

Notes

1. See for example Webster (1995), Castells (1996 and *passim*) and Webster and Robins (1999).
2. Bill Gates (1995) in *The Road Ahead* involved himself in such forecasting when he predicted the development of the pocket computer which allows the owner to read and send email, monitor weather and stock reports, play computer games, take notes at meetings, browse information on the Web, store digital images and so on. He then suggested that it would begin to take the place of money, keys and passports. *The Guardian*, of 2 May 1996, reported that the computer company Olivetti expected the next 20 years to see computers involved in all aspects of daily life, from controlling laser guided vacuum cleaners to replacing visits to the doctors by the use of teleconference facilities and using sensors on the body to transmit vital information to the medical practitioner. The *Microsoft/Intelliquest National Computing Survey* reported in 1997 that most Americans believed that by the year 2000 their cars would be fitted with computer controlled navigation systems and that by the year 2005 cash money would be obsolete and home appliances respond to spoken commands.
3. Turkle, however, has argued that the the new 'user-friendly interfaces of the Apple Macintosh and the Windows operating system have actually deskilled computer users, who no longer need to know how a computer functions, but only need to engage with surface manipulations and representations of computer function' (1996).
4. Although see Giddens (1990) on the importance of 'expert systems'.
5. See for example the advent of Taylorism and his call for a scientific management of work. Many of the surveillance procedures which he championed can be seen operating in call centres and other computerised workplaces today.
6. Globalisation is a term with many different meanings. Urry outlines two processes of globalisation. The first involves 'Processes operating on an emergent global level which over time are compressing the distances between peoples and places found within different societies' and the second which refers to 'An end-state in which the whole earth is criss-crossed by global processes and in which individual places, groups of people and individual societies have entirely lost their significance and power – there is a single global society' (1998: 3). The concept of globalisation has been criticised from many quarters. In the first instance a number of writers have questioned whether a new global economy did indeed arise in the last quarter of the twentieth century, suggesting that markets began to develop on a truly global scale at least a century earlier (Harman 1996: 5–9). Globalisation has proved to be more a period of ascendancy for the transnational corporations rather than for the small, flexible producer and this has resulted in a degrading of labour market conditions worldwide, loss of consumer choice, and democratic accountability within a world in which little has changed with respect to power and class structure (Klein 2001).

7. Indeed Klein (2001) shows that mass production techniques have largely been exported to low-wage, poorly regulated economies of the South.
8. See works such as Schlosser's *Fast Food Nation* and Ehrenreich's *Nickle and Dimed*.
9. The much heralded rise of the teleworking society has, however, been slow to materialise (Castells 1996, Britton *et al.* 1999) suggesting that any proposed benefits have to date only impacted on the lives of a minority of the population.
10. The term was coined by Gibson (1984) in his novel '*Neuromancer*'.
11. Nua Internet Survey, 2003.
12. Sennett himself mourns the loss of disorder and difference which the search for 'purified communities' brings. He sees this as self-limiting and a denial of a sense of exploration and adventure (1970: 27–49).
13. Eric Gertler, former board member of Boulder Community Network, interviewed 28 March 2003 in Boulder, Colorado, USA.
14. Pew Internet Surveys estimate that 42 per cent of Americans do not use the internet. Of these 20 per cent are thought to be Net Evaders, that is they do not use the net, but probably ask friends and family to surf for them occasionally, 17 per cent are Net Dropouts in that they have used the net previously but have dropped out of use for various reasons and 24 per cent of the population of the United States are Truly Disconnected in that they have never had access and do not have experience of what the net might offer them. This percentage is very near the percentage of Americans (23 per cent) who, according to the Department of Education in the US, have trouble with literacy (Pew Internet and American Life 2003: 5).
15. This has been true of previous technologies too, even the telephone which has been adopted as a form of communication well used by women (Spender 1995: 191) can be used as a tool of harassment.
16. See for example Taylor (1999) on 'hacktivism'.
17. See McQuivey's comments in a PBS Newshour interview with Raymond Suarez, 16 February 2000 at http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/cyberspace/jan-june00/disconnect_2-16.html.
18. This was entitled 'The Big Conversation' but quickly became referred to in certain circles as 'The Big Con'.
19. Personal conversation with Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, Boulder, CO, February 2003.
20. On 15 January 2004, Manchester Against Racism (MAR) was launched in the Town Hall of that city, approximately 500 people attended and roughly 30 British National Party (BNP) protesters protested outside. In the BNP's version, hosted on their website, 120 of their forces turned up and 84 attended the anti-racist event. Since the author oversaw the signing up of 133 people to MAR on that night she can testify as to the false nature of the BNP's claims.
21. For example the Free-Net systems of bulletin boards.
22. This is how typical web pages are constructed offering information to the 'browser'.
23. De Digitale Stadt, Cybertown are examples.
24. This refocusing of interest away from class and towards community has also been associated with theories of post-industrialism which suggest that the 'informatisation' of work results in increased social mobility and a weakening of class identity and of working-class solidarity (Byrne 1999: 66).

