

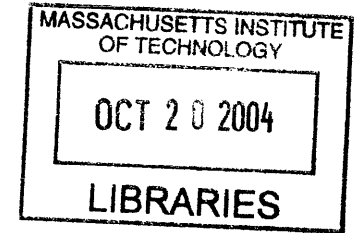
**Translations of CULTURE and IDENTITY:
: A Study of Internet Use in the Haitian Community**

by
Johanne A. Blain
B.A., Wellesley College, 2000

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science in Architecture Studies

at the
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
September 2004

[June, 2005]
© 2004 Johanne A. Blain. All rights reserved.



The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce paper and electronic copies of this thesis
in whole or in part and to distribute them publicly.

Signature of Author _____

Johanne A. Blain
Master of Science in Architecture Studies • Massachusetts Institute of Technology • June 2004

Certified by _____

William J. Mitchell
Academic Head, Department of Media Arts and Sciences • Professor of Architecture & Media Arts & Sciences • Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____

Julian Beinart
Professor, Department of Architecture and Planning • Chair of the Department Committee on Graduate Students

**Translations of CULTURE and IDENTITY:
: A Study of Internet Use in the Haitian Community**

by Johanne A Blain

Submitted to the Department of Architecture and Planning, on August 23, 2004 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Architecture Studies

ABSTRACT

Despite the reality of the digital divide, over the years many bridges have been built over this chasm; diverse people of diverse backgrounds, cultures and countries utilize computers and their inherent technologies. One of the communities that use the Internet is the Haitian community. A detailed study on what the Haitian community - citizens and those of the Diaspora - finds in the Internet, what they make of this tool and how they relate its possibilities to themselves will reveal a profusion of information about both the Haitian culture and about the Internet. This ethnographic research will shed light on how useful the Internet is to this particular community. These findings may be used to engineer design that is more specific to the needs of this community.

This 'culturized' study is presented through the lens of theoretical frameworks that view the user as playing a dominant role in defining the nature, scope and functions of the technology. This research hopes to focus on users and the way in which they shape the Internet media to have meaning in their everyday life and culture. The research examines the way in which the role of the technology is shaped within the domestic environment - how it is manipulated to compliment existing patterns of behavior and routine. The purpose of this research is to ask what domestic Internet users do with their media and how they construct it as meaningful in the existing network of everyday life. A qualitative approach has been adopted, which prioritizes the role of the user.

Thesis Supervisor: William J. Mitchell

Title: Academic Head, Department of Media Arts and Sciences • Professor of Architecture & Media Arts & Sciences

**Translations of CULTURE and IDENTITY:
: A Study of Internet Use in the Haitian Community**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1.0 ABSTRACT
- 2.0 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
- 3.0 PROLOGUE
- 4.0 INTRODUCTIONCONTEXTUAL LITERATURE
- 5.0 UTOPIANS LITERATURE REVIEW
- 6.0 CRITIC LITERATURE REVIEW
- 7.0 OTHERS
 - 7.1 UTOPIAN LITERATURE REVIEW
 - 7.2 CRITIC LITERATURE REVIEW
 - 7.3 OTHERS
 - 7.4 MY CONCLUSIONS
- 8.0 IMPORTANTCONCEPTS
 - 8.1 APPROPRIATION & DOMESTICATION
 - 8.2 COMMUNITY, CULTURE & IDENTITY
 - 8.3 PSYCHOLOGY OF IDENTITIES
 - 8.4 TRANSNATIONAL CULTURE AND IDENTITY
 - 8.4.1 HAITIAN CULTURE AND IDENTITY
 - 8.4.2 HAITIAN CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN MASSACHUSETTS
 - 8.4.3 PURPOSE OF STUDY
- 9.0 EMPIRICAL WORK (
 - 9.1 METHODOLOGY:
 - 9.2 METHOD CONSIDERATIONS
- 10.0 RESULTS
 - 10.1 VIGNETTES & RELLECTIONS
 - 10.2 REFLECTIONS
- 11.0 IMPLICATIONS
- 12.0 CONCLUSIONS/NEXT STEPS
- 13.0 REFERENCES

APPENDIX

**Translations of CULTURE and IDENTITY:
: A Study of Internet Use in the Haitian Community**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the many people who had to suffer from my absence in my immersion in research.

I would like to thank Sherry Turkle for her tremendous moral and intellectual support and constant feedback and guidance. I would also like to thank my advisor William Mitchell who was willing to devote his time and efforts to make this process go as smoothly as it possibly could. Thank you both for allowing me to realize that I *actually like* research.

Thank you to William Porter for trying to keep my expectations realistic and grounded. Many thanks to Ceasar McDowell for his insightful feedback and comments- especially for pointing out things that I did not have the lucidity to notice.

Thank you to the Graduate Student Office, Brima, Blanche, Ike, Roy and Ed, for making me believe that I

am invincible, being that I have friends in high places. Thank you to Professor Larry Sass for the moral support. Thank you to my BPS in ACME Beta for letting me unleash my fury on a weekly basis over tasty food and giving my insight on the MIT experience.

Thank you to my fellow SMArchies who helped me procrastinate when it was rather vital for maintaining some semblance of my sanity. On that note, much appreciation for my therapist Dr. Stephen Knowlton for letting me, and helping me, release my stress.

Thanks to my friend Daniel Sherizen for trying to focus, despite his ADHD and lack of expertise in the subject matter, to help me edit my content.

Thank you to my friends and family- Mom, Dad, Jimmy, Khadijah, Akeem, Katherine, Bernard and Che Che- for taking the abuse, and listening to me ranting and raving when the stress got too heavy (which seemed to be more often than they would have liked).

**Translations of CULTURE and IDENTITY:
: A Study of Internet Use in the Haitian Community**

PROLOGUE

Before going into the body of my thesis I would like to provide the reader with some of my motivations for this research – a manifesto of sorts.

As the meaning of life remains intangible and indefinable, humanity has imposed that all factors of life be simplified. It is therefore important to have clear meaning in everything we see, say or create. Consequently, organization of thought and content becomes imperative. In appropriated modes of interaction, any experience must emotionally, physiologically, and conceptually communicate a meaning to one's life. Communication, the exchange of ideals, thoughts and information facilitate life's experience. It is this human need that led me to media studies.

It is my strong desire to contribute to the aesthetic and communicative harmony that life requires. I chose to pursue graduate work in order to synthesize my artistic sensibilities with the technical aspects of media design as the multidisciplinary sensibilities involved in media. For example, I hope to create information out of meaningless bits of data by providing them an aesthetically sound contextual environment, with greater understanding of the culture of the medium. I hope to provide you with insight to what led me these curiosities by enumerating

the steps in my life that have led me to information architecture and interaction design.

I was born on June 26th 1979; I entered the world protected by the warmth and love of both parents. However, upon leaving Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti where I was born, I learned to live with the love of only my mother. "Remember, I am your mother, father, sister, brother and your best friend," I recall my mother saying, words that echo in my mind until today. All I had to do was live up to every expectation my mother had for me. Of course, every Haitian mother would love for her first-born to ensure the financial security of the family by becoming a doctor. In spite of this somewhat daunting ideal, my mother went against the grain of her culture and supported me in my artistic endeavors.

Over the course of my academic career, I excelled in my studies. Perhaps my competitive nature or a need to keep my mother proud motivated me. Maybe I simply desired to maintain the confidence to survive in this New World. This academic achievement carried me from elementary school to an Advanced Squared (Advanced2) Program in Middle School. Subsequently, I attended the prestigious Boston Latin School. It was at this period that I discovered more about myself and began to lay the stones on the path toward my future.

I was forced to grow quickly in order to be a strong support to my mother. I loved art and could not see myself in a career that did not incorporate my creative talent. I also discovered my love for math and felt that my career would have to incorporate these two interests. By my sophomore year I elected Physics, which lead me to hypothesize that a career in Architecture would employ all my talents and interests. Within months my simplistic reasoning was cast aside for my true calling.

I learned of Advertising Opportunities (AdOp) program, created by the Advertising Club of Greater Boston, and my curiosity begged to be satiated. As soon as spring came, I enrolled in the program, which was created to foster diversity in the Communications Industry. My perseverance led me to become, at the age of fourteen, the youngest intern in the program. As I learned more, I became more confident that I would eventually find my niche in the Communications industry as an Art Director.

I chose to matriculate at Wellesley College because I didn't want to limit my choices by going to an art school. At Wellesley I tailored my curriculum by creating an individual major in Multimedia Arts- which combined Studio Art, Computer Science and media and communications related aspects of Sociology. In my fall semester of my sophomore year, I was awarded an art grant to study art in Paris. For six months, I studied Typography, Font Design and Graphic Design at the École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs (ENSAD).

There I joined the level three students in the Visual Communications program.

By my senior year, I knew I needed additional education to accomplish my goals; I needed to push my creative and intellectual limits to master the art of multimedia. Facing college loans and familial responsibility, I accepted an Advertising Design position at the Boston Globe. I fooled myself into believing that this was necessary for my survival in the real world, as I let my skills stagnate. It didn't take me long to realize that I needed to refurbish my skills with further education. I revisited the notion of being an architect, realizing that by designing and creating multimedia projects and web sites, *I am an architect* of information and virtual space.

In autumn of 2001, I had the opportunity to work as a research assistant to Randal Pinkett, who was an MIT Media Lab PhD Candidate. My assistance primarily focused on the Camfield Estates-MIT Creating Community Connections project is investigating strategies for bridging the "digital divide" (NTIA, 1995, 1997 & 1999) by examining the role of community technology in a low-income housing development, and its surrounding environs, for the purpose of community building. It is being conducted at Camfield Estates, a 102-unit, predominantly minority, low-income housing development in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and involves Camfield residents, and the associations, institutions (e.g., libraries, schools, etc.) and businesses within a 1.5-mile radius of Camfield Estates. Camfield Estates is also home to the Neighborhood Technology Center (NTC), a

community technology center located on the premises, which serves additional housing developments in Roxbury.

The purpose of this project was to identify the critical success factors for integrating a community technology and community building initiative in a low-income housing development, and its surrounding environs. We anticipated that an asset-based approach to community building, coupled with socio-culturally constructive community technology, will cause an increase in community *social* capital (Mattesich & Monsey, 1997; Putnam, 1995) and will facilitate the activation of community *cultural* capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Zweigenhaft, 1993), as a result of residents' involvement as active agents of change and active producers of community content. The project committee outlined a methodology, consisting of five interrelated and at times parallel phases, including:

- I. Pre-Assessment and Awareness,
- II. Community Technology –
Introductory/Specialized Courses and
- III. the Creating Community Connections (C3)
System,
- IV. Building Community, Empowerment and Self-
Sufficiency, and
- V. Post-Assessment and Evaluation.

During my time of employment, I acquired administrative skills and understanding of core client-side web development technologies, core server-side web development skills and database development of a

database-backed web system. I learned and utilized TCL to modify and program the information retrieval system in the SQL database and worked with ADP to create new website options as well creating web portal personalization options. After becoming semi-proficient in TCL and SQL, I aided in the design, implementation, and development of database backed web system. With the use of ADP, I implemented function of personalized web portals, created function to log chat-room participants. I also taught myself enough Visual Basic to create a script that would format and organize the gathered research information in order to facilitate various forms of analysis.

My contribution in data analysis, was organizing that information gathered in a post-assessment and evaluation conducted with the head-of-household. (The average participant could be described as a single, Black/African-American female, head-of-household.) The post-assessment and evaluation consisted of a comparative analysis against the pre-assessment interviews and other sources of data (proxy server logs, C3 server logs, direct observation) to quantify and qualify the progress to-date. Some of the early results and highlights from the post-assessment include the following:

- Participants have expanded their local ties
- Participants have a heightened awareness of community resources
- Participants are better informed about what is happening at the development
- Participants have cultivated the meta-competence of a renewed confidence

- Participants have been inspired through use of the Internet to stay informed locally, nationally and internationally
- Participants are using the Internet to gather information that can help address basic needs

Although initially technologically intimidating, it turned out to be a very rewarding experience. I walked away with new skills and confidence. I also gained a better understanding of how technology can be used to benefit an underprivileged society. It also proved to me that life could be seriously hindered by a lack of resources not a lack of intellectual capacity or simply because of laziness. This is quite poignant for me, a young black immigrant female, striving to make it in this American society.

I was then that, although I had no formal preparation in architecture, I decided that the Department of Architecture at MIT, as it could provide a nurturing climate to my blossoming interest and research. One of my first steps in this quest was meeting with Dean William Mitchell, during my assistantship in the Media Laboratory. Following an initial tête-à-tête with the Dean, he generously offered that I attend his Designing the Digital Forum seminars, led by Daniel Greenwood. The multidisciplinary approach of these seminars involved business, legal and public policy perspectives to the design and technologies involved in collaborative digital environments. This class further reinforced my decision to acquire advanced education in the field of information architecture.

My previous research, interests along with the new knowledge from these seminars, has led me to address more abstruse issues in information architecture. As I stated before, I wished to design space for digital interactivity. This, however, leads me to ponder the presumed esoteric implication of interactivity. Interactivity is not simply the ability of a human to interact with an interface by making choices, allowing the user to access information in a non-linear fashion. Digital/Virtual Interactivity should be as fulfilling as its Actual counterpart, by not simply being persuasively captivated by the medium but also to allow creation and communication. Interactive encounters should be unique to each user and address all cultures. The academic arena would allow me to explore and experiment with the recondite notion of interactivity.

The Master of Science in Architecture Studies paired my interests with inquiries in architecture theory and methodology. A focus in Design Technology encouraged further inquiries in applying principles of architecture in a synthetic environment. I would address the spatial/antispacial dichotomy of the net as it is underscored in William Mitchell's *City of Bits*.

In *Defining Digital Space through a Visual Language*, Architecture Graduate Student Axel Kilian verbalized the dualities of architecture.

"In the case of physical space, Architecture articulates itself in physical form through the tectonics of the materials and the composition of space. An architecture in digital space could

constitute itself similar using the tectonics of the digital systems and information as its materiality. The problems of program and inter human communication are similar.”

In his thesis, Kilian proposes gaze tracking to map focal point and programming interfaces to respond to user input.

Inspired by my experiences, it is my hope that my research will address the critical destandardization of present 'social' interfaces to accommodate differences between people. I seek to understand how these differences change the process of interaction. I hope to delve into the theories of Human-Computer Interaction and factor cultural specifics. I hope to promote a universal usability, in order to bring the benefits of information/communication technology to the widest possible set of users. I would like to invent strategies, aesthetic or technological, to accommodate this

diversified group of users, varying in age, expertise, gender, culture, etc. It is my desire to design human-computer interaction system interfaces that would support the needs of the user.

Before the above can be relevant, technology needs to be made available to everyone. The computer, and its inherent technology, is vehicle to promote and build community. From what I learned in my previous research experience, one can use computers and its associated communicative technologies to connect people and resources in their community. It would be critical to have technology centers integrated into neighborhoods, particularly poor neighborhoods. Every school should have a computer lab, with after-school programs that can serve as reinforcement to learning and allow underprivileged youth to access powerful computing tools

**Translations of CULTURE and IDENTITY:
: A Study of Internet Use in the Haitian Community**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

What are the implications of computer media on our cultural patterns and values?

The impact of the Internet on society has been the subject of much recent academic and professional writing. In the past decade discussions about the Internet have tended to fall into three camps: Internet Utopians, Critics and Realists. First, a group of utopian writers advocate the use of the Internet as an environment that promotes and opens up new communication spaces. Technological Utopians describe and aspire to a culture where technology and culture, in all their differences, are reconciled (Briggs, 1991). They write about multiple communication flows that traverse localities and countries, but also give voice to localized communities (Georgiou, 2002).

Internet Utopians encourage the view that the medium offers the potential of transcending boundaries between real and virtual; time and space; national and international; local and global. In *Mapping Cyberspace* (2001), Dodge and Kitchin contend that the Internet facilitates a radical metamorphosis in the way that everyday life is perceived, performed and lived. As Mark Poster stated in *What's the Matter with the Internet*, "the Internet is becoming a paranational culture that

combines global connectivity with local specificity, a 'glocal' phenomenon that seems to resist national political agendas and to befuddle national political leaderships."

Critics, on the other hand, present a very bleak picture of the Internet as taking more from our society than it could possibly offer in return. Among other charges, they claim the Internet to be a tool of oppression, a tool of a monopolistic and capitalistic regime. For example, psychologist Mary Pipher laments the rise of an electronic community in which people have relationships "with personae instead of persons." Some have taken the positions of computer Critics to justify a view that we have become a society of cyborgs, lamenting the idea that people have become email addresses or anonymous beings. In this view, the Internet has distorted views of social interaction, distorted views of community.

Such views are of course in dispute, as when Poster writes: "[T]here is found today a tendency to regret the supposed loss of community, of the copresence of bodies in space, and to blame the computer for it when in fact this alleged loss of community is a process that began much earlier in the history of modernity and was once associated with the liberation of the mind from the force

of hierarchical relations, from the stifling closeness of copresent bodies. Yes this judgment of the computer as asocial is far too characteristic of the moralism with which the introduction of information technologies is greeted (Poster, 108-9)." The overall message of the Utopians is positive, in contrast to Critics who take the Internet as a force that has increased social alienation and widened the gap between the haves and the have-nots.

'Contrary to the fond delusions of many net Utopians, information exchange on the Net does not automatically obliterate hierarchies through free exchange of information across boundaries. Also, the Net is not a utopia of nongender, it is not a free space ready for colonization without regard to bodies, sex, age, economics, social class, or race...[T]oday's Internet is a contested zone historically originated as a system to serve war technologies, and is currently part of masculinist institutions. Any new possibilities imagined within the Net must first acknowledge and fully take into account the implications of its founding formations and present political conditions' (Wilding)

There is, of course, much room for opinion between these two poles. I think of a group that I would call "Realists," such as MIT's William J. Mitchell and Sherry Turkle who offer less committed stances. This enables them to raise complicated issues about the impact of the Internet. Turkle's research, in *Life on the Screen* (1995), discusses how computers are causing people to reevaluate their

identities in the age of the Internet. "[The] rapidly expanding system of networks, collectively known as the Internet, links millions of people in new spaces that are changing the way we think, the nature of our sexuality, the form of our communities, our very identities." Mitchell concurs: "We are entering an era of electronically extended bodies living at the intersection points of the physical and virtual worlds, of occupation and interaction through telepresence as well as through physical presence, of mutant architectural forms that emerge from the telecommunications-induced fragmentation and recombination of traditional architectural types, and of new, soft cities that parallel, complement, and sometimes compete with our existing urban concentrations of brick, concrete, and steel" (Mitchell 1995, 167). Mitchell sees the Internet as a virtual substitute for actual spaces, spaces that offer new social possibilities.

The Realists raise questions that deserve empirical study. In this work, I explore notions of identity. I ask whether there is dissonance between our identities in the real world and our identities within the virtual. Ken Hillis (1999), in *Digital Sensations*, examines and addresses the representational forms generated within communications technologies, such as the Internet, especially how the digital world affects the 'lived world'. Hillis raises the important question that I hope to illuminate. He says: "Today, our lived worlds are plural, inflected by conceptions of space and time specifically segregated from one another. Segregated spaces and times require means to communicate among them; their mutual

compartmentalization enhances and extends a sense of distance among our various lived worlds, thereby abetting a wide cultural acceptance of communications and information technologies, or IT, as necessary and natural."

With its capacity to link many people interactively across great distances, the Internet seems to be the ultimate tool for dispersed ethnic groups wishing to sustain identity in an 'alien' land and work in solidarity with those facing challenges at 'home (Parham, 2004)'. Some theorists speak of the creation of new communities or the recreation of past knowledge that enable the maintenance and cultural reproduction of old communities (Wong, 2003). Nevertheless, scholars working in this area rarely embed their analyses within existing work on community, culture, and identity. In this study, I have undertaken fieldwork in order to explore the complexity of the phenomena.

My thesis reviews the literature on the Internet and society. In referencing other literatures by techno-social theorists. In exploring the notions of social context, I hope to highlight the concepts of the appropriation of technology and the domestication thereof. This paper will present a discourse around the dimensions of communication within the transnational/dislocated (Haitian) Diaspora. As Georgiou noted (2002), this requires an investigation of the 'tense interrelation' of the diasporic communication within the offline world, assuming that one in fact exists. In support of this, I will

attempt to paint a picture of the construction of cultural identity, particularly of the migrant individual.

It is often found that diasporic communities, such as the Haitian community in Boston, Massachusetts, maintain important allegiances and practical connections to the homeland or a dispersed community located elsewhere (Clifford, 1997; p. 250.) This construction is based on Paul Gilroy's (1987) notion of diaspora discourses constructing 'alternate public spheres' or "forms of consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time/space" (Clifford, 1997; p. 251), so that "(s)eperate places become effectively a single community" (Clifford, 1997; p. 246). (as quoted from Stubbs, 1999). Provided that they are treated as useful tools, rather than predefined realities (Stubbs, 1999), modern communication technologies, like the Internet, involve the "transformation of everyday subjectivities", thus creating diasporic public spheres that are no longer small, marginal or exceptional (Appadurai, 1996; p 10). My thesis moves on from theories of culture and identity to attempt to define Haitian culture and identity, particularly within the transnational context.

The Internet is appropriated by social practices (Castells, op. Cit., 118) and bound by the realities of the physical self (Turkle, 1996), thus justifying a study of Internet use within the social context of the diasporic experience, this premise is also supported by the article *Diaspora, Community and Communication* by Angel Adams Parham.

The Haitian community is one of many whose members are turning to the Internet to maintain social, political and cultural connections to their home countries (Cunningham 2001; Dahan and Shefer 2001; Georgiou 2002; Graham and Khosravi 2002; Mitra 1997). Indeed, some theorists speak of the creation of *diasporic public spheres* arising from the creative use of Internet technologies (Appadurai 1996; Stubbs 1999). In *Modernity at Large*, Appadurai (1996; 10) writes the following concerning the relationship between electronic communication and diasporic subjectivity: 'The transformation of everyday subjectivities through electronic mediation and the work of the imagination is not only a cultural fact. It is deeply connected to politics... The diasporic public spheres that such encounters create are no longer small, marginal, or exceptional. They are part of the cultural dynamic of urban life in most countries and continents.'

