

## 24 | “Express Yourself” and “Stay Together”: The Middle-Class Indian Family

Jonathan Donner, Nimmi Rangaswamy, Molly Wright Steenson, and Carolyn Wei

Across millions of households in India, amid normal conversations about finances, education, dating, relatives, and the home, a new topic is emerging: the proper role of the mobile phone in the family. Mobile use is rapidly growing in India. Subscriptions grew 73 percent between March 2005 and March 2006 alone (Telecom Regulatory Authority of India 2006). Though overall penetration is still a modest ninety million lines (8.2 percent of the population), the flourishing Indian middle class is driving much of the current growth. Some families are purchasing their first mobile, others are adding a second line for the spouse, and still others are adding lines as their children reach certain milestones. The handsets might be new, but the conversations about the mobiles are not. Instead, the questions about when to purchase them (or not) and how to use them (or not) are closely related to all the traditional conversations mentioned above. When Indian families talk about mobiles, they are also talking about money, about dating, about the home, and so on.

Drawing on three related studies of middle-class Indian families, this chapter considers how the mobile phone reshapes and reflects existing tensions within families. A wide body of research exists on how personal and mediated-communication technologies affect and reflect family dynamics. However, this chapter breaks new ground by viewing these processes in the context of urban family structures that are being renegotiated in response to rapidly changing social and economic conditions. Thus we argue that mobile use is central to our understanding of the tensions facing the new and expanding Indian middle class; it is not only a symbol of middle-class consumption but also a lens through which to see the family dynamic itself.

### **Mobiles and Families**

The complex dynamic around family adoption and use of mobile telephones—similar to landlines (Betteridge 1997), TVs (Simpson 1987), and PCs (Lindlof 1992) before them—has fascinated researchers. Following Haddon (2003), we draw particularly on the domestication concept (Silverstone and Hirsch 1992; Silverstone and Mansell

1996). As Haddon explains, domestication does not reduce the phenomenon of use to a single moment of adoption or rejection by individuals. Rather, adoption is better understood as an ongoing process involving multiple members in a family, where symbolic and family tensions are played out in and around functional uses in the physical domain of the home.

Other researchers have focused on particular elements of mobile use within Western families. For example, Chesley (2005) found that over time, mobile use tended to blur the internal-external boundaries at home, eroding family satisfaction. Ling (1998; 1999a) has explored gender differences in mobile use within families, observing how “fathers own, and mothers loan” mobiles. Others have looked at how mobile use has forced renegotiations of the relationships between children and parents. These negotiations can result in new family rules and norms dictating appropriate mobile use (Ling and Yttri 2005), new strains in the discussions around managing money and finances (Haddon and Vincent 2005), or altered strategies for intrafamily communication in terms of what is said, via what channel, and at what time (Ling 2006).

Similar questions are being asked about family mobile use among non-Western households. For example, Bell (2003) identifies ways in which the relative importance of strong familial bonds over individual autonomy in many Asian contexts might increase the importance of the home as a place where ICT use is determined. Dobashi (2005) has explored “Housewives with Keitai” in Japan, observing how use of mobiles in an environment of multiple tasks and spatially absent fathers has aligned with existing Japanese expectations of gender roles, particularly those of housewife and mother. In de Gournay and Smoreda’s (2005) examination of keitai use by Japanese women, they find that Japanese women’s extensive use of the mobile was not directly connected to mobility nor to a need to move within the city. The women in both the Japanese studies possessed their own mobiles as opposed to sharing their husbands’ mobiles, as observed in India (David 2005).

### **A Changing Middle Class**

It is against this backdrop of increased interest in ICT use by non-Western families that we turn to a brief discussion of the Indian middle class. The notion of class itself is symbolically charged and locally contested. In India, class competes with caste and with a simpler rich-or-poor dichotomy for salience (Dickey 2000), but in the past decade, as India has liberalized and become more prosperous, the middle class has become more seductive. Fernandes (2000) explains:

Advertising and media images have contributed to the creation of an image of a “new” Indian middle class, one that has left behind its dependence on austerity and state protection and has embraced an open India that is at ease with broader processes of globalization. In this image, the newness of the middle class rests on its embrace of the social practices of taste and commodity

consumption that market a new cultural standard that is specifically associated with liberalization and the opening of the Indian market to the global economy. Images of mobility associated with newly available commodities such as cell phones and automobiles, for instance, serve to create a standard, which the urban middle classes can and should aspire to. (p. 90)