25. Communitarianism is a philosophy, imported from the United States, which counterposes the enduring significance of community to the 'excessive individualism' (Etzioni 1993: x) which has characterised relations in the West in recent years. It suggests a rebuilding of community relations in order to combat some of the worst excesses of the recent past, to use shared norms and values to rebuild shattered communities characterised by fear, inaction and lack of political participation.
26. I return to the importance of trust in the building and maintenance of social networks later in this work.
27. This quote is taken from the 1999 report *Local Connections: Making the Net Work for Neighbourhood Renewal* published by Communities On-Line in response to the Social Exclusion Unit's 1998 report 'Bringing Britain Together'.
28. White House press release 17 April 2000.
29. The term was coined by Professor Michael Tracey of Colorado University, visiting Professor at GEMISIS, University of Salford, to distinguish the application of broadband technology to service the particular needs of the local community rather than merely to entertain it (the circus model).
30. See Day (2000: 6) for a brief outline of events in the United States and their parallel in Europe.
31. Labour Government website, May 1998. The title of this project very deliberately mirrored a successful private sector operation in insurance which launched one of the first solely telephone operated businesses based in the UK.
32. The Labour government IT Policy on Labour Government website, May 1998.
33. By July 2000 the term e-government had become 'Information Age Government' in the report from the government's Central IT Unit, part of the Cabinet Office – *Information Age Government. Benchmarking Electronic Service Delivery*.
34. Announced in April 2000.
35. NHS Direct was launched as a telephone service staffed by health professionals, in 2000. It was followed shortly by an online version of the service.
36. Originally this was Alex Allen, he was replaced by Andrew Pinder in January 2001.
37. Nua Internet Surveys cited in CITU (2000: 16).
38. Office of the e-envoy website, accessed 12 March 2001.
39. The title of their report, published in May 2000.
40. From the National Inventory: News Stories at <http://www.information-society.org.uk>. The story was run on 8 March 2001.
41. See for example the 1998 White Paper 'Modernising Local Government' London: HMSO.
42. The Social Inclusion and ICT Forum in the North-West consisted of representatives of community and non-governmental organisations as well as academics and some local authority personnel.
43. This perspective assumes that other socioeconomic groups *have* already become a part of the Information Age.
44. The equation, poverty=social disorganisation, leading to a lack of community is an enduring theme, introduced by the Chicago School of sociologists in the 1920s and 1930s.
45. Currently the work of the Communities Online network includes interesting examples of project development and partnership working within the voluntary

- and statutory sectors, and see ICL's 'Cyberskills' project for an example of private sector interest.
46. For example, the Manchester Area Resource Centre, which began as an accessible and inexpensive facility for printing which was used by many trade union and community groups and which trained individuals to typeset and produce leaflets, posters and badges.
 47. See the Communities Online website at www.communities.org.uk for the history of Communities Online, Partnerships Online and many of the main players in the formation of community networking in Britain.
 48. See archived discussions on the Communities Online website.
 49. This term was coined by the computer company ICL working alongside the South Bristol Learning Network, see ICLs Cyberskills Workshops marketing brochure 'The skills for the future – a lifetime of learning'.
 50. Indeed America On-Line bought the company Digital City Inc. which pioneered much work in this area, in 1997.
 51. See for example the listings generated by Community World UK on www.community-world.co.uk.
 52. However, still other physically based communities have sought to make use of the Internet but without affiliation to the community networks of which Schuler is an advocate.
 53. The first tranche of visits was carried out in early 1997, and the sites were later revisited in March 2001. Interestingly, in October 1997 the Infoseek search engine listed 67 URL addresses under the search term 'community network', yet only 45 in 2001. However, in 1997 only 80 of these referred to actual online communities, and three could not be contacted after two attempts over one week apart. In 2001 more of these sites related to virtual community sites, either locality or interest-based than in 1997.
 54. In 1995 the Blacksburg Electronic Village (BEV) closed its chat-lines to web-users outside their own network to protect BEV users from intimidating postings. In 2001 the chat-line link had been contracted out to a commercial organisation which could 'police' all postings and was open to all visitors once more.
 55. The five networks were Buffalo Free-Net, serving eight counties of Western New York; NapaNet, 'a dream of the educational community of Napa County'; Silicon Valley Public Access Link; Community Network, Boulder Community Network; and Blacksburg Electronic Village.
 56. There was also some concern expressed that funding for these networks, which was often through sponsorship with private businesses, was less than secure; see Miller (1995) Chapter 11 for a discussion of this problem.
 57. These campaigns offered information, advice and counselling to victims or their carers, on bullying in schools and head injuries respectively.
 58. An internal website that uses the same protocols as the Internet but which is shielded from external Internet users.
 59. See for example Conet newsgroup posting 25 June 1998 from J. Zielstra and replies.
 60. Dave Carter, of Manchester City Council's Economic Initiative Group, is charged with promoting information initiatives across the city to ensure economic and urban regeneration takes place. His background is in community activism and linking business and community goals.