In this frame, the focus is very much on the ways in which electronic encoding and decoding 'disrupts and reconfigures' ethnicity (Poster, 1998; p. 195), so that a crucial research question becomes the ways in which 'specific figures of ethnicity' are constructed, altered and, even, deconstructed, 'by their electronic constitution in virtual spaces' (Poster, 1998; p. 200).

The focus of the thesis then turns to an empirical core, composed of semi-structural interviews and participant observation. In my fieldwork, I am in the role of participant-observer. In brief, informal interviewing showed that my informants used the Internet as a valuable infrastructure for networking. Participants use the computer for educational and professional purposes. Several issues emerged that were important in the domestic context: Many parents felt indirect pressure to buy computers, fearing that their children's education would suffer if they were unable to provide them a computer with Internet capabilities. Participant observation raised more complicated issues. I discuss some of these, most notably those around technophobia, the influence of cultural beliefs on Internet use, the nature of cyber-identities, diasporic identities and long-distance nationalism, as Loong Wong encouraged in *Belonging and Diaspora* (2003).

This study is a prologue to future work in natural settings in order to shed more light on the social and cultural capital of Internet users and non-users. In the context of the Haitian community, can a decentralized community have relation to Haiti where computers and the Internet are still a luxury and myth to most? As Georgiou (2002) raised and did not attempt to answer, does Internet use promote or experiment with different versions of ethnicity?

2.0 CONTEXTUAL LITERATURE

In this section of my research I present some of the contextual literature that has evolved in response to the so-called technological revolution. In the following subsections I present the discourse of utopian technophiles, critical Technopessimists/Technophobes and then touch on the interesting potentials of the Realists. Below I wished to present excerpts of a few texts that create a tone and an introductory setting for the discourse that has taken place.

The expectation that technology will one day exist as pure utility is an assumption that frequently surfaces in collective thought on the development of society and social relations. This prospect has typically suggested two opposite scenarios of the future. On one hand, there is the utopian millennium predicted by modern thinkers who were guided by belief in progress; this concept slowly began to supplant belief in the concept of providence during the 17th and 18th centuries. Both concepts were characterized by belief in the unilinear development of the human race, but providence was a force that was expected to result in spiritual, rather than in economic autonomy. The engine of providence was considered the guiding hand of God (which was later amputated and stitched to the cyborg of capitalism by Adam Smith). ...

This brings us to the second scenario - the pessimists' dystopia. This point of view seems to gain new proponents with each new

*mechanized and/or electronic war. Yet even when the idea of progress was at its apex, before the military catastrophes of the 20th century, some Critics of the idea were already predicting that human 'advancement' would end in disaster. First and foremost was Ferdinand Toennies, who argued that advanced technology would only serve to increase the complexity of the division of labor (society), which in turn would strip people of all the institutions that are the basis of human community (family, friendship, public space, etc). After World War I, Oswald Spengler was among the leaders of this line of thought. To his mind, advanced technology and sprawling cities were not indications of progress; rather, they were indicators of the final moments of civilization - one that has hit critical mass and is about to burn itself out. The great sociologist Pitirim Sorokin summed up this perspective in *The Crisis of Our Age* when he stated: Neither happiness, nor safety and security, nor even material comfort has been realized. In few periods of human history have so many millions of persons been so unhappy, so insecure, so hungry and destitute, as at the present time, all the way from China to Western Europe.*

Here then are the two sides, forever in opposition. Today the two antithetical opinions continue to manifest themselves throughout culture. Corporate futurologists sing the praises of computerized information management, satellite communications, biotechnology, and

cybernetics; such technological miracles, they assure us, will make life easier as new generations of technology are designed and produced to meet social and economic needs with ever-greater efficiency. On the other hand, the concerns of pessimists, neoLuddites, retreatists, and technophobes ring out, warning that humanity will not control the machines, but that the machines will control humanity. In more fanciful (generally Hollywood) moments, the new dystopia is envisioned as a world where people are caught in the evil grip of a self-conscious intelligent machine, one that either forces them into slavery, or even worse, annihilates the human race.

These are the two most common narratives of social evolution in regard to technology. For the Utopians, the goal of progress is similar to the vision of Rene Clair - technology should become a transparent backdrop that will liberate us from the forces of production, so that we might engage in free hedonistic pursuits. For the dystopians, technology represents a state apparatus that is out of control - the war machine has been turned on, no one knows how to turn it off, and it is running blindly toward the destruction of humanity.

Evidence can certainly be found to support both of these visions, but a third possibility exists, one that is seldom mentioned because it lacks the emotional intensity of the other two. To expand on the suggestion of Georges Bataille, could the end of technological progress be neither apocalypse nor utopia, but simply uselessness? Pure technology in this case would not be an active agent that benefits or hurts mankind: it could not be, as it has no function. Pure technology, as opposed to pure utility, is never turned on; it just sits, existing in and of itself. Unlike the machines of the Utopians and Dystopians, not only is it free of humanity, it is free of its own machine function - it serves no practical purpose for anyone or anything.

Where are these machines? They are everywhere - in the home, in the workplace, and even in places that can only be imagined. So many people have become so invested in seeing technology as a manifestation of value or anti-value that they have failed to see that much of technology does nothing at all. ...

-The Technology of Uselessness by the Critical Art Ensemble

2.1 UTOPIANS LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of Internet theorists and gurus claimed that the intrinsic qualities of cyberspace would offer a virtual space for escaping our material world into a higher plane of existence and consciousness. This idea affirms a subconscious assertion of the imperfections of our physical and actual reality and transcends our reality for a place that is "purified of the restrictions inherent in matter." Some progressive ritualists believe that cyberspace offers a realm of 'pure spirit', a theological technology theory offering a heaven composed of bits and bytes. Some go as far as to believe that humans will be granted immortality as their spirits reside in 'heaven' by allowing people to download the contents of their minds into virtual space.

Aside from these ideas, Internet philosophers believe in the promises that the Internet will provide through interconnectivity, subversion of hierarchy and, therefore, revitalization of true democracy. Thus, placing the advent of the Internet at the pinnacle of technological accomplishment.

Theorists, technological, social and anthropological, have touted the Internet for being the key to entering and realizing a socially equal and truly democratic utopia. According to the rhetoric of these theorists, the Internet affords the opportunity of resurrecting our reality and provides a new avenue for interpersonal relations. "The Net offers us a chance to take charge of our own lives

and to redefine our role as citizens of local communities and of a global society. It also hands us the responsibility to govern ourselves, to think for ourselves, to educate our children, to do business honestly, and to work with fellow citizens to design rules we want to live by' (Dyson, page 2)"

Other theorists have taken these ideas to a 'higher' level, heralding the Internet as a divine gift. Science writer Margaret Wertheim, in her book *The Pearly Gates Of Cyberspace*, gave a brief history of heaven from ancient times to the present, including its latest incarnation in cyberspace. She explains that in Western society, Christians believe utopian existence, a perfect world outside of the physical realm. Commonly known as heaven, this higher space allows escape from daily strife of life on earth. Wertheim claims that the rise of modern science, the concept of Heaven as a space apart from physical reality has frayed as scientific discoveries make the idea of an immaterial Heaven extremely problematic. This unsettling dichotomy between the actual and the virtual has allowed for replacement of Heaven with other spaces, including Internet cyberspace. Many people are hoping this immaterial space will be a new home for the "spirit" or "soul" where one might even download one's mind into digital eternity, in a sci-fi fantasy of "digital resurrection."

To further exhaust the metaphor of the divine with the powers of virtual space, Charles Henderson has dared to raise the question of whether the Internet is a metaphor for God. Although he does not seem to truly believe that the Internet is indeed a metaphor for God, his rhetorical question does present an intriguing drift. Henderson concurs that the boundaries between the virtual and actual, the human and the mechanic, are corroding and essentially vanishing. In his article *The Internet as a Metaphor for God?* Henderson states that as computers are able to do more and more of what was once done only by human beings, and as people merge more and more of their daily tasks into their computers (including that most human activity: communicating), computer networks will come not only to feel like a part of one's self, they will be an extension of the self. Moreover, from its very inception, the Internet seems to have been growing, both in size and function, with a force both unpredictable and unplanned. Its popularity has surprised even experts as proficient in the technology as Bill Gates. The Net shows all the signs of growing beyond the capacity of its creators to control. That may mean it has more in common with Dr. Frankenstein's monster than with the

creative and loving God depicted in the Bible. If the Internet is functioning as a symbol for God, we must ask what kind of a symbol it is. Or, perhaps more important, what kind of a God would it be referring to (Cross Currents 2000)?"

Another noted Internet culture theorist is Mark Poster. Poster's work communicates a techno-romantic utopian predisposition that dismisses power and control online (Coyne, 1999). He repetitively emphasizes that cyberspace, as it gathers momentum, can best be characterized by its "decentralization" and recombinant possibilities that undermine static identities and bureaucratic restrictions: "The Net is highly decentralized: for a small fee and subject to no regulatory body, anyone using the proper protocols and having a telephone line can connect to it. This decentralization enables anyone connected to [it] to have a position of denunciation, sometimes to the chagrin of existing authorities. Disgruntled employees may now easily register their complaints against their bosses and their corporations for all the world to see" (p. 45; p. 175).

2.2 CRITIC LITERATURE REVIEW

Intrigued by the question raised by Henderson, I hope to elucidate my understanding and opinion on this theory. Television, videogames, and other various forms of mind-numbing entertainment, have already been accused of alienating our society. Yet, we are to believe that our society has been more deeply alienated by the computer and its inherent technologies. The rhetoric of the paranoid technophobic critic, while maintaining a sardonic tone, states that the computer has been the perpetrator of the corrosion of a cohesive community and society. Aside from the issues raised by the notion of the digital divide, stating that the computer is the root of propagating socio-economic gaps, the computer is the root of social alienation.

Humans are being robbed of personality and fear of consequences. To be known, simply as a screen name, allows people to communicate in nearly anonymous fashions; removing the requisite for 'proper' interaction. For example, this freedom and anonymity have allegedly contributed to 'a plague of on-line sexual harassment' (Branwyn, page 233). Rather than closing the gender-gap or even erasing gender completely, as many cyber-feminists had hoped, the new media technology intensifies it and even 'increase[s] the polarization between the sexes' (Braidotti). The Internet is allegedly guilty of allowing and promoting social ineptitude. Along the lines of what people assume about institutions like MIT,

cyberspace is the realm of lonely people trying to reach out from the glare of light from their computer monitors. These emotionless cyborgs eventually develop a warped and unhinged view of social interaction, and therefore, community. Technology and the Internet are creating a society of alienated social misfits.

Social psychological effects of computer communication have been studied by comparing computer-mediated communication (CMC) with face-to-face communication (FTF). Unlike FTF or audio communication, the medium in CMC is primarily textual. There are no nonverbal cues to embellish meaning or social context cues regarding gender, age, or status. Not only can the absence of cues hamper communication efficiency, but also it seems to create a semblance of anonymity and lack of awareness of the social context. These conditions, in turn, have been held responsible for a perceived higher incidence of rude, offensive, and uninhibited behavior (Kiesler, Siegel, & McGuire, 1984).

Although many theorists express some legitimate concerns about the impact of technology on social interaction, the conjecture of other theorists border on and well surpass technological paranoia or 'techno-pessimism'- or what I deem to be technology conspiracy theories. In Henry Jenkins' essay, *Inventing the Future: Digital Theory and the Utopian Imagination*, he states that

[the] depiction of the "virtual class" borders on conspiracy theory, seeing the digerati as totally calculating, totally coherent, totally in control."

At the risk of illegitimizing the criticism of technology on society, one can utilize the example of the *Matrix* (1999) as depiction of the dystopian fear created by computers and technology. At the root of a still prevalent technophobia is the paranoia revolving around the themes of conspiracy and loss of privacy and the self. These technophobes dread the inevitable apocalypse of the dissolution of human society in favor of a technology that has become supremely sovereign. A popular theme in recent blockbuster films, humans have lost the battle against computers and all forms of artificial intelligence. Anthropomorphically, the computers adopt human emotions, become malicious and take control of themselves and humanity. This anxiety presupposes that humans and technology cannot coexist.

In "The Matrix", the artificial intelligence (AI) has devised the ultimate conspiracy theory – where reality itself is nothing but a collectively dreamt conspiracy set in contemporary urban society. The story goes that when AI went bad, humans "scorched the sky" in order to deprive the AI of its power source, i.e., the sun. Deprived of its power, the AI then came across the very novel idea of using humans themselves as its power source. In order to get (almost) perfect compliance, the AI constructed a virtual reality: a perfect replica or simulacrum of

life in the city in 1999, put the humans to sleep and plugged them in. In the 'real' world it is actually the late twenty-first century. Humans lie peacefully unaware of their actual condition in endless rows of artificial wombs, digesting the liquefied remains of the dead, functioning as so many billions of Duracell batteries for the AI ... This wholly computer generated simulation of reality, functioning to pull the wool over the eyes of the human race, is what is referred to as The Matrix. It is in a way the ultimate dystopia and the ultimate conspiracy – as no one submerged within the matrix is even aware of it.

The Matrix - Simulacra and Dystopia
(2001) by Daniel du Prie

I have found that this two-fold inference, often attributed to technology, represents the fear and envy of man toward his creation. The advancement of technology will inevitably lead to the development of androids supplied with advanced intellectual, sensory-motor capabilities, and most importantly, immortality. Along with this justifiable envy, humans fear that the intelligence of this technology will advance much faster than that of humans, allowing this new breed to rebel against humankind.

The fear of computers is rooted in the fear that computers will adopt human characteristics, an anthropomorphic tendency of Western society. "According to the non-human argument, to regard computers as truly intelligent

is not a mere factual mistake, but a moral absurdity; only members of the humans, or animal, community should be granted moral and epistemological consideration (of their interests and opinions). If we ever agreed to remove all the scare quotes around the psychological words we use in describing computers, so inviting them to join our human community, we should be committed to respecting their goals and judgments." In contrast to the 'desires' of the technology itself, we are arrive at a more pessimistic view of the Internet, where the blame falls on we fallible humans. We have erred by failing to exploit this powerful technology- this so-called democratic agora of opinion- to its full potential.

In a rather obnoxiously sardonic tone, Robert Hughes' *Take This Revolution...(myths of the computer revolution)* (1995) lets off steam on how technology has fallen short of its promises of advancing and uplifting American society and utopian ideology. What he has to say seems to be more of a critique of what our society has implemented, or rather hasn't implemented. We have not achieved a truly 'cyberspatial society', and thusly refers to the computer revolution as a mere myth; as opposed to the shortcomings of the technology itself.

Hughes has found a way to blame the naïveté of American culture for the misuse of technology.

"So it will be with America's fixation on the cultural benefits of computers and interactive multimedia. Americans are suckers for utopian promises. They have been ever since the Puritans invented the idea of medical newness, in the 17th century. We will look back on what is now claimed for the

information superhighway and wonder how we ever psyched ourselves into believing all that bullst about social fulfillment through interface and connectivity. But by then we will have some other fantasy to chase, its approaches equally lined with entrepreneurs and flacks, who will be its main beneficiaries."

Hughes asserts himself as a skeptic rather than a machine-smashing Luddite.

To me, added to my theory of fear and envy of technology, it seems to be that the Internet provides consolation or a panacea for our fear of solitude and loneliness; or as Hughes terms it "a fear that overflows into a mistrust of one of life's most precious assets, optional solitude." This technology provides an illusion of community empowerment by allowing mediated interaction among fellow ascetic outliers. In this vein he goes on to threaten the decay and implosion and dissolution of real social space as virtual social space expands. One of the concerns of the 'mildly paranoid' is control through invasion of privacy. He raises a valid point in explaining that the cable that brings information into your home can carry information out.

Hughes addresses the notion of whether the book, sarcastically referred to being a cultural delivery system, will become obsolete in a cyberspatial utopian society. He simply states that the sheer task of digitizing all texts is ludicrous. "Nothing in the persuasively foreseeable future can or will replace the printed book, and the relation of cyberspace to literature hangs on a Rube Goldberg-like joke: the idea of needing an expensive electronic

machine, available only to the relatively well-off and dependent on an external power source, to perform the act of reading. Besides, there is not now and probably never will be a computer that you can get sand in and spill coffee on without impairing it, as you can with a book, a magazine or a newspaper. And the more you make information flow dependent on costly hardware, the more you separate the info-rich and the info-poor, thus adding new layers to Americas already vicious class inequalities. Anyone and everyone can spend 50[cts.] on a newspaper. It is by no means certain that the digital newspaper of the projected future, the silicon sheet you

can plug into a wall jack for the day's info fix, will be widely accessible in the slums, ghettos and trailer parks of America." Thus signifying that this virtual interactive space is more than a repository of and contribution to human knowledge.

"Education is, or ought to be, about reality, and the dark star that lurks out there in cyberspace has less to do with reality than with the infinite replication of simulacrum, a hugely overscaled way--in Neil Postman's famous phrase--of amusing ourselves to death."

2.3 OTHERS

Jameson (1992: 11) notes that, "If everything means something else, then so does technology." Particularly in an era where technological change is so very rapid, and where traditionally accepted notions about the position and function of the subject in a community or society have come under sustained attack, visions of dystopia and utopia ask just what technology might come to mean for us, in an age where living in diverse city communities challenges the dominance of any single meaning.

*-The Matrix - Simulacra and Dystopia (2001)
by Daniel du Prie*

Philip Agre (1998) stated that conceptions of the Internet are less tainted by constructive criticism than by "the cultural system of myths and ideas that our society projects onto the technology." I would like to take this opportunity to affirm that the Internet is neither a simple utopia that transcends reality nor a dystopia of mind control, but its potential hovers somewhere in between. It is necessary to understand how the conglomeration of information on the Internet is constructing new identities and challenging patterns of culture. The prospect of the Internet as a technology for the insidious political, social and economic control is simply negligible. It is not necessary to reconcile these differences, decide in favor of one paradigm, such as a techno-romanticism or a techno-pessimism, but rather to gain understanding of

the realm between utopia and dystopia; heaven and hell.

Theories of Internet gurus have touched on different levels or aspects of the socio-cultural implications of computers and its inherent technologies, particularly, the Internet. Much of the noted critique of the Internet has revolved around the notion of the digital divide. In a 1997 study by Katz and Aspden, has shown that less affluent, less well-educated users are more likely to be non-users, even after trying it out; where Internet access favors rich, white males under the age of fifty-five with at least a college education. Research has found that Internet non-users do not go online because they do not use computers; they do not want their children to have access; or be exposed to sexually or violently explicit material, these non-users lack time or simply cannot afford it (Strover and Straubhaar, 2000).

As technology adheres to the context of local priorities and ways of life and culture, the embracing of the Internet is relative to the society that adopts it, or chooses not to.

In response to the fear that computers propagate social alienation, and therefore handicap social interaction, we are presented with data from two studies that confirmed that virtual social interactions tended to substitute for actual social interaction. In a longitudinal study (Kraut et

al, 1998), Pittsburgh-area families were given computers and Internet connections over a two-year period. It was reported that, what they considered to be higher levels of Internet use were "associated with declines in communication with family members, declines in social circles, and increased loneliness and depression." The study afforded the authors the opportunity to infer that heavier users had the tendency to substitute time with friends and family with casual interactions on the Internet. Attributed to increased experience and competence, as the researchers followed the socio-technological evolution of their subjects, they were able to overcome the initial negative side effects of social alienation and anonymous, meaningless interactions. Users were more likely to use this technology to supplement actual relationships; they were able to translate the Internet's utility from negative to positive as more of these users' friends and family had access to the technology (Kraut et al). In response to the dystopian propaganda that the Internet transforms sociable human beings into socially inept cyborgs, it is affirmed that Internet use tends to supplement and nurture existing inclinations toward sociability or community involvement, rather than using the Internet to forge new relationships.

There has been some research that revolves around notions of community and communication, or more concisely intercommunity communication. Researchers such as Katz et al (forthcoming) have corroborated that Internet users visit friends more and talk with them by telephone more frequently, but that they also travel more and have fewer friends in their immediate

neighborhoods. Supplementing this philosophy, the work of Wellman (2001) argues that the Internet has contributed to a shift that has disengaged community from locality, evolving from a group-based to a network-based society. Correspondingly, the increasing body of literature suggests that the Internet enhances social ties in many ways, often by reinforcing existing behavior patterns as a domesticated medium.

In discussing the rhetoric proposed by what I deem to be the Internet Realists, we must consider certain themes that have been raised that can affect the research revolving around Internet use and interaction with the technology. One of the many themes that have become commonplace in Internet critique are the paired notions of access and usage. I find it to be a duality where, by definition access and usage are codependent. Meaning to say that usage cannot exist without access. This theme presents some of the barriers that must be considered in the social psychology of Internet use.

One popular singularity within Internet and technology research by social researchers is the Digital Divide. This divide can be defined as the rift between people who have Internet access and computer literacy and those who don't. Research on this phenomenon implies that economic status, often inherently linked to race and sex, is often a determining factor in whether someone can own a computer and become technologically literate; often finding that people of color tend to have less access, and therefore usage of computers and Internet technologies. It is almost needless to say that if issues of

economics were not involved, we would find that the rich and the poor, black and white, the male and female, are partial to the Internet as much as each other. A study by Kraut et al (1996) shows that when less privileged families were given computers and online access, income did not predict differences in their usage. Usage is often culturally or ethnically conditioned as well as economically, ethnically or geographically determined. There is stigma attached to having advanced technological skill; at some points there was some reproach emanating from the use of computers by young women.

