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Standard accounts of women's relationship with technology stress women's need to overcome anxiety to achieve competence with computers. Recent studies provide evidence that this woman-anxiety-technology connection is an oversimplification of the relationship between women and computers. New literature also suggests that making computers more appealing will help girls overcome computational reticence. However, women and girls still are viewed as technologically deficient. Current and proposed educational strategies focus on helping girls "master" computers in order to compete in the classroom and workplace. In the following study, interviews with five women who grew up without computers suggest that, as these women adapted to this new technology in their lives, the drive for mastery did not accurately describe their evolving relationship with computers. Instead, a move toward integration emerged in the patterns of their experiences. After a technological imperative brought the computer into these five women's lives, each woman struggled to find equilibrium by making appropriate choices while negotiating her relationship with the machine. Contextually based learning experiences with coaches or mentors also served as catalysts toward integrating the computer into everyday life rather than simply mastering it as a tool. When the women in this study befriended the computer in this way, the ends and means of computing became one. Thus, this study suggests a new way to examine human relationships with computers—through the lens of virtue ethics.

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Virtual Virtuosos: Cyborgs and Integrative Ethics in the Intimate Machine

by

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I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collections of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

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Ronda L. Clemenhagen, Author

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Dedication

To my parents, Y'Vonne and Buddy, for being proud of me. Also, to James

Patrick Cunningham, for listening, encouraging, and understanding exactly what this
journey meant—from the beginning.

Chapter 1: Entering the Conversation

The dichotomies between mind and body, animal and human, organism and machine, public and private, nature and culture, men and women, primitive and civilized are all in question ideologically.

Donna Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto"

This study explores and describes the ways in which women who grew up without computers have "made sense" of this technology in their adult lives. Women's relationship with technology in general and computers in particular is a growing field of research and discussion. Conclusions drawn are problematic and widely disputed. Many studies of this issue focus on girls and college-age women (in part because of the ready availability of student subjects). One element largely absent from the current dialogue is perspectives of adult women who grew up without computers but have recently been compelled to incorporate this technology into their work and everyday lives. Perhaps some readers will identify with the stories of the women in this study while others will see that not everyone's experience with learning to use computers is the same. Such a study could have implications for organizations as they consider which new technologies to adopt and how to train existing employees to use those new technologies. Additionally, at a broader level, the study could contribute to ongoing research about the impact of technology on human society as a whole.

In the twenty-first century we stand at the crossroads of the ideological questions

Donna Haraway discloses in her ground-breaking 1985 essay "A Cyborg Manifesto:

Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century." In this

essay and many other works (see, *Modest_Witness*, for example) Haraway employs the concept, "cyborg" (an organic-machine hybrid) and the vocabulary of cybernetics to voice a concern that late twentieth century feminism is stalled. "Cyborg" is critical to my own project as well. Distinctions between organisms and machines blur as computer technologies permeate and, therefore, shape the everyday interactions of human beings. Of the dichotomies in question, the distinctions between men and women and between machines and organism are linked in the evolving discussion of the "gender gap" in computing.

Anyone who doubts that computing's default gender is assumed to be male need only consult the recent crop of reports, news, and magazine articles touting various attempts to remedy the "problem" with girls/women and computers (AAUW, Camp et al, Chea, Collins, Eisenberg, Furger, Guidera, Klein, Jesdanun). The problem is typically posed this way: "In a increasingly technologically based economy, women need to be computer literate in order to be part of the workforce, yet they don't seem to acquire technical competence as quickly or easily as boys. So, how do we get them to acquire this competence? How to we get them to master this technology?"

In this study I contribute to the ongoing conversation about the relationship between human beings and technology by discussing interviews conducted in the Fall of 1999 with five women who grew up without computers and then, as adults, incorporated "the intimate machine" (Turkle 41-61) into their lives. Patterns emerge from their stories which suggest something other than a linear progression toward mastery of the computer as a tool. Based on findings from these interviews, my thesis is that attempts to "make" girls competent or computers "girl-friendly" will not meet

the goal of "closing the gender gap" in computing—because the terms of both the problem and solution have been misconceived. I propose on alternate picture of gender, computers and competence, based on two assumptions:

- 1. That a systems perspective (of the type advocated by Latour, Haraway, and cyborgology generally) is necessary to provide a more complete picture of women and competence. The system must equally accommodate people, machines, economics, and culture, at the very least.
- 2. That women's own accounts of their experiences can, heuristically, be a starting point for a new picture of gender and computing.

Hence, my task is to bring together conceptual and empirical resources in a fruitful way.

The Ongoing Conversation

The party is in full swing with most guests assembled. Cocktails and appetizers are in abundance, and dinner will be ready in two hours. If you are reading these words, you are a distinguished guest as well. Perhaps you have been engaging in this age-old conversation with these interlocutors for years, but lest any newcomers feel at too much of a disadvantage (since the party has been underway for decades or even centuries depending on your perspective), let me acquaint you with some of the guests and their conversations. These conversations occur simultaneously yet can be distinguished by the discerning palate ("gumbo ya-ya" style). Each provides a unique flavor and texture to the large pot brewing--how technology interacts with human

lives. Some guests engage in tête-à-têtes while some converse in small groups, and still others can be found wandering and muttering to themselves. The topics are many, but key words and issues overheard from shadowy corners, tables, sofas, and even bouldoirs include: cyborg, cybernetics, machine, organism, communication, gender, relationship, mastery, pedagogy, anxiety, reticence, intimacy, technology, technopoly, geek, literacy, fluency, imperative, equilibrium, black box, and, yes, enthymeme.

It is impossible to list individually all guests assembled. Technology's interaction with the society it inhabits is an interstitial, interdisciplinary, cross-pollinating, promiscuous sort of subject matter, and so the guest list and the conversation emanating from it are rhizomatous—growing continuously and laterally rather than predictably and hierarchically. One can never tell which lateral shoot or adventitious root will take hold when or where, resulting in promiscuous and fertile expansion below the surface. However, certain types of guests who have figured prominently in this conversation, even if constant newcomers make the guest list difficult to track. This party includes communication scholars, composition scholars, historians, philosophers, psychologists, feminists, cyberneticists, teachers, and employers and workers of all kinds. In short, anyone interested in pedagogy, cognition, communication, sociology, history of technology, gender studies, earning a living, or making a profit has something to say about computers in our everyday lives. Such an expansive guest list reveals that this party—this ongoing conversation—is inherently interdisciplinary.

The Persistence of "Mastery"

Sherry Turkle in her groundbreaking work, The Second Self: Computers and the Human Spirit (1984), uses the terms "hard" and "soft" to describe the different styles of "mastery" children in her study use as approaches to computer programming (104). Turkle uses hard and soft not only to distinguish planning versus tinkering, respectively, as cognitive styles, but also as distinctions between ways of interacting with the computer and identifying with computational objects. Turkle's work has contributed tremendously to the discussion of how human beings relate to computers, but perhaps it is time to examine the implications of using the term "mastery," to describe the relationship between humans and computers. Sixteen years later, the AAUW Tech Savvy report and the host of responses to it are still using this term.

The relationship women and girls have with computers is likened to the relationship women are said to have with language. Computing, like language, is viewed as another set of skills to be "mastered." Margaret Lowe Benston suggests in "Women's Voices/Men's Voices: Technology as a Language," that "Women are excluded from an understanding of techniques and of the physical principles by which machine and tools operate (16). Sometimes this exclusion is self-imposed, and sometimes women are kept from this understanding by others (often men) who are more intimately acquainted with the technology). Benston defines and further underlines the importance of technique:

Often the underlying knowledge or technique is more important than the actual machines. Technique includes not only this knowledge of how to construct equipment but the knowledge of how to use it. (16) Part of the "exclusion" stems from the fact that those intimately acquainted with a given technology may be unaware of all the tacit knowledge they have gained along the way. Experts can be incredulous or impatient with the concerns and needs those who are less familiar that technology. Regardless of its source, this exclusion has implications. Benston points to women's marginalization as follows:

The exclusion of women not only from active practice in scientific and technical fields but from training in basic physical and mechanical principles means that even when women use tools or machines, they are marginal to a male-created and male-dominated technology. (17)

The chief concern of many is that women are reduced to being mere consumers and users of male-dominated technology (as opposed to designers who have a say in its construction). By not being involved in the creation of technology, women are forced to play catch-up not only as creators but even as consumers and users of that technology. If they had no say in its design, it will be harder for them to use as well. The cycle becomes vicious (recalling the roots of this word in "vice"). The longer women and girls fail to be interested in using computers for other than leisure activities, the longer they will stay out of decision-making positions that can alter "valence" of a technology.

The Search for Valence

Corlann Gee Bush, in her essay, "Women and the Assessment of Technology," describes "valence" as follows:

A bias or 'charge' analogous to that of atoms that have lost or gained electrons through ionization... Particular tools or technologies tend to be favored in certain situations, tend to perform in a predictable manner in these situations, and tend to bend other interactions to

them. Valence tends to seek out or fit in with certain social norms and to ignore or disturb others. (162)

Langdon Winner, discusses "valence" by another name in the article, "Artifact/Ideas and Political Culture," and in the book, The Whale and the Reactor, as well. The valence of any technology cannot help but have its source in the ideology of its creators. Winner contributes to the discussion of valence American citizens to question more than just the uses and the economic and environmental effects of new technologies, which are typical ways of evaluating technologies after they have already been adopted. He asks Americans additionally to consider how decisions about the "development, adoption, and use of instrumental things affect our shared experience of freedom, power, authority, community, and justice" (290). Winner argues convincingly that citizens can use the "metaphors and rhetorical devices of political speech to unpack the meaning of various technologies" (294). He suggests that the most fruitful questions about technologies are formulated when people view them as "artifact/ideas"—political ideas expressed in material form (294). However, the distractions from focusing on the ideological implications (valences) of technologies are many, and even attempts to unpack those valences can easily go awry as old technologies become "invisible" to members of a technological society.

Denis Baron, in "From Pencils to Pixels: The Stages of Literacy Technologies," from Hawisher and Selfe's *Passions*, shows how confusing the search for valence becomes as humans struggle to respond to new technologies: "As the old technologies become automatic and invisible, we find ourselves more concerned with fighting or embracing what's new" (31). This tendency to focus on fighting or embracing

happens before human beings have had a chance to comprehend fully the potential of the new technologies. Much of what is attributed to "computers" can be traced to human disappointment with the fact that computers do not automatically solve all the problems of authority and inequality that have proven so intractable in the classroom. Because computers have not solved those problems without conscious choices and effort on the part of humans, they are seen as perpetuating those problems (Allen 371-92, Aschauer 7-232, Belcher 253-267, Pagnucci and Mauriello 141-151, Rickly 121-140, Wolfe 153-156, Zuga 57-71).

Some researchers in the field of composition demonstrate quite clearly that the computer appears as a solution looking for a problem to solve (Winner's "means looking for an ends"). For example, in the article, "The Masquerade: Gender, Identity, and Writing for the Web," authors Pagnucci and Mauriello refer to the economic aspects of the technological imperative as it affects teachers:

The growing importance of the Internet has led most universities to invest thousands of dollars in computers...That expensive investment has brought with it a mandate that teachers learn to adapt this technology for their classrooms (141).

Additionally, Pagnucci and Mauriello open the article with an imaginary quotation, which is perhaps intended to sum up the feelings of the educators in their audience: "All I know is that distance education is at my doorstep. If I don't use it, I'll be out of a job" (141). In this study, college students in a composition class posted their papers on the class web page for peer review. Students were allowed to choose pseudonyms, and one finding was that girls often chose pseudonyms of famous males in hopes of getting more peer responses (i.e., more help) on their papers. Furthermore, no boys

chose female pseudonyms, and some girls chose female pseudonyms that represented what the researchers considered "troubling images of femininity" (examples listed were Pamela Anderson, Jewel, and Victoria Sweet) and avoided what the researchers considered "strong female role models" (examples listed were Hilary Clinton and Mother Theresa) (143). The "Masquerade" article implies that the pseudonym chosen was the only significant variable in students' decisions about which papers to peer review, which seems to discount the possibility that students made choices about which papers to review based on content or title of their peers' papers. The conclusion Pagnucci and Mauriello draw from their data is that "students in cyberspace still carried the baggage we had hoped they could leave behind" (144).

The cycle goes something like this: People want computers to be revolutionary in the classroom because of either an inherent faith in (or an attempt to mask fear of) technology. The amount of money spent on computer equipment and the desire to be innovative creates Winner's "ends without means"—a solution in search of a problem. Eager to embrace the technology made available to them (with or without our asking for it) educators and other employees search for problems they think computers can help solve (e.g., perpetuation of gender stereotypes) but when computers do not automatically solve those problems, then it is tempting to suggest that computers help perpetuate them. Winner states the case as follows:

While it is true that systems of computation and communications, intelligently structured and wisely applied, might help a society raise its standards of literacy, education, and general knowledgeability, to look to those instruments first while ignoring how to enlighten and invigorate a human mind is pure foolishness. (Whale 109)

In short, technology must be integrated with pedagogy. Winner suggests that in our enthusiasm to embrace or fight new technology, it is possible to focus too much on the technology and not enough on how it is applied. Excessive focus on the machine itself may conceal other possibilities for socially beneficial applications of that technology within the larger system.

While technologies can have inherent tendencies or "valences" (Bush 162), once those technologies have been adopted, humans can attempt to steer them toward their more positive valences. This plurality of valences may be a key to the confusion about computers, for the computer is a multi-purpose machine. Guns, for example, have a clear valence toward violence, but computers have many purposes and valences of which their original creators were unaware. Communication, a primary purpose of computers now, for example, is far more complex than data and number crunching, the original purposes for which the computer was designed. (For an accessible yet thorough discussion of the original purposes and unforeseen impacts of the computer, Campbell-Kelly and Aspray's Computer: A History of the Information Machine is an excellent resource).

The complexity of the computer as a technology comes in part from the various communication technologies that have come with it. People want to decide whether computers are primarily good or bad (to be embraced or fought) and to determine what computers do to power structures in the classroom. In a search for the valence of the computer, oversimplification is dangerous. Such a complex machine has multiple valences in its guise as an aid to learning and communication. The search for

valence is a noble one. However, other questions need to be asked as well for, as Hawisher and Selfe suggest, it is often how teachers employ the technology in their classrooms (the technology of pedagogy, if you will) that makes the real difference in the affect computers have on the power structure. The potential for democratization and collaboration exists, but the technology does not inherently ensure it, as evidence from various computers and composition studies suggests (Allen 371-92, Aschauer 7-232, Belcher 253-267, Pagnucci and Mauriello 141-151, Rickly 121-140, Wolfe 153-156, Zuga 57-71). Good pedagogy applies technologies in ways that "enlighten and invigorate a human mind" rather than engaging in what Hawisher and Selfe refer to as "administrator pleasing behavior"—praising computers for the sake of justifying the money spent and appearing to have a good attitude ("Rhetoric" 129).

In their introduction to Passions and Pedagogies and 21st Century Technologies, Hawisher and Selfe wisely appropriate Margaret Mead's term, "prefigurative," from Culture and Commitment: The New Relationships Between the Generations in the 1970s, to describe the situation composition instructors and scholars face in the writing classroom and, indeed, all instructors who include writing in their courses face to some degree. Many feel ill equipped to prepare students for this "information revolution" and must somehow find a way to guide our students as best we may, including getting out of their way (Introduction 4). Hawisher and Selfe point to the necessity of teachers giving up a certain amount of authority in the classroom when adopting and adapting to computers.

Unlike previous generations of English professors, we cannot promise to provide students with a stable and unchanging body of knowledge—especially in connection with technology use. Indeed, we

cannot even provide ourselves with such intellectual comforts. (Introduction 4)

The loss of "such intellectual comforts" is precisely what Neil Postman decries throughout Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology, in which he rails against what has so often been called the "postmodern condition." Hawisher and Selfe instead argue for accepting the reality of technology's role in human society. In their concern that computers be appropriately integrated with classroom pedagogy, Hawisher and Selfe seem likely agree with historian of technology Tim LeCain who cautions educators who attempt to accept the "prefigurative" status of technology and the changing power structure in classrooms not to abdicate their responsibility to give clear and specific guidance to students—and fellow teachers—whenever it is still possible to do so.

Methodology

The central research question for this study is "How do individual women make sense of the computer in their everyday lives?" Open-ended questions (see Appendix F for question list) were asked in the following categories: self and relationship to technology in general, early experiences in learning to use a computer, current use of and relationship with computers, perceptions of gender or personality-type issues in computer use, and experiences with specific computer tools and uses. All five women answered all questions except in cases where the respondent had little experience with particular computer tools or uses (see Appendices A-E for individual transcripts). I recorded four of the five interviews on audiotape while taking written notes. One

subject, Dale, preferred to be interviewed via e-mail. This study was approved by Oregon State University's Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects. All policies and procedures for research involving human subjects were observed.

Open-ended questions were designed to help each woman to emphasize what she felt was important in her own experiences with computers. Each woman presented a clear, strong individual voice, yet these women echoed one another with remarkable frequency. As noted earlier, recent qualitative studies have focused largely on girls and college-age women partially because of the readily available pool of subjects and also because of the sense of urgency about the shrinking pipeline. This is incredibly important work. This study hopes to infuse that work with an additional perspective by checking in on women who already have been out in the work force for years.

Themes that run through the five women's narratives include initial fear, anxiety, and frustration with the pedagogy in computer classes; feeling "othered" and alienated by the machine; next, a sense of accomplishment when mastering tasks (usually after experimenting on their own and eventually finding a "guide" to assist); and eventually a love of the connections and accessibility of information enhanced by communication technologies (e.g., Internet and E-mail). It is from these common themes that the stages (1-4) of what I call the "cyborg feedback model" emerged. I created an introductory stage, "Stage 0," as well, which is described below. The stages of the cyborg feedback model may be summarized as follows:

- Stage 0—I'm OK/It's OK: A Double Gesture. This "stage" introduces the women in this study, providing a glimpse of their experiences with and feelings about technology before the computer entered their lives.
- Stage 1—Technology Knocks: "Enter the Fearful Box." This stage shows
 how the computer came into each woman's life via a technological imperative
 that upset the individual equilibrium that existed before the machine entered
 her life.
- Stage 2—Learning Hurts: Pedagogy as Pain. This stage illustrates the negative impact of classroom situations that frustrated the women's attempts to learn how to use the machine.
- Stage 3—Pain Motivates/Coaching Helps: Competence in Connection.

 This stage shows how each woman eventually realizes she needs something more to engage the computer meaningfully. That "something more" turns out to include one-on-one coaching—human connection and contextual learning.
- Stage 4—Beyond Mastery: Intimacy with/through the Machine. This stage reveals that the women in this study eventually transcend the instrumental goal of learning to use the machine as a tool, finding ways to better connect to both themselves and others with the machine. The women are not so interested in "mastery" after all but, rather, integration of the intimate machine into their daily lives.

Chapter 2 discusses this cyborg feedback model in more detail, providing a theoretical framework for understanding these women's experiences from systems perspective.

This model is then exemplified through the women's individual voices in Chapter 3, "Cyborg Witnesses."

Regarding those individual voices that emerge in Chapter 3, a brief biographical introduction of the five women who are the subjects of this study follows. The purpose of these introductions is to establish context and help readers identify the individual women. I refrain from giving detailed information, however, because the purpose of interviews, in part, was to empower the women in this study speak for themselves by choosing what they feel is important for readers to know about their personal backgrounds. The women interviewed for this study are called by fictionalized names: Amy, Bonnie, Cynthia, Dale, and Elena. Names of loved ones mentioned in the interviews have been fictionalized as well.

Amy, the youngest interviewee, is 33-year-old speech and language specialist with a master's degree. She has been deaf since she was eighteen months old. She is an only child who was raised and schooled in the hearing world. Amy has participated in the "hearing world" her entire life thanks largely to her mother's encouragement and her own determination. In one-on-one conversation with Amy, her hearing impairment is not apparent because of her clear speech and ability to read lips. Amy is a speech and language specialist for hearing children in grades K-8. She is engaged to Bonnie's son.

Bonnie, the oldest interviewee, is a 60-year-old, newly retired instructional assistant who attended college for one year. She works in small groups with learning-disabled and emotionally disturbed children and assists the head learning specialist with data entry for Individual Education Plan (IEP) reports. She is married and has two grown children. Her son is Amy's fiancée.

Cynthia is 42-year-old former music teacher who now is taking coursework and small freelance desktop publishing jobs in hopes of becoming a technical writer. She has done now works at a high-tech engineering firm in an administrative position.

Her longtime partner is an engineer at a high-tech firm.

Dale is a 49-year-old writer who is also a Ph.D. candidate in a myth and folklore program. She has been a bookkeeper and administrative assistant for much of her career. She is married and has three grown children

Elena is a 46-year-old master's candidate who teaches communication courses and coaches forensics at a public university. She is divorced and has two grown sons and a school-age daughter. A potential partner who is technologically savvy has recently entered her life.

Recording what people have to say about technology is an important project to which this study aims to contribute. Though this discussion includes gender, it is not a comparative study of women and men. Instead, I chose to flee traditional "objectivity" and embrace the network by beginning with my closest nodes—women. We are all women who are educators, former educators, and/or graduate students. I interviewed women who, like myself, essentially grew up without computers and had something they wanted to say about the journey toward incorporating the machine into their everyday lives. Together, the six of us were checking in on the standard account of "mastery" as the cure for women's perceived anxiety over technology. This study is exploratory and inventional—heuristic in the original sense.

Chapter 2: Cyborg Feedback Model

I am mixing up systemic society issues with personal ones, but this is because I think they are as intertwined in this [technological] realm as in all aspects of people's lives. Machines become our tools, friends, and/or oppressors for political and personal reasons that become interwoven and hard to sort out.

Ruth Hubbard, Machina Ex Dea

The journeys of the women in this study are certainly individual, as an examination of the transcripts (see Appendices A through E) reveals, but the common patterns that emerge are striking as well. We understand each woman's journey better through examining common patterns as they play out in individual situations. Likewise, these emergent patterns are better understood in context by examining each woman's journey. Together, the individual journeys and patterns suggest a cyborg feedback model, which, in addition to growing out of these women's experiences, also has roots in a field called cybernetics.

This chapter begins by examining the term "cyborg." Cyborg roots grow from many directions, including that of systems theory, the first topic of discussion in this chapter. Given the central research question of this study—how these five women make sense of the computer in their everyday lives—systems theory leads to examination of another social construct, the "technological imperative," which is the second topic. The technological imperative, once unpacked, serves as a catalyst for the engine of a machine I call the "cyborg feedback model," the final topic of Chapter

2. This model, based on the women's narratives, then provides a framework for exploring their journeys from unplugged to wired in Chapter 3: Cyborg Witnesses.

What's All This About Cyborgs?

A cyborg is a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction... The cyborg is a matter of fiction and lived experience that changes what counts as women's experience. . . . This is a struggle over life and death, but the boundary between science fiction and social reality is an optical illusion.

Indeed, tool and myth mutually constitute each other.

Donna Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto"

Some people are frightened or simply puzzled at Donna Haraway's suggestion that all humans are cyborgs. When most people encounter the term cyborg, they often think of science fiction stories and comic books in which half-human, half-robot beings terrorize humans. The simple definition of a cyborg is a human-machine hybrid. Surprisingly, the term, "cyborg," (cybernetic organism) was not invented by Norbert Wiener, author of Cybernetics: Or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine; which was published in 1948, nor did it come from earlier science fiction. However, the concept of the cyborg is a logical outcome implied by Weiner's ideas and early science fiction. The word, "cyborg," was first coined in 1960, by Manfred Clynes and Nathan S. Kline, two scientists pondering the adaptability of humans to space travel.

What are some of the devices necessary for creating self-regulating man-machine systems? The self-regulation needs to function without the benefit of consciousness, in order to cooperate with the body's

own autonomous homeostatic controls. For the artificially extended homeostatic control system functioning unconsciously, we propose the term, "Cyborg." (Clynes and Kline 27)

Chris Hables Gray, editor of *The Cyborg Handbook* (1995), suggests four centers of cyborg creation: military, medical research, entertainment, and work. According to Gray, cyborg technologies can restore (replace something lost), normalize (make something or someone function "normally"), reconfigure (as when we connect with others in cyberspace or prepare for space travel), or enhance (primarily military or industrial research) (4). Cyborgs are people like Data and Georgdi LaForge on *Star Trek Next Generation*, grandmothers with pacemakers, friends sending embarrassing photo attachments from the previous camping trip, graduate students taking antianxiety drugs while working through a dissertation, fishing widows calling their husbands in the "hog line" via cell phone, and you, pointing and clicking to purchase the latest Harry Potter book at www.amazon.com. Immunization, psychopharmacology, and human genetic engineering are all cyborgian processes when the definition of cyborg includes restoring, normalizing, and reconfiguring as well as enhancing (3).

Cyborgology emerges as a political stance, methodology, terministic screen, if you will, at the end of the twentieth century, ushered in primarily by Donna Haraway's essay, "Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century." An organic-machine hybrid, the cyborg is a postmodern being, by definition a boundary transgressor, a shape-shifter, whose point of entry is the interstice among three "crucial boundary breakdowns:" human-animal, human-machine, and finally physical-non-physical. Perhaps the boundary between these

breakdowns is itself a "leaky distinction." Donna Haraway refines this definition of "cyborg" as follows:

Post-Second World War hybrid entities made of, first, ourselves and other organic creatures in our unchosen 'high-technological' guise as information systems, texts, and ergonomically controlled laboring, desiring, and reproducing systems. The second essential ingredient in cyborgs is machines in their guise, also, as communication systems, texts, and self-acting, ergonomically designed apparatuses. (Simians 174)

Rhizomatic Roots: Unpacking a Cyborg Lexicon

Words are like Bruno Latour's black boxes—full of assumptions. When someone says, "house," we each come up with a different mental image, whether based on memory, the place we currently live, or an idealized version of what one's ideal home might be like. While "house" seems concrete enough, "home" is packed with feeling. Many words that seem material on the surface turn out to be conceptual when spun out in human minds. Concepts are the slipperiest words of all. And humans must unpack these black boxes to communicate and understand one another. Black boxes are like enthymemes (syllogisms in which one premise is not explicitly stated because of an assumption that the audience "knows" the rest). Aristotle viewed enthymemes as, "the orator's proper modes of persuasion" (152). Walter Ong, in Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology, suggests that the use of enthymeme involves the subconscious because "enthymema primarily signifies something within one's soul, mind, heart, feelings, hence something not uttered or 'outered' and to this extent not a fully conscious argument, legitimate though it may be" (12). Ong suggests that neither speaker nor audience is fully aware of the argument in an enthymeme. Words, too, are like enthymemes in that they are based on unstated, even unconscious, assumptions. Given the ambiguousness of language, establishing and examining a cyborg lexicon is an appropriate step toward understanding the cyborg feedback model. Unless stated otherwise, definitions that follow come from *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 1993 edition. Beginning at the root of the model means first unpacking the term, "cyborg," and then seeing where it leads.

Cyborg: [Blend of cybernetic and organism.] A person whose physical tolerances or capabilities are extended beyond normal human limitations by a machine etc., an integrated man-machine system.

"Cyborg" is actually more complex than this definition suggests, for now not only physical but also mental and emotional capabilities can be extended. Not only can human capabilities be extended, but, as mentioned previously, they can also restored, normalized, or reconfigured (Gray 3). Finally, cyborg is not just a "man"-machine but also woman, human, and not just human but also organism.

Cybernetics: [from Greek, kubernetes, "steersman," kubernan, "to steer"] The science of systems of control and communication in living organisms and machines.

It is fascinating to note the coupling of "control" and "communication" in the definition of "cybernetics." In human relationships with machines or other humans, the issues are often about control (power) and communication (relationship).

Communication in relationships largely concerns power and control as well—so much so that cybernetics could be "the science of systems of relationships among living organisms and machines." It is also fruitful to think whether the adjective "living" applies to machines as well as organisms. Relationships are "systems" of interactions, so perhaps cybernetics is really the science of relationships.

Organism: 2a An organized or organic system; a whole consisting of dependent and interdependent parts, resembling a living being. 2b The theory that in science everything is ultimately an organic part of an integrated whole. 3. An individual animal, plant, bacterium, etc.

The word, "organism," then, by definition has to do with both parts and wholes, living and "resembling living," mechanical, technical, and natural; and individual and system.

Organ: A part of an animal or plant adapted for a particular function. The human organs of speech or voice collectively; the larynx and its accessories as used in speaking or singing. C. Phrenology. Each of the regions of the brain held to be the site of particular mental faculties d. The penis. 5. History. A mechanical device, esps a firearm, a machinegun. 6a A means or action or operation; an instrument. Now esp., a person body of people or thing by which some purpose I carried out or some function is performed. B. A mental or spiritual faculty regarded as an instrument of the mind or soul. C. A means or medium of communication; spec a newspaper or journal which serves as the mouthpiece of a particular party, movement, etc.

Organic: Latin- organum = instrument, engine, musical instrument, from Greek organikos pertaining to an organ, instrumental, from organon Instrumental. 1 Biology and Medicine. Of, pertaining to, or of the nature of a bodily organ or organs; (of a disease) resulting from physical or metabolic disorder, accompanied by actual physical change in body tissue. 2. Serving as an instrument or means; instrumental 4a Of, pertaining to, or derived from a living organism; having the characteristics of a living organism. 4b Chemistry. Of, pertaining to, or designating carbon compounds, orig. those naturally existing as the constituents of living organisms or derived from such compounds); containing carbon in combination. Also, (of an element) contained in an organic compound 5a Inherent in the organization or constitution of a living being; constitutional; fundamental 5b Belonging to the constitution of an organized whole; structural 6b Done by means of technical instruments; mechanical 7. Of pertaining to, or characterized by connection or coordination of parts in one whole; organized; systematic. b. Organizing, constitutive. Characterized by continuous or natural development suggestive of the growth of a living being. D Architecture. Of a building, architectural style, etc.: reminiscent of or resembling a natural organism; spec designating architecture that attempts to unify a building with its surrounding.

Many have come to think of "organic" as living, but this word's roots include instruments, means, and systems—mechanistic terminology that permeates the natural

and living meanings "organic" now holds. The word, organic, the root of "organism" which makes up a half of the whole cyborg, is cyborgian as well. Its roots contain elements of the living and the natural as well as traces of its instrumental/technical roots.

Machine: Gk. Makhana--a structure of any kind, material or immaterial; something constructed. A ship, a boat 4. An apparatus, an appliance; a device for applying mechanical power and having a number of interconnected parts, each with a definite function, esp; one that does not utilize human strength; and apparatus of a particular (specified or understood) kind; a bicycle, a motor vehicle; an aircraft; a computer; a typewriter b. Any instrument that transmits force or directs its application. C. The penis. Also, a condom.

System: Gk sustēma. 1. A group or set of related or associated material or immaterial things forming a unity or complex whole. B. Sci. A group or set of objects naturally associated or of phenomena sharing a common cause. C. A set of objects or appliances arranged or organized for some special purpose, as parts of a mechanism, components of an interdependent or interconnecting assembly or network. 2. A body of theory or practice pertaining to or prescribing a particular form of government, religion, philosophy, etc.; a conspectus of a subject. C. With "the". The established or prevailing political, economic, or social order, esp. regarded as oppressive. Also, any impersonal restrictive institution or organization.

After sufficient unpacking, "cyborg" might boil down to something like this: As a combination of "cybernetics" and "organism," the cyborg is the embodiment of machine-organism relationships within a system.

And so everything is linked to everything else in these systems of words—a complex, cross-pollination that defies separation or complete description. Everything is organic and machine, interconnected, interdependent, partial and functional. "Nature" links with machines in each word that makes up the definition of "cyborg." The term "cyborg" is thus inherently a double-gesture, simultaneously signifying

machines and living beings. The terms that make up the semantic system inside the black box "cyborg" are double gestures as well—simultaneous attempts to separate the living from the non-living while connecting them. Machines and organisms appear to be interlocking metaphors for one another however humans may desire to keep them separate.

If the roots of "cyborg" are so tangled, how can a construct called "cyborg feedback model" reveal something about the way the five women in this study made sense of the computer in their everyday lives? First, we accept the commingling inherent in the term, "cyborg." Next, we must also accept that given the current limitations of language confined to a printed page we must break everything down just to begin to talk about it at all. This breaking down (analysis) of constituent parts goes solidly against the systems theory approach (synthesis) to which a cyborg lexicon gestures. However, despite this apparent dichotomy, analysis and synthesis can work together to enhance understanding. The trick is to keep an open mind, recalling that everything confined to the page at a specific point in time is only one version of one story in a collection of stories that make up the ongoing conversation about technoscience in/as society.

Organic-Machine Networks: Systems Theory in Action

Without referring directly to systems theory, Bruno Latour, in Science in Action, puts systems theory into practice unpack the inner workings of technoscience by recognizing technoscience as a network, as a system of humans, machines, and relationships. Latour's tool, actor-network theory, is a way of viewing the actors

(things and people) at work in any "text" one may wish to observe, a way of opening up black boxes to see the inner workings of a system that produced any particular outcome. This study of five women explores the network of relationships between and among machines, organisms, and the environment/systems they inhabit, using the cyborg feedback model that emerged from those interviews. At each stage of the journey machine inputs/outputs, organism inputs/outputs, and environmental variables, shed light on the women's stories.

Parts in a system are connected by energy and information flows. Bodies are systems of energy and information flow (food equals fuel, and information flows between the brain and various body parts). As society becomes increasingly information-based through the pervasiveness of computers, knowledge (or at least information management), more than anything, is power. The increasing importance of information flow in society makes clear the need to move beyond a simple cause and effect model for understanding how and why the computers have such an impact on our lives.

The Cyborg Feedback Model

Taking a cyborg lexicon and systems theory in hand, we can see that human beings are organisms, computers are machines, and as part of a larger system, both machine and organism are affected not only by one another but by environmental variables.

Additionally, the machine can be viewed as part of an organism's environment and an organism as part of machine's environment. At each stage of the journey from

unplugged to wired, we encounter machine inputs and outputs, organism inputs and outputs, and environmental variables. Machine and organism provide inputs and outputs to one another. Within this cyborg (organic-machine) relationship, we see an interdependency in which one's output becomes another's input, forming a kind of circle. The cyborg relationship can be viewed as a yin/yang entity, in which each element affects and is affected by the other. They form an inner circle as each woman works to incorporate the external motivators (imperatives) that place her forcibly in relationship with the machine. Together woman and machine work in the face of environmental variables that can both enhance their relationship and make it more difficult. The environmental variables also provide inputs to the cyborg and receive outputs that become inputs that in turn affect future outputs from environment to cyborg, but we find that this inside/outside distinction does not work, either. In a system, parts affect whole, inputs to the whole affect parts, and ultimately, there is a huge system and many subsystems that affect it. So, a cyborg affects and is affected by environment. As R.C Lewontin states in Biology as Ideology, "Organisms don't experience environments. They create them" (109):

The first rule of the real relation between organisms and environment is that environments do not exist in the absence of organisms but are constructed by them out of bits and pieces of the external world.

The second rule is that the environment of organisms is constantly being remade during the life of those living beings. (Lewontin 113)

Regarding the relationship among parts and the whole in this system, Margaret Lowe Benston couples technology with society in her chapter, "Women's Voices/Men's Voices," in *Technology and Women's Voices: Keeping in Touch* by stating, "Everyone interacts with the underlying technological system; technology and society

are words for different aspects of the same whole" (Benston 16). Recalling the opening quotation of this chapter—"I am mixing up systemic society issues with personal ones, but this is because I think they are intertwined" (Hubbard vii)—the narratives of the five women in this study also can be viewed as interactions between technology and society in microcosm. Examining how individual women (who are teachers and have been students in the U.S. public education system) perceive their relationship with one particular technology, the computer, may reveal something about how technology, "as a social force. . . is now deeply intertwined with major institutions of the society" (Benston 17).

Though each woman's response to this social force (a.k.a., the technological imperative) is unique, there is a strikingly similar pattern in their journeys, which may tell us something not only about each individual woman but about how human beings adapt to externally induced change. The pattern of their journeys can be viewed in five stages: I'm OK/It's OK, Technology Knocks, Learning Hurts, Pain Motivates/Coaching Helps, and Beyond Mastery. Each stage begins with actions (inputs) that catalyze a series of responses (outputs), which, in turn, become the next inputs toward or away from equilibrium on the path from unplugged to wired.

We have the computer, the individual woman, and social forces bringing them together. Once the machine and the woman are pushed together, they, in turn, influence each other and the social forces that placed them together in the first place. What emerges is a cyborg model based on a cybernetic machine-organism-environment feedback loop, a sequence of actions in response to a technological

imperative that says, "Here is the machine we think you need. Make it work so it can help you do your work." Enter the machine.

Unpacking the Technological Imperative

The term, "technological imperative," is becoming a sort of black box. Building on Norbert Wiener's Cybernetics and The Human use of Human Beings, any "imperative" can be viewed as a response to perceived disturbance in equilibrium. Inside the technological imperative are military, social, communication, and economic imperatives. Systems theory states than each part affects the parts in a system as well as the whole; however, that large-scale processes and systems affect smaller ones moreso than the reverse. Thus, systems theory and cybernetics suggest that when a large social imperative occurs in an effort to establish equilibrium for a society, that attempt at equilibrium creates a disequilibrium for individuals within the society. The history of the automobile's popularity in the United States offers a clear example of how large-scale imperatives (attempts at equilibrium) can affect individual lives.

Several imperatives created the "need" for everyone to have an automobile.

In tracing the history of the automobile in the United States, the impact of Eisenhower's 1956 Interstate Highway Act (IHA) can hardly be overestimated. As the largest peacetime construction project (\$26 billion) in U.S. history, the IHA emerged as an imperative in response to a supposed need for "defense" (a path for quick transportation out of the cities in case of war). Regardless of the need to which this imperative responded, it effectively eliminated many public transportation alternatives

previously available before so much money (75% of all transformation funding) was channeled into IHA (LeCain). Military, political, and economic forces combined to require people to own cars. The IHA, as a national imperative (response to a potential disruption of equilibrium in the form of war), created an imbalance for individuals, who, with fewer transportation alternatives, were forced to turn to the automobile to regain a state of transportation equilibrium.

Steven Jones, in his article "Understanding Community in the Information Age," likens the imperative for a national highway system to the imperative for an information superhighway, pointing out the military beginnings of each (10). (The computer, after all, was first designed to speed up production for firing tables in World War II, and, ARPAnet, the precursor of the Internet was originally designed to enhance military communications.) Paul Edwards in *The Closed World* argues ways in which the Cold War both shaped and was shaped by the computer. "We can make sense of the history of computers as tools only when we simultaneously grasp their history as metaphors in Cold War science, politics, and culture" (ix). Having seen that the technological imperative certainly can include political, social, communication, and economic imperatives, further explanation is needed to understand how imperatives originally introduced to establish societal equilibrium disturb the equilibrium of individuals.

In an individual, a disturbed equilibrium presents as anxiety due to a feeling of loss of control. Technology threatens some cherished individual values while supporting others. Thomas Hughes, in his article "The Technological Torrent" agrees with Lewis Mumford that technology both shapes and is shaped by values (Blake 125-37):

Inventors, industrial scientists, engineers, and system builders have been the makers of modern America. The values of order, system, and control that they embedded in machines, devices, processes, and systems have become the values of modern technological culture. These values are embedded in the artifacts, or hardware. (Hughes)

The "value laden" nature of technology is symbolized by Max Weber's theory of "rationalization" (Ritzer ff). For Weber, such an equation for rationalization might go as follows: capitalism + industrialization = rationalization. The technological imperative, in the service of capitalism and industrialization, has tended to support societal values such as efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control at the expense of personal values, such as individuality, privacy, freedom, and spontaneity. This sacrifice of individual values to attempts at societal equilibrium creates a sense of anxiety from feeling a loss of personal control.

Ultimately, for the women in this study, an awarenesses and acceptance what they can and cannot control is the best means of regaining control (re-establishing equilibrium) of their lives in the face of technological change. They cannot stop the marching onward of the technological imperative, but they can control how they respond to the anxiety it produces. They may begin with paralysis or avoidance, but ultimately they push beyond it—at least enough to do their jobs. And perhaps something unexpected can happen once a certain level of equilibrium is restored. They are then free to notice other imbalances and establish their own imperatives to re-establish equilibrium.

One version of these women's responses to the technological imperative (in the shape of a personal computer) emerges from the transcripts of their interviews in stages—from 0 (I'm OK/It's OK, in which machine and organism are separate) to 4

(Beyond Mastery, in which machine and organism unite). One possible representation of those stages is an extended *spiral* ("a progressive increase or decrease, especially one in which two factors each respond to the stimulus provided by the other") with five coils. Another term for coil is "convolution" (" fold, turn, or twist of something coiled; a complexity;" " any of the folds of the surface of the brain;" and from mathematics, "an integral function of two of more given functions; an analogous summation").