61. The Communities On-Line history can be found on the Partnerships Online website at <http://www.partnerships.org.uk>.
62. See for example Michael Mulquin's 1997 article posted on the Partnerships Online website entitled 'What are the benefits of getting online?' and Mark Walker's 'What does IT all cost?'
63. And see their 1999 report for the Social Action Research Project based in Salford 'Networking the Community to Build Social Capital in East Salford'.
64. GEMISIS was a collaboration between the University of Salford, Salford City Council and the then NYNEX corporation based in the US.
65. Professor M. Tracey, GEMISIS Academic Supervisor/Researcher Meeting, 11 June 1997.
66. *The City of Salford and the Information Society: The Opportunity and the Challenge*. Report to the GEMISIS 2000 Community Topic Team – 21 February 1997.
67. It was initially envisaged that the city would buy in the ICL CyberSkills Programme which was developed alongside the South Bristol Learning Network. This programme consisting of ICT workshops followed by discussion groups in which individuals were encouraged to discuss the impact of the information society and to find ways to tailor ICT to their personal requirements. This was regarded as a way to motivate users and to ensure continued interest in ICT. In this ICL model, workshops were led by former participants turned trainers in order to break down barriers between learners and teachers and all participants were encouraged to maintain active networks with co-learners after the event. Despite initial interest in this model the local authority did not ultimately choose to buy the ICL project.
68. This term was used by the United Nations' Administrative Committee on Co-ordination in the statement produced by the Inter-agency project on universal access to basic communication and information services *ACC Statement on Universal Access to Basic Communication and Information Services* which can be found on the website of the International Telecommunications Union at www.itu.int/acc-rep.htm, accessed 7 December 2001.
69. The Ennis site can be found at www.ennis.ie [accessed 6 February 2004].
70. Many of cities Aurigi reports have built 'electronic brochures' and over half (56 per cent) were dominated by the ethos of city marketing. Only about 10 per cent had participative and inclusive interactive electronic environments – Virtual London and Virtual Helsinki were given as examples of what might be achieved.
71. Little Hulton was originally a village located to the north-west of the City of Salford, however, it expanded rapidly in the 1960s due to the construction of five overspill estates, with associated schools, industrial estates and shopping centres. It now has a largely modern housing stock with a high proportion of public sector rented housing (68.8 per cent). It is on the periphery of the Greater Manchester conurbation and, although it is a location which gives access to green belt open space and is close to a major motorway network, it is an isolated area which sits uneasily halfway between the centres of two cities, Bolton and Salford. Its isolation is compounded by the fact that while over half (57.7 per cent) the households in the area do not own a car, there are no direct rail or bus facilities to any of the nearby cities. It covers an area of only four-and-a-half square kilometres with a population of 11,635 in 4789 households. Unemployment here is generally higher than the city average,

which in turn is higher than the regional average. There are particular problems with rates of both youth and long-term unemployment. Just over 10 per cent of the population is educated to diploma, and less than 1 per cent to degree, level. Fully 63 per cent of the unemployed, and 37 per cent of the employed have no qualifications.

