The Cell Phone and Edsa 2:
The Role of a Communication Technology in Ousting a President

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Introduction

I distinctly remember the night Edsa 2 (also known as People Power 2)[1] began.

Strangely enough, I was out on a date when the news came out that majority of the

senator-judges in the on-going impeachment trial of Philippine president Joseph "Erap"

Estrada had voted to suppress important evidence proving his corruption. While the pro-

Estrada senators rejoiced and danced on national television, the anti-Estrada senators

openly wept. The prosecutors, taking this as an early sign of acquittal, walked out of the

courtroom in protest. I received this text message from my best friend: "I THNK UD

BETR GO HME NW." ("I think you'd better go home now.")

By the time I got home, I had received numerous text messages from others

saying: "NOISE BARRAGE AT 11PM" and "GO 2 EDSA. WEAR BLACK 2 MOURN

D DEATH F DEMOCRACY." I barely had time to kick off my high heels and slip on my

sneakers when my mom, brother, and I jumped into the car and joined the cars in our

neighborhood in honking horns in protest. And then to Edsa we went. At midnight, there

were a couple of hundred people. Families clad in pajamas, teenagers in party clothes,

men and women in suits fresh from happy hour, college students clutching books

obviously coming from a study group, nuns and priests. Like most Filipino gatherings,

the mood was festive. In the next few days, the thousands grew to tens of thousands and

then went over a million. On the fourth day after the military withdrew their support for

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[1] Edsa is the Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, the main high way in Metro Manila that connects the cities and municipalities. Edsa 1, also known as People Power 1, was the four-day non-violent uprising in February 21-25, 1986 led to the ouster of dictator Ferdinand Marcos and the installation of Corazon Aquino as the country's new president. Edsa 2, also known People Power 2 and Edsa Dos, was the four-day non-violent uprising that technically began late in the evening of January 16, 2001 and ended in the afternoon of January 20th with the oath-taking of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo as the 14th president of the Philippines.

the president, Joseph Estrada stepped down from the presidency. Vice-president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo was sworn into office in Edsa with over a million people from all walks of life cheering her on. It was a revolution by cell phone.

Cell Phones and Text Messaging

> *The first signs of the next shift began to reveal themselves to me on a spring afternoon in the year 2000. That was when I began to notice people on the streets of Tokyo staring at their mobile phones instead of talking to them. The sight of this behavior, now commonplace in much of the world, triggered a sensation I had experienced a few times before—the instant recognition that technology is going to change my life in ways I can scarcely imagine. Since then the practice of exchanging short text messages via mobile phone has led to the eruption of subcultures in Europe and Asia.*
> —Howard Rheingold, **Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution,** 2003[2]

Mobile communication technology has been around for sometime. Two-way radios, walkie-talkies, and CB radios have been used by policemen, rangers, the military, and truckers as long as we can remember. In the last 15 years, however, the technology of mobile communications has grown by leaps and bounds with the cellular or mobile phone. Originally seen as a luxury that only the rich could afford, the cell phone has since then become as common to ordinary folk as the Walkman or the VCR. People of all ages, gender, occupation, and race have embraced this new technology.

While mobile phones were initially developed in the U.S., Western Europe has adopted and embraced this technology most fully.[3] In 1987, European technocrats agreed

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[2] Howard Rheingold. *Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution: Transforming Cultures and Communities in the Age of Instant Access.* (NY: Perseus Publishing, 2002) p. xi.

on a mobile telephony technical standard known as the Global System for Mobile

Communications (GSM).[4] The first GSM network was launched in Finland in 1991 and

the first text message was sent out in December 1992. This is the cell phone technology

used by countries in Europe and Asia, and only recently has been adopted by the U.S.

Built into the GSM standard was the capability of instantly sending short text messages

of 160 characters from one telephone to another, using the telephone keyboard to input

the message and the small display screen to read them—the Short Message System

(SMS)[5]—more popularly know as text messaging.

The advent of a new technology and the acceptance of a society of that

technology has always been an interesting phenomenon to witness. As history has shown

us, each time a new technology is introduced—whether it be the printing press, color

television, or the Internet—society receives it in two major ways. There are those who

embrace the new technologies with open arms, and there are those who look at them with

fear and trepidation. But whatever the case may be, change is inevitable. And as long as

man continues to invent things, new technologies will always come up, improving and/or

replacing old ones.