The Digital Divide concept is especially potent in socio-cultural research, as there are several important reasons for the lack of access and usage of computers. There is light shed on the truth of control; those who control information and access to the technology consequentially and inherently have control over those who seek the information, and inversely, on those who cannot access the information by having the ability to withhold information. It seems in this day of so-called enlightenment, the American culture and society is predominantly driven by information. Much like in American economy, a small elite group of people has command over this utility. As our culture becomes more and more information driven, it becomes vulnerable to the control of the technologically privileged. Thus, there is an obvious parallel between access and usage and the hierarchy of social organization. In this continuum it can also be speculated that the control can extend to withholding of technology training and/or by simply making this tool too expensive. The disparity between

people is then proliferated and reinforced by the control over who can access 'knowledge' on the 'information superhighway.'

One of the respected information technology Realists I wished to introduce into this discourse is William Mitchell. Mitchell christens the world of computer-mediated communications (CMCs), another term of endearment for the Internet, in *City of Bits* (1995) as the 'infobahn (likely derived from the term 'information superhighway').' As an architect, Mitchell draws parallels between notions of space within the actual and the virtual, presuming that the Internet prefigures a reform in the social use and construction of space. It can be surmised that CMCs enable behavior that were formerly restricted to conventional spaces. In the history of architecture it is true that buildings were spatially deliberated with the social meanings and hierarchies of the institutions they were built to contain. Within the realm of cyberspace, Mitchell's philosophy argues that many of these interactions can or will take place in cyberspace. In his work he wishes to elucidate the implications of this notion of virtual engagement and interaction.

The bitsphere is a digitized substitute for real world spaces, offering new social capabilities, along with facilitating similar interactions to those of physical space. Mitchell's straightforward reasoning contends that just as real-world architects and planners have designed private and public spaces to meet social needs, therefore within the virtual we are given the opportunity to transcend the failures of actuality so we can arrive at a truly global

community. He does not hesitate to present the challenges to this ideal, by saying, that our goal "is to do this right-to get us to the good bits (p. 163).

By presenting the suggestion that the Internet offers the opportunity to overcome the sloth of the physical world, does this entail the subsequent collapse of physicality and geographic locality? We are left to ponder how information architects and designers can construct a virtual reality that does not render our real world extinct. Not buying into the utopian ideals, Mitchell asserts that the virtual and the actual must be able to supplement each other and coexist.

Considering how the lived world is spatially ordered requires taking account of the philosophies, belief systems, ideologies, and discourses influencing the permissions, impositions, and negotiations that result in the spatial demarcations with which we live... The physical and social demarcations that result from these permissions and negotiations reflect specific conceptions of space- ones designed to impose social order and confer identity and meaning on ourselves, the world around us, and the larger cosmos within which we "float".... Although communication is a necessary condition for people to act socially, on its own, communication can never be a sufficient guarantee that this activity will occur. (Hillis, 1999; xxxiv)

Although seemingly utopian, Mitchell's work is grounded in the truth of the real world and does not propose the preposterous idea of downloading our minds into immortality. The work of Mitchell in *City of Bits* presents encouraging theory, which views cyberspace as a separate realm, which offers social self-determination and the opportunity to rectify real-world inadequacies by utilizing architectural design process including forethought and foresight. In his subsequent work, *e-topia* (1999), Mitchell persists to work through the various ways in which physical environments can and will be modified to accommodate electronic mediation. In *e-topia* Mitchell states that "[a]rchitecture is no longer simply the play of masses in light. It now embraces the play of digital information in space" (p. 41).

Real spaces and virtual spaces interact and change each other; in this sense the virtual is contingent upon the existence of the actual. One concept present in the social psychology of interaction is that of identity.

Cyberspace ostensibly provided the possibility of retreating from the physical into a world of pure mind. In a related manner, cyberspace initially seemed to offer users the opportunity to step outside their "true identities" and explore and create new personalities, a feature that was deemed the ultimate fruition of the postmodern dissolution of the subject (Worthington, 2002).

So how does the Internet impact the sense of identity? We start this discourse by asserting that the Internet does have an influence over a person's identity. The Internet allows for a rebirth of an individual allowing him to rename himself in the way he views his persona or psyche. Within the virtual we exist through our words or visual language. Sherry Turkle affirms that "your words are

your deeds, your words are your body." Much of utopian propaganda has been attached to the idea that people are masters of themselves within the cyber realm. "People who interact via computer are isolated from social rules and feel less subject to criticism and control. This sense of privacy makes them feel less inhibited in their relations with others (Sproull & Kiesler, 1991, p. 48)."

2.4 MY CONCLUSIONS

Technological determinists argue that once a machine has been invented, its ability to fundamentally transform social relations is only a matter of time (Beniger, 1986).

Therefore the Internet is what we deem it to be, it is a realm for ideal existence, as Utopians have proposed, as it is also capable of being a cold guise for social ineptitude and countercultural behavior as Critics have purported. The Internet facilitates connections and communication with family and friends as its convenience has lulled us into a state of profound dependence. Along with the ability to escape the constraints of time and space, the Internet does allow us to push the boundaries of identity or escape them altogether by offering us anonymity. While we have the convenience of email to maintain contact with people, it has come to be a time-consuming obsession. "For some people it's a harmless release and an outlet," as Esther Dyson (2003) says, "others can overuse it and abuse it to avoid everyday responsibilities and challenges." As knowledge and other tools in our world, the Internet has its advantages and its disadvantages; value neutral, this utility can be used for the intentions of what could be interpreted as good or evil. Technologies are adopted or modified to fit the existing social structure or what a user determines its use to be.

What to do about increasing alienation within the 'bitsphere' is an important question to ponder. People who communicate via computer networks unquestionably should be warned of the dangers of confounding interaction mediated by computer screens and keyboards for authentic human relationships and 'real' interaction. But in an honest analysis of this phenomenon we should not ignore the fact that human alienation and isolation did not begin, and perhaps will not end, with the Internet.

One benefit of the ability to undermine our labeled identities through cyberspace is the supposed ability to transcend issues of race by allowing social interaction without corporeal exchange. It seems to be the only forum that facilitates the freedom of speech. Although Utopians would like us to believe that the Internet is a space that resists institutionalism, it is still up for debate. It belongs to everyone, but only to those who do have access. Is that not an extension of institutional prejudices? The Digital Divide discourse addresses the overtly optimistic propaganda that surrounds the Internet by pointing out that inequality of access is inherent in the pitfalls of a truly democratic medium.

In this mode of analysis, race is an indirect factor, as the lines between the haves and the have-nots are very similar to those lines between black and white. It is only those who have access who can enjoy increased access

to each other and the growing body of information. Many people do not realize or simply choose to ignore the fundamental intellectual, social and, indirectly, economic losses incurred by the technologically underprivileged, and by extension the societies in which they interact. Have we been able answer how we can address the penalties of this digital mobility, or rather, the lack thereof? Are we ever going to be able to rectify this disparity? It seems as if many will be left without a vehicle, short on gas or traveling in the wrong direction on this 'information superhighway.'

In the context of Haiti, what is considered the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, we see that technological advancement is precluded by illiteracy and poverty. On the periphery of technological advancement and the new world order are the societies of developing countries like Haiti. This study examines how those who are (allegedly) not privileged to have access to computers perform in adapting to and modifying the technology to their life and culture in a new world. This hopes that despite initial disparities, the desire to thrive in the new culture and society helps to facilitate the process of appropriating and domesticating the Internet.

When something makes you happier and more prosperous, you aren't strongly motivated to think critically about it...? Maybe; only if you are a mindless drone. The debate on the social and mental health of Internet communities should be taken beyond the shallow and the superficial. As a person of Haitian nationality and ethnicity residing in the United States, it was an easy leap

from the experience of my own empowerment to the conclusion, heartily supported by Utopian Theorists and Realists, that personal computers and networks are to be considered empowering tools. The answer to the question of whether these technologies really empower individuals is yes and no or simply maybe. I must, however, admit that this technology has added to my ability to communicate, and interact- but not to necessarily *think*.

Through intellectual examination, I have discovered distaste for taking things at face value. The technology of the Internet is idyllically believed to be inherently value neutral, rather, the essence of the technologies composing the Internet are culturally and ethnically subjective. This fact combined with the United States' sovereign governance in nearly all aspects of the Internet, and ironically the apparent lack of controllability of the content of Internet, has fueled the fears of a continued era of American cultural imperialism and globalization.

In questioning whether the Internet really purports a real sense of community, my answer leans more towards a no. The Internet is no more capable of creating and promoting community than our cities and neighborhoods do. Granted that the definition we accept as being a community is not simply geographic demarcations, but more of a sense of cohesiveness around ideals and issues. In this sense I would have to say yes, the Internet does facilitate the forming of such like-minded communities: from hackers to cults, and from terrorists to schoolteachers. Despite this, we must remain wary of

claims that the Internet could substitute physical human interaction.

3 IMPORTANT CONCEPTS

Regardless of the angle or tone of discourse surrounding technology, be they optimistic, pessimistic or realistic, it is important to gain understanding of how people interact with or cohabit a world of computers. Human socialization of computers can range from complete adaptation, to toleration or complete repudiation. The Internet is a flexible, and practical technology that can be accepted by many people. It also serves us to surmise why we place certain qualitative values on technologies,

as well as the manner in which we decode these values. By using a methodology that converges on the way people actively or passively construct their realities, Livingstone examined, in 1992, how domestic technologies are assigned meaning. In this chapter I hope to propel a greater understanding on some of the concepts that were raised by the theories of Internet Realists.

3.1 APPROPRIATION & DOMESTICATION

Branching off from sociological studies of culture and media consumption, technology theory and studies have been examining the process of the adoption and utilization of technology by people into pre-established household routines. This concept is usually referred to as appropriation; the analysis of this concept has led to understanding of the notions of acceptance, adoption and consumption. The conceptual process of domestication can be presented as a grapple between the user and technology, where the user aims to tame, gain control, shape or ascribe meaning to the technology; presenting the development of opposition (resistance) or refutation. This research hopes to gain insight into the appropriation of Internet into preconceived or developed uses of the technology into the home and how the use of this technology may manipulate ethics.

The above-mentioned concepts have been raised and addressed by the discourse of the Internet Realists; labeled as domestication and appropriation; where domestication is the integration of technology into the home and its routines over time. To go one step further in its definition, we find that domestication itself could be endowed with aspects of appropriation and incorporation, which is how the technologies are put to use in the home environment and how it is integrated into and related to day-to-day routine within the home (Silverstone 1992, 1994; Sørensen, 1994; Lie and Sørensen,

1996, Sørensen et. al. 2000). We are left to question how the integration of the technology within the home affects the interaction in the world without. Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) offer an approach to domestication, provided as a tool that will allow one to understand the process of cultural integration of 'artifacts' as they transition into the 'moral economy' of the home environment. One widely adopted framework brought forth to distinguish elements of dynamics of a household is comprised of four interrelated elements of symbolic and cultural work:

- appropriation- the manner in which the technology is brought into the home,
- objectification- the way the object is fitted into the space and time structure of the home
- incorporation- the everyday usage of the technology and
- conversion- fitting the 'artifact' into the wider social and cultural surroundings (Silverstone, Hirsch & Morley, 1992, Lie & Sorensen, 1996).

It must be noted that these are not discrete, but inter-linked facets of the biography of a domestic technology and the home. Although these processes are primarily related to the initial adoption and integration of the technology, it is interminable as the home and the technology (co)evolve.

In his research, McCracken (1988) draws attention to the conjecture that as technologies are introduced into the domestic environment, the process of domestication involves the constant reassessment and revaluation of the

technology. In the process of domestication, the computer and its technologies are not only integrated into it, but change the home, thus creating a sort of codependent evolution, what he has coined to be the Diderot Effect. In this light we see that there is assimilation involved in the process of domestication, wherein people are able to accommodate for the deficiencies of the technology. Lie and Sørensen (1997) use domestication to emphasize the practical and symbolic work that is done in appropriating

technologies in varied settings. Routines are created in the course of appropriation, or what Akrich (1992) refers to as scripts; as the technology imposes itself on the existing environment, customs are, consequentially, altered as the technology affords novel potentials. The concept known as domestication can imply stages of taming, yet, it can also be inferred as "stable truces that can be broken" (Lie and Sørensen 1997).

3.2.1 COMMUNITY, CULTURE & IDENTITY

In continuing to establish a conceptual background for the research presented in this thesis, a study of how a specific culture appropriates technology, it is imperative that issues revolving around identity are explored and presented.

Mentioned in the previous chapter, the impending globalization of American culture proliferated by the Internet asserts the fragility of the notions of community and identity. "In the face of the fault lines of this ever melting present, displaced, dislocated and immigrant communities will use their "memory of place to construct imaginatively their new lived world (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992, p11)" enabling them to foster a new sense of order and control (Wong, 2003)." Communicative qualities of the Internet serve as a remedy to this imposed globalization or the overwhelming power of American culture.

In the attempt to present a comprehensive text on the issues of community- as being a collective identity- culture and identity it proved to be quite a complex concept to elucidate. I strive to extract and build on

concepts of identity and the use of Internet technology, which can be of great significance in answering some of my proposed research questions.

Generally speaking, culture- as a range of material practices and technical and intellectual works, also reflected in individual and collective ideas, desires, and aspirations- can operate to shield us from the brute reality of certain aspects of our embodiment. Culture offers an ironic form of security that denies the real. To varying degrees, and partly depending on how the powerful operationalize the *notion* of culture, all cultures facilitate this "escape" from the body and its needs and actions involving food, sex, and death... physical movements across the space between "here" and "there" is intimately associated with American utopian connection among individualism, freedom, and space conceived more in terms of extension than in terms of engagement. (Hillis, 1999, xvi)

3.1.1 PSYCHOLOGY OF IDENTITIES

As the work of techno-social theorist Sherry Turkle suggests, this era of technological mediation has links to the social psychology of identities and interaction. Attempting to define identity seems, by nature, a bit ironic...Identity is a concept of a recondite nature; how do we define ourselves? Identity is what we can spend a lifetime defining or trying to elude. Identity seems to be a compromise of nature versus nurture, a list of characteristics defining who we are innately and who we are conditioned to be, or what others want us to be. Identity is commonly defined as what a person is, the fact of being the same in all respects (Webster's Dictionary, 1993); following Freudian conjecture that identity is not made up of conflicting natures, behaviors or ideals. The almost indefinable nature of identity poses difficulty in claiming or determining authenticity, seeing that we would like to consider identity to be impervious to external influence.

Identity requires a sense of self, which is developed through socialization, where socialization is based on interactions within cultural characteristics. The notion socialization presents the social construct of identity as being codependent on cultural identity. It is understood that humans develop a sense of self through behavior that reflects the behaviors of others and what others expect through interactions.

In the *Power of Identity* (Castells, 1997) it is asserted that "the construction of identities uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations, Individuals, social groups, and societies process all these materials, and rearrange their meaning, according to social determinations and cultural projects that are rooted in their social structure, and in their space/time framework (Castells, 1997).

In terms of biology, a part of our identities is predetermined by our traits as they are determined by genetics, which shape their physical and mental characteristics. Family, or lack thereof can then nurture the traits of a person. This aspect of one's identity is malleable and changeable, but yet remains the foundation for the other aspects of identity. Another part of identity is what we shape ourselves and have imperceptibly engrained into our system of beliefs. It is our self-esteem, aspirations, values and ethics. This facet of our identity encompasses personal fantasies as well as our religious revelations (Castells, 1997) and also have a reciprocal relationship with our disappointments and accomplishments. The third level of our identities is based on socialization, which can be influenced by gender, race, class or economic status. This aspect of identity is assigned by our society and how they perceive us,

ranging from the purely superficial to the reflective. This allows us to arrive at a world of unique individuals.

As much as there are different factors that determine someone's identity there are different perspectives on how identity is constructed. Rather than believing in the innate qualities of identity and self-hood, these perspectives believe that our identities are completely socialized. According to its definition, socialization brings our identities into public ownership and control. Post-Modernists contend that identity is not static, but is in flux with the conscious and subconscious decisions of social context. Incidentally, we learn that identity is not necessarily unitary.

Our computer-pervaded culture has offered the opportunity for multiplicity of selves; from the post-modernist perspective identity (formation) is a never-ending process. From this post-modernist perspective, the 'problem of identity' remains but its nature changes to the construction of an identity while avoiding fixation and keeping one's options open. In other words, it is a means of being strategic and flexible, which Judith Howard (2000) terms, 'identity-as-strategy.' "Within postmodernity, it is assumed that everyone's identity is subject to change, that it is negotiated in complex and dynamic ways over time and space, and that this involves multiple identifications and attachments, as well as multiple social, psychological, and cultural dimensions in everyday life. In this light, immigrants are recognized as engaging in fragmented and multiple processes of identification that

existed prior to re-settlement (Howard, 2000)." This notion clues us in on the role of identity, be it cultural or ethnic, in this study within the Haitian community.

The work of Sherry Turkle thoughtfully declares that multiple and/or multifaceted identities offer the ability to have more meaningful interaction, or to facilitate interaction in general. In her conjecture, Turkle adds that the Internet offers people ways to explore their unreconciled identities. She offers that there is no validity to Freud's theory of the ego by stating that identity is a multiplicity of parts, fragments and desiring connections (Turkle).

Culture is an aspect, defining factor, as well as consequence, of identity. Cultural identity encompasses an extensive level of identification, which includes ethnicity. Ethnic identity is dynamic and adjusts to the institutional and structural forces of a dominant society. Ethnic identity may be based on a common language, ritual, or shared world views; a historical consciousness of a sequence of events and struggles that reflect continuity from the past to the future; a social awareness, seeking communal or group acceptance; a political voice. In addition, one's ethnic identity is how one regards oneself as well as how one is perceived by others. Although it has long been one of the slipperiest concepts in the social scientist's lexicon, identity can suggest ways in which people conceive of themselves and are characterized by others (Vertovec, 2001).

3.2.2 TRANSNATIONAL CULTURE AND IDENTITY

"[Very] crucially for diasporic/minority excluded populations- [the Internet] expands the space of community communication, self-expression and self-representation, challenging boundaries and restrictions around and within community public communications (Georgiou, 2002).

Defining the diaspora

Expatriate minority communities whose members share several of the following characteristics: 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original 'center' to two or more 'peripheral', or foreign, regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland -- its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe that they are not -- and perhaps cannot be -- fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return -- when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way

or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship (Safran 1991: 83-4).

It must be stressed that not all member of a diaspora wish to return to their 'homeland'. Over the years of research the diasporic community has become known as a transnational community. I hope to create a profile of what a transnational person is defined to be. In an article in the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Steven Vertovec (2001) presented critical appraisals of the studies on the concept of transnationalism. In this section, I present a synthesis of some of the important concepts Vertovec, and some others, have offered in this trend of research.

Some have become cultural displaced, though not geographically so, thus feeling that they neither truly belong to the country of their residence, nor the society they left behind- or more likely that their parents had to abandon.

Transnationalism and identity are concepts that inherently call for juxtaposition. This is so because, on the one hand, many peoples' transnational networks are grounded upon the perception that they share some form of common identity, often based upon a place of origin and the cultural and linguistic traits associated with it. Such networks are marked by patterns of

communication or exchange of resources and information along with participation in socio-cultural and political activities. On the other hand, among certain sets of contemporary migrants, the identities of specific individuals and groups of people are negotiated within social worlds that span more than one place. (Vertovec, 2001).

As it was mentioned before, this study focuses on the Haitian community within the American society, specifically those in and around the Boston area of Massachusetts. As a displaced people, it is imperative to understand the sociological and psychological impacts of being an immigrant to the identity of such people. The notion of transnationalism is not a new concept, but a new term to describe old ideas of immigration; where transnationalism refers to the various kinds of global or cross-border connections of migrants and dispersed ethnic groups (Vertovec, 2001).

The emergent approaches in migration theory describe ways in which contemporary migrants live in 'transnational communities'. According to Alejandro Portes, such immigrant communities consist of:

...[D]ense networks across political borders created by immigrants in their quest for economic advancement and social recognition. Through these networks, an increasing number of people are able to live dual lives. Participants are often bilingual, move easily between different

cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both (1997: 812).

The advent and advance of communication and information technologies have triggered change and intensified homeland connections of transnational migrants [(Foner 1997; Morawska 1999; Portes et al. 1999b) as quoted by Vertovec]. "Newer, cheaper, and more efficient modes of communication and transportation allow migrants to maintain transnationally, " Vertovec asserts " -- effectively both 'here' and 'there' -- their originally home-based relationships and interests."

As Vertovec has queried, is contemporary transnationalism among migrants wholly attributable to shifts in technology? That is, are advances in transport and, particularly, telecommunications (from telephones and faxes through the Internet and satellite TV) -- not least their relative inexpensiveness -- largely responsible for the creation of today's transnational migrant communities? Technological determinism is not a very strong argument. We need to understand the ways in which technology has combined with and perhaps facilitated or enhanced, rather than caused, transnational networks (cf. Castells 1996).

The literature presented by Vertovec avers that transnationalism, generally, underscores the fact that large numbers of people now live in social worlds that are stretched between, or dually located in, physical places and communities in two or more nation-states. This idea

creates an interesting parallel to the discourse surrounding the multiplicity of identities that users of the internet are permitted, as raised by the theories of Sherry Turkle; Vertovec, cites Ulf Hannerz (1996), whose notions discuss people who live in diverse 'habitats of meaning' that are not geographically inhibited. It is said that the experiences gathered around the distended physical environments comprise one's socio-cultural gamuts, which consequently guides the formation of identity, or at times multiplicity of selves. "Each habitat or locality represents a range of identity-conditioning factors: these include histories and stereotypes of local belonging and exclusion, geographies of cultural difference and class/ethnic segregation, racialized socio-economic hierarchies, degree and type of collective mobilization, access to and nature of resources, and perceptions and regulations surrounding rights and duties (Vertovec, 2001)."

