

Chapter 5

Traditionalists: The Keepers of Technological Tradition

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Nostalgia. Tradition. Memories. Love.

Speaking to Traditionalists is to hear a love sonnet for the "traditional" ICTs of their youth. Notably missing from these verses, however, is any mention of ICTs introduced after Traditionalists reached middle age. In the case of the Lucky Few Generation, they wax poetically about the telephone, television, and radio while seeing little use for cell phones, computers, or the internet.

Traditionalists come from a variety of work backgrounds. Some have exposure to ICTs in their work, while others have none. They heavily use the ICTs of their youth and heartily reject more modern forms of ICTs. They fill their homes with traditional technologies, while hiding more modern ones they often receive as gifts from well-meaning family and friends. Overall, Traditionalists express a great love and nostalgia for the technology of their youth – so much love, in fact, that they find their lives too full of these ICTs to have any space for more modern forms.

Formative Experiences

Traditionalists often express warm memories from childhood about their use of ICTs. For the Lucky Few Traditionalists in this study, this included warm

childhood memories of the radio and (when they were young adults) television. Mindy Jean, who had originally chosen to stay at home with her children, later continued to stay at home to take care of her aging mother. She was a dedicated soap opera fan, having listened to them since she was a teenager:

I'm a soap opera fan. I used to watch a lot of soap operas. I used to listen to them on the radio more so than anything, and some of them got on TV. Golly, I bet I've been watching them at least 50 years, at least. I listened to them as a teenager [...] I used to listen to soap operas on the radio when I was home sick from school. I'd listen to all the soap operas with my mother. "*Guiding Light*" I used to listen to, "*As the World Turns*" I think that was on [the radio then], there was another one, I can't remember what the other one was. Oh, I just listened to them all, I remember listening to them [...] It was great [when they moved to television], you could see who was talking, the voice of the person, you know, what they looked like [...] It was sad [when they were cancelled]. I watch one now from 12:30 until 1:30, "*The Young and the Restless*."

Mindy Jean shares that she began listening to soap operas on the radio with her mother when homesick. She became a lifelong fan, transitioning her soap opera consumption from the radio to the television, and listened/watched some soap operas from their near beginning (such as "*Guiding Light*") to their very end.

Traditionalists tend to share feelings of warm nostalgia over their use of ICTs in their childhood and young adulthood. They have a strong preference for the programs (particularly television programs) of their youth, although they often enjoy other newer programs as June shares:

I look at a lot of the shoot'em ups [Westerns] from when I was younger. Which I love, and I look at lot of reality television. We know reality TV is lies, but they can be very interesting; the housewives fighting each other and all that stuff. I ain't never seen anything so silly. (June)

Lucky Few Traditionalists, like Mindy Jean and June, enjoy the nostalgia that listening to "oldies" music and watching rerun television programs from the 1950s through the 1970s evokes. Unlike Enthusiasts, they have no memories of tinkering or being encouraged by technology mentors. Instead, the warm nostalgia of Traditionalists often focuses on the experiences of sharing ICTs with their family members. While Traditionalists have many avenues through which they are introduced to new ICTs, including work and family members; their default preferences are always for the ICTs of their youth.

Introduction to ICTs

Traditionalists have diverse background experiences with ICTs. Some were first exposed to computerized ICTs through work, while others were first exposed through their families. Traditionalists are not morally opposed to more modern forms of ICTs, so they will often try new technologies introduced by family members:

One of my sons is going to come up and set up email for me. I'll try anything, so they come up and set it up. I'll try it with them. It's not anything I really desire. I'm not fighting for it. I'll try it – that's it. (June)

I'll try the computer. But I'm not really that interested in it. (Mindy Jean)

As both June and Mindy Jean express, Traditionalists are willing to try new forms of ICTs, be it email (for June) or using a laptop computer (for Mindy Jean). However, their use does not become an established practice. These devices come to occupy a desk drawer or gather dust once Traditionalists determine the trial period is over (which tends to occur quite quickly). Traditionalists often find that their disinterest in using more modern ICTs is met with concern by their families, particularly their children. These children tend to buy them all sorts of devices, concerned that Traditionalists are “out of touch” or falling behind. June had received several gifted cell phones:

My daughter bought me a cell phone when they first came out [...] Then I got one of these that we call the Obama phone, an Assurance phone [...] My girl friend moved to Texas and she gave me this other phone because she said she wanted me to forever keep in contact with her. But I don't use them. I use my landline. (June)

