

Out of darkness *IT research and the revival of work practice studies*

"Gute Forschung für gute Arbeit"
Siegen, 31 October 2014

Kjeld Schmidt
Copenhagen Business School



Enlightening work practices

- Out of darkness (I):
 - Work practices are 'born in obscurity' (Académie Royale des Sciences, 1761):
 - Systematic studies are essential for transformative interventions in work practices
- Out of darkness (II):
 - Work practice studies eclipsed during the Industrial Revolution (c. 1780 ff.):
 - But with modern computing, systematic studies are a technological necessity

Agenda

- ‘Born in obscurity’: Work practice studies, c. 1400-1800
- ‘Darkness at noon’, c. 1800-1990
- ‘Out of darkness’, c. 1990 ff.



‘Born in obscurity’: Work practice studies, c. 1400-1800

Modern Era (c. 1400 ff.): The rise of capitalist production

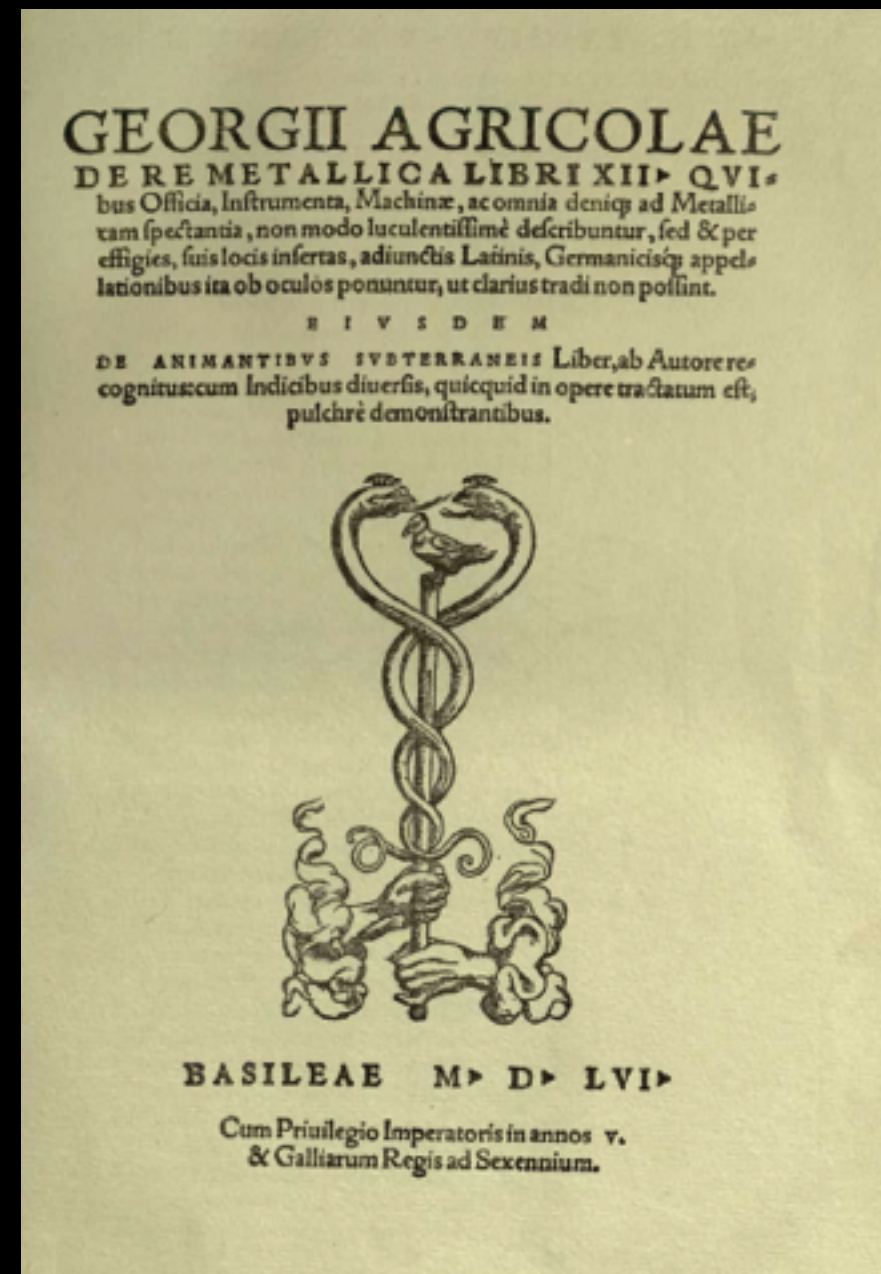
Systematic studies of work practices and techniques

- Didactic purposes
- Development of experimental practices in science
- Technological purposes: Rationalization of work practices and techniques



Studies of the work practices of artisans: Didactic purposes

Agricola, *De Re Metallica*
(Basel, 1556)



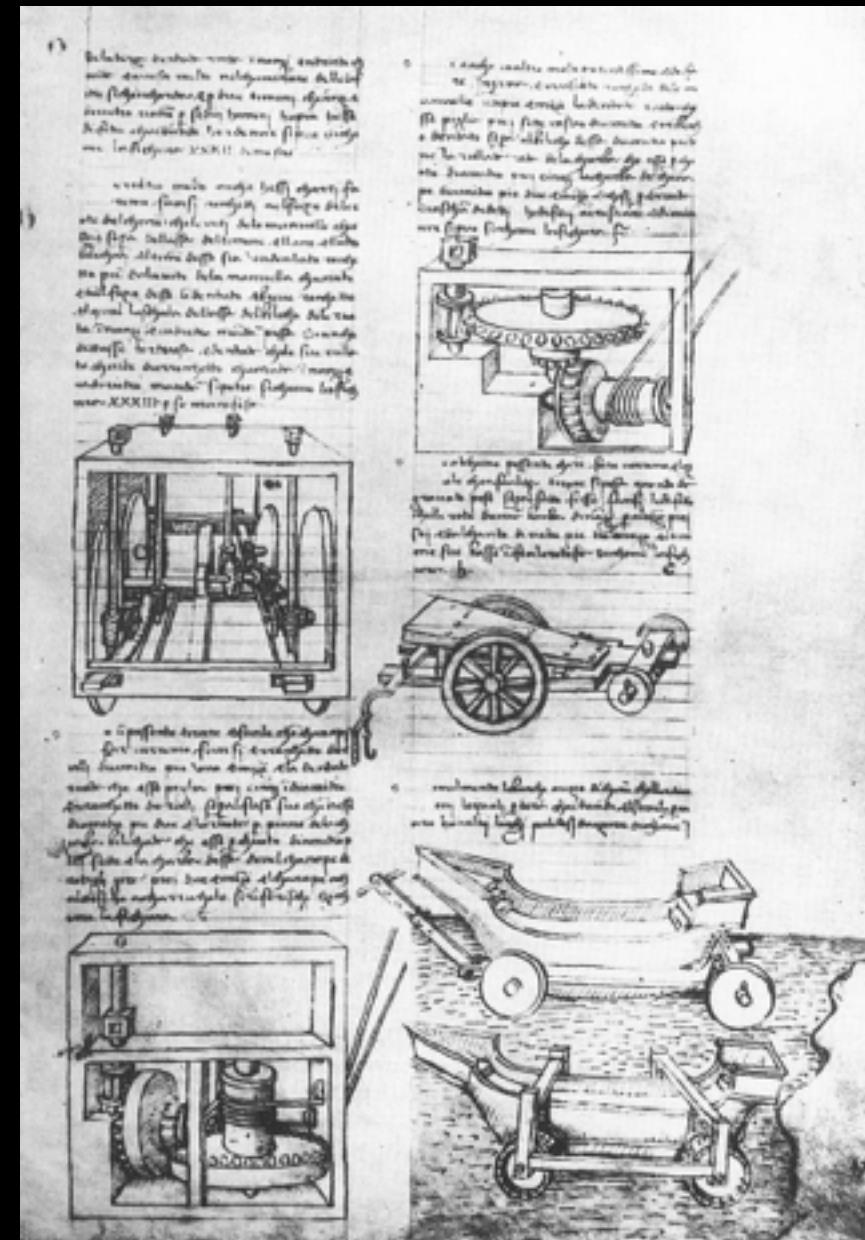
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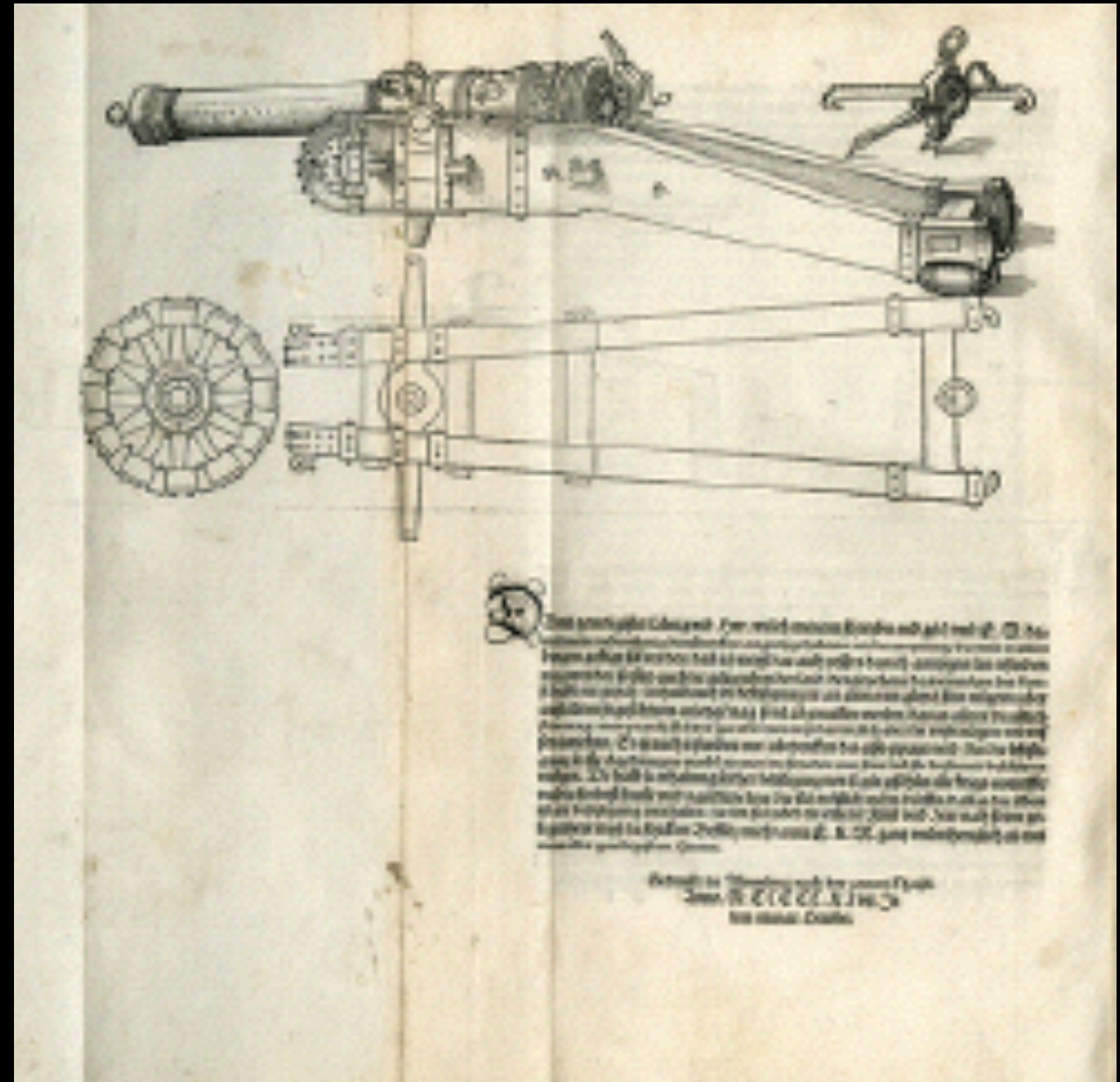
Technical treatises by 'artisan-engineers': Didactic purposes