Figure 2.1 represents the stages of the cyborg feedback model as an extended spiral. The twists and turns of the coils are a metaphor for how, when thrown together, organism and machine (now a potential cyborg couple) each "respond to stimuli provided by the other" and to the stimuli provided by the environment (system) they inhabit together. To understand the story about to unfold, keep in mind that this environment/system that machine and organism inhabit is the very source of the technological imperative— the one that disturbed each woman's equilibrium by placing organism and machine (woman and computer) together in the first place.

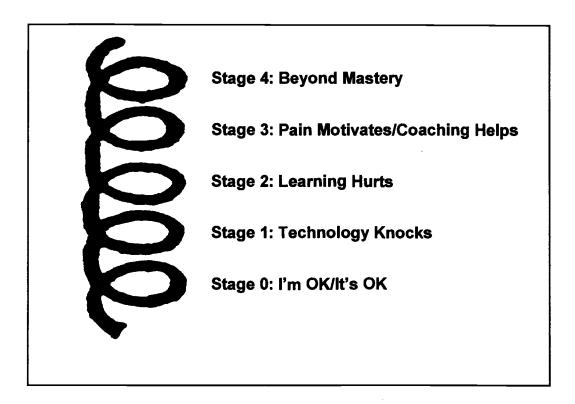


Figure 2.1: Stages of cyborg feedback model (convolutions of the spiral journey from unplugged to wired).

Chapter 3: Cyborg Witnesses

If we can argue by Enthymeme, we should use our Examples as subsequent supplementary evidence. . . . If they follow the Enthymemes, they have the effect of witnesses giving evidence, and this always tells.

Aristotle, On Rhetoric (1394a)

According to standard accounts, women have a unique experience of anxiety when it comes to technology. Perhaps when it comes to computers women are struggling to find ways to adapt to yet another male-mandated technology and make it their own. However, in the AAUW report, Tech Savry: Educating Girls in the New Computer Age, school-age girls interviewed speak not so much of a fear of computers but of reticence. The see computers as sites where boys play at control and mastery, tinker with technology just because they like playing with machines, and avoid the complexity of human relationships. Girls have internalized the cliché of the geek/hacker style computer virtuoso and have no desire to emulate it. The AAUW also notes the defensiveness behind the reticence girls express and, rather than turning the issue into a debate over the right way of engaging with computers, suggests that girls can benefit from overcoming their fear of the machine (AAUW 8-10). Readers of this report will note the influence of Turkle's "Computational Reticence: Why Women Fear the Intimate Machine."

As mentioned in Chapter 1, many articles in popular press as well as studies of the social impact of technology are currently focused how girls are faring with computers in the classroom because so few women are entering, and so many are leaving, high-

tech professions such as engineering and programming. Much of this discussion focuses on women in high-tech positions without examining the status of women who have not chosen high-tech careers per se but whose careers have been affected by the pervasiveness of the computer in human existence. Many adults are already in established careers that have been transformed by technology or have chosen to further their education at universities, community colleges, and in the workplace. What it means to hold any job and what it means to be a student in any discipline have been transformed by the ubiquitousness of the computer. How are those who have had the computer thrust upon them faring, those whose lives seemed "just fine" until the arrival of what Turkle calls the "intimate machine"?

Regarding this question, the AAUW report includes a chapter on teachers' perspectives on technology and the resulting classroom dynamics (13-25). While my own study did not begin as an exploration of teachers and students but rather "adult women who grew up without computers," the five women who first showed an interest in being interviewed for this study all turned out to be educators and graduate students. As mentioned in the biographical sketches of Chapter 1, Amy is a speech and language specialist a few years into her career; Bonnie, a retired instructor of learning disabled children and administrative assistant to a learning specialist; Cynthia, a former music teacher who hopes to freelance as a technical writer; Dale, a writer who is also a graduate student in mythology studies and has served as an administrative assistant and bookkeeper, and Elena, a graduate student and instructor in communication.

In tracing these women's journeys from unplugged to wired (cyborg status), each woman speaks in her own words, through direct quotations from transcripts, and then I add my own voice to the conversation through explanation and analysis of those responses. The excerpts and analyses are organized according to the stages of cyborg development that emerged from the interviews themselves. In Stage 0: I'm OK/It's OK, the women introduce themselves (see also brief biographical sketches of each woman in Chapter 1) by recalling experiences with and feelings about technology before the computer entered their lives. In Stage 1: Technology Knocks, the computer eventually enters the women's lives via a technological imperative that upsets the sense of economic or social equilibrium previously existed. Stage 2: Learning Hurts reveals the frustration aroused by attempts to learn to use the machine in an unproductive classroom situation. In Stage 3: Pain Motivates/Coaching Helps each woman realizes she needs "something more" if she hopes to engage the machine. In each case, "something more" includes one-on-one coaching—a combination of human connection and contextual learning. In Stage 4: Beyond Mastery, each woman transcends learning to use the machine as a tool and finds ways to better connect to self and/or others with the machine. In this final stage, the women interviewed reveal that the ends of computing for them go beyond "mastery" of the tool toward integration of the intimate machine into their daily lives.

Before beginning the circuitous journey from unplugged to wired, it is important to understand how the women in this study viewed themselves in relationship to technology/machinery before the intimate machine entered their lives. As Elizabeth Tonkin states in *Narrating Our Pasts*,

Memory is part of cognitive empowering and a means to being; it is developed through social interaction; it is medium as well as message. The contents or evoked messages of memory are also ineluctably social insofar as they are acquired in the social world and can be coded in symbol systems which are culturally familiar. (112)

Questions such as, "What images does the term technology bring to mind?" "Do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined?" and "Who or what influenced your beliefs about this?" took the women back in time. The five women's baseline responses to technology are indicated in Stage 0. In the interest of brevity, for stages 1-4, only the most salient excerpts from the transcripts (see Appendices A-E) are quoted.

Stage 0—I'm OK/It's OK: A Double Gesture

- Q. Do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined?
- A. No.
- Q. Why not?
- A. Because I have never set my spirit to do it.
- Q. Who and what have influenced your beliefs about this?
- A. Society. (Elena ln 11-17)

Stage 0, "I'm OK/It's OK," can be interpreted in at least two ways. "I'm OK/It's OK," can be interpreted at face value: "I'm fine; technology is fine; it's all good." A separation between self and technology is clear in such a statement. Additionally, "I'm OK/It's OK" can be a refusal, a polite disavowal, as in the following:

Q Would you like dessert.

A No, I'm OK

Q Would you like another glass of wine?"

A It's OK. I'm fine.

I'm OK/It's OK brings with it possibilities of both acceptance and refusal—a double-gesture, which embodies ambivalence the respondents have toward technology before the intimate machine enters their lives. Before saying "Yes" to the potential new relationship, Amy, Bonnie, Cynthia, Dale, and Elena consider the matter in the context of who they are and the computer's potential for positive and negative impacts on their lives. To answer the larger research question, "How do you make sense of the computer in your everyday life?" I began by asking each woman about her relationship with technology in general, as in Question #4: "Do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined?" (See Appendices A-E for complete interview transcripts and Appendix F for a complete list of interview questions.)

Responses to technology in general include anxiety around certain types of technology, a sense of competence with other types, and the feeling of having been socially conditioned to think technology was for men and boys, not women and girls.

Techs-Mechs: From Can Openers to Computers, It's About Control

Posing the question, "Do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined?" evoked contradictory notions of self in relation to machines. Each woman's responses showed a tension between feeling in control of some machines while feeling controlled by others. My original intent with this question was to establish a baseline regarding how these women viewed themselves in relation to

straightforward, with "technological" as broadening and clarifying the term, "mechanical." Fortunately, the women set me straight, revealing that not all technologies are the same. They felt safe with (in control of) some technologies while feeling anxious about (controlled by) others. Four of the five women interviewed clearly saw the question as dividing the universe into two types of machinery (technical and mechanical) and assumed I was asking which one they inclined to more.

"Mechanical" appears to mean "hands-on," "visual," and "something I can control" whereas "technological" means "electronic," "invisible," "mysterious," and "potentially dangerous." Another way of describing invisible technologies is to say such technologies are "black boxed."

Hands-On Versus Black-Boxed

Thus, despite standard accounts of women not being mechanically inclined or being fearful of machines (lumping all technologies together), three of the five women (Dale, Bonnie, and Amy) expressed having an affinity for mechanical (hands-on) machines. For example, Dale refers to being responsible for keeping her sewing machine oiled and unclogged at an early age, and Bonnie reports fixing things around the house that her mother was unable to fix. Not all technologies are created equal, and some are more frightening than others. Of the two women who claim no affinity for machines (Cynthia and Elena), Cynthia modifies that stance after reflecting on her own technological interests and desires versus the messages she received from parents

and society. Elena views her lack of technological savvy as a choice reinforced by societal examples.

For all five women, the hands-on versus the black boxed distinction is important.

For example, Amy sees herself as much more mechanically than technologically inclined.

I'm more -- way much more mechanically inclined, because . . . it's faster, and I don't have to wait for it to get ready. I don't have to plug it in. . . it's right there. . . . it's just right there. That's the way I've always been, you know. (In 19-22)

"It's right there" is a concept that figures prominently throughout Amy's interview. She states it twice in the above response, indicating something she feels confident and sure of, something that she can rely upon which she feels is under her control. For Amy, "mechanical" clearly refers to technologies that are tactile and visual, while the term "technological" is reserved for electronic or more automated machines, including computers. She perceives the question as an either/or proposition: "Are you more mechanically or electronically inclined?" Her response is "Probably mechanically, because I feel I'm in control of something in front of me." The importance of this distinction may be due partially to the critical role visual and tactile senses play in Amy's life. Her hearing is severely impaired. While she reads lips and speaks clearly when communicating face-to-face in the "hearing" world, she communicates face-toface with her non-hearing network through sign language. While she trusts mechanical things she can control with her hands, she mistrusts electronic gadgets that can do sudden, unexpected things. She gives the example of a can opener to clarify her preference for mechanical over technological. "I like to use a mechanical one

because I can control it. I don't have to worry about it raring up and cutting me or — depend on electricity" (In 15-17).

Amy's fear is two-fold in this example—fear of losing control and fear of harm to her hands, which are her best means of face-to-face communication in the non-hearing world. Amy's relationship with technology is complex, and it is in her responses that we see most clearly that not all technologies are created equal. Even the hands-on versus black boxed distinction is a slight oversimplification of her relationship with technology. Before encountering computers, Amy had already achieved a certain cyborg status by making friends with various "invisible" (black boxed) hearing-enhancement technologies.

Of course, I have some technology that I use for my hearing -- you know, my hearing impairment -- my hearing aids. And then there's closed caption, and that's part of technology I enjoy thoroughly. That's something that -- I'm appreciating that part of technology because I don't have to worry about running it or setting it up and all that. It's there for me. (Amy ln 37-42)

"It's there for me," regarding hearing aids and closed-captioning echoes, "It's right there," which is what Amy appreciates most about hands-on (mechanical) versus automated (technological) machines. Despite the fact that she does not control them as she does mechanical tools, with hearing aids and closed captioning, however, she also feels comfortable. This seems to contradict her earlier preference for mechanical versus "technological" technologies, but the key for Amy's level of comfort also seems to be affected by who performs set-up and maintenance work on a given technology. When technologies are so automated that they are completely black-boxed, with inner workings inaccessible, they are easier to integrate because "I don't have to worry about

running it or setting it up and all that." She prefers to interact with hands-on technologies or to rely on technologies that are fully black boxed. Another interpretation is that she likes technologies with which she can interact manually and prefers more complex technologies to be completely automated, requiring no interaction.

For Bonnie the tech/mech distinction is also important and centers on control of another sort. For her, the fear of losing control comes from the seemingly infinite possibilities posed by the broader term, "technological." She speaks carefully, wanting to be accurate, and hesitates to acknowledge even her mechanical abilities initially, responding with, "Maybe slightly mechanic -- mechanically inclined. I don't know about technologically." Once our conversation draws the line between mech and tech, she begins to speak more freely.

- Q So you see those as kind of two separate things?
- A. I do, yeah.
- Q. So what leads you to believe that you're somewhat mechanically inclined?
- A. Oh, as a kid when things would break and my mom couldn't fix them, I usually could.
- Q. And what makes you consider yourself maybe not necessarily technologically inclined? I mean that's what I was getting from your response.
- A. Well, I don't know, except the word "technology" scares me a little.
- Q. It's kind of all encompassing?
- A. Yeah. Yeah. So I don't -- you know, I can't narrow it down. So I'd just say, well, probably I'm not inclined.

- Q. If I made it more specific, taking one of your [earlier] images here of computers, cell phones, if you think of those things as technology, are you technologically inclined?
- A. Maybe only slightly, in that I--
- Q. Slightly?
- A. Catch on fairly easily with computers.
- Q. So with -- when it comes to operating technology, you feel pretty comfortable? Is that -- or reasonably--
- A. Reasonably comfortable. I don't fear it. I think it's something I can learn. (ln 10-31)

For Bonnie, as well, the tech/mech distinction is clear, and she feels it is important not to overstate her abilities with technology. She does not hesitate to say she is mechanically inclined and is more hesitant to say she is technologically inclined.

Bonnie is willing to include computers but not all things technological in her realm of competence.

In contrast to Bonnie's more careful responses, Elena's are terse and definite. To the query about mechanical/technical "inclination" she responds with a clear, straightforward, "No." When asked why this is so, she responds with, "Because I have never set my spirit to do it" (ln 15), revealing a sense that this is a choice she has made. When asked who or what influenced her beliefs about this, she acknowledges that societal factors may have influenced her choice:

- A. I was born in the early 50's, and television portrayed women as not... having technological savvy. Where else did I get the message? From -- people I would generally interact with -- technology was something that men dealt with.
- Q. So . . . in your day-to-day interactions with people at large?

- A. Right. If someone was going to -- even -- we're talking mow the lawn as far as technology, or fixing the cars or -- my dad was a chemistry teacher. And that's where those images came from.
- Q. Did your father influence this a lot? Was it more just by example and the things he did, or did he say things to you?
- A. No. My dad was real egalitarian. It wasn't Dad. It was -- my parents' friends -- I'd go to their home. The things that boys did in general that girls didn't do, what they played with or their toys. Yeah, their toys were more machines. . .like Tonka. (ln 19-32)

Elena grew up with everyday images of men and boys with technology and in the sciences. No one necessarily made the statement, "Girls shouldn't use technology or be mechanically inclined." Her father did not attempt to tell her what she could and could not do. However, the message that technology is a "guy thing" was conveyed clearly enough through examples.

Cynthia's message about technology being unfeminine was much more overt than Elena's. Not only did she have examples of what girls should and should not do, but these examples were reinforced verbally as well.

- Q. Do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined?
- A. No, neither.
- Q. Why not?
- A. I didn't grow up that way. I'm 42 years old, and I grew up when girls pretty much didn't do those things. You know, it was still the dark ages. My father wouldn't teach me even to change the oil in my car because he didn't want his little girl to do that. So I didn't have the opportunity to even be mechanical. Technology, again, was not a field that girls or young women went into when I got out of school. They were still being teachers and nurses. They were just starting to get into the technology phase.

- Q. Who and what has influenced your beliefs about this -- about being -- not being mechanically or technologically inclined?
- A. Well, definitely just my environment I grew up in, is the biggest thing. And my father, of course. But everything around me was that way. Even the courses that we were allowed to take in school -- girls couldn't take shop when I was in school until, I think, my last year or senior year in high school. We had to take home-ec. So my environment just completely shaped that.
- Q. And it wasn't by choice?
- A. Right. You -- well, as a child you just sort of take what's given. Well, I even tried to buck the system. I wanted to take auto mechanics.
- Q. Oh, OK.
- A. They wouldn't let me.
- Q. So maybe you just didn't even have a chance to find out whether you were or weren't--
- A. Exactly.
- Q. Mechanically inclined?
- A. So I believe, and I still do, that I'm not. But I think I probably am. (ln 10-38)

Throughout this section of the interview and especially in her use of "believe" and "think" in this final sentence, Cynthia shows a dual-consciousness about her technomechanical abilities. She "believes" what parents, society, and the school system taught her about girls and technology, but she attempted to challenge those beliefs early on by taking auto mechanics. When her attempt to explore and question that belief was squelched, her own belief became more entrenched and her desire to see if it was really true when underground. When given the chance to explore openly, to "think aloud," she sees her desire to learn mechanical activities as evidence that she

"thinks" she is mechanically inclined despite her "belief" otherwise. Perhaps this dual consciousness carries over into her use of the computer as well.

Dale considers herself mechanically and technologically inclined both because of and despite experiences in her childhood. In addition to having a mother whom she refers to as controlling and "abusive" (In 107), Dale felt hampered by the social construction of technology and gender.

I do consider myself mechanically and technologically inclined, but culturally those areas were always left to the boys. I grew up in the 50's and 60's. It wasn't feminine to be interested in the mechanism of transistor radios and stereo equipment. Girls' interests were clearly spelled out in my family and social connections. However, I had two older brothers. They liked me to hang around them. I was accepted because I didn't rat on their exploits. My older brother took everything apart to see how it worked. I watched him for hours. My other brother was an artist and drew everything. Neither of those areas was encouraged for me to explore, so I didn't dare.

But I did see within myself at a very early age that I could figure things out, how they were put together and how they functioned. I learned to sew at age 11 and it had to keep my sewing machine unclogged of thread, oiled, etc. I learned to fit things together from sewing patterns and working with my sewing machine. I also learned to type on a manual and had to keep it oiled and the keys untangled. (ln 11-25)

Dale feels she is naturally mechanically inclined sees her aptitude with machines carefully circumscribed social and family rules. Initially, neither Cynthia nor Elena sees herself as having mechanical or technological aptitude. Like Dale, they attribute those limitations to social influences (parents, etc.) or lack of personal interest rather than seeing themselves as inherently unable to cope with machines.

Stage 0 provides context for each woman's feelings about her relationship to technology in general before computer technology entered her life. When the question about inclination was posed, the women in this study clearly mixed the inclination and

aptitude while they chose to separate technological and mechanical. The tech/mech distinction made by four of the five women in this study along with four of the women seeing themselves as potentially mechanically inclined speaks to issues of control and mastery. This distinction raises another question. Is there a certain level of control and mastery necessary for each woman in this study to consider herself "technologically savvy" or savvy enough when it comes to computers? Also, what is the connection between inclination toward and aptitude with technologies? More study is needed.

Stage 1—Technology Knocks: Enter the "Fearful Box"

It was deemed that every teacher would have a computer in the classroom. So it showed up and was put on my desk. I didn't -- you know, I didn't know the first thing.... Cynthia (ln 66-68).

Stage 1 is where the technological imperative disturbs equilibrium for each woman. Initial responses range from curiosity to anxiety to panic. Regardless of the beliefs about their technological skills that they internalized as children, in adulthood, these women discover mid-career that technology is knocking via an external force. They sense that they must open the door. The question arises, "Am I fully functioning adequately as a teacher or student without this technology?" The answer appears to be no and requires a reaction. Their identity and sense wholeness (integrity) comes into question in something like the following internal monologue: "I've come this far in life without the machine. Do I really need it to do my job? Am I technically

inclined enough to be using this? What do they expect me to do with this? I'm not sure what I'm supposed to do with this."

The classic situation is best illustrated by Cynthia's introduction to the machine. For her the computer evoked the image of a "fearful box" (ln 50). Technology didn't even "knock" at the door. It simply appeared on her desk, unplugged. When asked what her first experience with a computer was like, Cynthia responded,

Oh, God. I had -- honest to God truth -- I had to call the computer teacher to ask her how to turn it on. I didn't know how to turn the damned thing on. We were given computers at school. Just for some reason there was money, and it was deemed that every teacher would have a computer in the classroom. So it showed up and was put on my desk. No one was there to hook it up. I didn't -- you know, I didn't know the first thing. (ln 63-68)

The black box (unquestioned assumption) of the technological imperative says:

Technology = good; Funding = good, Funding for Technology = good. "Given this formula, you, Teacher, will see that these self-evident truths are manifest. We have given you the miracle of technology. Go forth and be a more efficient and effective educator." Unfortunately, her experience is not at all unusual, as noted in Hawisher and Selfe and the discussion of the "Masquerade" article in Chapter 1.

Cynthia's case from a machine perspective (with thanks and apologies to Bruno Latour) might appear as follows:

I've been placed on her desk in a box. Whatever external forces of perception and funding brought me here, my purpose is to extend her abilities and efficiency and help her build and maintain a network of connections. The circumstances in which I've been placed here make it hard for me to come across that way. I've been thrust upon her, and since I'm only a machine at this point, only a box in a box, then what can I do? It will be up to her what our relationship becomes because I cannot control the environmental variables that put me here, and I cannot speak to her until she turns me on. Even then, my voice is

limited to the programming and software I've been given, which constrain my possible responses to her inputs. (Aramis cf)

Cynthia initially perceives the box on her desk as a threat and a source of frustration, but the computer is dependent upon her. She feels controlled by it via the technological imperative that placed it on her desk, but it can do nothing without her. Cynthia's statement, "I didn't know how to turn the damned thing on," is echoed by Elena's "I thought if I pushed any button, something was going to go screwy" (In 59-60). Until the women choose to engage in a relationship with the "fearful box," the computer simply remains a box, which might just as well be empty. Of course, the choice to engage does not feel like a choice because of the technological imperative's overwhelming strength. The economic and social pressures are strong. For Cynthia, a minimum, fear of job loss and fear of embarrassment among peers and with students are at stake.

Elena's technological imperative came in the form of a gender and communication course when she returned to college in her forties to earn a master's degree.

- Q. When and how did you first learn how to use a computer?
- A. I'd say that I really first . . . began to . . . use the computer was when [female professor] forced me to . . . We had to use a search the net for concepts, which I'd never done. And we had to use e-mail, which I'd never done.
- Q. So that must have been quite an experience for you.
- A. I was freaked out. (ln 62-71)

This experience was frightening but also motivating, perhaps because Elena was learning to use the computer in the context of her chosen field of study.

In Bonnie's case, there was a specific purpose behind the imperative. It came from her boss, and the goal was data entry into a canned program. Bonnie's first introduction to computers came several years before when she took a programming class with a co-worker who didn't want to take it alone Her motives were curiosity and a desire to be supportive of anxious friend.

Amy's first experiences with computers were quite positive. She is the youngest of the interviewees, so she experienced computers at an earlier age than the others. Amy enjoyed science when in high school, which was her first arena of experience with the intimate machine. Her enthusiasm for the novelty, the efficiency, and convenience of computers as a replacement for books and typewriters is evident.

A. My first experience was science. I grew up loving science, and science -- it had computers. I think I was in high school -- freshman year in high school -- when I was first introduced. At first I was excited. I was excited because I got to do something different than books, the standard books and paper. We did test questions on there [the computer]. We read our unit material on that. . It made it a lot more fun and quicker. Saved a lot of money on paper, too. It was using -- we were using Commodores, those old dinosaurs that we call them now. But, to me, it was just, wow, you know. It was like -- it was much better than a typewriter, or it was much better than a book. It's all right there. (Amy ln 81–90)

"It's all right there" as a response to the computer being a replacement for books, paper, and typewriter echoes her enthusiasm for hand-operated over electronic can openers in Stage 0. Apparently, "right there," means feeling in control and reasonably comfortable, so equilibrium is not disturbed for her at this point.

Stage 2—Learning Hurts: Pedagogy as Pain

"Just show me how to use the damned thing instead of showing me how much you know" (Amy).

In Stage 2, first attempts to master the machine fail partially due to unsuccessful learning experiences. This coil of the spring can be repeated many times, varying from woman to woman. The pedagogical assumption behind early classroom experiences are that learners should be fascinated with the technology for its own sake and if they really want to learn will catch on quickly with little guidance. To that end, so giving them background, theory, and lecturing to them about intricacies of hardware and software is expected to be an appropriate basis for independent learning inside and outside the classroom. Those who catch on easily are allowed to set the pace and to dominate classroom discussion and hands-on learning that takes place in the computing classroom. Unfortunately, the women interviewed in this study did not experience teaching based on these assumptions as helpful. Thus, their first attempts to re-establish equilibrium in the face of the imbalance created by technology's knock are unsuccessful. Negative classroom experiences have the effect of squelching natural curiosity and exacerbating or creating anxiety, frustration, and self-doubt.

Despite her positive response to her initial exposure to the computer (see lines 79-86 of transcript A, also quoted in Stage 1), in her next sentence (beginning on line 86), Amy reveals when the trouble started—during a programming class.

And I started hating it when I was forced to take a computer class in high school. And learning what it takes to create a program just turned me off. And I thought that's what I would have to do more to get the access to the computer that I, you know, was hoping for. And it just turned me off. It was too scien -- it was too mathematics -- too much math. And I'm not very strong on math. And it turned me off. And,

also, I remember when the guys were using the -- when we, the class, were using the computer labs, one thing that made me mad was all the guys would take over and not let the girls take -- and the science teacher didn't work with the girls as much, because I felt that we were second class by this one teacher, and that turned me off. I thought, oh, this is just a bunch of -- it was something for guys to do because they knew -- you know, a guy can build cars. They can put car parts together. I thought, well, computer programming -- well, big deal. I'm not interested in putting programs together like guys would be. You know, I just -- I wasn't interested in it. I just lost interest right there because nobody would help me. So -- and I said, well, if that's the way it's gonna be, then forget it. (ln 90-106)

Amy's repetition of "and it just turned me off" speaks volumes. The turning point is clear for her. Amy wanted to know more about computers but felt she was "forced" to take a programming class, which "turned her off" (just as a machine can be turned off), transforming the computer into a fearful box where it had not been before. In this passage, a number of pedagogical assumptions appear to work against Amy's learning process along with some defensiveness on her part. She experiences anxiety in response to programming, a class she was "forced" to take. She expresses an interest in getting more access to the computer via programming, yet she feels inadequate to the math required, feels she is treated as a second-class citizen by the male science teacher, and eventually dismisses programming as "something for guys to do." On one hand, she suggests she was not interested because programming is a male activity, but eventually she adds that she lost interest "because nobody would help me." Many tensions exist in the classroom for Amy at this point, and her experience of computers has shifted from open and positive ("it's all right there") to closed and negative ("nobody would help me. . .if that's the way it's gonna be, then forget it"). These negative experiences are repeated and exacerbated in college for

Amy, so she avoids computers as much as possible after that. In response to a followup question on why she refuses to take another computer class "to this day," Amy says that such classes as are a source of frustration and a waste of time and money.

The "learning hurts" convolution of the cyborg feedback spiral eventually contributes to Amy's recognition that she needs something more to trust and interact with this machine on a daily basis. But initially, it paralyses her. The initial learning experience is ineffective, even damaging, and the need to come to terms with the "fearful box" remains. She avoids the intimate machine for awhile, but the technological imperative strikes again—first when Amy attends graduate school, and again when she enters the world of work.

For Bonnie, classroom experiences were also ineffective. She felt a natural curiosity and a desire to be able to do her job more efficiently but found classes extremely de-motivating.

- Q. What was your first experience with a computer like?
- A. Frustrating. Very frustrating.
- Q. When and how did you first really learn to use a computer?
- A. Well, it must've been--time goes so fast. . .ten years ago, maybe. . . And it was in the resource room at XX School in XX School District. Actually, we had gone to a workshop, and they had this man get up there, and he talked so fast, and he went through millions and millions of things and then told us that now we knew everything, and we could go back to our schools and operate this computer.

(laughter)

- Q. Oh, well!
- A. So after we got back to the school, I could still practically do nothing. Maybe turn it off and on. That's about it. (ln 57-70)

Bonnie's sense of humor about the situation served her well, along with a sense that the problem was not a lack on her part but something missing from the design of the course itself. The memory of this class eventually causes her to recall an earlier programming class she took.

- Q. What questions and concerns did you have at that time?
- A. The questions and the concerns were what did you do after you turned it on? What was the next step? I mean I really didn't even know that much, you know. I had -- I had taken -- can I back up a minute here, if it's OK?
- O. Yeah.
- A. Actually, before this -- oh, maybe five years before this, I had taken a class in computer programming. But we didn't really learn that much about the machines, other than turning them off and on. . .It was more graphics. In fact, the whole thing was graphics. So I maybe learned how to plot graphs and make, you know, pictures of things. But I didn't really learn anything about word processing or any other aspect of the computer. (ln 71-82)

This programming course was not necessarily frustrating for Bonnie, but apparently it didn't "take" because the applicability of plotting graphs and making pictures to her job was not apparent. Lack of context for the skills she was learning caused her to drop what she had learned because it did not seem useful. After this recollection, Bonnie returns to the story of the classroom experience with which she began.

A So when it came to what they were asking of us...to do a canned program...we -- had to know how to pull up all these things out of the program, and actually what -- if you knew how to do that, it wouldn't be so hard, because you were just plugging in blanks. But I had no idea how to pull up the program or get one step from the next or anything like that. So--

- Q. And that was because this man--
- A. Went way too fast, and nobody in the whole group understood it. Everybody was just looking at one another, like, huh? Right. Shrugging their shoulders. They didn't get it at all, either. Nor did my boss, who was with me, understand it in the least. Of course, she was expecting me to. . . . (In 83-94)

Dale had a similar experience to Bonnie in the sense that her first computer class just "didn't take."

In '83 I attended Reed College for a year and a half, majoring in Classical Greek history and language. All language students had to take Natural Science, which included a computer course. Because of my dyslexia, I had difficulty being introduced into the system of computers so my husband Rick was allowed to attend lab with me and assist me. As long as I logged onto their modem so many hours per week, doing the exercises and then completing the paper, they didn't care if he tutored me. . I got an A in the course but really didn't learn anything that I could relate to, so I just reverted back to my IBM Selectric. I was a secretary for years and it seemed like home, familiar. The computer was too foreign. (In 61-72)

Elena was did not experience Stage 2 because she never attended any computer classes. When asked what would have helped her learn, Elena's first response is, "If I had... more girlfriends with computers who knew what was going on" (ln 111-112). Many lines later, she adds, "A class would have helped me learn. But I didn't have time for classes at that point" (ln 116-117). Given the negative classroom experiences of other respondents, it is entirely possible that missing out on classroom instruction did not impede Elena's learning process.

The classroom experiences of the women in this study proved painful and frustrating at worst and unhelpful or irrelevant at best. Those who experienced Stage 2 found that some other type of learning situation was going to be necessary before successfully incorporating the machine into work life. The original technological

imperative each woman faced in Stage 1 remained in play, creating additional stress for organism and machine (woman and computer) in the wake of these negative classroom experiences. Thus, Stage 2: Learning Hurts, creates an impetus for Stage 3: Coaching Helps.

Stage 3—Pain Motivates/Coaching Helps: Competence in Connection

The output from Stage 2: Learning Hurts becomes the input for Stage 3: Pain Motivates/Coaching Helps. In this fourth convolution of the spiral women decide how to respond to the classroom learning models available, which, far from helpful, have caused them to hit the proverbial wall. Tinkering with the machine, asking questions of coworkers, and seeking out guides, are responses to the realization, "If I'm going to learn to use the computer well, I need something more." In Stage 3, a sense of connecting to the machine comes through connecting with others.

For Dale, the coaching came without her request from a source she hinted at in Stage 2, when mentioning the assistance she received in her first computing class.

Dale perceived this first class as an external requirement unrelated to her work or intellectual interests, so she literally abandoned the computer for the next ten years.

The change came, and none too soon, while attending Marylhurst in '93. (It took fourteen years to complete my BA, raising five kids (His and mine) and working. Anyway, I was going to school, my last year, full time and working full time in a management position. I was incredibly organized and reached a point when my husband noticed one day while I was sitting on the floor in the living room, cutting and taping strips of things I had written together. It made about a five-foot scroll.

He asked what I was doing and I naively told him that this was how I constructed all of my papers: hand writing some things, clipping quotes, typing some things, and pasting in class notes. He had no idea that I worked this way because I did it all mostly after he had gone to bed. He told me that I just had to learn to type and edit on the computer. So I agreed to spend fifteen minutes a day doing whatever he instructed me.

Within a few days, I was spending more and more time learning Works and loving it. It was finally my time. And by '93, computers were easier to understand, much more user friendly. I kept my last long scroll of taped together pieces of yellow and white paper. I never used the typewriter again for papers, but continued to use it in my office for correspondence to residents. It was easier to stay in a familiar pattern.

Our company did, however, have to put our accounting system on a program that each manager had to learn and because I had spent the previous year typing my papers, I learned it quickly. Two managers left and refused to learn. Learning that program translated easily for me when I left the corporate life and needed to manage the books for my husband's company while attending grad. school.

Incorporating technology into my life has simplified it. I couldn't have made the transitions that I have made and at such a rapid pace over the past six years without the computer. I just couldn't have been done. I readily admit, my husband and soul mate has been the person behind the scenes encouraging and teaching me. (In 73-100)

Dale's re-introduction to the machine arrived like a second technological imperative (her husband Rick was insistent because he knew the computer could help her).

Perhaps because the source of the imperative was someone she loved and trusted and because the way the computer could assist her with her work was so clear, she was able to retain these lessons. Coaching plus context provided Dale with what she needed to begin seeing the relevance of the computer in her life. Thus, achieving competence through connection prepare her for the next stage of development in her relationship with the intimate machine.

For Amy, before the coaching could help, the pain of previous unsuccessful learning experiences. Not only did Amy feel frustration with the classes she took, but she felt paralysis about asking for more help.

When I first started working. . . I thought there was nobody there to help, and I couldn't -- I felt like I couldn't talk about [the fact] that I needed help with computers. And the school district offered classes, and I felt like it wasn't enough, that I didn't know how to ask for more. . . And I felt so behind. And I had this huge need -- I wanted to get onto that computer bandwagon to help me do my job because I had to do all these reports. . . I wanted to get with it. I realized, you know. . . for the first time, I better learn this time. And so -- and I thought there's only just one person. There's me. And I -- I want some -- I want something done easier for me, too. And I think that finally pushed me.

A sense of her own tremendous need to do work more efficiently and a growing awareness of how the computer could help her caused Amy to spend time tinkering on her own, and when that proved insufficient, she sought the help she needed in coworkers. Overcoming a feeling of being too far behind to be helped was an essential ingredient of getting the help she needed. Amy's ability to use the computer emerged from a combination of her own tinkering with the Macintosh, a more visual interface which seemed more user-friendly to her than the pre-Windows IBM PC, and receiving coaching from friends and co-workers:

- A. Somehow I was able to find help on how to do certain things through certain people.
- Q. Colleagues, co-workers, or--
- A. Co-workers would help me. Some people from the computer department would come in and help me fix the problem. (ln 192-196)

Bonnie wanted to be as competent, efficient, and productive as she could as soon as possible and not "waste time" tinkering with the machine. First, her tinkering was made much more productive when she had access to written step-by-step directions.

- Q. And in that process who or what helped you find out what you needed to know?
- A. The management team realized after they had gone through this futile attempt to teach us computers in that manner that it just didn't work at all. So someone down at the district office who was familiar with . . . this program, decided to write up directions to follow. And actually I was beginning to learn from that, just by following each specific direction and going through it on the computer as I did. That's how I began to learn.
- Q. Kind of a step-by-step--
- A. Kind of a step-by-process. (ln 99-109)

In addition to the step-by step instructions, Bonnie found coaching the most helpful of all to her learning process.

- Q. Was there anything else that you can remember, in addition to this book of procedures that kind of helped?
- A. The thing that helped me the very most was one of the instructors from the junior high -- a computer instructor -- came down, and he said, "The only way you're going to learn -- really learn this program, is to do it."
- Q. To use it?
- A. Yeah. "Is to do it yourself. And so I'm here to run you through this program. You sit at the computer, and I'm going to tell you step-by-step what to do." And when that happened and we went through from the beginning to the end, putting in IEP... in the computer, that's when it really sank in and became easy for me. And along the way he also gave me a lot of shortcuts and things to use to get into various programs back and forth. And I took notes, of course, and that type of thing. And that helped more than anything.

- Q. So the--
- A. And once that happened, I felt -- finally felt a little bit comfortable with it. And then it was just a matter of using the program enough times to be really comfortable with it.
- Q. So you felt like you had something that you could kind of retain and build on...
- A. Right. So I'd say the tutorial and then the actual hands-on with a teacher or coordinator -- whatever you want to call--
- Q. Yeah. Sort of a guide?
- A. A guide--
- Q. Or a coach, maybe?
- A. Is a good word -- coach, yeah. (ln 128-154)

Once she was able to establish a certain level of comfort with the machine, after a combination of written instructions and interactive coaching, Bonnie developed a base of knowledge on which she could build independently. Bonnie eventually completed the loop of competence through connection when she took on the role of mentor/coach. job When the time came, in preparation for her own retirement, Bonnie taught the woman who would replace her how to do the computer-related portion of her job. Bonnie was able to give this woman the kind of help Bonnie herself would have liked from the beginning.

Bonnie's experiences and those of the other women in this study show the frustration of tinkering without a context and the benefit of connection in learning to use computers. Once a certain level of context is established through the human connection, tinkering can become more productive. For the four women who had negative classroom experiences, the solution to pedagogical pain was a combination of

coaching (one-on-one instruction and guidance) and contextual tinkering. Elena, the one respondent who had not taken a computer class and therefore did not experience "learning hurts" in the same way as the others also benefited from coaching and contextual tinkering. All five women found tinkering to be helpful once they had established sufficient context to do so productively, so they were tinkering toward something. Without context or guidance, they found tinkering to be an extremely inefficient way to learn. None of the women in this study felt they had time to tinker for the sake of tinkering. The difference in how connection with computers takes place is critical.

Stage 4—Beyond Mastery: Intimacy with/through the Machine

In stage 4, women find a sense of connection to others and self comes through connection with the machine, through computer-mediated communication (CMC). Each woman experiences a personal connection to friends, family, self, or work (work she cares about deeply) through CMC. First they chose learn to use the machine because they didn't want to be behind (fear), now they find they also use the machine because they love it for all the connections they can make—connections to self/work (research—health issues, writing, journaling) and to people. When fear of the tool is overcome, love of the machine as part of self occurs. Integration occurs. Being able to use the machine as a tool for accomplishing tasks is fine, but what keeps the women coming back, what causes their eyes to light up with enthusiasm is the connection to self and others.

For Dale, the integration comes through in her writing in response to the question, "What does the term 'computer' mean to you?" she writes of the computer's shift in meaning from "challenge" to "an extension of my own brain" (ln 118-119). She also sees it as an extending her ability to communicate with her personal network of connections, partly based on sense of immediacy.

It allows me to communicate with friends, family, colleagues, and other contacts almost instantly which speeds up processing work and communications. I still write letters, but communication doesn't have time to get "cold." So thoughts can be conveyed rapidly, then response can be almost immediate, etc. allowing for a different kind of communication than letters. (In 121-126)

This sense of immediacy seems to contribute to an extension of self, allowing Dale to explore different aspects of her personality through e-mail communication:

I somewhat take on a different persona at the keyboard. I'm bolder, more confrontative/assertive, I don't let people get away with remarks that I might let slide in person, remarks that wouldn't show up in letters. I'm more poetic in letters and more humorous, scholarly, business-like, encouraging....just different at the keyboard. Others have noticed it.

I'm more extroverted, that's what it is. I'm an introvert, but really a closet extrovert. . .or a balance between both ways of being. The keyboard draws that extroversion out of me...letters don't. So I guess that I would say that the computer accesses or taps into an alter ego, extroverted way of experiencing the world and relationships in general. (ln 126-136)

Cynthia see the e-mail as an extension of her personality as well. She considers herself a shy person, and sees e-mail as a safer form of communication than face-to-face or phone conversation.

- Q. Does e-mail bring people closer in some ways?
- A. Oh, yeah. . . I will say things in an e-mail, you know, just being silly, that I wouldn't say to your face. . . because I'm not there. You're not seeing me. It's easy to say something maybe a little

- risqué or just something that I'd be uncomfortable with looking at you and saying.
- Q. And so you think that brings people closer in a sense?
- A. It can.
- Q. Because maybe a certain wall is removed?
- A. Yeah. Like a shy person, which, honest to God, you wouldn't think it, but I really am. I -- you know, there are things that I just couldn't say personally, but I could put it in writing and send it. And that gives you more insight into who I am. Yeah, I think it can really break down the walls. (In 851-857)

And for Dale, through her work as a writer, the machine connects her more deeply to her own imagination and creativity:

It ["computer"] has taken on an almost sacred meaning as far as its value and reliability as I go to it daily and it assists me to develop and produce my work. It assists my imagination. Because it processes so fast, I can type faster on the computer than a typewriter and so spontaneous insight and creative adventures come alive at the keyboard. I wrote my first fairy tale last year and the computer made it happen. (In 137-142)

Amy also experience a connection to self through writing. For her, journaling at the keyboard became cathartic. Another turning point for Amy came as a result of her best and worst experiences with a computer. Her worst experiences led to determination, which led to her best experiences. First, her work situation became desperate enough that she finally realized she didn't have a choice, as mentioned in Stage 3. She also felt pressure from deaf friends who had made the switch from TTY to e-mail for remote communication. What Amy experienced while isolated from her friends and dealing with the emotions brought about by her parents' divorce caused her to connect to the machine in a much more personal way.