June had received two cell phones as gifts, one from a friend and one from her daughter. She also had a government-provided cell phone. Despite having multiple cell phones and the encouragement of her friends and family to use them, June continued to use her landline phone. This behavior typifies Traditionalists. While most would assume Traditionalists lacked access to advanced/ digital ICTs, such was not the case. In fact, Traditionalists in this study tended to own as many, if not more advanced ICTs than some individuals of other types, including some Socializers and Practicalists. All Traditionalists owned cell phones and computers that had often been given as gifts to encourage their use:

I have a notebook computer I got last year for Christmas from George [my husband]. My son set me up and he said he was

going to help me learn how to use it. That never happened. My daughter has helped me a little bit and gave me some directions on how to use it and then when I did the directions something else appeared on the screen. I could never get past that point and then when she explained it she went so fast. I needed a little more time. (Mindy Jean)

Mindy Jean had received her computer from her husband as a gift and was often encouraged by her children to use it. However, she found their directions and lessons confusing. At first glance, it might seem that with more assistance Mindy Jean would be a successful computer user. Such a thought suggests that her difficulties in learning were due to a lack of knowledge. However, she often shared that she simply was not interested:

I'll try the computer. But I'm not really that interested in it.
(Mindy Jean)

At first, in our conversations, Mindy Jean was reluctant to discuss her disinterest. As our time together went on, however, she began to share that she really had no interest in using the computer, but did so just to please her husband and children. Traditionalists do not necessarily reject more modern ICTs out of lack of knowledge, but rather out of such disinterest. (June, for instance, had been a legal administrative assistant/ paralegal prior to retirement and had worked extensively with computers in that role.)

Compare Traditionalists, who have low levels of motivation, to individuals of other user types who are highly motivated, but lack access to more modern ICTs or knowledge of them, such as Nancy (Socializer) and Dan (Practicalist). Nancy, a Socializer, expressed many times that she wished to learn to text, but she was unable to find a cell phone that she could afford and that would accommodate her physical impairments. Dan, a Practicalist, faced challenges in learning to use the computer. These were due, in part, to having worked in a position that did not require computer use, coupled with the lack of technical training and support after retirement. Both Nancy and Dan expressed strongly *wanting* to use these devices and programs and they went to great lengths to do so. Nancy tried multiple cell phone models. Dan sought out computer lessons from his wife. While Mindy Jean would speak about how she would try an ICT, she never expressed the same level of motivation to learn as Nancy or Dan despite having many ICTs available:

I'm not against future things. Like my son said to me over the weekend, he said "how's your computer coming?" I said, "It's alright." He said, "Mom you got to really pay attention." I said "Thomas, if I'm going to call somebody I'm going to communicate with someone, I would prefer to call them on the phone and listen to their voice." Sometimes you can pick up things quicker

than if you're going to type it out and then wait for a response, at least you'd be there in time if your friend needed you right away. I have a friend with depression. If she sounds depressed, I can say "Let's go for a walk. Let's get out of the house." You don't get that from an email. Email is good for some stuff, not for me. My son doesn't get that. How can you not get that? (Mindy Jean)

As Mindy Jean shares, she is not interested in using email; however, she often faces pressure from her loved ones to do so. She shares that her son, Thomas, scolds her to "pay attention" and start using her computer; admonishing her as if she were a child. Traditionalists often feel pressure from family members to use ICTs, particularly ICTs that were given as gifts. Traditionalists often feel guilty that they have been given these expensive gifts and will try the ICTs. But their lack of interest means their use is not sustained.

As a result of Traditionalists' high consumption of more traditional forms of media such as television and newspapers, they are often very aware of new ICTs. This knowledge tends to be very basic and they tend to not understand how a specific technology works in detail. However, Traditionalists do understand that these devices and applications exist. All Traditionalists spoke of various forms of social media, including Twitter and Facebook. Traditionalists often watch, hear, or read about these innovations on the traditional media forms they love:

If you say something to a friend in confidence and you say that's between you and I and your friend keeps it between you both. If you put it down on in a computer and email or Facebook it's not always between you and I anymore. It can leak out in ways I guess – it gets passed on or forwarded and sometimes this is even by mistake. They had that on the TV the other night. And there's bullying that happens. That's why I don't want Facebook, I don't want to miss the actual interaction with my kids and grandkids and I don't want to participate in something that can hurt people. I know that other people love it and use it, but it's not for me. (Mindy Jean)

Oftentimes, the knowledge that Traditionalists have of more modern ICTs simply informs them that they are not interested in using them or any of their potential features. For instance, Mindy Jean expresses how emails and social media can be forwarded on and conversations are not private. She has access to more traditional forms of ICTs which allow for, in her opinion, richer communication. Such traditional technologies are the core of Traditionalists' use.