- Leon Battista Alberti
- Francesco di Giorgio Martini
- Leonardo da Vinci
- Albrecht Dürer
- ...



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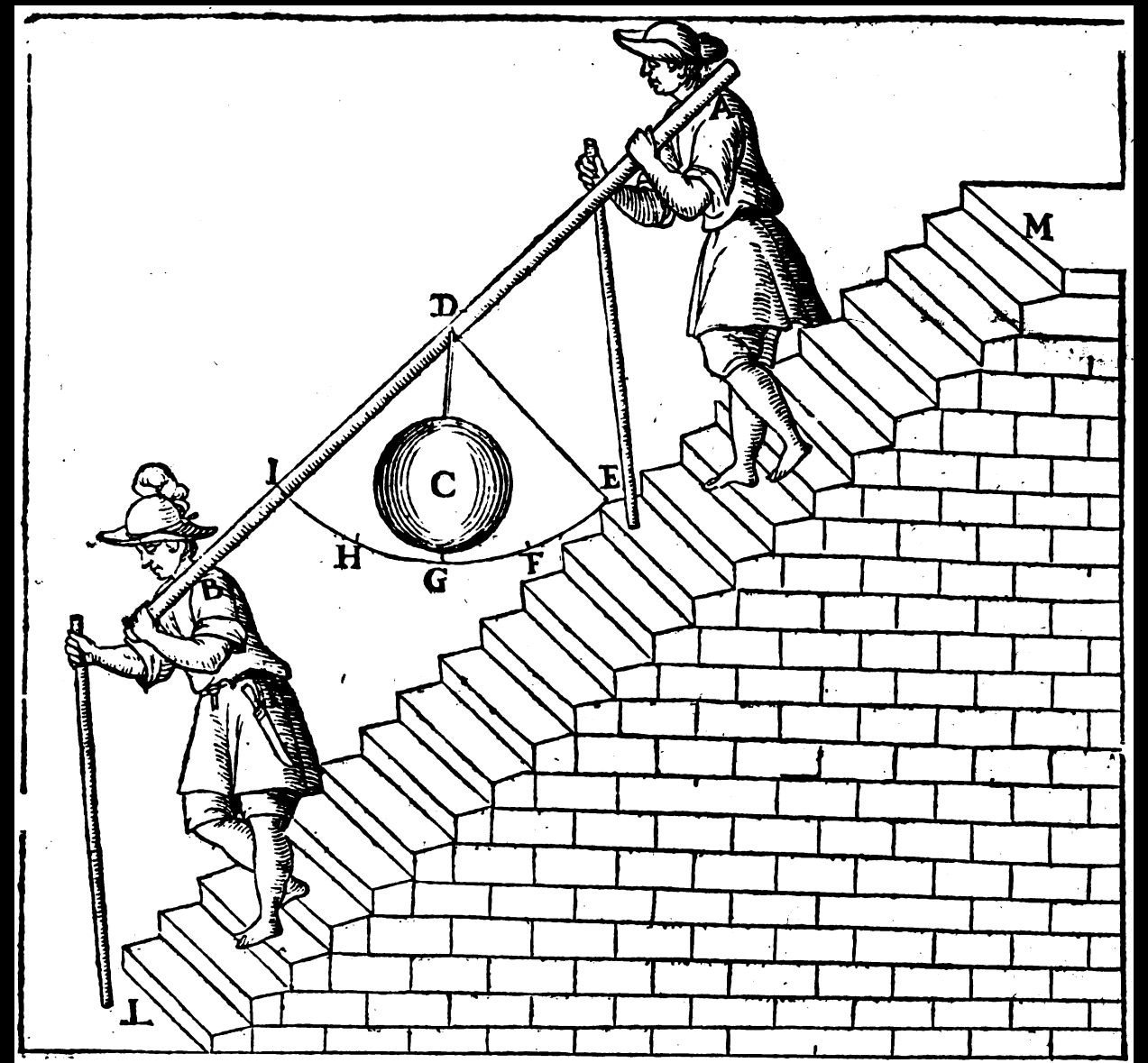
Technical treatises by 'artisan-engineers': Didactic purposes

Lorini, *Delle fortificationi*
(1596)



Technical treatises by practitioners: Didactic purposes

Lorini, *Delle fortificationi*
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Intervention in practices: Development of experimental practices in science

Arsenal of Venice, 1572

Galilei: *Delle Meccaniche*
(1594), *Discorsi e
dimostrazioni
matematiche* (1638)



Intervention in work practices & development of experimental techniques in science

Galilei: *Delle Meccaniche* (1594), *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche* (1638)



Studies of work practices and techniques: Technological purposes

Académie de France,
*Déscriptions des arts et
métiers*, c. 100 vols.
(1761-1788)

DESCRIPTIONS DES ARTS ET MÉTIERS

FAITES OU APPROUVÉES.
PAR MESSIEURS DE L'ACADÉMIE ROYALE
DES SCIENCES DE PARIS.