A reality for many in the transnational Haitian community is the 'portability of national identity' (Sassen 1998). Portability of national identity is the tendency that migrants have, combined with a tendency towards asserting membership in more than one localized community; some have multiple citizenships, usual in the host country and the homeland. In direct relationship to this notion is the view that some contend that transnational ties weaken the integration or assimilation of the immigrants in the host country. [Vertovec, 2001]

Many Diaspora populations that are variably on the path of integration and not

in a state of exclusion, temporary residence, and deterritorialization may actually cope with "dual territorialization" or "dual location" that encompasses both their host societies and societies of origin; they may participate in three networks of relationships and experience three forms of consciousness regarding their existential circumstances. Vertical networks concern the relations and negotiations through which immigrants attempt to secure their existence in host societies. There are two orders of lateral networks: one is concerned with maintaining, reinforcing, and extending relationships with immigrants' communities of origin ("home communities"); the other maps the networking that transcends the borders of both the countries and states of origin and resettlement, and I label it the transnational global network (Tambiah, 2000).

Otherwise, as Caglar (2001) points out that people who embody transnationalism, "weave their collective identities out of multiple affiliations and positionings and link their cross-cutting belongingness with complex attachments and multiple allegiances to issues, peoples, places, and traditions beyond the boundaries of their resident nation-states."

How Haitians and Haitian-Americans differ from some other immigrants is that they are essentially transnational. Despite residing in America for numerous years and becoming American citizens, their interactions with other Haitian society is not limited to United States borders. As members of a transnational network, Haitian/Haitian-

Americans illustrate a distinct cultural and ethnic identity in the U.S. as well as an expanded social network and loyalties. Though this sentiment is usually more compelling in first generation migrants, it nonetheless, unites the homeland and the Diaspora.

Although there have been maturities in the study of migrant, or diasporic, communities, much of the challenges faced by these people remain impervious. Transnational communities composed of immigrants from developing societies like Haiti are often marginalized because of the way they incorporated in larger, more powerful national societies, asserted by the research presented by Paul Brodwin (2001):

By definition, transnational groups fabricate their social lives with images, ideas, and opportunities that arise in both local and distant settings (Appadurai 1996: 54). They continually shift their gaze between immediate, face-to-face conditions and distant events and commitments (Peters 1997). In order to foreground such porous cultural boundaries and multiple commitments, anthropologists have theorized transnational groups as novel social formations, neither spatial extensions of the homeland nor as simple minorities or subcultures within the wealthier societies where migrants currently live and work (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, Basch et al 1994, Lavie and Swedenberg 1996). However, their 'multiple and constant interconnections across international borders' (Glick Schiller et al 1995: 48) make

them vulnerable to charges of political disloyalty and economic parasitism. The legal harassment of migrants with irregular citizenship leads to coercive and violent exclusion. Their ambiguous belonging to both home and receiving society engenders social aloofness and denigration from their neighbors.

Haitians have been 'gifted' a triple minority status as black, non-Anglophone, and foreign-born. "Like other non-European immigrants, they often have tenuous legal rights and are subject to the racial exclusions of American society when seeking housing and employment. However, Haitians generally do not identify with African-Americans or with Latino immigrants, due to differences in language and historical memory. Moreover, ever since the start of large-scale Haitian immigration in the 1970s they have suffered under demeaning stereotypes as alleged carriers of AIDS and tuberculosis, and memories of incarceration, quarantine, and deportation have not faded. Despite impressive educational and economic success, their multiple marginalities endure (Brodwin)." This status continues to be a source of shame, frustration and misunderstanding for new generations of Haitian-Americans who wish to be completely integrated and Assimilated in American society.

Modern technology -- the fax, cellular telephones, e-mail, automated teller machines -enables the Haitian diaspora to influence Haiti's political system and

elections and to keep in closer touch with close friends and family. As the pace of global capitalism and technological innovations increases, it is reasonable to presume the nature and extent of transnationalism will also speed up and in ways previously unseen and unanticipated.

Haitians may not be able easily to get visas for traveling to the United States but Haitian-Americans can travel more easily than Haitians between the United States and Haiti (Catanese, 1999).

3.1.2 HAITIAN CULTURE AND IDENTITY

The subject of identity is not novel, for humankind has been struggling to define itself since the beginning of time, maybe hoping that defining ourselves will lead us to an answer of why we are here and, essentially, why we exist. The search for identity affects all ethnic groups. Yet, it must be duly noted that, it seems that no where else has identity been questioned more than in the United States of America, a melting pot of ethnicity

The most vital aspect of this study rests on the particulars and the peculiarities of Haitian culture. I begin defining Haitian culture and identity by presenting my struggles with defining myself in American society and within, or even despite, the pervasive American culture.

Growing up in America is rather testing, especially if you're from a different cultural background. Everyday I would go to school with kids who spoke English and went home to a Haitian family, who spoke Creole. At some point I stopped speaking French, which was my first language, and Creole and answered most people in English- no matter what language they addressed me with. My mother seemed to take no offense; perhaps because it helped her tighten her grasp on the English language. Nevertheless, others would seem it as disrespectful or a sign of the rejection of my culture and ethnicity. In elementary school there was stigma attached to being Haitian, and yet I was more than happy to volunteer disclosing my nationality. At some

point it became okay to be Haitian, when we somehow overcame the prejudices that we Haitians were one of the four Hs who spread the AIDS pandemic.

At some point I began to be labeled as Haitian-American. This caused me to question my identity, although I had never seemed to before. What defined me as Haitian? What defined me as American?

At home, I ate many different kinds of Haitian food, like *legume, du ris* and *griyo*. I didn't think that was a problem nor did it make me different. Yet, if you asked me about history, the only history known to me was American history. Did it matter that I could speak Creole and didn't know much about my Haitian background or history? Apparently to me, it did matter.

Every year we celebrated American holidays as well as our Haitian holidays, though most holidays were the same, being a country of European influence, as is America. We honored our traditions and adopted the American traditions. I had friends from different ethnic backgrounds; we shared similar like and dislikes, but I still had more penchant toward Haitian people. I was more likely to get along with non-Black Americans because of what seemed to be tension and confusion pertaining to being black but also being different.

The need to classify myself is truly imposed in American society, forcing me to fit myself, my culture, my past and my ancestors into one small box on an application form. I tend to check off other and clarify Haitian in the line provided. I cannot define myself as Black, because within American society it is used to label African-American, which I am not. Part of not wanting to be labeled African-American is the negative connotations that are attached to these persecuted and oppressed people. Although we share much of the same history, we arrived in the Western Hemisphere, mostly on ships to become servants and slaves to the white race.

Am I a Haitian-born American? Haitian-American? I have chosen to define myself as an American Haitian woman, I find the notion of being Haitian-American unsettling, as I feel that in the syntax, Haitian modifies American, making my identity more rooted in American culture. I feel that identifying myself as an American Haitian, as it truly describes the pride and importance of being Haitian and honoring my Haitian ethnicity. These two cultures compose my 'self', thereby creating a reciprocal relationship. Thus, without one I cease to exist.

Diaspora. Haitian, Haitian-American, Haitien (French spelling), Ayisyen (Creole/Kreyol spelling) -- everyone has their own definition and meaning. While many debate these points overseas, many Haitians, living their everyday life in the native land, refer to all Haitians living abroad as "diaspora." Identity is much more complicated than how it is defined, in the dictionary per se. It can be defined by

the individual or by a collective community but remains transient and is reassessed and redefined by each generation. As much as I would like to think otherwise or prior to engaging in this research, it seems that none of these issues and struggles are unique to the Haitian communities. All immigrants struggle with issues of identity as it relates to displacement

Although Haitian people have been transformed by influences of American society and sometimes have abandoned characteristics unique to their culture, yet they "were recreated as something new, but still as identifiable groups" (Glazer and Moynihan 1963: 13). It is this new, thus validating the concept of cultural pluralism, a pluralism that has helped Haitian identity morph into Haitian-American identity.

Haitian people tend to resent being labeled as black, only due to the American association of being Black as being synonymous with being African-American. Haitian people hope to remain distinguished from other cultures-- or rather nationalities. It is useful to recall that for Haitians race is synonymous with nationality. Most Haitian people do not wish to or feel uncomfortable of creating a hybrid identity that includes being labeled as American as they maintain a desire to return home. In renaming their identity their attachment to their home seems invalidated.

In fact, a number of Haitians attempt to recreate Haiti in the United States. In Massachusetts, they settle in 'Haitian' neighborhoods, particularly in Dorchester and Mattapan,

where there exist many Haitian-owned businesses. Their attachment to the local Haitian community is very deep-

seated and inescapable.

3.1.3 HAITIAN CULTURE AND IDENTITY in MASSACHUSETTS

Here I include excerpts of research conducted by Doctor Regine Ostiné Jackson that I find presents an accurate profile of Haitian people in Boston, where Haitian people tend to refer to the state of Massachusetts as Boston. The article entitled *Haitians in Boston: New Immigrants and New Blacks in an Old Immigrant City*, was a paper prepared for "New Immigrants in Urban New England" Workshop, Center for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at Brown University in April of 2004.

Somewhat remarkably, Boston has become an integral part of Haiti's diaspora. There are more Haitians living in Boston than in Cap-Haïtien, the second largest city in Haiti (Laguerre 1998); and Haitians constitute over 50% of Boston's West Indians.

The demographic data also make it difficult to appreciate the internal diversity among Haitians. A cross-section of Haitian society migrated to the Boston metropolitan area in four distinct waves: the Pathfinders (pre-1965); the Core (1965-1979); the Boom (1980-1991); and the Newcomers (1992-present). "We are not all boatpeople," one respondent commented, "Some of us are Boeing people. (Laughs.)" (The latter alludes to those who had the means to leave the country by air.) The Pathfinders were mostly middle class, intellectuals, artisans, and skilled professionals who created an exile community. By contrast, the Core migrants were working class strivers whose passport to the (lower) middle class were the jobs, neighborhoods and local institutions that middle class Americans fled.

Significantly, these early migrants were mostly Catholic and high levels of religious participation served to distinguish Haitian immigrants from the largely Protestant African-American population in Boston. The Newcomers are not only more economically disadvantaged (marked by lower skills and lack of experience in urban America), they are also more diverse in terms of religion and origins in Haiti. The newest arrivals are overrepresented in the very lowest educational attainment category; struggling financially, they are more squarely focused on economic survival than social mobility; and they are more heavily reliant on public assistance than earlier waves.

Notably, Pathfinders and Core migrants were classic economic movers, whereas many of the Newcomers come to Boston as a result of immigration policy provisions favoring family reunification and refugee admissions, both of which produce less highly selected migrants.

In short, there are several indications that Haitians are being successfully incorporated in Boston: The sustained growth of the population defies the characterization of Haitians as a transient community hoping to return to their homeland. Residentially, they are settling in cities and towns throughout the state. They are building new institutions and starting new enterprises. There are over 50 Haitian churches in the metropolitan area; and Haitians are becoming key players in the city's Catholic community. Haitians can be found in nearly every occupation. Over 58.2 % are citizens; 27.3% are naturalized. They evidence high educational aspirations, high employment rates, and relatively high incomes.

Enrollment in college or graduate school is higher than other blacks in the city (26.8% compared to 21.8%), as are labor force participation (56.3% of Haitians over age 15 are employed; only 9.8% of the unemployed non-Hispanics blacks in Boston are Haitian) and household incomes (the median household income in 1999 was \$35,159; the median family income was \$36,165). 28.8% of Haitians own their homes symbolizing that they are

putting down roots or "taking possession of the land" (Husock 1990). Finally, Haitians have generally been welcomed as an integral part of the "new" Boston. However, no other measure says as much about the development and formation of the Haitian community as their more recent experiences in Boston politics.

4 PURPOSE OF STUDY

This investigation is expounded through the lens of theoretical frameworks that view the user as playing a dominant role in defining the nature, scope and functions of the technology. This research hopes to focus on users and the way in which they shape the Internet media to have meaning in their everyday life and culture. The research examines the way in which the role of the technology is shaped within the domestic environment - how it is manipulated to compliment existing patterns of behavior and routine. As it was stated before the purpose of this research is to ask what domestic Internet users do with their media and how they construct it as meaningful in the existing network of everyday life. I cannot honestly contend that I have one good incentive to engage in and carry out this research. However, what I *can* honestly say is that I harbor several stimuli and interests that have helped me to arrive at this subject matter. I hope to enumerate and elucidate my viscerogenic and psychogenic motivations in this chapter.

My previous research, interests along with the new knowledge from these experiences, has led me to address more abstruse issues in information architecture. As I stated before, I wished to design space for digital interactivity. This, however, led me to ponder the presumed esoteric implication of interactivity. Interactivity is not simply the ability of a human to interact with an interface by making choices, allowing the user to access information in a non-linear fashion. Digital/Virtual Interactivity should be as fulfilling as its Actual

counterpart, by not simply being persuasively captivated by the medium but also to allow creation and communication. Interactive encounters should be unique to each user and address all cultures. The academic arena would allow me to explore and experiment with the recondite notion of interactivity.

The Master of Science in Architecture Studies paired my interests with inquiries in architecture theory and methodology. A focus in Design Technology encouraged further inquiries in applying principles of architecture in a synthetic environment. I would address the spatial/antispacial dichotomy of the net as it is underscored in William Mitchell's *City of Bits*.

In *Defining Digital Space through a Visual Language*, Architecture Graduate Student Axel Kilian verbalized the dualities of architecture. "In the case of physical space, Architecture articulates itself in physical form through the tectonics of the materials and the composition of space. An architecture in digital space could constitute itself similar using the tectonics of the digital systems and information as its materiality. The problems of program and inter human communication are similar."

Inspired by my experiences, it is my hope that my research will address the critical destandardization of present 'social' interfaces to accommodate differences between people. I seek to understand how these differences change the process of interaction. I hope to

delve into the theories of Human-Computer Interaction and factor cultural specifics. I hope to promote a universal usability, in order to bring the benefits of information/communication technology to the widest possible set of users. I would like to invent strategies, aesthetic or technological, to accommodate this diversified group of users, varying in age, expertise, gender, culture, etc. It is my desire to design human-computer interaction system interfaces that would support the needs of the user.

Our love affair with computers, computer graphics, and computer networks runs deeper than aesthetic fascination and deeper than the play of the senses. We are searching for a home for the mind and heart The computer's allure is more than utilitarian or aesthetic; it is erotic. Instead of a refreshing play with surfaces, as with toys or amusements, our affair with information machines announces a symbiotic relationship and ultimately a mental marriage to technology. (Michael Heim, "The Erotic Ontology of Cyberspace," Cyberspace: First Steps, Ed. Michael Benedikt, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1991), pg 61)

So why the so-called love affair with technology, or specifically, with computers? I am hoping that the process of doing the research will shed some light on this question. In one of my previous chapters I touched on the notions of technophobia, and technorealism, but at the

same time I feel it important to note that many theorists deem, technology as the second coming of Christ. That may be a slight exaggeration, but many theorists tout the internet and the computer as the extension of human capabilities and, even an extension of the human body.

According to post-human thinkers, we are on the verge of evolving beyond the human organism and technology is the catalyst that is ushering in this evolutionary shift. And the most important element that would mark the post-human stage in our evolution will be techno-transcendence, or the use of technology to overcome our physical and mental limits. As machines continue their rapid evolution, and as we increasingly tinker with our bodies and brains to repair and improve them, this will become more and more feasible.

Writers like William Gibson foresee a future beyond the black shadows of decadence, of high technology reshaping our cultural and religious experiences and the hope for a better life, a sort of transcendence. A transcendence that is accomplished through cybernetic prosthetics or through an escape to off-planet life or living in virtual worlds. In these visions of our future, technology intrudes into the hitherto sacred space of the human body and morphs into an agent that brings in transformation and transcendence. The future is not out there in the world, where life is full of pain and all-too-human suffering, but the hope of it lies inward, towards the nerves guided by the supreme all-knowing machines. In this sense, technology's newest venture is intrinsically

similar to the one that has always been the domain of faith and religion.

Technoromantics and technophobes, both suffer from the same syndrome of assigning computers human, or divinely human, qualities. My curiosities in the human psyche have led me to posit that the desire to anthropomorphize technologies like the computer is rooted in our need to see ourselves reflected in our world. An example of the human application of anthropomorphism is apparent in religion, or generally, in our belief systems. Those who believe in God, their Creator, tend to assign human, although divine, emotions, qualities and physical characteristics to this God. Much like how human beings are imagined to reflect their creator, technology and any other human 'artifacts' contain and reflect the image of its creator. In this sense computer technology can aid in understanding creativity as it relates to the act of creation. In this gist this explains the possibility of concerning of and the need to create a machine that would reflect a human being.

As it was stated before the quest for and fear of computational and intellectual perfection through artificial intelligence, the computer is not truly a rival of the human intellect but rather, represents a quest for its ideal. After all, the computer is far superior to the human brain in computational aspects; this quest is perhaps the attempt of the human brain to attain perfection after realizing its own weaknesses. The computer can be seen as a supplement and aid to human creativity. I truly believe that this obsessive notion is our conscious, and

subconscious, attempt to reach a higher plane of evolution. We aspire to create a machine to tend to the banal activities of life and freeing our intellects to create, or destroy, as the case may be. This machine is the compensation for the human brain's weaknesses.

Most people seek connection. In fact, most people require some kind of need to bond with others. Some of us have a significant need to create community or—at the very least—some kind of shared experience. This has occurred throughout the history of the online world, whether in the form of Usenet newsgroups, email lists, chat, instant messaging (IM), and Peer-to-Peer technologies. In recent years, some new offerings have been added to the mix, and they are reviving interest in community in fresh ways.

The purchase of our first computer was mostly motivated by the credence that computer are essential to education in the United States. It would be a shame to hamper my potential in the "new world" by not having the technology that all the white children were able to afford. It seems an interesting point to ponder that people do use the limited resources they are given or have created for themselves to find better ways of living, to finding ways of increasing the control they have over aspects of their lives. In this vein it is also interesting that people seek to understand the structures of power and inequality in our world and discovering the possibilities for challenging the institutionalized methods of oppression. These thoughts are among my rationales for a sociologically provoked research.

As much as we would like to herald technology as a tool for building a better humanoid existence, one main facet of technology theory suggests that computers can be essential to community development and building only if they are used properly. In preference to using the computer to empower self and computer, people can make the mistake of letting technology influence and create their being. It is important to decide what it is the individual or the community is seeking out of this technology as to avoid becoming reliant on the computer, or dependent. Dependency countermands community development. The sentiments of several theorists promote a "technological imperative" or a facet of media determinism encouraging that because it is possible it is necessary as Jacques Ellul said in response to the advent of the atomic bomb in 1964.

In *Technological or Media Determinism* (1995), Daniel Chandler states that "Scholars who study the history of communications technologies or media include historians of technology and of literacy, sociologists, economists, political scientists, anthropologists and technologists such as computer scientists. A central controversy concerns how far technology does or does not condition social change. Each commentator emphasizes different factors in technological change. No neat explanation is adequate and rigorous proof is difficult if not impossible."

In the Fall of 2001, I had the opportunity to work as a research assistant to Randal Pinkett, who was an MIT Media Lab PhD Candidate. My assistance primarily

focused on the Camfield Estates-MIT Creating Community Connections. This project investigated strategies for bridging the "digital divide" (NTIA, 1995, 1997 & 1999) by examining the role of community technology in a low-income housing development, and its surrounding environs, for the purpose of community building. It was conducted at Camfield Estates, a 102-unit, predominantly minority, low-income housing development in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and involves Camfield residents, and the associations, institutions (e.g., libraries, schools, etc.) and businesses within a 1.5-mile radius of Camfield Estates. Camfield Estates is also home to the Neighborhood Technology Center (NTC), a community technology center located on the premises, which serves additional housing developments in Roxbury.

The purpose of this project was to identify the critical success factors for integrating a community technology and community building initiative in a low-income housing development, and its surrounding environs. It was anticipated that an asset-based approach to community building, coupled with socio-culturally constructive community technology, would cause an increase in community social capital (Mattesich & Monsey, 1997; Putnam, 1995) and will facilitate the activation of community cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Zweigenhaft, 1993), as a result of residents' involvement as active agents of change and active producers of community content. The project committee outlined a methodology,

consisting of five interrelated, and at times parallel phases, including:

- Pre-Assessment and Awareness,
- Community Technology – Introductory/Specialized Courses and
- the Creating Community Connections (C3) System,
- Building Community, Empowerment and Self-Sufficiency, and
- Post-Assessment and Evaluation.

During my time of employment, I acquired administrative skills and understanding of core client-side web development technologies, core server-side web development skills and database development of a database-backed web system. I learned and utilized TCL to modify and program the information retrieval system in the SQL database and worked with ADP to create new website options as well creating web portal personalization options. After becoming semi-proficient in TCL and SQL, I aided in the design, implementation, and development of database backed web system. With the use of ADP, I implemented function of personalized web portals, created function to log chat-room participants. I also taught myself enough Visual Basic to create a script that would format and organize the gathered research information in order to facilitate various forms of analysis.

My contribution in data analysis, was organizing the information gathered in a post-assessment and evaluation conducted with the head-of-household. (The average participant could be described as a single, Black/African-American female, head-of-household.) The

post-assessment and evaluation consisted of a comparative analysis against the pre-assessment interviews and other sources of data (proxy server logs, C3 server logs, direct observation) to quantify and qualify the progress to-date. Some of the early results and highlights from the post-assessment include the following:

1. Participants have expanded their local ties
2. Participants have a heightened awareness of community resources
3. Participants are better informed about what is happening at the development
4. Participants have cultivated the meta-competence of a renewed confidence
5. Participants have been inspired through use of the Internet to stay informed locally, nationally and internationally
6. Participants are using the Internet to gather information that can help address basic needs

Although initially technologically intimidating, it turned out to be a very rewarding experience. I walked away with new skills and confidence. I also gained a better understanding of how technology can be used to benefit an underprivileged society. It also proved to me that life could be seriously hindered by a lack of resources not a lack of intellectual capacity or simply because of laziness. This is quite poignant for me, a young black immigrant female, striving to make it in this American society.