Combined, the idealized “new” middle class (of IT professionals and multinationals) and the struggling “old” middle class (of state banks and bureaucracies) include between 55 million and 250 million people, depending on how broad a definition of middle class one wants to make (Sridharan 2004). Families in the Indian middle class draw their incomes from nonmanual labor, a definition particularly significant in a society that, despite all its rapid economic growth to date, remains numerically rural, agrarian, and poor (Sridharan 2004). Thus, to Dickey (2000), the Indian middle class cannot be distilled to vocation or income. Instead, it is a symbolic, dynamic construct in which consumption markers play an important role.

Even this brief discussion of family communication and the middle class illustrates how the mobile phone now plays a doubly important symbolic role. Echoing Fernandes, others have noted how for users in the developing world the mobile is a powerful symbol of macrolevel trends in globalization and consumer consumption (Donner 2004; Özcan and Koçak 2003; Varbanov 2002; Wei and Kolko 2005). At the same time, it is a symbol of autonomy at the micro-level, afforded to kids, teens, husbands, and wives as they “express themselves.” Indeed, Katz and Aakhus (2002) ask us to look beyond the symbolism of the devices, arguing instead that they embody an *Apparatgeist*, a universal quality that enables and compels users to express their autonomy.

In the following studies, we seek to balance the focus between what the mobile changes and what it amplifies and represents. The symbolic power and appeal of the flashy handset is undeniable. However, following domestication, our studies illustrate the manner in which families use mobiles in ways that are more familiar than new. In this sense, the chapter echoes Harper’s (2003; 2005) argument that mobiles are not themselves a driving force of large-scale social change and answers Dholakia and Zwick’s (2004) call for mobile research that moves beyond the needs and behaviors of Western “road warriors.” Nevertheless, the patterns of use we observe, both actual and symbolic, reflect some of the tensions Indian middle-class families confront as they react to a rapidly changing social environment.

### **Three Cases: Family Finances, Courtship, and Domestic Space**

This chapter draws on three projects at Microsoft Research India that examine how mediated communication reflects and shapes Indian middle-class family dynamics during this period of socioeconomic change. The family finances case is drawn from an ethnographic study of the domestication and management of a “communication

repertoire” (Haddon and Vincent 2005) among fifty-six lower-middle-income households in Mumbai, Delhi, and Chennai. The courtship case is based on a study of how mobile phones are used to support romantic relationships among young professionals in Bangalore. This study involved twenty members of the “new” middle class, who are working in the IT and business sectors that are driving the economic growth in the region. The domestic space study, also in Bangalore, examines spatial modalities of individual and shared mobile phone use. It is based on twenty-two interviews with “old” middle-class families—specifically young adults ages twenty to twenty-four and housewives—and seventeen interviews with lower-class families. In all three cases, respondents were recruited using a combination of personal invitations, announcements, and snowball (referral) approaches. These studies were based on in-depth interviews, participant observation, and other qualitative methods.

#### **Vignette: Mobile Phones in the Singh Household**

Before discussing the three cases, we present a vignette from Rangaswamy’s fieldwork that reflects the range of tensions that exist in middle-class families surrounding mobile phones:

Paritosh Singh, a civil servant, lives in a typical government-housing colony in South Delhi and has a daughter and son who have adopted unconventional careers and aspirations. His wife, Parvati, works part-time in a nearby school. She says this money “helps with the extra jam, over and above the bread and butter.” They have spent a lot of money, taking loans much beyond their means, to educate their children. Their daughter is a design graduate and is now married and living in Mumbai. She was the first in the family to get a mobile, as soon as she got her first work assignment. Their son, Navneet, lives at home. He has a management master’s degree with a bachelor’s degree in information technology.

Parvati persuaded her husband to get a mobile:

He will go out to places. He will fill up forms on the Web sites where they will ask for mobile numbers. And it won’t look nice that he does not have a number to fill in so we decided he could have one.

Paritosh says,

I finally got one. There is a landline in the house—that is for my wife. Mine is a prepaid connection, so I will receive incoming calls. Even my wife can receive calls on this if it is from her natal family. If I need to make calls, I can [fill up the account]. If I need to call someone from home, I can use the landline. The good thing is that I can receive a call or a message even if I am out of the house. I like a simple phone but I chose this one with a color screen. I thought this looked good. . . . In the long run, the only big expenditure you incur is that of the instrument. After that there is nothing. The landline will turn out to be more expensive when calling to mobiles.