AVEC FIGURES EN TAILLE-DOUCE

NOUVELLE ÉDITION.

*Publiée avec des observations, & augmentée de tout ce qui a été
écrit de mieux sur ces matières, en Allemagne, en Angleterre,
en Suisse, en Italie.*

PAR J. E. BERTRAND,

*Professeur en Belles-Lettres à NEUCHÂTEL, Membre de l'Académie des
Sciences de MUNICH.*

TOME I

CONTENANT L'ART DU MEUNIER, DU BOULANGER, DU VERMICELLIER.



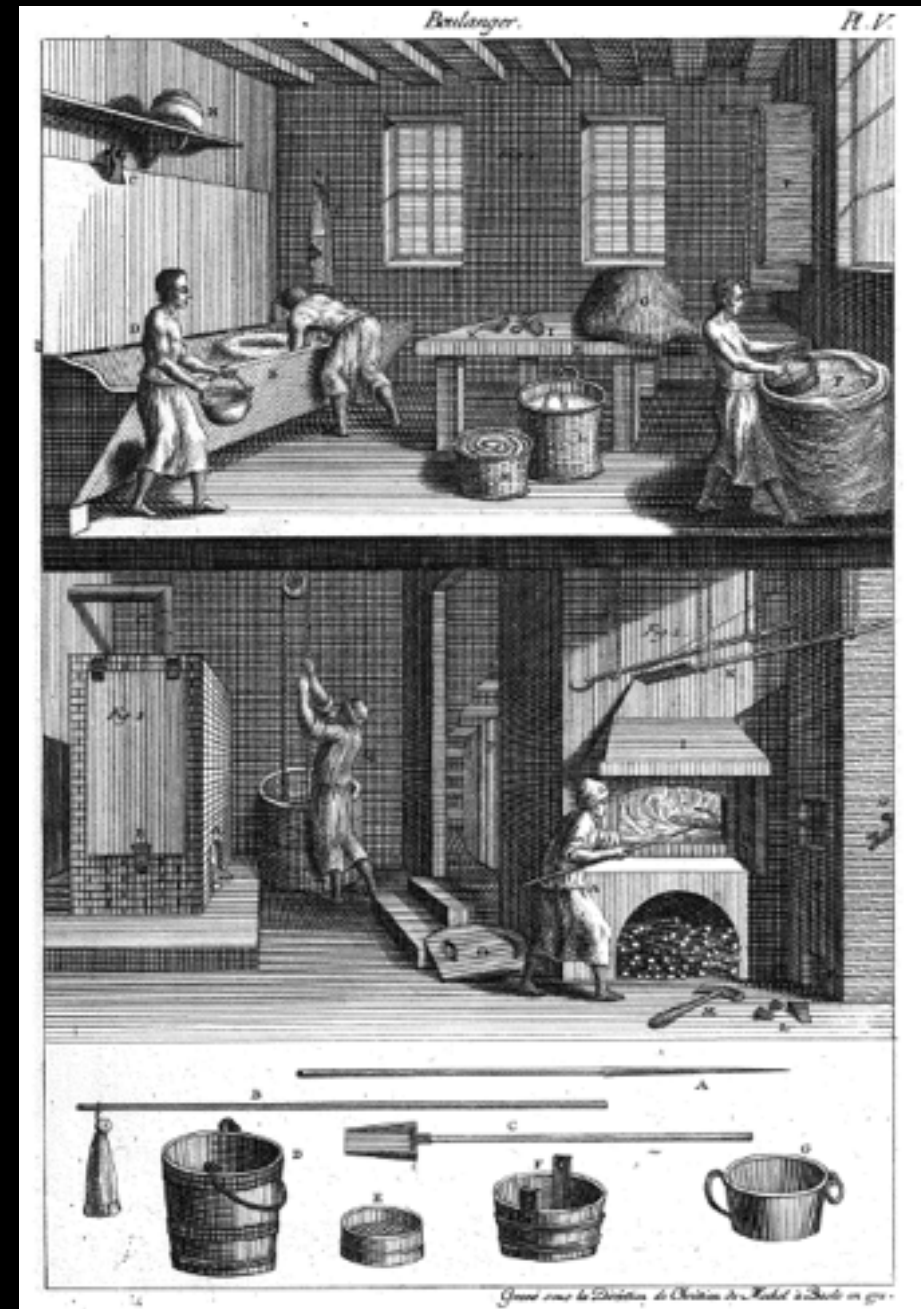
A NEUCHÂTEL

DANS L'IMPRIMERIE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ TYPOGRAPHIQUE.

M. DCC. LXXI

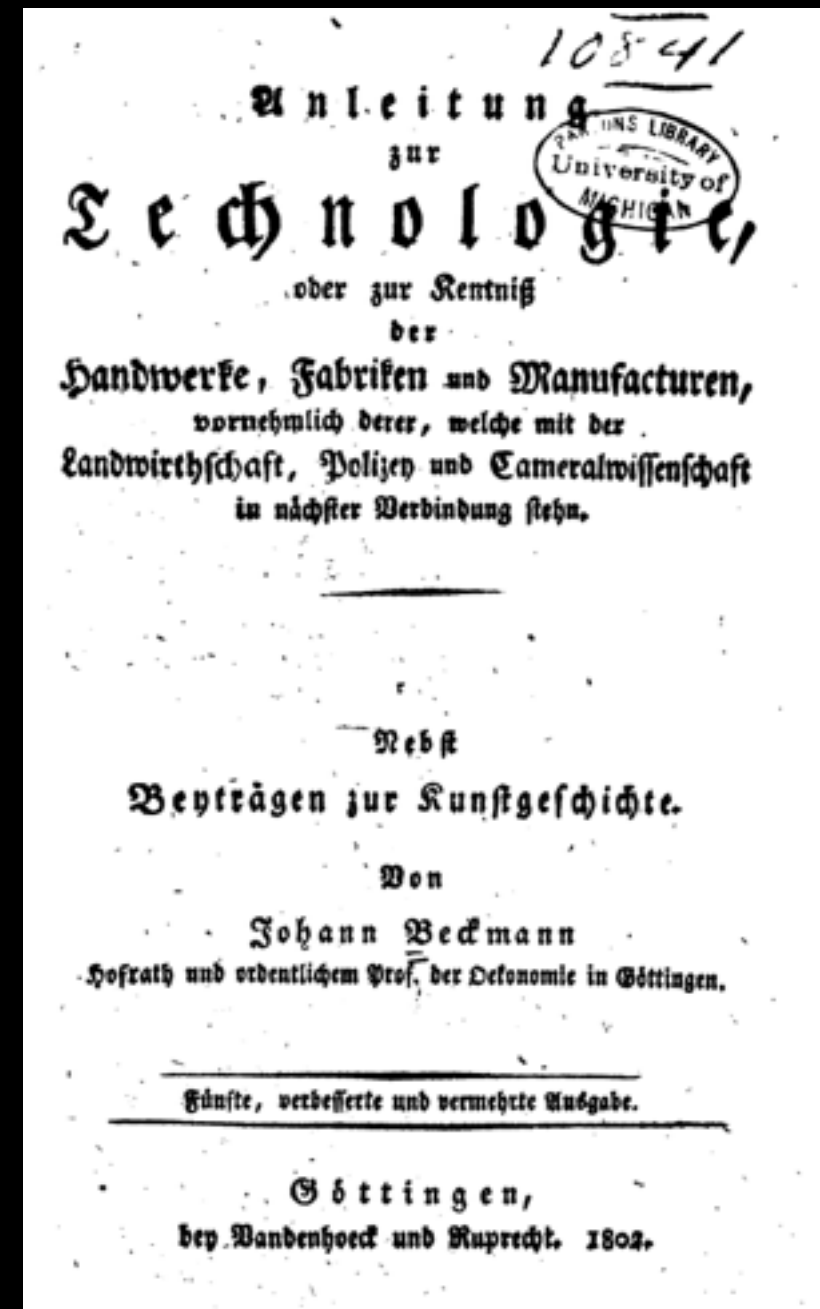
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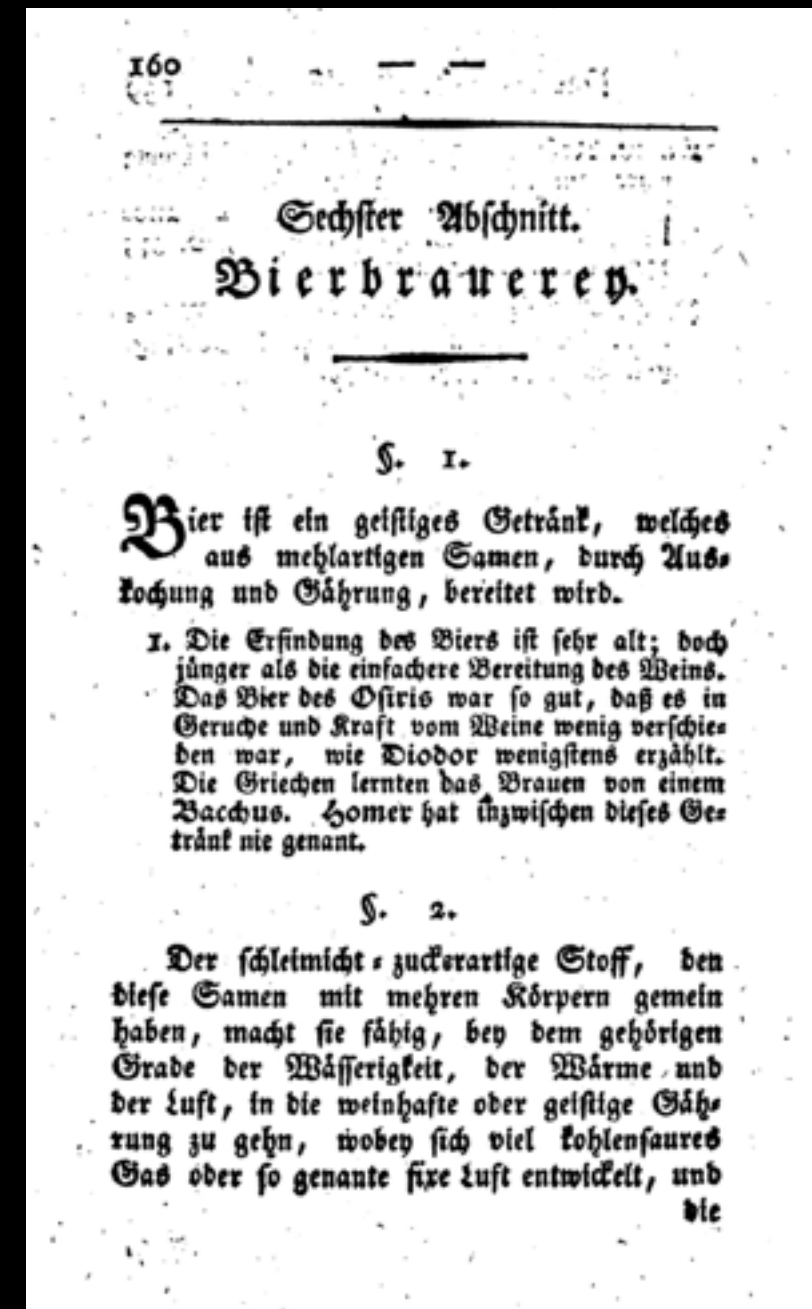
Studies of work practices and techniques: Technological purposes