Cell phones were introduced in the Philippines in the mid-1990s, almost

simultaneously as the Internet. Originally only wealthy businessmen, doctors, and

government officials had use for them, but by the latter part of the 1990s, it gained

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[3] Raul Pertierra, Eduargo F. Ugarte, Alicia Pinggol, Joel Hernandez, and Nikos Lexis Dacanay. *Txt-ing Selves: Cellphones and Philippine Modernity*. (Manila, Philippines: De La Salle University Press Inc., 2002) p. 143.
[4] Howard Rheingold. *Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution: Transforming Cultures and Communities in the Age of Instant Access.* (NY: Perseus Publishing, 2002) p. 14.
[5] Ibid.

popularity with housewives, college students, and young professionals. By 2000, the cell phone had become necessary for people working in living in major cities such as Manila or Cebu. Today, grade school and high school students as well as those from lower income brackets such as housemaids, family chauffeurs, janitors, nannies, security guards, jeepney (a form of public transportation used by the masses) drivers, etc. own cell phones. When pre-paid cell phone cards were introduced to the market, it allowed those without credit history, a permanent address, or a stable source of income to purchase cell phones.

There are two major cell phone companies that dominate the Philippine market. Smart Communications, which is owned by the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co. (the telephone company that has a monopoly over the industry), controls 56%, while Globe Telecom, has 42%.[6] There are about 12 million cell phone users in a country of about seventy-seven million people. In contrast, less than 1% of the population own computers[7] and as of the year 2000, there were 500,000 Internet users.[8]

In his book *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, Raymond Williams was concerned with the relationship of modern communication media to social structures and social change; their evolution as institutional practices; their degradation by social elites, particularly by the intellectuals; their rhetorical forms and textuality; their imbrication in

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[6] Alecks P. Pabico. "Money in Mobiles: Telecommunication companies are raking in billions from mobile phones," from http://www.pcij.org

[7] Vicente Rafael. "The Cell Phone and the Crowd: Messianic Politics in the Contemporary Philippines," from http://communication.ucsd.edu/people/ f_rafael_cellphonerev_files.htm

[8] www.infoplease.com

the textures of everyday life; and their potential for creating a better world.[9]

Technologies, be it the television, the radio, or personal computers, when newly created and released to the market for consumption, are initially the new playthings of the wealthy and elite. As the technology improves, the product becomes cheaper and is then used and consumed by the larger population. When more and more people begin using the technology, it invariably become part of daily life, inscribed in our informal social knowledge—the what everybody knows about the world—without consciously knowing where or when they first learned it.[10] This is what has happened with the cell phone in the Philippines. It has become such a big part of day-to-day life, that people can no longer remember what it was like before cell phones existed. For Williams, cultural forms were historical and material practices, a part of the way people make their lives. As such, communication is part of material lived experience.[11]

Perhaps one of the biggest surprises in cell phone use is the adoption of text messaging. Telecommunication operators did not anticipate that this add-on service would become a primary way of communicating via cell phone. When text messaging was first introduced in 1993, it was considered a novelty that only techno-geeks and early adopters used as an exclusive channel for communicating with each other.[12] As its

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[9] Lynn Spigel, introduction to Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, (1974. Reprint, with an introduction by Lynn Spigel, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1992), Ibid. p. x.

[10] Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Hugh Mckay and Keith Negus. *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman.* (London: Sage Publications, Ltd., 1997; reprinted, 2001), p. 8.

[11] Lynn Spigel, introduction to Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, (1974. Reprint, with an introduction by Lynn Spigel, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1992), p. xi.

[12] David M. Celdran. "Texting has changed the way we live, love, and topple governments," from http://pldt.com/david_celdran.html

popularity grew, a cap was placed on the number of text messages one sends out depending on the plan subscribed to. Any texts over the allocated minutes are charged. While the cost of sending text messages have increased, it is still much lower than voice calls.