Navneet has a “poor man’s cell phone,” a basic Nokia costing Rs3,550 (about USD 77), which was a gift from his sister. To him, mobiles are for receiving calls and sending messages and need no extra features:

My sister had a fancy phone. [But] I am careful with money. . . . I call a cousin who sells SIM cards, and he gives me a card I recharge my phone with. He comes once in 2–3 months. Then I ask my dad to pay. It is logical thinking.

His mother feels it is their duty to fill his top-up. But she contradicts what her son had to say about his frugality with mobiles:

Now he has started misusing it a lot! He fills one card of Rs570, finishes it off in ten days and then sits quietly! Not that he wants to refill it. He manages like that for the next twenty days. When his sister was around, he would happily use her phone, sometimes talk for a long time. Well, she would never allow others [outside the family] to borrow the phone. But she thinks it is natural to share with family.

Paritosh wants his wife to get a mobile, too:

There will be some scheme for government servants—we can make use of that. Then we will not need the landline at all at home. If all three of us put Rs300 card each, i.e., Rs900 total, then what is the need for the landline?

### **Mobile Phones and Family Financial Decisions**

The Singh family illustrates many of the complexities surrounding use of mobiles in the home. One theme is family finances: who pays for telecom, and how much use is appropriate? At a functional level, the trend is toward complexity: affordable personal communication devices augment and sometimes displace traditional landlines, thus allowing a mixed media environment in homes. Hence, our study follows Haddon and Vincent (2005), exploring how families manage their communications repertoire.

The appeal of the flashy handset is undeniable. Many families we spoke to had redistributed financial priorities in order to purchase more expensive, feature-rich handsets. So too is the desire to just keep on talking: despite having “a poor man’s” cell phone, Navneet let his spending on calls race ahead of his means. And yet, desire is balanced by patience. Another girl explains why she is content without a camera phone: “It’s a big thing that my father got me this handset. I don’t have those big aspirations. . . . He is a single earning member of the family. And he has managed so much. . . . If I were earning, yes [I would have shifted to a camera phone].”

Virtually all the families we spoke with paid careful attention to selecting and using the new range of telecommunication options in the most cost-effective way. Clearly, Paritosh does not intend to spend money on too many outgoing mobile calls. Nor are other family members free to spend as they wish, as each family member evaluates the spending habits of the others. Navneet’s case is illustrative: he earns his own money and owns a handset, but in his family—as in others in our sample—the responsibility for minimizing the household’s overall expenditures is shared even when there was no formal budget; individual family members keep their overall spending in check. Often, this translates into sharing devices, even if the bills and handsets are owned by individuals within the family. As Navneet’s mother says, “It is normal to share within a family.”

These patterns of owning and sharing are windows into broader family dynamics. In another family we spoke with, the only mobile was owned by the daughter attending college and living at home. While the father had given up his mobile for budgetary reasons, he gave his daughter a phone as a gift for scoring high marks on her high school exams. And according to the mother, they will soon give the younger son a handset of his own “to maintain equality between siblings.” Until then, he takes messages on his sister’s handset when she is home in the afternoon. We see the age-old parenting challenges of equity versus reward played out around the highly coveted mobile handset.

Though these patterns of allocation, sharing, and mutual responsibility reflect existing family dynamics, mobile and personal communication devices have significantly expanded the opportunity for children to act as technological innovators for the home. One of our respondents, a mother of two teenagers, mentioned that her children are so smart that they manage to stay within budget by chatting more when they receive calls: “They don’t waste talk time to chat aimlessly with their friends—they make the friends call them up!” In another instance, the father refused to lend his mobile—the only phone in the household—to his children, disapproving of their wanton chatting. When his children’s friends called, he alerted his children, and they would go to a pay booth and converse. In addition, we see more adolescents actively and strategically engaged with family purchases, instructing parents on choices of plans and features, or, in the case of the Singhs, bringing the first handset into the household.