Johann Beckmann:
*Anleitung zur Technologie,
oder zur Kenntniß der
Handwerke, Fabriken und
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Studies of work practices and techniques: Technological purposes

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The modern concept of 'practice'

Reflections on 'theory' vs
'practice'

- Bernard Palissy, 1580
- Bonaiuto Lorini, 1596
- Francis Bacon, 1620
- Denis Diderot, 1751
- Immanuel Kant, 1793

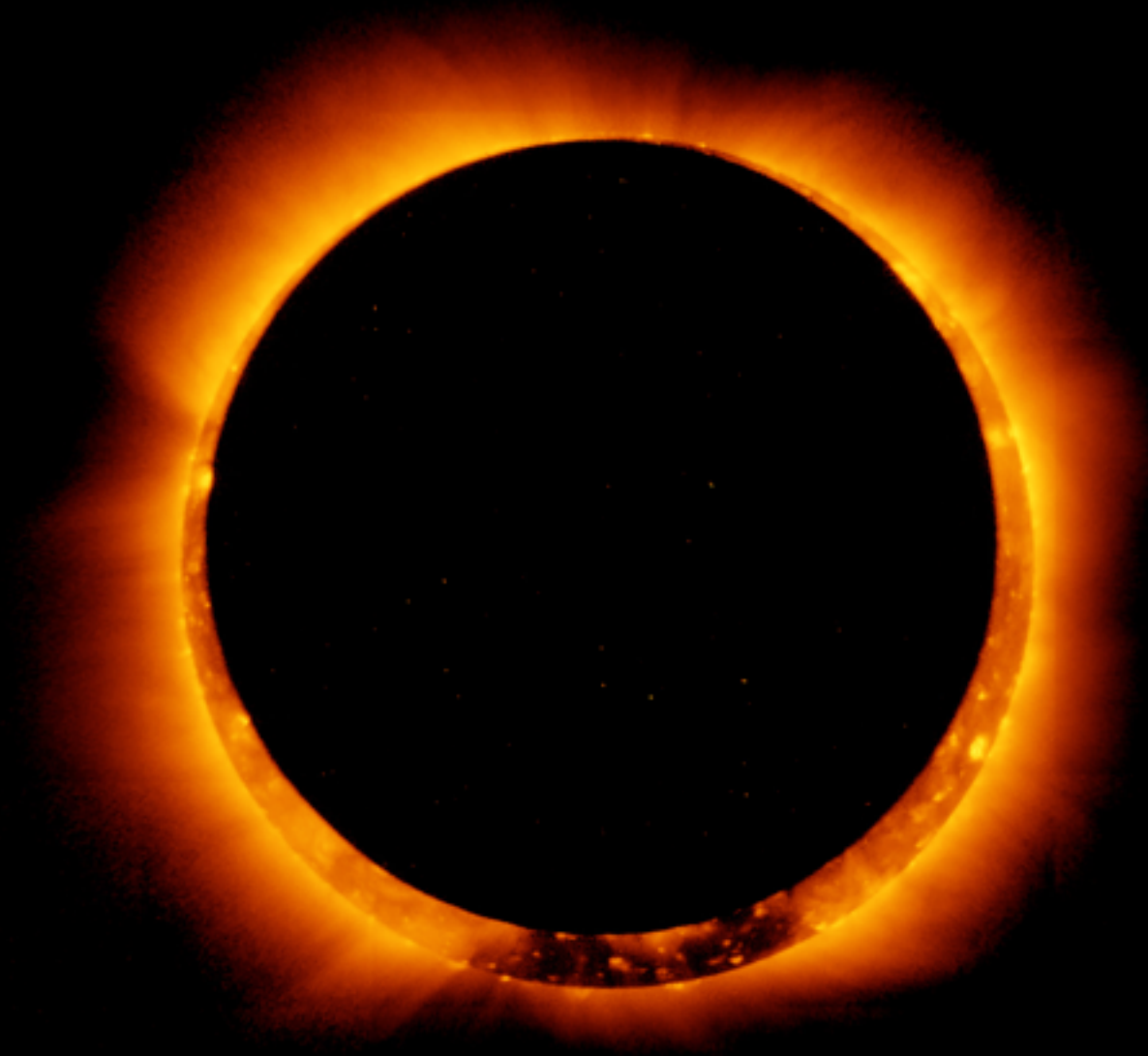


The modern concept of 'practice'

Reflections on 'theory' vs 'practice'

