like he was just texting me after saying oh my god what a bunch of like fucking idiots

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: and he kind of made the joke like they were in a smart car which I mean had two seats in /[laugh]/

INTERVIEWER: /[laugh]/

LORNA: um yeah like they wouldn't of done that to me if I was a man like they-

INTERVIEWER: no

LORNA: -wouldn't have wanted to offer a strange man a ride

INTERVIEWER: no

LORNA: so

INTERVIEWER: I mean literally you and your friend split ways and then they were like right we'll pick that one /[laugh]/

LORNA: /[laugh]/ yeah

INTERVIEWER: definitely... um have you ever changed how you walk or where you walk... in ways that links to gender

LORNA: yeah like... um (long pause) if I walk home at night... I'll sort of like... try to do it with a friend

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: or like get the bus because sort of (long pause) I am like walking distance from town but there's kind of like (long pause) a slightly more kind of (long pause) I don't feel like it's an unsafe area-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -but there's fewer people

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: and it's kind of more residential so I felt (long pause) I'd prefer not to walk through there alone at night

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: like sometimes I do it anyway just cos like... I don't wanna have to pay the bus-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: -I kind of tell myself (long pause) [city]'s a really safe city you'll probably be fine... but yeah like there are certain places that (long pause) I wouldn't want to walk alone at night

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: and s I'll sort of like I'll try walk quickly if I'm drunk I'll kind of like try to sort of stand up straight like... walk in a straight line just sort of look more sober-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -kind of thing (long pause) um (long pause) I've never sort of like felt super in danger

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: like in [city]... um (long pause) but I'm just kind of like aware that it only takes one time for something bad to happen

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: and like bad things happen like even in the safest places

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: and I don't... like think it's (long pause) likely to happen (long pause) but it's not impossible so-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -you still have to be careful

INTERVIEWER: yeah... plan for the... plan for the worst and-

LORNA: essentially yeah

INTERVIEWER: -that's a bit depressing... but um... do you think walking apps like the one you tested... should incorporate more (long pause) gendered features

LORNA: ...um... I feel like not necessarily

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: because (long pause) I mean like if that's their target audience then like whatever... but if it's to do with kind of like safety and that stuff... I kind of don't necessarily want to be reminded of it all the time kind of like-

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: (long pause) cos when I went to on my year abroad... we got told about this app... you could download-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -and it would have sort of like a lot of major cities across the world and you... click on the one you were in and it would tell you like the safest areas give you like (long pause) advice on about-

INTERVIEWER: wow

LORNA: -where not to go at night and stuff so if I wanted advice about safety... I would-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -use something like that

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: when it's just the walking app and just kind of like (long pause) I do kind of only want this for walking

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: you know

INTERVIEWER: yeah-

LORNA: so I don't... if it had some like notification coming up saying... oh it's a bit late here's like a taxi number or something-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -but like here's like a police station (long pause) I would just kind of be like... uncomfortable do I need to feel I'm unsafe here

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: feel like some some of my research I was reading about um (long pause) there's some evidence to suggest that changing your behaviour can actually make you feel more... scared... and like obvs obviously sometimes it's appropriate

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: (long pause) um... but... I feel like if it was constantly coming up saying things-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -like about safety I would just (long pause) it'd make me think like oh so do I need to take like extra steps to be safe-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -now

INTERVIEWER: yeah definitely

LORNA: but yeah

INTERVIEWER: um... any aspects that could be added to app... that... are to do with gender but not to do with the safety... aspect do you think that that would be appropriate

LORNA: ...um (long pause) huh I don't know not necessarily cos like (long pause) it in kind of comes with expectations

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: so I feel as if kind of like (long pause) for like the work out section which I've not like sort of looked through fully-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: if that was separated into like male and female work outs that would kind of just be like (long pause) a bit pissed off with that

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: just cos kind of like (long pause) I don't want to like have sort of the male kind of like muscular physique-

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: -or anything... but if it kind of already decided for me...

INTERVIEWER: mm

LORNA: here's the exercises that are gonna slim you down...