### **Mobiles for Maintaining Contact in Romantic Relationships**

Besides provoking household discussions about finances, the mobile phone also ties together families and couples who are separated from one another. The study reported here is of young professionals, most of whom work at Microsoft’s Global Technical Support Center, an exemplar of the IT sector in Bangalore. Specifically, this case considers the maintenance of romantic relationships over distances imposed by the global economy and by cultural gaps between children and parents. Romantic relationships are situated within a social network and may reveal disjunctures that exist in a family especially if the relationship moves toward marriage.

In this study, *family* refers to the individual and his or her parents even if they live in separate households. Most of the participants in this study had come to Bangalore specifically for career opportunities, leaving behind their “native places” to live on their own or with roommates. Yet, ICT such as mobile phones can tether the families together even if they are a world away: participants often communicate with their parents daily by phone, a facsimile of living with them. One woman “starts her day” by walking into the office and making a regular phone call to home at 7:30 p.m. before she starts the night shift. She comes from a “close-knit” family, and she worries that

her parents are overly attached to her. The phone thus allows her parents to learn to cope without her, while at the same time keeping in touch.

Young professionals relocating to Bangalore sometimes must support, at least temporarily, long-distance relationships with significant others. The gaps experienced by couples can be more problematic than just space. One steady couple is colocated in Bangalore, but they do not see much of each other because the man's parents live with him. His parents oppose marriage for the two because they are of different castes and communities. This couple stays connected chiefly through phone calls and SMS during occasional breaks at work. Whether we call it absent presence (Gergen 2002), connected presence (Licoppe 2004), or "perpetual contact" (Katz and Aakhus 2002), these attachments over a distance are central to our understanding of mobile communication around the world. For young people suddenly on their own in urban India, these bonds are important indeed.

On one hand, mobile phones are a boon because they facilitate communication and nurture relationships that might otherwise have been impossible, as illustrated by a newlywed couple's arranged marriage. The man agreed to marry the woman because they had many close family ties: their fathers were longtime friends from the army, and they knew each other from schooldays. But he did not know anything about her as an adult, and they lived in different cities, so he gave her a mobile, and they talked on the phone five hours a day. This multiplex use of phones to support both familial and romantic love recalls the various types of love and romance for which mobile phones have become famous in countries such as the Philippines (Ellwood-Clayton 2006).

On the other hand, the mobile phone may also reinforce problems by acting as a bandage for the serious family issues that affect a long-distance relationship. The close, intimate, communication afforded by the mobile phone may strengthen these romantic relationships without addressing problems such as disagreements with parents. Couples might literally "stay together" longer than their parents would like. In the colocated relationship where the man's parents disapproved of the girlfriend, the man was committed to winning over his parents. He said that it would not be possible to marry his girlfriend if the parents were against them because he would always have to be the intermediary between his parents and wife, an uncomfortable situation. For such a relationship to succeed, much negotiation will need to occur to achieve a happy resolution for all.

### **Mobiles and Domestic Space**

Family harmony concerning children's romantic relationships is more broadly reflected in its perception of household space and boundaries. The study informing this section examined the spatial modalities of mobile phone use in urban Bangalore. It examines categories of "inside" versus "outside," which in urban India "form an

enduring and gendered spatial polarity,” the contrast between which “holds urban residents’ concepts of self and other and affects their movements through space” (Dickey 2000, p. 470). For the middle and upper classes, the innermost space of the home encompasses the dichotomies of inside/outside, private/public, like/different, and safe/unsafe (Dickey 2000, p. 470). Establishing boundaries, the home is “the tool for reinstating difference—a difference that must continuously be maintained because it is assailable” (Dickey 2000, p. 482).

The previous section illustrates how mobiles can breach the home boundary by facilitating unapproved romantic relationships, yet mobile use also extends this innermost boundary, allowing family members to carry a piece of home with them when they leave the house. This is not only about emergencies and security (Ling and Yttri 2002), as lower-class interview subjects cited, but about “keeping in touch,” as nearly every middle-class interview subject stated. People needed to reach their parents, husbands, and wives to check in with each other. Parents needed to reach children not only for coordination, but for domestic reasons such as a housewife calling a messy daughter to ask where her notebook goes. The middle-class interview subjects moved quickly toward an expressive, hyper-coordinating use of the mobile (Ling and Yttri 2002). This expressive communication was not just with friends but also with family members: when participants spoke of keeping in touch, they specifically meant their families. Moreover, families made exceptions for expressive communication with relatives, even when they enforced rules around appropriate mobile use in contact with the family. For example, Ashita and Nimisha’s parents supported their calling a cousin shortly after midnight on his twenty-sixth birthday but forbade Ashita to talk to her unapproved boyfriend too late in the evening.