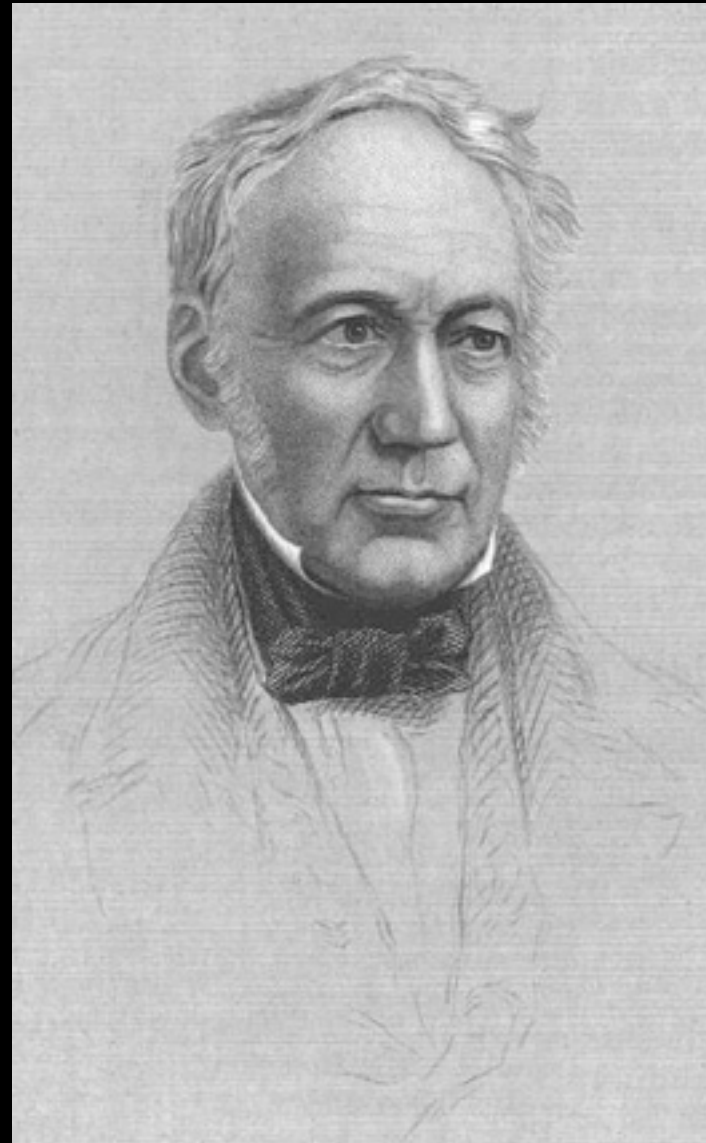
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'I would ask those who [say and maintain that theory begets practice] whether they — having studied fifty years in books on cosmography and navigation on the sea, and having maps of all regions and the chronometer, the compass and astronomical instruments — would undertake to sail a ship to all countries: as will a man who is expert and practical. They dare not place themselves in such danger, whatever theory they may have learned: and when they have long debated, they will be forced to admit that practice has begotten theory.'