ICT Use

Traditionalists have a strong preference for doing technological things "the old way." In the case of the Lucky Few birth cohort, this means choosing to use the

landline over a cell phone, the TV over the internet, and the radio over a digital music player.

Traditionalists believe that the ICTs of their youth are far superior to more modern ICTs which have been developed as they have grown older. They are extremely heavy users of these “traditional” ICTs and use them in every context of their lives. Mindy Jean shares how she is continually consuming media in her home:

I love my radio. I like soft rock. I like the older tunes too. I like the up-to-date songs that some of them play. I don't like any of the rap or anything else like that, that's not my bag. CD players, or my player, I play that, I play my discs. I just like music. I used to listen to soap operas on the radio as a kid when I was home sick from school I'd listen to all the soap operas. “*Guiding Light*” I used to listen to, “*As the World Turns*” I think that was on, there was another one, I can't remember what the other one was. Oh, I just listened to them all, I remember listening to them. I used to watch them on television too – until they got canceled. Now I watch “*The Young and the Restless*.” I didn't always sit down and watch TV, my soap operas, like just sit there and constantly watch. When I was taking care of children in my home and they were napping, I would sit down that hour and watch that soap opera because it would give me a chance to get refortified, 'cause I had busy kids [...] I mean I wasn't a fanatic, but they came on at different times that I had a chance to sit down or if I was busy in the kitchen I'd have the TV on [...] if I don't have the TV on I have the radio on. I play the radio when I have friends over, when I do housework, or really anything. (Mindy Jean)

Be it the television or radio, one or the other is always on at Mindy Jean's. Even when she entertains, she often has the radio playing in the background. It was not uncommon for Traditionalists to be using one of their ICTs when I met them or called to arrange for a meeting, or even in our interviews themselves. June commonly left her television on for background noise during our interviews together. Such constant use is similar to Enthusiasts, who also tend to use ICTs in every facet of their lives and use them heavily. However, while Enthusiasts love all ICTs, with a preference for newer forms, Traditionalists love only the forms of their youth.

Whereas Mindy Jean speaks fondly about using the television and radio, she shares that her use of the cell phone is limited:

I'm not that interested in using my cell phone, let's put it that way. Right now I'm able to communicate and find things out my normal way by using the landline. When I can't do that anymore and then I'm really going to have to check things out a little

more seriously. But I don't know if that's going to come in my day and age. Probably I will need to learn. My kids had to call me when I got home in the old days; I never had an answering machine. If a person wanted you enough they'd keep calling until they got you. Now with the cell phone you can get in contact with them right away. Well I wasn't too interested in carrying a cell phone and I don't necessarily always have it on and that drives certain people crazy. Because like I said it's for my use. I really don't want everybody calling me on it. Only my family has my cell phone number. They all think I'm a little crazy, but I already have a phone. (Mindy Jean)

Mindy Jean chose to only give her cell phone number out to close family, uninterested in using it in day-to-day contexts. This non-use stands in contrast to Mindy Jeans' use of the traditional form of the landline telephone, which was very extensive:

I used to call my mom every day when she wasn't living here. I call my daughter pretty much every day or twice a day. I like to chat on the phone. I have a few people I like to call [...] The land line is the phone number that we normally give out to anybody. The cell phone numbers we kind of keep to ourselves. You don't want everybody in the world to know your cell phone. Our land line that's the phone that we give out on applications or in doctor's offices and so on, so we do get reminded of our doctor appointments and stuff like that. We use the landline to call out most of the time for doctor appointments or we use it for our friends. I'm more in contact with friends through the landline than my cell. My cell is for emergencies. (Mindy Jean)

This juxtaposition in Mindy Jean's use of the cell phone versus the landline is typical of Traditionalists. This user type has a very limited use for the ICTs that were developed after they reached middle adulthood. For the Lucky Few generation, rejected ICTs include cell phones, computers, and social media. Embraced ICTs include landline telephones, newspapers, magazines, books, television, and radio.