Rejection of the mobile phone, except when sharing with a husband or child, indicates another instance of domestic boundary and traditional gender role maintenance. Dickey (2000, p. 468) writes, “Modesty and chastity form the dominant cultural ideal for women of all religions, castes, and classes. Because avoiding public display of the self is a key sign of modesty, ideally women should not go outside the home more than necessary.” This modesty, for some housewives we interviewed, meant not owning a mobile phone. Ling (1999b) describes mobile “rejecters” as a part of a broader model of mobile acquisition and gender. Here, mobile rejection is about maintaining the domestic fabric.

One traditionally dressed housewife (Lata, age 44) pointed out that she had two landlines and did not need another mobile phone, though her daughters were “forcing” her to use technology (the computer), a word choice used by other male and female mobile rejecters across class lines. Another traditional housewife, whose husband got a mobile in the last month said, “I’ll never get my own mobile” (Jyotiana, age 43). For both, it is as though affiliation with landlines is equivalent to representing the domestic boundary, not showing one’s face outside. This preference for the

place-to-place nature of the landline represents a spatial reinforcement of the traditionally domestic. Yet neither woman even considered it an act of sharing when they used their husbands’ mobile phones.

## Discussion

In these three case studies, we have seen how mobiles spark new discussions but reflect existing concerns in middle-class Indian families. The finances case illustrates how families are aggressively managing costs and behaviors against an increasingly diverse (and sometimes confusing) set of telecommunication options. They do this in an “Indian” way, where mobiles indicate upward mobility for the family unit, evident from multiple handset ownership as well as the attraction of a “fancy” phone over a basic handset for both parents and children. Mobiles are lent and loaned and bills are collectively paid, reiterating the focus on the family and not the individual. Hence, mobile phone use has entered the balancing act of the family relational dynamic around finances.

The courtship case illustrates how mobile communication has entered into complex, long-standing family discussions and negotiations surrounding children’s marriages. Parents expect and exert considerable control over their children, even when they live far away. The mobile can tie together the family when they are geographically scattered, but it can also undermine parental influence by permitting romantic relationships to be conducted under the radar. In this case, the mobile represents and enables both freedom and continued sense of familial obligations that children may experience away from their parents.

The household spaces case shows how mobile communication represents a challenge to the notions of inside and outside and echoes the domestic space. This case illustrates how mobiles challenge, extend, and protect the traditional Indian domestic boundary. It extends the reach of the domestic space for middle-class family members by allowing a continual, mundane keeping-in-touch. In families following more strict customs, a housewife’s rejection of mobile ownership reflects the traditional gender directive for modest women to stay close to the home.

In each of these cases, the mobile plays instrumental and symbolic roles in the microenvironment of the Indian middle-class family. Yet, at the same time, the studies illustrate ways in which the broader context is changing as well. The finances case points to the prosperity and consumer choice enjoyed by the idealized “new middle class” but also to the real pressure on Indian families to consume and adapt. Child autonomy in family decision-making and purchasing, symbolized by ownership of and aspirations surrounding mediated communication technologies, is afforded by the new work opportunities generated by the IT-driven economic boom in India. The information-based work is not only entrenching ICTs but also lifestyles that reflect

global trends. Unconventional career choices and the desire to acquire personal technologies among young persons are reflective of these trends; they involve and intervene in the process of family decision-making regarding these choices.

The courtship case points to a shifting demographic environment where children are not uniformly living at home until marriage, in part because of participation in offshoring or business process outsourcing (BPO) where Indian offices support overseas partners and customers. This work is typically around the clock and is clustered in a few cities such as New Delhi, Mumbai, and Bangalore. Although young people now can make good salaries working for prestigious international companies, they are under pressure to work nontraditional hours and to relocate. A recurring theme in publications about BPO work is the havoc that overnight hours can play on workers' health and personal relationships (Taylor and Bain 2005). The mobility emblematic of and supported by the new ICTs both necessitates and supports romantic relationships carried out over distances.

