





An Invisible Woman: The Inside Story Behind the VLSI Revolution*,**

Lynn Conway, Professor of EECS Emerita

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

In 2015, US CTO <u>Megan Smith</u> raised <u>profound questions</u> about women's contributions in science, engineering and math being erased from history. In this talk we explore a case study of such erasure, and surface a very counter-intuitive conjecture about the underlying causes and effects.

^{*}In remembrance of pioneering novelist Ralph Ellison, author of *Invisible Man*, 1952.

^{**}Based on a Pride Keynote at the National Science Foundation, Arlington, VA, June 10, 2015.

Unfolding The Story:

Setting the Stage: Reflect on LGBT Pride & Human Life Trajectories

Visualizing the Historical Erasure of Women's Contributions in STEM

A Case Study: The Inside Story Behind the VLSI Revolution

A Counter-Intuitive Explanatory Conjecture: The Conway Effect

Thought-Experiments: Insights from the Evolution of Culture in Animals

Conclude with: Glimpses of the Emerging Techno-Social Age



Lynn Conway Become a fan

Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science,

Emerita, University of Michigan

The Many Shades of 'Out'



Reflections on LGBT Pride Month and Human Life Trajectories

Reading of Lynn's essay on the White House Reception in Celebration of LGBT Pride Month, June 13, 2013

For full text, see next slide and this link:

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/lynn-conway/ the-many-shades-of-out b 3591764.html

The Many Shades of 'Out', by Lynn Conway (read aloud):

On a sultry June afternoon, as my husband and I walked towards the White House, I reflected back on my gender transition, in 1968.

Shamed as a social outcast, I'd lost my family, friends and all social support. Fired by IBM, I'd lost a promising research career. In many cities I could've been arrested, or worse yet, put in a mental hospital.

Evading those fates, I completed my transition, took on a secret new identity, and started all over as a contract programmer. Any 'outing' and I'd have become unemployable and on the streets for good. Fear channeled me into 'stealth-mode'. For over 30 years I covered my past, always looking over my shoulder, as if a spy in my own country.

But it was now June 13, 2013. What a contrast. My husband Charlie and I with many other advocates were joining the President's White House Reception for LGBT Pride Month. The air was full of joy. As we awaited the President, I reflected further.

I'd been 'out' for 15 years by now, or so I'd thought: out on the Internet to reveal my past to colleagues, out as an advocate for trans people and an activist against psychiatry's pathologization of gender variance.

It was one thing to hide in the back-rooms of Xerox Palo Alto Research Center decades before, launching innovations as the hidden-hand behind the VLSI microelectronics revolution. I didn't mind being invisible in my field back then, or that no one had a clue what I was doing . . . Or who was doing it. I was thrilled to even have a job.

But 'out' has many shades of grey -- and even in recent years I kept on partly covering, shyly holding back, lingering in the darker shadows. Although times had changed, I'd clung to old habits.

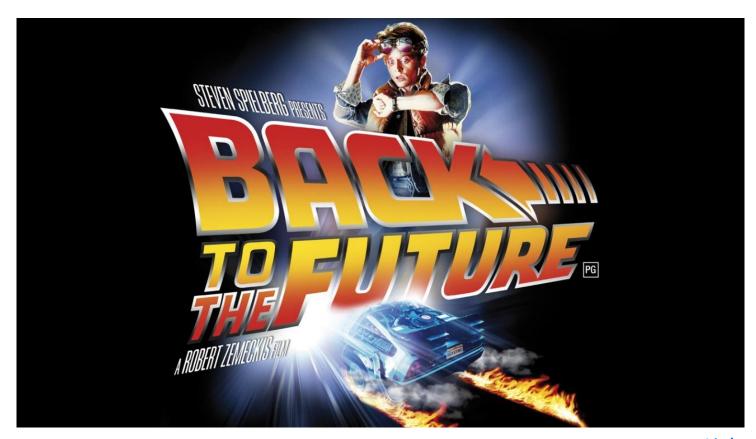
Down through the decades no one could explain how the VLSI revolution actually happened. The results were simply taken for granted. Although I'd gained vital knowledge about generating such engineering paradigm shifts, I feared my personal history would loom large in folk's minds, and obscure attempts at explanation. It wasn't till 2012 that I got up the nerve to publish a career memoir, and begin telling the story of how the VLSI revolution came about.

As the president entered the room, I glanced around and took in the joyful vibes. As he began to speak, I grasped how far we'd come. Times had more than changed: a fresh wind was sweeping through our society, especially amongst younger generations.

Then I thought of the millions of LGBT people out there. I tried to envision the lifelong struggles against stigmatization and ostracism, of losses of families and employment, of their oppression by having to 'cover', often not fully engaging life nor being known for who they were, what they'd done, who they loved or who loved them.

In a flash, I saw the vastness of the suffering down through time. Then it hit me: we've come so far, so fast, that now many others could begin uncovering too! After all, freedom isn't just an external concept framed by our laws. It's a gift of the spirit that we must give ourselves, by going towards brighter shades of 'out'.

With that as a backdrop, let's now examine history's treatment of women's contributions in STEM



First, listen to OSTP Chief Technology Officer <u>Megan Smith</u> revealing how women in STEM are <u>erased from history</u> . . .

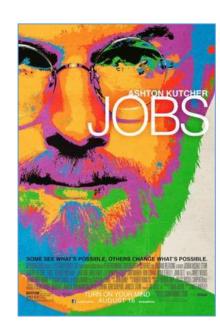


http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fHyRdAyqV5c&t=0m1s http://boingboing.net/2015/05/08/cto-megan-smith-explains-how-w.html http://www.charlierose.com/watch/60554078 (4-28-15)



Although four women worked on the Macintosh team in the 1980s, not a single one was cast in the 2013 biopic *Jobs* with Ashton Kutcher. Even worse, all seven men who worked on the project had speaking roles in the film.

It's not just that women have a harder time breaking into STEM fields, it's that the many contributions they do make aren't celebrated. "It's debilitating to our young women to have their history almost erased," Smith explains.