It is important to note that many Traditionalists have access to, or even directly own, the ICTs they refuse to use due to gifting. For instance, June had a Facebook account that had been set up by one of her daughters. At June's request, her daughter only friended family on June's account (as opposed to friending friends or former colleagues, etc.). June only visited Facebook when one of her children encouraged her to do so:

My family sends me a message. They'll call me and say, "Go on Facebook. I just put something on there for you" and that's

when I go in and look for the message. I only use it for family. And I only go there when I'm told that there is something there for me. I don't get why they just don't tell me what it is on the phone. I mean, they're already talking to me! (June)

Traditionalists severely constrain how many life contexts they use modern forms of ICTs in. For June, Facebook was an application she only used with family and she only used it when prompted (somewhat begrudgingly). In contrast to June's use of the television, which she used for leisure and with family and friends, her use of Facebook was targeted. This is similar to how Mindy Jean frequently chatted on the phone, but only used her cell phone in emergencies, and only her immediate family had her cell phone number. Such strict limits on modern ICTs stand in contrast to Traditionalists' heavy use of older ICT forms.

As more information and services have moved online, Traditionalists have adapted. While not direct users of advanced forms of ICTs beyond "trying" them a few times, they are often "indirect" users of advanced ICT forms. They do not directly manipulate the ICT, but, instead, they have others that directly use such devices to get the specific information they need. To facilitate this indirect use, Traditionalists tend to develop a network of individuals who are willing to complete internet tasks for them:

If I really need something off the internet, someone will find it for me. That's why I have kids. And if my kids won't do it there's a man who works at the front desk who's into this whole technology thing and he'll do it for me. (June)

Traditionalists often rely heavily on direct users for digital tasks, just as June relies on her children, or the man who works at the front desk of her low-income apartment complex. Oftentimes, there is concern in the literature that non-computer users will be "victims" of the digital divide – unable to access important information or services on the internet unless they learn to use computers themselves (Paul & Stegbauer, 2005; Van Dijk, 2005). Such concerns fail to recognize that Traditionalists are often already getting the services or information they need by being indirect users. Mindy Jean and her husband share how they use the computer in their relationship, with Mindy Jean (a Traditionalist) being an indirect user while George (a Guardian) is a direct user:

The computer is really my husband's thing. If I really needed to do something online, he could do it for me. (Mindy Jean)

I see the computer as my thing – as my responsibility. Using the computer is my duty. If Mindy Jean needs something, I do it for her. Online shopping, finding out the weather, all those things

I can do for her, so she doesn't need to bother trying. (George on Mindy Jean's computer use)

One easily senses that George believes that Mindy Jean is quite capable of using more modern ICTs, if she would only “bother trying.” Traditionalists are often met with such judgments on their non-use by family members.

Being non-users of more modern ICTs does place Traditionalists at risk of being excluded from our increasingly digital societies, particularly if the direct user they rely on can no longer acquire information or access services. (Meeting the needs of Traditionalists in such situations is addressed in Chapter 10, which focuses on the practical application of the ICT User Typology.) Despite their non-use of more modern ICTs, many Traditionalists own them, resulting in unique ways in which they display these unwanted ICTs in their homes.

ICT Display

Walking into Traditionalists' homes is like walking into technological time capsules: one immediately sights many traditional forms of ICTs. These ICTs are displayed prominently and are the centerpiece of many of the rooms, as the digital hearth (Flynn, 2003). Notably missing, however, are technologies developed after the Traditionalist reached middle age.

Mindy Jean had four televisions in her home, located in every living place she commonly spent time or expected her guests to (the living room, kitchen, master bedroom, and guest bedroom). Each of these televisions was the focal point upon entering the room, as can be seen in her living room (Figure 5).

Traditionalists often own many duplicates of their favorite ICTs in order to facilitate their constant use, as Mindy Jean does. Mindy Jean's placement of



Figure 5. Mindy Jean's Living Room Television.

these televisions throughout her home meant that as she completed other tasks or moved about, she could constantly watch or listen to the television. She placed other ICTs she used frequently in locations where they also could be continually used. Radios were placed in the kitchen, living room, and master bedroom.

While Mindy Jean loved soap operas, her husband, George (a Guardian), was often critical of her watching “mindless television” (George). After George semi-retired (from full to part-time work), Mindy Jean often watched her programs on the master bedroom television when he was home. During days when George was working, Mindy Jean watched her soap operas on the kitchen or living room televisions. She often preferred to watch these shows in the kitchen in order to prep meals and complete craft projects throughout the day, making her time more productive:

I used to watch the soap operas while I used to prepare dinner. “*Guiding Light*” used to come in at a good time, because I’d have it in the background while making supper. “*The Young and the Restless*” was at lunch time ‘cause I’d sit here and eat my lunch and watch. (Mindy Jean)

Mindy Jean’s watching habits had changed significantly since several soap operas had been canceled. Instead of listening and watching the television during dinner preparation, she had begun listening to the radio, another favorite technology.