And I — sometime back when I was still living up in Washington, and I did a diary. I went through kind of a counseling period of my life where I was kind of in terms of my parents' divorce. And there were some emotional healing that needed to be taking place, because I finally moved away from home for the first time. And I wanted so much to have a diary. But I just couldn't pick up the paper because it was just too much to write. Then I'd have to erase. But on the computer I could type so much faster, get my thoughts out much faster.

. .

I would get to where I'd lean against the wall... and then I.. would never have enough energy to write, because I didn't have a clear -- I couldn't put it on paper. But somehow I wanted to learn just so I wanted to show it to somebody what I was experiencing. And one night I finally did. I got up. Even though I was deadly tired, I went to the computer, and I just poured everything out. I was able to explain that type of experience. And I tell you, it was just amazing how fast I could type it out and how it came so clearly on the screen.

I was actually able to look back and go, wow, you know, and I could take it my counselor and say, "This is what I've experienced. This is how I can explain it." A lot of times I have a hard time explaining. . . so -- I get so emotionally choked up talking about it. And then I said, "This is what I experience during the crying jags." And she was, like, whoa. So she had a clearer picture of what was happening to me and, you know, she encouraged me to do more of this kind of writing. And it was -- it was a time that I actually looked forward to, because it was late at night. It was my -- you know, I'd write better. I'd think better, more clearly, more personally maybe at night because it's more quiet. And I love doing that. (In 563-595)

- Q. So there was something about the keyboard. . .
- A. The keyboard itself had a way of expressing. It was an outlet. It wasn't -- I still have the copies which, you know, I look back, go wow, you know. I'm glad I did that because I could see how much my life has changed. But it was just a such a way I could express myself and was just a wonderful way of doing it. Much better than paper -- paper and pencil. It was such a powerful tool for me because I could get it out, and I could look and see. It was like a mirror for me. And I needed to do it instantly, the minute I felt something, I could type, because I am more of a mechanical person rather than writing. And then I'm faster at typing and signing, but it's only two fingers can

move, and my thought process is more slower. And there's a roadblock to get it on paper from pencil because I had to erase it, and did more writing. I did -- I wrote something else. But with the computer I was able to look and see the process of my feelings. (In 595-609)

Amy's relationship with the computer also deepened when she learned about e-mail. Like her journaling experience, E-mail helped Amy restore equilibrium during a time when she was isolated from friends and family. E-mail had replaced TTY as the preferred long-distance communication medium amongst Amy's inner circle, leaving her isolated from friends and family. E-mail turned out to be Amy's best and worst experience with a computer.

- A. You know, and it was exciting. It was oh, I got to e-mail my Mom. I didn't feel like I was alone anymore. And actually, it probably it got me more homesick, because I wanted to be with my you know, my family. And it was wonderful, because going through TTY on the phone it's so expensive, especially with long distance phone calls. At that time nobody wanted to use this TTY anymore because there was e-mail. Nobody called me anymore. And, you know, the phone never did ring much at my apartment up in Gig Harbor where I was so far away from everybody else. And it was lonely very lonely. And then when I got to use e-mail for the first time it was just you know, it was just like they were right next door to me. It was just wonderful.
- Q. Back in the fold?
- A. I mean it was faster. It was easier, and I felt I was in control.

 And that was when things started turning around for [me with] computers, providing me something that I needed so much in a fast, quick, efficient way. (ln 282-296)

In the case of e-mail, for Amy, the technology that initially separated her from her friends brought her back to them, made it seem like they were "right next door"—giving Amy the feeling of again being in control of her life. This feeling of being in control of her life, clearly marks Amy's return to equilibrium.

Connection to self and others, rather than mastery, turns out not to be the ultimate end of being in relationship with the machine. Once the five women channel their anxieties into achieving a certain degree of comfort with the machine, they transcend the notion of using it merely as a tool. They see the formerly fearful box as meaningful, not outside of them, but part of them. After the machine enters their lives via the technological imperative, the women in this study made adjustments toward equilibrium and integrity rather than mere mastery. Perhaps these women's experiences suggest a new lens through which to view human relationships with computers.

Humans and machines depend upon each other, and as shown in the interviews with these five women, environmental variables that influence human-machine relationship include technological imperatives, in the form of institutional funding, pedagogical assumptions, and human-human relationships. For the women I interviewed, the process became one of befriending the machine rather than controlling it, one of accepting and dealing with the machine's "quirks" in the context of enlisting the machine's help with something inherently worth doing. Befriending the machine enhances human friendships. The desire to feel connected to humans is at first an obstacle and then becomes a path to loving the intimate machine. At first a communication breakdown occurred in classroom instruction, which further alienated these women from the machine; however, that very breakdown created an anxiety, a tension, that fueled these women to press on rather than give up. The machine was "other" until through anxiety, perseverance, and connecting with other humans, these women made it their own.

Chapter 4: Ethics in the Intimate Machine

Integer: Having no part lacking; entire.

Marked by moral integrity; honest.

Integrated: Combined into a whole; united, undivided.

Designating or characterized by a personality in which the component elements combine harmoniously. Uniting several components previously regarded as separate.

Oxford English Dictionary

Many narratives about women and technology suggests women/girls need to catch up to men/boys so they can compete in the job market and become designers rather than mere users of this tool that so thoroughly permeates our lives. In these narratives, "Mastery" is a term frequently used to describe the goal of computing. This term poses a difficulty when examining the stories of the women I interviewed. "Mastery" does not seem to fit their narratives of an evolving relationship with the computer. Their responses were not couched in terms of "See what I can make it do?" but rather "See what I can do better with it?" Having a good relationship with the computer came to mean having better relationship with themselves and with the people in their professional and personal lives.

The journeys of the five women in this study gave rise to learning/pedagogy issues and communication/relationship issues —from interactions among organisms, machines, and the environments (systems) in which they find themselves. Machine, organism, and system interact in mutually constitutive ways. The symbol I chose to represent these women's voices is an extended *spiral* ("a progressive increase or decrease, especially one in which two factors each respond to the stimulus provided by

the other") with five coils—from 0 (machine/organism separate) to 4 (machine-human together—cyborg). As witnesses to these women stretching the and passing through convolutions of the spiral (the coils of their individual springs) from unplugged to wired, we can ask what this story might mean. By the time they reach Stage 4 of the cyborg feedback model, these women's words suggest that they feel and act differently from anyone interested in mastery of/over the intimate machine. How these women feel and act in the face of the difficult choices the machine poses tells us something about who these women are. The women's behavior in the face of an individual dilemma posed by a cultural imperative discloses something about their "character." Ultimately, the question for these women became, not, "How can I master this new technology?" but "What does my relationship with the machine say about me?"

Virtue Ethics Distinguished

When character is at issue, we have entered the realm of virtue ethics. A virtueethical stance borne of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* differs from other ethical approaches that are more familiar in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Rosalind Hursthouse offers a clear distinction between modern and virtue ethical approaches in the introduction of her recently published book, *On Virtue Ethics*:

Virtue' ethics is a term of art, initially introduced to distinguish an approach in normative ethics which emphasized the virtues, or moral character, in contrast to an approach which emphasized duties or rules (deontology) or one which emphasizes the consequences of actions (utilitarianism). (1)

As Hursthouse points out, these three ethical approaches (deontology, utilitarianism, and virtue ethics) need not (perhaps cannot) be perceived as mutually exclusive but as different areas of emphasis (4) which then may be appropriate for any given situation. These women's journeys can be viewed as moves among these three ethical approaches via the stages of the cyborg feedback model.

The women in this study begin at Stage 0, "I'm OK/It's OK," in which no moral choice is required because equilibrium has not yet been disturbed. In Stage 1, "Technology Knocks," the women in this study experience external pressures created by the many-layered technological imperative. They could approach the situation with a utilitarian ethics, stemming from a sense of consequences if they do not respond appropriately to that imperative. In Stage 2, "Learning Hurts," a utilitarian ethical approach could be expressed as "I might lose my job or look stupid if I don't figure this out" (fear of punishment) or "I might get a raise or promotion if I embrace this new technology" (anticipation of reward). A deontological (sense of duty) ethical approach might be characterized as follows: "Others are using it, and it is my duty as a teacher, researcher, or assistant to understand what the technology can offer so I'll be more efficient and effective." However, despite the possibility of taking these other two ethical approaches, each woman finds the kind of learning situation she needs in Stage 3 to foster a relationship with the machine based on virtue ethics. A virtue ethical stance is clearly demonstrated in Stage 4, wherein the women in this study connect with the machine for internally motivated reasons.

Ultimately, for the women in this study, connecting with the machine comes not from fear of reprisal or sense of inadequacy as one who has not mastered the tool.

They connect with the machine because they see that in their cyborg role, they have greater means available for enhancing communication (i.e., relationships) with students, friends, family members, and even themselves. Once they internalize the value of the organism-machine connection (their cyborg self), they can even accept the frustrations (error messages, "bugs," or not knowing exactly how to accomplish a certain task) that inevitably go with being in relationship with the intimate machine. When the machine is no longer just a tool to be mastered but a part of them, they no longer require it to behave exactly as they wish anymore than they expect that of another human being. The machine has its limitations and its unlooked-for wonders. It has transformed from mysterious-bad (fearful Pandora's box of terrors) to mysterious-good ("magic" box of possibilities).

According to Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics, an ethics of virtue recognizes that feeling and behavior in response to at any given situation discloses what kind of human beings we are. Virtue is not a characteristic possessed but human character displayed in action. In any given situation that requires a moral choice, then, our response (in feeling and action) can be deficient, excessive, or approaching the "mean." The "mean" is the appropriate response in the context of our own values and the situation in at hand.

What constitutes moral choice? The moral realm is a "place," a situation, in which human beings are called upon to make choices which disclose something about their character. When does choice disclose character? (The more proper question may be whether choice ever fails to disclose character, but such an inquiry is beyond the scope of this study.) Character is disclosed when a choice made because it is the right thing

to do and the right way to do it according to internal values in a particular situation.

This internally motivated choice distinguishes virtue ethics from other kinds of ethics, in which choices are based on some external goal or set of rules laid out by an external authority.

Meaning and the Mean

Virtuosos of the virtual world would at first seem to be hackers. Virtual has evolved from meaning, "possessed of certain physical virtues or powers; effective in respect of inherent qualities; capable of exerting influence by means of such qualities" (physical and "real") to meaning, "Not physically existing but made by software to appear to do so from the point of view of the program or the user." But if "virtue" is reclaimed in its Aristotelian sense, then "virtual" and, hence, "virtual virtuoso," takes on a entirely new meaning.

In light of virtue ethics, what do these women's journeys mean? This question calls for a return to the cyborg—once a boundary creature akin to Frankenstein's monster, so often an object of horror in science fiction and to those who fear the "intimate machine." The cyborg embodies a balance between the extremes of complete separation from (or paralyzing fear of) the machine and complete mastery over the machine. To borrow a term from Aristotle, perhaps these women in their cyborg selves have found a "mean"—a virtue of appropriate action and feeling in relation to both machines and humans. For example, if there is such a mean, between the extremes of non-relationship and a master-slave relationship with the machine, then there may be a corresponding virtue that mean represents. What virtue can the

cyborg possibly represent? Is it one of Aristotle's virtues, such as courage, or some type of organic-machine hybrid virtue, or is it thing as yet unnamed?

Aristotelian virtue (arête, or "excellence") involves performing the right actions at the right time for the right reasons toward a more ultimate sort of end—eudamon (the "happy" or "appropriate;" in Latin, felix, or "felicitous"). Feeling good about acting virtuously (i.e., not feeling it is a burden to do the right thing) is also part of what makes an action virtuous. Feeling and act are tied together in "right reasons." It is not enough to do the right thing; to be virtuous is to take pleasure in doing it the right way. The tying together of feeling and action is also critical to understanding Aristotle's concept of virtue as choosing the mean, choosing to behave virtuously between the vices of excess and deficiency. Table 4.1 suggests a grid of possible choices in the organic-machine relationship:

Table 4.1: Virtue = Integration (human-machine interaction)

	Deficiency	Mean	Excess (machine) Deficiency (human)
Relationships	Unplugged/ disconnected from machines and those who do CMC.	Communicative/connected with machine and people. Can communicate with computer as tool for work and for CMC with other humans.	"Jacked-In" (to) machine but tuned out/turned off with people.
Communication	Fearful of getting behind, doubtful of catching up. Limited communication options.	Interpersonal/connected able to experience intimacy with both machines and people. Variety of communication options (CMC, face-to-face communication, letters, phone)	Communication is about power/control/mastery over code/machine, possibly for sake of power/control/mastery over society that rejected and is now dependent on hackers.
Mode of Action	Cowardice with machines and therefore with CMC.	Courage/balance with machines/people/CMC. Integration	Fearlessness with machines. Avoidance of people except through .machine mediation.

When it comes to communication-in-computing, the virtue in question is human-machine integration, which includes feeling and acting with integrity in relationships with human beings and machines. The mean that illustrates this virtue is balanced human-machine integration (cyborg status). The deficiency on this scale is the absence or fear of human-machine relationships. The excess is overdependence upon machines and fear of human relationships.

- **Deficiency:** Unplugged from the machine; therefore, limited in ability to connect with humans as well as machines. Human/machine distinction essential because machine is perceived as threat. Not knowing how to use it makes me feel/look stupid.
- Mean: Integrated (human/machine in harmony); machine/human distinction unnecessary, connection with one enhances connection with the other.
- Excess: Jacked-In; machine/human distinction clear. Machine is preferred, safer, can be controlled, doesn't degrade or insult you when you screw up, does exactly what you want when you "say the right thing"; hackers valued and non-hacker humans expendable because they don't understand hacker ethics.

A virtue, then, is a place of balance, a mean between two extremes—one of excess and one of deficiency. Behaving virtuously is about not only acting appropriately but having the appropriate feeling when acting. In other words, to be virtuous is to not only do the right thing but to feel good about doing it. For example, courage as a virtue is the mean; it is the balance. The excess of courage is foolhardiness; the deficiency is cowardice. Courage is not just about being brave. It is about not feeling an excess of fear or an excess of confidence in any given situation.

Two powerful Aristotelian terms can help explain virtue ethics and, thereby, amplify the voices of the women in this study—techné and praxis. According to Joseph Dunne's reading of Nichomachean Ethics, techné and praxis are each to be distinguished from theory, but Dunne shows that, rather than lumping techné and praxis together as

practical knowledge, Aristotle distinguishes the two in the following way:: Techné is concerned with production (poiesis) while praxis is concerned with moral practice (phronesis). Dunne clarifies this distinction as follows in Back to the Rough Ground:

Production has to do with making or fabrication; it is activity which is designed to bring about, and which terminates in, a product or outcome that is separable from it and provides it with its end or telos. Praxis, on the other hand has to do with the conduct of one's life and affairs primarily as a citizen of the polis; it is activity which may leave no separately identifiable outcome behind it and whose end, therefore, is realized in the very doing of the activity itself. (We may therefore say that while 'praxis and prakton are identical, poiesis and poieton are different.') (NE 1140a2-5, Dunne 244)

Thus, techné represents externally motivated action focused on an end product separate from the action. In techné, means are means to an end—and therefore separate from that end. The end provides external motivation, a cause, for activity in the first place. Praxis represents internally motivated action done for the sake of the action itself. In praxis, means are ends—the two are inseparable, integrated. With techné, the focus is on the outcome produced by the action. Praxis emphasizes the action, the doing. Put another way, when we do something because it is good to be doing it we are in praxis. When we do something for the sake of an end product, we are engaging in techné. This distinction is important for the kind of action that accompanies a virtue. Virtue requires more than techné. Virtue requires praxis.

The virtue disclosed by the women in this study lies in choices they make regarding their relationships with both machines and organisms. The mean in such relationships is communication and connection with both machines and people. When it came to learning how to do computing the women in this study connected to the machine when connecting with other human beings. That connection did not take

place in the classroom. It took place as each woman received mentoring and coaching on how to compute in the context of her individual needs. Whether coaching came through coworkers, friends, or family, this one-on-one connection with a human being was the main thing that helped connect them to the machine. The classroom situations the women in this study encountered failed to develop such a connection because they felt ignored or that the material covered was not relevant. The classroom situations, rather then establishing a context for how computers could prove beneficial seemed to assume that they should already inherently value the machine. The teachers failed to establish a context or a value for the machine. Their connection to the machine and their understanding of its value came from a connection with another human being. One-on-one contact (a human connection with a coach or guide) and establishing a meaningful context for their relationship to the machine combined to help them connect to the machine. The connection to the machine in turn helped them connect to humans (friends, family, co-workers, themselves).

People who say things like, "I'm a people person. I just can't connect with machines" can be viewed as "unplugged" or deficient in integration. Computer-mediated communication is another communication option. From a mode of action standpoint, people who are unplugged show cowardice toward machines and in turn cut themselves off from other humans as well, whereas people who are integrated show courage and balance with machines and with people. Unplugged individuals are very tied into making a distinction between humans and machines. Perhaps something about that distinction that makes them feel safe and the idea of crossing the boundary that separate human and machine as cyborgs do frightens them.

The women in this study are at the mean because they have crossed that boundary. They are cyborgs. As cyborgs they have integrated the computer into their lives, into their circle of friends. They are connected in the sense that they can experience intimacy with both machines and people. Through this integration they show balance and courage in both their actions and their feelings toward people and machines. These women do not demonstrate any extremes like an excessive attachment to people at the exclusion of machines or an excessive attachment to machines at the exclusion of people.

People at the excess do demonstrate an excessive attachment to machines at the exclusion of people. For example in his book *Geeks*, Jon Katz argues that people who are more connected to the machine than they are to people may have been rejected by people at some point in their lives. Faced by a lack of control in social interaction, "geeks" remedy these feelings by turning to machines, which cannot reject them. Their relationship with computers is one in which they can have absolute control and mastery, so rejection is no longer a concern. Katz's "geeks" echo Sherry Turkle's "hackers" (from her article "Computational Reticence") in this sense. Katz opens each chapter of Geeks with a "geek voice." In the following example, Kirk sees the Net as an equalizer for those lacking in social skills by helping geeks reach other geeks:

The Vietnamese geek and the American geek are the same breed, containing the same about of personality quirks you outlined in your articles. The faceless quality of the Net erases the problems geeks face in the 'real' world of image, fashion, communication skills, etc. I foresee an International Geek Tribunal emerging through the vast slowly connecting networks that are already forming between geeks here and geeks there. (Katz 24)

Thus, technology is partially a refuge from the risks of personal relationships. Turkle's "Anthony" illustrates his desire for emotional safety as follows: "Hacking is safe in that you are in complete control of your computer world, and sex and relationships are risky in that the rest of the world has control" ("Reticence" 46). For people at the mean of human-computer interaction (those who practice integration), computers enhance their relationships with human beings and human beings enhance their relationships with the machines. For people like Anthony and Kirk who are at the excess, their relationship with the machine subsumes their relationship with people. The negative input that they get from other people starts a chain reaction in which they turn to the machine for a sense of power and control. This, in turn, further alienates them from other people.

Just as people display their character in their interactions with other people, people disclose something about their character in the way they behave with machines. Those who are deficient display an inability to cope with change. The machine represents a threat that they do not want to face so they reject it and presume to embrace people. People at the excess display an inability to cope with the world of human interaction so they embrace the machine and presume to reject people. At the mean, the integrated women in this study choose to accept change and ultimately embrace a connection with both machine and people. Integrated people can accept both the link and the distinction between humans and machines. The women in this study, for example, display a willingness to transgress human-machine boundaries that existed before they met the intimate machine.

Those at the deficiency fear two things. One, that there is something wrong with getting too close to machines and, two, a fear that they cannot master the machine. Part of the disconnect with the machine is that they view it with mastery. Partly they are afraid to try and partly the concept of mastery does not appeal to them. The image that is so often portrayed of mastery is that women need to master the computer they are thinking that in order to have a relationship with the machine they must be like the people at the excess. To the deficient, mastery of the machines calls for dedication to the machine above all. Excessives see the machine as a tool to be mastered. That mastery helps them master the inadequacy they feel in their ability to "master" human relationships. For the excessives, as for the deficients, the machine is a means to an end. For both extremes the relationship with the machine is governed by techné, a means to an end.

In the middle of the spectrum, those who are integrated see means and ends as united. Their view of the machine is from the perspective of *praxis*. The women in this study found the ability to accept and cope with change. Regardless of their initial feelings about the change, each accepted the change introduced into their lives by the technological imperative. Although the women in this study felt initial anxiety, unlike the deficients they did not the anxiety paralyze them. The integrated are not just invested in using the computer as a tool to achieve a certain end (mastery); they want to compute in ways that are meaningful to them. They allow the machine to bring them closer to humans and allow humans to bring them closer to the machine; this integration in action—*praxis* in computing. *Praxis* in computing enables these women to determine (or at least view differently) their place in the larger system.

Integration is the ability to recognize and choose well among the available means of communication in any given case (face-to-face communication, phone, e-mail, etc.) For the women in this study, integration is not cutting themselves off from computing as communication just because someone or something taught them that technology wasn't feminine or they weren't good at using technology, or that having a relationship with computers is taboo because they aren't human. Integration is embracing their cyborg selves rather than taking an extreme or the deficient approach to computing. That is ultimately what the women in this study women do. In the face of the her own Technological Imperative (social, economic, or otherwise), each woman initially experienced anxiety and frustration, which are natural in the face of something new that does not seem to fit with ones' value system. However, these women allowed those feelings to motivate them first to techné, computing for external reasons such as keeping a job or doing well in a class. Once a certain level of competence/comfort was achieved, each woman found an internal reason to work with computers—enhancing relationships for the sake of the relationship—be it relationship to self (e.g., Dale composing her first fairy tale, Amy journaling in a more connected way, or just feeling more confident as a teacher, student, or assistant), relationship with others (all report enhanced relationships with family and friends via e-mail), or relationship with the machine (instead of fearing it or dreading working with it, all women are excited about its possibilities and appreciative of how it has enhanced their lives).

Courage, Intimacy, or A Thing As Yet Unnamed?

The women I interviewed each have an interesting and contradictory relationship to the machine that expresses itself in learning and communication situations. On the one hand, they view it as just a tool, a cold piece of machinery. On the other, they fear error messages and loss of data, results of not knowing how to communicate with the machine. They love the connectedness with friends and family they experience through e-mail, and they hate it when there are server problems and e-mail gets delayed. They enjoy the sense of getting the computer to do what they want when they succeed learning to use a new software program, yet four out of five are quite adamant about the silliness of naming their computers—"It's just a machine." It can be "just a tool" (a thing that helps me get a job done more efficiently once I know how to use it) or "an extension of myself" (like a prosthesis or an enhancement that empowers me to do something I care about even better). Sherry Turkle, in "Computational Reticence: Why Women Fear the Intimate Machine" suggests that women in programming courses fear not using the machine per se but crossing that human-machine division into a kind of intimacy.

These women fear their incompetence with the machine, "I might screw something up," but feel empowered by the connectedness they feel to their own creativity when composing on the computer, and all five women spoke with joy of their connectedness to friends and family via e-mail, as well. The notion of intimacy with the machine itself was distasteful, however. When young women taking programming courses in Turkle's article catch themselves connecting with the

machine, anthropomorphizing it, they feel uncomfortable and pull back. Initially the women I interviewed needed that machine-human distinction and did not feel safe when they catch themselves crossing the boundary. This seems similar to feminist and Freudian notions of why many men seem to fear intimacy with women; whether because they are crossing the human/nature separation or fear losing their individual selves by being re-absorbed into the womb. It is possible that men fear being assimilated by women (nature, etc.) and women fear being assimilated by machines. If the machine is just a tool, it is a safe thing—not unlike men seeing woman as a tool for pleasure rather than connecting with her "For woman is traditionally a use-value for man, an exchange value among men; in other words, a commodity" (Irigaray 31). The journey of the five women in this study is in part a journey toward treating the computer as more than a commodity and computing as more than a set of skills.

That is the process of transforming techné into praxis. The initial anxiety in the face of an external imperative to adopt a techné acts as a catalyst. These are not women who will embrace something new just because they are told, "This is something you must use," but given no context in which it relates to their lives and values. The anxiety they feel is at first a type of resistance to something that appears to threaten the value of connection—communication and relationship. The computer seems alienating partly because of the message women have been given about their relationship to technology and partly because the models of what it means to be a virtual virtuoso are hackers who seem to have an affinity for machines and an anti-relational ethics when it comes to human. At first, it seems as though the women must give up relationship and connectedness with humans in order to connect with the machine. It seems as

though the only ones who connect with the machine are those who prefer not to be connected to humans.

The journey is one of integration—can those humans who value relationships make this "thing" part of their value system? Can they behave in an integrated fashion with the machine? The women I interviewed want to be good teachers, friends, mothers, citizens, lovers. The question the technological imperative raises for them is a moral one: How can eudamonia (happiness, appropriateness) be practiced with a machine that has been placed on my desk with no instructions? The women in this study, in the course of coming to terms with the technological imperative, ask themselves, "Is it possible to be a connected, communicative, relationship-valuing human being with this computer, perhaps even moreso than without it?" For Amy, Bonnie, Cythia, Dale, and Elena, the answer is, "Yes." Once they embrace the intimate machine, integrate it—woman and machine (cyborg) are more than the sum of their separate selves. To embrace the machine is not to reject humans but to reach out to others and ourselves in yet another way. Integration is about holding onto personal values when confronted with a new situation, including a new relationship—with machines, people, or any form of life. Cyborg integration is the human-machine connection. When the women in this study connect with the intimate machine successfully, they connect with other humans and themselves successfully as well.

What is a cyborg, and how can it serve as a positive image for women? A cyborg is a combination of human and machine—the two working together to form a powerful Donna Haraway sees all humans cyborgs because of our intimacy with

machines. Humans do not simply depend on computers (and cell phones and cars and other technologies) as tools for accomplishing tasks or as means to earn a living; our technologies are a part of us and shape our lives, our personalities, our relationships with ourselves and other beings. Haraway's point is that we don't have to reject technology and become earth mothers and goddesses to be feminists. If the virtue of "integration" means acting with integrity, the truest test of integration comes not in times of calm but when something or someone "other" threatens our sense of self. For the women in this study, that "other" was the computer, which entered their lives via the technological imperative.

example, if your goal is to gain a favor from someone, then having a fine conversation with that person might be a means to that goal (which is separate from the conversation); this is an example of techné. If your goal is to have a good relationship with someone, then the conversation and the relationship are not separate things; this is praxis. To exercise the virtue of integration is to engage in praxis with computers and people. To integrate is to recognize computing as communication, communication as relationship, and, therefore, computing as relationship with ourselves, other humans, and the machine. Relationships with (feelings and actions toward) both machines and people disclose something about character. Stress is inevitable when encountering something new, particularly when that "something" is externally imposed. Questioning change that seems to contradict personal values shows strength of character. The stages of the cyborg feedback model (stages that emerged from the moments of stress recounted during the interviews) were catalysts

to another way of thinking for the women in this study—steps toward the transformation of computing from techné to praxis—via arête.

The accounts of the five women in this study reveal tensions within their learning, machining (computing), and communicating moments. Elena, Dale, Cynthia, Bonnie, and Amy each transcended the model of computer education as a road from anxiety to skills acquisition (techné) to meet an external goal (mastery). All five women acquired skills necessary to do their jobs as teachers and graduate students, but each woman eventually came to love the intimate machine for the way her relationship with the computer "reconfigured" the other relationships in her life By integrating the computer into her everyday life, each woman upheld her own values in a new way. Computing became more than a means to an end. The means and ends of computing united for the women in this study, transforming computing from techné to praxis.

Chapter 5: Discussion

It is our choices. . .that show what we truly are, far more than our abilities.

Albus Dumbledore Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets

There are positive and negative aspects to our electronically permeated world and the other aspects of science and technology that increasingly dominate our society and culture. The point is to be aware of how we are affected—materially, spiritually, and psychologically. Throughout human history, first technology, then science, and now technoscience have intimately shaped our family relationships, living conditions, work, and understanding of our individual selves. Technoscience is a human creation, but it is not one over which individual humans exercise much control. Computers, for example, are part of our everyday lives whether we will or no. Humans engage with computers (become cyborgs) when accessing information, earning a living, purchasing food and clothing, and communicating with one another through e-mail. The question is certainly not if but how the computer will continue to inhabit everyday human life. Cybernetics, "the science of systems of control and communication in living organisms and machines" comes from kubernetes, the steersman, after all. How, then, to steer?

To steer the technological imperative in a good direction, humans must be "at home" with technology. To make good choices about which technologies are available and appropriate in any given case, people must be willing to engage technology

critically rather than embracing it without question or avoiding it without understanding what it can and cannot do. For the women in this study, curiosity and fear of being left behind educationally, economically, and socially started them on the road to "mastery" of the "intimate machine," but what keeps them coming back to the machine is seeing how the computer is integral to their everyday lives and values.

Integration, not mastery, is work for cyborgs.

Standard accounts of women's relationship with technology stress the need for women to overcome anxiety to achieve computer literacy. Recent studies such as the AAUW report suggest that woman-anxiety-technology connection oversimplifies the actual relationship girls and women have with machines. Girls are said to have a "We can, but I don't want to" attitude toward computing, rather than a fear of or inherent lack of ability to understand the technology (7). This finding suggests a need to examine the reasons for girls' reticence, for their choice to avoid computing. Thus, while cause of women and girls' technological deficiency has been problematized, they are still viewed as technologically deficient compared to men and boys. The issue has taken on a tone of moral outrage as media responses to the AAUW's findings escalate. The problem appears to be that computing is not appealing enough to girls the way it has been presented in the past, and the solution is to find ways to make the technology more appealing. The means suggested for getting females to be as technologically proficient as males are beginning to change, but the end remains the same: Girls and women must "master" this technology so they can compete in the classroom and workplace.

While the AAUW critiques the stereotype of females being computer-phobic and recognizes that they have "good reasons" for avoiding computing, the report raises the bar for mastery higher. Not mere literacy but "fluency" is to be the new benchmark for computer competence. ("Fluency" is a term borrowed from the 1999 National Research Council, Computer Science and Telecommunications Board report, Being Fluent with Information Technology.) My own interviews with five women who grew up without computers suggest that, as these five women made sense of the computer in their everyday lives (at work and at home), mastery was not an appropriate metaphor to describe their experiences. While driving toward "mastery" of the tool may have been their initial response to the technological imperative, these women's lived experiences with computers extended beyond competence and mastery.

For their stories of integration, the cyborg is a more potent metaphor. The cyborg is more than a metaphor for their experiences; it is the embodiment of human-machine integration. When a meaningful context for computing emerged through a positive learning situation, each woman I interviewed found the catalyst she needed to view the computer as an integral part of herself and her connection to others. When women befriended the computer, the ends and means of computing became one.

Additional Research

Based on the findings of this study, I recommend the following areas for further research. The field is broad, and the conversation must continue.

Gender and CMC

When questioned directly (see Appendix F for interview questions and Appendices A- E for transcripts), the five women in this study downplayed gender differences in computing—despite experiencing the male-dominated pedagogical approaches that frustrated their early learning experiences. They supported the usual stereotypes of men and women doing different kinds of work and having different interests they pursue with computers. Of gender issues in computer-mediated communication, the women had little to say because most of them do not interact with men via computer networks nearly as often as they do with women. Altogether, the women I interviewed seemed much less interested in that subject of gender differences in computing than in the journeys they had undertaken.

Risk Taking as a Learning Strategy

In "Computational Reticence," Sherry Turkle points out that the women she interviewed who want to be good students and not make mistakes are not using risk taking as a learning strategy. She cites hackers as risk takers, contrasting women with computational reticence (CR) as wanting a recipe to follow and living in fear of error messages. Risk takers enjoy the thrill of the quest and are willing to spend untold hours to succeed. This seems to fit with the reactions of women I interviewed as well. Questions arise: How much do these women fear looking stupid and making mistakes in-and-of-itself and how much to they fear that the only way to learn to use the machine is to devote your whole life to it? Non-Geeks fear intimacy with the machine not only because they are crossing some machine-human boundary in relating to a

thing without emotion but because they also fear that they will have to devote more time than they want to learning about it. People want to be productive, and especially at work, they need to produce not play. Most people are not programmers, and most computer users are not programmers.

The deficiency for hackers appears in the world of human-human interaction and the deficiency for non-hackers is in the world of human-computer interaction. So the extremes could be mirror images of each other. I believe we are situating courage on a couple of scales: interaction with humans and interaction with machines. Either way, the mean is appropriate ability to communicate with machines and with humans as needed—whether via e-mail, programming, phone, face-to-face communication. We want to be able to talk to the machine and to humans through various and appropriate means. We want to make more choices available to ourselves for whatever kind of communication is needed.

Technology and Pedagogy

While George W. Bush is correct that simply throwing funding and internet access at schools cannot guarantee that education will occur, his concern about the "risk of allowing teachers to use cyberspace as an educational substitute" (A8) is based on shaky assumptions. If the experiences of teachers I interviewed, those I read about in various studies, and those quoted in the AAUW report are taken seriously, the problem is not that teachers are trying to substitute technology for teaching. It is that they have not been given sufficient opportunity (time, training, and guidance) to integrate technology and pedagogy effectively. The two extremes of reducing

technology to "learning tool" (Bush's recommendation) or elevating it to a "substitute for real teaching" (Bush's fear) are a misleading binary opposition that conceals two dangerous assumptions:

- Computer technology must be kept in its place—mastered—by being reduced to a tool, thereby reifying an artificial machine-organism dichotomy.
- 2) Teachers are inherently lazy and expect the computer to do their job for them.

Assumption 1 is dangerous because by merely seeing the computer as a tool, teachers will fail to integrate technology with pedagogy. Keeping technology separate from pedagogy, encourages "othering" (separation from) rather than integration of computers in the classroom. As discussed in "The Search for a Valence" in Chapter 1 and in Stage 2 of the cyborg feedback model, "Learning Hurts: Pedagogy as Pain," when technology and pedagogy are not integrated, learning becomes difficult at best.

Assumption 2 hardly merits discussion, but it seems clear from the interviews with the women in my study (four of whom were teachers) as well as the teachers interviewed for the AAUW report (13-25) that teachers are already motivated to use technology in the classroom. What some educators may lack is not motivation but the practical experience necessary to help them integrate technology with pedagogy. If their early experiences learning to use the computer were similar to those of the women I interviewed, they may not have experienced the kind of learning that integrates technology into pedagogy for themselves. Until they experience it, they may have trouble incorporating it into their own classrooms.

Redefining Literacy

The words "computer fluency" instead of "computer literacy" (as suggested in the latest AAUW study) may not serve educators well because there is a danger of just having "fluency" be a metaphor for everything else. Maybe a better approach would be to redefine consciously what literacy is since it is such a powerful metaphor in our society. Is it knowing how to use the master's tools the way the master says (old definition of literacy), or is it by integrating them into our own value system? Whether we call it fluency or literacy with computers, the emphasis needs to be on something other than control and mastery if we are to appeal to girls and women. Evidence from the AAUW report and the interviews for this study suggests that "integration" is part of the key to getting women involved with computers. It seems the AAUW suggestion of computing across the curriculum could help provide the context for integrating with the machine. Those responsible for leading efforts at computing across the curriculum would do well to investigate lessons learned by leaders of writing across the curriculum.

Conclusion

Together with our machines we are part of a larger system that includes our environment. Machines do change us and we do change them through interaction, and together we affect and are affected by our environment through interaction.

Getting the inscription to go both ways is the key to power politics—not reinscribing "the master's tools" in our own image, whatever that may be, but mutual inscription.

Coding us, coding the machine, coding the environment. We constitute and are constituted by environment. We are our own environment.

The report focuses on computers and education, bringing educators up to date on the state of the cyborg classroom, with the statement, "The question is no longer whether computers will be in the classroom, but how computers can be used to enhance teaching and learning" (ix). The problem posed is girls' continued lag behind boys in computing, and the solutions proposed are meant to "improve the quality of the computer culture for all students" (ix).

The new standard of "fluency" assumes an ability to use abstract reasoning; to apply information technology in sophisticated, innovative ways to solve problems across disciplines and subject areas; to interpret vast amounts of information with analytic skill; to understand basic principles of programming and other computer science fundamentals; and to continually adapt and learn new technologies as they emerge in the future. It is our job as a society to ensure that girls are just as competent as their male peers in meeting these standards.

The situation does seem dire, but emphasizing skills acquisition (of which computer fluency/mastery is just a higher bar that literacy) and girls catching up with boys neglects another possible motivation for connecting with the intimate machine. Befriending, rather than "mastering" the machine may be a more appropriate metaphor. Instead of "tricking" students into liking computers, teachers can help them discover how computers are integral to human activities and relationships. Providing one-on-one guidance and encouraging students to be one another's mentors may be another positive approach. Women, the purported relationship managers of the world,

do have something to say about computers once they see it computers are not antithetical to human relationships but can enhance them—once a good relationship with the machine is established.

The research and recommendations of the AAUW Tech Sawy Report are important and certainly can provide impetus for substantive and positive changes in both course content and pedagogical strategies in American classrooms. The idea of computing across the curriculum, for example, is a solid one. While the AAUW report provides an important glimpse at the state of the cyborg network (students, machines, teachers, and pedagogy within the larger system) in American classrooms, a disturbing pattern appears in the concept of "fluency" versus "literacy" that is the report's centerpiece. The language of the report emphasizes the mastery trope in alarming ways that are of questionable appeal, particularly in light of a virtue-ethics approach to computing. To say students "must be educated to move beyond word processing and presentation software to solve real-life problems with technology" raises the bar for mastery, thereby reducing computing to techné, albeit a high level of techné.

Movement from techné into praxis by means of arête was necessary for the women I interviewed to develop a true enthusiasm for their relationship with the intimate machine. I believe the recommendations of the AAUW report will help that process to happen, but if so it will be despite, rather than because of, the enhanced version of mastery proposed. My caution is about continuing to use the metaphor of "mastery" to make fluency (souped-up literacy) an external end of computing in the classroom will keep students imprisoned in the same black box the AAUW report wants to help free them from. Perhaps the best approach is to cease "othering" and "mastering"

altogether and find a way to embrace the machine that has become a part of us.

Integration is not about mastery or perfection but about integrity and connection.

Postmodernity is a cyborgian state. But human actions, feelings, and motivations always have been partial, multiple, and burgeoning with irony, so what really is new? Perhaps what separates humans from other forms of life is a need to feel we are separate—first as humans, and then as individuals. Cyborgs are not merely individuals but networks of mutually constitutive relationships among various machines and organisms. Such relationships flourish not through fear, blind faith, nor absolute mastery but through integration—a mean approachable from any extreme if we have but courage to do so.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Amy

Q1. About yourself and your relationship to technology. So what images does the term "technology" bring to mind?

A. To me, the word "technology" used to be a word that used to bring dread and fear. Now, I -- technology -- I'm appreciating the word more because there's so many more positives. I'm discovering more positives about technology. I just used to think it was just a bunch of machines and wires here and there all over the place. And just confusion. That's what it had meant to me then. Now, it's not so bad. It still overwhelms me a bit, because I don't know what's out there or how much I could control it or how much will it -- I haven't discovered the full benefits of it yet. I'm start -- it's more fear getting in the way than, you know, discovering the benefits of technology.

Q2.Do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined? And why or why not?

- A. Probably mechanically, because I feel I'm in control of something in front of me. Like, for example, a good one is a can opener. I like to use a mechanical one because I can control it. I don't have to worry about it raring up and cutting me, or -- depend on electricity.
 - Q. I can relate to that.
- A. Oh, yeah. I'm more -- way much more mechanically inclined, because I -- it's faster, and I don't have to wait for it to get ready. I don't have to plug it in. I don't have to -- you know, it's right there. Why it go -- I mean it's just right there. That's the way I've always been, you know.
 - Q. And so you consider yourself mechanically inclined?
 - A. Um-hum.

- Q. What about technologically?
- A. Even though I'm getting more comfortable with technology, I tend to be -- to do things by hand, because I use my hands a lot. And it's basically because I don't know what technology can do for me. I don't know how to control it. I don't know how to use it. That's probably why.
- Q. It might be important. I'll let you decide. But why do you use your hands so much? You said you use your hands a lot.
- A. Well, it's part of my communication because I'm hearing impaired myself. And my hands are so important to me. I can't imagine what would happen if my hands were cut, you know. I probably would panic for a while. But then, you know, maybe technology would come in and help me. I don't know. But I -- I depend on my hands so much that it's just, you know, a more important part of me than anything else. Of course, I have some technology that I use for my hearing -- you know, my hearing impairment -- my hearing aids. And then there's closed caption, and that's part of technology I enjoy thoroughly. That's something that -- I'm appreciating that part of technology because I don't have to worry about running it or setting it up and all that. It's
- 42 there for me.