It is easy to see how and why text messaging became increasingly popular. Filipinos, in general, are uncomfortable in face-to-face conversations, especially when dealing with emotion. Telling a parent or a child that you love them, asking permission from parents to go out, or apologizing can all be done through text messaging. Many people have found this to be liberating and helpful in building relationships. While Filipinos are social creatures and love being around family and friends, they have difficulty in expressing themselves. According to news reporter David Celdran,

> "…text does not only give us an opportunity to say things discreetly, it provides a communication bridge over traditional barriers of sex, status, authority, and in the case of the successful ad campaign (of Globe), generations. The implications of text on our personal and social communication patterns are exciting. Men may be from Mars and women from Venus, but texting opens up the intergalactic divide with digital conversations easier expressed on two inch screens than in person."[13]

Text messaging has also allowed splintered families of overseas contract workers to keep in touch. Many Filipina domestic helpers stationed in the Middle East, Asia, and Europe keep tabs on their husbands and children through sending them daily messages on the cell phone. Rosario Reyes, the Filipina domestic helper killed by a suicide bombing in Israel, transmitted a message to her son the night before her death: *Matulog ka na* (Go to sleep already).[14]

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[13] Ibid.
[14] David Diamond. "One Nation, Overseas," from http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/10.06/philippines.html

Text messaging and the cell phone have also increasingly changed the way people do their work or day-to-day lives. As the Managing Editor of a monthly trade magazine for working moms, I discovered how my work was made simpler by the cell phone. I often arranged meetings and photo shoots via text messaging, confirming the attendance of photographers, stylists, make-up artists, models, and designers all through my cell phone. And this could be done, even when I was away from the office, stuck in traffic, or en route to a meeting. Cell phones have empowered people who work free-lance, giving them more ways to be contacted and to contact people.

One of the most interesting applications of text messaging has been the upsurge of television channels devoted to text messaging in the Philippines. While Europeans and Americans wait for third-generation technology to let them email and watch video on fancy new handsets, millions of Filipinos, in a country too poor to sustain widespread Internet access, are already swapping information and creating entertainment by fusing two lower-tech but widely used networks: television and cellular phones.[15] In early 2001, ABS-CBN, the Philippines' largest media corporation invited viewers of a lunchtime variety show to text in their votes for a beauty contest. Over 100,000 messages were sent within an hour. "It was enough to crash Globe's servers," says Carlo Katigbak, head of interactive development at ABS-CBN, "It really got us thinking."[16] Immediately, ABS-CBN set-up an all-text channel on their cable network and it was an instant hit—enough to get ABS-CBN Interactive out of the red. The television screen is divided into three or

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[15] James Hookway. "Texting the Tube," Far Eastern Economic Review, (7 November 2002) pp. 37-38.
[16] Carlo Katigbak, quoted in James Hookway "Latest Trend in Manila: Text-Messaging the TV," *Wall Street Journal*, (31 October 2002).

four parts, messages scroll down on one, polls and contests usually go on another, auctions or shopping on the third, and a music video on the fourth. The screen is just as busy as the Bloomberg channel. Today, there are four television channels devoted to just texting. Crude, but this is interactive TV—Philippine style!

There are so many other ways in which the cell phone has changed the way the people in the Philippines live their daily lives and communicate with each other. Perhaps the most dramatic and unexpected was how the cell phone aided in the removal of President Joseph Estrada in January 2001.

The Cell Phone and Edsa 2

The downfall of a president does not come overnight or over a span of four days. For Joseph Estrada, it ironically began in October 2000 when a Catholic nun openly alleged that the president's family was profiting from public funds. This was not new news. In fact many already believed this to be a fact. There was just no proof. When a crony of Estrada's, Governor Luis "Chavit" Singson, accused him of huge pay-offs from "jueteng" (a local form of gambling), calls for Estrada's resignation began. On November 13th, the House of Representatives filed an impeachment case against the president on the grounds of bribery, graft, and corruption, betrayal of public trust, and culpable violations of the Constitution.[17] The televised impeachment trial began on December 7th with the 22 current members of the Senate as judges and Chief Justice of the Philippines Hilario Davide, Jr. presiding. A survey conducted in early January 2001 by the Social Weather Station and ABS-CBN, showed that 40% of the nation's population followed the trial

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[17] http://members.tripod.com/twist14/edsa2/main.html

intermittently and "nationwide, the great bulk of the respondents watched the trial on television."[18]