June had three televisions in her home, all were located in the living room. She would have preferred to have a television in the bedroom but was unable to move one of the large televisions into that room by herself. The televisions occupied much of the living space and they were centered in the room.

Both Mindy Jean’s and June’s placement of televisions in their respective homes suggest the importance of this ICT to their lives: it is fundamental. Technologies which are valued hold prominent places in Traditionalists’ homes and they own many duplicates of these. For Traditionalists, it is the form of an ICT that is important to them (for instance, radios and television were preferred to computers by Lucky Few Traditionalists). It is not the vintage of the specific items they own that carries weight. Having a 1950s or 1970s television that mimics furniture is not considered important to Lucky Few Traditionalists. Instead, having a television (of any vintage) is important. Traditionalists evoke nostalgia through their experience of using the technology, not necessarily the way it looks.

Traditionalists often have an “if it isn’t broke, why fix it?” (Mindy Jean) mindset, however. This means that if a device is still usable, they do not update to the latest version or technological development. One will often encounter older devices in Traditionalists’ homes. Their televisions may be cathode ray tube (CRT) televisions as opposed to liquid-crystal display (LCD) flat screen versions. Rotary dial phones are often still present (particularly in lesser used

rooms). This is in contrast to many Enthusiasts and Practicalists, who tend to update frequently. Enthusiasts update due to the excitement of having more modern ICTs; Practicalists update due to new features. Traditionalists, on the other hand, only update when necessary.

Traditionalists tend to relegate their newer forms of ICTs that have been gifted to them to a spare space or pack them away. These are hidden in contrast to their proud display of more traditional ICT forms. June placed her computer in a corner of her main living room. (She would have preferred it to be in a spare room, but due to the space limitations in her small one-bedroom apartment, it needed to be placed in her main living area.) June's computer was not visible unless an individual entered her living room, turned 180° around, and sat in one of two positions on the sofa. It was otherwise blocked from view by a large overstuffed loveseat.

Mindy Jean's husband, George, was a computer user, and she had him place his computer in an office in which she never entered, except to clean. When I asked George why his computer was in the office, he stated: "my wife decides where things go in the house." As a result, the computer was out of Mindy Jean's sight and did not interfere with her own ICT use: George could be using the computer while Mindy Jean watched television. Mindy Jean also concealed the laptop her husband had purchased her as a Christmas gift, placing it (along with her cell phone) in a locked cabinet in the living room (Figure 6). She shared that this was due to laptops not being appropriate for living rooms:

I keep my notebook computer in the desk. I don't think it needs to be out all of the time. It's not really nice enough to have out in the open. I make my husband, George, keep his computer in the office. I wouldn't let him have it out here in the living room. Computers don't belong in the living room. You might have a TV in the living room, but not a computer. (Mindy Jean)

Newer devices, which are often pushed on Traditionalists' by concerned family members, are placed in drawers, under the bed, or behind the sofa; out of sight and out of mind. This split in what is displayed versus hidden reflects the meanings ICTs hold for Traditionalists: older forms are valued; newer forms are rejected.

ICT Meaning

Traditionalists denote strong attachments toward the older ICTs of their youth but show indifference toward newer forms of ICTs. They describe their relationship with older ICT forms as "love:"

I love my television. I watch it all the time. I really love the TV.
I like the older shows [...] (June)



Figure 6. Mindy Jean Keeps her Digital Camera and Computer Hidden in this Desk.

It is common to hear Traditionalists speak about their ICTs in loving and endearing tones. However, Traditionalists differentiate between ICTs based on their relative age. The important time marker in this differentiation is when a Traditionalist is middle-aged: technologies introduced before this time period are loved, those introduced after are rejected.