For more about Katherine Johnson, the NASA mathematician whose story Megan Smith discussed, see the 2016 book:



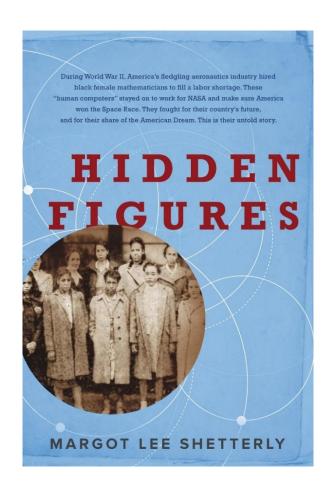


<u>Hidden Figures: The Story of the</u>
<u>African-American Women Who</u>
<u>Helped Win the Space Race</u>,
Margot Lee Shetterly (2016)

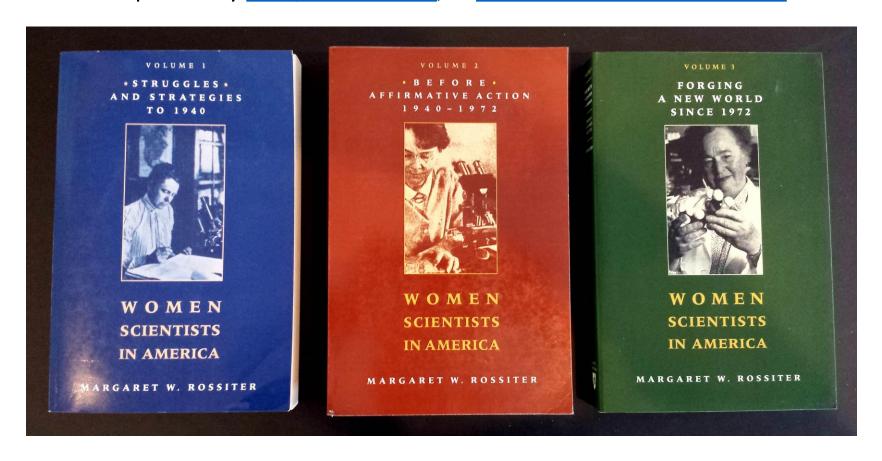
<u>Katherine Johnson</u> at her NASA Langley desk, 1960

Katherine Johnson, age 98 Photo by Annie Leibovitz for Vanity Fair, 2016

Fortunately, she's lived long-enough to see the story told!



This effect is seen throughout the history of women in science as reported by Margaret Rossiter, in Women Scientists in America:



Who documents numerous case-studies of such historical erasures.

In 1993 science historian <u>Margaret Rossiter</u> coined the term "<u>Matilda effect</u>" for the systematic repression and denial of the contributions of women scientists, whose work is often attributed to their male colleagues.

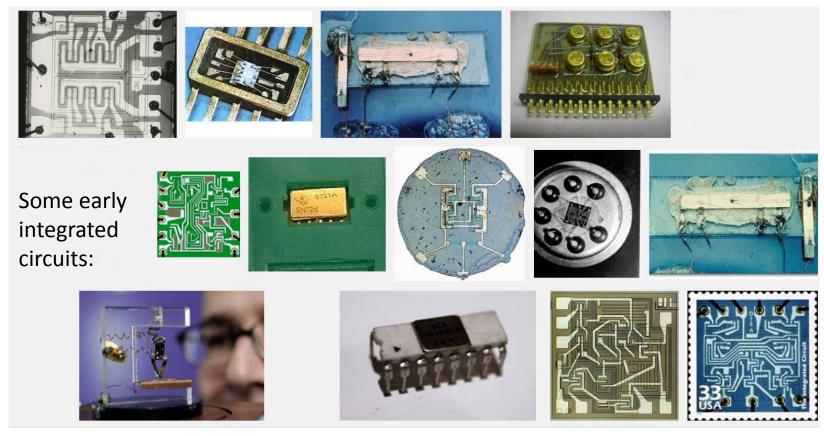
This is similar to the "Matthew effect", coined in 1968 by Columbia University sociologist Robert K. Merton, describing how eminent scientists often get more credit than a lesser-known researcher, even if their work is similar.

For example, a prize will most always be awarded to the most senior researcher involved in a project, even if the work was all done by a grad student.

CASE STUDY: The revolution in Very Large Scale Integrated (VLSI) silicon microchip design and manufacturing, beginning in 1976.



The stage was set by emergence of <u>integrated circuit</u> technology in the 1960's, enabling numbers of transistors and their wiring <u>to be 'printed' onto chips of silicon</u>...

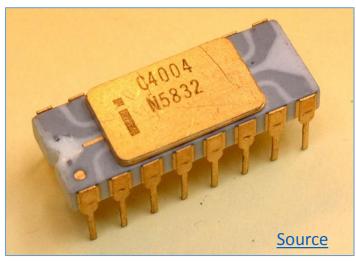


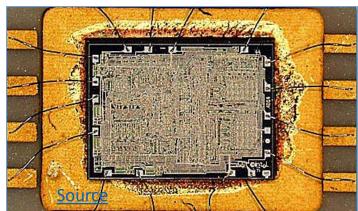
Snip from Goggle images

Rapid advances in lithography kept enabling ever-finer features to be printed, ever increasing the number of transistors printable on single chips.

By 1971, a watershed was crossed with the introduction of the <u>Intel 4004</u>, the first single-chip "<u>microprocessor</u>": a "computer processor on a chip" . . .

It contained <u>2300 transistors</u>...





Gordon Moore at Intel observed that the number of transistors reliably printable on commercial chips was roughly doubling every two years . . .

Carver Mead named this "Moore's Law"

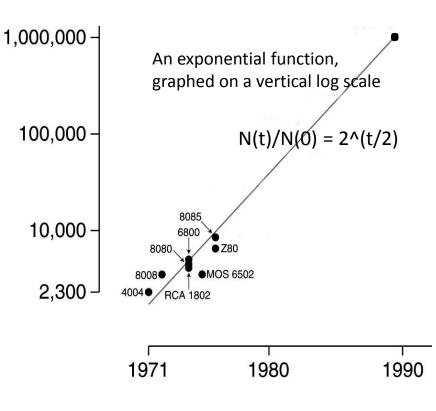
(clever move, eh?) and his student Bruce

Hoeneisen showed there were no physical limits to densities up to several million transistors/cm².

Looking ahead it appeared conceivable that by ~1990 an entire "supercomputer" could be printed on a single chip . . .