Q. Just kind of invisible.

- A. Communication-wise, technology -- that part I appreciate when it does jobs for me because that's (unintelligible).
- Q3. And then who -- you've answered this a little bit. But who and what has influenced your belief about being technologically and mechanically--
- A. My family. My parents and my grandparents used the computer. My grandparents never have used it. My mother hadn't used it until she was in her 40's. And so I wasn't really pushed to take it because we both didn't feel -- I guess a need for it. Or we just felt that it was too much to worry about. So it never was really, you know, brought to me. Part of it is finance, too. You know, it -- things get more technological, I think it's more expensive. So you feel like we have to wait a little while until we get our, you know, things that technology -- like, for example, I couldn't get a closed caption decoder till I was in my 20's, because it was cheaper by then than it was when it first came out. And they were more readily available in stores. Same thing with microwaves. I mean a whole bunch of people had microwaves before we did. We just thought, you know, let's get a microwave when we felt that we could afford one. So I think money had to be a big part of it.
- Q4.Okay. And just kind of using your imagination and memory and things that it means to you now, what does the term "computer" mean to you?
- A. Computer now is -- to me, it's becoming a critical piece of communication. Before, it was just a piece of -- a machine that would do my papers. Now at the library it's my (unintelligible). It's my mailbox. It -- hopefully, it -- it's my resource. It's -- hopefully, it will help me with my daily life like my budgeting, my -- you know, our money, and as well as planning things. I want to use it more for everyday use, rather than just my job, and then to communicate with friends. And I hope that it would help with other things, as well. To me, when I was growing up it was just a piece of machinery that knew a lot about information. It was just -- didn't belong in the house anywhere -- just was in the science department of a university or some research place. And now it's in the home, and it's where you have games on there. It's your entertainment. It's just incredible that that one piece of equipment can be so many different things. And I feel like it's going to be the -- (unintelligible), as many other people feel. It's going to be probably the only appliance in your house, you know.
- Q5. Yeah, I suppose. It's definitely got many uses. So moving on to the next set of questions, early use. Memory lane. What was your first experience with a computer like?
- A. My first experience was science. I grew up loving science, and science -- it had computers. I think I was in high school -- freshman year in high school -- when I was first introduced. At first I was excited. I was excited because I got to do something different than books, the standard books and paper. We did test questions on there. We read our unit material on that. I didn't answer questions. It made it a lot more fun and quicker. Saved a lot of money on paper, too. It was using -- we were using

Commodores, those old dinosaurs that we call them now. But, to me, it was just, wow, you know. It was like -- it was much better than a typewriter, or it was much better than a book. It's all right there. And I started hating it when I was forced to take a computer class in high school. And learning what it takes to create a program just turned me off. And I thought that's what I would have to do more to get the access to the computer that I, you know, was hoping for. And it just turned me off. It was too scien -- it was too mathematics -- too much math. And I'm not very strong on math. And it turned me off. And, also, I remember when the guys were using the -- when we, the class, were using the computer labs, one thing that made me mad was all the guys would take over and not let the girls take -- and the science teacher didn't work with the girls as much, because I felt that we were second class by this one teacher, and that turned me off. I thought, oh, this is just a bunch of -- it was something for guys to do because they knew -- you know, a guy can build cars. They can put car parts together. I thought, well, computer programming -- well, big deal. I'm not interested in putting programs together like guys would be. You know, I just -- I wasn't interested in it. I just lost interest right there because nobody would help me. So -- and I said, well, if that's the way it's gonna be, then forget it.

Q. So it sounds like it was almost a combination of the teacher and the guys' perception that this was a guy thing, and you kind of felt that way, too. And then any time you thought, well, maybe I'll try to do this, you -- the help you needed wasn't available?

A. Um-hum. It wasn't available.

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Q6.Okay. So that kind of ties into some of the next questions. First, before we go into what help you did or didn't get, I'll ask when and how did you first really learn to use a computer? And then what questions or concerns did you have?

A. After high school I went into college. Computers wasn't really a big huge part as it is now. It was starting to. I was amazed at what the girls that lived on the same dorm floor as I did had a computer in their room. I thought, my gosh. Now, in a way I felt like she was lucky, and in a way it was, like, how could she afford that? It was -- you know, it was a combination of feelings. They did have a computer lab, and I took -- tried taking a few classes, and it was confusing because, again, the guys would get in the way. And to teach computers you have to teach in front of the whole class, and there's a monitor in front of everybody. And I felt like the pace was too fast for me. I wanted somebody to sit right next to me and show to me how to use it, instead of just trying to listen to what the teacher was saying. Even though he had -- it's funny. One class I had, he would verbally say what to do, the steps, would explain the steps. That didn't help me at all. Then another class he had on a screen, but he went too fast, and I still wanted somebody right next to me to show me. And there were too many people in the class, and there wasn't enough time for the teacher to come around and help everybody. Again, the

- guys had all the attention, because they -- I don't know what it is about it, but I thought it was a little unfair.
 - Q. So how did the guys getting the attention work? Did they just -- they would ask a lot of questions?
 - A. Ask a lot of questions. And every time hands were raised up, you know, the teacher would go -- and, again, it was a male teacher. They were all -- all the teachers I had were male. There weren't -- I don't think I had a female computer teacher/instructor at all. And I felt kind of intimidated by that. So I think it was a mixture of my hearing impairment, couldn't follow what was going on, and my need for somebody to demonstrate with me. There was too many people in the class, and I think it was the male teacher. I'm not trying to backstab a guy, but it seems like there was more bonding between the male teacher and the male students. You know, and I experienced that in science class, and I even had one biology teacher. I was in advanced biology. He said, "You're doing great for a girl." I was like, huh?
 - Q. This was in college?
 - A. This was in high school.
 - Q. High school -- somebody actually said that?
 - A. Uh-huh. Oh, yeah.

What does that mean?

152 Q. Oh my.

- A. I was like, okay, buddy. I'll show you a thing or two. He made me mad. And I -- all of my science teachers were men. And if it hadn't been for me saying, look, I have a hearing loss. I need your help. I actually wrote letters to each of my science teachers. I said I'm going to need your help. You know, I'm going to be asking a lot of questions. I'm going to be bugging you, and I'm going to need you right there, because I want to know what's going
- Q. Yeah. And a lot of women who aren't hearing impaired felt the same way--
 - A. Um-hum.
 - Q. You know, when it comes to computers.
- A. I thought the girls were trying very, very hard to get the attention of these teachers. And -- you know, and I felt like they -- they wanted to know, too. I felt like the guys were taking over, and I just -- and just sad to see that, you know.
- Q7.So when it came to learning about computers, who or what helped you find out what you needed to know?
- A. Actually, nobody helped me, because I got fed up with teachers. I tried -- okay. After college I avoided it. A friend of mine during college said, "You can have the use of my dad's computer. I'll show you a few things, too." But she wasn't an instructor. But still it was enough for me to type a paper. I still couldn't get into a computer. I still couldn't get out. I still couldn't print.
- 175 She did that for me. And then by the time I got to my first job in
- 176 college -- not college -- in Tacoma, Washington, I said, "To heck with it.

- Nobody's helping me. I'm going to just turn the thing on and see what I can **1**77 do. And that's how I learned how to get into the program. Macintosh 178 was -- was, to me, and still is, the best program for me, because they would 179 have windows for me to go into and explain to you how to do, you know, 180 different things with the program. It would have windows. I would 181 182 remember, oh, how to do -- I'm still not wholly an expert. But I feel more comfortable with the Macintosh. To me, it was more user friendly than any 183 other form, even more than IBM. IBM -- I still have a hard time with it. But 184 with Macintosh, it seemed to fit my needs more than anything else. So I 185 basically taught myself by exploring and playing around with it -- with the 186 Macintosh system. And I -- again, I tried taking a class with Macintosh. 187 Again, the teacher was male. Again, I couldn't get him to help me, and I 188 learned nothing from it. And I -- to this day, I won't take another class. 189
 - Q. Too much frustration?

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- A. Too much frustration and too -- a waste of time and money. And -- but somehow I was able to find help how to do certain things through certain people. I--
 - Q. Colleagues, co-workers, or--
- A. Co-workers would help me. Some people from the computer department would come in and help me fix the problem. Certain relatives of mine have helped me. And -- and I -- I somehow managed to be able to write -- type papers. There's still a bunch of things I'd like to know. Why -- how to set up a data base. How to set up a spreadsheet. I know how to do charts. I know that's a spreadsheet. See, I'm not -- I'm still not literate. I can't explain what I'm doing. But I can get in and make a graph, like a list of names and a list of -- up above on the horizontal line, you know -- make a chart that way. But still you can learn a whole lot more. How to make them bigger -- make big graphs -- and how to make them smaller. And I'm almost afraid to ask other people, because I feel like I should have known -- learned by now.

Q8. That's what stands in a lot of our ways. But -- yeah. So you've talked a bit about this, but if you want to add anything, I have a question. Who or what hurt your ability to find out what you needed to know?

- A. The teachers.
- Q. Yeah.
- A. The size -- class size. It should've been smaller. And the lack of access to information. See, at college -- my college hurt me there, too, because I had a choice between note takers and interpreters. I wasn't -- I was (unintelligible) -- I learned sign language when I was a freshman in college, and I wasn't fluent enough. I mean I could use it for basic communication, and my sign language skills were developing. And I wasn't fluent enough to be able to read it from an interpreter. I am now. I mean after ten years, you know. But this is only two or three years after I started, and it still wasn't there. And in college they made this stupid rule, which was, again, the federal law of access, that you can only choose a note taker or an interpreter. They

couldn't afford to pay for both, which was totally against the law. And a bunch of deaf people were trying to overturn that. They finally now have two people. So because I wasn't fluent in sign language, I chose the note taker. The note taker couldn't help me with that. I just needed to be able to have that link with the instructor, and I was just falling, falling far behind. So I think that's what hurt me, is the teachers treated people in the class, and I think that's clearly the thing that hurt me the most.

- Q. What else would it help you find out what you needed to know? It sounds like you sort of -- you implied it. Well, if you'd had an interpreter, that would have been nice.
- A. I mean at that time -- this is funny, because at that time in college I think it would've helped if someone -- if some instructors would have had several aides in their class to sit next to some teachers. I mean how can one teacher reach 40 people in one hour? That's impossible. I think they should have had several people there to, you know, work with the teacher and help them with that. I think that would've been very good. I think there should be, like, one aide for four people. I think for computer-related classes -- that would be good for my deaf needs. In college it wasn't there. At the time I didn't know sign. But at the workplace they still were struggling how to provide interpreters for me, and I think that's another thing. They should've had interpreters for me at both places. I always wanted it there. But I think the number one would've been having more classroom aides in that class.
 - O. Well, that would have helped everybody.
- A. Um-hum. Not everybody could keep up at the same pace, and I think they didn't realize that. So--
- Q10. What has been your best or your worst experience with the computer, or if you have one of each that you want to share--
 - A. Okay.

- Q. It's up to you.
- A. I think the worst experience with a computer was -- I'll have to think about that one. I have a couple. The worst experience was when I first started working. I thought there was nobody there to help, and I couldn't -- I felt like I couldn't talk about that I needed help with computers. And the school district offered classes, and I felt like it wasn't enough, that I didn't know how to ask for more. Then we'd have talk to them and talk with me in helping with it, and I came to the point of just -- I was just playing with the computer myself. And I felt so behind. And I had this huge need -- I wanted to get onto that computer bandwagon to help me do my job, because I have to do all these reports. And not have to start a new paper every time. I wanted to be able to create a template so that I could pull that out and put students' reports in, because I had a caseload of 58 students. And I thought I have a lot of work to do, and I wanted to get with it. I realized, you know, at that time for the first time, I better learn this time. And so -- and I thought there's only just one person. There's me. And I -- I want some -- I want something done easier for me, too. And I think that finally pushed me. The best experience is

when I first got onto e-mail two years ago with all of my best friends. About a week before I had met with one of my friends, and then, you know, I happened to be in town. And I ran into her, and I said, "I'm so jealous that I feel left out. I don't have a computer." And she laughed at me and says, "You are left out." And I thought what a not a nice thing to say. And I think she was frustrated, too, and she was angry with me a little bit because I hadn't -- she didn't understand why I couldn't -- wasn't e-mailing like everyone else. And it was, like, it was more finances. And, plus, my mistrust of the computer itself. And I -- after she left and I went to a friend who I was in town with, and I started crying. I said, "I feel so lost without them. I want to be back in the circle." And then she said, "You know what? When we get back to work tomorrow, I'll set you up on the e-mail." And she called the district for me. She said, "You know, let's get this -- get her set up." And she taught me how to get into the program.

Q. So this was--

- A. You know, and it was exciting. It was -- oh, I got to e-mail my Mom. I didn't feel like I was alone anymore. And actually, it probably -- it got me more homesick, because I wanted to be with my -- you know, my family. And it was wonderful, because going through TTY on the phone it's so expensive, especially with long distance phone calls. At that time nobody wanted to use this TTY anymore because there was e-mail. Nobody called me anymore. And, you know, the phone never did ring much at my apartment up in Gig Harbor where I was so far away from everybody else. And it was lonely -- very lonely. And then when I got to use e-mail for the first time it was just -- you know, it was just like they were right next door to me. It was just wonderful.
 - O. Back in the fold, huh?
- A. I mean it was faster. It was easier, and I felt I was in control. And that was when things started turning around for computers, providing me something that I needed so much in a fast, quick, efficient way. And I started to look at it. Hmm. And I loved e-mail right away, but still wasn't sure about the Internet. I still had a huge mistrust of it because I felt like it was too confusing to get into. And I was jealous of younger kids being able to use it. So I think that was the best experience like that.
- Q11. Well, that's a great story. That's a good experience. So moving into the next section, current use of computers, the relationship with computers now. And some of this you may have covered. So just feel free to answer however you want to. You can refer back or just go with the question as it is. Have your thoughts and feelings about computers changed from early experiences?
- A. Drastically. Drastically. Even though I have to go through it by myself, I've had some people help me greatly. When I came to the [District Name] School District I missed the e-mail, and I didn't have it for a year. And it was -- you know, it was frustrating. And then I got back onto it this year. But last year I had to do all my reports, everything -- progress reports. For the

first time I was required to do them on the computer. And I thought, oh, my God. And I started panicking, and my co-worker in the resource room -- I'm a speech language therapist. Of course, we have to do our documentations on the computers. And it scared me to death -- literally scared me to death. And I thought, okay. Do I have to take a class for it? I don't have time.

Q. And classes had been so helpful. Right?

A. And classes have been really helpful, and I did not want to take a class. And it was a co-worker of mine that -- one night I had tried to use it, and it totally messed up. And I had three to do before the next day. And I started crying and yelling and cursing at the computer. And another co-worker heard me. She said, "Uh-oh. You need help." So she called another co-worker, and she came in. Within, I felt like, two seconds, and she helped me from then. And she was the biggest influence in the present, for the last two -- the last year and a half.

- Q. By the way, you can use people's names, because I'll change them if you feel--
 - A. Okay. Well--

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- Q. If it's easier.
- A. I can use people's names?
- Q. Yeah, if you want to, because they won't--

A. Future mother-in-law, bless her heart. I mean she has the patience of a dove and came in and worked with me and explained to me, and she sat there and showed to me, and she looked at my face where I could see and understand her. For the first time somebody who had worked with me showed me. That's what I had needed all along. And she was much better than a class. And I am much more confident about it. Now that she's not there because she's retired, and it was like ahhhh. But I have discovered who else is there for you, because they are the media specialists, and they are supposed to be taking care of people who have computers in the room if problems should arise. Those are the people to contact. And another lady at the media department at XX School District is a big help. I can call her. Hey, what's happening, you know. And I discovered that she could talk to me, and I said, "I don't have much computer -- I -- I have mistrust with it. And I want to know what's going on." And she has actually sent people over, which they normally don't do -- have sent people over from her department over to my computer and see what was wrong with it or to set up my e-mail, because I said, look, and it's the biggest piece of communication I can use that will be vital for me to communicate with my co-workers because I'm hearing impaired. It will help me -- possibly later to communicate with the parents and other specialists outside the school. I must have e-mail. And for the first time somebody had listened to my needs and said, okay, and took care of it right away, because here I am. I've worked in a deaf program for eight years, and now I'm in a hearing program. And, to me, I have a lot to prove to these people. And I wanted to show them that a deaf person can make it in a hearing school.

- Q. Do you feel that you became more assertive in asking for what you need--
 - A. Um-hum.
 - Q. Also?
 - A. Yes.

- Q. So it was kind of a combination. Somebody finally listened, and perhaps you were also being more assertive?
- A. Yeah. And I think I felt frustrated to the point where I said when you yeah. When you get pushed to a certain point, I was just finally it isn't just it you get to the point where it's like come on, stop it. It was almost desperate. And all my friends were anxious. Well, why don't you have, you know, e-mail? And it's, like, be patient and patient. I'm trying. I'm trying to get it set up. And now it's up, and I tell you, my whole world's opened up, you know. I can't imagine my life without e-mail. I can just go on about e-mail.
 - Q. The good news is we have a section on that. So you can--
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. You can talk more about it then, too. But great. That's exciting stuff. That's really cool.
- A. Yeah. And I -- I feel much more hopeful now because there are people who will help me, you know. The man I'm going to marry has the same feeling of mistrust. He's more of a mechanical type of person. We both feel the same way. He's starting to get more excited about computer at his work. So I have a -- you know, I'm excited because I think we're going to set up our own computer right -- almost pretty soon -- that we can start to use it more and more. And knowing that there will be help. My step-father knows how to set it up, and then my future father-in-law knows how to set it up. My future mother-in-law knows how to set them up. And there's more people around. I don't have that fear of who do I go for help?
- Q. You've kind of answered this. But how and where do you use the computer? What primarily do you use it for?
- A. That's all. At work, primarily. To me, it was a safe place. If something went wrong, I could just leave it at school and let them take care of it. I'm getting a little bit more confident where I can set it up at home. Of course, I'll have my little fear of, oh, my God, what's gonna happen if it breaks down, or if something went wrong with it? Privacy is another issue, too. Putting it in my home, will I have my privacy? And because that the access to have somebody fix it for you isn't as much as the school district. I mean there's somebody there. There's somebody in the library. But now at home you're kind of pretty much on your own. And so I'm getting more confident. And I would like to try it at home.
 - Q. Does your computer have a name?
 - A. Oh, my computer? Does it have a name?
- Q. Do you have one you--
 - A. Sometimes I call it the damned thing. "You damned thing."

402 Q. But other than that--

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- A. I think -- I don't have a name for it. I might come up with something at home. But I just call it the computer. I'm not that -- where I name something like that. Yeah.
- Q. Well, I'll just go ahead and ask. Why is that? Why would you not name it? Just why would you not name it? Just doesn't--
 - A. Well, I haven't even thought about it.
 - Q. There is really no reason to have to justify not naming it.
- 410 A. Right. Yeah.
 - Q. I just wondered if you had.
 - A. I -- I hadn't even thought about naming it.
 - Q. So along those lines, do you talk to the computer?
 - A. When I'm mad. "Why are you doing that to me?" Sometimes when something good comes out of it, I pet it. I just go, "Thank you, thank you, thank you." I don't know. I -- when I'm mad I talk to it more.
 - Q. So what -- how do you talk to it?
 - A. Oh, (unintelligible). But I know it doesn't talk back at me. I have sometimes got frustrated where I actually banged the top of it and yelled at it, you know.
 - Q. You're not alone in this.
 - A. Yeah. I -- yeah. It's my outlet when nobody else is in the room.
 - Q. And do you have a favorite joke about computers?
 - A. No. I haven't -- I haven't -- I don't know any good computer jokes.
 - Q. So you had something else you wanted to add?
- A. Oh, yeah. I was just thinking about it on my little break. Yeah.
- Taking computer classes in the past was just like taking an auto mechanic class.

 And women -- I felt like women weren't expected to know this stuff. And all
- the guys had all the time for the questions and the -- and the help. That's exactly how I felt.
 - Q. And do you--
 - A. It was a male-oriented type of class, and you felt like you had to push and shove and maybe still wouldn't get anywhere.
 - Q. So had you taken an auto class before?
 - A. No. But I would imagine.
 - Q. From what you've heard?
 - A. Yeah. What I would imagine it would be. I've never taken it, but maybe it'd feel like I was taking an auto mechanics class.
 - Q. Good comparison there. Thanks. I think -- let's see. We'll skip 16 because you don't have a home computer yet. But I bet you will soon. Okay. 17 -- how would you feel if you no longer had access to a computer?
 - A. I would miss my connection with the world, especially my friends and my family. I would miss the communication aspect of it. I would miss the ease of writing a paper. I would miss the ease of finding out information. It's funny. I'm 33 years old, and I'm finally appreciating it and discovering -- you

- know, it's taken me 12 -- 13 -- 14 -- 15 years since the time I was introduced to computers.
 - Q. And you're finally starting to feel like they're your friend a little bit?
 - A. Yeah. Yeah.

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- Q. Is there anything you -- well, what would you miss the most? Would it be the communication?
 - A. Communication.
 - O. And then--
 - A. Communicating with my friends from faraway places. I would miss that, you know, horribly.
 - Q. And is there anything you wouldn't miss at all?
 - A. That I wouldn't miss?
 - Q. Yeah.
 - A. I -- I -- you know, my thoughts on the computer has -- has been a lot more positive in the last year, and I haven't even thought about it. What would I not miss? Hmm. I don't -- I can't think of anything on that one. What would I not miss? That's interesting.
 - Q. Yeah. That is kind of interesting. Maybe it's sort of surprising for you?
 - A. Yeah. Yeah.
 - Q. Now we're switching gears to a whole other realm. Computers and gender, or maybe even more personality-type, depending on how you decide to view these questions. So let's see. Do you think men and women use computers differently? If so, how so? And if not, why not?
 - A. I don't think women and men think any differently. I think it's still a male-oriented thing, because it's the men that are building the programs because they have that -- the logical mind to put things together, like they were putting (unintelligible). That's what I think. But I think there's been a huge increase in women using it. More usage of women that I've seen in the last few years that I've seen before when I first started. And I think women are just quite intelligent and much -- and are much -- as just as capable as men about developing these programs. They may even do better kinds of programs, because I think women can think of something to add to computers that men wouldn't think of, because we're so domestic and more organized. We tend to be organizers -- more organizers than men, I think. And generally -- and I think they have a lot more to add if -- you know, if men could just, you know, let them come in. I hear about Bill Gates. I hear about all the CEO's, and all -- most of them are men. And I'm thinking where are the women in this? And I think there will be a time there will be a woman Bill Gates. I think there will.
 - Q. Does one sex or gender enjoy computers more than the other?
 - A. Oh. Does one gender -- yeah. I used to say that men enjoyed computers more than women. But now I think both genders enjoy them immensely. Now they've come up with websites for cooking recipes and class

- and shopping and -- and medical resources that you would use at home to find out wrong with your kids at home. I think both genders enjoy the--
- Q. Do you think they each enjoy them, but they maybe have different uses for them?
 - A. I think they have different uses for them. Absolutely.
 - Q. And do you think of computers as he, she, or it, and why?
- A. I think they are becoming more user friendly, but as it gets more advanced it gets more confusing.
 - Q. Oh, I was--
 - A. Oh, I'm sorry.
 - Q. I was on question 20--
 - A. Oh, 20.

- Q. On the--
- A. Okay. It.
- Q. It -- okay. That's an easy one. So about the computer programs that would be more user friendly for people in a certain way, or what do you--
- A. I think it's more user friendly. One kind of program I've found was totally user friendly was the (unintelligible) because they had questions. They had questions for you, and if you answer one of them you were to go to a certain step. I like the step-by-step question questioning the person who's using it. But I feel like there needs to be more of that because there's still a lot of people out there that don't have computers at home or people who are on welfare that can't afford to buy a computer and won't have much access to a computer. That's my concern. But for me I think it is somewhat more user friendly, but it needs to be more more so. Because our kids are getting the education from their school, and there's those classes again. I don't know if they're still around, you know, and it still feels like an auto mechanic class. But, again, it took me because of my limits of knowledge on computers, I might not be aware of such programs out there. But I know there is one that is more user friendly.
 - Q. And when you say "more user friendly," are you thinking--
 - A. (no audible response) for my--
 - Q. For your way of--
 - A. For my way of -- yeah.
- Q. And do you have a way of describing your way of approaching the computer? You know, some people think liner or non-linear. Do you have a name for--
 - A. I'm not sure what my way of thinking -- linear -- non-linear.
 - Q. There might be other ways of describing it, too.
- A. Mine is more like step by step, how to. That's what I look for. So when I get onto a program, I want to know what I need to do first, then what I need to do if I wanted to look -- if I want to do something. If I want to do something different, how do I do -- how do I get into that? I want directions. I mean rules are nice to have, and to go into a window that says help, I don't

- have time to read all that. The (unintelligible) have questions for me as I went along. It was like a flow chart type of thing for me as we went along. So--
 - Q. And so it gave you options, but--
 - A. It gave you options, yeah.
 - Q. But it wasn't all confusing. So--
 - A. Right. I didn't have to read like -- you know--
 - Q. Twelve pages?

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- A. I don't have time for that.
- Q. Right. Okay. So I think you kind of answered 22. But talking about how most computers and software programs are designed, are most of them designed to make it easier or harder for someone like you to use the computer? It sounds like you like Turbo Tax (phonetic), but maybe there aren't a lot that aren't so great.
 - A. Right. Right.
- Q. Specific tools and uses -- actually, I think I need to flip the tape over. Specific tools and uses -- what about writing? Do you do any kind of writing on a regular basis?
- A. (no audible response) reports, reports, reports. When I communicate with my parents, when I type letters, I save it. And I print it out when I need to make another copy. Oh, I do lesson plans on that. I do work sheets. I create my lesson work sheets. Of course, I do letters. I do -- I'm a deacon at my church. I use it for my minutes. I use it for everything relating with writing, to write memos, to write goals, when I need to turn them in for -- to my principal. Oh, yeah. I love it. I -- I use it all the time. I hate writing on paper now. I never want to do that. If I have to do it at home, oh, well, I write it on paper. But I can't wait to get to the computer so it's all right there where I can move the words around, change them, save it. It'll just ignore it. I'm not worried about losing it. I use it for every process of writing I have -- pre-writing, first draft, and final. And I save them, you know, each piece. And I -- sometime back when I was still living up in Washington, and I did a diary. I went through kind of a counseling period of my life where I was kind of in terms of my parents' divorce. And there were some emotional healing that needed to be taking place, because I finally moved away from home for the first time. And I wanted so much to have a diary. But I just couldn't pick up the paper because it was just too much to write. Then I'd have to erase. But on the computer I could type so much faster, get my thoughts out much faster. I remember when I was going through a difficult period, and the experience was more like crying jags. And I've never been able to put in front of me so I could read it back and say, wow. It was just different, because I never really talked about it with anybody. And one night I had such one of those crying jags that lasted for several hours because I was just -- you know, at that point in my life all of these emotions kept coming up because I had repressed them for so long. And they would start out by just feeling depressed, and then I would just start crying, you know, at the drop of a hat, and I would not stop for two hours. I would get to where I'd lean

against the wall, (unintelligible), and then just I would never have enough energy to write, because I didn't have a clear -- I couldn't put it on paper. But somehow I wanted to learn just so I wanted to show it to somebody what I was experiencing. And one night I finally did. I got up. Even though I was deadly tired, I went to the computer, and I just poured everything out. I was able to explain that type of experience. And I tell you, it was just amazing how fast I could type it out and how it came so clearly on the screen. I was actually able to look back and go, wow, you know, and I could take it my counsel and say, "This is what I've experienced. This is how I can explain it." A lot of times I have a hard time explaining (unintelligible) so -- I get so emotionally choked up talking about it. And then I said, "This is what I experience during the crying jags." And she was, like, whoa. So she had a clearer picture of what was happening to me and, you know, she encouraged me to do more of this kind of writing. And it was -- it was a time that I actually looked forward to, because it was late at night. It was my -- you know, I'd write better. I'd think better, more clearly, more personally maybe at night because it's more quiet. And I love doing that.

Q. So there was something about the keyboard of--

A. The keyboard itself had a way of expressing. It was an outlet. It wasn't -- I still have the copies which, you know, I look back, go wow, you know. I'm glad I did that because I could see how much my life has changed. But it was just a such a way I could express myself and was just a wonderful way of doing it. Much better than paper -- paper and pencil. It was such a powerful tool for me because I could get it out, and I could look and see. It was like a mirror for me. And I needed to do it instantly, the minute I felt something, I could type, because I am more of a mechanical person rather than writing. And then I'm faster at typing and signing, but it's only two fingers can move, and my thought process is more slower. And there's a roadblock to get it on paper from pencil because I had to erase it, and did more writing. I did -- I wrote something else. But with the computer I was able to look and see the process of my feelings. And it -- and I hope to do it again. I want to -- I'm -- that's (unintelligible) I want to have when I am home. If I have one at home, I want to use that, because I want to look back, and maybe I want to be a writer. You know, talk about my life. And (unintelligible) an author of some sort. I could create, and I could move things down here and switch them and come back later, and I could change the words, and there was -- it was fun, you know. But it was powerful, though. It was a powerful tool. Then when I would turn it back in, it was just, oh, I missed that -- that kind of outlet. And I tried to create it as right as I can, but it just wasn't the thing.

- Q. Some of these questions seem sort of irrelevant. I'll ask a couple of them. I take it -- it seems obvious to me you wouldn't go back to--
 - A. No.

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- Q. Not using the computer?
- A. No way. No way. No way.

- Q. And has it hurt your writing in any way?
- 625 A. Huh-uh.

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- 626 Q. No. Doesn't sound like it.
- A. In fact, it enhanced it.
- 628 Q. Yeah. It seems--
 - A. And greatly.
 - Q. I think that's probably enough said there. And then do you think men and women use computers differently when it comes to writing?
 - A. Well, I think you have to in the world of education. I think if you're working with kids, I think men and women have to use it for writing. I don't think they think any different. I think it's just required that we have to write.
 - Q. I mean you--
 - A. So--
 - Q. Do you think that they use it -- do men use it differently from women, and women--
 - A. I--
 - Q. You know, just got -- okay. E-mail. You told me a little bit about this, and I'll give you a chance to talk about it some more. So what has your experience with e-mail been like?
 - A. I first started e-mail two years ago, which was 1997, and I think I might've explained to how I was feeling left out with all my friends. And email is so much better than going to the phone because I don't have to deal with press "1" press "2" -- all that crap. Relay -- it's there for me when I don't have a computer or if I don't know somebody's e-mail address, I'll use my TTY to relay. But it takes too long for me. If I need to find out something right away or I need somebody to respond to me within the next day, I can always e-mail. I use that mostly with my friends, but I'm going to start using it with my colleagues because using the relay kind of freaks people out. And it's also a second person there. I think people feel intimidated by that. And I'm not sure how to conduct the conversation when there's a third person there. I think it would be intimidating for people to do that. But people can get through to me more directly through e-mail. It would just -- it would be even way better if TTY. I don't have to go through the phone. And things happen more promptly through the e-mail. Even though it's not like (unintelligible), somebody's not there, but they're sure to answer, you know, back. E-mail distance people? No, I don't think it distance people. I think it brings them closer. I feel a lot more closer to my friends now, because one's far away from each other. We don't live in the same college town anymore, but we still are keeping updated with each other's happenings, and we can set up reunions every year, and then we get caught up, and we plan it together, not just one person trying to take over. And I think it helps people communicate big time.
 - Q. How? In what ways, do you think?
 - A. Because it's so much quicker. It's right in your very own home, and you don't have to dial. Hey, it's just so much more efficient. Nobody writes letters anymore, and I think people actually perform better on the keyboard

- than they do by hand or -- a lot of people have a hard time expressing themselves if they're on the phone because they're talking one to one to a person. But on the e-mail there's so much you can share. There's almost like a veil between two people, and you don't have to worry about what their immediate reaction will be, if at all. You'll see their reaction in a delayed way, but I think people are more open -- more open, and people are basically shy. There are some people who are (unintelligible) shy that talk on the phone, but express themselves better on paper. I think it helps people communicate, but sometimes it's so hard to do it, to say it. It's easier to write it and then send it.
 - Q. Can you describe a particularly successful or unsuccessful e-mail communication?
 - A. Successful e-mail communication would be -- I can't think of a particular one. But if I need a piece of information there al -- I think the best one so far -- I've been asking for people's addresses for my wedding invitations.
 - Q. There you go.

- A. "Oh, gee. I lost your address. Can you give it back to me?" "Yes, I can." They'll e-mail it back to me. It's been awesome.
 - Q. Any unsuccessful ones where things have kind of gone awry?
- A. When I don't have it.
 - Q. Unsuccessful is not having e-mail. Okay.
- A. I don't think I've had any unsuccessful experience with e-mail yet. That's what's amazing me. I keep waiting for -- waiting for it. But I think the most unsuccessful is if I don't have it.
- Q. Fair enough. So here's that men versus women question again. Do you think men--
 - A. I don't--
 - Q. And women use it differently?
 - A. See any differences, really.
- Q. Here's one. Do women use e-mail differently with other women than with men?
- A. You mean do women use e-mail with women different than they do when women with men?
 - Q. Right.
- A. I think women may do it on more of a personal basis. But men -- it's more businesslike, I think. Most of my e-mail contacts have been women. That's interesting, because maybe that's just what I'm limited to, just my -- my girlfriends and myself. I have yet to use it with men. So I can't really -- I think -- I tried e-mailing my cousin. I wanted -- I was more in a chit-chat mood. And then it was more, like, "Well, I gotta go. Bye. Gotta work." Maybe that will be true. But I would like to see what -- it will be interesting to see what men do with e-mail. That's funny that I think about it. Most of -- all of them are women, actually.
- Q. Fair enough. Our final section is on the Internet. Here's a nice broad question. What do you think of the Internet?

A. If you asked me that question two years ago, I would've said, "I hate it." Because it was just -- I thought, oh, my God, with all the different addresses, different codes, and I'd have to use, like, HHT -- HTTP dot -- blah, blah, blah, blah -- till you get into something to find out -- screw it. Why would I have to know these little special codes and addresses and all that? But now I've discovered just a word search for what, and then I could put in this is what I want to find out, and it comes up. I say, "Yay." I didn't have to -- the only time I'd have to look at it, and then I could type it while I look at it, and I would still get in I could write it down. It's funny because that's -- that was the first thing that bothered me. The second thing that bothered me was so much information to be on that Internet, especially things that we don't want in society, such as pornography and bomb-making recipes. And now it doesn't bother me as much, except for if I have to electronically mail my bills or -- I would be cautious with that because people could have -- could break in and gain access to it. I probably wouldn't want to use it for that purposes. You can call me -- I'm pretty cautious with this, because it's like -- to me, it's like the wild west. There aren't many regulations yet developed for -- I use it with caution and what purposes that is -- such as, you know, using it for research and that -- that's all I'm interested at this point. I would wait until they come up with some kind of ways to block it or to -- I mean I'm sure -- well, they have. But other regulations or rules for people who do break into -- to the privacy, and I want ways to protect myself. I want to know what's out there first before I start to use it for, like, mailing my bills and going into my banking account. I'm a little hesitant on that, because everything you have -- it's one thing that freaked me out one time, was my best friend -- she had no harm intended for this. But she wanted to find out where I was living now. She found it on the computer -- the Internet. I thought, huh? And I thought, oh, my God, you know, how did she find out? And she only wanted to know where I lived. But what about other people? That's the only thing that bothers me. But information is so much part of our society, and it's -- anything you say, anything you type -- it's all on the computer, and it's so much more readily accessible. It's a little scary. But on the other hand, there are so many wonderful qualities of the Internet where I could find out -- if there's something wrong with me, I could find out on the computer just like that. It's better than an encyclopedia. It's way huger than an encyclopedia. I can use it for almost -- if I want to find out about anything, I'm realizing that now I can do that. I'm starting to use it for lesson plans slowly, but, you know, I'm just (unintelligible) yet to spend the time to (unintelligible) -- find out about weather. I can find out about so many different things. For me it's just information. Newspaper -- my newspaper is my library. And that's all I'm interested in using it for right now. Chat rooms -- I'm not interested anymore. I tried it a few times -- was turned off by the people who pretend to be somebody -- they turned out to be real jerks. And -- nah. It's a real dangerous thing, I think.

Q. How so?

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A. Oh, suppose if you were talking to somebody and you were to reveal a few things about yourself, and then that other person isn't who they seemed to be, that's -- no, I would be a little bit nervous about that. And the language that's on there is just terrible. I just wasn't interested anymore. I mean it's nice to be able to talk to somebody, but not in such gross ways or the language -- it's like, ahh. You know, I don't have time for this.

Q. Yeah. But the sorts of people you meet--

A. Um-hum. I mean, unfortunately, you can't screen out people. If you're interested in talking about cats, and all they'd want to talk about is sex, well, I'm not here to talk about that. So you don't know if the people are being honest or truthful, and you can't see their faces. You know, that's -- shopping, I would not like, because I have to see what I'm purchasing, what I'm ordering. I used to order catalogs. But I found out if you order something through catalogs, it's not what you -- things are not like what they seem. I have -- especially therapy materials. I have a hard time ordering them because I can't look at the therapy material till I get it. (unintelligible) you got extras and send it back. That's a pain in the neck. I want to look at it to see if I can use it for my kids. Then I will order it. But it's not in front of you for me to look through to see if the pictures are appropriate, to see the work, the language are appropriate. I'm not interested in shopping, and I'd rather -- I -- I'm old fashioned, I guess. I'd rather see it in front of me and (unintelligible). If it's made out of a material, if it's made well, and I -- I'd rather not do shopping on the Internet. News -- I certainly would do it. Certainly would do it.

- Q. And then just, overall, I guess, number 41, do you see the Internet as harmful or helpful or--
- A. I think the Internet is helpful as long as they are cautious. As long as they start -- as long as they put rules and regulations, I think it will be very helpful.
 - Q. And what kind of rules and regulations would you like to see?
- A. The kinds of information that could be on there, ways to -- how to track people who are abusing it. I'd like to see ways to protect ourselves. I'd like to know if somebody's done harmful things on the computer will be followed through, instead of just, oh, well. I want people to have options, to have -- to close down -- to limit other people's access, wanting to protect (unintelligible) I might have said that.
- Q. I guess the interesting thing that comes up is how do you provide protection and privacy for some individuals while tracking others? You know what I'm saying? The people who aren't misbehaving, how we want some privacy and protection, but then the ones who are supplying bad stuff?
 - A. Because--
 - Q. It's hard to regulate that.
- A. (unintelligible) over e-mail. How do you protect yourself against that? And I guess, you know, (unintelligible) in the mail. But it's so readily available, right into your home.

- Q. There's something very personal about that.
- A. And it's very personal. It's like somebody sneaking into your own house without even being there. But it's worse than that. They cold get into a lot of things that they shouldn't know. I will be really cautious with that. There's been so many codes broken, viruses, and all of that. I intend to be real hesitant -- real careful about doing that.
- Q. And one more time for men versus women. Do you think men and women use the Internet differently?
- A. I don't think they use it any differently, but for different reasons maybe. Oh, like, women like shopping. They go shopping more than the men do. Maybe they look for, like, recipes and crafts (unintelligible) more than the men do. It just depends on what their interest -- I think the interest -- subject areas are different for each men and women. But I don't think the way of using it is any different.
- Q. That's it. But if there's anything you'd like to add, either about the interviewing process or just anything at all about computers, feel free to add a final statement.
 - A. Okay.

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- Q. Anything else you want to--
- A. No.
- Q. Great.