Traditionalists use the ICTs they love, much like Enthusiasts use the ICTs they love: during all waking hours. Traditionalists have a warm relationship with the ICTs of their youth and tend to speak about these ICTs as more of companions than as devices or media:

“Guiding Light” I used to watch once in a while. That was on during my time that I used to prepare supper for everybody to come home. I’d have it in the background. *“The Young and the Restless”* was at lunch time and I’d sit here and eat my lunch and watch. I used to watch *“As the World Turns”* and that went off the air too. I remember *“The Guiding Light”* and *“As the World Turns”* used to be on the radio. They came on at different times that I had a chance to sit down or if I was busy in the kitchen. It was nice to have something playing in the background; otherwise you get lonely all day. (Mindy Jean)

Listening to Mindy Jean speak about her experience with soap operas reminds one less of a person speaking of a tool (such as Practicalists would) and more of a person speaking of a close friend. Her television watching provided companionship, particularly during her days of caretaking, first of her children and later of her mother. It provided respite and relaxation. For Traditionalists, media and the devices used to consume them go beyond simply offering short-term companionship to representing lifelong relationships. Using such media and devices allows them to re-experience their lives and, most importantly, relive the bonds they have for the important people in them.

Mindy Jean had begun listening to soap operas on the radio as a girl, when she was home sick from school, as her mother listened to them on the radio at the time. When Mindy Jean became a mother herself, she began watching the soap operas on television (as they had moved to that form of media). Soap operas became an important bonding experience between these two women, who would talk about the characters and plot lines unfolding. This discussion first started when Mindy Jean was a teen, continuing when she moved out on her own, and carried on to when her mother moved in with her during the final years of her life:

I'm a soap opera fan. I used to watch a lot of soap operas. I used to listen to them on the radio more so than anything, and some of them got on TV. Golly, I bet I've been watching them at least 50 years, at least. I listened to them as a teenager [...] I used to listen to soap operas on the radio when I was home sick from school. I'd listen to all the soap operas with my mother. "*Guiding Light*" I used to listen to, "*As the World Turns*" I think that was on [the radio then], there was another one, I can't remember what the other one was. Oh, I just listened to them all, I remember listening to them [...] It was great [when they moved to television], you could see who was talking, the voice of the person, you know, what they looked like [...] It was sad [when they were cancelled]. I watch one now from 12:30 until 1:30, "*The Young and the Restless*."

The warm nostalgia Mindy Jean feels toward soap operas is not simply a love of this medium or type of show, but rather is a reflection of the love she had for her mother and for their shared connection and interest. These shows, for her, came to represent her relationship with her mother and she felt connected to her mother (even after her mother passed away) when she was watching them. Losing these shows was not merely the loss of entertainment, but also the loss of a connection to her mother.

Traditionalists do not tend to have negative feelings toward newer ICT forms and, in many cases, are not resistant to trying them. However, upon exploring them, they simply cannot see "what the fuss is about" (June). Their attitude toward the new ICTs is one of indifference (not negativity). During the course of our interviews together, Mindy Jean asked me to help her explore some online

shopping sites. Upon viewing several sites, she thought would have excellent deals, she was disappointed:

Everybody talks and talks about the computer. But is that really all you can get for online shopping? I wanted to see if there are really good deals: everybody says you have to go online for the best deals. But I can get better deals than that at the mall! (Mindy Jean)

Mindy Jean, as a Traditionalist, expresses that new ICTs and applications simply cannot match the “old way” of doing things. As she says, she can find better deals at the store. Traditionalists find their new devices repeatedly fall short of their expectations. Compared to their older ICT forms, newer ICTs simply cannot compete:

My computer I use once in a while. I like to play games on it. That’s about it. It’s ok. It’s not as nice as the TV. My kids bought the computer for me. Otherwise I wouldn’t have one. Why would I want a computer when I already have a TV? (June)

As June states, why would she want to use a computer when she has a perfectly good TV? The television helps her fill her days, provides companionship, and helps her experience nostalgia. Traditionalists simply love the ICTs of their youth so much that there is no room left in their lives for more modern ICT forms.

Traditionalists: The Keepers of Technological Tradition

Traditionalists deeply love the ICTs that were available in their youth and young adulthood. In many ways, they carry on the ICT use patterns and traditions they learned in their childhood into elder age. One can think of Traditionalists as keepers of the technological traditions of their youth. Key points about Traditionalists include:

- Traditionalists have very fond memories of their ICT use as children and young adults and still have strong preferences for these ICTs and media.
- Friends and family members gift their Traditionalist loved ones modern ICTs but these remain mostly unused by the Traditionalist.
- They place the older forms of ICTs they love prominently in their homes, hiding more advanced forms.
- While Traditionalists love the ICTs of their youth, they are largely indifferent to newer forms.
- To appeal to a Traditionalist, it is important to evoke generation-specific feelings of nostalgia.

While Traditionalists embrace or reject ICTs based on their relative age, the Guardian user type views all ICTs with suspicion, as we will see in Chapter 6.