On January 16th, 11 senators (of the 21 present) voted to block the opening of a sealed envelope that contained valuable evidence of Estrada's corruption and hidden wealth. A survey conducted showed at that 86% of Metro Manilans watched the live telecast on televisions, 60% of Filipinos saw in on television, and 12% heard it over the radio.[19] This seemingly obvious move to suppress the truth by the pro-Estrada senators was met with public outrage. "FUL MBLSN 2DAY EDSA" ("Full mobilization today at Edsa") and "GO 2 EDSA. WEAR BLACK" ("Go to Edsa. Wear black.") were among the millions of text messages calling upon Manila residents to gather at the Edsa Shrine[20] to rail against a controversial Senate vote that could have cleared Estrada.[21] Opposition

[18] Cynthia Bautista. "People Power 2: The Revenge of the Elite on the Masses?" In Amando Doronila, ed., *Between Fires: Fifteen Perspectives on the Estrada Crisis*. (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2002), pp.11-12. Quoted in Raul Pertierra, Eduargo F. Ugarte, Alicia Pinggol, Joel Hernandez, and Nikos Lexis Dacanay. *Txt-ing Selves: Cellphones and Philippine Modernity*. (Manila, Philippines: De La Salle University Press Inc., 2002) p. 105.

[19] Jose Abueva. In Amando Doronila, ed., *Between Fires: Fifteen Perspectives on the Estrada Crisis*. (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2002), pp. 82. Quoted in Raul Pertierra, Eduargo F. Ugarte, Alicia Pinggol, Joel Hernandez, and Nikos Lexis Dacanay. *Txt-ing Selves: Cellphones and Philippine Modernity*. (Manila, Philippines: De La Salle University Press Inc., 2002) p. 105.

[20] This was the site of the first Edsa Revolution in 1996. A statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary and a chapel dedicated to her had been erected in the corner of Edsa and Ortigas Avenues. This was the focal point of the Edsa 2 uprising. In the context of the Edsa 2 mass protest, Edsa and Edsa Shrine generally mean the same place.

[21] Micahel Bociurkiw, "Revolution by Cell Phone," *Forbes*, 10 September 2001, p. 28.

leaders broadcast text messages, and within 75 minutes of the abrupt halt of the

impeachment proceedings, 20,000 people converged on Edsa.[22]

Although there is no way of verifying where the text messages originated, it

would be safe to say that many of these messages originated from KOMPIL (*Kongreso*

ng Mamayanang Pilipino 2 or Coalition of the Filipino People)—a pluralist coalition

comprised of NGO (non-government organization) networks, issue-based and sectoral

coalitions, church-based organizations, left political blocs, party-list groups, and

individuals.[23] In the months leading to the impeachment trial, groups like Kompil and the

Erap Resign Network, as well as leftist groups like Bayan, had been using various media

and communication tools to inform people. Cell phone and email brigades were normal

ways to spread news or new information quickly to large numbers. These technologies

facilitated the communication and cooperation between groups normally located at

opposing ends of the ideological divide but at this historical moment, united in their

disgust for Joseph Estrada.[24] It is difficult to get the exact figures of text messages sent

out over those four days, but they were so plentiful that Globe Telecom had to set up

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[22] Vicente Rafael. "The Cell Phone and the Crowd: Messianic Politics in the Contemporary Philippines," from http://communication.ucsd.edu/people/ f_rafael_cellphonerev_files.htm

[23] Cynthia Bautista. "People Power 2: The Revenge of the Elite on the Masses?" In Amando Doronila, ed., *Between Fires: Fifteen Perspectives on the Estrada Crisis.* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2002). Quoted in Raul Pertierra, Eduargo F. Ugarte, Alicia Pinggol, Joel Hernandez, and Nikos Lexis Dacanay. *Txt-ing Selves: Cellphones and Philippine Modernity*. (Manila, Philippines: De La Salle University Press Inc., 2002) p. 112.