Whilst insisting that 'technology is a means not an end', Carroll Pursell does not regard

technology as neutral (Pursell 1994, p. 219). He argues that 'the choice of means always carries consequences' which are not identical with the original purposes involved (ibid., p. 218). 'As the material manifestations of social relations, tools are concrete commitments to certain ways of doing things, and therefore certain ways of dividing power. It is a mistake to think that, like black and white marbles, the "good" and "bad" effects of technology can be sorted out and dealt with. In fact, one person's white marbles are another's black: labour saved is jobs destroyed... my loss is your gain' (ibid.). 'Technology remains a very human tool, used by some against others' (ibid., p. 219). [Chandler, 1995]

Interestingly enough the computer has been propagated to be an agent of economic and educational disparity; in the same thrust the so-called information highway will only make these disparities worse. In this thrust the computer, and in particular, the Internet, has also been designated the cause of social isolation and alienation. As in the phenomenon of the Digital Divide, the computer and its inherent technologies have been critiqued for perpetuating

educational and economic inequalities. Despite the reality of the digital divide over the years many bridges have been built over this chasm; diverse people of diverse backgrounds, cultures and countries, utilize the Internet. One of these communities is the Haitian community. I have chosen to focus on the Haitian/Haitian-American community because this is the community I feel most rooted to and have more personal interest in. It is interesting to see the affect of the digital divide in a society or ethnicity of peoples where isolation and alienation are prevalent due to immigrant status or ethnic identity.

One revelation of this (pre)research is identifying that many Haitian people in the Diaspora, mostly in Boston, New York, Miami and Paris, are more likely to have a home computer while patriated Haitians are likely to utilize cyber cafés. Much like what Miller and Slater attest in *The Internet: an Ethnographic Approach*, a detailed focus on what the Haitian community (citizens and those of the Diaspora) finds in the Internet, what they make of this utility and how they relate its possibilities to themselves will reveal a profusion of information about this culture and the Internet

4.0 EMPIRICAL WORK (

4.1 METHODOLOGY:

(aided by 'An Ethnographic Study of Internet Consumption in Ireland' by Dr. Katie Ward)

What is going on here? ... How do they do it? How does it change over time? How do they evaluate what they do? What does it mean to them? How do they interpret what it means to others? ... What is the relation of us to them, of self to other? (Lindlof, 1945, p. 6)

This 'culturized' study is developed from the perspective that the user is perceived to take a dominant role in defining the nature, scope and functions of the technology. In prioritizing the user the perspective is informative at the level of the third world and global information society; thus, actively creating an environment of inclusion and access to the information society. This approach aims to question discourses surrounding technological determinism, where technology is perceived to develop independently of society, having a subsequent impact on societal change.

This research hopes to focus on users and the way in which they shape the Internet media to have meaning in their everyday life and culture. The research examines the way in which meaning is constructed within the domestic environment; how it is manipulated to complement

existing patterns of behavior and routine. The purpose of this research is to ask what domestic Internet users 'do' with their media and how they construct it as meaningful in the existing network of everyday life, a qualitative approach has been adopted, which prioritizes the perception of the user.

As this research seeks to examine not only perceptions and constructions of meaning relating to Internet media within the home, but also the ways in which domestic Internet use facilitate participation in public forums, I adopted an ethnographic approach to the research. This will allow an in-depth and rich exploration of the way in which users, in an ethnic community of non-contingent locale, use the Internet to facilitate communication. The ethnographic approach should provide a clear picture of the way in which domestic Internet users balanced the relationship between management of the Internet within the home with movement into the public sphere. This approach follows that of Miller and Slater (2001), where their ethnographic study of the Trinidad and the Internet allowed the emergence of a fascinating, rich and highly analytical account of the way in which 'Trini' people had used the Internet. This included to supplement their existing behavior patterns and routines, but also

challenged the notion that the online and offline or real and virtual spheres can be separated and perceived as independent entities.

The challenge of this research is to identify a set of people who use the Internet as a tool to construct their identity and engage in this virtual world. I hope to focus on the concept of multiple cultural identities. In order to highlight different perspectives, these individuals will be chosen to be demographically diverse (with respect to age, family composition and geographic location) as well as their use of the technology.

An ethnographic approach will be adopted in conducting the research and this will involve:

- Semi-structured interviews discussing:

- What they feel to be the advantages and disadvantages associated with the access to the Internet in the home or other facility.
- The participants' adoption, use, incorporation and management of, and feelings towards, the computer and its inherent technologies, in particular, the Internet.
- Participants patterns of media consumption,
- How this related to their consumption of other media
- The type of web based content they consumed.

4.2 METHOD CONSIDERATIONS

There are many points to consider in using an ethnographic approach in a research topic that is in a sense a new cultural phenomenon where aspects of identity, embodiment and community differ from, other media. The Internet encompasses an array of settings in which symbolic culture is performed and in which participants mean to express something coherent. The global, yet perceptibly intimate, nature of these settings and the social affiliations they spawn has attracted interest from interpretive analysts. Certainly the culture of networked computing is a prime example of the challenges that a mobile world economy poses to ethnographers, who are far more accustomed to single-site studies of a community or a stable subjectivity (Escobar, 1994; Marcus, 1995).

I realize that the claims that my research may produce will be contingent upon my ability to read discourse, my perceptive attention to stories, and discerning the significance of the rituals and routines of the participants; this runs the risk of arriving at partial and subjective analysis. As an analyst, I run the risk of trusting that a person's words of testimony are an accurate and thereby adequate synopsis of their actual behavior; behavior that is tainted by factors other than culture. Coming to a realization of how my research may be contaminated by several quandaries may, hopefully, allow a preventative strike against possible effects on the administering of surveys and analysis of gathered data.

5 RESULTS

Being that my mother is a community organizer and has many connections in the Haitian community, I initially asked her to help me find participants for my thesis research. She had given a list of about five (5) Haitian/Haitian-American families living in and around Greater Boston. The time I began contacting these prospective participants just happened to coincide with a time of great political turmoil and unrest in Haiti. At the time, the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince had seen mounting tension in recent months as the campaign against Aristide, a former priest, gathered momentum. The opposition had accused Aristide, the incumbent president, of corruption and mismanagement, demanding that he stand down. Aristide, who still has two years of his five-year term to serve, has refused to step down. The unrest overshadowed celebrations on January 1 of the 200th anniversary of Haiti's independence from France. There were several violent and deadly eruptions during anti-government demonstrations in the Haitian capital.

In the absence of well-developed institutions regulating the public sphere, Haitians have practiced the politics of alliance, alignment, influence, and connections, linking themselves to more powerful people who are in turn linked to others, all the way to the president or one of his rivals. Haitian people are very passionate about politics and their political views and are very wary of being publicly named to one party or the other for fear of being

targeted for violence or ostracized by the community. Although no longer in their homeland, Haitian people retain fear of the oppressions of Haiti: Invasions, repression, persecution, the flight of the intelligentsia, the worsening environmental crisis, press censorship, international isolation, corruption, the *tonton makouts* (or more recently the *chimeres*), torture and assassination, and the rest of the dark side of Haitian politics under years of dictatorship formed an obscured condition that has extended into their lives in the new world—a psycho-emotional nuisance.

Many feared that my research was somehow rooted in politics and perhaps a manner of determining factions of the then-in-power Lavalas party or the opposition. Eventually, my potential subjects had to be people I was already comfortable with, had a level of trust; aiding in the ease of vacillating between my role as participant and observer. I decided to use my own family and friends of the family as my reference points.

After choosing my participant, the next daunting task was to decide what questions I would ask. This, I knew would be the most critical aspect of my pseudo-ethnographic research. I had to determine which questions would elicit the most honest and poignant verbal and physical responses; the verbal and physical being equally revealing and important. I was hoping to be able to interpret unsaid truths or be able to discern what the

subjects want be to think (or want to hear) from actuality. I wanted to gain information that encompassed their need or desire for the internet technology as well as their views on culture, retaining their identities and their links to their to their home and culture. The hope was that a narrative could and would be constructed during the informal interview or even during downtime as I "hung out" at their homes. I had the obvious advantage of knowing and understanding the behavior of my immediate family; would I be able to overcome initial passiveness or apprehension or to avoid over-eagerness that may prompt rehearsed responses to my questions? In developing my questionnaire I resolved that avoiding these difficulties was nearly impossible, but I hoped that being a participant observer would counteract the results of possible questionnaire loopholes.

I also created a guideline for how to handle writing the narratives as ethnographically rich as possible:

1. Describe the initial planning process? How I chose my subjects and how I decided what questions to ask?
2. Where there any initial difficulties?
3. What are my impressions of candidates when arranging informal interviews? Did I sense any eager, passiveness or apprehension?
4. What are my first impressions of the physical interaction? Any initial difficulties or sense of nervousness?
5. What did I notice during my commute to the house of the group/family?
6. Describe the neighborhood.
7. Describe the place where the person lives. How is it decorated? Do I understand any artifacts that might be there? Are there symbols of the group that identify that place as their own?
8. Describe the structure of the group/family. Who are the leaders? Are they "official" leaders? How did they achieve their positions? Do the non-leaders seem to respect the leaders? What can I say about the "leadership styles" of those in charge? Are they leaders by example, or are they delegators? Can I tell? If not, then what does that say about the group?
9. Describe the style of speech that I hear in the group/family. Is there an accent that most members have? Is there slang that is specific to the group? Are there words I hear commonly? Would those words mean the same thing to other people? Has there been a time when I couldn't understand something somebody said?
10. Describe the style of dress that is most popular among members of the group (if any). What does the style say to me about the members? Do I think group members choose the style purposefully?
11. What kinds of rules does the group/family have? Is there an official set of rules? What about unofficial rules? Do the members seem to follow the rules? What happens if members break rules?
12. What rituals does the group/family have? Is there a special way it begins or ends each meeting/interaction? What do those rituals communicate to I as a participant-observer? Are I invited to participate in any of the rituals?

13. How well do the group's members get along? How do these internal relationships affect the group's functioning?
14. Try to spend a little time with group members outside of meetings. Does their behavior change when they're not all together?
15. What effect does my presence have on the group? Do I think they behave differently when I'm around? I know it's hard to say how they behave when I'm not around, but make my best guess.
16. What are the verbal and non-verbal answers to the informal interview questions:
 - How do you find out about issues in Haiti?
 - How do you find out about local Haitian issues?
 - Do you stay in touch with family in Haiti or abroad?
 - How did you maintain contact before the Internet (if relevant)?
 - How do you feel about yourself in relation to other Haitians in the Diaspora?
 - How does communicating with other Haitians reinforce my identity?
 - Do you have access to the Internet?
 - Where do you access the internet?
 - When did you first start using the Internet?
 - Why did you buy a computer with Internet access?

- How often do you go online?
- What type of connection do you have (speed)?
- Who do you share Internet access with (adults and children)?
- What is my primary use of the Internet?
- What internet technology do you find to be indispensable?
- Complete this sentence, "Since getting the Internet, I have..."?
- What group of people have you become more connected with?
- How comfortable are you with Computers? With the Internet?
- What benefits does a computer bring?

17. Describe second thoughts I had of the structure of the interviews and the questions as the interviewing progressed. Did I change or add any question?
18. What was I left wondering? What questions was I able to answer?
19. What was I able to learn? How can I improve my methodologies?

I hoped that I had covered all the bases. I had to maintain a sense of ease and aid my subjects in feeling the same.

5.1 VIGNETTES & REFLECTIONS

Setting up a meeting with Mamaye's family was remarkably easy; she seemed rather eager to meet with me. It could have been a combination of not seeing me in so long and hoping to spend time together or the fact that she wanted to help me with a school related project. In either case it reflects two of the important values of Haitian culture: family/community and value of education. In Haiti, and extending into the diaspora, the "it takes a village..." proverb is taken to heart; the success of one is essentially the success of all who helped her become who she is today. It is not uncommon for aunts, uncles, older cousins, "cousins" and neighbors to be involved in your rearing, especially when it comes to being scolded and your studies. There is really no such thing as day care in Haiti, for if parents had to work and leave a child at home, the neighbors would mind the child as if he or she were their own. Over eagerness was not overtly atypical from those who are familiar with me, rather than my subject matter.

I felt a bit nervous as I boarded the bus to head out to Somerville, on the outskirts of Boston, for my first interview outside of my immediate family. Would I get the information that I was seeking? Or, more importantly, will I discover some truths that I had not previously considered? Will I be able to read the unspoken truths of the interviewees when I no longer have the advantage of being a participant or witness of the daily activities of the household?

As soon as I entered the home, I was made to feel at home, despite the fact that I had not spent time in Mamaye's home since my late teens. After letting me into the building, she spoke to me as she permed her sister Da's hair, whose chair was right behind the apartment door. I was happy to see that they had not tried to stage a 'perfect' family setting for me, with everyone well dressed and dining together, saying "please" and "thank you." So she asked how I had been doing, particularly in school, and informed that the kids would be here to be interviewed, it then occurred to me that she assumed that she was exempt from my analytical scrutiny and in fact that was a bit of 'staging' involved. She thought that I came to interview the 'kids', Keisha and Joey—or so I thought that she thought.

We exchanged a few cordial pleasantries as I awaited the arrival of what turned out to be a posse of teens and preteens. Although I was confused at first, and felt uncomfortable explaining to the kids that I was only interested in the immediate family, I noticed how the kids came in and out of the apartment and were not banned from any 'private' areas, like the bedrooms. I realized then that I discovered a truth that I had not thought to uncover—extended family and micro-community. Most of the children did not have access to computers and/or the internet in their apartments in the complex; they routinely came in and used the computer that was

housed in Mamaye's daughter, Keisha's, room- which has translated from being a private place to a very public areas, the door rarely closed or permitted to stay closed.

Keisha, the bratty little preteen had intelligent, mature and domineering figure in the household. This high school senior often addressed her mother as if the roles had been reversed and she had morphed into the matriarch within the family hierarchy. This I find is not completely unlike my mother and me. I have observed a similar relationship between first generation Haitian immigrants and their Haitian/Haitian-American offspring.

I have hypothesized that somehow, the different experiences between the two generations had passively gifted my generation with an air of superiority that my parents encourage and nurtured in our development. Our parents came to this country to offer us opportunities that they surmised and feared that Haiti would not provide; we were to be intelligent pioneers in the new world. They encouraged our intelligence and individuality; they encouraged us to believe we could accomplish anything; they want more for us than they can personally offer—we are better versions of them. The typical Haitian-American female is socialized to become an overachiever, especially the ones I know. As a form of enculturation it ensures the continuation of our culture and society developed by imitating, by reward and disciplining and from conscious indoctrination as well as unconscious approval or disapproval.

While taking this tangent I will take the chance to reiterate that many of the Haitian who settle in and around Boston, and the Northeast, were motivated by the concentration of elite schools. Therefore, one finds that many of Haitian people in Massachusetts and Haitian-American residents were of an upwardly mobile lower middle class/middle class in Haiti with beliefs of advancement founded in education as a means overcoming their low economic disposition.

My mother often tells me stories about how my father was unable to go to school for a whole school year because his mother could not afford to buy him a pair of shoes. What makes this anecdote more poignant is that this gave him the ardor to become a well-respected, well-educated and economically stable engineer. I still remember our huge house, maides and chauffeurs... Okay where was i?

Keisha, the self-elected delegator, addressed me and everyone in her first language, English, and joins her mother and aunt in complimenting my brightly colored, dreadlocked hair. She began to update me on her life since the last time we saw each other, introduced me to her boyfriend, Steve, who turned out to be my mom's ex-boyfriend's nephew—confusing- but I had known him since he was a baby (I had nicknamed him Peepee for his penchant for wetting the bed). I also get introduced to four other kids who are practically the surrogate children of Mamaye. They are all ready for their big debuts in my research chronicles, they wait as they take turns cracking on each other (making fun of each other).

It seems pretty obvious that my presence has had no effect on the group, as they seem to behave and speak very candidly to me and among themselves, at least this is my best guess.

Our conversation proceeds in a stream of consciousness mode that I find quite stimulating. Most of my honest observations and revelations were channeled through Keisha who revealed to me that life is not easy for a teenager who has more friends dropping out of school to join gangs or to have babies than those who are "trying to do the right thing." She even goes on to reveal what several of friends or acquaintances have either killed themselves or have been the victim of senseless violence. This is to aid in understanding how hard it is to focus on her goals when so many of her peers are falling by the wayside or getting caught up in the system that was thought to trap Black Americans. She has learned that being of Haitian descent does not spare her from being subject to the same urban oppression. Who would have thought that life in Somerville could be as hard as life in Roxbury?

Most of her friends are of the first generation Haitian-Americans or other first generation descendants of other diaspora communities, facing the same struggles. This legion retain a level of Diasporic nationalism which describes "the situation of those immigrant communities that re-intact in the countries to which they have migrated but have lost or are losing connection with their homelands, although they are involved in the "imagining" of their countries of origin. Most significantly, diaspora

nationalism is involved with a new hyphenated identity, [such as Haitian-American] and is largely concerned with the politics of accommodation, integration and assimilation, as well as with winning equal rights (Tambiah, 2000)" Many of today's diaspora have formed a syncretic identity, integrating in terms of education and economic status, while trying to maintain their distinctiveness.

The years between 1791 and 1803, was the era of the Haitian Revolution; a revolution that led to the birth of the first black republic on the 1st of January in 1804. In the wake of social cataclysm and harsh political autocracy, many sought sanctuary in America, only to find ourselves and our descendants trapped in a trap of prejudiced stereotypes and cultural bigotry that derides our celebrated heritage.

Although tied to her culture, Keisha does not seek out information on her history but has constructed her identity and pride in her culture around what her parents have imparted her. Born here, she feels a detachment from 'real' Haitians, yet retains pride in her culture and ethnicity. What she learns of Haitian current events is what she happened to overhear her elders speak of what she has been subjected to watch or listen to with her parents. It doesn't seem that she would care nearly as much as her parents do because she is not concerned with the prospects of returning to her beloved homeland. I must say that I share the same sentiments, meaning feeling extricated from a home that of which I have retained a few juvenile ephemeral memories. Although proud of my

culture and ethnicity and, consequently, my country no longer feels like a home where I have roots left- I am too American to fit in or to be reclaimed. I have already been tainted by America's perverted culture and ideology.

Some still left in Haiti have great dislike, bordering on disdain, for the 'dyaspora' --a term used to refer to Haitians living outside of Haiti-- who they felt have abandoned them to suffer. Haitian-born Edwidge Danticat, annotates in *The Butterfly's Way* (2001) that in the Haitian context the term dyaspora is classify "the hundreds of thousands of Haitians living in many countries of the world." We Dyaspora reside in "the floating homeland, the ideological one" in this sense we 'deserters' are unified- perhaps as an enemy or ally.

The second section of the anthology, entitled Migration, describes what it is like to float between disparate spheres of existence, two separate identities. In "Dyaspora," Joanne Hyppolite writes about the confounded feeling of what it is to be called Dyaspora and feel like an outcast when you are in Haiti; and to live and survive as a Haitian-American in the other world; miles from Haitian shores that your native culture "has lassoed...with an invisible rope."

Ok, back to Keisha... In explaining that she usually accesses the internet from home, she explains that she avoids using the computers in her school library because students have abused this privilege by downloading pornography. "I don't want to go on there for the librarian to think I did it..." Off the cuff, I asked if her

curriculum included computer literacy courses, including Surf the Web 101. Keisha explained that it is a required course sophomore year, otherwise, it can be taken as an elective.

"So this is the only computer in the house...?," I ask I notice that the computer is located in her bedroom- no longer her personal space , eve if her door is closed. "... so everyone has to ask for your permission to use it?, I continued"

"No they just come in..." She replies matter-of-factly. "This family, they have a problem with asking...Everyone just comes and takes." They come for anything they need or want " a shirt, hair care products... Forget asking me just come in my room... right?" She is interrupted by someone coming to say bye before leaving. " I wish I could lock the door... but," she pauses thoughtfully, "but, everyone would want a key!" She continues to tell me how she was among the lat in her 7th or 8th grade class at school to get a home computer. Her parents were unable to purchase a computer prior to that time because of financial reasons, as both Keisha and her younger brother were attending private Catholic schools. At the time her father was working as s taxi driver and her mother had returned to school. She accesses the internet daily, varying between a few minutes to a few hours. The internet is also an alternative to television, especially "when there's nothing on, she will play internet checkers or some thing.. I mean anything that'll keep me occupied; check email, you know, I used to go into the chat rooms..." she makes

a joke of meeting one of her best friends because it is thought of being "kinda sketchy."

Over the years, her family managed to upgrade to DSL instead of dialing up, she no longer had to suffer what my family is still enduring: slow connection, slow downloads, sporadic disconnections and blocked phone lines. She had to abandon her AOL™ screenname to MSN™ in order to reap the benefits of a faster connection, the thought of having to lose the identity I has had for over six years now nearly gives me a panic attack. How will they find me? I will have to find a new identity...? ((internal sigh)) As the thoughts run through my mind I struggle to stay focused on what she is saying and I try to hide the beads of sweat that are now forming on my forehead... "Thank goodness I am using a digital recorder," I think to myself, "'cuz I totally missed what she just said!"

Keisha still misses the occasional participation in an AOL™ chatroom, a ritual I abandoned after the novelty wore off and after I realized that actual coherent conversations were rare at best. "I miss that voice telling, 'You got mail!'," she adds as I am still distracted by the thought of losing my AOL™ screenname. Then suddenly a mental IM from the internet goddess, I recall the advent of Instant Messenger™, I don't even use my AOL™ for email anymore.... This revelation helps me relax, relate release... and refocus.