A. I -- you know, that talking about computers tonight has been really interesting, because I finally discovered and rediscovered, and made me feel better, what was wrong with me learning computer. Why did it take me so long to learn it? And I discovered for the first time it wasn't just me. It was my need to learn that, the type of instruction that I had. And being not being able to learn about computers made me angry for a long time. It made me feel really insufficient, and it scared me, because I thought, well, how am I gonna make it in my job if I don't learn this? And I felt like there weren't many options, there weren't ways for me to tell me what I tell people what I needed. They weren't meeting my needs on what I was learning with the computers. I don't know what classes are like now. But they made me very angry for a long time, and I'm not as angry now, because now I'm talking about. Before I couldn't talk about it because I was embarrassed because I thought there was something wrong with me, you know. I couldn't figure out why I couldn't get motivated or be willing to learn more about computers. I just thought that people were -- how to be (unintelligible) or had to have money to get into computers, which I didn't have a whole lot of money to get one. It made me angry for a long time, and I didn't like it. And I have to appreciate my school districts. Each one of them I've been in, they've been the biggest influence, because it's there. The help's there. And I kind of have to pat myself on the back for being able to jump in and learn. And now I can look back, and I'm pretty proud of myself for not giving up entirely and just making it through somehow. I wonder how it is for deaf people. I mean I can imagine -- it depends. I think with deaf people they learn computers quicker because it's

more visual. But for me, I'm both hearing and deaf. My -- it wasn't desperate. I didn't feel desperate enough to need it as much as the deaf people, because I could hear. I didn't seem to need it, but now -- it's hard to explain. It's -- see, my needs are different than the deaf people. Deaf people can have interpreters. I couldn't have interpreters because I was raised in the world where I didn't have anybody. I didn't learn sign. That -- I think that if I had learned sign, that might've helped. But I was also -- I could -- you know, I could speak. Deaf people can't speak. So they have the access to the information which I didn't have the access, because most people thought, oh, I didn't need interpreters. Even including myself, because I was talking, and I thought I'm not deaf enough to have an interpreter. So I think that -- I think the biggest thing about my learning computer was my own self with my own needs, what did I need my own self -- identification. Who am I? Am I deaf or hearing? Got into the way of it. And also my not being able to follow what was happening in class and the type of help I was getting. I think it was just -- not just one factor, but it was a series of several -- more than several factors affecting this. I think this makes my case a little bit different than everybody else. But I could imagine people who aren't like me are frustrated with access needs and -- there's a lot of them out there. And sometimes I've seen a lot of kids that have the same -- similar situation that I have. They don't use sign language. I know two deaf boys, and it's like looking back into -- in the past. And I'm thinking, oh, boy, they're experiencing the same thing. They don't use sign language because, well, they're in the hearing world. They can talk. I don't need it because I can talk, but yeah.

Q. Talk and read lips and--

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A. It's not the communicating to other people as how you get information to yourself. And it's a big hassle. And 1980's they started having (unintelligible), and in the educational world you had interpreters, or you had note takers. And I had an FM system, which is like a personal microphone. It helped, but you couldn't get the questions from the other kids. So you're limited in access that way. And now they have captions in the classrooms. At the college level it should have it for all levels of school. I think they're still working on it. You know, as technology advances, it's getting way much better than it is -- has been. I can remember a time there was not captioning available at all. This was before 1980. And (unintelligible) media entertainment deaf people were enjoying were going to foreign films. Pretty pathetic. But now there's captions built in TV's. So -- but in terms of learning and classes and -- still limited. I sometimes wish that people could take advantage of technology for people who -- you know, like myself. Like going through a drive-thru. All I hear is a voice, and I order, like, a hamburger. And all I'm gonna say is, "I want a hamburger, and I want a pop, and that's it." And I go on without answering the next few questions because I don't heard them.

Q. Right.

- A. Now, why couldn't they have a screen and have, like, captioning? I mean--
 - Q. How hard would it be?

- A. How hard would it be to create such, you know, a thing?
- Q. They just don't think about it.
- A. And I hope the next step in computers, other than e-mail, is that that person can stand in front of a computer and sign to their friends through a computer, through video.
- Q. Yeah. Well, there's the kind of video conferencing that's out there, you know.
- A. Oh, there could be huge, huge -- TTY's now are collecting dust. We only have to use them when we know that somebody doesn't (unintelligible) or -- but I think TTY's are going to be just absolutely obsolete in the home, but except people may have to carry it with them when they talk on a pay phone or something like that. But who knows? Pay phones might be different now.
- Q. Yeah. Or, you know, people -- well, I suppose, you know, if you have a laptop and you can get your Internet connection somewhere--
 - A. Um-hum. Yeah.
 - Q. That way, you would still use e-mail or something?
- A. Um-hum. And I think phones are going to be gone, too. I think, you know -- I think computers are going to be really interesting the next century. And I'm looking forward to that. And I feel a lot more literate, but I still have a hard time explaining computer terms like hardware, DOS, and all that. I'm still going to be that way. I just -- I'm more interested in using it, rather than just explaining. Sometimes I used to think of people who can explain computers in such terms are such showoffs. I mean that's how I -- I mean I don't mean to come across -- it's not bitter. But it's just, like, at the time when I was angry, that's all I thought. You're just a showoff. All you want to do is just show off. Just show me how to use the damn thing instead of just showing me how much you know, and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah.
- Q. I think a lot of people would have felt that way. Well, great. Thank you very much.

Appendix B: Bonnie

- #1. Q. Okay. So the first set of questions -- there will be four -- are about yourself and your relationship to technology. So first, what images does the term "technology" bring to mind?
 - A. I think technology for me brings to mind computers, cell phones, all kinds of electronical gadgets that they have nowadays.
 - #2. Q. And do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined?
 - A. Maybe slightly mechanic -- mechanically inclined. I don't know about technologically.
 - Q. So you see those as kind of two separate things?
 - A. I do, yeah.

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- #3a. Q. So what leads you to believe that you're somewhat mechanically inclined?
 - A. Oh, as a kid when things would break and my mom couldn't fix them, I usually could.
 - #2b. Q. And what makes you consider yourself maybe not necessarily technologically inclined? I mean that's what I was getting from your response.
 - A. Well, I don't know, except the word "technology" scares me a little.
 - Q. It's kind of all encompassing?
 - A. Yeah. Yeah. So I don't -- you know, I can't narrow it down. So I'd just say, well, probably I'm not inclined.
 - #2c. Q. If I made it more specific, taking one of your images here of computers, cell phones, if you think of those things as technology, are you technologically inclined?
 - A. Maybe only slightly, in that I--
 - Q. Slightly?
 - A. Catch on fairly easily with computers.
 - Q. So with -- when it comes to operating technology, you feel pretty comfortable? Is that -- or reasonably--
 - A. Reasonably comfortable. I don't fear it. I think it's something I can learn.
 - #3. Q. And who and what have influenced your beliefs about this?
 - A. Well, probably my boss at work for many years. When computers came about in the school district, she informed me that we needed to be using computers, and that she wasn't going to be -- she wasn't going to be the one to learn it. So--
 - Q. Well, maybe I should interview her, too.
 - A. So that probably I would have to be the one that learned it.
- 39 #4. Q. So getting more specific, then, as far as technology goes, what does the term "computer" mean to you?
 - A. The term "computer"?
 - Q. Yeah. When you think of the word "computer"--

- A. I think -- when I think of the word "computer," I think of a keyboard with a monitor that does miraculous things.
 - Q. Do you care to elaborate, or is that pretty much--
 - A. That's pretty much--
 - Q. Your statement on that?
 - A. My statement on that, really. I don't really know any technical words to describe it.
 - Q. Well, I am asking what it means to you. So--
 - A. Yeah.

#5 Q. Whatever words you choose are perfectly fine, and that goes for the rest of the interview. Okay. Great. So this next series of questions is about your own early experiences with computers. So if you can kind of remember back, I'm going to kind of take you back to your first times, if you can recall those. So this is just kind of descriptive, maybe.

What was your first experience with a computer like?

- A. Frustrating. Very frustrating.
- #6a. Q. Okay. So moving on, when and how did you first really learn to use a computer?

Well, it must've been -- time goes so fast, I don't -- ten years ago, maybe, I guess. It's a guess. And it was in the resource room at North -- XX School in XX School District. Actually, we had gone to a workshop, and they had this man get up there, and he talked so fast, and he went through millions and millions of things, and then told us that now we knew everything, and we could go back to our schools and operate this computer.

(laughter)

- Q. Oh, well!
- A. So after we got back to the school, I could still practically do nothing. Maybe turn it off and on. That's about it.
- #6b. Q. So that kind of flows into my next questions. What questions and concerns did you have at that time?
- A. The questions and the concerns were what did you do after you turned it on? What was the next step? I mean I really didn't even know that much, you know. I had -- I had taken -- can I back up a minute here, if it's okay?
 - Q. Yeah.
- A. Actually, before this -- oh, maybe five years before this, I had taken a class in computer programming. But we didn't really learn that much about the machines, other than turning them off and on. And then we -- it was more graphics. In fact, the whole thing was graphics. So I maybe learned how to plot graphs and make, you know, pictures of things. But I didn't really learn anything about word processing or any other aspect of the computer. So when it come to what they were asking of us, was to do a canned program, to, we -- had to know how to pull up all these things out of the program, and actually what -- if you knew how to do that, it wouldn't be so hard, because you were just plugging in blanks. But I had no idea how to pull up the program or get one step from the next or anything like that. So--

- 88 Q. And that was because this man--
 - A. Just went--

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- Q. Just went way too fast?
- A. Went way too fast, and nobody in the whole group understood it. Everybody was just looking at one another, like, huh? Right. Shrugging their shoulders. They didn't get it at all, either. Nor did my boss, who was with me, understand it in the least. Of course, she was expecting me to--
 - Q. There may have been a little disincentive for her to learn, there. Okay. Let's see. Well, I'm gathering from what you've said that you eventually did learn to use this program?
 - A. Right.
- #7a. Q. And in that process who or what helped you find out what you needed to know?
- A. The management team realized after they had gone through this futile attempt to teach us computers in that manner that it just didn't work at all. So someone down at the district office who was familiar with this -- in special ed -- who was familiar with this program, decided to write up directions to follow. And actually I was beginning to learn from that, just by following each specific direction and going through it on the computer as I did. That's how I began to learn.
 - Q. Kind of a step-by-step--
 - A. Kind of a step-by-process.
- 110 Q. Almost a tutorial?
- 111 A. Yeah, it was--
 - Q. It sounds like.
- 113 A. It was a tutorial-type thing that they wrote up.
- Q. Getting back to that class that didn't work so well, was there any kind of hands-on work there, or was it basically just him talking to you about it?

 How--
 - A. Well, he talked to us about it, and then we were sent to computers. But, like, maybe a half a dozen people at a computer -- at one computer.
 - Q. Yes.
 - A. And not everybody got hands-on. And people that already knew it were just running through it and saying, well, this is how you do it -- da, da, da, da, da, da. And those of us that didn't know how to do it still didn't know how to do it, and--
 - Q. Right.
- 125 A. So -- yeah.
 - Q. That's the kind of thing that can happen, certainly.
- 127 A. Yeah.
- 128 #7b. Q. Was there anything else that you can remember, in addition to this book of procedures that kind of helped?
- A. The thing that helped me the very most was one of the instructors from the junior high -- a computer instructor -- came down, and he said, "The only way you're going to learn -- really learn this program, is to do it."

133 Q. To use it?

A. Yeah. "Is to do it yourself. And so I'm here to run you through this program. You sit at the computer, and I'm going to tell you step by step what to do." And when that happened and we went through from the beginning to the end, putting in IEP in -- in the computer, that's when it really sank in and became easy for me. And along the way he also gave me a lot of shortcuts and things to use to get into various programs back and forth. And I took notes, of course, and that type of thing. And that helped more than anything.

Q. So the--

- A. And once that happened, I felt -- finally felt a little bit comfortable with it. And then it was just a matter of using the program enough times to be really comfortable with it.
- Q. So you felt like you had something that you could kind of retain and build on--
 - A. Right.
 - Q. At that point?
- A. Right. So I'd say the tutorial and then the actual hands-on with a teacher or coordinator -- whatever you want to call--
 - Q. Yeah. Sort of a guide?
 - A. A guide--
 - Q. Or a coach, maybe?
 - A. Is a good word -- coach, yeah.
- #8. Q. I think you've partially answered this. But who or what hurt your ability to find out what you needed to know?
 - A. Who would hurt my ability?
 - Q. Yeah. What made it harder to learn what you needed to know. I know you mentioned that first class--
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. Sounds like it wasn't too helpful. But--
 - A. Well, I would say just what made it hard -- the hardest to learn was just lack of proper instruction. Once I finally got the written tutorial and the guide or coach to come in, it--
 - Q. Yeah.
 - A. It didn't seem that difficult anymore. It was just -- instead, it was kind of like thrown in your lap, and, you know -- and somebody ran through it 100 miles an hour, and you didn't know what they were talking about in the first place. And so, you know, it didn't mean anything to you. So your notes didn't mean anything to you.
 - Q. Right.
 - A. So that's what kind of made it the hardest.
- #9. Q. In addition, you've mentioned kind of the tutorial where you worked by yourself and then the hands-on with coaching. Was there anything else that would have been helpful that you can think of now that wasn't available at the time?

- A. Well, just -- you know, the only thing I can really think of is -- would've been to have somebody available to ask questions to right there in the same room or in the same school with me. However, we could call the district office in special ed and ask questions if we needed to if you really got stuck.
 - Q. How was the response time on that, or did you ever use it?
- A. Yeah. I used it. It was not bad. I mean lots of times if -- unless they were just terribly, terribly busy, the gal that wrote the tutorial would take time to come on the phone, and she would just, you know, have you go to your computer and take you through step by step.
 - Q. So not too bad, then?
 - A. Huh-uh.

- #10. Q. So the last question in this early use section -- well, this may be from an early experience or a more recent one. But what has been your best or your worst experience with a computer? You can tell me one of each, or if either one stands out in your mind more than the other. So your best or worst experience with a computer.
- A. Well, the best experience is to just go through an entire IEP and not have any hangups, and everything just goes completely smooth, and in a matter of a half an hour you have it out or less -- less than half an hour you may have it typed and out of the computer. The worst possible scenario--
 - Q. Can you think of a specific one or just one that happens periodically?
- A. Well, it's just -- you're doing everything you're supposed to do on this computer. And for some reason it doesn't react the way it's supposed to react. And this was not uncommon in this program that they had, that it would work right 55 times, and the 56th time, why, for some reason it wouldn't, you know. And then it was, again, a very frustrating thing to try and figure out why it wouldn't work. And sometimes you could spend untold time. I mean anywhere from a half an hour to two hours trying to go back through your steps and get it -- you know, get it straightened out. I finally learned just through elimination process. I mean I could have called the person all the time, but I don't -- didn't want to bother them unless it was absolutely necessary. So just in the process of elimination I just learned that the best thing was to just dump it and start all over again.
 - Q. Because?
- A. Because the next time it might work. But it wouldn't work just going back over that one step. You had to just dump the whole program. I mean just close -- close down completely.
 - Q. And just--
 - A. And just start all over again.
- Q. I wonder if that's part of the problem, maybe, with a canned program instead -- it's because it's just set up to be automatic, that maybe it really is difficult to back in and find what went wrong.

- A. Yeah. Yeah, because I could call -- I have called Stacy -- and that's who was at the -- available at the district office. And she's taken me back through things, and, you know, it still didn't work. So--
 - Q. Start over?

- A. Start over. And, you know, usually, if you shut it clear down, you know, and start totally over, which is a waste of time. But you wouldn't -- you don't waste as much time that way as if you do spend two hours trying to figure out what was going on.
 - Q. Trouble-shooting?
 - A. Yeah.
- #11a. Q. No fun if there's no payoff. Okay. Let's stop for just a minute. So picking up on the next section, which is about your current use of and relationship to computers. First, have your thoughts and feelings about computers changed from these early experiences to the present?
 - A. Oh, yeah. A lot.
 - Q. And so, you know, how? Can you give a few examples?
- A. Well, I guess I said early on that I really, you know, thought that I -- I didn't fear them. I thought that I could learn to use them. And I did. But I went through some really frustrating times, and now I don't find the computer nearly as frustrating. I realize that it's only as smart as the person putting the information in. It's not going to do anything strange or weird. You know -- well, I won't say that it won't do anything weird or strange. But I mean it's not going to do anything out of the ordinary -- no more than what you put into it. I mean, you know -- and I don't know that I didn't ever know -- not know that. But for some reason it always had kind of a mystique about it, you know, more than -- but now it doesn't have a mystique to it. I mean I -- it's -- it seems much more simplified and easier to deal with.
- Q. I don't know if you've heard of people who -- you know, sometimes initially when you start using a computer you're almost afraid that you can break it somehow by hitting the wrong keystroke.
- A. Yeah. Or you think you're going to lose your whole program. You're going to wipe out the whole program that somebody spent millions of dollars putting together.
 - Q. Right.
 - A. Or, you know--
 - Q. Inadvertently?
- A. Yeah. Yeah. And now you -- I realize that that can't happen. And there's nothing that you can do that probably can't be fixed.
- 11b.Q. Yeah. That makes a big difference once you realize that. Okay. And as a followup to that, you've partially answered this. But I'll ask this anyway. Who or what has influenced this change? What do you see as causing you to feel differently?
 - A. Just experience on the computer.
 - Q. So using it and just realizing that--
- 264 A. Yeah.

- Q. Over and over again that nothing bad has happened?
 - A. Right. And then teaching someone else to do my job just before I retired, you know, made it even -- seem even simpler to me, because I had to convince them.
 - Q. Of the same thing?
 - A. Of the same thing that I feared when I started it, that those things weren't going to happen, and it was -- you know, it was way easier than it seemed.
 - Q. So that sounds in a way like something that you would have liked when you were learning, is someone who actually knew about this exactly the way you were going to be using it who could tell you?
 - A. Right. Remember I said back--
 - Q. Yeah.

- A. If I had had someone in the room that knew it. That's why I made that comment, because I know when I taught it to the person that took my job, you know, she caught on quite it seemed quite easily, because I was always there to answer her questions, and I immediately put her on the computer, like the coach had done with me, and ran her through the program, and, you know—
 - Q. Then you were there for--
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. A number of days or weeks?
- 287 A. A year.
 - Q. Okay. A whole year?
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. So--
 - A. A whole school year, yeah.
 - #12a. Q. OJT with an on-site coach. Perfect. Great. So you mentioned that you're retired. So I'll let you decide how you want to answer this question. It's how and where do you use the computer? What primarily do you use it for? So your choice. If you have one at home, you can focus on that. Or you can tell me more about how you used it on your job. I want to know about both. If you have a computer at home, I'll want to hear about that, too.
 - A. Yeah. Before I retired, it was mainly used in the -- like I said, the canned program of just putting IEP's -- individual educational programs -- in the computer and printing them out, because there had to be printed copies for the district office, for our files, and for the parents.
 - Q. An individual education program is -- what is that for?
 - A. This for learning disabled children. I worked in what we called a resource room that dealt with learning disabled children.
 - Q. So the IEP was like a standard form--
- 307 A. Right.
- 308 Q. That needed to be filed--
- 309 A. Right.

310 Q. On a regular basis?

- A. Yeah. And there's an annual review. So this had to be done once a year. The students have to be retested, and new IEP's written. Then every three years there had to be a total reevaluation and much more extensive testing and a more extensive IEP written up.
 - Q. So what -- it sounds almost like it was sort of a data base for an individual student.
 - A. Yes. Each student had one of these, right. Right.
 - Q. And then did it -- what kinds of information did it include? Was it (unintelligible) program for the student?
 - A. Yeah. It had the testing results so the parent, as well as the district and the teacher, could compare the growth each year of the student. And then it also had a program for that particular student to try to meet specific goals. The learning specialist had to write specific goals, and then the student was going to try to meet those goals for each year. And then every third year, like I said, got a little broader.
 - Q. Right. They kind of evaluated the overall--
 - A. Overall, yeah. And some students didn't requalify, but most of them did, you know.
 - Q. So not requalifying means they no longer needed help?
 - A. They would -- it would -- they would no longer be in the program. Right. They didn't always not -- not need help, but they maybe tested so they were not learning disabled anymore. They were more a Title I student or a different type of special ed.
 - Q. Different classification?
 - A. Yes. Yeah.
 - Q. So getting back -- so what you did was primarily input data for these IEP's?
 - A. Correct. The learning specialist wrote up the data that she needed inputted into the computer, and it was my job to put it in the computer and print it out. Give us a beautiful copy.
 - Q. And as this learning specialist, the boss you referred to earlier -- who--
- 342 A. That's correct.
 - Q. I'm getting a feeling she didn't want to input these herself.
 - A. She's -- was not a good -- big computer fan.
 - 12b. Q. Yeah. A potential interviewee. All right. So what about home? Do you have one there?
 - A. Yes, we do. We have a personal computer at home, and the thing I like to use it the most for is e-mail to my daughter who lives in a different town. And we can e-mail back and forth daily, and it's just a nice way to be able to communicate.
 - Q. So it kind of helps you keep in touch?
- 352 A. Yeah.
- Q. Do you use the home computer for anything else?

- A. I use it for mainly e-mail and for, like, personal letters, writing
 letters -- this type of thing. My husband uses it more for putting in financial
 data and spreadsheets, et cetera.
 - Q. So we'll come back to e-mail a little bit later.
 - A. Yeah.

- #16a. Q. Where do you keep your home computer?
- A. We have a -- actually, it was an extra bedroom on the lower level of our house, and we turned it into a den. And it's kind of a computer room/horn practicing room combination thing. But we have our computer in there.
 - #16b. Q. Okay. So why there? Why do you have it in that room?
- A. Well, it's out of the way of the TV and traffic in -- you know, in the main house. And it's a quiet spot to get down and concentrate. You can concentrate on what you're doing without a lot of interruption.
 - #14a. Q. Okay. Do you talk to the computer at all?
 - A. I haven't recently.
- Q. Have you ever? And this goes for at home or at school. Have you ever--
 - A. I don't know if I've talked to the computer. I might have sworn at it.
 - Q. Well, that's kind of what I mean.
 - A. I might have gotten a little bit--
 - Q. Verbalizing.
 - A. Frustrated enough to verbalize at it a few times.
- 14b. Q. So okay. And I was going to ask, if you ever speak to the computer or at the computer, how do you do it? You know, what do you say, and how do you say it? Is it primarily swearing when you're frustrated? Do you ever talk to it at other times?
- A. Well, I may say, "Well, I can't believe this happened," or, you know -- I mean I -- (unintelligible) I swear at it. But I have said the -- you know, "I really can't believe this" -- you know, that type of thing--
 - Q. Yeah.
 - A. On occasion -- when I'm not swearing.
- #14. Q. I've been known to do the same thing. So don't feel bad about that. Does your computer have a name or any one specific name?
 - A. No. Just the computer.
- #15. Q. Okay. And do you have a favorite joke about computers or computer users?
- A. Oh, I've had lots of laughs about computer users. My friend e-mails me a lot of jokes about computer people and computers in general. I can't give you anything specific off the top of my head.
 - Q. But you've seen a lot of jokes?
- A. I've seen a lot of jokes about computers, and some are very funny. And some are too -- too close to the truth to be funny. And some of them I don't understand because I don't understand the computer that well, still.
 - Q. Maybe about hardware or the internal workings?

- A. Yeah. Yeah. Different -- different things that come up with -- I really don't know what they're talking about.
 - Q. Have you seen the one about -- I think there's one about upgrading, like girlfriend -- trading the program girlfriend 1.0 in for wife 2.0 and some of the difficulties -- have you seen that one?
 - A. No, I haven't.

- #17a. Q. Well, it'll probably show up in your in-box one of these days. Who knows? And wrapping up your relationship with computers right now, how would you feel if you no longer had access to a computer?
- A. I think I'd feel cheated, now that I have become friendly with them. They can make communication so much easier and available to a person, that I really would feel cheated if I couldn't have one anymore.
- #17b Q. And so what would you miss the most? You may have hinted at that already.
- A. I would miss e-mail the most, being able to communicate with my daughter and with other friends on a daily basis.
 - #17c. Q. And what would you miss the least?
- A. What would I miss the least? Having the -- having the computer dial up the network and finding that either there is no answer, or the line is busy.
- #18a. Q. That one goes at the top of my list, too. So then next section has to do with computers and gender. Or you might look at it as computers and personality type -- kind of depending on how you choose to look at it. First off, do you think men and women use computers differently? Just in general.
- A. There -- in general, no. You mean at work or -- are you speaking of at work or for their own personal use or both or what are you--
- Q. Good point. Well, can we -- is there a way we can start just, in general, off the top of your head, do you think they use it differently? And then we might get more specific and give examples based on work and home. So in general--
- A. In general, I think there are definitely times when they do use it differently, yes.
 - Q. So maybe that's the question.
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. Is when do they use it differently and--
 - A. Yes.
 - 18b. Q. And when not? So when do you think they use it differently?
- A. I think they use it differently for their own personal use at home. And I think more job related -- maybe more women inputting into computers than men do. I don't know. I mean that's just a gender idea that I have that's probably true. But I would -- I was -- guessed that per job -- I mean it would -- it -- whoever was doing the job, it wouldn't matter of gender. They'd probably have to do the same thing with the computer uses, the same type of--
- Q. And they would approach it pretty much the same for the same job, you think?

- A. I don't know if they would approach it the same. But what they needed to come up with would be the same. The outcome would needed -- would need -- is what I'm thinking of, I guess.
- #18c Q. So I was thinking of -- when I asked about do they use it differently, maybe a better word would have been "approach" it differently. Do they use it in a different way? Do men and women use computers differently? You hinted that maybe they tend to have different jobs related to the computer, for one. So--
- A. Yeah. Yeah. That would be my main thing. I think they'd have different jobs that are related to the computer. Like, I would guess that more -- more men would be programmers, and more women would be people who input information. I'm not saying there aren't some of each, but I would--
 - Q. Overall?

- A. Overall, that there'd be more men that would be programmers on that end of it, and the women would be more like inputting or secretarial-type -- types -- using them to write up letters and make forms and so on and so forth.
- Q. So it sounds like when it comes to the workplace you see the differences in the way men and women use or approach computers are primarily task-related. It's depending on what kind of job they do, they approach it differently?
 - A. That's correct. Yeah. That's what I--
- #18d Q. So getting back to personal use, then, how do you think men and women -- you said you thought they use it differently?
- A. Yeah. I think women -- not always -- but women kind of tend to use it more for e-mail, maybe keeping track of recipes -- this type of thing. Where men seem to like to make spreadsheets, figure out financial possibilities in your life, keep track of that type of thing.
 - Q. Maybe--
 - A. Understand what I'm saying?
 - Q. Oh, yeah. Exactly. Maybe check the latest baseball scores on the web?
- A. Well, right. Yeah. And probably they use the web differently, too. They'd be looking up different types of thing on the web. Men might be looking up baseball scores, the price of a new boat motor, what's the best deal on cars -- that type of thing. Where women might be more interested in health-related subjects and recipes and what they can buy, perhaps. These are just guesses.
- Q. Although I do recall you mentioned boat motors for men. So there may be some purchases going on there, too.
 - A. This is kind of how it is in my house.
- #19. Q. Okay. So here's, again, on the gender issue, this is sort of a general question. Does one sex or gender enjoy computers more than the other?

- A. I really don't know the answer to that question. Overall, of people I know, I know it's pretty even down. I mean I know as many women that are interested in computers as men. I don't know. I really don't know the answer to that question. I don't even--
 - Q. Well--

- A. Did you ask -- state it again. Did you ask in my opinion, or what did you say?
- #19 Q. Yeah. Just your opinion is all I'm after on this, anyway. So does one sex or gender enjoy computers more than the other?
 - A. I'd say not necessarily.
 - O. It sounds like maybe more isn't the issue, but maybe just differently?
- 499 A. Um-hum.
 - Q. Kind of what you were saying--
 - A. Yeah. Yes.
 - Q. In the previous--
 - A. Right.
 - #20. Q. Good. This one is -- it's a little more abstract. So let me know if I need to clarify it. Are computers -- and by "computers," let's include software programs -- you know, whatever you're used to interacting with. Are computers inherently designed to be more user-friendly for people who think in a certain way? Now, ways you could divide up different types of thinking, you could say male or female. You could say linear/non-linear is sometimes the way that gets divided up. Or, you know, designers versus users of computers. So rephrasing it, are computers inherently designed to be more user friendly for people who think in a certain way or have a certain type of mind-set?
 - A. I think that's probably true. I think perhaps the more logical thinker has an easier time with computers.
 - Q. So more logical, kind of linear--
 - A. Linear, yeah -- versus abstract thinkers. I think abstract thinkers might tend to want to make more out of it than there is.
 - Q. So maybe I should ask -- could you tell me a little more about what you see as an abstract thinker? Could you describe what that is, just either through examples or--
 - A. Well, I don't know. I think if somebody is an abstract thinker who thinks -- let's see. They don't necessarily think in black and white logical -- black and white or linear. Plus, they think of -- they think in a way that they see maybe the result before -- and not result -- and not a logical way to get to it.
 - Q. They know -- they maybe know--
- 528 A. They know they want.
 - Q. The result they want.
- 530 A. What they want.
- 531 Q. But they can't visualize?

- A. But they don't visualize the steps to get there. As compared to a logical thinker or linear thinker -- the way I think of it is one that maybe even sees the steps before they see the end result. Does it make any sense?
- Q. Yeah. I think so. So logical might be -- another word that would fit in that category might be methodical?
 - A. Methodical.
- Q. Sees the steps -- yeah. I think I see what you're getting at. People who have a hard time visualizing -- well, you just said it. I mean--
 - A. Yeah.

- Q. People who have a hard time visualizing the steps from point A to point B have hard time with the computer?
 - A. Right. And they're -- to me, that's a more abstract-type person.
- #22. Q. Okay. Yeah. I just wanted to clarify what you meant by that. So in that case, given this logical versus abstract distinction, are computers inherently designed in a way that makes it easier or harder for you to use the computer? So another way of looking at it is which camp do you fall in? Are you either of those, or are you a little of both?
- A. I think I'm -- I think I'm more logical. I need to know how I'm going to get there before I even think about what the final result is. I'm -- you know, I need an overall picture, I guess, of the final result. But I need to be able to know how -- exact steps to go back through logically and get to that end result before I discuss the end result very much.
- Q. And you think that probably is one reason maybe why it's easier for you to use the computer than some other people you know?
- A. Right. I think that's why -- to me, that's why it was easier for me to pick up on it, yeah, than some people who just are -- are just afraid of the steps or--
 - O. The details?
- A. The details that have to go into it. The details is the word I was looking for, I guess.
 - Q. Yeah. Some people kind of are more big picture people.
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. And they can't be troubled with details?
 - A. Details, yes. And where other people need the details.
- Q. And you're thinking people who want the details and are good with the details are probably better with computers?
 - A. I think -- yeah, I would think it would be easier.
- Q. Or have an easier time?
- A. Yeah. Easier time learning than -- yeah.
- 571 20. Q. Yeah. Good. And wrapping up the gender section here, do you think of computers as he, she, or it?
- 573 A. It.
- Q. And why is that?
- A. Because it's a machine, and I--
- 576 Q. A machine.

- A. You know, it can have no gender.
- #23., #24, #25 Q.Fair enough -- no confusion there. I'm going to stop for just a moment. Moving to specific tools and uses on the computer, the first category -- we'll just talk a little bit about writing. You mentioned that you do different kinds of writing with the computer. So what kinds of writing do you do?
- A. Well, basic -- basically, now I just write letters, notes, e-mail -- this type of thing -- at this point.
- #26. Q. And so when you do letters and e-mail and things like that, do you just do it straight on the computer, or does that happen at some other stage? I'm asking--
- A. No. I do it directly on the computer. I go -- you know, I've (unintelligible), and then I just type it on the computer. And I read it back paragraph for paragraph, and if it doesn't sound right, I change it right there, and just take it from there.
 - Q. And do you do that with e-mail or just with letters?
 - A. With e-mail.
 - Q. So you--

- A. Well, my letters pretty much have become e-mail or mostly e-mail. I write very few letters other than -- well, the holidays I write some letters.
- #31. Q. Here we are. So writing on the computer -- primarily e-mail. I think we'll move on specifically to e-mail. Just kind of the general thing -- what has your experience with e-mail been like?
- A. I think my experience with e-mail has been pretty satisfying. Again, the most frustrating thing was to go and check your e-mail and have the computer say the line's busy or there is no answer, and you have to do that three or four times before you can get through and find out whether you have any or not. Another thing that's a little frustrating is sometimes people will send a message at a specific time, and you don't get it for hours or maybe even till the next day, it seems like. And I don't know what causes that. But that sometimes is frustrating if you're communicating back and forth on a regular basis. But, overall, I think it's been pretty good. I just enjoy the fact that it's so easy to communicate so quickly at no extra cost.
 - Q. Yeah. Hopefully, it will stay that way for a while longer.
 - A. Yeah.
- #32. Q. Good. So do you think e-mail distances people from one another in some ways?
 - A. Definitely not. I think it brings them closer together, in my use of it.
 - Q. Yeah. And that's what we're after -- your use of it.
- A. Maybe that's because you can communicate so much more often with no extra expense. It doesn't mean that I still don't want to call and talk to the person on occasion and hear their voice and, you know, actually have a conversation -- a live conversation with them. But I really think it brings them closer because you can communicate so much more often.

- #33. Q. So -- yeah -- frequency can make a difference. And this is getting more specific on the same subject. Does e-mail help people communicate?
- A. I think it does. I think it does because at least it has for me, because I communicate with friends through e-mail that I really don't have time to call. And that may sound like a funny thing to say. But if I call them, the conversation is an hour long, and if but by if I e-mail them, I can probably do it in depends on how much I need to say, but probably at the most ten ten or 15 minutes.
 - Q. So sometimes it can help you save time?
- A. Help -- yeah, helps me save time. What else were we looking for? What was the question?
 - Q. Does it help people communicate?
- A. Oh, yeah. Yeah. Yeah. And like I said in a previous question, I think it brings people closer together because they can communicate more often, because you can drop -- you know, drop somebody a quick e-mail or send them a joke with a short note on it or something like that. Like I say, you call them on the phone, and it takes too much time. And then you don't always catch them at home on the phone, and--
 - Q. Yeah. People's schedules--
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. Are different. And you alluded to cost earlier.
- A. Yes.

- #35. Q. So there's long distance phone bills you don't have to worry about. Okay. And this is -- you may have already answered this. But I'll just say does e-mail have the potential to hurt communication in any way? Does it hurt communication?
- A. Well, it certainly hasn't for me. I don't know that -- it might have the potential for other people, in that maybe they just e-mail and never talk to the person. I do -- I combine both. If they don't combine, like, calling them on the phone or meeting them for lunch or something like that, then maybe it might be hurtful in a relationship with a friend or a relative or something.
 - Q. So yeah. So if you let it take the place of--
 - A. If you let -- right.
 - Q. Other forms of communication--
 - A. Right. But as--
 - Q. Is hobbled, but, otherwise--
- A. It's an adjunct to communication. It's wonderful, as far as I'm concerned.
- #36. Q. Okay. So if you can kind of try and remember, can you describe a particularly successful or unsuccessful e-mail communication experience that you've had?
 - A. A successful or unsuccessful one?
- Q. Yeah. Kind of your choice, what you'd like to describe.

A. Well, I don't know. I feel -- you know, I -- you want me to just pick out one specifically and tell about it or--

- Q. Yeah. Like, a specific one that went well or didn't go so well, and kind of tell me what went on, if you can remember.
- A. Well, I can't think of any -- pinpoint one specific thing. But I feel that my communication back and forth with my daughter goes extremely well, because we answer -- seem to answer one another in a timely fashion. And, you know, that way we -- we're really communicating every day. I know I'm not answering your question specifically. But I can't really think of a specific -- one specific thing.
- #37. Q. Well, that's fine. And I believe you answered this -- well, no. I guess you didn't answer this one about e-mail. Do you think men and women use e-mail differently?
- A. Well, I can speak for my husband and myself, for sure, in that he doesn't e-mail nearly as often as I do. I have -- you know, I e-mail much more frequently than he does. And I would tend to guess that probably is true gender-wise, that maybe -- that women would use e-mail more frequently than men, just because I think women are better communicators, in general. And so they like this adjunct of communication.
 - Q. Sort of they're more -- maybe even more interested in communicating? A. Right. Right.
- Q. So frequency is one difference. Have you had any opportunity to perceive, you know, when men use e-mail? Do they use it differently from women? Or have you not had much experiencing e-mailing with men?
- A. I actually haven't had much experience e-mailing with men. My husband -- the e-mailing that he has done mostly has been when he's working on his family tree. And he communicates back and forth, and it has to do with information about the family -- the family tree. So both with men and women.
 - Q. But mostly it's about information?
- A. It's informational-type, yes. It's an informational-type thing. And if -- and he's -- if he's either relating information, or he's requesting information. So it's much more informational, more than just casual conversation-type things.
- #38. Q. Here's another one. Do women use e-mail differently with other women than they do with men? Again, I'm not sure how much experience you have with e-mailing men. But--
- A. I haven't e-mailed too many men. But it would depend on the woman. If you had not -- if I were to e-mail some of my male friends, I don't think I would e-mail them any differently than I do women. But -- say -- repeat the question one more time. I'm getting off track here.
 - Q. Do women use e-mail differently with other women--
 - A. Oh, than they do with me.
 - Q. Than they do with men?
- A. Probably somewhat. I mean you might, you know, be more personal, talk about more personal things with other women than you would with men,

- although if the man was a good enough friend, you might tell -- you know, you might tell him feelings and things, the same as you would a woman. But it just depends on who the man -- who the man or woman is, I guess, in my mind.
 - Q. So not -- you can't just totally categorize it?
 - A. No, I can't.

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- #39. Q. So moving on, then, to the Internet, what do you think of the Internet -- just general impression?
- A. I think it's wonderful. There's so much information out there that you can have access to, that it's just fantastic. Now, knowing how to get there can be another problem. But I'm beginning to get the idea because my husband is pretty good at getting pretty much what he wants on the Internet now. He's figured it out. He's teaching me.
- Q. So what -- can you tell me just a little bit of what you've figured out or what he's figured out and showed you? What helps you navigate?
- A. Well, the first in the first place, knowing where to put the address you know, the address in so that you can get into the Internet. Of course, you see, our computer is very user friendly, because all you have to do is push a button, and it automatically goes to the Internet. And then you just have to type in an address, and then you're there, you know. But it took me a while even to figure even figure that much out. But—
- Q. Not necessarily intuitive. Okay. So -- but I guess I'm thinking of this wealth of information that's out there.
 - A. Um-hum.
- Q. But then getting there is another problem. When you said "getting there," were you just thinking about getting on the Internet at all, or--
 - A. Getting on the Inter--
 - Q. Finding stuff once you--
- A. To a specific address, like, whether it be a health setup or what -- you know, whatever your -- whatever you happen to be looking for -- used cars or whatever, you know.
- Q. And then so it sounds like your husband has figured out ways to kind of get around--
- A. Yeah. Get around on the Internet, yeah, once -- you know, once you're on it.
 - Q. Okay.
- A. But mainly I think it is knowing the right address to type in, and if you know the right address, why, the right address will just, you know, pretty much take you there.
 - Q. Yeah. To, like, a specific--
 - A. To a specific--
 - Q. Site?
- A. Site. And then the site usually has a menu or brings up things that -- you know, where you can get further into it. It all -- to me, it all just takes time and investigating to figure -- you know, but it's user friendly enough that you can figure it out if you want to take the time.

Q. That's probably the key -- is time.

- A. Time, yes. Right. Because when one is retired one's much more busy then when they were working.
- #40a. Q. Okay. All right. So getting more specific on the Internet, you've said that you use the Internet. How, primarily do you use it?
- A. Actually, the most times that I've used it has been to look up specific health questions or answers -- or answers to health questions. Like, looking up a certain -- maybe a certain drug like Nerontin, and trying to -- you know, so it gives you all the background of it, and, you know, all its cause and effects and all this type of thing.
 - Q. Ever use chat rooms?
- A. No, I haven't used a chat room, and I really wouldn't know how to go about using one, I guess, probably.
 - Q. Then that's--
 - A. That's something my husband hasn't gotten around to, either.
 - Q. Okay. But you've--
- A. I've heard of them, yeah. I've heard of them, yeah. And that's about all.
- Q. So it sounds like you use it for research. Do you use it for -- have you shopped on the Internet at all?
- A. No. Actually, I really don't want to get started on that. So I have just -- I just haven't even looked because I think it could be pretty tempting.
 - O. Right.
- A. And sometimes you end up buying things you don't really need just because it looked like a good deal or they looked interesting.
 - Q. Kind of like going to Costco?
 - A. Yeah. Or shopping over TV, you know. I don't do that, either.
 - Q. And then news or anything like that off the Internet?
- A. I haven't, no. I haven't really looked at news on the Internet. And I don't know that my husband has, either. We usually just, you know, get our news off the TV. We listen to the news in the morning and then at noon and then at night on TV and haven't -- haven't gone to the Internet for that.
 - Q. Yeah. Probably take the paper?
 - A. Yeah. We take a paper and read the paper.
 - Q. Well, getting back, it looks like primarily you use it for research and-A. Right.
 - #40b. Q. So what has that been like for you?
- A. It's been beneficial. You know, I -- any kind of question that I -- excuse me -- wanted answered, has always -- the answer's always been there. And I think with my husband, he's found all kinds of information on -- oh, like boat motors, like I mentioned before. He's interested in -- sort of in the market for a boat motor. You can get, like, the blue book price of cars. So you know what your car that you're going to trade in is worth and what -- maybe if you find a car, you can go back and check and see what the blue book is for that before you purchase the car -- those type of things.