In 1976 this set-off a push at Xerox PARC and Caltech to explore how to enable such complex chips to be designed.





The stage was further set by seminal innovations in personal computing & networking:

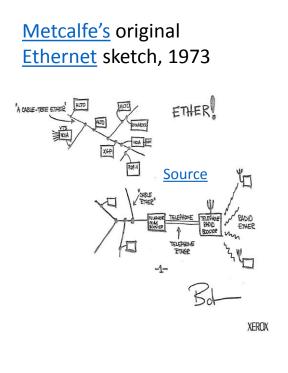
Innovation of the interactive-display, mouse-controlled "<u>personal computer</u>", the "<u>Ethernet</u>" local-area network, and the "<u>laser printer</u>" (at Xerox PARC) . . .

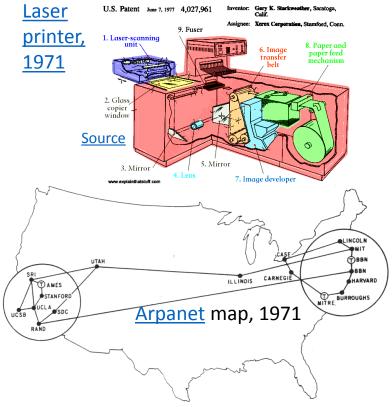
And the Dept. of Defense's "Arpanet" (the early internet, at DARPA) . . .





Wiki commons





<u>A sudden disruptive breakout was triggered</u> by a cluster of abstract innovations, primarily at PARC...

Included was a set of scalable VLSI chip-layout digital design rules, as ratioed (dimensionless) inequality equations (Conway, Xerox PARC) . . .

These enabled digital chip designs to be numerically encoded, scaled, and reused as Moore's law rapidly advanced . . .

They also enabled accruing cell and subsystem designs to be scaled and opensource shared . . .

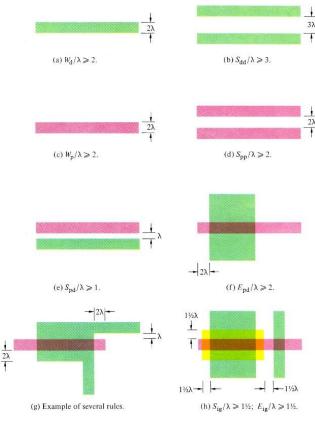


PLATE 2 nMOS design rules

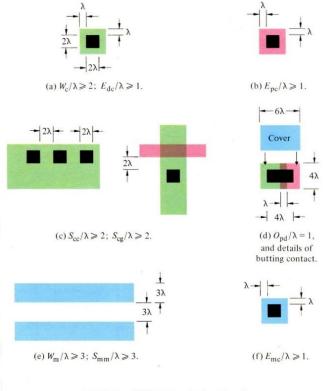
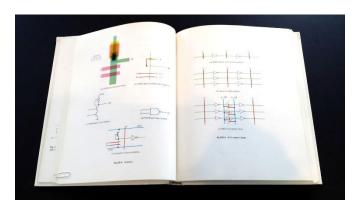
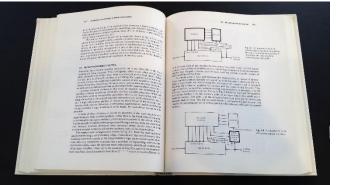


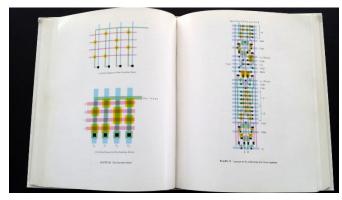
PLATE 3 nMOS design rules (continued)

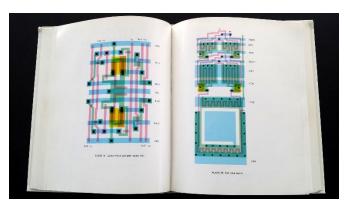


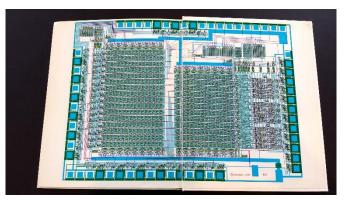
I began documenting the emerging 'Mead-Conway' system of simplified, restructured, design-level abstractions and chip design methods in <u>an evolving computer-edited book</u> . . .

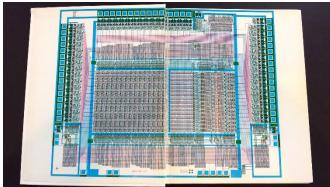












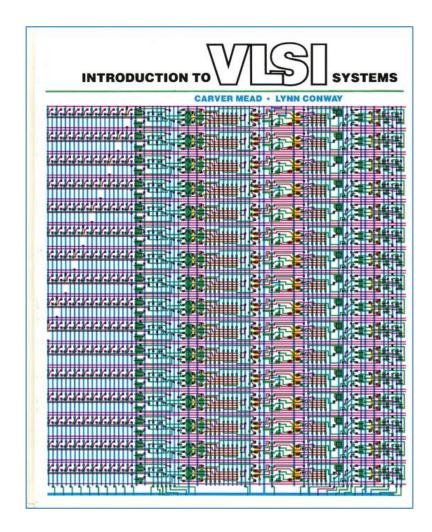
Thus using our Alto computers at PARC not only as tools for generating chip-designs, but also to mechanize the evolution of the chip-design knowledge itself . . .

Link

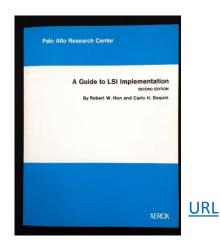
That computer-edited evolving book, printed using the laser printers at PARC, became the draft of the seminal textbook:

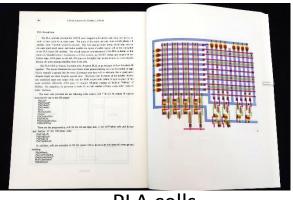
Introduction to VLSI Systems
by Mead and Conway,
published in 1980.

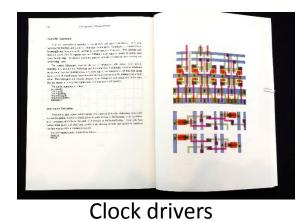
(later called "the book that changed everything" . . .)