The Seedley and Langworthy area of the city is much more a traditional northern inner-city area. The area is situated at the centre of the Greater Manchester conurbation and is only one mile from the prosperous centre of Manchester. The area gains little from this proximity to wealth however. Langworthy is a very unstable community with around 20 per cent of its homes unoccupied. Seedley and Langworthy have a young, predominantly white population with lower than average education levels and higher than average proportions of people who are permanently sick and economically inactive. At the time of the 1991 census, 67 per cent of the area's population was on some form of benefit (Hellowell and Mulquin 1999). Langworthy, particularly, is a very rundown area. It is part of a regeneration area, with Single Regeneration Budget money available for physical, economic and social regeneration. It has its own community organisation (SALI – the Seedley and Langworthy Initiative) which is an umbrella group incorporating two residents associations, a local business group, churches, the women's centre and a families project with 70 per cent of this organisation's board being local residents (Hellowell and Mulquin 1999).

72. The city of Salford has a population of 220,463 but is part of the much larger Greater Manchester conurbation with a combined population of around two million. The 1991 census data shows Salford to be a predominantly white, predominantly working-class city. The city can be shown to be multiply deprived on a number of indices. A report by the University of Bristol (1993) measuring urban deprivation using data from the 1991 census placed Salford as ninth in its index of deprivation out of the 366 urban districts of England (Walklate and Evans 1999: 27). The 1991 census also shows the city having low rates of owner-occupation of housing (52.7 per cent) and a high percentage of its residents living in local authority accommodation (35.6 per cent). In 1980 the Black Report found that the city of Salford had the highest standardised mortality ratio in the country and although this improved during the 1980s this still stood at 111 compared to 100 for England and Wales in 1989 (Salford Community Health 1993). The social and economic deprivation suffered by many Salford residents takes its toll in many ways. The traditional industries of Salford have been mining, cotton, docks and engineering, which later developed into electrical engineering. Between 1959 and 1972, however, 100,000 jobs were lost to local people and local men were hit the hardest (86 per cent of these jobs had been held by men). This rate of job loss represents an annual decline of 8 per cent compared with an annual national job loss of one per cent and a regional loss of just over 6 per cent annually (GMC 1992). In 1995 Salford Careers Service estimated that 70 per cent of companies in the city in 1994 actually employed less than ten people. Nor were these companies employing local people at the cutting edge of change. The local labour force in the 1990s remained largely unskilled and the educational achievement of school leavers in the area covered by the Manchester Training and Enterprise Council remained low. In Salford in 1995, 11 per cent

- of Salford school leavers left with no qualifications at all. In 1996 the whole of the city was given Objective 2 status for the purposes of European Regional Aid.
73. The Little Hulton Information Development Group (LIDO) predated GEMISIS intervention in the area, however the presence of GEMISIS brought an emphasis on ICT into their deliberations. The group was made up of various voluntary and statutory groups involved in service delivery in the area which had recognised that they had a common interest in sharing information. The most regular attenders represented social services, the library and the women's centre.
 74. For more detailed information see Evans (2002: 144–150).
 75. Group interview – Salford Women's Centre, 10 June 1998, p. 5.
 76. By chance, rather than research design, each group interview I conducted had one participant who had such stories to relate. In Amblecote women's group and in the women's centre in Little Hulton it was participants who used email in their voluntary work with 'Compassionate Friends', a support group for bereaved parents, which had recently moved into the provision of online support in addition to their more traditional face-to-face counselling.
 77. Interview – 11 June 1998 Salford Jobshop, p. 3.
 78. Group interview at Amblecote Women's Group, 11 June 1998, p. 13.
 79. Group interview at Little Hulton Women's Centre, 20 June 1998, p. 12.
 80. Group interview at Amblecote Community Centre, 2 July 1998, p. 9.
 81. Group interview at Amblecote Community Centre, 2 July 1998, p. 7.
 82. Group interview, Salford Women's Centre, 10 June 1998, p. 8.
 83. Group interview, Little Hulton Women's Centre, 12 June 1998, pp. 19–22.
 84. Indeed the report *People not Technology* published by Salford City Council in 1999 acknowledges that at that time 'Many staff are not "on-line", a number are using equipment that is out of date, and many more do not even have access to a computer' (City of Salford undated: 9).
 85. Group interview at Amblecote Community Centre, 2 July 1998.
 86. Group interview at Amblecote Community Centre, 2 July 1998, p. 5.
 87. Group interview at Amblecote Community Centre, 2 July 1998, p. 5.
 88. Group discussion at Amblecote Community Centre, 2 July 1998.
 89. Exit interview ADD group, 8 October 1999.
 90. Group interview at Little Hulton Women's Centre, 12 June 1998.
 91. Techtrain information leaflet, July 98.
 92. Group interview – Amblecote Residents Association, 2 July 1998.
 93. Group interview – Little Hulton Women's Centre, 12 June 1998, pp. 9–11.
 94. Exit interview with ADD group, Little Hulton, 8 October 1999, p. 11.
 95. The ADD group remained an exception to the norm, having built up existing relationships of trust with organisations advising on ADD/ADHD which were working from abroad.
 96. Conversation at Amblecote Residents Association, 1 July 1997.
 97. Group interview – Little Hulton Women's Centre, 12 June 1998, p. 1.
 98. Giddens defines 'expert systems' as 'systems of technical accomplishment or professional expertise that organise large areas of the material and social environments in which we live today' (1990: 21), he cites architects and builders as examples of such professions.