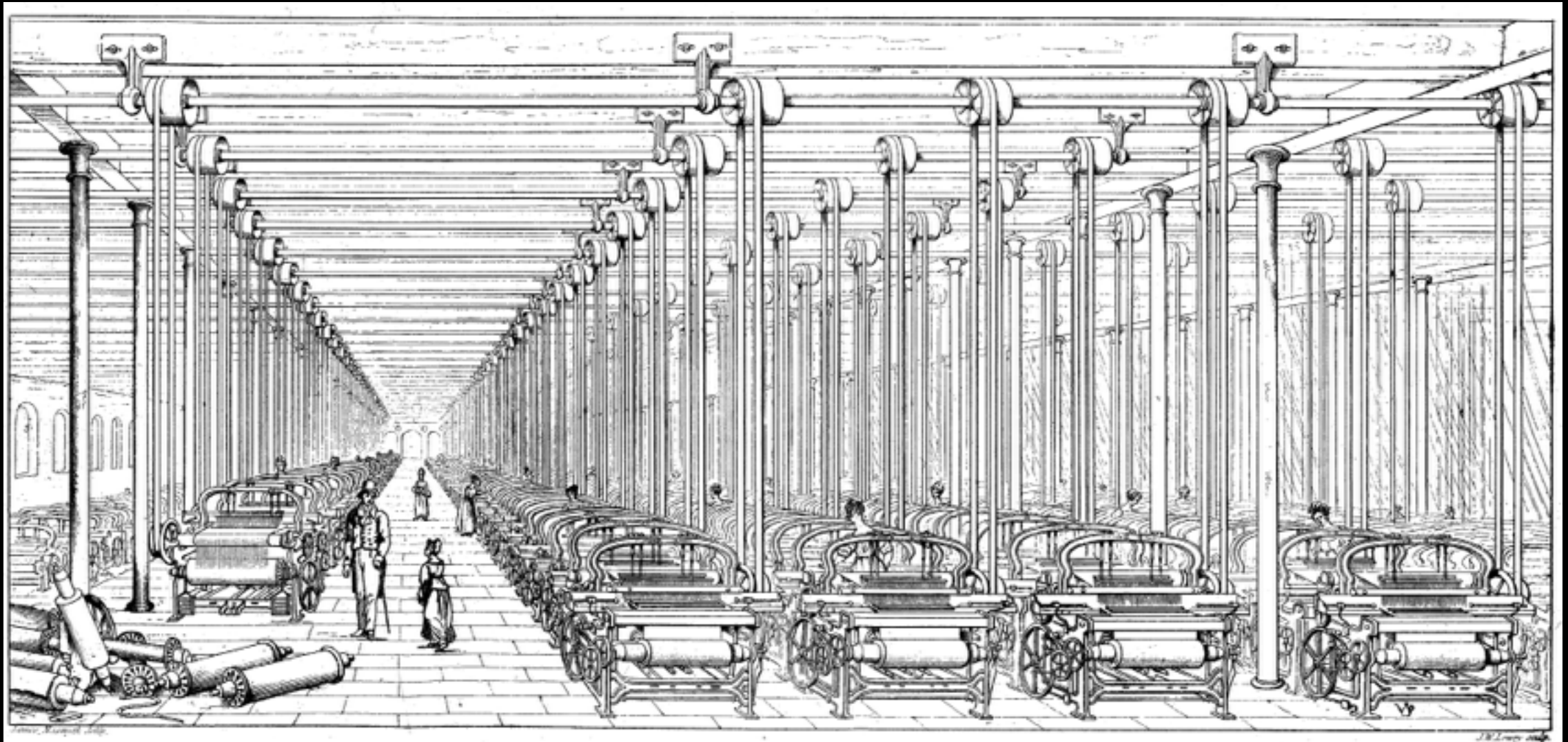


‘Darkness at noon’, c. 1800-1990:
The eclipse of practice studies

Babbage 1832 & Ure 1835: Shift of focus from work practice to machinery

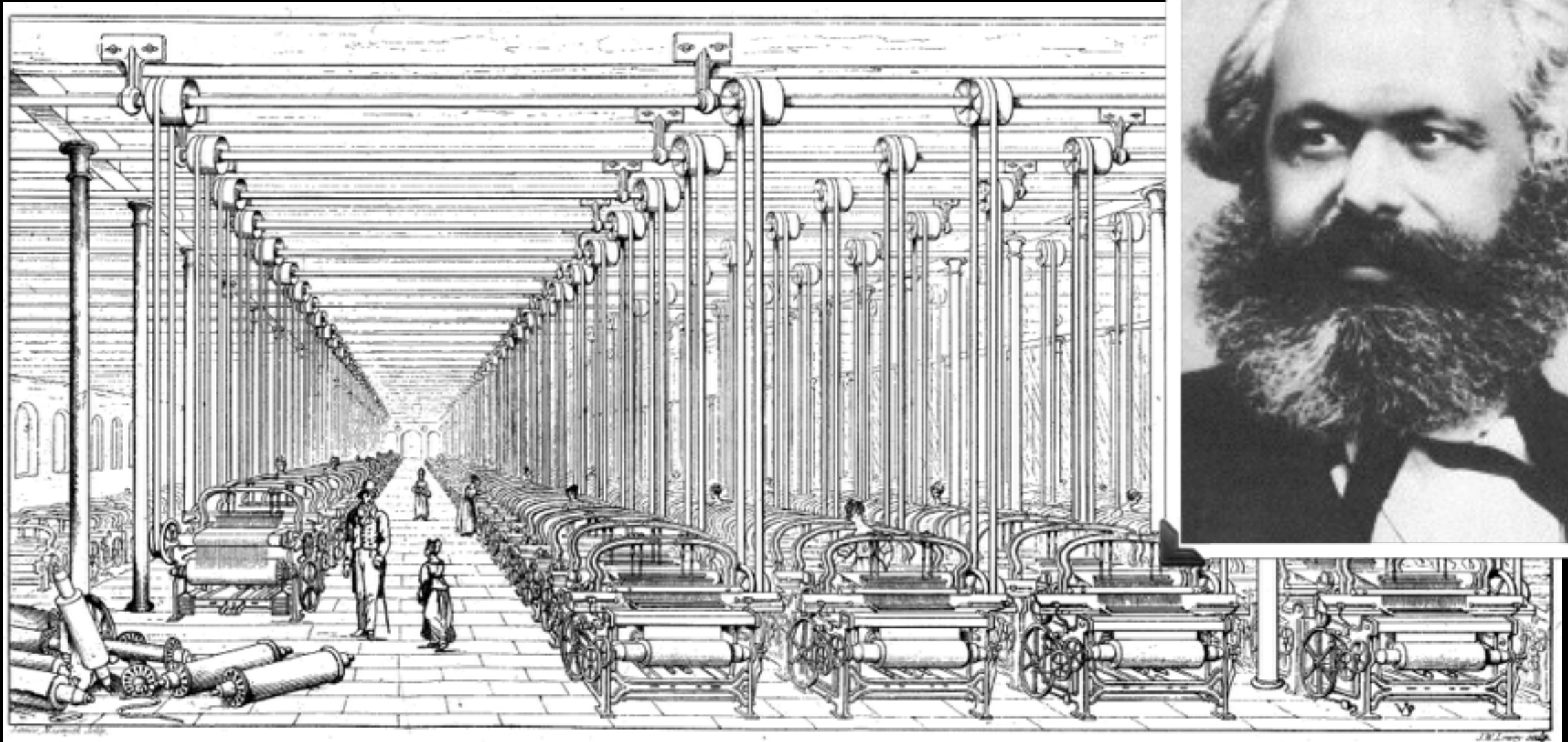


Machinery, according to Ure, 1835



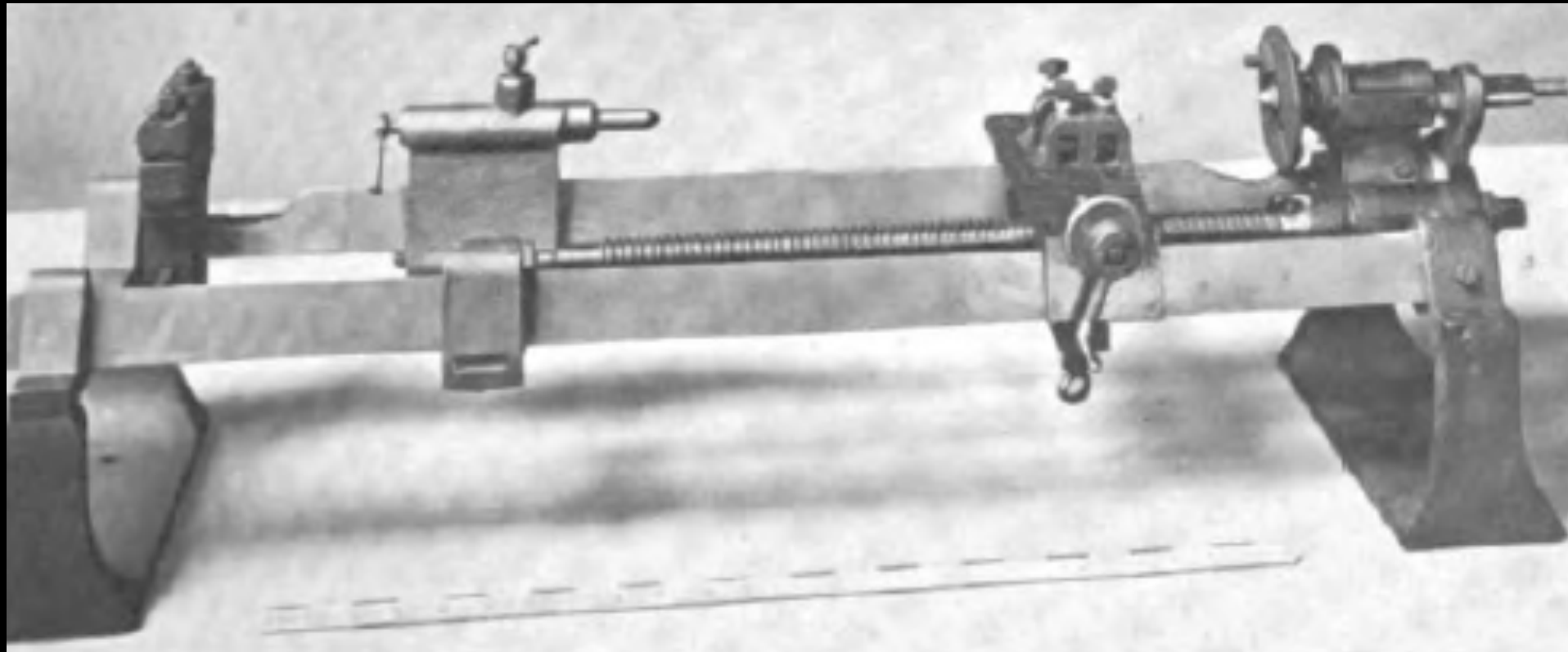
Power Loom Factory, Stockton, *c.* 1835

Machinery, according to Ure, 1835



Power Loom Factory, Stockton, *c.* 1835

The reality of machinery (outside the textile industry)



Maudslay's slide rest, c. 1797

The reality of work: overwhelmingly manual



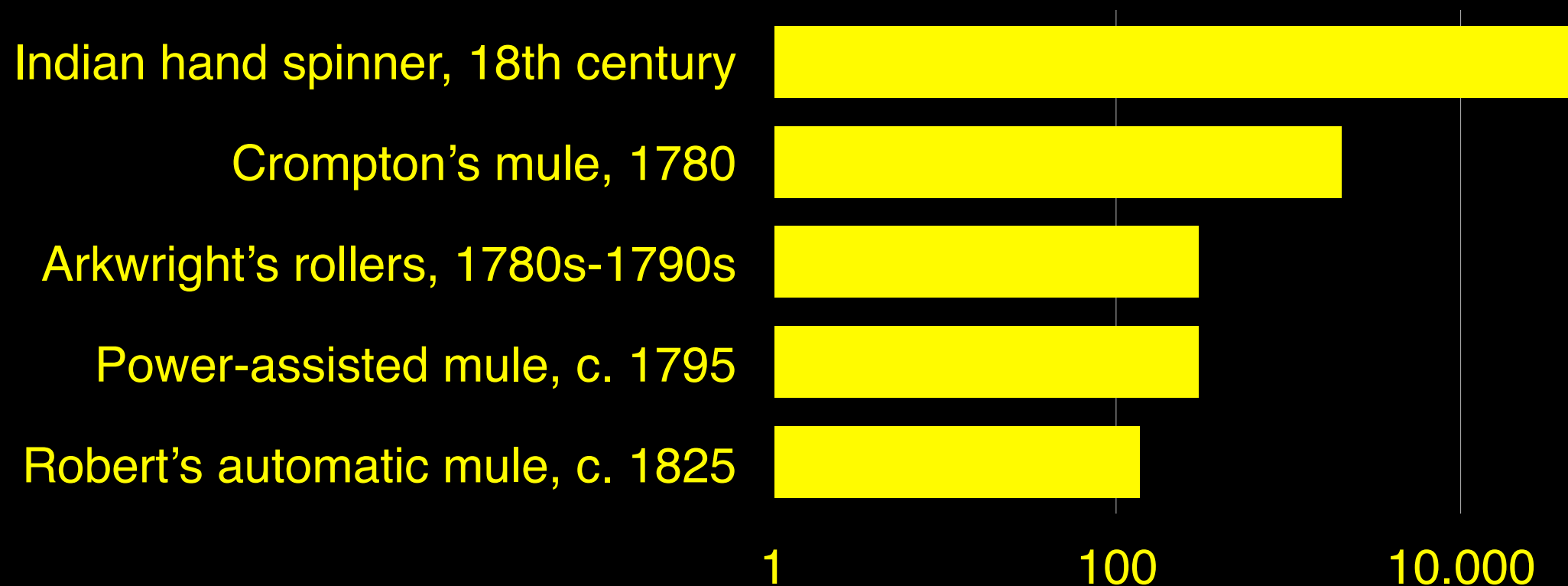
Foxconn, China, 2010

Why the eclipse?