So when I ask her who else uses the computer she says "my mom, my brother, my friends... my boyfriend, my cousin, my brother's friends, my mom's sister, Da, only

once in a while..." I as if it is because they do not have a computer. "For the most part, yeah... if it's not because they don't have a computer it's because they don't have a printer. We have a computer *and* a printer...alot of reports get printed out here... so someone is always in my room, *always*." She doesn't seem to sound bitter at all ((sarcastic tone)), but she does find it a bit humorous. She claims to mostly use the computer and internet for school related work ((wink, wink)). "But, I remember one time I went on there cuz, like, Michael Jackson had said that he [has] vitiligo.. and I have a white spot right here ..." at this point she shows me a teddy bear shaped white spot on her stomach "turns out I had that but the dermatologist said that I always went to never classified it as that..." She learned that the only way to remove the patch is to have a skin graft, a \$10, 000 procedure. She decided that she better of as is. "The skin cells are broken and are unable to produce, umm ..."

I piped in "melanin."
"Yeah..."

The internet technology she finds the most indispensable is the utility of the online search engine where she can look up anything. When I asked her to complete the sentence: "Since getting the internet, I have..." she plugs in: "I don't" have to read books for my reports. I think that's the best thing I like... I don't have to sit there and read a four-hundred paged book when I can read a summary of the whole thing online. I would rather read a six page summary than a four hundred page book anytime."

She says she hasn't been able to be more connected to any group of people since having access to the internet in her home because of her fears of predators or as she terms "crazy people," like the guy who sent her pornographic pics of himself through Instant Messenger™. "You can't talk to nobody, no more without them trying to have cybersex. I don't really get cybersex anyway." Many sites have been put up to warn and educate parents about predators who use the internet to find naïve victims, one such site is www.cyberangels.com which states:

"Even as our children are reaping the advantages of the Internet, there is always the possibility that they will be exposed to the dangers of sexual exploitation. Predators (pedophiles) use the Internet to identify and cultivate children that are likely potential victims. Generally these individuals target a child and begin to seduce their prey in stages. It is their willingness to invest large amounts of time into the relationship and their patience that allows them to successfully seduce children, first with words and ideas, and then physically. (<http://www.cyberangels.org/homefront/predator.html>)"

This particular site goes on to illustrate the modus operandi of these online predators and goes into a basic profile of what qualities of a child can make them targets for this kind of exploitation. She says that it seems that most of the chatroom prowlers were young, around her

age; rarely the forty-two year old—or at least admitting to be that age.

Continuing with the trend of foraging for online relationships, she says she does not understand the point of online- bi-coastal dating, "why would I want to 'date' someone in California if I am in Boston...? C'mon! Its fun but once it happens all the time it gets boring." This proves that the novelty does eventually wear off. She did manage to befriend Curt, a Youngman from Maine who ended up moving to Boston. They dated for a while and even invited Curt to her house to be under the watchful eye for her father. "he was sweet... only problem is he lied too much." He bought her a necklace for valentine's day claiming he spent sixty dollars on it, he had inadvertently left the tag that clearly said that it cost him \$5.95. "Why would you do something like that?" She takes a tangent to tell me about her sketchy experiences with men offline. One guy in particular was 24 and had a child, which she learned after noticing a picture of his daughter in his home. She claim that it comes as no surprise— most guys over 20 years old have at least one child or have one on the way.

She says that the last time she went to Haiti she was about four years old and the only communication she has with family in Haiti when her father calls her grandmother. Although she has a lot of extended family in Haiti, she does not feel particularly connected or attached to them. The only person she has managed to maintain contact with is her father younger cousin, who he was a surrogate father to. She is hoping to visit the

homeland this summer. She does not know if her father's family has internet access but knows that her mother has called family in Haiti through the computer, but she does not really understand how that works.

:this is funny, I mean, I use the internet everyday... but, when it comes to the whole technology of it.. no, I don't know what it is. 'Cuz my boyfriend is into the same thing as my mom—I call them techies. They'll be trying to explain something.. I'm like, 'huh?!' yet she does deem herself to be web savvy, a 'cyberphile' of sorts.

She says that the extent of relating to Haitian culture online was one time entering a chat room where people were perpetuating cultural stereotypes and bad-mouthing Haitian people. A lot of the cultural misunderstanding are based on a Haitian religion, Vodou or what non-Haitian refer to as Voodoo, other stereotypes claim that HIV/AIDS is endemic to our ethnicity and the media promotes the mages of those in desperation attempting to reach American shores by boat or makeshift rafts.

"I gave them a piece of my mind and left but I think.. maybe, it's just my age group, but I think we are distant from each other. There are three groups: the ones who are bad; the ones in the middle; and there are the ones [who are] really trying to achieve something.. and they are all against each other. And, the ones in the middle just ont fit in, so they don't know if they want to reach the achieveing standards, make their parents happy, or be

with most of us and join gangs and cause trouble. That's mainly what's going on in my age group right now."

Negative stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings continue, and many Haitian-American youngsters lack a sense of ethnic pride because of the negative publicity related to the political turmoil that hinders Haiti's chances to progress socially and economically. This lack of ethnic pride is often manifested in ethnic misidentification: Young Haitians present themselves at various times as African-Americans, Caribbean-Americans, West-Indians, or Haitian-Americans, depending on the current sociopolitical climate in both Haiti and the United States. Many Haitians still face severe problems such as unemployment, inadequate housing, insufficient health care, lack of skills, and difficulty in English. (Haitians— Their History and Culture: Refugee Fact Sheet No. 10, culturalorientation.net)

As the expose goes on to clarify, social plight is not exclusive to the Haitian community, but are problems of many other poor, native or transnational, communities. Most of these problems will be overcome with time.

What Keisha describes is in contrast to what I was aware of when I was her age, when it seemed that most people were on the achieving side. The glorification of violent urban culture through hip-hop music and videos has also tainted Haitian-American mentalities in the process of assimilation. She has over eight friends who have kids. "I

can't tell you how many friends I have who's kids I'm the god mother to (don't tell my mom), it's like over eight, not including the ones who are pregnant right now. I can't tell you how many have dropped out of school; I can't tell you how many have joined gangs... I don't know what it is... they are all smart... but, for some reason they are just ruining their lives. I don't know why.. I wish it was that way, but it is... so...?" she trails off. "I don't know... that's why I am trying hard to go to school." She is trying hard to serve as an example to her peers, persuading them that school can help them get that "bling-bling" that rap music tells them determines their worth.

"See, my brother, ten years old, don't ask me how, but he's not a virgin.. see our friends over there (referring to the teens waiting out in the living room), none of them are virgins... My generation of Haitian we aren't really doing that good. I mean we are going down hill. The stereotypes that they say, I mean, I defend Haitians to the fullest, but a lot of the things they say, that they shouldn't be saying, are true.. I don't know what's wrong with us. Through example is the best kind of change because talking *does not* get anywhere with us." Keisha plans to commit her Saturdays to community service so that her peers may be encouraged to do the same. She is taking a few months off before college, starting in January instead of September.. She says she needs the time off to recover from this year, a few friends have been buried, this year alone, due to drug overdoses. I am honest in revealing my reactions to her truths by telling her that "maybe I'm delusional but I didn't realize that it was this

tough. It seems that your lifestyle is like life in the 'hood and Somerville does not look like the 'hood to me." The saddest thing she has to say is that she does not feel comfortable sharing her successes "because those who are failing are hating on you." She jokes that she does not want to deal with Voodoo.

Keisha asserts that while her mother loves the computer, being a computer engineering graduate from Wentworth, her father doesn't really 'know' computers. "The other day he congratulated himself for opening a window." Her brother likes to know how things work in the computer, and had managed to resist his knack for taking things apart and putting them back together.

On the whole, Keisha loves the convenience the computer provides. Seeming to be the leader/delegator of the family she often needed by various family members and is pressed for time to get school work done. She can do all her work from home. She likes the fact that the computer works double duty by providing entertainment that keeps the children indoors and under a watchful eye. "There are drug dealers in the building. They can stay here and play video games and download music." The computer with internet access is a definite help to parents, Keisha points out-- who no doubt thinks of herself as such.

Joey, the ten year old is more taciturn and answers his questions rather concisely, not painting clear pictures as Keisha was able to with her narratives. He essentially corroborates much of what his sister contends. He likes to

play video games online. He claims to only go online three to four times a week, which I doubt because he likes to play videogames and download music. "I save a lot of money," Joey purports. According to Joey, his mother bought the computer for work purposes, to do work at home or look for work online. "So you don't think she bought it to help you with your school work?" I ask. At this point his face lights up with recognition and says, "oh yeah, that too... school!" He add that he loves the internet because he can look up what he what he calls the 'teachers' answers', which help him with homework assignments. Something I am not too happy learning being that it can cause intellectual laziness, the student has mastered ways of finding the answers instead of using reasoning. Should I be happy that they have become resourceful?

Steve, also known as Peepee, referred to this house as his home being that spends most of his waking hours within the confines of this apartment or within the fence surrounding the complex. As he answers his questions he is also logging onto MSN™ to check his email (which of course reminds me to do the same). He recalls his first encounter with a computer as being when his parents bought one about eight years ago from his uncle Manno, my mom's former partner, who had also hooked them up with internet access. "Why did Manno not try to spare me from dial-up mayhem?", I ask myself. He goes online a few times a days and regularly used the computer to work on autoCAD projects and play games. Steve differs from my other subjects because he has managed to transcend the role as a consumer and became a

producer by creating his own website. The competence to produce Internet content as well as interpret, consume and enjoy it (including creating web pages, productive searching, participating in mailing lists, chat groups and email) are all central to expressing one's identity through producing and communicating content (Livingstone, 2001). This was a rather encouraging revelation.

I get nervous again when I try to perform a mental rewind to my previous interview and wonder if Keisha or Joey had shared the experience of creating their own web page? I think to myself that maybe I should have asked a question that related more to producing web content. Had I undermined what I hoped to learn, or was I leaving questions open ended enough to allow for narratives that may lead to other revelations?

Steve often uses the IM to keep in touch with Keisha. His dad, Moise, listens to Haitian news streams to keep abreast on the situation in the homeland. Privy to this source of knowledge, Steve does not have means to or has not sought out means to information in the local community. His father uses the telephone to keep in touch with family, including 'Haitian cousins' in Haiti; he uses the internet technologies to initiate, maintain contact and communication with others in the diaspora. Steve iodes not feel that he is "haitian'Haitian" but more "Haitian-American" because he does not feel very connected to most people in Haiti. Steve took a short-lived initiative to learn about this cultural history by looking online, he vows to go back and learn some more.

At this point the crowd of adolescents has dissipated; if I could have gotten them to focus it would have been nice to interview them as a group. Mamaye is still thinking that she is off the hook when I let her know it's her turn, I assure her that there is no need to feel nervous or awkward, pretty sure that I had convinced myself the same thing by that point.

By the time I meet with **Mamaye**, I feel that if I hear right-in-the-comfort-of-my-own-home-like statements one more time I am liable to go running all the way back home. It's as if everyone has memorized and internalized the "ease of use" propaganda of the internet utility. Ok, maybe propaganda is not the word for it, but needless to say I wanted to hear a different point of view than the most evident. The first time she used the internet was about seven years ago in the Somerville Public Library with an old clunky black and white monitor. She had become intrigued and fascinated by this mysterious technological tool, she decided at the time that she wanted to learn more about computers. She'll usually log on it when she needs to research something, but doesn't use the Internet as a source of entertainment, and therefore does not "chat" – it seems that she anticipated that I would expect most people to participate in chat rooms. She may have chatted once or twice with tech support to remove a virus. she uses the Internet for job searching, but doesn't get why the kids are so addicted. She only checks her e-mail every 2-3 days. At that point, I pointed out a contrast between her and my mother, who checks her e-mail every 2-3 times a day. It is her main way of contact in doing community work. Though she

doesn't use the e-mail as often as an Internet addict, one feels that this utility is the most indispensable of the Internet technologies. She states in her strongly accented English, "when people meet you, they're more likely to ask you for your e-mail address than your home address..." Other than cellular phones, an e-mail address is something most people expect you to have, at least that's how Mamaye feels. "It is faster to get to someone instead of, "Ok Johanne, I'll give you a call or write a note, I'll e-mail you tonight." She feels that since getting access to the Internet, she has felt "more connected to the world." In her words, "There is no limit to anything I want to know." She feels like it's an ultimate resource, it's a library and a mall. She feels "less alienated." "I can reach everywhere I want... everyone is interconnected."

She feels more connected to strangers because e-mail provides a level of anonymity that makes it easier to contact people she may not normally have the chance to address. "it is so much easier and faster than traditional U.S. mail or "snail mail." She mostly uses the 'Net for professional communication. As her contact with friends and family back home is limited to those who have internet access. She was able to become slower to family in Haiti who are fortunate enough to have a computer or were able to afford cyber cafés. "I don't know about this generation.. I would rather spend two hours on the phone with Gerthy (my mother), than two hours communicating by email." Writing for hours on end into a static and cold interface is rather disheartening. The facility of communicating thorough the internet cannot compete with non-virtual interaction. It is this

verity of Human-Computer Interaction that is driving a market for more 'personal' contact by means of and despite the computer interface.

She learns of what is going on in Haiti through friends or by going online, "mostly not through Haitian media. For instance, I can go online and I can read *Le Monde* (French Newspaper).. I can go to BBC and lastly, I will connect to one of the Haitian media. I know that French press will have the information more readily than Haiti. There is a delay with Haitian media. Or I contact CNN." Haitian websites are not up to date like foreign media. "Let's say something happened in Haiti and you are thinking 'in ten minutes you can find it online on sakapfet.com, its not possible. You would find it tomorrow morning but not ten, fifteen minutes later." She doesn't go online for local information within the community, she does not know the web addresses for the local Haitian-American community development organization- or whether they have URLs at all. Once in a while she will come across a brochure or flier. She usually gets her information by word of mouth, or what Haitian call 'teledjol" which is named for the oral traditions of uneducated peasants in remote areas, who by contrast were conversant with the current political matters.

She identifies with fellow Haitian Immigrants of the diaspora, but does not feel a strong reciprocal union with her brethren "because it's the culture, it's like you try to keep that culture alive; but the connection, I don't feel it strong. I don't know if it's because people are busy with work and family, I don't see gathering that used to be,

like I hoped it would be. I would hope to see all the kids grow up around each other, but it did not happen that way. I don't feel it so strong.: She finds that people in Somerville don't even tend to attend or support Haitian related events and holidays. It could be the socio-economic status of people in Somerville that prevents them from being able to attend events, many 'just comes' have to work several jobs, many in nursing homes working back to back shifts to make ends meet.

Mamaye speculates that the lack of community is because people are getting confused with both cultures. People are not prepared to deal with two cultures. And most of the Haitians would rather keep their culture; in their mind they are in Haiti. In that way people who are close to you live far away. In that way they have lost their sense of community. I don't know for other people, that's how I see it." She feels that there is more sense of community in Dorchester or Mattapan. It just so happens that these are minority neighborhoods. The need to distinguish Haitian culture from those of other immigrants in neighborhoods with other black immigrants is reasonable. Haitians are particular about retaining their distinct cultural identity. Those unfamiliar with the culture may feel that Haitian people have a superiority complex, especially over African-Americans. As Somerville and neighboring Medford, Everett and Malden are predominately Caucasian, Haitian people are more likely to fear prejudice or general alienation from the larger community. Not only are they black, subject to racism, they are also foreign. These prideful people would rather not go out of their way to bring attention to themselves,

even if it could dispel the stereotypes of the culture and ethnicity.

There are people who venture from the area, but they tend to be the younger, thirty or younger crowd. She adds that her children were quite surprised to see "so many Haitians" at the Haitian Flag Day event in Mattapan a few years prior.

Mamaye sees a sense of community as a support system and also as a means of preserving our collective identity. She understands that it may be difficult for her children to understand who they are or be happy to stake claim on their culture and heritage when they feel that people tend to look down on *Ayisien*. Most Haitian youth will go to the extent of lying about their ethnicity to avoid being picked on or harassed. She believes that some parents who don't encourage a sense of community have nurtured in their children a reluctance for their heritage that helps them to forget in order to assimilate. "Many parents won't even let their kids speak Creole."

Mamaye bought the computer for school work, as an educational/academic resource. "If there is something I can't help them with, they have it right there." She does not want her children to have any excuses for not excelling or reaching their full aptitude. She feels that the greatest gift the computer, and its Internet technology, is that it affords a sense of "freedom to gain knowledge", to access resources that are out there to help them. "Sometimes they go on the computer and ask questions that they wouldn't ask me- which is not good, but there

are good things and bad things about the Internet, mostly the good things really help them." She finds it disturbing that some families buy computers just to keep up with the Jones', but don't use it as a resource. "Usually it is only the children who know how to use the computer, they are the engineers. At this point Mamaye's husband Joe barges into Keisha's room, which was my makeshift interviewing room after a long shift of driving a cab in and around Boston. He greets us both and goes back to his business. Mamaye apologizes for not being a good interviewee, but then I explain that I was a bit nervous myself never playing the role of observer/interviewer.

Although I was disappointed that I had not gotten the chance to interview **Joe**, the ride home turned out to be better than what I could have gotten out of an "interview." It all started when I told him what my reason for interviewing his family was, then prodded a reaction by stating that, "Keisha tells me you are scared of the computer?" "I am what you call, umm, umm—" "I offer a "technophobe, " to fill in the blank. "Umm, illiterate. The computer makes people lazy. I use my mind...I am not too fond of that technology. The kids, instead of learning 9x10, they have a machine and bing, bing, bing (pause) bang! That's why they spend years in college and still don't know anything." He brings up the example of how Joey, the fifth grader, knows that the governor of California is Arnold Schwarzenegger, but doesn't know the governor of his own state. "He doesn't even know who the Vice President is..." I jump in with "I don't think most people know, but hey..." "He knows all the names of the rappers, but when it comes to the serious things, he

doesn't know nada." So, technology has made our children lazy...I point out the ability to look up anything online, his response, "Well, you know me, I'm old school. They are lucky their mother is moving them into the modern times, the new school. But me, I'm part of the old school. Don't get me wrong, I'm not conservative, I'm pretty liberal. I just don't like technology that much. Before cars, people weren't dying from diabetes and things like that. 65% of people are obese. Before people could walk 1, 2, 3, 4 miles, now people will take the bus just to go two blocks." I jump in, intermittently to agree or disagree, usually agreeing. He then propagates that computers take away jobs from human beings. "So I am not that fond...but sometimes it's good, just the other day they landed on Mars.... (thoughtful pause). But what I was thinking is how do they know this is even Mars?" Conspiracy theories enter stage right. I brought up how many people didn't/don't believe that we actually landed on the Moon. "You see how crazy we are? How can you tell me what happened four billion years ago? I don't believe in that shit." He explains his relation to the Big Bang Theory that the reason people, like those at MIT, don't believe in God is because "they think they are God...because they are inventing things." "Indeed," I think to myself. "Indeed." With Joe, he has a classic case of technophobia. He believes that technology is our perverted way of trying to control the world and fears the consequences of that.

My impromptu "interview" with Joe prompted me to learn more about technophobia. I came across an article: Technology-assisted instruction and instructor Cyberphobia: recognizing the ways to effect change by Gerard George , Randall G. Sleeth , C. Glenn Pearce which enumerates and describes the different levels of technophobia. The article offers methods of classifying and recognizing phobic behaviors, as the article is more targeted toward those who are interest in integrating technology -multimedia and hypermedia- with pedagogy.

The article references *Implanting Strategic Management* (1990) who offer definitions for technophobia, or what the authors have chosen to label as cyberphobia. noted that resistance to change occurs when there is a departure from the historic behavior, culture and power structure. Resistance will manifest as behavioral resistance and systemic resistance. Behavioral resistance occurs as active opposition to change, while systemic resistance arises out of passive incompetence to change (Ansoff & McDonnell, 1990).

Harris (1985) coined the term cyberphobia, an aversion or anxiety caused by technology. Attention to the phenomenon has led to several descriptions. Applebaum (1990) concluded that perhaps the principal common denominator of computer anxious people was that they were over thirty years old. Cyberphobics in Gardner's (1985) study were principally over 50, and female, though either of these findings may well

have changed, or will change, with time and acculturation (Watson & Barker, 1984; Lehman & Kramer, 1990; Hapens & Rasmussen, 1991). Research shows that opposition to attitudinal change can gradually give way to acceptance with the passage of time (Coch & French, 1966; Tesser, 1978; Tesser & Shaffer, 1990). Attitudinal change towards acceptance may be a slow and even tedious experience for some teachers (as quoted by George et al).

The article goes on to proffer five theories for the causes of cyberphobia or 'cyberanxiety'. The profile that I feel is most fitting of Joe's afflictions is Manifested Resistance.

Bralove (1983) hypothesized that resistance to implementation of technological change may be due to underlying perceptions. These perceptions include sensing or anticipate loss of control; insecurity; work overload resulting from learning a new order; altered status; learning unwanted new skills; financial loss; a challenge to self-organization; or that the new order imposes forced changes in behavior, beliefs, or values. Fortunately, resistance, even when manifested, stops short of rejection, and therefore is more easily overcome.

Another important diagnostic tool the article offers are the categorized personae of internet and computer users:

- The Novice: The Novice type has little knowledge of the technology involved and resists it because he/she is not fully aware of its implications and uses.
- The Skeptic & The Agnostic: The Skeptic is aware of the technology involved but is cynical of its benefits and probably does not realize the need to change. The Agnostic is an expert in technology but is not able or, sometimes, unwilling to relate technology-assisted instruction to student satisfaction and performance.
- The Explorer & the Optimist: The Explorer is the educator who has a low knowledge of technology but is enthusiastic and would like to learn more and the Optimist has low knowledge but accepts the technology on face value.
- The Conformist & the Squatter: The Conformist is an expert with technology and accepts it at face value while the Squatter dabbles with it.

Given this information, I have determined Joe, as borderline Novice and Skeptic.

Here I hope to offer a different method of presenting a truer ethnographic presentation of being a participant observer for my family.

Johanne By explaining my motivations I run the risk of apotheosizing technology, tending to sound partial to technoromantic philosophy. What I Can offer is to begin from the beginning; tell you how came to love and fear the technologies of which I write.