99. In February 2003, the web-based organisation 'moveOn.org' organised a 'virtual march' on Washington, in the United States. On the specified day, the faxes, email inboxes and telephone systems of the White House were jammed by the numbers of people sending, emailing and telephoning in their messages protesting the military action proposed against Iraq (Colorado Daily 28 February 2003).
100. The exception would be the policing of sites with display of sexual images of minors. These are routinely inspected by the regular police in countries such as Britain and individuals who log onto these sites have been successfully prosecuted.
101. This site is raising an alternative political voice and agenda in the United States.
102. According to Felsenstein (1993 in Longan 2000) the world's first community network was Berkeley Community Memory. This Free-Net was developed in the 1970s and consisted of a number of computer terminals placed in local laundromats and a record store. He describes the network as an 'agora' a 'village square', a 'commons of information' (Longan 2000: 5). In 1984, Tom Grundner of Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio created an online bulletin board to deliver health-related information to the public. Users could leave medically related questions on the board and a certified physician would answer them the next day. Grundner predicted that community computing would '...have at least as much impact on the next century as the public library has had' (Bajjaly 1999: 7) in the twentieth. The popularity of this information system led to the development in 1986 of Cleveland Free-Net a 'community computer system' providing free email to people in the Cleveland area and local information in the areas such as the arts, government and the law. Over the next seven years, and before use of the Internet became widespread, it registered 7000 users, receiving 5-600 calls per day. In July 1987, Youngstown Free-Net was the next online followed by Tristate Online in Cincinnati, Ohio, Heartland Free-Net in Peoria, Illinois and the first rural network - Medina County Free-Net. These Free-Nets provided email, information posted by local organisations and discussion forums for special interest groups.
103. An Association for Community Networking (AFCN) was established in 1998 and a number of other meta-networking organisations have developed, such as the Center for Civic Networking, which promote best practice and policy in the community networking movement. The Community Technology Centers' Network and the Organisation for Community Networks both act as a central repository for information on both community networks and Free-Nets.
104. See Schofield-Clark (2003) for an example based on an existing Denver-based community computing centre.
105. Interview 8, 14 April 2003.
106. The Texas League of Women Voters, for example, worked with MAIN to increase the visibility of their organisation. It now uses the Internet to communicate and organise action across the state.
107. For examples of the way Salford advertised its intentions during 1995 see the Gemesis 2000 promotional leaflet 'We live on the cusp of fundamental change...'

108. Telephone conversation with Dick Willis, previous board member of the South Bristol Learning Network 20 December 2001. CyberSkills has since become a trademarked product franchised via ICL.
109. As its website describes it, 'The CyberSkills Association has become the first global Information Society development network, creating a platform of integrated Information Society activities at local, regional, national and international level.'
110. Visit to SBLN 12 March 1998.
111. Putnam (1996) refers to this as bonding social capital.
112. Putnam (1996) refers to this as bridging social capital.
113. Oscar Lewis outlined his theory of 'the culture of poverty' in *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty – San Juan and New York*. As he recognises in this book 'The phrase is a catchy one which has become widely used and misused' (1965: xxxix). Lewis recognised this subcultural adaptation as a dynamic process and the potential of 'the poor' to move in and out of the 'culture of poverty'. However he also recognised the tendency of the professional classes, including academics, to concentrate on its negative aspects and to see it as a basically static phenomenon.
114. The Digital Divide Network website is hosted by the Benton Foundation at <http://www.digitaldividenetwork.org/content/sections/index.cfm?key=2>.

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