[24] Raul Pertierra, Eduargo F. Ugarte, Alicia Pinggol, Joel Hernandez, and Nikos Lexis Dacanay. *Txt-ing Selves: Cellphones and Philippine Modernity*. (Manila, Philippines: De La Salle University Press Inc., 2002) p. 120.

mobile servers to facilitate the traffic. Over the holidays, Globe had an average of 30 million text messages a day—a number that was exceeded during Edsa 2.[25]

The invention of the cell phone did not cause Edsa 2 to happen. Without this technology, a mass protest would still have removed Joseph Estrada from the presidency. Pertierra, et al in their book say that the mobile phone's real value in Edsa 2 lay, first in the way it helped join people who disapproved of President Estrada in a network of complex connectivity.[26] Jokes, updates on the trial, and other news were easily transmitted and shared, giving people a sense of belonging to a group and being in the know. Secondly, the mobile phone was instrumental as an organizational device.[27] Through the mobile phone, organizers, activists, civil society leaders, the military, and others were able to gather people together and transmit instructions. As political science professor from the University of the Philippines, Alex Magno pointed out, "It's like pizza delivery. You can get a rally in 30 minutes—delivered to you."[28] The cell phone not only drew the crowds but it allowed for updates to be sent out. As the days progressed, messages like "B AT EDSA AT 1PM" or "FULL MOBLSN TDAY EDSA. IMPT CALLS WL B MADE" ("Full mobilization today at Edsa. Important calls will be made."). On the third day, there was a call for a human chain of peace to be made from Ayala Avenue (the heart of the business district and site of the rallies in 1983-86) to the Edsa Shrine. On the final day, this message was sent out: "PLS B AT EDSA 2DAY,

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[25] Jennifer E. Bagalawis. "How IT Helped Topple A President," *Computer World*, January 30, 2001, from http://wireless.itworld.com/4273/CW_1-31-01_it/pfindex.html
[26] Ibid. p. 123.
[27] Ibid. p. 124
[28] Alex Magno, quoted in Joel Garreau, "Cell Biology: Like a Bee, This Evolving Species Buzzes and Swarms" *Washington Post*, 31 July 2002, p. C1.

GENERALS HAV IMPT ANNOUNCMNT' ("Please be at Edsa today. The generals

have an important announcement.")

Yet despite this prominent role made by the cell phone, people still had to

physically go to Edsa. Demonstrators still equipped themselves with "all the traditional

accoutrements of protesters throughout history—flags, banners bearing wittily offensive

slogans, whistles and klaxons."[29] In an article on their website, the World Socialist

Organization eloquently says:

> "So much for claims that IT has made traditional forms of struggle out-
> dated. Undoubtedly, as Marx and Engels explained, means of communication
> become revolutionized by capitalists and utilized by the class they exploit to
> organize against them. This was as much the case with post, trains, radio or
> phones as it is with mobiles and the Internet. There are no more than auxiliary
> tools for organizing collective struggle. What counts in a revolution is the fighting
> forces on the streets and their programs and strategies for victory."[30]

Clearly, the cell phone was a tool in the gathering of people and passing of information

that allowed Edsa 2 to happen faster and perhaps more efficiently. For journalist Ellen

Tordesillas, "If there were no cell phones, we would have invented another medium."[31]

Looking back at the first Edsa revolution in 1986 when cell phones were non-existent,

when television channels and radio stations were mostly government or crony owned,

and enemy was a 20-year dictator; a larger mass of people assembled on Edsa for four

days in February. Only one AM radio station in an undisclosed location managed to stay

on-air throughout those four days.

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[29] "People Power II" from from http://www.worldsocialist-cwi.org/eng/2001/0124.html

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ellen Tordesillas, quoted in Raul Pertierra, Eduargo F. Ugarte, Alicia Pinggol, Joel Hernandez, and Nikos Lexis Dacanay. *Txt-ing Selves: Cellphones and Philippine Modernity*. (Manila, Philippines: De La Salle University Press Inc., 2002) p. 122.