Because managers relied on mechanization

'the combination of an unskilled and untrained labour force and **mechanisation** tended to blind them. Raw labour could not be expected to be efficient anyway: one must budget with low per capita output. **The increase in output due to technical innovation was so vast that it was easy to forget how much greater it might have been with efficient exploitation.** "By the aid of mechanical fingers", exclaimed Dr. Ure [1835], "one Englishman at his mule can turn off daily more yarn than 200 of the most diligent spinsters of Hindostan." It seemed not to matter that they might have turned out more, because few entrepreneurs realised the potential economies of really efficient labour exploitation.' (Hobsbawm, 1964)

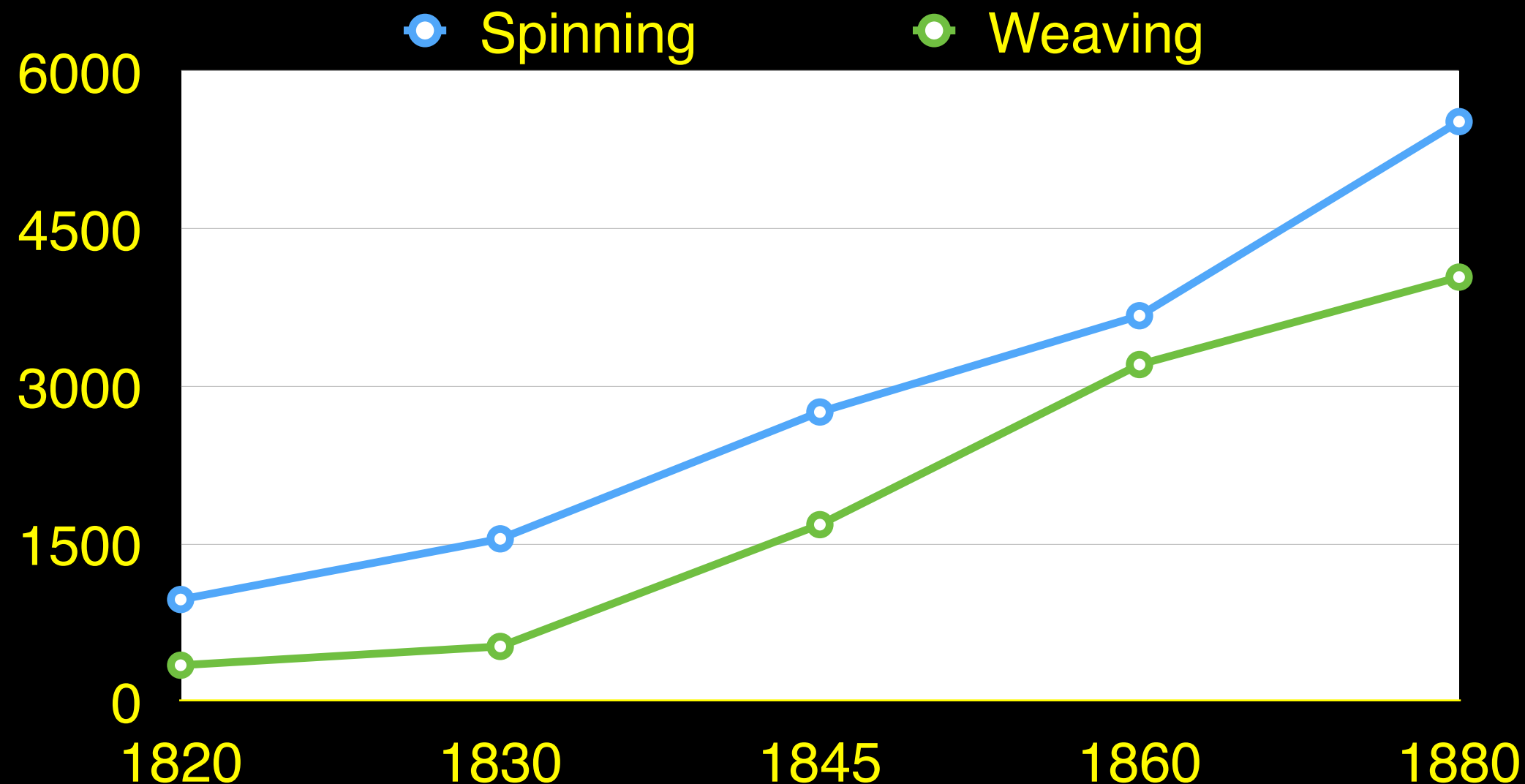
Effect of use of machinery on productivity of spinning, c. 1700-1825



Person-hours required to produce 50 kg of cotton, **logarithmic scale**:
Productivity increased by factor 300 in one century

Pollard,(1981). *Peaceful Conquest: The Industrialization of Europe 1760-1970*

Effect of use of machinery on productivity of spinning, c. 1820-1880



Productivity increased by factor 6 resp. 12 in 60 years

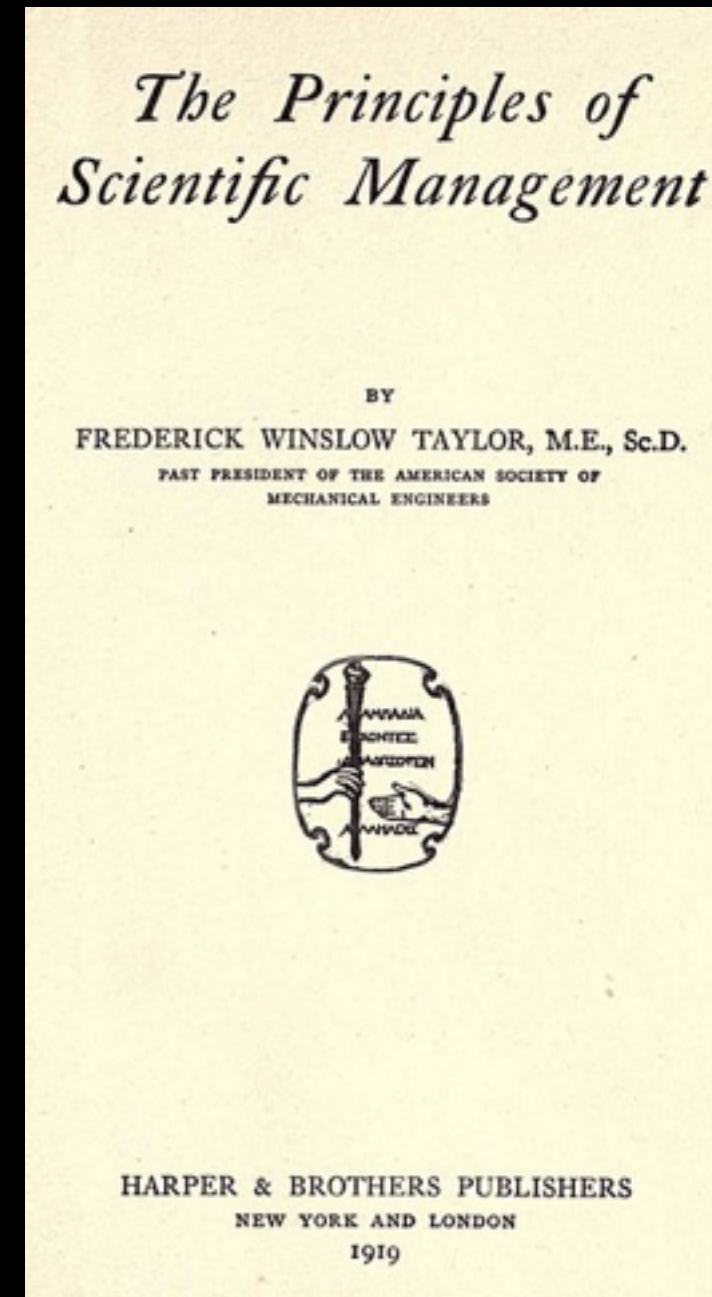
Pollard,(1981). *Peaceful Conquest: The Industrialization of Europe 1760-1970*