We also used our Altos (at PARC) to generate and encode <u>many open-source cell-layout-designs</u> <u>for key digital-subsystems</u>, and disseminated them to students and colleagues via the Arpanet ...







PLA cells

About the control of the control of

I/O Pads



Cell locations

CIF 2.0 Cell-Library code

Following the "script" Charles Steinmetz
used to propagate his revolutionary AC
electricity methods at Union College in 1912,
I introduced the new methods in a special
VLSI design course at MIT in 1978.



THE M.I.T. 1978 VLSI SYSTEM DESIGN COURSE

<u>Link</u> Link

<u>Link</u> Link

by Lynn Conway

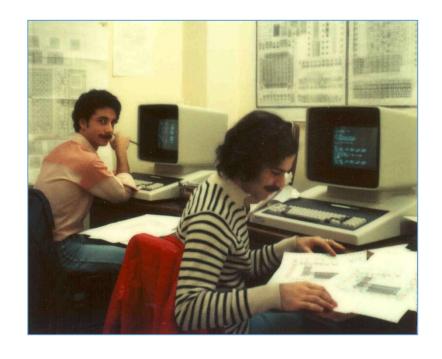
Copyright @ 2000-2007, Lynn Conway. All Rights Reserved

[Update: 11-14-07]

This course was an important milestone in the development, demonstration and evaluation of the Mead-Conway structured VLSI design methods. Lynn Conway conceptualized and planned the course during the late spring and summer of '78, and taught the course while serving as Visiting Associate Professor of EECS at MIT in the fall of '78 and early '79.

The students learned to design chips in the 1st half of the course, then did project-chip designs in the 2nd half.

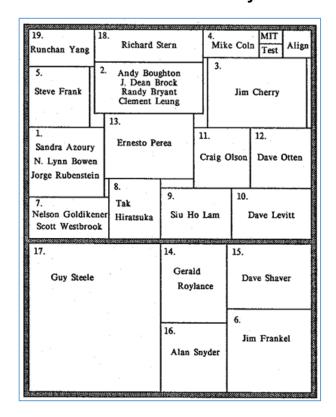
These were <u>fabricated in Pat Castro's</u> <u>lab at HP</u> shortly after the course.

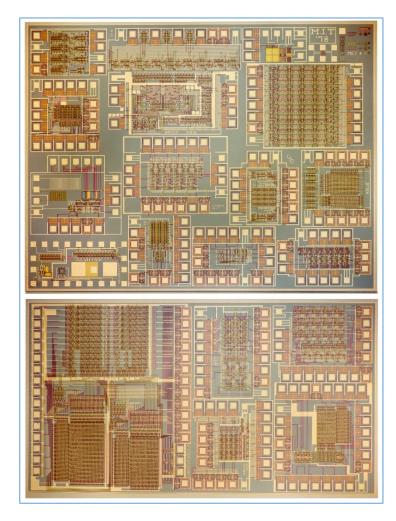




There were many amazing results including a complete Lisp microprocessor design by Guy Steele...

Map and photomicrograph of the 19 student projects on the MIT'78 'MultiProject' Chip





For more about the MIT'78 course, see Lynn's "MIT Reminiscences"

The MIT'78 course stunned top folks in Silicon Valley in the spring of '79 . . .

Many other top research universities wanted to offer such a course! But how?

<u>Suddenly, the answer came to me: Simultaneously rerun the MIT'78 course at several research universities, using my MIT lecture notes to keep things in sync.</u>

Hmm. But how to "print" the resulting student project chips?

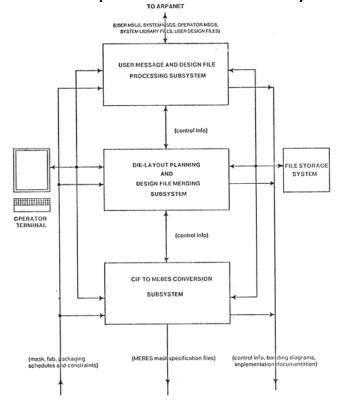
<u>I suddenly visualized a new form of "E-commerce" for QTA manufacturing, enabling students' design-files to be remotely sent via the Arpanet to a "server" at PARC...</u>

The server would run logistics-software to pack designs into "multi-project chip" files (like composing the print-files for a magazine, using remotely-submitted articles) . . .

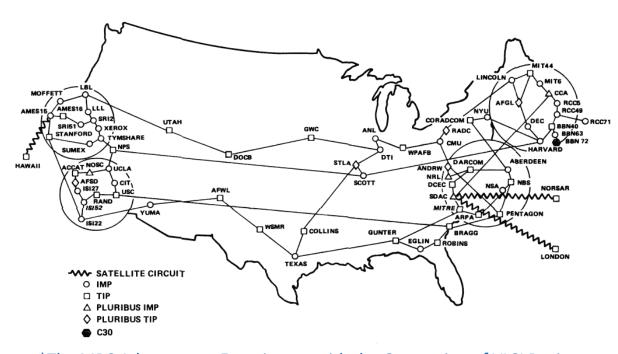
We'd then make masks, "print" MPC's at HP Labs (where my collaborator Pat Castro had prototyped the first "silicon foundry"), and quickly return the chips to students.

In the fall of 1979, I orchestrated a huge "happening" (MPC79)* . . . It involved 129 budding VLSI designers taking Mead-Conway courses at 12 research universities...

MPC79 Arpanet E-commerce system:

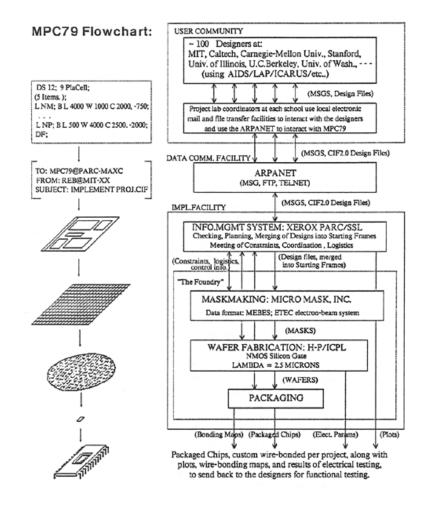


ARPANET GEOGRAPHIC MAP, OCTOBER 1980



*The MPC Adventures: Experiences with the Generation of VLSI Design and Implementation Methodologies, L. Conway, Xerox PARC, 1981 (PDF)

MPC79 not only provided a large-scale "demonstration-operation-validation" of the design methods, design courses, design tools and e-commerce digital-prototyping technology ... it also triggered 'cyclic gain' in, and exponentiation of, the budding VLSI-design-ecosystem...