- Q. So where would you have gone to get that information before the Internet was available?
 - A. Which? The--
 - Q. Say, blue books, for example--
 - A. Blue books?
- Q. For prices.

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- A. Sometimes the dealers have blue books. They don't always want to share them with you. But I think you can buy blue books. I think even maybe -- well, any magazine place that has -- you know, it's a big, big store that has a lot of magazines and things like that. I think you can check on it in a library.
 - Q. So that's -- yeah -- kind of what you've done?
- A. Yeah. That's what we've done.
 - O. So the Internet makes it more convenient?
- A. Much more convenient.
 - #42. Q. And actually I think you've already answered this question. Do you think men and women use the Internet differently? But do you have anything you want to add to that?
 - A. They probably do. I don't know. I think women would tend to maybe -- those that are shoppers or shopaholics, or maybe they don't have to be a shopaholic, but like to shop more than I do. More women would probably buy things, I think, over the Internet than men.
 - Q. Although I suppose if you dislike shopping--
- 823 A. Yeah.
 - Q. In department stores, then you might like shopping on the Internet more, maybe. Or do you think it's just kind of if you like shopping, you like shopping? If you don't like it, you--
 - A. Yeah.
 - O. Don't like it?
 - A. But with me, I don't like it, unless I can just go and see -- I have to see something and feel the texture and this type of thing before I'm interested in buying it. I don't think it would interest me over the Internet too much. But like I say, I just haven't -- I haven't gone in, because I think it could be tempting.
 - Q. Better safe than sorry?
- A. Yeah. I still want to feel, touch, and see the actual product before I would be -- even think about buying it, you know.
 - O. Yeah
 - A. So maybe I'm just not there yet on shopping on the Internet.
- Q. Well, yeah. It's a matter of opinion--
- 840 A. Yes.
- Q. Whether that's--progress or not.
- 842 A. Yeah.
- #41. Q. Then a final question. Do you see the Internet as harmful or helpful or some of each and why?

A. Well, I would say to me, personally, or to my -- my husband and myself, that it's very helpful. The only way that I see that the Internet is harmful is -- or one of the ways I see that it's harmful is that sometimes young people -- and I'm talking about kids under the age of 18 -- have access to pornography and things that they'd be better off not seeing. And it's on the Internet, and if they're smart enough to know how to get there, why, they can do it. So those types of things, I think, are harmful. And actually, thinking of shopaholics, having all these things available over the Internet. And if you are -- and trying to buy things, you could get yourself financially in trouble. That's the only way I think it could be poss -- the things that come to the top -- off the top of my head, anyway, that's -- those are the things that I -- really, I think could be harmful, or might be -- especially the pornography with kids.

- Final Q. Okay. Is there anything at all about computers or anything you've talked about that you'd like to add? Anything you haven't gotten a chance to talk about that you'd like to say?
- A. I can't think of anything. I'll just -- you know, wind up by saying that I think computers are great and a great addition to people's lives and that I think every home should have one. Students starting kindergarten, and every year work on computers. So, you know, it's a part of life nowadays. So having one in your home would help your student all the way through. I mean not just when they get in high school or college, but it can help them from kindergarten on through. And I think pretty soon you'll find there -- there is going to be a computer in everybody's home. In fact, I think we're halfway there, probably, or more.
 - Q. Okay. Thank you.
- A. You're welcome.

Appendix C: Cynthia

- Q. Okay. The first series of questions are going to be about yourself and your relationship to technology -- just kind of some general questions. What images does the term "technology" bring to mind for you?
- A. Images? Like, what do I think it is? I think of electronics -- anything from a stereo system to computers. That's -- that's what comes to mind.
- Q. Okay. Are there any -- is there something that you just instantly picture? Is that what you picture -- just stereo and electronics -- all sorts of things like that?
 - A. I -- well, computer -- computer.
- Q. Okay. And do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined?
 - A. No, neither.

- Q. And why not?
- A. I didn't grow up that way. I'm 42 years old, and I grew up when girls pretty much didn't do those things. You know, it was still the dark ages. My father wouldn't teach me even to change the oil in my car because he didn't want his little girl to do that. So I didn't have the opportunity to even be mechanical. Technology, again, was not a field that girls or young women went into when I got out of school. They were still being teachers and nurses. They were just starting to get into the technology phase.
- Q. Okay. And you partially answered this. But I'm going to ask this question, anyway. Who and what has influenced your beliefs about this -- about being -- not being mechanically or technologically inclined?
- A. Well, definitely just my environment I grew up in, is the biggest thing. And my father, of course. But everything around me was that way. Even the courses that we were allowed to take in school -- girls couldn't take shop when I was in school until, I think, my last year or senior year in high school. We had to take home-ec. So my environment just completely shaped that.
 - Q. Okay. Great. And it wasn't by choice?
- A. Right. You -- well, as a child you just sort of take what's given. Well, I even tried to buck the system. I wanted to take auto mechanics.
 - Q. Oh, okay.
 - A. They wouldn't let me.
- Q. So maybe you just didn't even have a chance to find out whether you were or weren't--
 - A. Exactly.
 - Q. Mechanically inclined?
- A. So I believe, and I still do, that I'm not. But I think I probably am.
- 39 You know, you--
 - Q. Yeah.
 - A. If you take any skill and do it, you're going to have some aptitude.
 - Q. Right. And if you happen to enjoy it -- you know--

43 A. Exactly.

- Q. Okay. Good. That's interesting. All right. Now, getting back to terminology, we talked about technology in general. But what about computer? What does the term "computer" mean to you, or what images does it evoke?
- A. Now what it invokes is much different than it even did a year ago, because I've learned so much in the past year. But it would've -- you know, it's just a big fearful box, something to be afraid of.
 - Q. Was that before or--
- A. Before, yeah. And now that fearful box has shrunk a little bit, because--
 - Q. (unintelligible) fearful box?
 - A. Yeah. We're still a little fearful.
 - O. A little bit?
- A. Uh-huh. But that's because I feel like I'm so far behind everybody else. And I know I'm not behind everyone. But it was--
 - Q. It feels that way?
 - A. Yeah. Um-hum.

Q5. Okay. Good. Now, moving on to computer use, your early uses -- what was your first experience with a computer like?

- A. Oh, God. I had -- honest to God truth -- I had to call the computer teacher to ask her how to turn it on. I didn't know how to turn the damned thing on. We were given computers at school. Just for some reason there was money, and it was deemed that every teacher would have a computer in the classroom. So it showed up and was put on my desk. No one was there to hook it up. I didn't -- you know, I didn't know the first thing.
- Q. And so here you've been given this wonderful thing because of extra funding. It sounds like no training -- just--
 - A. No.
 - Q. Put the box on your desk and--
 - A. Um-hum.
 - Q. Here it is?
- A. Yeah. We were promised training. And we finally did get some down the road. But then it was way too advanced. They were showing us how to do things that were way--and I needed to know how to use a mouse and how to save something. I--God, the first time I did something on the computer was in Claris Works. I didn't know about saving. So I turned the damned thing off and lost everything I did.
 - Q. It's amazing what people assume can be intuitive, you know.
 - A. Yeah. Yeah.

Q6. Okay. So my next question relates to that. When and how did you first really learn to use a computer?

A. Well, when -- it was shortly -- no, it wasn't shortly. It was almost a year after I got that computer that I started spending some time in talking with people. I still hadn't had any formal training. I just started talking to other

teachers about what do you use it for? I had no idea what you use it for, really, other than some simple word processing. I could write a letter and print it out, and that's as far as I ever got for a long, long time. And then by talking to those people, you know, they'd said, "Well, I do my grades on the computer." And I was, like, what? Because I had 200 and -- at that point 280 students. And to be able to do grades on computer would have saved me hours of doing it by hand. So that's how I started, just by talking to other people and finding out what you could do on it.

- Q. All right. And so what questions and concerns did you have at that time when you were first learning?
- A. Well, concerns were always that I would lose my information. I still wasn't sure about saving to a hard drive versus a floppy. I didn't -- you know, I didn't even understand the terminology. So I could talk with someone. They'd say, "Oh, yeah, I've got this stuff on my floppy. Do you want to borrow it?" And I was what? A floppy? (unintelligible) So I -- well, I had questions, but there were so many questions I didn't have because I didn't even know they were possible to ask.
- Q. Okay. Yeah. And you had a sense that there was more you maybe should be asking?
 - A. Yeah.

- Q. But who knows what, because--
- A. Exactly. And I didn't want to look stupid. I'm not a stupid person, and that really intimidated me. I mean big time.
 - Q. Yeah. I can certainly relate to that.
- A. There were kids at that point -- because we had computer labs. And the kids were so far ahead of me that that was intimidating. Finally, I got over that enough to ask kids to help me, and, of course, they loved it.
 - Q. So what grade level and what subject matter was this?
 - A. I was teaching band, and it was 6th, 7th, and 8th.
- Q. Okay. Junior high?
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. So -- well, maybe we'll get into that later. I'm curious how you might have used that within your class. But we'll hold off on that for now. Okay. So the next question is -- you hinted at this. But who and what helped you eventually find out what you needed to know? You mentioned kids and talking to other people. But if there's anything else you want to--
- A. It was really mostly self-exploration. I started to get some books and read about it and -- and to find out what I could do and how to do it. I -- that was also pretty much (unintelligible) -- I finally decided I'm going to have to know how to do this to do my job, because more and more we had to do things on computer. For instance, the principal said, "You know, your next evaluation is going to be computerized." And we had to -- there were documents we had to produce to give to her, and you had to do it on computer. So -- and more and more those things kept happening. And I

- finally said, "Shit. I've gotta -- I've gotta join the technological world and get with it."
 - Q. There was nowhere to run -- nowhere to hide?
 - A. Yeah. And I thought I could. You know, when computers first came out, I can actually remember that -- I thought I'm never going to use this. This is for brains. This is for people who do rocket scientist stuff. This is for engineers who build things. I'm not going to need this. And so I didn't. I just totally for years ignored them, while other people were learning. And so I've been behind since the get-go.
 - Q. Okay. And, again, you sort of covered this. But I'll ask this. Who and what hurt your ability to find out what you needed to know? What stood in your way?
 - A. Well, me, first of all. I was in denial about computers. And then I guess also what hurt me is that it was just assumed that everyone knew about computers. We didn't get training for so long, and then when we did it wasn't geared to someone who was just starting to learn to use a computer. It was way over our heads, and there were other people in the same boat. So I can say, you know -- and we just -- we were frustrated as hell. And, you know, almost like why am I even trying? I'm so far behind, I'll never catch up.
 - Q. So it just exacerbated that whole feeling--
 - A. Yeah.

- Q. Of being behind?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. That must have been tough.
- A. Well, it was tough, but, you know, for someone who wants to do everything and do everything really well, which would be (unintelligible), it was also -- it just -- I don't know. It just made me -- it made me feel bad about myself. It made me feel stupid, which I'm not. And the whole thing was just -- it was like a vicious circle. I tried to learn. I tried to what I was supposed to do. But I didn't have the tools, and I didn't have the help. Now, you know, I guess I could have taken classes. But I didn't feel I -- that was my responsibility.
- Q. Well -- and it sounds like based on the kinds of classes you were given, that you perhaps would have doubted whether other classes would be--
- A. I would've been scared to death to take one. You know, it was I'll be the idiot in the class.
- Q. So kind of going back, then, what helped you break this vicious cycle, because, obviously, you did get out of it. Just determination?
- A. Just determination, the realization I was going to have to. I had to learn to use the computer.
- Q. Okay. Stop this for just a second. So continuing on, you've talking about what got in your way. You talked about what helped you. Can you -- what else would have helped you to find out what you needed to know? What else would have been good?

- 176 A. Well, what would have been -- what they should have done -- "they"
 177 meaning the school district -- is offered, from the ground zero, classes in
 178 training so that you could go to and feel comfortable and learn.
 - Q. Yeah. Like, start with how to turn it on--
 - A. Exactly.
 - Q. And go from there?
 - A. And in a logical procession of classes or seminars or whatever they would want to call them. And especially it would have been nice if that training would have included, as a teacher, this is how best you can use your computer. You can go grades.
 - Q. So kind of focused on the particular audience of teachers?
- 187 A. Sure.

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- Q. Sure. Okay. And finally to the early use questions -- or it can be more recent, too, if you like. But what has been your best or your worst experience with a computer? You can choose which one you'd like to share, or you can share both if you want. So your best or your worst experience?
 - A. Well, do you want this early or recent?
 - Q. Well, let's -- I'm going to let you make that choice?
- A. Okay. All right. I guess, you know, early on the -- probably the best thing I ever did on the computer was I learned how to do my concert programs. You know, set up columns so I could list names -- you know, do something as simple as put the title of a piece and then how to do the dots over to the composer and get it all to line up. That was a big -- big deal.
 - Q. Okay. So you could kind of do your programs.
- A. Yeah. It saved me a lot of money, too, because I didn't have to send that out to a printer.
 - Q. So you did that for your students, or you're talking about concerts?
 - A. For concerts that my students performed in.
 - Q. Student performances?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. Okay. All right. And what about -- what's one of your worst experiences?
- A. I still remember that first time I actually typed in stuff and didn't know to save it. I thought it was just there. I thought it was saved, and I lost it all.
 - Q. What was it, again, that you were working on? Do you remember?
- A. That was -- I think it was either a letter to my students or a letter to their parents. I know it had some dates for things in it of coming events.
 - Q. So it didn't feel like such an efficient tool at that point?
- A. Not at all.
- 215 Q. Yeah.
- 216 A. No.
- Q. I think we all have some horror stories.
- A. I was ready to go right back to the typewriter.
- Q. Okay. So moving on to the next group of questions about current use of and relationship with computers, have your thoughts and feelings about

computers changed from early experiences to present? And, if so, how, and kind of who and what is influences changed? So we can -- first, you need to kind of talk about how things have changed, if they have.

- A. Well, things have changed immensely. I mean complete turnaround. I love my computer. It came from, you know, the initial me deciding that I've gotta learn how to do this. And then I started spending more time with Cynthia, who is an engineer, and they're good at computers. And she helped me with things so that when I got frust -- I bought a computer for home, also.
 - Q. Okay.

- A. Because I just didn't have time at work to sit and learn. So I would do it at night at home. And I had her to help me when I would get stuck. Or I also felt comfortable, then, calling other people, because I did have several other band director friends who were really proficient at computer, and I could call them and say, "You know, how did you do this," et cetera. So, again, it was pretty much -- it was self-motivation. But the more I started doing it, the better I felt about it. And I don't remember the first time that someone asked me a question and I knew the answer, but I know it felt good. You know?
 - Q. Yeah.
 - A. Finally, I knew something. I wasn't the computer idiot anymore.
 - Q. Another rite of passage?
 - A. Yeah. Yeah. And that felt good. And it would in anything, you know.
 - Q. Sure.
- A. A little knowledge feels good. So it's changed completely. I use the computer for lots and lots of different things now, not just word processing.
 - Q. Well, examples?
- A. I did a power point presentation for an engineering workshop. I use Excel.
- Q. How do you use Excel? Did you ever use that for grading or anything like that?
- A. I didn't. We had a grading program that was specifically that. I've done some budgeting with Excel.
 - Q. And you've got your word processing?
- A. Yeah. And I do a lot of that. I also have written the technical document for the stores that an employee manual. And that involved, you know, more than just basic word processing. Then I wrote that paper for my technical writing class. I had to import documents, and it involved some linking of files. So it went way beyond just the basics. And I was only able to do that because, you know, I've taken the time to learn those things. It was neat.
- Q. Great. Okay.
 - A. Did I answer that?
- Q. Yes, you did.
- 264 A. Okay.

- Q. I could reiterate a little bit, but I think you pretty much answered how as in, you know, you just -- you spent the time doing it and overcoming the fear of asking questions. It sounds like the more you got into it--
- A. Yeah. Well, and then, too -- I don't know if this is a part of that question. But I've taken classes in--
 - Q. Yeah.

- A. You know, I finally decided I had taught myself about as much as I could without getting some formal instruction.
- Q. So you got yourself feeling competent and comfortable in that, and then you were able to -- you chose to take that extra step?
 - A. Yeah, exactly.
- Q. Self-motivated. All right. Another part of that question -- I'll just reiterate. You partially answered this. But who or what has influenced this change?
- A. Me, my peers, and just that need. And I know right now that what I know is not enough. I need to learn more, because more and more of our daily lives is done by computer. And any job -- I mean even a secretary -- you know, a secretary used to have to be able to type and file. I look at jobs now, because I'm looking for jobs, and I even read the clerical ones. They've got to have word processing skills, and most of them have to have either power point or even web design, just for a secretary.
 - Q. Yeah.
 - A. God.
 - Q. It's amazing.
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. Okay. So keeping in mind current use, how and where do you use the computer, and what primarily do you use it for? So, you know, do you use it at work, home, or do you work at home? How and where do you use it? What primarily do you use it for?
- A. Well, I'm unemployed, but I have done consulting work. And I've done that at home. And that's been pretty much the word processing end of it. But then I also did the power point, a and I do all that at home. However, I'm limited at home because I don't have the graphics. I don't have enough power to do all the graphics that I'd like to do.
 - Q. The computer doesn't have enough power?
- A. Right.
- Q. Or not--
- 302 A. Yeah.
- 303 Q. Enough software?
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. Or both?
- A. Both. I don't have the right software. I also need more memory. For instance, a friend of mine in Texas asked me a couple days ago to do a brochure for her new business, and it's going to involve a lot of pictures. And

- my computer doesn't have memory to produce that. I can put in all the information, but when it comes to printing it out it won't do it.
 - Q. Okay. So you know how to do what you need to do, but you need equipment to--
 - A. Right.

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- Q. Set that up?
- A. Yeah. In applying for jobs now, like I said, you know, just even with a secretary I'm finding out that no matter what the job, it's going to involve a computer. And I really can't think of very many things that wouldn't. And I know that every -- personally, every job I've applied for, I've got to have computer skills.
 - Q. Okay. So primarily you use it for, it sounds like, consulting.
 - A. Yeah. And then I use it a lot for e-mail.
 - Q. Ah, yes. E-mail.
- A. Yes. Yeah. I keep in touch with people back home, ex-students. I also -- I get out on the net -- surf once in a while and get information. I stay away from, you know, chat rooms and that sort of crap. But it's good for finding information, and that has helped me in my job search a lot.
- Q. So you're finding quite a bit of what -- prospective employers there or just--
- A. Um-hum. Yeah. Prospective employers, descriptions of jobs. I also use it just for personal things, for finding recipes.
 - O. Sure.
- A. And I've just started about a week ago finding -- going out to some of those shopping sites.
 - Q. Yes. There's a lot out there.
- 335 A. Oh, my God.
 - Q. Enough to almost be dangerous.
 - A. Yeah. Oh, yeah. It's easy to click and buy.
- 338 Q. Yeah. Okay. So--
 - A. Oh -- and I also use it for fun. I like to play hearts and solitaire.
- 340 Q. Games?
- 341 A. Yeah.
- Q. Okay. So you've got a computer at home. Where do you keep it in your home?
 - A. I have an office, and I have a computer desk that's all set up and supposedly ergonomically correct, because I do spend a lot of time at the computer. And that's the focal point of my office.
 - Q. And you mentioned you and Cynthia live together.
 - A. Um-hum.
 - Q. Correct? Does she have her own computer or do--
- A. No, she doesn't. She uses mine. But she doesn't do that much on it, because she's on a computer all day at work. She really doesn't want to come home and do more.

- Q. Yeah. Well, I can understand that. All right. Okay. Here's sort of a funny one. But does your computer have a name?
- 355 A. No. Sometimes "goddammit."
- Q. So maybe at spontaneous moments it may--
- 357 A. Oh, yeah.
- 358 Q. Have a name? But--
- 359 A. Oh, yeah.
- 360 Q. But no unchanging name?
- 361 A. No.

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- Q. And -- all right. Do you -- you sort of answered this a little bit. But do you talk to the computer ever?
 - A. Yeah. I guess I have. But it's not -- not in a nice sort of -- it's usually, you know--
 - Q. Well, that was the next part of the question. Describe how you talk to it -- you know, the kinds of things you say and how you say it.
 - A. It gets called a son of a bitch, you know, pretty frequently.
- Q. Okay. Well, that (unintelligible) out -- do you think of yours as he, she, or it? And why?
- A. Definitely not she -- not a she. I guess just it. And--
 - Q. Well, we can come back to that one.
- 373 A. Okay.
- Q. So, anyway, when you talk to it you sometimes call it nasty names?
- 375 A. Um-hum.
- Q. Are there any other ways you talk to it or times?
- 377 A. No.
- Q. Is it mostly out of frustration, or do you ever say positive things like, "Good job," or anything like that?
- A. Once in a -- I guess, you know, once in a while I might say, you know, "Cool," because it'll do something I didn't know it could do or would do.
- And it's neat to see, you know. I don't know that I'm really talking to it, but it's cool that it could do that.
 - Q. So--
 - A. I don't have a personal conversation with my computer.
- 386 Q. No personal?
- 387 A. No. No.
- Q. More of it's nice that this happened, that you're not, like, thanking it or attributing it-
 - A. No.
- Q. To the computer in quite that way?
- 392 A. That -- that would be correct.
- Q. Okay. All right. On the lighter side, do you have a favorite joke about computers or computer users? Or have you heard or seen anything?
- 395 Sometimes things go around in e-mail.
- A. You know, I never can remember a joke. I don't know. I guess not. I do have something on my computer that's kind of cute and I like. It's a yield

- sign, and there's a person sitting inside of it banging their head on their computer. So, you know, one of those frustrating days it's kind of fun to look at that.
 - O. That works.
 - A. Yeah.

- Q. Okay. Great. And coming full circle and wrapping up the current use and relationship, at least for the moment, how would you feel if you no longer had access to a computer, thinking in terms of what would you miss the most? But how would you feel if you no longer had access to a computer?
- A. Oh, God. Yeah. I actually thought about this, because I spend so much time every day on the computer. I'd be lost. I -- I'd be devastated. That computer has so much information stored in it that's important to me, and it does so much for me. You know, we do -- I do all of our finances around there. I wouldn't want to do all of it by hand again. And all the typing that I do and the correspondence. I'd be lost. You know, the e-mails that I get every day and send every day are just really important to me.
 - Q. Yeah. I -- so--
 - A. I'd be devastated.
 - Q. Slightly different than how you might have felt a few years ago?
- A. Yeah. I would've given it away to the first person that came along that would carry it off, you know.
- Q. Okay. And just a followup to that, what would you miss least, or what would you -- is there anything you wouldn't miss if you didn't have it?
- A. I don't think so. Yeah. It's -- once in a while it's frustrating. But, still, the good so outweighs the bad. I love my computer. And I've gotten kind of protective about it.
 - Q. Yeah?
- A. I will say that. You know, I haven't personified it. But, like, if somebody comes over and wants to use the computer, "Now, don't touch my settings. You know, don't do anything." Because I have a friend who will do that. She's a computer guru. You know, she'll come in and rearrange things. Uh-uh. Leave it alone. That's my baby.
- Q. Yeah. I can recall work memories where technical support folks would -- they'd be trying to help you, and you'd leave them alone for half an hour, and nothing works the same.
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. And you spend an hour or two trying to get it back--
- A. Yeah.
- 436 Q. How it was.
- 437 A. Oh, this was--
- 438 Q. (unintelligible)
- 439 A. Yeah. Bullshit. I like the icon where it was. Put it back.
- Q. Good. Okay. All right. So getting back, we kind of alluded to this earlier. But computers' gender or personality type -- whatever fits

- more -- that's kind of a category. First off, do you think men and women use computers differently at all?
 - A. Oh, yeah. Yeah. I don't think too many men put their recipes on computer. You know, I'm sure there are some. But I think there are a lot of correspondence and just word processing is done more -- women tend to do more of that. And that goes back to -- you know, there are still way more men in technological fields than there are women. So I still think that men use it more on -- for business and a technology-based business purpose than women do.
 - Q. So women -- more personal uses?
 - A. More person uses--
 - Q. In addition to--
 - A. Yeah. And more of the -- just the word processing. Or -- and I -- God, this sounds sexist. But I'm a woman. So I can say this. I think that a lot of women, too, use it for -- in designing Christmas cards or birthday cards and more of the fluff sort of things.
 - Q. Okay. Or for personal or -- okay.
 - A. Yeah.

- Q. Or -- well, depending on how -- your possibly creative stuff?
- A. Definitely creative, yes.
- Q. Okay. Let's see. Is there anything else you want to add to how you think men and women use computers different ways, or does that pretty well cover it?
- A. You know, it was kind of a sexist statement. But as more women get into -- and they are now getting into engineering or, you know, architecture -- even accounting. They're going to use it for more things than, you know, what I said earlier. It's just we -- we're victims of the way society, you know, treated us. I'm talking about people my age, not people who are younger so much, because things have changed. But I can think of friends of mine, and not just talking about me -- but friends of mine who have come, you know, through the same thing as me, and they're using it now for more technical-based things. So it's changing.
 - Q. It takes time?
 - A. Yeah. Yeah.
- Q. Okay. Great. Here's one for you. Does one sex or gender enjoy computers more than others?
 - A. This is just my thought on that.
 - Q. That's all I want, is what you think.
- A. Okay. I think probably women do because of what I just said. They can do more enjoyable things other than just go to work and use it. You know, I'm thinking about the guys that work where Cynthia works. I would really bet a lot of money that most of them don't go home and, you know, print out a birthday announcement for their child or, you know, do the Christmas cards. The do work on computers all day long, and it's hard

- technical work. They don't have the time or the inclination, probably, to go home and play on one.
 - Q. What about computer (unintelligible)?
 - A. Ooh. That's a tossup, I'd have to say. That's probably pretty equal.
 - Q. Yeah. And that was -- I was wondering, you know. You were pointing to women doing recreational, kind of fun things.
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. And then do you include games?
- 494 A. No.

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- Q. Is that like a separate category?
- 496 A. Games are separate.
- 497 Q. Okay.
 - A. That's a good point.
 - Q. So -- yeah. And then we may or may not get into this. But there's a whole category of types of games and what--
 - A. Um-hum.
 - Q. What people like to play. Okay. So I've already asked you about if you think of the computer as he, she, or it, and you want to stand by that or add anything to that?
 - A. It's an it. It's just--
- 506 Q. An it?
 - A. A machine. And the only way it's personalized is that I own it, you know. It's mine. I set it up. It's the way I want it. But it's still just an it.
 - Q. Okay. So it's not like it wouldn't even be comparable to maybe like having a pet or something that you take care of or--
 - A. No.
 - Q. No. Just a machine?
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. It's yours, but--
 - A. Yeah. It's -- you know, it's kind of like if you were to ask me about my house. Is it -- you know, is it a he, she, it? It's a house. But it's my house, and the furniture is where I want it, and it's efficient because I have put things where I want, how I want. It's the same thing. Computer's the same way.
 - Q. Okay. That's good. I've arranged things how I want, and--
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. Okay. What about -- this one kind can be kind of hard to extract. So if you want me to explain it more, let me know. But I'm thinking about computers and software programs and the way they're designed. Do you think they're more user-friendly or more easily accessible to people who think in a certain way? I'm thinking -- it could be anything like linear versus non-linear, masculine versus feminine, creative versus more practical. Is there a certain kind of mind-set that they're designed to be easier for?
 - A. You know, yeah. I can answer it, because just recently I've kind of thought about that. I had to go and take these tests, and one of the -- well, there are two problems with this. The test used a different version. For

- instance, I have Windows '90 -- I don't know -- '97. And this used the newest.
- And the power point was upgraded. So things were a little bit different.
- Where I was expecting things to be, they weren't always there. So I had to
- think about where would that be? Would it be a format? Is it a text, you
- know? And on this test you only got one chance. So you had to really think
- about where it could be, or you got the question wrong. So, to me, it's
- 537 pretty -- pretty much analytical. If you're going to change the -- a format of
- something, then you go to the format pull-down. You don't go to something else. So, yeah, I think it's analytical, and it's set up that way -- categorically.
 - Q. And so are there certain types of thinkers or types of people who would maybe have a harder time with computers?
 - A. Yeah.

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- Q. Because of the way they think and--
- A. I think--
- Q. And who -- you know, how would you describe -- what kind of mindsets would have it -- so you say analytical would probably have an easier time--
 - A. Um-hum.
 - Q. With computers? And who might have a harder time?
 - A. Artsy-fartsy people like me.
 - Q. Okay.
- A. Yeah. I'm real creative, but I'm not -- what's the word I want? I'm analytical, but in a different way. To tell me that two and two is four, period. That's it. Know it. Understand it. Huh-uh. Now, I'm the kind of -- if you've got two apples and two apples here and showed that to me in a different way, okay. Computers aren't that way. Computers are two plus two is four. This is how you do this function, and there's not a lot of leeway. There's not a lot of room for creativity, you know, in its set functions. Is that making sense?
- Q. Yeah. It sounds like -- well, for one thing it sounds like the kinds of analytical things you need to do to do well with computers, they'll let you put your hands on anything. It's like it's not visual enough. It's almost too abstract or -- am I close there? Is it--
- A. I don't -- I don't know. I wouldn't say abstract. It's locked in. You know, this is how this works, and this is how you do it. You know, when I say it's not creative, you can be incredibly creative on a computer. That's not what I'm saying. But how to do specific things is analytical, and I feel like it's pretty boxed in.
 - Q. So kind of -- it has a certain kind of logic to it--
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. The way it's set up. But maybe you don't feel like that's quite the way your mind works?
 - A. Exactly. Thank you.
 - Q. Different kind of -- just a different kind of logic?
- 573 A. Yeah.
- Q. Okay. And you consider that -- do you consider that more of an analytical logic, and yours is a different type? Or what word might you use to

- characterize the computer's type of logic versus, say, yours? Or do you have any words to describe those?
- A. Well, analytical, yeah. And then, you know, I guess there's a certain preciseness -- conciseness -- in a computer that, as a creative artsy person, that's difficult for me sometimes to adhere to.
- Q. Okay. Yeah. That makes sense. A certain precision and a certain -- my way or the highway-type thing?
- A. Yeah. Yeah. And, you know, I want there to be 47 ways to do a task, you know. If I feel like doing it this way today, I'm going to. And if I feel like doing it a different way tomorrow, I want to be able to do that.
 - Q. Do you ever find sometimes that there is a new way to do-
- A. Oh, yeah. Especially in Word. And then, you know, the other -- the flip side of this is that that's frustrating as hell. You know, for instance, when I had to take this test, they wanted it one way. Well, I knew -- I got some questions wrong because I didn't do it the way they wanted. And after the test -- you know, I went to the guy, and I said, "I can show you four other ways to do this." And some of them were incredibly simple. Like auto sum in Excel. You know, I went up and tried to just do the auto sum icon. Well, that wasn't the way they wanted it done. So I got it wrong. I said, "I can show you several ways to do auto sum. What do you want?"
 - Q. Yeah. So that sounds almost more like a feature of this test.
 - A. Yeah. Yeah. It was real rigid. It was kind of stupid.
- Q. That's interesting. So what's the title of this class that you're taking that had these tests? Or was it a class?
 - A. No. It was an employment agency.
 - Q. Oh, an employment agency?
 - A. Yeah.

- Q. Oh, gotcha. So looking for work, and they're testing you on your computer abilities?
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. And they're deciding what your ability is based on--
 - A. Absolutely based on that test.
 - Q. Wow. That's--
- A. If you're going to an employment agency, I don't care who and for what, you better be ready to take this test.
 - Q. Okay. Well, that's certainly a good thing to know.
- A. Yeah, because if you can't do basic word sort of functions and, really, even the whole office -- Microsoft office -- that's what you're tested on at these places. You know, I don't know what kind of job you're going to get you, other than maybe manufacturing, putting things together on an assembly line.
 - Q. That's -- yeah. That's -- things are changing.
- 618 A. Yeah.
- Q. And it sounds like you better know -- better be able to guess the way they want you to do it on the test. Did these people -- were they flexible

- 621 enough to allow you to show them that you knew certain ways, or did 622 they -- certain other ways?
- 623 A. No.
- 624 Q. It was just--
- 625 A. No.

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- Q. So it was kind of like maybe -- could you go in and retest later?
- 627 A. Yeah, you could.
- Q. But you needed to figure out what they were looking for and be able to gear your responses accordingly or--
 - A. Yeah.
 - O. Or your abilities would not be visible?
- A. Right. And they -- you know, they did say, well, we take that into account, and we generally up everybody's score by five points, because they -- they, the people there, also had taken this test, and they found it frustrating.
 - Q. Okay. So it sounds like they're still kind of learning how to test people and--
 - A. Well, there aren't a lot of tests out there, according to them. A lot of different formats. So--
 - Q. Well, this may be a fairly new thing, you know.
- A. Yeah, it probably is.
 - Q. Okay. Interesting. Moving onto specific tools and uses of computers, in the area of writing, do you do any kind of writing on a regular basis?
 - A. Yes.
- 645 O. What kind of writing?
 - A. Well, I was doing professional writing. And, you know, as jobs come up I do them. But that's not something I do daily. But I have done professional documents.
 - Q. And by "professional," you mean--
- 650 A. The--
 - O. Business?
- 652 A. Yeah.
- 653 Q. Technical, maybe, or--
 - A. Well, I did -- you know, I did write for my technical writing class, but that was not very technical. The employee manual that I did -- and then I prepared a workshop on how to write a business letter for some executives at a company.
 - Q. Okay. Great. Any other kinds of writing?
 - A. E-mails every day. And then I do some personal letters on there. But I still like to hand write personal letters.
 - Q. That makes then more personal?
- A. Personal, yes. Well, you can just -- you can be a little more creative, you know, I think.
- 664 Q. How so?

- A. Just on how you draw something or write something. I think that penmanship says a lot about a person. Plus, if I get a typed letter or something done on a computer, I don't feel as special, as if I'd gotten something handwritten.
 - Q. Does the typing sort of maybe give it that form letter feel or--
 - A. Yes. And I -- oh, I really hate getting something that has been forwarded to 37 other people.
 - Q. Yeah. That's, I think, gotta be one of the top pet peeves with e-mail. It's an emerging thing that may even turn into a rule of etiquette, if it isn't already.
 - A. Yeah. Oh, I hate it.

- Q. Don't just forward this -- yeah. I'm with you there.
- A. If I get any more of those and you scroll down and a teddy bear appears and it's "give yourself a hug today," I'm going to puke. God. Don't you dare send that to me.
- Q. Okay. Well, I'll take that under advisement. So looking at this, I think I may have my questions out of order here, because I've gotten down -- do you use the computer when you write? Well, yes, apparently, you do. All righty, then. We'll just move that. How nice. Okay. So at what stage of the writing process do you use the computer? Now, this question may or may not be applicable for you. But what I'm thinking about is, you know, sometimes with essays or even a long letter or document, maybe there's a planning or pre-writing phase.
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. First draft/final draft?
- A. I know exactly what you're asking. For the longer documents that I've done where I'm going to have to have an outline, I generally do my outline on paper, not on the computer, because I like to doodle and scribble out ideas as they come to me, you know, in a margin or wherever. And then when it comes to getting it organized, that's when I put it on a computer.
- Q. So when it comes to getting it organized, can you talk a little bit about what that means to you? What has happened, and, okay, now I'm ready to start typing?
- A. It kind of depends on what I'm doing. But if it's something where I'm going to have different headings, then that's where it would appear because it's so easy to do that there.
 - Q. So you type in headings?
- A. Yeah. And name a heading, you know, one, two, three. Then when I go to do a table of contents or an index, it's all right there. I push a button, and it's done.
 - Q. Yeah. So you're all set up?
 - A. Um-hum.
- Q. So once you feel like -- so okay. So you do the outlining by hand. Is it when you're actually beginning to have words that you want to say, you're sort of filling in the outline? Is that when you start to go to the computer?

- A. Yeah. And I go to the computer pretty early. If I have just even a rough -- and I mean really rough -- outline -- nothing concrete -- that's when I go to the computer, because it's so easy to shift things around on the computer. You know, if I get my outline done, and I decide that I don't want heading four to be there, I want it now to be further up in the paper, I'll cut and paste or whatever.
 - Q. Yeah.
 - A. I love it for that.
 - Q. Yeah. Cut and paste is a beautiful thing.
- 719 A. Um-hum.

- Q. Okay. Great. And so that's your thingy of kind of professional documents there, it sounds like -- you know, headings and so on.
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. And so with letters -- well, it sounds like you -- personal letters, you tend to do those by hand.
- A. Yeah. Now, I do write a lot of letters for job interviews, and those I do on computer from the very beginning.
 - Q. Start to finish?
- A. Yeah.
 - Q. So mostly longer stuff where you kind of map it out first?
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. So has the computer helped your writing in any way? And I'm thinking in terms of -- it could be -- has it helped your writing process? Do you feel like your final product is better or different? Is it just more convenient? Or maybe it's inconvenient. Does it make it easier? How has it -- let's focus on how it's helped your writing.
 - A. Okay.
 - Q. And then we can talk about if it's--
 - A. Negative -- okay. Yeah. It's definitely helped because of the convenience and just the ability to move things around, where, you know, on a typewriter you had to retype it. I think I probably am more inclined to write long papers now than I would have been without the computer. In fact, I'm sure of that. I'm not--
 - Q. Yeah. It makes a difference when you can change things easily.
 - A. You know, I think back to writing research papers in college. Geez, it took more effort to type it because if you messed up something you had to throw it away and start all over again. And something as simple as a header and footer, you know, that was for me, to do that on typewriter and follow all the rules was hell. And now you just push a button on the computer, and there it is formatted, and it's done.
- Q. Yeah -- convenience. So do you feel like writing goes -- does it maybe go more quickly because of this?
 - A. Oh, yeah. Yeah.
- 753 Q. Now, is it the writing itself or just the formatting that's--

- A. Well, it's the formatting. It's not he writing. That still is coming from the same thought process -- from you. Yeah, it's just all the mechanics. They're so much easier.
- Q. It's mostly mechanics. But you feel like your basic thought process is still pretty much the same when you write. It's just certain -- maybe certain parts of it go more smoothly?
 - A. Yeah. Yeah.

- Q. And how do computers hurt the writing process? And you can draw on either your own experience or, you know, just in general. Well, first you, and then if you have other comments--
- A. I think it hurts the writing process in that -- well, we're not using handwriting anymore. Handwriting is probably going to be a thing of the past.
 - Q. So how does it hurt? Yeah. And you said something about--
- A. Basic handwriting skills are going down, not so much personally because I still do write by hand. But in students it's really evident. In 19 years of teaching I saw that change. I don't think that it's hurt the creative process at all, because, again, that's coming from within a person, and no matter what you use to convey that, it's -- you're still conveying the same information.
- Q. So it sounds like what you're saying is writing -- at least maybe the content of it -- comes from the same place, kind of regardless of what tool you use?
 - A. Sure.
- Q. It's just it may affect -- so of the creative process isn't harmed. But handwriting itself--
 - A. Um-hum.
 - Q. For those who maybe really learn to do that first without a computer?
 - A. Right. Yeah.
 - Q. And let's see. And do you like writing on the computer. It sounds--
 - A. Oh, yeah. Lots.
 - Q. And would you go back to not using the computer for writing?
 - A. Never.
- Q. And here's one that kind of goes back to gender. But do you think men and women use the computers differently when it comes to writing? And kind of how?
- A. Yeah. Again, it goes back to that same old stereotypical sort of thing. I think women still are left to do most of the personal correspondence -- letters to relatives, et cetera. And, you know, I know that's not true in all cases. But I still think in the majority probably it is so. So, yeah. I think that men probably are -- tend to use it more for business-related writing than personal.
- Q. Now, moving on to the more specific area of e-mail -- okay. And you can -- I guess you can speak in terms of personal and professional use, if you choose to separate those two when you talk about them. That could be helpful. But I'm going to leave it up to you. So what has your experience with e-mail been like, just generally?

- A. Mostly, it's used for personal. I have used it in a professional setting, and it's handy. It just makes it -- I -- for instance, I've taught in a two-story building. I didn't have to run upstairs to get a message to someone who -- you know, I would have to interrupt their teaching, anyway. I could just e-mail them, and I knew that they'd get it. So it's just -- it's convenient for work, and it saves time. Also, then, you have proof that you sent an e-mail, should you need to do that, and I have had to in a professional setting.
 - Q. Yeah. Documentation?