My first experience with a computer was in a high school typing class on an old, clunky Wang computer. I almost didn't understand the point it just seemed like a glorified typewriter. "What is the point of this?" I often thought. I had to comply because I had to do well in class so I shut my mouth and did what I had to ...still not understanding the potential of this technology. Pretty soon after that we got a home computer; even though we were not wealthy we were early on the wave of personal computers.

The first thing I did was log onto AOL™ to discover the chat room I had heard about. Although most of the 'conversations' online were not very fulfilling, or more importantly, not very coherent, there was something addictive in seeing the text I typed floating up my computer screen and the other people in the chat room. Did I think I was going to connect with someone? Why was I seeking to connect with someone online? Through self analysis I recovered the psycho-sociological notion that people seek to connect with others.

I am a self-proclaimed borderline internet junkie. Even my resume perpetuates this creative computer geek persona that I have created for myself since the wake of the information age: I have expert experience with (and

comprehension of) electronic imaging software, such as Adobe Photoshop and Adobe Illustrator. I have a solid background in New Media technologies such as Macromedia Director (Lingo) and Macromedia Flash. I am also proficient in HTML and JavaScript. I am currently proficient in Java programming and have familiarity with CGI Scripting.

I have found that being computer savvy has its advantages and disadvantages: I can find almost anything that I am curious about online, but because of this have become the family consultant, performing tasks ranging from application training, web design, even finding travel deals and booking flights. As much as I love the computer there are times when I want to stop rubbing my eyes from light rays.

I check my email too many times a day, but other than being a social butterfly, this is because I am a student. Internet use is encouraged in the university setting, and is almost a necessity as more and more course information and communication between professors and students take place on-line. Moreover, I was living away from home, though only a few miles away, this encouraged e-mail communication with family members and friends.

When I have downtime or am simply procrastinating I log on to sites like haitianconnection.com to interact with my brethren. Even offline , mostof my social circle is composed of Haitian and Haitian-Amreicans; I mostly attend Haitian related events. Weven thiugh I have lived out of Haiti for most of my life I am very much Haitian; from time to time I get offended when people try to cal me Haitian-American. I often get the, I did not tthink you

were Haitian? From my people. It is not that I have assimilated to much into American culture but the fact that I have a unique sense of style and comportment. Much of Haitian culture is quite conservative while I am pushing for a more liberal sense of self and culture. I live a syncretic existence where I have chosen which aspects of each culture I have been exposed to I have chosen to adopt. Into my system of beliefs.

Gerthy ...Just the other day as she as sending an email to her many contacts about the situation in Haiti she remarked' "I could never go back to Haiti the way I am..." Although I felt hat I completely understood what she meant, as she continued to click and type away I asked her what she meant. She explained that she has become such a vocal person that she feels that she would not fit back into the quite and passive role that Haitian culture has etched out for the women in that society. I found that maybe the technology has helped her own her voice and assert her ideals. Although I cannot claim that technology has caused a drastic change in her personality causing her to metamorphose from a quite, taciturn woman to an outspoken leader; I can say that it has nurtured what was already in her nature, the need to speak, be heard and understood.

I often find myself being the intermediary, between my mother's emails and their final recipients. Being that English is not my mother's first language, I often have to edit her socially/ politically motivated correspondence.

She is heavily involved in the public for a of politics and social change; the Internet provides an 'extension' to this work and her interest. It helps her facilitate conversations that she may normally not have the chance to entertain with important movers and shakers.

Checking her email is often what she does when she first wakes up, returns home from being out and usually before going to bed. Her daily habits have changes to incorporate this technology in daily functioning, thus introducing the notion of a cultural shift.

This is a far cry from her original apprehension bout using computers. Although she still has reservations and fears and naiveties about this technology it helps propel most of her daily activities and endeavors, most importantly she is aware of this. This creates an interesting paradox, much like what Randal Pinkett discovered, is that Although Technology typically facilitates a connection between an individual and their community; here the community facilitated a connection between an individual and technology. There has been a transition from my mother from being a passive bystander/observer to an active contributor. Her social networks were reinforced and expanded.

My stepfather, Fresnel, had the advantage of being an academic professional in Haiti. He helped start a computer learning center in Cap Haitien, in the North of Haiti. However, I have observed that he uses the internet quite modestly. He has checks his email three to four times a week to send quick notes; he often uses those

memos to set up times to call people in Haiti. Because of his connections with people who own or run cyber cafés his children in Haiti have access to technology. In contrast with my mother, he refuses to be dependent on computer utilities for communications purposes.

One of the oldest and most fundamental principles in psychology is that behavior associated with pleasant affective experiences is repeated, and behavior associated with unpleasant affective experiences is avoided (Thorndike, 1898). Simply put, people do things that make them feel good, and avoid doing things that make them feel bad. Research indicates that some groups in our society associate negative affect with computers and computer technology. Specifically, racial/ethnic minority groups and women have more negative affective associations (i.e., anxiety) with computer technology than do White males [(Rosen & Weil, 1994, 1995; Steele, 1997, 1999; Turkle, 1995) as quoted by Jackson et al (2001)].

I have noticed that the female subjects are more motivated to use the internet to initiate and maintain contact with people. Is this attributed to facets of gender roles or is this due to technological biases? Some internet theorists maintain that the internet perpetuates gender biases or allege that there exists a digital divide between genders.

Based on well-established evidence that women are more interpersonally oriented than are men and that men are more information/task oriented than are women (Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Gilligan, 1982; Tannen, 1990). In *Gender and the Internet: Women Communicating and Men Searching*, Jackson et al predicted that females would use e-mail more than would males, and that males would use the Web more than would females. They also went on to predict that women would associate more negative affects with computer technology, would be less familiar with the technology, and would have less favorable attitudes and lower self-efficacy toward the Internet than would men.

If we are to be honest and look at communication before the women were networkers prior to the advent of internet technology; through gatherings and by telephone. The internet has, however, offered an extension to the global and local networks of women. The study by Jackson et al was able to conclude that "[m]ales used the Web more than did females, consistent with their stronger motive for information, and with findings of previous research. Interestingly, there was no gender difference in overall use of the Internet. Thus, males and females used the Internet equally often, but used it differently."

James, my nineteen year old brother, decided to respond to my questions as if he were responding to a survey:

1. I found out about the issues through my mother, who's an activist, not only for her local community, but also for the betterment of Haiti. I also hear about the issues through Internet, television, and newspapers.
2. Through my mother and through the Haitian communities. Church is also an outlet for people to speak about the local Haitian issues.
3. I do not have any contact with any family members in Haiti. I don't even know if any of my relatives are still alive for me to talk to them. I guess that's a part of my family's history my mother doesn't want me to know about.
4. I maintained contact through telephone and traditional U.S. mail.
5. I feel like I'm going through the same struggle other Haitians are going through in the Haitian Diaspora. However, I feel as though if I explain my struggles to Haitians, they would say that I couldn't relate because I'm primarily American and secondarily Haitian and that I'm fluent in English instead of the native language Creole.
6. When I communicate with Haitians, I initially start off the conversation with my knowledge of speaking Creole, which is little since I'm fluent in English. If I see my Creole is not up to par, I sometimes ask how to pronounce words in order to make cogent sentences or pray to God that they are bilingual and know English, which most of the time isn't the case. If I were to do the same with another Haitian, my identity would be reinforced the same.
7. I do have access to the Internet.
8. I access the Internet at home, school, cellular phone (which I really don't find helpful, except for downloading ring tones), and libraries at my school, Boston College.
9. I first started using the Internet when I was about thirteen years old, at a local university program for teenagers I was participating in. The computer looked very high-tech and into the modern times. I was very intrigued by this new wave of technology.
10. I bought a computer with Internet access because I wanted to keep myself well connected to friends and family through e-mail and instant messaging. I also bought a computer for me to be able to search for things such as games, jobs, news, photos, etc.
11. I go online 3-4 times a day.
12. The type of connection I have is 56K/Dial-up at home and Ethernet at school. I wish I had a much faster connection than 56K because I feel like I'm held back with a slower connection.
13. I share the Internet with parents and friends, and also with siblings.
14. My primary use of the Internet is to chat with friends and family through AIM, search for news, sending and receiving e-mail, and to download music.
15. The certain things I find indispensable from the Internet are search engines, AIM, e-mail, and music downloading.
16. Since getting the Internet, I have been given the opportunity to see the world through a technological perspective and I have been able to connect with people a whole lot better.

17. I've become more connected with out-of-state friends, especially friends from BC and one friend from California, who I talk to every 2-3 days. I also stay in touch with local friends, employers, teachers, etc.
18. I'm very comfortable with computers, but for the Internet, I'm concerned about hackers and viruses. There is also the concern of people who claim to be a certain age and who want cybersex, which I'm totally against. I see no fun in cybersex. How do you even know that the person you're chatting with is doing things they claim they're doing? And what is the deal with Internet "dating?"
19. A computer is another option of communication besides the telephone.

5.2 REFLECTIONS

As one can conclude from my musings interspersed within the vignettes, participant observation raised more complicated issues. Most notably those around:

- technophobia, the influence of cultural beliefs on Internet use,

There did not seem to be anything endemic to Haitian culture that proliferated cyberphobia. It could be the general distrust for anything non-human which is a fear that is not unique to Haitian ethos.

- the nature of and attachment to cyber-identities,
- diasporic identities and long-distance nationalism
- codependence between social pressure (ideological) and education, which force a link to appropriation of Internet technology into these household contexts.

It could be inferred that it is difficult to separate ideological pressure from education reasons because inclusion and involvement in the information society are considered important for education.

In planning and conducting the research I became more aware of the possible difficulties involves in 'ethnographic' investigation. In the planning stages of this research I was mystified by the question of whether it was *really* possible to really be privy to the private activities of a household. Therein lies the rub. Can a semi-structured study allow me to completely understand the behavior,

and most importantly, the interactions and needs of the household?

From the experience I have gained from conducting this research, it seems like a clear 'no', at least within a 'short' time. Even attempting to become part of the household will cause some level of influence or modification of behavior. As a pilot study for longer-term research I became conscious that gaining complete access to the activities of the 'family' is impossible in the reference to a short-term inquiry. My intent then be converted into being able to enlighten my perception of how technology is integrated into human existence by successfully ascertaining the meanings of human computer interaction.

By my own interpretation I create contextual meaning or of my observations according to my own slightly tainted by my own subjective perceptions of what standards are used to assess technology and technology use against. Through gained consideration and erudition, I realize that life within the home and life without are reciprocal, and codependent. Thus creating a duality where life of a household effects life outside of the home and while life outside of the home informs behaviors inside. It is hypothesized that the investigation and exploration of lives outside will aid in putting domestic activities and implications in perspective. Within psycho-sociological rationality one finds that the devices and practices of public life can benefit, gratify and espouse life within the household.

The individuality and socialization of each member of a household contributes to different interpretations of and motivations for technology, different perceptions that may cause divergence or difference.

For example, the lack of confidence and the problems of ownership and maintenance can contradict the benefits derived from the use of the technology, or its ownership. In other cases there is a tension between what the technology

represents to an individual: an undesirable reliance on technology, being tied into a mistrusted techno-industrial system, or seen as an anti-nature program that goes against basic values (Stewart, 2002).

In the case of Keisha this conflict can be rooted in her lack of privacy; or Joe's suspicions that the computer is actually 'dumbing' his children down.

6 **IMPLICATIONS**

One of the purposes of this research was to understand concepts which would contribute to a theoretical framework that can be applied to the study of cultural uses of communication technologies, in particular those related to the internet. These suggestions for a theoretical framework will hopefully be helpful for future studies of Internet use and implications, within the Haitian Diaspora in New York, Florida and Europe.

Overall internet use have propounded a breakdown of cohesive household identity and has consequentially

changed the boundaries of the domestic environment wherein work and education are brought into the home as well as other utilities that support household faculties, such as shopping and banking. The computer and the telephone make it much easier for work to intrude into the home space, either as a welcome means of managing work, or as a result of a greedy workplace (Nippert-Eng 1995; Gournay et al., 1998; Gant and Kielser, 2002).

7 CONCLUSIONS/NEXT STEPS

This study is a prologue to future work in natural settings in order to shed more light on the social and cultural capital of Internet user and non-users. In the context of the Haitian community, can a decentralized community have relation to Haiti where computers and the Internet are still a luxury and myth to most? As Georgiou (2002) raised and did not attempt to answer, does Internet use promote or experiment with different versions of Haitian ethnicity and identity?

A pervasive cultural assumption, particularly in the United States, holds that technology is only a value-neutral tool. This precludes consideration of the social relations already factored into the technology by the scientific procedures leading to its development. It is more culturally reassuring theoretically to subsume communication technology under the metaphors of "medium" or "conduit" than to acknowledge any possibility of a technology's agency, however partial, contextualized, or inadvertent that agency might be—whether it results from unanticipated effects, applications, or poorly thought through research and design decisions on the part of a specific technology's makers. The "tool" approach concludes that communication technologies only mediate social relations, acting as containers or conduits through which

meanings, social relations, and agents "pass" without being influenced by the passage. This begs the question "why invent a technology in the first place?" if it is somehow to be argued or believed that the technology— an assemblage of complex entities— has no power to influence or alter the state of the lived worlds, and the social relations contributing to existing before the technology's introduction. (Hillis, 1999, page 30)

The Internet is good ...umm... I mean: •home computers are adaptable to a wide variety of uses that can gratify a range of communication goals •there is conflict over practical and symbolic aspects of Internet technologies

The challenge offered by other media in the household coupled with the struggle to manage and accommodate the technology poses further research questions: can the Internet ever become a fully domesticated medium? Or does the status of the technology remain in a state of flux shaped by and determining dynamics in the household?

Furthermore, the although the domestication concept has emerged from the 'social shaping' of technology perspective, where the user is prioritised as 'producer' of the technology, would it be appropriate for

'domestication' as a qualitative category and analytical tool to include ideas relating to the intrusion or, potential, 'agency' of the technology? Since, the Internet poses new challenges to the organization of the household.

Further Questions to ponder:•Can the Internet ever truly become a fully domesticated medium?

- Or does the status of the technology remain in a state of flux shaped by and determining dynamics in the household?

- Would it be appropriate for 'domestication' to include ideas relating to the intrusion or, potential, 'agency' of the technology?

- To what extent should focus of research centre on the paradoxical aspects of appropriation and domestication?

Thus, the social impact of the Internet depends on the impact of society on what the Internet becomes. It follows that sociologists should be studying carefully the organization of the Internet field, as well as the manner in which different ways of organizing content shape patterns of use, because such research holds the key to anticipating and understanding the Internet's effects.

8 REFERENCES

- Adams, P. C., and B. Warf. 1997. Introduction: Cyberspace and Geographical Space. *Geographical Review* 87 (2): 139-145.
- Agre, P. 1994. "Is the Net a Wilderness or a Library?" [a discussion of "Not Just Wires," a presentation by Karen Coyle]. *Network Observer* [University of California, Los Angeles] 1 (10): 1-4. [<http://dlis.gseis.ucla.edu/people/pagre/tno/october-1994.html#net>].
- ALLEYNE-DETMARS, P. (1997) "'Tribal Arts': a case study of global compression in the Notting Hill Carnival", in J. Eade (editor) *Living the Global City: globalization as local process*. London: Routledge.
- Anderson, J. A., & Goodall, H. L., Jr. (1994). Probing the body ethnographic: From an anatomy of inquiry to a poetics of expression. In F. L. Casmir (Ed.), *Building communication theories: A socio/cultural approach* (pp. 87-129). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Ansoff, I. & McDonnell, E. (1990). *Implanting Strategic Management* (Second ed.) Prentice Hall: New York.
- Appadurai, A. (1995) 'The production of locality', in Fardon, R. (ed.) *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*. London: Routledge, 204-25.
- Applebaum, S.H. (1990). Computerphobia: training managers to reduce fears and love the machines. *Industrial and Commercial Training (UK)*. 22(6), 9-16.
- Balsamo, A. (1993). The virtual body in cyberspace. *Research in Philosophy and Technology*, 13, 119-139.
- Basch L, Glick Shillner N, Blanc CS, eds. (1994) *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Basel: Gordon & Breach
- Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. and Szanton Blanc, C. (1994) *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Langhorne, PA: Gordon & Breach.
- Baubock, R. (1994) *Transnational Citizenship: Membership and Rights in International Migration*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Baubock, R. (2002) 'Political community beyond the sovereign state: supranational federalism and transnational minorities', in Vertovec, S. and Cohen, R. (eds) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, in press.
- Baumann, G. (1996) *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-Ethnic London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beck, U. (2000) 'Cosmopolitan manifesto: the cosmopolitan society and its enemies'. Paper presented at Theory, Culture and Society Conference, Helsinki.

Benedikt, M., ed. 1991. *Cyberspace: First Steps*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Bird, J. (1991). Overcoming technofear. *Management Today (UK)*, MTO, 86 - 87 (ISSB:0025-1925; February).

Boehlefeld, S. P. (1996). Doing the right thing: Ethical cyberspace research. *Information Society*, 12, 141-152.

Bralove, M. (1983). Computer anxiety hits middle management. *The Wall Street Journal (March 7)*, 22, 3.

Briggs, Simon (1991). *Culture, Technology and Creativity*. Lecture at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 1991.

Brodwin, Paul (2001). *Marginality and Cultural Intimacy in a Transnational Haitian Community*. Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin- Milwaukee. Occasional Paper, No. 91.

Brodwin, Paul. (2000) *Bioethics from the Margins: Haitian immigrants and American health care*. *Health Care and the New Immigration: Issue 17*, Park Ridge Center, Chicago September/October 2000.

Calhoun, C. (1986). Computer technology, large-scale societal integration and the local community. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 22, 329-349.

Calhoun, C. J. (1980). Community: Toward a variable conceptualization for comparative research. *Social History*, 5, 105-129.

Camacho, M., & Weinstock, D. (1997, May). Facilitating entrance into the global Internet discourse: A qualitative approach to Internet interface design. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Montreal.

Castells, M. (1996) *The Information Age - Vol. 1: The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Castles, S. (2000a) *Ethnicity and Globalization: From Migrant Worker to Transnational Citizen*. London: Sage.

Castles, S. (2000b) 'Transnational communities: challenge to social order or new mode of immigrant incorporation?' Paper presented at 5th International Metropolis Conference, Vancouver (<http://www.international.metropolis.net>).

Castles, S. and Davidson, A. (2000) *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Catanese, Anthony V. (1999). *Haitians: Migration and Diaspora*. Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 1999.

Chandler, Daniel (1995): 'Technological or Media Determinism' [WWW document] **URL** <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/tecdet/tecdet.html> [June 4, 2004]

Cheah, P. and Robbins, B. (eds) (1998) *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Clifford, J. (1997) *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Coch, L. & French, J.R.P Jr. (1996). Overcoming resistance to change. In Proshki, H. & Seidenberg, B. (Eds), *Basic Studies in Social Psychology*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Conway, D. and Cohen, J.H. (1998) 'Consequences of migration and remittances for Mexican transnational communities', *Economic Geography*, 74(1): 26-44.

Coyne, Richard. 1999. *Technoromanticism: Digital narratives, holism, and the romance of the real*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Crisp, J. (1999) 'Policy challenges of the new diasporas: migrant networks and their impact on asylum flows and regimes'. Oxford: ESRC Transnational Communities Programme Working Paper, WPTC-99-05 (www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk).

Crimando, L. (1992). *Technophobia*. Folio: The Magazine for Magazine Management, 21 (3).

Danticat, Edwidge [Ed. 2001]. *The Butterfly's Way: From the Haitian Dyaspora in the United States* Soho Press, February 2001.

Dede, C.J. (1987). *Emoweing Environments, Hypermedia and Microworlds*. *Computing Teacher*, 15(3), 20-24.

Dede, C.J. et al. (1993). *Treads and Forecasts*. *Educom Review*, 28 (6), 35-38.

Dodge, M. & R Kitchin (2001) *Mapping Cyberspace*, London, Routledge

Dodge, M., and R. Kitchin. 2000. *Mapping Cyberspace*. London and New York: Routledge.

Donoho, R. (1994). *Terminal illness*. *Successful Meetings*, 43(3), 46-51.

Dukes, R.L., Discenza, R. & Conger, J.D. (1989), *Convergent validity of four computer anxiety scales*, *Educational & Psychological Measurement*, 49(1), 195-203.

Dyson, Esther. " *The Anonymous Voice*." *Writing and Reading Across the Curriculum*. Ed. Laurence Behrens and Leonard J. Rosen. 8th edition. New York: Longman, 2004. 262-271

Eagly, A. J., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The psychology of attitudes*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.

Eagly, A. H., & Johnson, B. T (1990). *Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis*. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 233-256.

Emling, Shelley (1998). Unlikely Cyber-Café Brings Internet to Poverty-Stricken Haiti. Cox News Service. <http://www.webster.edu/~corbette/haiti/misc/topic/leftover/cybercafe.htm>, retrieved on January 20, 2004.

Escobar, A. (1994). *Welcome to Cyberia: Notes on the anthropology of cyberspace*. *Current Anthropology*, 35, 211-223.

Ettema, J. S., & Whitney, D. C. (1994). The money arrow: An introduction to audience making. In J. S. Ettema & D. C. Whitney (Eds.), *Audience making: How the media create the audience* (pp. 1-18). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Faist, T. (1999) 'Transnationalization in international migration: implications for the study of citizenship and culture'. Oxford: ESRC Transnational Communities Programme Working Paper, WPTC-99-14 (www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk).

Faist, T. (2000) *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fisher, B., Margolis, M., & Resnick, D. (1996). Breaking ground on the virtual frontier: Surveying civic life on the Internet. *American Sociologist*, 27(1), 11-29.

Fitzgerald, D. (2000) *Negotiating Extra-Territorial Citizenship: Mexican Migration and the Transnational Politics of Community*. La Jolla, CA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Monograph Series No. 2.

Foner, N. (1997) 'What's new about transnationalism? New York immigrants today and at the turn of the century', *Diaspora*, 6(3): 355-75.