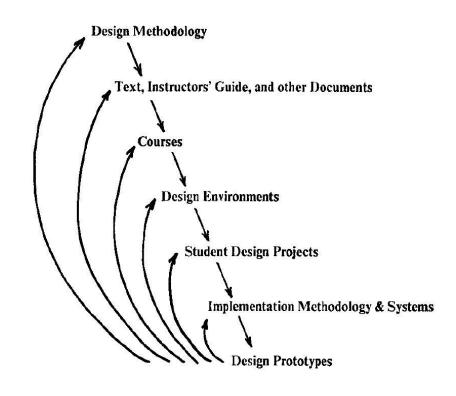


Figure 8. The Joint Evolution of the Multi-Level Cluster of Systems
The MPC Adventures, L.ynn Conway, Xerox PARC, 1981.

Visualizing how <u>techno-social dynamics triggered an exponentiation</u> in the spread of the innovative VLSI design and making ideas via the emerging internet communication technology . . .

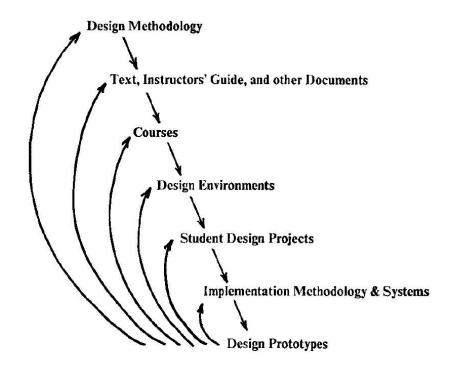
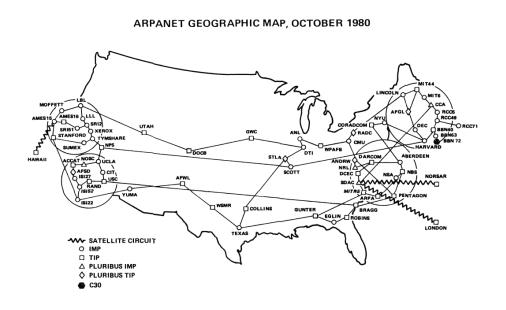
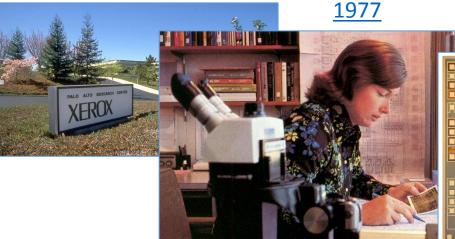


Figure 8. The Joint Evolution of the Multi-Level Cluster of Systems

The MPC Adventures (p. 16)



By 1982-83, Mead-Conway VLSI design courses were being offered at 113 universities all around the world It was an early exploration of system-dynamics in what decades later is becoming known as "social physics"



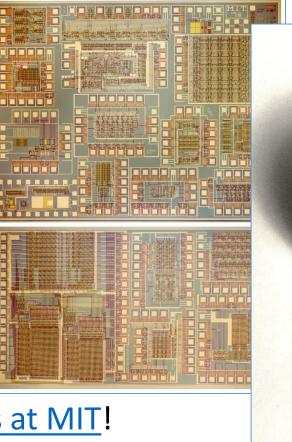
Visualizing the exponentiating wave of VLSI innovation . . .

'76: How to cope with VLSI complexity?

'77: Inventing scalable VLSI design rules.

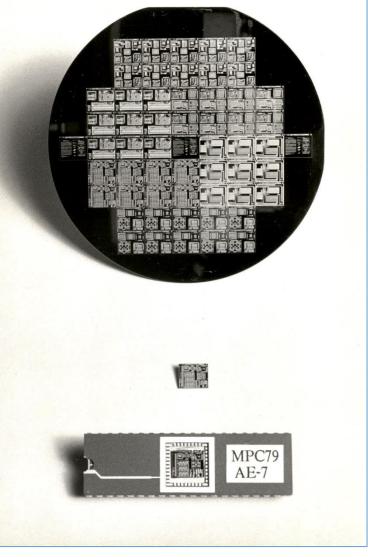
'78: Launching the VLSI methods at MIT!

'79: Launching the VLSI courses via MPC79!!

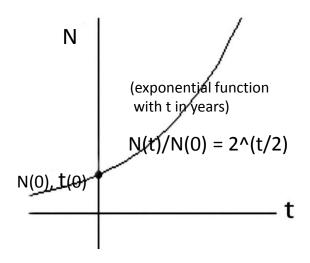


1978

1979

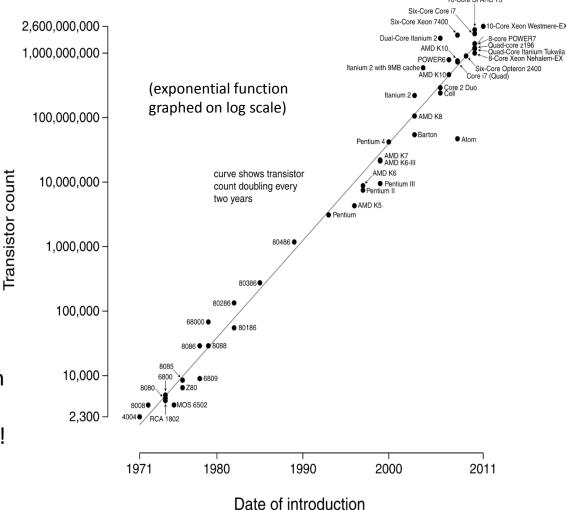


Over the past 40 years or so, Moore's Law stayed on track all the way:

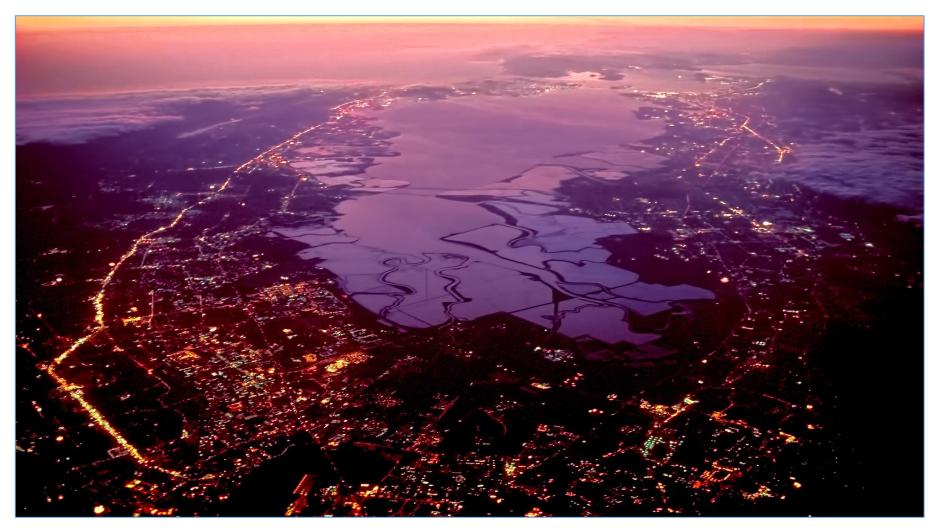


Starting with <u>several thousand</u> in 1971, the number of transistors on a chip passed one million by 1991, and passed <u>several billion</u> by 2011!

Microprocessor Transistor Counts 1971-2011 & Moore's Law



Exponentiation! Visualizing the compounding of techno-social-system "interest" . . .



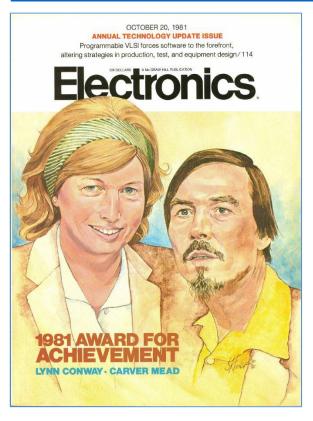
Let's now go back and follow the high-tech community's reactions to the "Mead-Conway" innovations during the ensuing decades:



Key people sensed 'something significant' had happened, and Mead & Conway began receiving major recognition in the 1980s:

Electronics Award for Achievement '81

Pender Award, Moore School '84
Wetherill Medal, Franklin Institute '85
NAE, Mead '84
NAE, Conway '89. . .





However, from '89 on through the 00s, Mead received increasingly major recognitions, while Conway's role was erased*:

NAS '89

American Academy of Arts and Sciences '91

EDAC Phil Kaufman Award '96

IEEE John Von Neuman Medal '96

ACM Allen Newell Award '97

MIT Lemelson Award '99 (\$500,000)

Fellow Award, Computer History Museum '02

National Medal of Technology '02

NAE Founders Award '03

Inventors Hall of Fame, at Computer History Museum Gala '09

^{*}Most of these awards were for innovations that were solely Conway's

As a result, by 2009 the erasure was complete:

Chip inventors getting their due at Hall of Fame induction

By Mike Cassidy, San Jose Mercury News

Apr. 30, 2009 -- The 50th birthday celebration of the integrated circuit kicks off in Silicon Valley this weekend, and frankly, I'm a little overwhelmed . . .

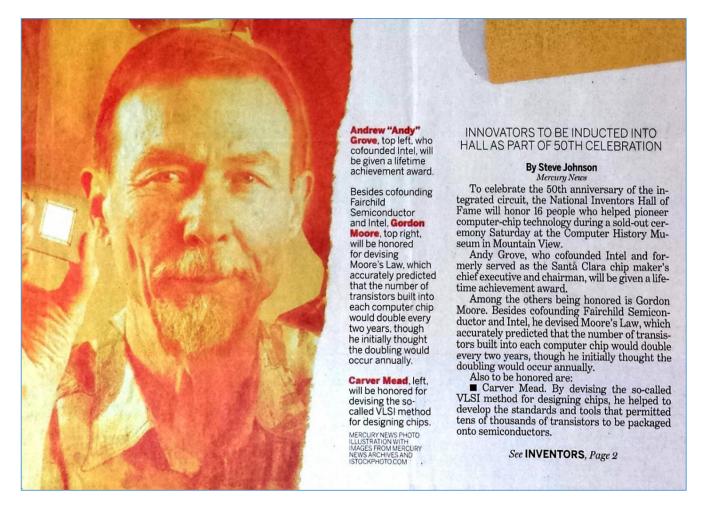
On Saturday night, the National Inventors Hall of Fame is inducting this year's class. The sold-out ceremony (at the Computer History Museum) is in Silicon Valley for the first time, because the Ohio-based hall is honoring 15 who are responsible for breakthroughs in semiconductor technology -- the technology that put the "silicon" in Silicon Valley . . . In a way, it's as if the valley's founding fathers are coming together to be honored in person and posthumously.

Inductees Gordon Moore, co-founder of Intel and namesake of Moore's Law, and Carver Mead, chip design pioneer and all-around brainiac, will be at the ceremony. So will lifetime achievement honoree Andy Grove, Intel's former CEO...

With Andy Grove, Gordon Moore and Carver Mead taking center stage:

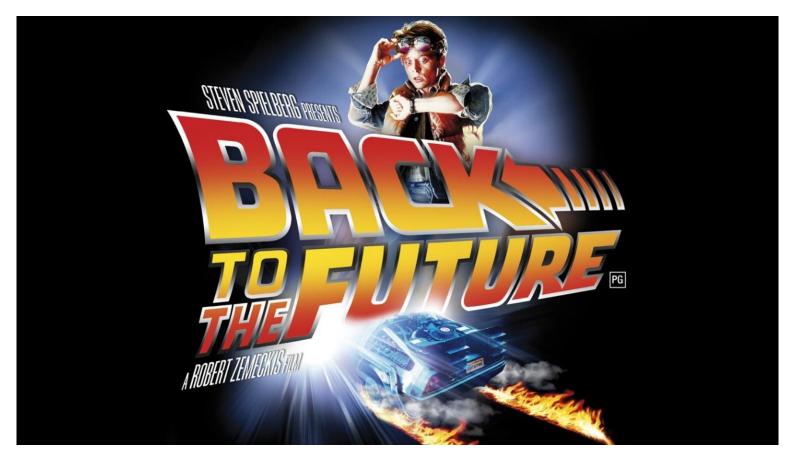


San Jose Mercury News April 30, 2009



BTW, not only was Lynn Conway not invited, she didn't even know it was happening!