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- A. Yeah. It's documentation. That's it. But, you know, like I said, it's pretty much a personal use, and I use it every day. I stay in touch with family, with friends, with ex-students. It's entertainment for me.
- Q. And do you see e-mail as distancing people from one another in any way?
- A. Yes, it can. And what I -- something I alluded to earlier is this copying and forwarding. You know, it just -- it makes me angry to get forwarded stupid stuff. Or I have a friend who will say, "Dear All," and write this e-mail and forward it to, oh, 20 or 30 of us. And then say, "Write back. I really want to hear from you." That really makes me angry. If you really want to hear from me, why don't you write to me?
 - Q. Yeah. I'm sure that--
- A. And you can't do that in a handwritten personal letter. I guess you could. You could go down to Kinko's and make copies and say "send me a letter back." You know, people don't do that. But they do on the computer.
- Q. Yeah. It sort of begs the question of whether there's something about the way things work on a computer that it's so easy to do certain things that perhaps people behave in a certain way that they might not otherwise?
- A. I think computers have allowed us, if we choose, to depersonalize. And, you know, it just -- if somebody wants to do -- like I said, copy a letter to Joe Blow and everybody else, that, to me, is depersonalizing, and it -- it ostracizes me from that person. If I'm not important enough to -- you know, to single out, then why bother?
- Q. Yeah. And so I notice you said the words computers have allowed us, if we choose, to depersonalize.
 - A. Um-hum.
- O. So it sounds like maybe what you're suggesting is it makes it really easy to do that. But, hey. It's a choice.
 - A. That's right. You don't have to.
- Q. Let's remember, just because it's easy, that doesn't mean we have to do it.
- A. Yeah. But, you know, at some point I think we all do.
- There's -- there's going to be a time in some -- not necessarily e-mail. But, 839 yeah, because it is so easy. It's right there. I'm busy. I'm going to do it this 840 was this time. 841
 - Q. And then once you do it--
- 842 A. It then becomes easier to do it more and more, yeah. 843

- Q. Okay. And you alluded to this. But getting more specific, does e-mail bring people closer in some ways?
- A. Oh, yeah. Lots. And we were talking about this on the way down. I will say things in an e-mail, you know, just being silly, that I wouldn't say to your face -- to, you know, that person's face -- because I'm not there. You're not seeing me. It's easy to say something maybe a little risqué or just something that I'd be uncomfortable with looking at you and saying.
 - Q. And so you think that brings people closer in a sense?
 - A. It can.

- Q. Because maybe a certain wall is removed?
- A. Yeah. Like a shy person, which, honest to God, you wouldn't think it, but I really am. I -- you know, there are things that I just couldn't say personally, but I could put it in writing and send it. And that gives you more insight into who I am. Yeah, I think it can really break down the walls.
- Q. I'm curious, also, with the convenience of e-mail in the sense -- you know, it's really easy to just send somebody a little note or something like that. So do you think that, even though the convenience sometimes works against us in other ways, but sometimes it brings us together by making it easier to stay in touch. Is that--
- A. Sure. For instance, my older brother, who I don't like at all, had surgery recently. I didn't feel like sending -- it was an operation on his arm. You know, it was nothing life threatening. I didn't want to send him a get well card, because there's really no -- I mean it's just, you know, do your therapy and physical therapy. So I just sent him a little note on the computer -- said, hey, Mom told me you had surgery, hope you're doing all right. And I didn't have to get terribly personal. It was enough to let him know I knew what was going on. I had some concern, but I didn't have to get personal.
- Q. So -- well, that's interesting. It seems almost like there's a distancing, and yet more of a closeness because it sounds like without e-mail you might have not contacted him at all?
 - A. I wouldn't have.
- Q. Whereas, it made it easier to be, like, a little bit personal, but didn't force you to be a lot personal?
- A. Yeah. It's -- it's easy. It was much easier than going out and trying to find a card that wasn't mushy, and, you know, oh, you had this operation, when it wasn't a big deal to begin with.
 - Q. Right.
- A. So it was just easy for me to do it this way. And I could keep it impersonal, and yet he knew at least I cared. I'm kind of going on both sides of the issue.
 - Q. But it's that way.
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. I mean it's not a simplistic sort of thing. Okay. Good. And this is -- so you talked about closer and more distant. This is a little more specific. Does e-mail help people communicate? Sort of a different--

889 A. Yeah.

- 890 Q. But along the same thing.
 - A. Yes. You know, again, it's a personal choice. You can use it that way or not. But, sure, it makes it easier. It's so easy to sit down and type a little something and send it off. You don't have to get an envelope. You don't have to lick a stamp. You don't have to carry it to the post box or wherever.
 - Q. So less overhead, huh?
 - A. Yeah. And, you know, how much easier can it get? And it's cheap. I mean it can be free. And it's not like a telephone call where you have to respond, then, to the other person, you know. That could be -- like, I didn't want to call my brother. I didn't want to talk about it. I didn't want to talk to him. E-mail is just -- well, just easy.
 - Q. And so that brings me to kind of the other side of it. Does e-mail harm communication or hurt communication, and, if so, how?
 - A. I keep saying it. But it's true. It's a person's choice. It could harm communication. You know, if all I ever did was send an e-mail to my parents and say, you know, how are you, what's going on there, that would harm our communication. There's no caring feeling. You've gotta go beyond that.
 - Q. So are you suggesting if that's the only way you communicate, or possibly if you let it stand instead of other ways that could communicate, is that--
 - A. Yeah, uh-huh. You know, and then we're getting all into those psychology of communication and all that. But just -- I don't know. E-mail can be good or bad, depending on how the person decides they want to use it. It can be a great communicator. It can be a horrible communicator. It's up to the individual.
 - Q. Yeah. And I suppose some of this gets into, as you're suggesting, you know, oral/spoken versus written language, and all of that is involved, too.
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. So basically it can help, it can hurt, it's up to the user?
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. And although would you argue -- do you think there are ways in which it affects communication that, you know, maybe people don't think about it that much, and so maybe it's people aren't aware of the choices that they're making, but they're still making choices. Does that ring a bell?
 - A. Well, possibly. Now, you know, you said something there just getting aside from the -- away from the personal part of it. Then e-mail is a great communicator because it's so immediate. You know, not immediate to the other person on the other end isn't sitting right there. But you -- if you need to communicate something quickly, there it is. Just a for instance. When we fly to Las Vegas, Mary, Cynthia's sister, e-mailed and said, "I need your information. I'm going to be going out of town. I need it before I leave. E-mail it to me." You know, so we didn't have to try and catch each other on the phone. I got her the information that same day. So it can be real effective.

- 933 Q. So -- yeah. It sounds like really good for information transfer kind of thing.
 - A. Yeah.

- Q. If anything comes to mind, could you describe a particularly successful or unsuccessful e-mail communication experience you've had? Just to give an example, you know, have you ever maybe thought you've conveyed one thing, and then when you got the response figured out that, wow, they didn't get what I meant?
 - A. Oh, sure.
- Q. You know, is there anything that stands out in your mind as really negative or maybe something really positive that you're able to do?
- A. I've established, I think, a couple of friendships through e-mail that wouldn't have happened as soon. And I'm -- you know, I -- you and Sue -- because we don't see each other.
 - Q. Right. Physical distance--
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. Makes it hard.
- A. But it's almost like a personal conversation when you go back and forth. So that, to me, has been real positive. Negatively, I can't think of a -- I know it's happened, because I've gone, "Oh, shit, I should've written that a different way," whereas if we'd been speaking it wouldn't have been conveyed the wrong way.
- Q. Are you sure -- I mean I'm thinking with speaking sometimes things still get conveyed the wrong way, but you can tell sooner--
 - A. Yeah. Yeah.
 - Q. If it's been received wrong?
 - A. Sure. You can fix it immediately.
- Q. Yeah. And then back to the gender thing, do you think women and men use e-mail differently? And if so, how so? If not, why not?
- A. Oh, I think everyone uses it for correspondence to friends. But, again, I think men probably use it more for business than women.
- Q. I'm even thinking in terms of -- you know, okay. You could say men use it more for business. But women use it for business some. Right?
 - A. Oh, sure.
 - Q. And then--
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. And both use some personal. Do you think -- within those categories, do you think men maybe do their personal e-mail differently from women. Or do you think they do their business e-mail differently?
- A. No, I don't think so. And, again, the only reason I think men use it more for business is because there still are more men in the workforce than there are women.
- Q. Here's one for you. Do women use e-mail differently with other women than they do with men? So women using e-mail -- do they communicate differently with women they e-mail than they do with men?

- A. Boy, that's a tough one. I doubt it. I doubt it. The reason I have -- I think something to compare here is -- Cynthia gets e-mails at work. A lot of those get forwarded to me, and most of them are from guys, because they'll be about, oh, there's going to be a party Friday night -- da, da, da. So I see e-mails that guys have written that are personal. So I do see those, and I really don't see any difference between that and what -- how a woman writes them. Does that make sense?
 - Q. Yeah, um-hum. I'm wondering -- does it maybe just depend on the level of the friendship?
 - A. Sure.
 - O. That the--
 - A. Sure.

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- Q. So are you thinking that's really more the difference rather than any kind of gender?
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. If there is a difference, it's because of the level of the friendship?
- A. Sure.
 - Q. Finally, we're going to move on to the Internet. Just in general, what do you think of the Internet, or how do you feel about the Internet?
 - A. Yeah. It's a whole world of -- you can find out anything, and more than you want, about anything out there. It still is a little bit -- not scary to me. I'm not scared of the computer anymore. But just overwhelming, I guess. Like, God, how can all that information be out there? I'm in awe, I guess, of it.
- 1002 Q. In awe. Okay.
- 1003 A. Yeah.
 - Q. And is it in terms of there's so much out there, but I'm not sure how to get to it. Or is it there's so much out there, how will I ever have time to get to it? Or how is that feeling of awe?
 - A. Really, neither of those. Just that there is so much information available at the touch of a finger.
 - Q. And that's new?
- 1010 A. Yeah.
- Q. Yeah. That makes me think of e-mail versus -- or Internet versus, say, going to the library sort of -- you know--
 - A. Yeah.
- 1014 Q. Don't even have to leave your home and--
- 1015 A. Yeah.
- Q. Do you ever think about, like, the reliability of the information out there?
- A. Oh, sure. But most of the sites I go to are not ones where I would really have to be concerned about that. You know, I'm not -- I don't do a lot of research sort of things.

- Q. Okay. So that's kind of in general. So how do you use the Internet? You've talked a little about it, but what are the ways you use it and ways you don't use it?
 - A. All right. I definitely use it for job search. I use it for fun things. You know, like I said, recipes, travel. I have not booked. I'm still leery of putting my credit card number out there. I just don't like to do it. But I still will research travel, get flight numbers, and then I call a travel agent. I've gone to some of those shopping networks and looked, but I haven't bought anything.
 - Q. But you can look at a lot of different stuff and get ideas that way?
 - A. Yeah. Yeah, I did that with REI the other day. Said I want to get -- I've got a gift certificate, and I want to spend. And I just went out and looked at what they had and what's on sale.
 - Q. Yeah. Sort of an on-line catalog?
 - A. Um-hum. Yeah, those are great.
 - Q. So you've got shopping, job search, fun stuff, travel research. Anything else?
 - A. I've used it -- a friend needed help finding another person in another city, and, in fact, I did, too. I found a friend of mine who now lives in Seattle that I went to school with in Michigan.
 - Q. How did you do that?
 - A. Typed in her name and then typed in the city I thought she might be living, and she wasn't. But then it told me where she was.
 - Q. Oh, wow.

- A. Gave me her phone number.
- Q. Was this a specific search engine that you used or--
- 1046 A. I went on AOL search.
 - Q. Oh, okay. So kind of like -- sounds sort of like if you're in the phone directory maybe, or something like that--
 - A. Oh, you're -- you're in there.
 - Q. Okay. Well, that's interesting.
 - A. Um-hum. Oh, and then it'll even draw you a map right to their house. Yeah.
 - Q. How do you feel about that? Is that a good thing, or is that--
 - A. No, it's not a good thing. But, you know, we're stupid if we don't know that anybody can get anything on us at any time. And mostly it's because of computers and the Internet. There's all kinds of information about you and me out there right now that I wouldn't want someone to get, but they can get it.
 - Q. Yeah. That's not even thinking about our e-mail messages--
 - A. For which you could go to prison.
 - Q. Yeah.
 - A. So, you know, here I am saying I'm hesitant to buy anything on line because I'm going to have to give out a credit card number. Well, hell, you could get that, anyway, if you wanted it.
 - Q. Yeah. Well, it's just caution shows up in interesting places.

1066 A. Yeah.

- Q. Okay. But you do feel that the Internet and computers have maybe just made it a lot easier--
 - A. Sure.
 - Q. To access all that stuff?
 - A. Yeah. I have used it, also, to look up medical things. You know, like I said, it's kind of just referencing and, you know, what medicines to take and -- da, da, da. There's some good medical sites out there.
 - Q. Yeah. I've found you can -- like, with herbs and things like that.
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. Great. And so what's it like when you're using the Internet? What does it--
 - A. I'm still a little frustrated, because I'm pretty new to it. And I have to probably go through a lot of different channels to finally get what I want, versus someone who really knows what they're doing and can zero right in on it.
 - Q. So channels -- again, that sounds like an AOL sort of thing -- specific kind of to the way they lay things out.
 - A. Well, it's -- no. It's not just AOL. Yahoo -- really, any -- any search engine -- there's just -- there -- you know, you can go directly to something if you know how. Or if you're like me and are still new to this, you've gotta find how to get there sometimes. And I might go to, you know, six or seven different sites before I finally find that one I was really trying to get to. But that's just my own ignorance, still, at being new at this. I guess, also, it's a little intimidating sometimes, because if you go out to a website, depending on who designed it and how, there's so many little spider things. You finally get to a website that deals with a subject you want. But then there are click here for information on this. Click here for more information on that -- da, da, da, da, da, da, da, da, da, And there's just way more information than you really wanted.
 - Q. More -- all you wanted to know and more?
- 1097 A. And more, yeah.
 - Q. And so do you find it just -- is it with so many choices it becomes difficult to know where next? Or--
 - A. Exactly. And it becomes real time consuming. Even -- you know, even something as simple as REI the other day when I went out there, I just wanted to see products. Well, they had winter sale products, and they had a separate category for this and this and this, and it just went on and on and on and on and on. I was looking for something for someone for Christmas -- a walking stick. You know, I looked under hiking. I looked under camping. I looked under winter sale. And so I spent a lot of time.
 - Q. So, yeah -- time consuming based on how the website is set up?
 - A. Web design.
- Q. Yeah. And so does it seem like they're all kind of designed a little differently, and--

- 1111 A. Oh, yeah.
- Q. Yeah. So figuring out the logic of where they've decided this thing 1112 1113 ought to be?
 - A. Yeah.

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- Q. It just occurs to me now. I wonder if there's an argument for some 1115 kind of standardization there. It's nice that there's such a variety of stuff. 1116 1117 But--
 - A. Yeah.
- 1119 Q. But sometimes--
 - A. Well, it's just -- it's all in the hands of the person who designs that website, and, you know, are they really thinking of it logically, or are they just trying to get fancy and see how many bells and whistles they can put in. Some of them do that.
 - Q. Kind of what's the motivation behind the--
- 1125 A. Yeah.
 - Q. Where is the web designer's ego?
- 1127 A. Yeah.
 - Q. Then, overall, do you see the Internet as -- or perhaps I should ask how do you see the Internet as helpful? Is it helpful or harmful or both?
- 1130 A. Definitely both.
- 1131 Q. And in what ways do you see it as--
- A. It's helpful because there's information right there at your fingertips 24 hours a day, you know, every day of the week. And, you know, it's just 1133 convenient. And, you know, there are so many ways that it's 1134 detrimental -- you know, all the porn that's out there and the creeps who get 1135 out there and -- pedophiles, et cetera. I think it's opened up a whole new 1136 1137 arena for crime.
 - Q. And then you mentioned earlier the -- almost the sense of being overwhelmed with so much information. Do you consider that a detrimental thing, or do you feel like that's just--
 - A. No.
 - Q. Getting used to it?
 - A. That's getting used to it. The more I use it, the more it'll make sense. Just like when I started using a computer. That was overwhelming.
 - Q. And then do you -- here we go. Do you think men and women use the Internet differently? And if so, how so? Or if not, why not?
 - A. I think probably not too differently. You might get into gender sort of things. Like women might tend to go out and look up recipes more than a man. But I think basically the basic premise is the same. There's information out there. You go out and get it.
 - Q. So maybe they might look up different types of information, but they're basically both looking for information. Is that--
 - A. Yeah. Yeah.
- Q. And then sort of related to that -- I'm going to question you just a little 1154 deeper. Basically looking for information -- that's what you primarily use it 1155

- for. But do you have any thoughts on some of the other ways it's used? You know, like, there are chat rooms.
- 1158 A. No.

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- 1159 Q. You've said that you avoid those.
- 1160 A. Yeah.
- Q. Or is that just an area that you don't really know or speculate about?

 Do you have any thoughts on that?
 - A. I -- you know, just from what little I know, I think that there are a lot of danger sites out there, and chat rooms are one of them. Now, I've done chat rooms and seen some pretty nasty stuff -- just filth and people saying nasty things to people they don't even know -- just real unhealthy. I think there's a real dark side to the Internet.
 - Q. And you feel like chat rooms might be one of those places?
- 1169 A. It can be.
- 1170 Q. Yeah. Not necessarily, but--
 - A. Right. Yeah. On the other hand, I used a chat room before we moved up to Washington to talk with people in different cities to see, you know, how they like living where they live and why, because I was considering different places. So that was a positive thing.
 - Q. So what would you suggest people do in terms of chat rooms? What do you think is a way to--
 - A. I'd just be -- you know, once you log into one, I read what people are talking about and see if it's something you want to get involved in. I don't just jump right in. Plus, you gotta know that once you're in there, they can -- anybody can get your I.D. And that's how I get sent tons of porn. At least this is what I'm told. Now, I don't know. But I was told that because I got into these chat rooms my sign-on for AOL was just available to anybody, and that's why I get all this crud.
 - Q. So is that why -- you mentioned earlier that you avoid chat rooms. And is that why -- or do you avoid them?
 - A. That's one of the reasons, yeah. If that is true, that's a major reason I avoid them, because I already get so much garbage and porn sent to me, I don't want any more. But then, too, I just -- I hadn't -- I didn't very often get into a chat room that was a good experience.
 - Q. So a lot of the unhealthy stuff you were talking about earlier?
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. More so than the -- so the useful/helpful stuff felt more like it was the exception?
 - A. Yes.
- Q. Okay. I guess -- and that's an area where I would wonder if men and women use Internet differently, is in chat rooms?
- 1197 A. In my experience, yes. The filth and just the nastiness was mostly boys. And -- well, that's just it.
- 1199 Q. And how did you know that it was boys?

Just generally they'll ask. You know, as soon as you sign on someone says,
"Tell us about you."
Q. And do you think people are, by and large, mostly honest?
A. Yeah.
Q. I mean in answering those questions?
A. Yeah. Uh-huh. And then a lot of people, too, I've found had a
personal profile set up. You can do that, and, you know, I've checked them
out.
Q. Is there anything else that you'd like to add to what we've talked about
just in general that you'd like to say about computers or any other uses or your
own experience?
A. Well, I just I'm glad that I finally jumped on the bandwagon and got
with the program. I still am behind where I would like to be. But I at least
feel good about where I am, and I can talk somewhat intelligently about them.
And, you know, if anybody doesn't think that they don't need a computer,

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they're wrong.

A. Most people identify themselves. They'll say, you know, I'm male, 42.

Appendix D: Dale

Q. What image(s) does the term, "technology," bring to mind?

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A. The first image was a right brain response. You know those art projects that are garbage welded together, discarded pieces of tin, chains, cogs, spokes. That's my first image, discarded pieces of circuits, wires, nobs, reels, connectors, typewriter keys, rotary telephone dialer, a collage of discarded progress. The image holds history and memory.

The second image is, of course, the web. The computer is this century's single most important invention in the field of technology because it connects the world and space. It connects you and I in this moment of communication.

Q Do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined?

A. I do consider myself mechanically and technologically inclined, but culturally those areas were always left to the boys. I grew up in the 50's and 60's. It wasn't feminine to be interested in the mechanism of transistor radios and stereo equipment. Girl's interests were clearly spelled out in my family and social connections. However, I had two older brothers. They liked me to hang around them. I was accepted because I didn't rat on their exploits. My older brother took everything apart to see how it worked. I watched him for hours. My other brother was an artist and drew everything. Neither of those areas was encouraged for me to explore, so I didn't dare.

But I did see within myself at a very early age that I could figure things out, how they were put together and how they functioned. I learned to sew at age 11 and it had to keep my sewing machine unclogged of thread, oiled, etc. I learned to fit things together from sewing patterns and working with my sewing machine. I also learned to type on a manual and had to keep it oiled and the keys untangled.

I didn't approach a computer, or ATM machine until I was about 33. My new husband explained everything to me so that I could understand it, step by step, and didn't make me feel uncomfortable about my fears and hesitations of the machine. My first computer course was in '83. I had to write a paper on the mechanics of the inner system from game board to wires, but in spite of the course I kept to my IBM selectric until '93. That's another interesting story. If there isn't a question to cover that, then I'd like to tell you more in this question of how I basically make the switch from typewriter to computer.

Q. Yes, writing a paper on the mechanics of the inner system from game board to wires in '83 and then keeping to your IBM selectric for writing until '93 does sound fascinating. Let's go to that right now, and if other questions allow you to add to it or refer back to it later, that's fine. How did you switch from typewriter to computer? Why did you wait 10 years?

A. Let's see, the paper I wrote was in reference to the book by Joseph Weizenbaum, Computer Power and Human Reason--From Judgement to Calculation. I still have the book if you wish to borrow it. I don't remember much, but essentially it was about how games, like chess, are a formal language

with pieces, a board, and rules to that explain how to transform the beginning state into a match and a win. He then moves from language and games into how the computer works as a mechanism, as a language, information processor etc. He covers belief structures, psychology, religious, philosophy, ethics, and more. The book was way over my head in many ways back in '83 and yet I grasped some essence, enough to manage an A, which is hard to believe, since technology evaded me. I kept my paper to ethics and religion. Now, looking at the book, I'd be interested in tackling it again. Now that my intuitions, instincts, emotions, as well as intellect has developed to the point that I might comprehend what this guy was saying. Will computers ever be able to express hopes, fears, wisdom, intuition, kinesthetic knowledge etc? I'm rambling, but you get the picture. I was surviving in those days, not contemplating if we can program what it is to be human into a computer. Since I spent the last three years at an institute whose mission statement is "tending the soul of the earth," I would now read the book through the lens of soul/psyche and technology....

Q. What prompted you to take the computer course in 1983 in the first place? What kind of course was it?

A. In '83 I attended Reed College for a year and a half, majoring in Classical Greek history & language. All language students had to take Natural Science which included a computer course. Because of my dyslexia, I had difficulty being introduced into the system of computers so my husband Carl was allowed to attend lab with me and assist me. As long as I logged onto their modem (sp) so many hours per week, doing the exercises and then completing the paper, they didn't care if he tutored me. I did it, but it was early in my development, even though I was 33-- I was a late bloomer--in some ways and early in others. I got an A in the course, but really didn't learn anything that I could relate to, so I just reverted back to my IBM Selectric. I was a secretary for years and it seemed like home, familiar. The computer was too foreign.

The change came, and none too soon, while attending Marylhurst in '93. (It took fourteen years to complete my BA, raising five kids (His and mine) and working. Anyway, I was going to school, my last year, full time and working full time in a management position. I was incredibly organized and reached a point when my husband noticed one day while I was sitting on the floor in the living room, cutting and taping strips of things I had written together. It made about a five foot scroll. He asked what I was doing and I naively told him that this was how I constructed all of my papers: hand writing some things, clipping quotes, typing some things, and pasting in class notes. He had no idea that I worked this way because I did it all mostly after he had gone to bed. He told me that I just had to learn to type and edit on the computer. So I agreed to spend fifteen minutes a day doing whatever he instructed me. Within a few days, I was spending more and more time learning Works and loving it. It was finally my time. And by '93, computers were easier to understand, much more user friendly. I kept my last long scroll

of taped together pieces of yellow and white paper. I never used the typewriter again for papers, but continued to use it in my office for correspondence to residents. It was easier to stay in a familiar pattern. Our company did, however, have to put our accounting system on a program that each manager had to learn and because I had spent the previous year typing my papers, I learned it quickly. Two managers left and refused to learn. Learning that program translated easy for me when I left the corporate life and needed to manage the books for my husbands company while attending grad. school. Incorporating technology into my life has simplified it. I couldn't have made the transitions that I have made and at such a rapid pace over the past six years without the computer. I just couldn't have been done. I readily admit, my husband and soul mate has been the person behind the scenes encouraging and teaching me. He has helped me manage and virtually overcome my issues with dyslexia. I don't even notice a problem regarding the computer.

Q. Who and/or what has influenced your thinking on this?

A. I had two influences. Society influenced me to not me mechanical because it wasn't feminine. But I influenced myself in thinking things through for myself. I had a huge inner world in which I would explore ideas that I didn't tell anyone about. I had an abusive mother so I kept a private inner world. I use to amaze myself when I figured things out for myself, but it was never safe to let anyone know that I knew how to do things like the boys, things like fixing my bicycle chain and repairing a mechanical toy. I will say that although I can do certain things, they don't always interest me. I could probably do more on the computer, but it doesn't interest me. I enjoy things that I consider more meaningful, like art work, writing, reading....studying. Technology is too impersonal, inhuman. I use it as a tool, but can't immerse myself in it. I immerse in other things.

Q. What does the term, "computer," mean to you?

A. The term "computer" means different things to me now than it did in '83 when I was first introduced to the word. Then, it just meant challenge! Today its meanings vary. It's an extension of my own brain. It can compute information and manipulate information that I cannot. It aids in research so that I can access libraries, documents, dissertations, articles etc. It allows me to communicate with friends, family, colleagues, and other contacts almost instantly which speeds up processing work and communications. I still write letters, but communication doesn't have time to get "cold." So thoughts can be conveyed rapidly, then response can be almost immediate, etc. allowing for a different kind of communication than letters. I somewhat take on a different persona at the keyboard. I'm bolder, more confrontative/assertive, I don't let people get away with remarks that I might let slide in person, remarks that wouldn't show up in letters. I'm more poetic in letters and more humorous, scholarly, business-like, encouraging....just different at the keyboard. Others have noticed it.

I'm more extraverted, that's what it is. I'm an intravert, but really a closet extravert....or a balance between both ways of being. The keyboard draws that extraversion out of me...letters don't. So I guess that I would say that the computer accesses or taps into an alter ego, extraverted way of experiencing the world and relationships in general.

It has taken on an almost sacred meaning as far as its value and reliability as I go to it daily and it assists me to develop and produce my work. It assists my imagination. Because it processes so fast, I can type faster on the computer than a typewriter and so spontaneous insight and creative adventures come alive at the key board. I wrote my first fairy tale last year and the computer made it happen.

Q. What was your first experience with a computer like?

A. I've already explained some of my first experience with a computer. It was terrifying. I didn't have a choice because it was part of the required course of Natural Science, interesting? I spent hours and hours in the lab and at home on the modern. It was tiring, frustrating, boring, and I didn't get it. Even after reading that book and writing a huge paper, I didn't get the computer's value in my life.

I remember crying over the frustration. My husband was key in helping me comprehend it. He was patient, kind, and a good teacher. The instructor was indifferent, had no tolerance for slow thinkers (not that I was, but it was my first introduction to a mechanism that operated on so many levels and I was lost) When I returned to the keyboard 10 years later, I was ready. I understood the procedure and things made sense. I know that my mind had developed through the years, it that are in '83, I was a baby.

- Q. When/how did you first really learn to use a computer? What questions and/or concerns did you have?
- A. My husband taught me. I don't know if I would have ever been curious enough to approach the "machine." My husband drew me to it by talking about how it would enhance my work and promising to take it slow and help me work through any frustrations. I main concern was that it was so foreign to anything I could even relate to that it terrified me. I was sure that I would push a button and lose information and completely ruin the computer. Carl helped me to understand that that was nearly impossible. That things could be retrieved and that it was more friendly than what I had heard. I think that I was afraid that I would never be able to do it and that I would be humiliated.
 - Q. Who/what helped you find out what you needed to know?
- A. My husband helped me find out all that I needed to know, as I have already explained. Also, when our company expanded it's accounts department to have computers in each of our office on site and insisted that each manager learn the program in accounting and then do all of the input on site rather than down at the corporate office...we use to send our money and paperwork down there daily. This eliminated that. I was prepared to learn. My instructor was a young woman who was nearly a genius at it. She was one

of the best teachers I've ever had. She said that I picked it up the quickest and actually understood the accounting system better than any of the other managers. This was a real boost to my self esteem!

Q. Who/what hurt your ability to find out what you needed to know?

A. The only thing that hurt my ability in finding out what I needed to know is when I had to call a company to talk about something regarding a computer. To this day I can't. I don't know the language, I can't understand their questions, and it's a waste of both of our time. I can understand certain programs, but not the mechanism and language of the computer world and I don't think I ever will. It just doesn't interest me...there's not enough meaning in knowing it. I'd rather hire someone to do it for me.

Q. What else would have helped you find out what you needed to know?

A. I guess I'd be up shit creek without my husband. I go to him for what I need to know. I just learned a new program for doing the books for his business, but I watch him download, slip in new programs, manipulate screens...and a lot more that I don't know what it is called and it makes my head spin. I do want to learn desk top publishing and some of the art stuff. And I'd like to know how to do a few more things in Word that even he doesn't know. I can run Word better than him now that I've been doing it for three years, but I watch other people and they do all kinds of stuff besides cutting and copying that I would like to eventually know about. I'll probably take a course down at the community center.

Q. What has been your best/worst experience with a computer?

A. My best experience was writing directly from my imagination and producing a great story. The computer linked right to my brain, psyche, body on some level and it functioned as an extension of me. My worst experience was my first experience at Reed College. Too much was expected with no personal caring to help me.

This is kind of a weird thing, but I'm going to tell you anyway. I have an unusual amount of extra electricity that runs through and exudes out of my body, for whatever reason we could speculate....witch? Hundreds of times I have walked or driven under street lights and they go off or on. I freak out my girlfriend sometimes because it happens so often. My electricity screws up my computer more often than is comfortable, but only when I'm doing the accounting program. Over and over the screen locks. It never happens when my husband is doing it. He watches me do it and lock up the screen and knows that it's not because I'm doing it wrong. Our energies just don't always function well together, the computers and mine. Go figure?

- Q. Have your thoughts/feelings about computers changed from early experiences to present? How? Who/what has influenced this change?
- A. My thoughts and feelings have changed greatly about computers. I have already answered this in another question.
- Q. How and where do you use the computer/what primarily do you use it for (work, home, work-at-home)?

A. I have a work space that I use the computer for work and research/school/dissertation. I use to have a room of my own, but my youngest son moved back with me after 10 years of absence, living with his father. He'll be 21 this month. It's interesting. He moved in with me the month that I started grad school and moved out the month I completed school, synchronistic. I gave him my room and set our loft up as my space. It's a 16x16 space with a sofa bed, book cases, two desks and computer. My desk is used for both work in my husband's company, my work, and school. We don't have our home finances on the computer yet. My husband has his own home office, but sits at this desk to access his accounting system. That worked fine over the past three years, but now that I'm beginning my dissertation, I must have a room of my own. I could move back into my old room, but it isn't insulated and is located right next to Carl's office and he's on the phone all day. So we are insulating, sheet rocking a room that was originally set aside for a second bathroom, but we don't need it. We have been using it for storage. I've removed all of the storage and for Christmas I had a large 4x5 window put into it. It has a 15 foot ceiling, with three clearstory windows high close to the ceiling. My daughter says that it has a magical feeling. She felt it when we first built the house four years ago. My daughter is 31. She said, "You must use this space for writing, mother, I feel the magic here." So I am.

I going to have my own keyboard and monitor for dissertation work only. My son works for In Focus and he's going to eventually get me a used computer. I use my computer equally for work and writing/school/email. I'm on it everyday.

Q. Does your computer have a name?

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A. Does it have a name. Wouldn't have occurred to me. I know I was fond of my sewing machine. I quit sewing about 14 years ago, but kept it, a Pfaff, German made. My computer is important, indispensable for work and my future work. I care about it, but have not personalized the caring, like dusting it, talking to it, touching it, etc. I knew someone who had some kind of affair going with her machine...there you go, it's impersonal, a machine. My husband grew up with machines in the machinery business. He talks to his computer etc. and has a fondness for machines in general. I'm fond of my car because I bought it. This computer was a hand-me-down from my husband's company. Whenever (often) he upgrades, I get his seconds...I'm grateful, but not attached. If something happens to it, we'll just get another, or he will and I'll get his old one. At first, when I left the corporate world four years ago, I'd sit at his desk and use the accounting system on his desk. That didn't last long. Because I had already established a territory with a private office when I was a manager, I couldn't give that up. So he quickly bought a new computer and set me up on my own space which obviously worked better for the both of us. The computer is like an extension of my husband. I'm so right brained, that he speaks to my left brain through my right brain for me to understand....now obviously that's not completely accurate. I just completed my graduate studies with a 3.9 and most of the work is in research so I'm obviously also quite left

brained, but I write and follow ideas for research using a great deal of my intuition and following clues etc. The computer....I just don't think I would have braved this world without the kind of guide my husband has been to me, where would I have found one....knowing what I do now, I probably would start looking for a private tutor, say if I lost my husband. Let's see, how can I put that more clearly? It wouldn't have occurred to me to begin learning the computer because I saw it as a glorified typewriter back in '93. He showed me how it was so much more and does that by seeing what I need and showing me how to use a function of the computer that assists my way of being and functioning in that way of being. So he says things like, "You know how you do this? Well, the computer can help that by doing this and this?" I never stretch beyond those given instructions because I don't seem to have a curisoty to take it further on my own. Every once in a while he shows me something else. I trying to think about what that says about me. If something were to have happened to him before he taught me how to use it, eventually I would have looked for a tutor that specializes in right brainers, but I doubt if it would have been before graduate school. Carl prods me along in technology field.

- Q. Do you talk to the computer? Describe how you talk to it (what you say, how you say it).
 - A. I never talk to the computer.

- Q. Do you have a favorite joke about computers/users?
- A. I haven't heard a joke that I liked about the computer. There have been several that come from classmates regarding computers, but I don't like most jokes in general. So many jokes tend to capitalize on someone's gender, weakness, ethic origin...I hate all of that. I do have a sense of humor, but not regarding most jokes. I've never read the funny papers either.
 - Q. Where do you keep your home computer? Why?
- A. My home computer is presently shared with office space, but will soon have a room of it's own as I have described. Why? for privacy in writing, privacy from everything. No one will enter the room without my permission....can't wait.
- Q. How would you feel if you no longer had access to a computer? Would you miss anything? What would you miss the most? What would you not miss at all?
- A. It would be very difficult to not have a computer. I could go back to my typewriter and eventually adapt because it was more personal for me that the computer...here's my typewriter story. I learned to type in high school, but we had an old Underwood at home that my dad used when he went through Bible college in the late 50's, early 60's, along with six kids! The typewriter was from his father's business office, an old saw mill. He had it refurbished and took it to Bible School. When I went to college in "80, he gave it to me to use. I still have those papers. I met Carl in '81 and when he saw what I was typing on, he couldn't believe it. His first gift to me was the IBM that I kept for 10 years. (We knew each other four months and got married, our third marriage each. We just celebrated our 18th year together) I just haven't personalized the

computer like I did the typewriter. The typewriter was connected to my father and then to Carl. This thing is so impersonal, cold, like a monitor in a hospital (which is obviously a computer), but I need it. I just don't know how to allow it into my emotions, it stays Other.

I would miss being able to have the advantages that it provides, but I think as a writer I would cope on a typewriter....but then, how would I do my research on the internet? Library research? Cut, copy, paste...email? I guess I'd miss out on a lot, wouldn't I? (It's snowing here, just thought I'd tell you) I was just introduced to research last year so it's really new and still foreign. I haven't done much....on the computer, I'm speaking of. I've sat in a library and poured over books etc...but the computer takes me into worlds I wouldn't have imagined I could go...although it is new, I can see how I will need it to write my diss and in the future as I grow in my ability to access things...and grow in curiosity! My husband says that I have injured curiosity from my abusive past. He's right.

Q. Do you think men and women use computers differently? If so, how so? If not, why not?

A. I think that men in general aren't as afraid of machines, but I think that it's more a difference of left and right brain users vs gender. I know men who are petrified of it. One interesting thing. My son, Gracen, has only a fifth grade education....long story. He was introduced to video machines in his hi chair. When he came here, he wanted to know about lizards, he has four, so Carl showed him how to access the internet and within minutes he was buzzing through channels with no fear, no hesitation, and an awareness of how the channeling worked...all mostly on his own. I don't have that function developed in my brain. I have little curiosity about the mechanics, little imagination about what I might look up...etc. I always go back to books and reading. I think that eventually that may mature in my brain in the natural course of things...where it's right there an accessible in my son's. I watch my two grandchildren being introduced to computers. They now have one at home. They're 12, Annie, and 9, Codey. They are both whizzes because it was introduced at an early age at school.

My husband is lost in the kitchen because he sees the complication and won't stop and learn about what makes what or goes in what. He's certainly smart enough to learn, but he sees the work and effort it takes to make it good, let alone great. He chooses to do simple things in the kitchen. (Both my son's are cooks and neither of my daughters are particularly interested in the kitchen for more than just get by. It's not a gender thing. Carl's brother is a chef at Niki campus...actually the head chef. It's preference and familiarity. Carl doesn't work on cars, but he can and did when he was a youth. He hires it all now. It's preference....but computers? I think the initial hesitation and fear of the computer was a gender thing...boys are introduced to machines in general by their fathers and they make the emotional connection of doing what their dads do and teach, like with me and the kitchen, so girls my age hesitated, but that's not true for the most part any more.

I think that men and women approach most things in life differently in general because we are different from one another although some experts want to water that difference down and some eliminate it....that won't happen in my opinion. For me my husband sees his computer as an extension of himself, I see it as an extension of him or the masculine, left brain. I really have to think about this more. Masculine being a function of the psyche that's in both men and women, not gender based but function based.

Q. Does one sex/gender enjoy computers more than others?

- A. Enjoyment level? In the corporate world, I saw women enjoying the computer much more than the men. For the men it was like I said, an extension of themselves, impersonal. But the women had relationships with their computers and babied it, vacuumed the key boards, dusted and decorated it. The one guy who had little dinosaurs all over it was gay. He was great! It's a tool for the guys like a drill. For me it's more of a tool, but it wasn't for the women I've known.
 - Q. Do you think of computers as "he," "she," or "it"? Why?
- A. Off the top of my head, I'd have to say that the computer is "he." But I didn't know I felt that way and I might change my mind if I could see it differently than I do presently.
- Q. Are computers/software programs inherently designed to be more user-friendly for people who think in a certain way (e.g., linear versus non-linear, male versus female, programmer/software designer versus user)?
- A. I've only used two programs, well three, Works, Word, and Quickbooks. I think they are left brain designed. I understand accounting and bookkeeping, so Quickbooks makes sense to me based on that. That's how I learned the system so quickly when I worked in Portland, I understood accounting so the computer program just was a template over what I knew. But that's why I get so lost when I venture out. I don't think like the computer thinks and so my husband translates it into something that I do think like or know, otherwise I either memorize it or keep a note on my desk to remind me. My husband has done some programing and it makes perfect sense to him. I think that they are definitely more linear.
- Q. If so, does this design made it easier or harder for you to use the computer? If so, does this design made it easier or harder for you to use the computer?
- A. The design makes it much harder for me to use. I rely on the icons and written helps when I can't figure something out. I've a visual, tactile learner. But.....my son Josh is an artist and worked himself up form temporary help on the assembly line at In Focus to the personel department because of his communication skills, to the special mail room, to the position that he has designed which is communications acquisitions etc. He is self taught on the computer, has only two years of college, mostly liberal arts, and is masterful on the computer. He now makes \$60,000 a year after four years. He is bright but has worse dyslexia than me. He quite an accomplished artist and sells his work, abstract. He does research and acquisitions and flies on the touch sensitive

mouse thing. So what am I saying. He's highly right brained, and has found a way to use the computer that works for him. It's like it opened a channel in his brain he didn't know he had. I'm kind of going in circles, but then most women do reason in spirals and not linear...and I've never thought about any of these questions before so I'm kind of shooting into the dark and trying to really understand what I mean. I hope it makes some sense to you.