The domestic spaces case suggests that the mobile phone will help redefine and extend the boundaries of the home. It will be a locus of gender role definition and young people's building of identity. It will continue to serve as a point of individuation, with families adding one or multiple mobiles or losing their landlines altogether. Yet unlike Japan, where the mobile is an individual object (Thomas 2005), it frequently will be a collective, shared object in India. In the middle class, informal mobile sharing with family and close friends does not serve only an explicitly financial need. This welcomed, collective use of the mobile will extend the way the household operates, keeping the family in touch in a variety of expressive ways.

### Conclusion

"Express yourself" and "stay together" are slogans from two Indian mobile providers' advertising campaigns. The phrases represent the complex, sometimes contradictory, meanings that the mobile may hold for Indian families. A mobile handset simultaneously signifies individuality and autonomy as well as family security and cohesiveness. This symbolic tension surrounding mobile phone use within middle-class Indian families can contribute to a broader understanding of the role of mediated communication devices in society. At the same time, the mobile is a powerful tool that can offer a measure of autonomy to children as well as link geographically dispersed families. Indian families are using mobiles in nuanced and sophisticated ways in order to go about their business of daily life while staying connected to one another.

Thus mobile use among middle-class Indian families is theoretically challenging. It is not clear that mobile use is fragmenting the middle-class Indian family into autonomous individuals. In fact, the domestication theory has allowed us—like Bell (2003)—to see how mobile decisions may be made as a family rather than as individuals, and

how families are able to adopt and adapt the mobile to coordinate themselves even when dispersed across distances. The mobile can support the goals of the family even if individuals may be simultaneously using it in ways that might undermine those family goals. The bridegroom talking on the mobile five hours a day to get to know his fiancée before their arranged marriage is an example of adopting the mobile phone in ways consistent with traditional constructs of the family's role in romantic relationships. We feel that domestication research should be pursued further to better understand the family as a locus of global cultural changes.

The mobile's arrival in India roughly coincides with the broader effects of economic liberalization that have been felt by middle-class Indian families: increased prosperity (and diminishing job security), increased choice in lifestyles, and increased social fragmentation. This change is not entirely caused by the mobile, but its use certainly is an enabling and complementary factor. Nevertheless, as these brief dispatches from the field suggest, Indian middle-class families will elect to use mobiles in unique, culturally appropriate ways. Seen from the Indian living room, it seems certain that new middle-class users will take advantage of mobiles in ways that may at times be at variance with their families. However, there is also sure to be sharing of the mobile and "staying together." The flexible and mobile around-the-clock lifestyle afforded by ICTs will continue to create new opportunities for users while simultaneously providing mechanisms for coping with these shifts. The new middle-class behaviors enabled by the device will continue to look distinctively Indian.

#### References

- Bell, G. 2003. Other homes: Alternate visions of culturally situated technologies for the home. Paper presented at the Conference on Computer-Human Interaction (CHI). Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
- Betteridge, J. 1997. Answering back: The telephone, modernity, and everyday life. *Media, Culture, and Society* 19: 585–603.
- Chesley, N. 2005. Blurring boundaries? Linking technology use, spillover, individual distress, and family satisfaction. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67: 1237–1248.
- David, K. 2005. Mobiles in India: Tool of tradition or change. Paper presented at the Preconference on Mobile Communication at the Annual Conference of the International Communication Association. New York.
- de Gournay, C., and Z. Smoreda. 2005. Space bind: The social shaping of communication in five urban areas. In *A Sense of Place: The Global and the Local in Mobile Communication*, edited by K. Nyíri. Vienna: Passagen Verlag.
- Dholakia, N., and D. Zwick. 2004. Cultural contradictions of the anytime, anywhere economy: Reframing communication technology. *Telematics and Informatics* 21(2): 123–141.

Dickey, S. 2000. Permeable homes: Domestic service, household space, and the vulnerability of class boundaries in urban India. *American Ethnologist* 27(2): 462–489.

Dobashi, S. 2005. The gendered use of keitai in domestic contexts. In *Personal, Portable, Pedestrian*, edited by M. Ito, D. Okabe, and M. Matsuda. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Donner, J. 2004. Microentrepreneurs and mobiles: An exploration of the uses of mobile phones by small business owners in Rwanda. *Information Technologies for International Development* 2(1): 1–21.