Recent investigations into and reporting on what happened, Hoping to regain some of my legacy along the way . . .

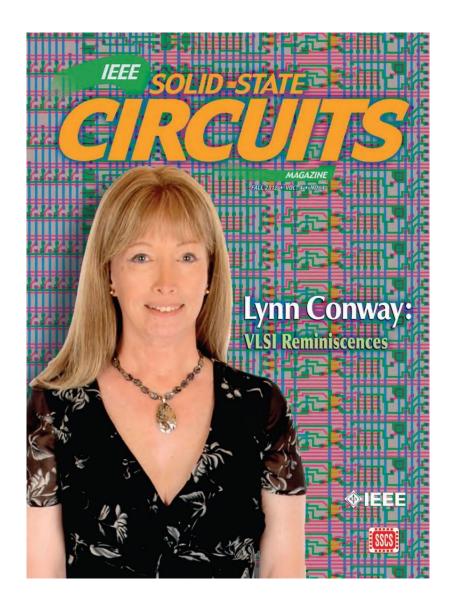


The story of my investigations in recent years is quite a saga, yet to be told . . .

To make a long-story short: I uncovered, documented and archived all sorts of fascinating data and evidence.

All that led me to write and publish my "Reminiscences of the VLSI Revolution" in the Fall 2012 IEEE Solid State Circuits Magazine.

It was the <u>first time I'd openly stepped</u> <u>forward</u> to <u>tell the story</u> . . .



Here are links re the investigation (i) to understand what happened, and (ii) to reclaim my life-legacy:

Compilation of the VLSI Archive, 2009-2012

Publication of my IBM-ACS Reminiscences, 2011

Publication of my VLSI Reminiscences, 2012

Publication of The Many Shades of 'Out', 2013

Publication of my MIT Reminiscences, 2014

Here's evidence that "it's begun":

Hall of Fellows, Computer History Museum, 2014

Honorary Doctorate, Illinois Institute of Technology, 2014

IEEE & Royal Society of Edinburgh, James Clerk Maxwell Medal, 2015

Honorary Doctorate, University of Victoria, Nov. 9, 2016

A Counter-Intuitive Explanatory-Conjecture:

Visualizing Mathew Effects, Matilda Effects and Conway Effects!



Throughout this case-study we "appear to observe" the following effects in play:

- (i) the "Matilda effect" (repression of women scientists' contributions)
- (ii) the "Matthew effect" (eminent scientists get more credit)

These effects involve "self-fulfilling prophecies", which Merton describes as:

"... a *false* definition of the situation evoking a new behavior which makes the original false conception come *true*. This specious validity of the self-fulfilling prophecy perpetuates a *reign of error*. For the prophet will cite the actual course of events as proof that he was right from the very beginning."

But is that all that's happening? Or are other forces also in play?

On closely investigating these events, I sensed something far more subliminal, more fundamental, happening at a social level . . . something that involves no errors, no conspiracies, no repressions, and no 'bad guys':

CONJECTURE: almost all people are blind to innovations, especially ones made by 'others' whom they do not expect to make innovations.

Since for most people, 'others' = 'almost all people', few people ever witness or visualize innovations, even ones made right in front of their eyes, including even some made by themselves!

They instead look for cues from others when constructing internal-orientations towards 'novelties' they stumble upon . . . and not just whether or not to accept or reject a novelty . . . but even whether to notice it in the first place!

From this perspective, the Mathew Effect and Matilda Effect are derivatives of the conjectured "Conway Effect", which covers 'all outsiders'.

Visualizing the Conway Effect in action:

Most students in MIT'78 thought they were learning "how chips were designed in Silicon Valley" (the course was, in effect, <u>a giant MIT hack!</u>). They "did it" without realizing they were learning radical new methods.

The <u>astonished reaction amongst Silicon Valley cognoscenti</u> then led to intense interest in reverse engineering: "How did MIT do this?" And many research universities immediately wanted to offer an "MIT VLSI course".

Similarly, the many users of MPC79 took it for granted and just "used it". No one realized MPC79 was an even larger <u>paradigm-shifting</u>-hackathon that launched the modern industrial system of "fabless design" + "silicon foundries" + "internet-based e-commerce infrastructure."

By analogy with <u>Engelbart's</u> classic <u>1968 demo</u> that led to PARC and PC's: **MPC79 was "The Godmother of All Demos"**

What might MPC79 participants been thinking?

Since MPC79 used the ARPANET, many thought DARPA had "innovated it."

When DARPA later funded the transfer of the MPC79 technology to USC's Info. Sci. Inst., many high-tech'ers and future users thought "MOSIS" had been "innovated by DARPA"! Government-sponsored MOSIS-like services even sprang up in other countries too!

Thus the VLSI revolution swept through the high-tech community without anyone realizing it had been deliberately generated, much less how that was done, or who did it.

Although the VLSI Book by 'Mead' became iconically-connected with these large-scale techno-social events, Mead himself was never able to explain what happened . . .

Meanwhile, Conway remained in the shadows until 2012, when she finally <u>felt able to emerge and explain how it happened</u> . . .

The Conway Effect: Almost all people are blind to innovations, especially those made by people they don't expect to make innovations.

• Innovations diffuse via social-processes involving subliminal subgroup noticings, mimickings, rejections, adoptions, adaptations, tradings and displacements

Credits for innovations as social tokens are *separately* subliminally assigned, gathered, seized, gained, granted, bartered, etc...

• Crediting-processes are modulated by visibility, status, prestige, class, power, location, credentials, prejudice, popularity, influence, money and accident . .

The *visibility of crediting* (vs little visualization of innovations) *thus sustains* both the crediting-processes <u>and</u> the ongoing-blindness to innovations.