- Q. Do you do any kind of writing on a regular basis?
- A. I write everyday. I would consider myself a writer.
- Q. What kind(s) if writing do you do?
- A. I just completed graduate studies at Pacifica Graduate Institute in Mythological Studies. All of the courses are designed around essay writing. So for the past three years I have written three 12-15 pages per quarter, four quarters a year. I also do creative writing, short stories, fairy tales, and am beginning my first book which will be expository writing. I am also now working on my doctorate for the next two years which will consist of approximately 300 pages of both creative and research writing. I also write at least a half dozen letters a week either on email or hand written.
 - Q. Do you use the computer when you write?
- A. I use the computer for all of my writing except some handwritten letters. I know of people who take notes as they read on their lap top, but note taking is also done by hand. I will be getting a lap top this year some time which may change my note taking.
- Q. If so, at what stage of the writing process do you use it (prewriting, first draft, final draft)?
- A. I use the computer for all stages except taking notes from books and journal writing. I write out my dreams and write in my journal at least four or five times a week which is done by hand. But all first drafts, prewriting, and final drafts are done on the computer.
- Q. Has the computer helped your writing in any way (process, final product, convenience, makes it easier)?
- A. The computer has helped my writing tremendously. I rarely need to prewrite or even write rough drafts. Over the course of the past three years, I have progressed in research enough to put out a pretty good first copy with a couple of sessions of editing. I have always loved to write, even in high school, but struggled terribly on where to begin, confidence in beginning and expressing myself, and organizing my thoughts. The computer has completely revolutionized, along with my education, the organization of my thoughts. I read, research, until something clicks. Then I follow that thought through what I've researched with a half dozen to a dozen pages of notes, then when I sit down at the computer, I'm ready to begin with my idea. The trick has come for me to read until something clicks. If I'm struggling with an idea, then I automatically know that I haven't read enough, so I just keep reading. Often, by the time I 'm ready to write, I have researched enough material for three or four papers. So I categorize my notes and store them for future papers. Some

times I set out to research a topic and find that I already have the research done. Then I just sit down at the computer and whip it out. I can type out a paper once the research is completed in two to four days of writing about five hours a day.

The computer makes all aspects of writing easier. I especially love editing. Being able to scroll up and down all of the pages, cut and past, delete, spell check. I use the thesaurus on almost every sentence. I don't have a dictionary on my computer, but I love Webster's seventh edition. I have four and they are strategically placed in my house where they are readily accessible. I never go anywhere with out a pen and tablet so that I can job down my thoughts when they arise. I don't find using the computer an inconvenience. Because it is so much faster to whip something out and editing it, the convenience of a tablet is still slower. I rarely write much on a tablet unless I'm in the airport or doctor's office. But when I get my lap top, I might not even then, but use the lap top. My final product is virtually flawless (unlike emailing). Again, education has helped, of course, but seeing my work right in front of me as I think my thoughts and being able to editing things immediately has made my finished product beautiful.

- Q. Has the computer hurt your writing in any way (process, final product, convenience, makes it harder)?
- A. I can't say that the computer has hurt my writing in any way. I know that Alice Walker and Neal Simon both hand write out their books/plays. They claim that they are more viserally connected to the product, but I'm more connected to my work on the computer. I have found that hand writing inhibits my flow because it is so much slower. And the visual aspect of seeing my writing typewritten in front of my eyes is easier to work with than scribbles and cross outs etc.
- Q. Do you like writing on the computer now? Would you go back to not using the computer for writing if you could?
 - A. I'll never go back to the typewriter. I'm hooked on the computer.
- Q. Do you think men and women use computers differently when it comes to writing? If so, how so?
- A. I think that men and women do most things differently depending on how strong their feminine or masculine aspects of their psyche leads in their expression and their right and left brain hemispheres of their brain. I haven't talked to men writers. Many men have trouble with handwriting, both my sons and my husband are scribblers. Typing has revolutionized my oldest son's work life. My husband also prefers to type than write. Gracen does neither presently. My left brain girl friend loves the computer, but struggles with creating sentences in general, so it can take her four hours to write two paragraphs, but she's a whiz on the computer. She just births her ideas more slowly. I don't know if we use the computer differently for writing, my guess is that we don't, but I could be mistaken.
 - Q. What has your experience with e-mail been like?

A. I absolutely love email. I get a couple of dozen a week and answer them immediately. It's become part of my daily routine. As an introvert, I don't particularly enjoy talking on the phone. Emailing has changed my communication with everyone. I maintain regular contact with classmates who live all over the US and Canada...Marie lives in Germany. My dearest friend is in Florida. Emailing keeps us a finger touch away from one another.

Q. Does e-mail distance people from one another in some way(s)?

A. In some ways emailing does distance people in that it is an emotional shield in conversation. There is not the same tone of voice as on a phone, emotional inflexion. There is a tendency to hit and run on email. I've even done it myself. I say things that I don't or wouldn't say face to face. I'm presently in a six week long argument with one of my classmates that we wouldn't have done in person. I'm braver and more succinct. I don't let people get away with things that I let slide in person because of confrontation and introversion. On the other hand, I have a dear friend that just wants me to talk surface stuff on the computer, not personal, not too long, not to emotional...that bugs me. She doesn't like seeing intimate things in print.

Q. Does it bring people closer in some way(s)?

A. It definitely brings people closer. My daughter, Tiffany, age 31, just got her first computer. She learned quite a bit in high school and her two kids (previously written about) are very good at it so it was time to get one. She is now emailing me for the first time and it is transforming our relationship. Neither of us like to talk on the phone so we go two or three months without talking and then it's pretty brief and surface. She yawns while we talk and we just aren't much on small talk. This is what her last email sounded like: Mom, I totally agree with you about the getting together thing, just us girls and doing something like a project or something!... I also think Sayde and I are ready to move on to the next level of our relationship, if that makes sense? When she said that comment to me in the bedroom about being ready to just be sisters, it just clicked. I'm very excited, I feel like we are all on the verge of something big happening in our lives. I feel real positive about something I just don't know what it is yet, but I think it will be coming to me soon. Ever since the conversation you and I had about your dissertation and stuff I have felt like this and the feeling just keeps getting stronger. Pretty groovy huh? I love you mom...."

This never happened to us before. Now our phone conversations are deep and personal, and still occasional, but we email sometimes twice a day. Somehow, she can put things into an email that she couldn't on the phone or a letter. It's like a miracle. Her life is breaking wide open and e-mailing is like the midwife, easing out the birth of her new self.

- Q. Does e-mail help people communicate. How?
- A. (No e-mail response--presumably answered in previous question.)
- Q. Does it hurt communication? How?
- A. Email can hurt if it becomes a substitute for personal involvement. If my husband started to only write me on email, I'd stop it immediately. It's just

an example. My friend who doesn't want me to be personal etc., well, emailing is a beginning. She isn't very intimate, extremely private, English parents, and emailing is slowing drawing her out. I just need to take it slower. I have another friend who doesn't even have her theraputic practice on computer and types all of her papers after she writes them out. She has been completely out of the circle of communication at school. We all are involved and know things that are impossible to share with her. She doesn't research on the computer either. But she's from Iowa originally, likes some things just slow and the same as usual, even though she's lived in California for 25 years and surfs all the time and goes to seminars at E-salon...she still has corn silk in her ears!

- Q. Describe a particularly successful or unsuccessful e-mail communication experience you've had.
 - A. I answered this question.

- Q. Do you think women and men use e-mail differently? If so, how so?
- A. My experience is that the guys at school, my cousin the stock broker, my friend the salesman, they all send those forward things...I told all of them to take me off the list. When I did that, none of them write me personally. They were all must sending out those chain things and jokes and email junk mail....I don't even know where all of that stuff comes from. I rarely get that stuff from my women friends, some, but rarely. I had to confront each of those guys about writing me notes instead of just stop communicating altogether. You know, they would tack on a small note to a forward thing. Now my cousin is writing me wonderful letters, but other guys opted to quit communicating. My husband hates all of that forward stuff...so it's not just guys.
- Q. Do women use e-mail differently with other women than with men? If so, how so?
- A. I'm finding that my women friends are becoming very intimate, like my daughter Tiffany, in their e-mails. That's what made my one friend uncomfortable. We write all kinds of girl stuff. I think that women have the tendency to be more personal, relational. Even when our local mythmates gather, the guys tend to focus on news, sports, work. We talk families, and now have our mythic world to explore which is slow coming. We have decided to meet less with the husbands because we have to learn to be together first then help them fit into the way we will eventually learn to communicate. So as far as emailing goes, I think that we are the way that we are in general and even more so. It's like we are when we gather as women without the guys, we're different. Men shift the mood, topics, etc. I use email the same with both men and women, but more intimate with women. I'm as intimate as the men are comfortable.
 - Q. What do you think of the Internet?
- A. I love the internet, but have not done much exploring. Most of it doesn't interest me, like going to the mall and shopping, or watching TV. I am more quiet than that. I don't like to gather bunches of different data. But I

love accessing the things I need for research, libraries, journals, dissertations, websites.

Q. Do you use the Internet? If so, how? Chat rooms? Research? Shopping? News? What was that like?

- A. I've never been to a chat room, shopping, news etc. I've only researched stuff and I get lost quite often. But the more I do it the better I get.
 - Q. Do you see the Internet as harmful or helpful? Why?
- A. I haven't thought too much about it. It's helpful for me, like finding books at Powell's Books, and it's such a wave of the future. Things change, but won't it eliminate a lot of jobs, but then isn't that what "progess" does, speed things up and replace human beings with machines....too much to think about it, but I try to read something now and again to keep myself informed.
- Q. Do you think men and women use the Internet differently? If so, how so?
- A. I know that my husband uses the internet daily for the weather, researching product information, communications with the website of his business, and a club that he chats with, Mended Hearts...from his heart attack. It's a life link for him. He also plays games and I don't. My girlfriend is addicted to some solitaire game. I have a guy friend who is addicted to a bunch of games on the computer.

Final Question. Is there anything else you care to add about your experience with computers or this interviewing process?

A. I loved being interviewed for this project because it forced me to think about my involvement with the computer and evaluate it. I think that things are more personality oriented/typed than gender based on the computer as far as I see things but I have had such little exposure to users. But like I say, men in general are taught to explore the unknown so they venture into cyberworld with less trepidation than we women who are fradycats. But all that is changing too. Isn't it?

Appendix E: Elena

- Q. So the first set of questions I'm going to ask you are just -- they're kind of general in your relationship to technology. And then we'll get more specific from there.
- 4 A. Okay.
- 5 Q. What images does the term "technology" bring to mind?
- 6 A. Steel, cold, foreign.
- 7 Q. Anything else?
- 8 A. (unintelligible)
- 9 Q. So not so much images, but concepts--
- 10 A. Yeah.
- 11 Q. For you? Okay. And do you consider yourself mechanically or 12 technologically inclined?
 - A. No.

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- Q. And why not?
- A. Because I have never set my spirit to do it.
- Q. Who and what have influenced your beliefs about this?
 - A. Society.
- 18 Q. So--
 - A. As I grew up -- I born in the early 50's, and television portrayed women as not being -- having technological savvy. Where else did I get the message? From -- people I would generally interact with -- technology dealings was something that men dealt with.
 - Q. So just kind of in your day-to-day interactions with people at large?
 - A. Right. If someone was going to -- even -- we're talking mow the lawn as far as technology, or fixing the cars or -- my dad was a chemistry teacher. And that's where those images came from.
 - Q. So would you say your -- did your father influence this a lot? Was it more just by example and the things he did, or did he say things to you?
 - A. No. My dad was real egalitarian. It wasn't Dad. It was -- my parents' friends -- I'd go to their home. The things that boys did in general that girls didn't do, what they played with or their toys. Yeah, their toys were more machines. They -- like Tonka.
 - Q. Sure. Trucks and--
 - A. Trucks and -- yeah.
 - Q. So it sounds kind of like it was more sort of the environment you grew up in and just the things you saw around you basically kind of said technology is a guy thing?
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. And what does the term "computer" mean to you?
- A. It does -- computer has -- there's like this love-hate thing with the computer. I love the computer for what I know how to do on it, which is basically word processing and e-mail. It lets me type and correct and change

- things around like I could never do on the typewriter. And I love it for that. I love the e-mail that comes through, because I'm able to relate to people, bang, just like that. And typing. But the other aspect of it is that I can't persuade it. If it could just see me and hear me, I know it would do what I want it to do. And so when someone says to me, well, what kind of computer do you have, I'd say I have a beige computer, because I'm just totally intimidated by what I don't know how to do on it.
 - Q. So you love it for what you can do, and--
 - A. I hate it for what I can't do.

- Q. Sort of the mystery aspect of it -- okay. So we're kind of moving into a different section of your early use of the computer. So if you can kind of remember your first experiences. So what was your first experience with a computer like -- can you remember that -- or even a newer one?
- A. Right. I remember I went over to my girlfriend's house. Her daughter was in high school. That was about seven years ago -- eight years ago -- something like that -- when I was in junior college. And I had to write a paper. And I didn't know what spell check was. And I thought if I pushed any button, something was going to go screwy. And I was totally tense, and I was totally afraid of the technology. And I felt like a complete idiot.
 - Q. And so when and how did you first learn how to use a computer?
- A. I'd say that I really first -- I can (unintelligible) the point that I really began to be familiar and use the computer was when [female professor]. forced me to -- by the way, she instructed our gender and communication class. It was a closed circuit course of people in [place name, place name,] and wherever. And we had to have groups made up of people from all those areas. And we had to use a search the net for concepts, which I'd never done. And we had to use e-mail, which I'd never done.
 - Q. So that must have been quite an experience for you.
 - A. I was freaked out.
- Q. Freaked out. Also, who or what helped you figure out what you needed to know to handle that? Oh, well, actually first, even before that -- you know, here you are. You're freaked out with this class. What kinds of questions and concerns did you have? Could you ever formulate those?
 - A. My major concern was that I wasn't going to be competent enough.
- Q. At that time did you have any questions that you could even formulate?
 - A. I don't know how to do this. How do I do this?
 - Q. That's just the big question.
- A. I didn't know the procedures. I didn't know how you got hooked up to one of these servers. I had to do that. I didn't have the stuff coming into my home.
 - Q. You were kind of--
 - A. I was a virgin.
- Q. Techno-virgin, huh? And you're on your way to becoming a technosomething else. Okay. So back to that next question, then, who or what

- helped you find out what you needed to know, because you've obviously mastered these things. Or at least you can use them. You use them all the time now.
- A. My own tenacity. That's the biggest thing. Now Judy explained things during class, and, you know, I had to ask people along the way. But I can't think of anyone who stuck out in my mind. It didn't matter if it was male or female. If they looked competent and I needed help, I asked them.
- Q. So basically you just found someone who looked like they knew what they were doing and said, hey, can you help me figure this out?
 - A. Right.

- Q. And then who or what hurt your ability to find out what you needed to know? What stood in your way or who?
- A. My fear of looking foolish or incompetent. Frustration. I would become so frustrated, I just wouldn't even deal with it.
 - Q. So what would you do when you became frustrated?
 - A. Swear at it and walk away.
 - Q. The next time you realized, uh-oh, I've got to do this. Right?
 - A. Right.
- Q. What else that maybe wasn't there when you were learning this? What else might have helped you find out what you needed to know? Is there anything that would have helped?
 - A. In the context that I was in at that time?
- Q. Yeah. At that time.
- A. If I had had -- if there had been -- I'd had more girlfriends with computers, they knew what was going on.
- Q. And then just, in general, I guess, what might have helped you learn? Not even just in this context. But what would have helped somebody learn to use a computer?
- A. Sure. A class would have helped me learn. But I didn't have time for classes at that point.
- Q. And kind of a wrap-up for this section. What has been your best experience with a computer, or what has been your worst experience with a computer? You can choose one, or you can answer both. Think of what stands out in your mind.
- A. I guess I'll preface it by saying as the most frustrating thing about the computer is when my computer doesn't have the right kind of talk to talk to another computer. And I'm doing (unintelligible), that pisses me off, because I don't know how to convert them! As far as the worst experience, I'd say I've typed a whole bunch of -- a term paper for Walker's class, did something, and I deleted a whole bunch of -- it wasn't -- no, now, it wasn't saved, and I didn't know how to go up and do the undo thing before I touch anything else at that time. That was a bitch.
 - Q. And how did you feel?
- 131 A. I was angry. And there's nothing I could do, and I was just angry.

- Q. So moving on, those were your early experiences. Now I want to talk a little bit of current use of and relationship with computers. So have your thoughts and feelings about computers changed from, like, your earliest experiences to your present?
 - A. Yes.

- Q. And, if so, how?
- A. Yeah. It's -- my comfort level is up, and my confidence level is up. But I still classify myself as a computer dork.
 - Q. Well, who or what has influenced this -- the change part of it?
- A. I've done it for myself -- just the continual use of it. People that I worked with have -- that I work with every day, like, at Lane, know this is how you do it. And then I feel safe enough to go back and ask them the third or fourth time, "I'm sorry. I just can't -- what do I do now?" And then they show me again.
- Q. It sounds like you've kind of a built a community of people you can trust around this technology, and so it's okay to keep asking?
- A. It's because they need to go slow, and that's why it's frustrating to me, Ronda, because I get stuff real quick, and I processed it really quick. But on the computer I need to go slow, and so I have to find people I feel safe with that know that that's okay, and let me know that that's okay.
- Q. Right. And they're not going to question you'r whole intelligence just because this particular thing--
 - A. Right.
- Q. You can't relate to. So, yeah. I can see where that would be real important. So how and where do you use the computer, or how -- yeah. How and where do you use it altogether, and then where do you use it the most? And what do you use it for?
- A. I use the computer at my home the most. I type my college assignments. Basically, it's just word processing composition. I use the computer at school. I do e-mail. I do Internet searches of the library. That's how and where I use the computer.
- Q. So home is where you do your writing, and school you can do research, and you've got e-mail access. So I take it you don't have e-mail access at home right now?
 - A. Right. I will next term, but I don't now.
- Q. Does your computer -- well, first, where do you keep your home computer?
 - A. It's in an extra bedroom that I have set up for my study area.
 - Q. Does your computer have a name?
- A. Yes. And I'm glad you asked that. Now, wait a minute. I bought this computer from this little dope head. It's a laptop. The computer's name is Wonky. W-O-N-K-Y. But I'm changing it's name to Aphrodite.
- Q. Hey, Aphrodite. Okay. So can you tell me a little bit about where the name Wonky came from, and then what's with the change to Aphrodite?

- A. I am so glad you asked me this. I've been thinking about this. I think Wonky is some code name for dope that Joe used. I don't know.
 - Q. So that was the name it had when you acquired it?
 - A. Right. Right.

- Q. You never gave it that name?
- A. No. The name was on the screen saver, you know. Wonky would fly around through and I just thought, this probably means, you know, doing it or something. I don't know. It's probably (unintelligible). But with my course in classical rhetoric and the discussion of the noble and the evil lover and platonic dialogues, and the man who I am discerning as this noble lover is this total computer genius that I'm going out with now. I and he's the one that cleaned all the little dope guy stuff off this lap top for me. I think it's only appropriate that the computer be renamed Aphrodite, because it was the computer that actually brought me together with this wonderful guy who's a total computer genius.
- Q. Well, there you go. So how did the computer bring you together with him?
- A. Because I got the computer from the dopehead, and Jim was the one -- that's the man who I went to and said, "I don't know what I'm looking for on this computer, and he wants to sell it to me. Is this price okay? What should I look for?" And he gave me a list of all the stuff I should. I brought it back to him, and showed him that. And then after I got the computer and started school, I had all this junk on this computer of Joe's I couldn't get off. I didn't know how to delete any of that shit. And so I called Jim who had given me his home phone number, and he came out, and he got my computer all fixed up for me and everything. And then we started going out. So that's how it worked.
- Q. So I think there might be another reason why you view computers differently than you did. This is great. This is the best story I've heard yet. This is so good. Cool. So do you talk to the computer?
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. Can you tell me how you talk to it, the kinds of things you say?
- A. Yes, I do. I may talk to the computer in a different way. Mine has a feminine gender after I renamed it from Wonky. But I try to -- "come on, baby. Come on, baby" -- to get it to do what I want. And then my famous lines are, "You piece of shit." You know, I say that almost daily. "You piece of shit." So, "Come on, baby, " is like I'm kind of trying to schmooze to do -- "be nine, come on, momma loves you, give me what I want." And then I just get pissed -- "you piece of f-ing shit."
 - Q. When it fails to deliver?
- A. Right.
 - Q. So this is how you talk to Wonky. How recent was the name change?
- A. I am going to -- I've just in a last couple days decided to change the name. So it hasn't had its trans-gender thing happen yet.

- 220 Q. So we might have to have a follow-up to see how things are in a week or two. I'm serious. We might want to do that and see what's changed. This 222 whole trans-gender thing could be important.
 - A. You know, it could.
 - Q. It could be very important. So very interesting. I've got my questions out of order. Here's one for you. Do you have a favorite joke about computers or computer users? You know, there are some jokes that go around. Do you know any?
 - A. No.

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- O. And how would you feel if you no longer had access to a computer?
- A. Crippled.
 - Q. What would you miss the most about it? You're thinking like in terms of doing assignments and just--
 - A. Well, I can type fast on it. I can edit fast on it, and I can print it out fast and saying, "There it is."
 - Q. No white-out required. Okay. And what would you miss the least about computers if you didn't have one?
 - A. The imposition I feel that technology puts -- intrusion that technology has in our lives.
 - Q. Can you say anything more about that, how a computer specifically intrudes?
 - A. It takes away time from my daughter -- it's right front forward in my head. Trying to do school, work on the computer, and be a mom -- I guess associate that with computer -- is my schooling.
 - Q. So part was the computer because you associate it with that, and partly it's just school requires you to -- yeah. So it kind of sound like maybe you're saying the computer is sort of this isolating -- it sorts of isolates you while you're using it, anyway? Is that anywhere near the mark?
 - A. It takes my time away from things that I'd rather be doing.
 - Q. Okay. I think I'm getting an idea. So these last few questions before we flip over the tape are related to computers, gender, personality-type. So this might be interesting. Do you think men and women use computers differently?
 - A. I think that the computer requires you to use it the same way as everyone else. I think their orientation and their attitudes and their intent is different. Or what they see the computer is allowing them access to production or--
 - Q. So you think men view the computer differently, but that everyone has to use it kind of the same way?
 - A. Right. I mean we all sit. We use the mouse. We use the keyboard. We use it that way the same, and that's the stumbling block for some people, is just the actual use of this technology.
 - Q. Judge kind of mechanics--
 - A. Right. That's right.

- Q. It sounds like. I guess maybe I'm thinking about do you think they use it differently, like they have maybe different purposes?
 - A. Oh, I see. Yeah.
 - Q. Well, this -- what you said was part of it, too. But maybe--
- A. Oh, I'm sure that men use the computer for power over, and women use them for relational (unintelligible). I think women use computers because they know that that's a source of power for them. If they don't, they'll even have less power than they already have.
- Q. It sounds almost like women feel, like, well, I have to use this if I want to--
 - A. Yeah.

- Q. Even have a voice.
- A. Or have a chance to get ahead.
- Q. So it sounds almost like it's not embracing the power, but saying, well, it's there. If I don't use it, then I lose out, kind of thing? Or do you feel like -- okay.
 - A. Yeah.
 - Q. And men seem to just see it as -- how do you think men see it again?
- A. I think men -- I think the whole -- I think computers were created in a masculine context by men, and that the way that the processes on the computer take place were initially from that aspect -- that perspective. As such, I think that it is an environment communicative-wise, that women who don't have the experiences step into it, find themselves in a masculine environment.
- Q. So kind of following on with that, then, does one sex or gender enjoy computers more than others?
- A. I don't know if you're talking about the magnitude here, because if we're looking at magnitude of numbers, I'd say that men probably do more than women, just because they probably utilize them more. It depends on what it's being used for.
- Q. So that makes sense. So you're suggesting whether they enjoy it more is maybe too broad of a question.
 - A. Right.
 - Q. It kind of needs a context--
 - A. Right. It does.
 - Q. To be able to answer it?
 - A. Yeah.
- Q. That's fair. So maybe we can address that more when we get to some of the other sections, the specific tools. Okay. Here's a question. Do you think of computers as he, she, or it, and why? Feel free to relate this back to your own computer.
- A. It. Why? I can't persuade it. Certainly, if it was masculine or feminine, I could persuade it.
 - Q. And yet you have a gender for your computer.

- A. Well, putting it as female gender, because then I -- I'll have some sort of -- and the Aphrodite is the goddess of love -- a powerful goddess. And so I'm thinking -- I'm hoping I'll feel some sort of affinity to this piece of shit computer by making her, creating her to be a powerful goddess.
- Q. Well, names are a powerful thing. Right? And so it sounds like what you're getting at is you want to see if changing the name can change the relationship with the machine. It sounds like--
- A. Well, I hadn't really thought about that like you're putting it, Ronda. But I think you're right.
 - Q. Oops. Put words in your mouth. Oops. Bad interviewing skills.
 - A. No. I mean just personally -- I just wanted it to be feminine.
- Q. So thinking more about gender and maybe even beyond gender to sort of personality type, are computers -- and this might be software programs, too -- but just kind of the whole package. Are they inherently designed to be more user friendly for people who think a certain way? And you kind of touched on this earlier. But I'll ask it again. So certain mind-sets -- do they -- are computers designed to be easier for certain mind-sets to use? Like, there's the linear/non-linear decision.
- A. I'll tell you what. I -- visual people do better. Now, I took this test on the computer, whether I was a visual or an auditory learner. And I -- I'm an auditory person. And I'll tell you nothing frustrates me more than formatting, than making the images be where they need to be, spatial stuff -- that's way hard for me to do on a computer. Concepts that I create with little symbols is very easy for me to do. I think it's more your learning style and your way of how we process information differently as human beings, is more critical than a gender issue. Again, if we're socialized into believing that certain areas are -- we're not good in, then does that set us up (unintelligible). I don't have a clear answer.
- Q. So it's like gender might be part of it, might partly be personality type, aside from that?
 - A. Yeah. It's hard--

- Q. It sounds like it's hard to pin it down.
- A. To pull one variable out. I think it's a combination. It's complex -- complex.
- Q. So you would agree, though, it sounds like that they are designed for a certain mind-set and a certain type of person, or it seems so?
- A. I -- I would -- I would this it -- they are. If they were designed by men and the way that tasks were carried out and the tasks that they were designed for were in a particular area, then I'd say yeah. What would computers look like or be like or how would they function, even though they work on a binary system, if women did that? I don't know.
- Q. It would be interesting to see, because now we are getting more women in the field, or presumably we are. So maybe if we get more women, things will change. It will be interesting to see. So thinking about the way computers are designed, and you've kind of answered this. But has the design,

- such as it is, made it easier or harder for you to learn to use a computer? It's set up for somebody like you?
 - A. Yeah, it is, because I like organization. I like things classified to where I can systematically go through them. That's why I said initially I don't know how to do it because I haven't taken the type and set my spirit to do it.
 - Q. You haven't taken the time, but ultimately you're seeing it as something that really is your kind of thing?
 - A. I could do it. Yeah, I could do it. You mean would I be one of those people that's totally involved with it? No. But if I could program it to cook my meals, it would be fine.
 - Q. For specific tools and uses, we're going to start out with writing. It sounds like you do a fair amount of writing on a regular basis for school or work.
 - A. Yes.

- Q. So just describe a little bit about the kinds of writing that you do.
- A. I do academic composition. I type text, and I enter footnotes, cite sources, I should say, and I write bibs. And that's what I do. I don't have to make, really, graphs -- anything like that.
- Q. So pretty much a text-based deal. All right. So at what stage of the writing process do you start using the computer?
- A. That's a good point. I like to do my rough drafts with pen and pad, and once I have my outline done, then I take my outline, put it down next to me, and type. And that's an effective way for me to compose.
- Q. So just out of curiosity, because I'm also interested in writing -- so what constitutes a rough draft for you? Is that something you do kind of in paragraph format and then turn it into an outline? Or do you start out by outlining?
 - A. I start out by outlining.
 - Q. So you get that organization down from the beginning?
- A. Right. And I like it because it's tactile. I can feel the paper. I can feel the pen. I feel real connected with it. When I move to the connected, I don't feel as connected with it. But I'm able to just bang it out.
- Q. Makes me sort of wonder if that sort of less connected feeling the computer maybe gives you the objectivity or something--
 - A. That's--
 - Q. That just--
 - A. Yeah, that-
 - Q. Maybe speeds it along?
- A. Objectivity. No, it's not that, Ronda. It's that I am able to type so rapidly that my thought process while I look at these fragmented sentences and the outline, I'm able to translate into complete sentences within a structured context quite rapidly.
- Q. Oh, wow. That's great. Yeah. Kind of complete your thoughts while you're typing. So has the computer helped your writing in any way, either the process or maybe the final product? Does it make it easier, harder -- anything?

- A. Yeah. It makes it easier because I can produce things more quickly which gives me more time to edit. Editing is easier. The source and the spell check -- I now have access to pick different words, and I spell horribly. So spell check speeds me along.
 - Q. It sounds like this has kind of speeded up the whole process.
 - A. Yes. That's why I said I'd feel crippled if I didn't have it.
 - Q. And has the computer hurt your writing classes in any way? Is there anything that -- negatively?
 - A. No.

- Q. Well, I think I know the answer to this one. So would you willingly go back to not using the computer?
 - A. No.
- Q. No way. And do you think men and women use computers differently when it comes to writing? So in your case let's say academic writing.
 - A. I don't know. I don't know.
- Q. Fair enough. What about e-mail? Just kind of generally what has your experience with e-mail been like?
- A. Great. E-mail allows me to have interpersonal connection that has not been possible. I can maintain links. And e-mail allows me to review the content of what I've written and edit it to elicit the -- more better the response I'm looking for by the way my communication's been constructed. Because of that, e-mail has helped me to be able to express myself in ways to people who I'm close to that I would not have known like that.
 - Q. Do you think that's partly because it's not face to face?
- A. That's partly because it's not face to face. It's partly because it is -- it -- interpersonal communication is not face to face. It is able to happen very rapidly, and that I have the opportunity to edit. And if I want to evoke particular emotion in there, I have to draw on all of my persuasive knowledge and skills to use metaphor, to use vivid language, to use logic. And I construct the document, and I e-mail it. And that's why I'm a better writer.
- Q. Gives you lots of practice using your skills. Well, I was just thinking it sounds like this is a combination of immediacy with time to think that's really powerful.
 - A. Right.
- Q. Interesting. Does e-mail -- do you think e-mail can distance people from one another in any way?
 - A. I haven't found that to be true.
- Q. Well, that's what counts, is your experience. So then does it bring people closer?
- A. Yeah. You're able to send e-mail any time of the day or night. And you can transfer your thoughts and feelings and emotions (unintelligible).
- Q. Well, my next questions are about communication, and I think you pretty much answered those. Does e-mail help people communicate, and, if so, how? You've talked about that a little bit.

- A. From my subjective perspective, it does. It gives me the immediacy with them, the accessibility to them, immediacy -- a format in which I can examine and edit my own thinking to make it do what I want it to do more completely. A little more control over the situation, almost. A writing process. Right.
- Q. Gotta be careful about things like -- statements like that. Can you describe a particularly successful or an unsuccessful one -- but a particularly successful e-mail communication experience that you've had? Is there a specific one that you care to talk about?
 - A. None that I care to talk about.

- Q. Well, here's another one -- that gender thing coming up. Do you think women and men use e-mail differently?
- A. Yes. I think you'll find women's e-mail more demonstrative. Attempts to further -- further the community of dialogue to support -- support and develop their relationship. And generally men's e-mail tends to be either just the regular way men are categorized as communicating, as competitive (unintelligible). And (unintelligible) chat rooms are like this wonderful environment for them to display all of their disgusting testosterone. And -- but on the other hand, the anonymity that e-mail gives men affords them an opportunity to express themselves in ways that they would be more reluctant to do face to face. I know that is applicable for women and men across the board. But maybe it offers me a little more safer place to do that.
- Q. So e-mail and chat rooms are kind of both that way. Do you see e-mail as kind of offering the same kind of anonymity? Or is that just chat rooms?
- A. No. I meant -- I meant by -- I guess anonymity wasn't right. It's just not face to face, and so people might have a tendency to say -- reveal parts of themselves. But on the whole, I think that men communicate the way they communicate the same as face to face using the computer, and it's likewise for women.
- Q. And do women use e-mail different with other women than they do with men?
 - A. Depends on the man. Depends on the woman.
 - Q. And their relationship?
 - A. And the relationship, yeah.
- Q. Fair enough. Last, but not least, the Internet. So, just generally, what do you think of the Internet?
- A. I don't understand the Internet. I'm confounded by the complexity of it. I cannot in my mind visualize these hovering, quivering little nodes of electric impulses that carry my thoughts that are stationed out someplace on some pad waiting to access my home. I don't understand that. That the ability to be able to access information is good, and yet I'm totally overwhelmed by how I do it. I know that there's search engines. I don't understand how it works. I'm baffled by that. How does it know to go get information? How does that work? And I get -- I don't understand it, but it serves me well, as

long as I stay within these little parameters of what I know to do on it. I always make a bookmark, because I don't know where the hell I wind up. So I think the Internet is evil Satan.

Q. How so?

- A. I think it's Big Brother. I think it's George Orwell. But that's pretty much a classist statement because there's so many people in our country that can't afford a computer just for to make a classist statement that, you know, it's gonna take over our whole lives. They can't even afford their regular daily living, you know, and can hope to have a computer.
- Q. And then how does that affect them in not having one doesn't necessarily mean they aren't affecting you.
 - A. Right.
 - Q. Right.
 - A. Yeah. That's definitely a whole big issue.
 - Q. So how do you use the Internet?
 - A. I go to the library.
 - Q. Go to the library.
- A. And cruise the library -- go on the Internet because that's how I picked that up.
 - Q. Like, the library home pages and--
- A. That's it. I feel most comfortable doing that. But I'll be damned if I know. I haven't really searched the web much at all, to be really honest with you. I couldn't when I had the Internet before because it was expensive to be on line and try and find things.
 - Q. So you used to have access other than at school at one point?
- A. Yeah. I used to have -- I had it at home. But that was only during Judy Bowker's class, and over the (unintelligible).
- Q. So it sounds like you pretty much stuck to the academic stuff and what's available at school. All right. So pretty much research. Not so much shopping or the news or--
 - A. No.
 - Q. Chat rooms?
 - A. I do research. That's what I do. That's it.
- Q. Well, you had spoken about men talking -- or men's interactions in chat rooms. Is that from stuff you've heard about, or--
 - A. No.
 - Q. Have you experienced that?
- A. I had -- I did -- I mean that changed my opinion about the computer when I initially got it, because here was interaction with people. And being a com major and taking gender com course, I was well -- men would flame, I would just flame back. I thought it was funny. Stupid asses. I guess my brief experience with that let me see -- or made me feel that it really was a masculine environment. It was itself overwhelmed. Women sent me one of those little mails where you're in a chat room that they can send you special little messages.

- Q. Like a private message or some--
- A. Yeah. She was just like flipped and didn't know what to do.
- Q. About the way a man was--
- 535 A. Right.
- 536 Q. The way--
- A. Not her. But generally she didn't know what to do. She didn't know how to approach it.
 - Q. Just overall what do I do--
- 540 A. Right.

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- Q. In a place like--
- 542 A. Right.
 - O. And so it sounds like she felt safer--
- 544 A. Right.
 - Q. Turning to a woman?
 - A. Because I told her and told her what she could expect on there, how she had to position herself, and if she was going to be involved with that sort of stuff.
 - Q. What kind of advice did you give her?
 - A. I -- basically I warned her that this is the way that a lot of personalities would come off. She needed to be skeptical, and that she needed to put herself out there and not be afraid, be confident. And at least the image that she was going to portray, construct around herself and (unintelligible).
 - Q. Sounds like not too bad advice in any communication environment. So that's a little kind of generally about the Internet. So do you see the Internet as primary harmful or helpful, or is it a little of both?
 - A. Probably a little of both.
 - Q. And how harmful -- what ways would be harmful?
 - A. Frightening to me not to have some piece of paper here I can hold in my hand, and that the source of it is someplace else that -- what happens if -- it's been reassuring to me to go to a shelf in the library and pull a book off the shelf. Yeah. And that's what's frightening to me. Also, you know, they (unintelligible) sources. Punch in and let's see what they are putting out there. And I'm not talking about pornography, really. I'm talking about information that is panned off as being the truth or the expert testimony. And it's not. I know that can happen in any context, but it seems to slide easier on that. But the good thing is there is a lot of good information. It is easy to access. I can sit and -- when I get in my home in my jammies and drink coffee and smoke a cigarette and be on the computer, and no one can tell me to quit drinking and smoking and working at my computer.
 - Q. And here is maybe a predictable question. But do you think that men and women use the Internet differently? And if so, how so?
 - A. I think probably because the majority of the pornography is typically the exploitation of women, that men will use that more. If they have access to it, then it reaffirms their -- I think it's an easy way for men to get off. And they might be afraid to go down and buy something from the store -- a

magazine or adult bookstores. But, golly, gee, Sandy, I can just pull it up on my computer.

- Q. You don't have to leave your own home?
- A. No. I don't know what -- I don't know what women use the Internet for. I mean I--
 - Q. Well, research. Right?

- A. I guess -- yeah, when I do research and -- I really -- I really don't know. My life is so restricted to research, I don't -- I -- what would I do? I don't know. I don't know. You know, shopping, chat rooms -- all that stuff. Who knows? If you have time and the access, but--
- Q. We've completed the questions. And I'll just ask is there anything at all you want to add about computers, technology, gender, communication -- anything?
- A. I wonder if it'll be to the -- women will become to the computer -- I guess maybe we see this in terminals in offices now. But it just replaced the typewriter. When the telephone or even the typewriter were invented, it was part of the male domain because it was thought that women weren't smart enough to do it. The technology was too out there for women. But when women were able to do it and men saw that they could, they relegated it to a feminine arena and devalued it. So women typed. They were the steno pool. Women were the operators. Women yak on the phone. And I wonder if that will happen with computers, as well.
- Q. That's an interesting thought. Women used to be programmers back when programming meant something else. And that became sort of a male thing. But it almost seems like there are certain feminized occupations with computers -- data entry and--
- A. And if they are, they're devalued. Women are paid less in association with the computer.
- Q. Or you're kind of wondering even with some of the perceived higher level skills, it's like once women do that--
 - A. Right.
 - Q. What's going to happen?
 - A. Once women do that, then it will be devalued. That's my--
- A. Once women do that, the Good Q. That's your conviction?
- 611 A. My opinion. Yeah.
- Q. Well, I guess we'll see.

Appendix F: Base Question List

Self/Relationship to Technology

- 1. What image(s) does the term "technology" bring to mind?
- 2. Do you consider yourself mechanically or technologically inclined? Why or why not?
- 3. Who and what has influenced your beliefs about this?
- 4. What does the term "computer" mean to you?

Early Use

- 5. What your first experience with a computer like?
- 6. When/how did you first really learn to use a computer? What questions and/or concerns did you have?
- 7. Who/what helped you find out what you needed to know?
- 8. Who/what hurt your ability to find out what you needed to know?
- 9. What else would have helped you find out what you needed to know?
- 10. What has been your best/worst experience with a computer?

Current use of/relationship with computers

- 11. Have your thoughts/feelings about computers changed from early experiences to present? How? Who/what has influenced this change?
- 12. How and where do you use the computer/what primarily do you use it for (work, home, work-at-home)?
- 13. Does your computer have a name?
- 14. Do you talk to the computer? Describe how you talk to it (what you say, how you say it).
- 15. Do you have a favorite joke about computers/users?
- 16. Where do you keep your home computer? Why?
- 17. How would you feel if you no longer had access to a computer? Would you miss anything? What would you miss the most? What would you not miss at all?

Computers and Gender/Personality Type

- 18. Do you think men and women use computers differently? If so, how so? If not, why not?
- 19. Does one sex/gender enjoy computers more than others?
- 20. Do you think of computers as "he," "she," or "it"? Why?
- 21. Are computers/software programs inherently designed to be more user-friendly for people who think in a certain way (e.g., linear versus non-linear, male versus female, programmer/software designer versus user)?
- 22. If so, does this design made it easier or harder for you to use the computer?

Specific Tools/Uses

Writing

- 23. Do you do any kind of writing on a regular basis?
- 24. What kind(s) if writing do you do?
- 25. Do you use the computer when you write?
- 26. If so, at what stage of the writing process do you use it (prewriting, first draft, final draft)?
- 27. Has the computer helped your writing in any way (process, final product, convenience, makes it easier)?
- 28. Has the computer hurt your writing in any way (process, final product, convenience, makes it harder)?
- 29. Do you like writing on the computer now? Would you go back to not using the computer for writing if you could?
- 30. Do you think men and women use computers differently when it comes to writing? If so, how so?

E-mail

- 31. What has your experience with e-mail been like?
- 32. Does e-mail distance people from one another in some way(s)?
- 33. Does it bring people closer in some way(s)?
- 34. Does e-mail help people communicate? How?
- 35. Does it hurt communication? How?

- 36. Describe a particularly successful or unsuccessful e-mail communication experience you've had.
- 37. Do you think women and men use e-mail differently? If so, how so?
- 38. Do women use e-mail differently with other women than with men? If so, how so?

Internet

- 39. What do you think of the Internet?
- 40. Do you use the Internet? If so, how? Chat rooms? Research? Shopping? News? What was that like?
- 41. Do you see the Internet as harmful or helpful? Why?
- 42. Do you think men and women use the Internet differently? If so, how so?