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: I would kind of be like (long pause) again like (long pause) don't tell me that like that's something I should want

INTERVIEWER: yeah

LORNA: sort of... yeah

INTERVIEWER: definitely (long pause) alright the... um... very last question is... are you planning on keeping the app (long pause) on your phone or are you gonna... get rid of it

LORNA: I think I'm definitely gonna keep it a little longer actually

INTERVIEWER: oh that's interesting-

LORNA: I just feel like it's the kind of thing I would sort of keep checking (long pause) for a little while and eventually I'll check it less and less-

INTERVIEWER: [laugh]

LORNA: -and it'll kind of like... I'll come across it in about two months and be like (long pause) oh that's taken up room better get rid of it

INTERVIEWER: yeah yeah yeah

LORNA: I'm yeah I think I'll keep it like (long pause) a bit longer

INTERVIEWER: oh that's-

LORNA: but just /yeah/

INTERVIEWER: /yeah/ ok right... uh... do you... have... any questions or comments you want to make (long pause) for me

LORNA: no no don't think so

INTERVIEWER: brilliant

LORNA: [laugh]

INTERVIEWER: that's great... thank you so much-

LORNA: yeah no problem

INTERVIEWER: -for doing this

LORNA: not at all

Appendix 10

Call for Participants

CALL FOR PARTICIPANTS

clt542@york.ac.uk

Tracking Gender: Women's Use of Self-Tracking Mobile Apps

My name is Charlotte Tose. I am studying for an MA in Women's Studies by Research for my postgraduate degree

The Research

This study seeks to examine if self-tracking apps can be used as tools in the understanding of gender as it is experienced and acted in women's everyday lives. The research will explore whether gender affects all personal activities of an individual, or whether there are certain activities where it is reductive to say they are defined by someone's gender.



Participants will test a self-tracking step-counting app for **1 month**, followed by an **interview** to discuss your experiences. The app will be downloaded onto your phone during a lead session, after which it will run in the background for the duration of the month. You can interact with the app as much or as little as you prefer.

Participants

Requirements: Identify as a woman, and own either an iPhone or Android smartphone. 18+ only.

If you're interested or have any questions, please email me at clt542@york.ac.uk. If you want to join the study I can email you to arrange setting up the app, which will preferably be done in a group depending on people's schedules, and during which I can answer any further questions on the app or the research.

This research is not funded. I can offer my sincere gratitude and a coffee to any participants.

This study has been approved by the University of York Centre for Women's Studies ethics committee.

Appendix 11

Vignettes

Figure 1:



Figure 2:



Figure 3:



Figure 4:



Appendix 12

Information for Participants

Information for Participants

Who am I?

My name is Charlotte Tose and I am a Masters researcher based at the Centre of Women's Studies at the University of York. Below are contact details for myself, my supervisors, and my Head of Department should you have any queries or concerns about this project.

My email address: clt542@york.ac.uk

My supervisors are Dr Ann Kaloski-Naylor and Dr Trev Broughton, their email addresses are ann.kaloski-naylor@york.ac.uk and trev.broughton@york.ac.uk

My Head of Department is Prof. Victoria Robinson and her email address is vicki.robinson@york.ac.uk

The Chair of the Economics, Law, Management, Politics, and Sociology Ethics Committee is Tony Royle and his email is tony.royle@york.ac.uk

What is the research about?

In *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir said "Surely a woman is, like man, a human being, but such a declaration is abstract. The fact is that every concrete human being is always in a specific situation." (2010, p4). This research examines the categories of "woman" and "human"; where the two align and what differentiates them in the everyday experiences of the body. Through the example of walking, an act which is not often considered constructive to a person's gender identity, I want to explore whether there is a feminine element that affects all personal activities of an individual when they identify as female, or whether there are certain activities where it is reductive to say they are defined by someone's gender. To examine the act of walking in greater detail, I will be asking you to record your walking for one month using an app called ___ which will record how many steps you take, how far you walk, and how long you have walked every day. This method of archiving your activity may be familiar to you, or not at all, and you may have different opinions on how the data represents you in your everyday life. I will be asking you about your experiences in an interview after the month, and we will discuss the data compiled by the app during that time as well as your thoughts. Step counters and smart phone apps are becoming increasingly popular to measure health and fitness, but I want to know if they can also be tools in the understanding of gender as it is experienced and acted in everyday lives.