There are those, however, who believe that the cell phone played a larger role than simply information dissemination. For journalist David Celdran, "the role of texting in Edsa 2 has opened our eyes to the power and potential it has in mobilizing public opinion and warm bodies to political action."[32] One of the things that makes the cell phone an attractive way of distributing alternative information is that the origins of the texts cannot easily be traced. By passing on a text to friends and family, and they in turn send it to their friends and family, news and information gets passed along the line. Gerry Kaimo, spokesman for the Philippine League for Democratic Telecommunications says, "When the impeachment trial began, people used text to share their personal knowledge to fill the gaps in the news and to counter Malacanang (the Presidential Palace, Philippine equivalent to the White House) propaganda."[33]

Text messaging has broken down the traditional barriers and gatekeepers in the media industry. According to Celdran:

> "Broadcast and print media grapple with government regulations and pressure, as well as sometimes, restrictive editorial policies. In contrast, text messaging does away completely with the traditional gatekeepers of news and sends unfiltered political information through the network in a speed faster than it takes for the traditional mass media to reproduce and disseminate."[34]

Through the collaboration and verification of content, information flows freely across a grassroots network, free from corporate or government censorship. Text messaging fills the gaps that traditional media or the government cannot immediately fill. For example during the occasional blackouts that leave the entire Luzon (the largest island in the

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[32] David M. Celdran. Texting has changed the way we live, love, and topple governments," from http://pldt.com/david_celdran.html

[33] Gerry Kaimo, quoted in David M. Celdran. Texting has changed the way we live, love, and topple governments," from http://pldt.com/david_celdran.html

[34] David M. Celdran. Texting has changed the way we live, love, and topple governments," from http://pldt.com/david_celdran.html

Philippines) without electricity, the cell phone gives people a chance to call and text friends and figure out how widespread the blackout is. This is very empowering for nervous Filipinos whom after years of experience have begun to equate power failures with political disasters.

Obviously this system of information flow is vulnerable to abuse and deception. Rumors and propaganda can be sent through the network. A text "joke" saying that the Pope had died caused quite a stir in the Philippines—a predominantly Roman Catholic nation. Both Celdran and Pertierra, et al, believe that it is the users themselves who are trying to self-regulate. For the most part, cell phone users make it a point to distinguish between what is junk text and what is not.

Conclusion

It cannot be denied that the cell phone and text messaging indeed played an important role in overthrowing President Joseph Estrada in January 2001. This technology gave people a venue to express their anger, disgust, and frustration with a corrupt president and the impeachment trial. Through text messaging, people were able to send out and receive information quickly, oftentimes before traditional media (newspapers, radio, and television) could produce and disseminate it. It also fills the gaps that the traditional media cannot immediately fill. This gives cell phone users a sense of belonging and a feeling of solidarity with others in their community. For the multisectoral civic groups and non-government organizations, text messaging allowed them to distribute information, instructions, and updates to the participants of Edsa 2.

For Williams, all questions about cause and effect, as between a technology and a society are intensely practical.[35] If a technology is a cause, we can control its effects, and if a technology is an effect, then we can seek to find what other actions or uses caused this effect. Technology, including communication technology, is at once an intention and an effect of a particular social order.[36] To say that text messaging ousted a president would be to minimize the importance of the mass protest that led over a million Filipinos to the streets for four days in January 2001. While text messaging played a vital role in gathering that million, and allowed simultaneous protests in other cities in the country, the show of force in Edsa was what led to the end of Estrada. As Williams says, all technologies have been developed and improved to help with known human practices or with foreseen and desired practices.[37] Later on, other social groups may adopt and develop these technologies for another purpose or practice. Certainly, gathering a mass of protesters to topple a government was not among the intended uses of cell phones!

Yet the cell phone and text messaging has made tremendous impacts in Philippine society that cannot be overlooked. It has led for new ways for families and loved ones to communicate and keep in touch, for business transactions to be made, has created new ways of entertainment, and yes, aided in the downfall of a president. While texting promises to eliminate the traditional gate-keeping function of governments and media, it is in turn creating new gatekeepers who determine the conditions, terms, and of course,

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[35] Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, (1974. Reprint, with an introduction by Lynn Spigel, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1992). p. 4.

[36] Ibid. p. 122.

[37] Ibid. p. 123.

price for which millions of Filipinos gain access to each other.[38] As more and more of

Philippine lifestyle becomes dependent on this technology, the ties that traditionally bind

our culture—kinship, location, religion—may be overshadowed by the ability to purchase

access to the cell phone network.

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[38] David M. Celdran. Texting has changed the way we live, love, and topple governments," from http://pldt.com/david_celdran.html

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