Gardner, E. (1985). Human-oriented implementation cures phobia. *Data Management*, 46(November), 2932.

Garton, L., & Wellman, B. (1995). Social impacts of electronic mail in organizations: A review of the research

literature. In B. R. Burleson (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook 18* (pp. 434-453). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Georgiou, M (2002). *Diasporic Communities On-Line: A Bottom Up Experience of Transnationalism*. *Journal Hommes et Migrations*, October 2002.

Gibson, W. 1984. *Neuromancer*. New York: Ace Books.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Gilroy, P. (1987) *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. London: Hutchinson.

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992b) 'Transnationalism: a new analytical framework for understanding migration', in Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and Blanc-Szanton, C. (eds) *Toward a Transnational Perspective on Migration*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1-24.

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and Blanc-Szanton, C. (eds) (1992a) *Toward a Transnational Perspective on Migration*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Gourgey, H. & Smith, E. B. (1996). "Consensual hallucination": Cyberspace and the creation of an interpretive community. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 16, 233-247.

Grodin, D. & T. R. Lindlof (Eds.), *Constructing the self in a mediated world* (pp. 179-205). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Guibernau, Montserrat & Hutchinson, John (2004) History and National Destiny. *Nations and Nationalism* 10 (1-2), 1-8.

Hannerz, U. (1996) *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. London: Routledge.

Hapens, T., & Rasmussen, B. (1991). Excluding women from the technology of the future? A case study of the culture of computer science. *Futures*, 23 (December), 1107-1119.

Haraway, D. 1985. A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s. *Socialist Review* 15 (2): 65-107.

Harris, P.H. (1985). Future Work II. *Personnel Journal*, 64(7), 52-57.

Herring, S. 1994. Gender Differences in Computer-Mediated Communication: Bringing Familiar Baggage to the New Frontier. Panel talk at the annual meeting of the American Library Association, Miami, Florida, 27 June.

Hillis, K (1999). *Digital Sensation: Space, Identity, and Embodiment in Virtual Reality*. Volume 1, *Electronic Mediations Series*. University of Minnesota Press, MN.

Hogan, K. (1994, February 28). Technophobia, *Forbes*, ASAP Supplement, 116.

Howard, Judith A. *The Social Psychology of Identities*. *Annual Review of Sociology*; 1/1/2000.

Huff, C. W., & Rosenberg, J. (1989). The on-line voyeur: Promises and pitfalls of observing electronic interaction.

Behavior, Research Methods, Instruments & Computers, 21(2), 166-172.

Igbaria, M. & Parasuraman, S. (1989). A path analytic study of individual characteristics, computer anxiety and attitudes towards computers, *Journal of Management*, 15(3), 373-388.

Igbaria, M. & Parasuraman, S. (1991). Attitudes toward microcomputers: Development and construct validation of a measure, *International Journal of Man-Machine Studies*, 35(4), 553-573.

Igbaria, M. and Chakrabarti, A. (1990). Computer anxiety and attitudes toward microcomputer use. *Behavior & Information Technology*, 9(3), 229-241.

Ihde, D. (2002). *Bodies in Technology*. *Electronic Mediations Series*, Volume 5. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.

Issing, L.J. (1994). From instructional technology to Multimedia Didactics. *Educational Media International*, 31(3), 171-182.

Ito, M. (1996). Theory, method, and design in anthropologies of the Internet. *Social Science Computer Review*, 14(1), 24-26.

Itzigsohn, J. (2000) 'Immigration and the boundaries of citizenship: the institutions of immigrants' political transnationalism', *International Migration Review*, 34(4): 1126-54.

Itzigsohn, J., Dore Cabral, C., Hernandez Medina, E. and Vazquez, O. (1999) 'Mapping Dominican

transnationalism: narrow and broad transnational practices', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2): 316-39.

Janelle, D. G., and D. C. Hodge, eds. 2000. *Information, Place and Cyberspace: Issues in Accessibility* Berlin and New York: Springer-Verlag.

Jenkins, R. (1996) *Social Identity*. London: Routledge.

Jensen, K. B. (1994). *The social semiotics of mass communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Jensen, K. B., & Jankowski, N. W. (Eds.), *A handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research*. New York: Routledge.

Jones, R. A. (1994). *The ethics of research in cyberspace*. *Internet Research*, 4(3), 30-35.

Jordan, T. (1999) *Cyberpower: the culture and politics of cyberspace and the Internet* London: Routledge.

Kearney, M. (1995) 'The local and the global: the anthropology of globalization and transnationalism', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24: 547-65.

Kern, S. 1983. *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Kernan, M.C. & Howard, G.S. (1990). *Computer anxiety and computer attitudes: An investigation of construct and predictive validity issues*, *Educational & Psychological Measurement*, 50 (3), 681-690.

King, S. (1996). *Researching Internet communities: Proposed ethical guidelines for the reporting of results*. *The Information Society*, 12, 119-127.

Kitchin, R., and J. Kneale. 2001. *Science Fiction or Future Fact? Exploring Imaginative Geographies of the New Millennium*. *Progress in Human Geography* 25 (1): 19-35.

Kolko, B. (2003). *Virtual Publics: Policy and Community on an Electronic Age*. Columbia University Press, NY.

Kraut, R., Patterson, M., Lundmark, V., Kiesler, S., Mukhopadhyay, T., & Scherlis, W. (1998). *Internet paradox: A social technology that reduces social involvement and psychological well-being?* *American Psychologist*, 53(9), 1017-1031.

Kraut, R., Scherlis, W., Mukhopadhyay, T., Manning, J., & Kiesler, S. (1996). *HomeNet: A Field Trial of Residential Internet Services*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of CHI '96, Vancouver, Canada.

Labelle, M. and Midy, F. (1999) 'Re-reading citizenship and the transnational practices of immigrants', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 25(2): 213-32.

Laguerre, M.S. (1998) *Diasporic Citizenship: Haitian-Americans in Transnational America*. London: Macmillan.

Laplante, A. (1991). *Resistance to change can obstruct computing strategy*, *Infoworld*, 13(23), S59-S63.

Large, A. et al. (1995). *Multimedia and Comprehension: The relationship among Text, Animation and Captions*. *Journal of American Society for Information Science*, 46(5), 340-347.

Lehman, S. & Kramer, P.E. (1990). Mismeasuring women: a critique of research on computer ability and avoidance. *Signs*, 16 (Autumn), 158-172.

Levitt, P. (2001) *The Transnational Villagers*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lévy, P (2001). *Cyberculture*. Volume 4, *Electronic Mediations Series*. University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Levy, S. 1984. *Hackers: Heroes of the Computer Revolution*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press / Doubleday.

Lewin, K. (1952). Group decision and social change. In G.E. Swanson, TM. Newcomb, & E.L. Harley (Eds.) *Readings in Social Psychology*, (pp. 459-473). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Lie, M. and K. H. Sorensen, Eds. (1997). *Making technology our own? : domesticating technology into everyday life*. Oslo, Scandinavian University Press.

Lindlof, T. R. (1992). Computing tales: Parents' discourse about family and technology. *Social Science Computer Review*, 10(3), 241-309.

Lindlof, T. R. (1995). *Qualitative communication research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lindlof, T. R., & Grubb-Swetnam, A. (1996). Seeking a path of greatest resistance: The self becoming method. In

Lindlof, T. R., Edwards, T., Malloy, B., Picherit, G., & Townsend, T. (1997, May). X-Men@interp community: Community building in a virtual popular culture. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Montreal.

Livingstone, S. (1992). The Meaning of Domestic Technologies. In Silverstone, R. et al. *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic spaces*. London, Routledge.

Livingstone, S. and M. Bovill (1999). *Children, Young People and the Changing Media Environment*. London, London School of Economics and Political Science.

Livingstone, Sonia (2001). User empowerment and media competence: Combining protection and education. A Panel Presentation to the European Forum on Harmful and Illegal Cyber Content: Self-Regulation, User Protection and Media Competence Media Division, Directorate General of Human Rights, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 28 November 2001

Machin, D., & Carrithers, M. (1996). From "interpretative communities" to "communities of improvisation." *Media, Culture & Society*, 18, 343-352.

Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 95-117,

Massey, D., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J.E. (1998) *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mattesich, P., & Monsey, B. (1997). *Community Building: What Makes it Work. A Reivew of Factors Influencing Successful Community Building*. St. Paul, MN: Amherst H. Wilder Foundation.

Melmed, A. (1994). A learning infrastructure for all Americans: Summary of a Report to the National Science Foundation. *Machine-Mediated Learning*, 4(4), 377-397.

Miller, D& D. Slater (2001). *The Internet: An Ethnographic Approach*. Berg, Oxford International Publishers, UK.

Mitchell, William J. *CITY OF BITS: Space, Place, and the Infobahn*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996.

Mitchell, William J. *e-topia: "Urban Life, Jim--But Not as We Know It."* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999.

Morawska, E. (1999) 'The new-old transmigrants, their transnational lives, and ethnicization: a comparison of 19th/20th and 20th/21st C situations'. Florence: European University Institute Working Papers EUF No. 99/2.

Morrow, P.C., Prell, E.C., & McElroy, J.C. (1986). Attitudinal and behavioral correlates of computer anxiety, *Psychological Reports*, 59(3), 1119-1204.

Nie, N. H. & Ebring, L. (2000). *Internet and Society: A Preliminary Report*. Stanford, CA: The Institute for the Quantitative Study of Society.

Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logic of Transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ostergaard-Nielsen, E. (2001) 'Turkish and Kurdish transnational political mobilisation in Germany and the Netherlands', *Global Networks*, 1(3): 261-81.

Parham, Angel Adams(2004). *Diaspora, Community and Communication: Internet Use in Transnational Haiti*. *Global Networks* 4, 2 (2004) 199-217.

Park, I. and Hannanfin, M.J. (1993). Empirically-based guidelines for the design of interactive multimedia. *Educational Technology, Research & Development*, 41(3), 63-85.

Paul Stubbs (1999) 'Virtual Diaspora?: Imagining Croatia On-line' *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 4, no. 2, <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/4/2/stubbs.html>

Pomeroy, S. M. 1996. *Gendered Places, Virtual Spaces: A Feminist Geography of Cyberspace*. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley.

Portes, A. (1997) 'Immigration theory for a new century: some problems and opportunities', *International Migration Review*, 31(4): 799-825.

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L.E. and Landolt, P. (eds) (1999a) *Transnational Communities*. Special issue, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2).

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L.E. and Landolt, P. (eds) (1999b) 'The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promises of an emergent research field', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2): 217-37.

- Poster, M. (1998) 'Virtual Ethnicity: tribal identity in an age of global communications' in S. Jones (editor) *Cybersociety 2.0*. London: Sage.
- Poster, Mark. (2001) *What's The Matter with the Internet? Electronic Mediations Series, Volume 3*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Potter, W. J. (1996). *An analysis of thinking and research about qualitative methodology*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Pries, L. (ed.) (1999) *Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Putnam, R. D. (1995) 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital', *The Journal of Democracy*, 6:1, pages 65-78.
- Raub, A.C. (1982). *Correlates of computer anxiety in college students*. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 42(11-A), 4775.
- Reid, E. M. (1995). *Virtual worlds: Culture and imagination*. In S. G. Jones (Ed.), *Cybersociety: Computer-mediated communication and community*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rheingold, H. (1993). *The virtual community*. Don Mills, Ontario: Wesley Publishing.
- Rice & Associates (Eds.), *The new media: Communication, research, and technology* (pp. 55-80). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Rice, R. E. (1993). *Media appropriateness: Using social presence theory to compare traditional and new organizational media*. *Human Communication Research*, 19, 451-484.
- Rice, R. E., & Williams, F. (1984). *Theories old and new: The studies of new media*. In R. E.
- Rosetti, D.K. & Dezoort, F.A. (1989). *Organizational adaptation to technology innovation*. *Advanced Management Journal*, 54(4), 29-33.
- Rouse, R. (1991) '*Mexican migration and the social space of postmodernism*', *Diaspora*, 1(1): 8-23.
- Rouse, R. (1995) '*Questions of identity: personhood and collectivity in transnational migration to the United States*', *Critique of Anthropology*, 15(4): 351-80.
- Sachs, H. (1995). *Computer networks and the formation of public opinion: An ethnographic study*. *Media, Culture & Society*, 17, 81-99.
- Safran, William. (1991) '*Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return*', *Diaspora*, 1(1): 83-99.
- Sammons, M.C. (1995). *Students Assess Computer-Aided Classroom Presentations*. *T.H.E. Journal*, May 1995, 66-69.
- Sassen, S. (1998) '*The de facto transnationalizing of immigration policy*', in Joppke, C. (ed.) *Challenge to the Nation-State: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 49-85.

Schoening, G. T., & Anderson, J. A. (1995). Social action media studies: Foundational arguments and common premises. *Communication Theory*, 5, 93-116.

Sharon Strover, Joe Straubhaar (2000) E-Government Services and Computer and Internet Use in Texas Telecommunications and Information Policy Institute, University of Texas

Short, J., Williams, E., & Christie, B. (1976). *The social psychology of telecommunications*. London: Wiley & Sons.

Sleeth, R.G. Pearce, C.G. and George, G. (1995). Community Networking: Managing Phobic Behaviors at the Individual and Community Levels. Proceedings of the Second International Workshop on Community Networking. IEEE Communications Society, 249-253.

Smith, M. (1993). *Voices from the WELL: The logic of the virtual commons*. Department of Sociology, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

Silverstone, R., E. Hirsch and Morley, D. (1992). Information and Communications technologies and the moral economy of the household. In Silverstone, R. et al (Eds). *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic spaces*. London, Routledge.

Silverstone, R. and E. Hirsh, Eds. (1992). *Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic spaces*. London, Routledge.

Smith, M.P. and Guarnizo, L.E. (eds) (1998) *Transnationalism from Below*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Soysal, Y.N. (1994) *The Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Star, S. L. (1995). Introduction. In S. L. Star (Ed.), *Cultures of computing* (pp. 1-28). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Starrs, P. F., and L. Huntsinger. 1995. The Matrix, Cyberpunk Literature, and the Apocalyptic Landscapes of Information Technology. *Information Technology and Libraries* 14 (5): 251-257.

Stefik, M. 1996. *Internet Dreams: Archetypes, Myths and Metaphors*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Stephenson, N. 1992. *Snow Crash*. New York: Bantam Books.

Sterne, J. "Thinking the Internet: Cultural Studies vs. The Millennium." In *Doing Internet Research*, ed. Steve Jones, 257-288. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998.

Tambiah, Stanley J. (2000) *Transnational Movements, Diaspora, and Multiple Modernities*. *Daedalus*; 1/1/2000

Tannen, D. (1990). *You just don't understand: Women and men in conversation*. New York: Morrow.

Taylor, C. (1977). Interpretation and the sciences of man. In F. R. Dallmayr & T. A. McCarthy (Eds.), *Understanding and social inquiry* (pp. 101-131). Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Tesser, A. (1978). Serf generated attitude change. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social*

psychology, Vol. 11, pp. 289-338), New York: Academic Press.

Tesser, A., & Shaffer, D.R. (1990). Attitudes and attitude change. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 41,479-523.

Turkle, S. (1996). Parallel lives: Working on identity in virtual space. In D. Grodin & T. R. Lindlof (Eds.), *Constructing the self in a mediated world* (pp. 156-175). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Vancouver (<http://www.international.metropolis.net>).

Vertovec, S. (1999a) 'Conceiving and researching transnationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2): 447-62.

Vertovec, S. (1999b) 'Introduction', in Vertovec, S. (ed.) *Migration and Social Cohesion*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar, xi-xxxvii.

Vertovec, S. (1999c) 'Minority associations, networks and public policies: re-assessing relationships', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 25(1): 21-42.

Vertovec, S. (2000) 'Rethinking remittances'. Paper presented at 5th International Metropolis Conference,

Vertovec, S. and Cohen, R. (1999) Introduction, in Vertovec, S. and Cohen, R. (eds) *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar, xiii-xxviii.

Vertovec, S. and Cohen, R. (eds) (2002) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, in press.

Vertovec, Steven. Transnationalism and Identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Volume 27, Number 4, October 2001.

Waller Meyers, D. (1998) 'Migrant remittances to Latin America: reviewing the literature'. *Inter-American Dialogue/Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, Working Paper 1* (www.iadialog.org/meyers.html).

Walther, J. B. (1996). Computer-mediated communication: Impersonal, interpersonal, and hyperpersonal interaction. *Communication Research*, 23, 3-43.

Walther, J. B., Anderson, J. F., & Park, D. W. (1994). Interpersonal effects in computer-mediated interaction: A meta-analysis of social and antisocial communication. *Communication Research*, 21, 460-487.

Warschauer, M (2003). *Technology and Social Inclusion: Rethinking the Digital Divide*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Waskul, D., & Douglass, M. (1996). Considering the electronic participant: Some polemical observations on the ethics on on-line research. *The Information Society*, 12, 129-139.

Watson, K.W., & Barker, L.L. (1984). Listening behavior: definition and measurement. *Communication Yearbook*, 8, 178-197.

Wellman, B. & Gulia, M. (1998). Virtual communities as communities: Net surfers don't ride alone. In M. Smith & P. Kollock (Eds), *Communities in Cyberspace*. Berkeley, CA: Routledge.

Wellman, B. & Gulia, M. (1999). Net surfers don't ride alone. In B. Wellman (Ed.), *Networks in the Global Village*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Wellman, B. (1982). Studying personal communities. In P. M. N. Lin (Ed.), *Social Structure and Network Analysis*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Wellman, B. (1992). Which types of ties and networks give what kinds of social support? *Advances in Group Processes*, 9, 207-235.

Wellman, B. (1997). An electronic group is virtually a social network. In S. Kiesler (Ed.), *Culture of the Internet* (pp. 179-205). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Wellman, B., Salaff, J., Dimitrova, D., Garton, L., Gulia, M., & Haythornthwaite, C. (1996). Computer networks as social networks: Collaborative work, telework, and virtual community. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 22, 213-239.

Wellman, Barry (ed.). 2000b. "Must Community Have a Place? An Online Discussion of the American Sociological Association's Community and Sociology section, January-February 2000." website: <http://www.urbsoc.org/communityweb/>

Wellman, Barry and Barry Leighton. 1979. "Networks, Neighborhoods and Communities." *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 14: 363-90.

Wellman, Barry and Charles Wetherell. "Social Network Analysis of Historical Communities: Some Questions from the Present to the Past." *History of the Family* 1, 1 (1996): 97-121.

Wellman, Barry and Keith Hampton. 1999. "Living Networked On and Offline." *Contemporary Sociology* 28 (6): 648-54.

Wellman, Barry and Milena Gulia. 1999. "Net Surfers Don't Ride Alone." Pp. 331- 66 in *Networks in the Global Village*, edited by Barry Wellman. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Wellman, Barry and Scot Wortley. 1990. "Different Strokes From Different Folks: Community Ties and Social Support." *American Journal of Sociology* 96: 558-88.

Wellman, Barry, Anabel Quan, James Witte and Keith Hampton. 2001. "Does the Internet Reduce, Amplify or Augment Social Capital?" Special issue on "The Internet in Everyday Life," *American Behavioral Scientist*: forthcoming.

Wellman, Barry. 1979. "The Community Question." *American Journal of Sociology* 84: 1201-31.

Wellman, Barry. 1985. "Domestic Work, Paid Work and Net Work." Pp. 159-91 in *Understanding Personal Relationships*, edited by Steve Duck and Daniel Perlman. London: Sage.

Wellman, Barry. 1988. "Structural Analysis: From Method and Metaphor to Theory and Substance." Pp. 19-61 in *Social Structures: A Network Approach*, edited by Barry Wellman and S.D. Berkowitz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wellman, Barry. 1992a. "Men in Networks: Private Communities, Domestic Friendships." Pp. 74-114 in *Men's Friendships*, edited by Peter Nardi. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wellman, Barry. 1992b. "Which Types of Ties and Networks Give What Kinds of Social Support?" *Advances in Group Processes* 9: 207-35.

Wellman, Barry. 1997. "An Electronic Group is Virtually a Social Network." Pp. 179-205 in *Culture of the Internet*, edited by Sara Kiesler. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Wellman, Barry. 1999a. "The Network Community." Pp. 1-48 in *Networks in the Global Village*, edited by Barry Wellman. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Wellman, Barry. 1999b. "Ties and Bonds." *Connections* 22 (1): 12-18.

Wellman, Barry. 2000a. "Changing Connectivity: A Future History of Y2.03K." *Sociological Research Online* 4 (4), February: website: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/4/>

Wellman, Barry. 2001. "The Rise of Networked Individualism." in *Community Networks Online*, edited by Leigh Keeble. London: Taylor & Francis.

Wellman, Beverly and Barry Wellman. 1992. "Domestic Affairs and Network Relations." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 9: 385-409.

Wellman, D. (1994). Constituting ethnographic authority: The work process of field research, an ethnographic account. *Cultural Studies*, 8, 569-583.

Wheeler, J. O., Y. Aoyama, and B. Warf, eds. 2000. *Cities in the Telecommunications Age: The Fracturing of Geographies*. New York: Routledge.

10 APPENDIX

Interview Questions:

- How do you find out about issues in Haiti?
- How do you find out about local Haitian issues?
- Do you stay in touch with family in Haiti or abroad?
- How did you maintain contact before the Internet (if relevant)?
- How do you feel about yourself in relation to other Haitians in the Diaspora?
- How does communicating with other Haitians reinforce your identity?
- Do you have access to the Internet?"
- Where do you access the internet"
- When did you first start using the Internet?
- Why did you buy a computer with Internet access?
- How often do you go online?
- What type of connection do you have (speed)?
- Who do you share Internet access with (adults and children)?
- What is your primary use of the Internet?
- What internet technology do you find to be indispensable?
- Complete this sentence, "Since getting the Internet, I have..."?
- What group of people have you become more connected with?
- How comfortable are you with Computers? With the Internet?
- What benefits does a computer bring?