Ellwood-Clayton, B. 2006. All we need is love—and a mobile phone: Texting in the Philippines. Paper presented at the International Conference on Cultural Space and the Public Sphere in Asia. Seoul, Korea.

Fernandes, L. 2000. Restructuring the new middle class in liberalizing India. *Comparative Studies of South Asia* 20(1 & 2): 89–112.

Gergen, K. J. 2002. The challenge of absent presence. In *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, edited by J. E. Katz and M. A. Aakhus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haddon, L. 2003. Domestication and mobile telephony. In *Machines that Become Us: The Social Context of Personal Communication Technology*, edited by J. E. Katz. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

Haddon, L., and J. Vincent. 2005. Making the most of the communications repertoire: Choosing between the mobile and fixed-line. In *A Sense of Place: The Global and the Local in Mobile Communication*, edited by K. Nyíri. Vienna: Passagen Verlag.

Harper, R. 2003. Are mobiles good or bad for society? In *Mobile Democracy: Essays on Society, Self and Politics*, edited by K. Nyíri. Budapest, Hungary: Passagen Verlag.

Harper, R. 2005. From teenage life to Victorian morals and back: The technological change and teenage life. In *Thumb Culture: The Meaning of Mobile Phones for Society*, edited by P. Glotz, S. Bertsch, and C. Locke. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Katz, J. E., and M. Aakhus. 2002. Conclusion: Making meaning of mobiles—a theory of Apparageist. In *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, edited by J. E. Katz and M. Aakhus. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Licoppe, C. 2004. “Connected” presence: The emergence of a new repertoire for managing social relationships in a changing communication technoscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22(1): 135–156.

Lindlof, T. R. 1992. Computing tales: Parents’ discourse about technology and family. *Social Science Computer Review* 10(3): 291–309.

Ling, R. 1998. “She calls, [but] it’s for both of us you know”: The use of traditional fixed and mobile telephony for social networking among Norwegian parents (No. R&D Report 33/98). Kjeller, Norway: Telenor.

Ling, R. 1999a. I am happiest by having the best: The adoption and rejection of mobile telephony (No. R&D Report 15/99.). Kjeller, Norway: Telenor.

Ling, R. 1999b. "We release them little by little": Maturation and gender identity as seen in the use of mobile telephone. Paper presented at the International Symposium on Technology and Society (ISTAS'99) Women and Technology: Historical, Societal and Professional Perspectives. Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Ling, R. 2006. "I have a free telephone so I don't bother to send SMS, I call": The gendered use of SMS among adults in intact and divorced families. In *Mobile Communication in Everyday Life: Ethnographic Views, Observations, and Reflections*, edited by J. R. Höflich and M. Hartmann. Berlin: Frank & Timme.

Ling, R., and B. Yttri. 2002. Hyper-coordination via mobile phones in Norway. In *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, edited by J. E. Katz and M. A. Aakhus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ling, R., and B. Yttri. 2005. Control, emancipation and status: The mobile telephone in the teen's parental and peer group control relationships. In *Information Technology at Home*, edited by R. Kraut. Oxford: Oxford.

Özcan, Y. Z., and A. Koçak. 2003. A need or a status symbol? Use of cellular telephones in turkey. *European Journal of Communication* 18(2): 241–254.

Silverstone, R., and E. Hirsch, eds. 1992. *Consuming Technologies*. London: Routledge.

Silverstone, R., and R. Mansell, eds. 1996. *Communication by Design: The Politics of Information and Communication Technologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Simpson, P. 1987. *Parents Talking Television: Television in the Home*. London: Comedia Pub. Group.

Sridharan, E. 2004. The growth and sectoral composition of India's middle class: Its impact on the politics of economic liberalization. *India Review* 3(4): 405–428.

Taylor, P., and P. Bain. 2005. "India calling to the far away towns": The call centre labour process and globalization. *Work, Employment & Society* 19(2): 261–282.

Telecom Regulatory Authority of India. 2006. The telecom services performance indicators for financial year ending 31st of March 2006. New Delhi: TRAI.

Varbanov, V. 2002. Bulgaria: Mobile phones as post-communist cultural icons. In *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*, edited by J. E. Katz and M. Aakhus. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wei, C., and B. Kolko. 2005. Studying mobile phone use in context: Cultural, political, and economic dimensions of mobile phone use. Paper presented at the International Professional Communication Conference. Limerick, Ireland.