Corollary: It's possible to trigger large paradigm-shifts, right out in the open, without people having a clue what you're doing (as long as you don't tell)!

Moral: "When Weirdness breaks out, don't get upset . . . Do Science On It!"

Questions to Ponder!

Have you noticed an innovation this week?

Have you made an innovation this week?

What is an innovation???

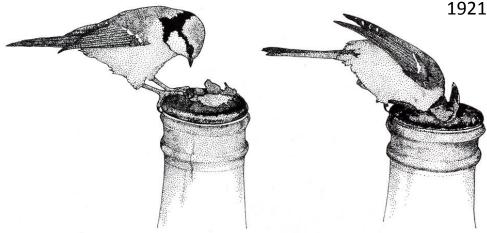
How to think abstractly about such things?

Some insights from the evolution of culture in animals . . .

Glimpses into Emerging Techno-Social Dynamical-Systems . . .

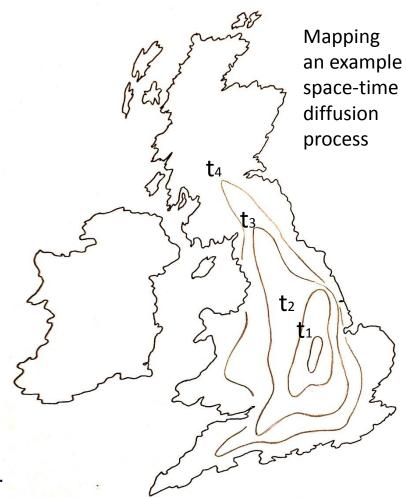
Thought Experiment!*

Visualizing the diffusion of an 'innovation', 1921-1949



John Tyler Bonner, *The Evolution of Culture in Animals*, Princeton University Press, 1980, p.183-4.

*As unfolded by Lynn to mystified audiences decades ago in her spirited keynotes at Spring Compcon '83 and DAC '84.



Thought experiment!**

"The most remarkable of such examples comes from the work of the Japanese Monkey Center where macaques were isolated in groups on small islands, and differences in the behavior patterns of different island populations arose by cultural evolution . . .

The greatest achievement is that of Imo, the female genius among the macaques.

At the age of two she invented washing the sand off sweet potatoes before eating them, and at a later date she found a way of separating wheat from sand by throwing the mixture in the water and skimming off the wheat from the surface.

These discoveries spread slowly through the colony, although in general the older individuals

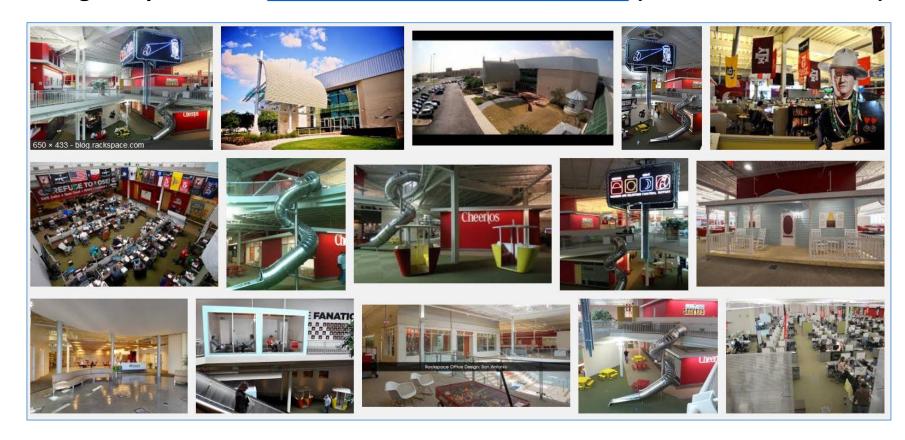
Source

were the last to acquire the new tricks."***

^{**}As unfolded by Lynn to mystified audiences decades ago in her spirited keynotes at Spring Compcon '83 and DAC '84.

^{***} John Tyler Bonner, *The Evolution of Culture in Animals*, Princeton University Press, 1980, p.184.

Thought Experiment: Inside Rackspace's Headquarters (video of "The Castle")



Just imagine what's going on inside "1 Fanatical Place, Windcrest, TX", and similar high-technology exploration-grounds all around the world!

For glimpses into Techno-Social Systems in the emerging Social Age see:

Our Travels Through Techno-Social Space-Time: Envisioning Incoming Waves of Technological Innovation



Lynn Conway

Professor of EECS, Emerita University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

2016 Magill Lecture

Fu Foundation School of Engineering and Applied Science, Columbia University March 23, 2016



Note: This <u>slideshow</u> is posted <u>online</u> for later reference: http://ai.eecs.umich.edu/people/conway/Memoirs/ <u>Talks/Columbia/2016 Magill Lecture.pptx</u> [V 3-21-2016]

Lynn Conway, "Our Travels Through Techno-Social Space-Time: Envisioning Incoming Waves of Technological Innovation", 2016 Magill Lecture, Columbia University, March 23, 2016

Jesse Adams, "Magill Lecture: Visionary Engineer Lynn Conway BS'62, MS'63 Heralds Dawn of the Techno-Social Age", Columbia Engineering, April 7, 2016

END

Moral Of Lynn's Story:

"When Weirdness breaks out, don't get upset . . . Do Science On It!"

http://ai.eecs.umich.edu/people/conway/Memoirs/Talks/OUEC2016/OUEC_Keynote.pptx
http://ai.eecs.umich.edu/people/conway/Memoirs/Talks/OUEC2016/OUEC_Keynote.pdf
www.lynnconway.com; conway@umich.edu

Readings:

Ken Shepard, "Covering": How We Missed the Inside-Story of the VLSI Revolution", IEEE Solid State Circuits Magazine, FALL 2012, pp. 40-42. (more)

Chuck House, "A Paradigm Shift Was Happening All Around Us", IEEE Solid State Circuits Magazine, FALL 2012, pp. 32-35. (more)

Lynn Conway, "Reminiscences of the VLSI Revolution: How a series of failures triggered a paradigm shift in digital design", *IEEE Solid State Circuits Magazine*, FALL 2012, p. 8-31. (more)

Lynn Conway, "The Many Shades of Out", Huffington Post, July 24, 2013.

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