What is involved for you?

For one month, a self-tracking pedometer app downloaded to your phone will record your daily walks, including data on your step counts, distance walked, and calories burned.

At the beginning of the month, a session will be arranged in which the app will be downloaded onto your phones, and I will explain how to use it. Any questions you have about the app, please feel free to ask either at the session or any time afterwards via my secure email (see top of document). This session will be arranged to best suit people's schedules, and multiple sessions may be arranged. These sessions will be arranged via email with available dates.

During the month, the app will run in the background on your phone. It does not require you to switch it on before you start walking, and steps will be counted automatically throughout the day and compiled into summaries over the weeks.

After the month period, I will be conducting interviews in which we will discuss your thoughts on the overall experience. Following the interview, you can contact me via email if you have any additional thoughts or questions you wish to share with me. In this time, I may also contact you via email if further information, clarification, or expansion of your answers is required.

After the interviews the app can be removed from your phones. If you need assistance with this, I will again be available to help.

Important information about the process

As a Masters researcher based in the University of York I abide by the University's policies and ethical research practice. The University's ethics committee has reviewed this project. The following information is provided to ensure you make a fully informed decision about whether to participate. Once you have read all the information, please sign the accompanying Consent Form. If you have any questions you'd like to ask about this or any part of the research process before you sign the Consent Form, please don't hesitate to email me. All emails will be kept confidential.

Interviews will be recorded

Interviews will be recorded if you consent to it. Unfortunately, you will not be able to participate in the process if you choose not to be recorded. Having an accurate record is essential for analysis. The recordings will not be retained beyond this project and will be deleted from portable devices at the very earliest opportunity. During the project, recordings will be stored in secure, password-protected University servers and storage devices such as external hard drives, to which only I will have access.

I will transcribe the recordings of the interviews. No other person will have access to either the recordings or the transcripts, except for my supervisors. The complete transcripts will not be published at any time. Some verbatim quotes may be used as part of the dissertation and in a publicly available account of the research (such as published articles, or conference papers)

Anonymity

Any information collected about you, such as your contact details, the recording and transcript of your interview will be stored securely and kept only as long as is required for this project. When the interview is transcribed it will be anonymised. Some verbatim quotes may be used as part of the thesis and in a publicly available account of the research.

Pseudonyms will be assigned to all participants and used throughout the process in the place of real names. No identifying details will be made public. Some verbatim quotes may be used as part of the thesis and in a publicly available account of the research, but any findings which are published will be anonymous.

How your data will be used

The information collected from the interview will be used for a published Master thesis. Any personal data collected for this project will only be used for this research, will be securely stored, and only kept as long as required for the project. Once the data is collected and analysed I will send you a summary of the key research findings and conclusions.

By signing this Consent Form you are agreeing to participate. However, **you may withdraw this consent at any time before, during, or after 30 September 2018**. Withdrawing consent means none of your personal information or comments / information gathered in the study or during the interview will be included in the project.

Appendix 13

Participant Consent Form

MA Research Project: Tracking Gender: Women's use of self-tracking mobile apps
Consent Form

Researcher: Charlotte Tose (clt542@york.ac.uk)

Please circle 'yes' or 'no' for each question.

Have you read and understood the information sheet about the study?

YES NO

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study?

YES NO

Do you understand that the information you provide will be held in confidence by the researcher?

YES NO

Do you understand that you may withdraw from the study for any reason before the cut-off date supplied by the researcher?

YES NO

Do you understand that the information you provide may be used in future research?

YES NO

Do you agree to take part in the study?

YES NO

If yes, do you agree to your interviews being recorded?

YES NO

Are you agreeable to the researcher contacting you via email after the interview should she require further clarification to your answers?

YES NO

Do you understand that there is no financial incentive?

YES NO

All data is held in accordance with the Data Protection Act.

Your name (in BLOCK letters): _____

Your signature: _____

Interviewer's name: _____

Date: _____

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