Well, only a *partial* eclipse

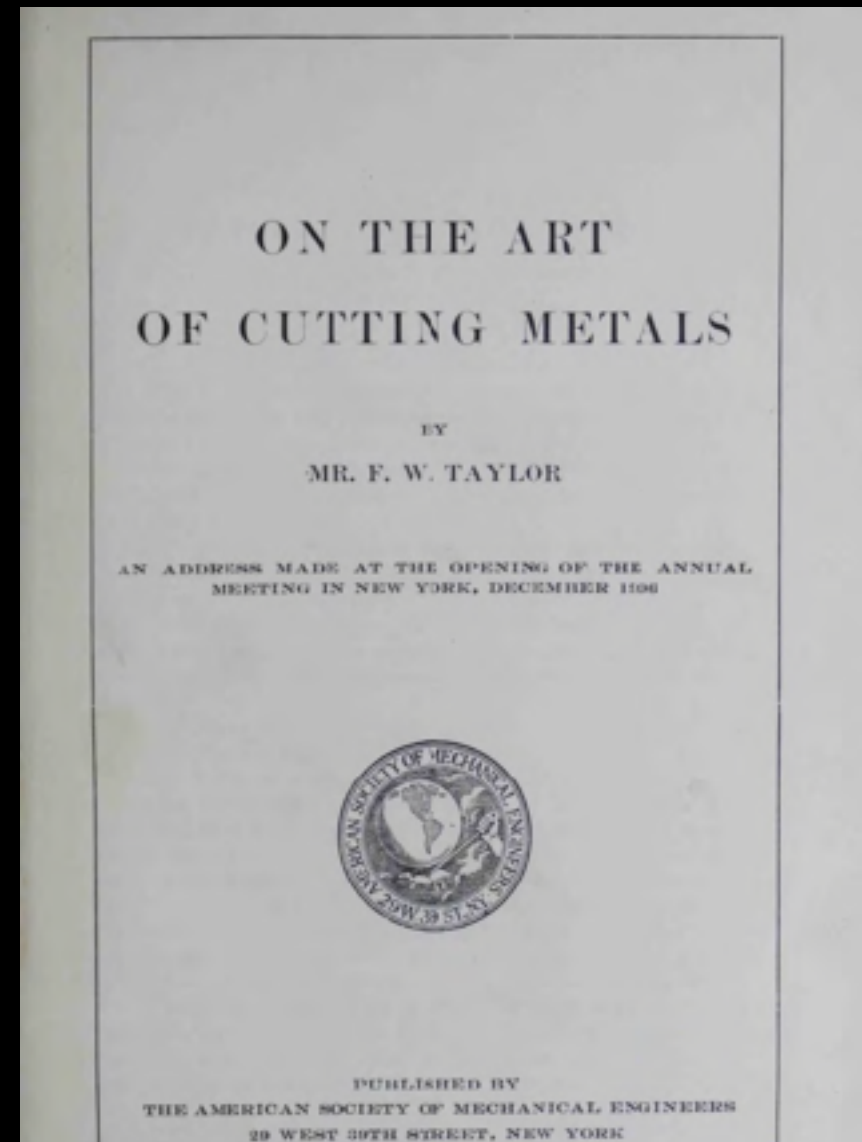
The Taylorist intervention

- The issue: Workers' 'output restriction'
- Piece-rate based on time-and-motion studies
- Stated aim: eliminate practice!
- No studies of actual work practices!

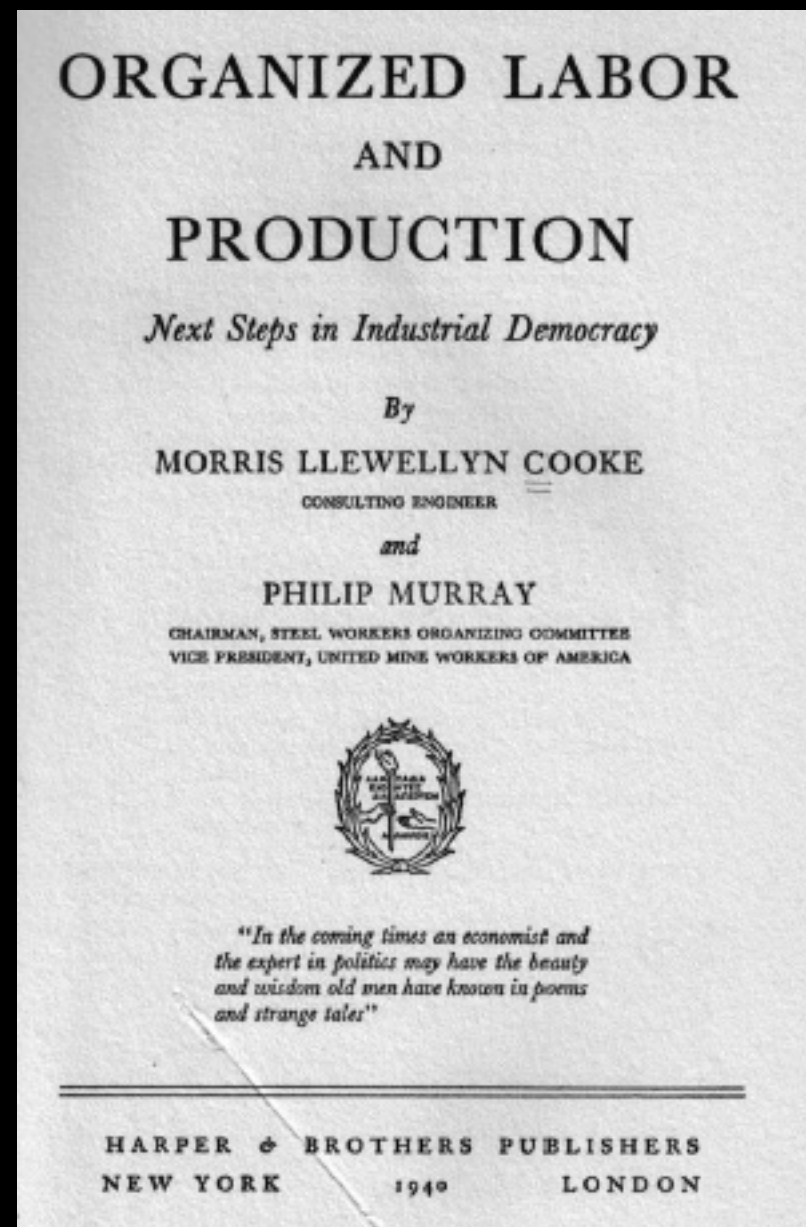
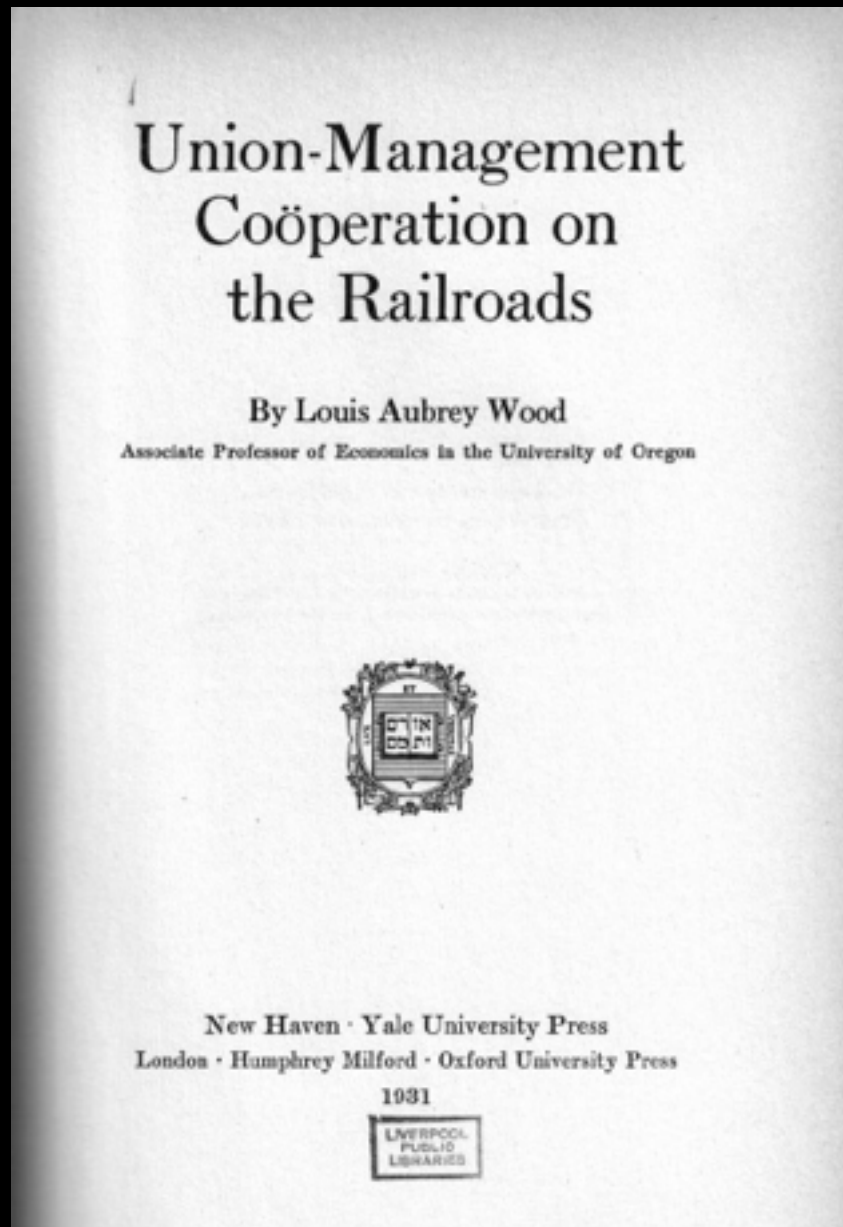


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The Taylor Society

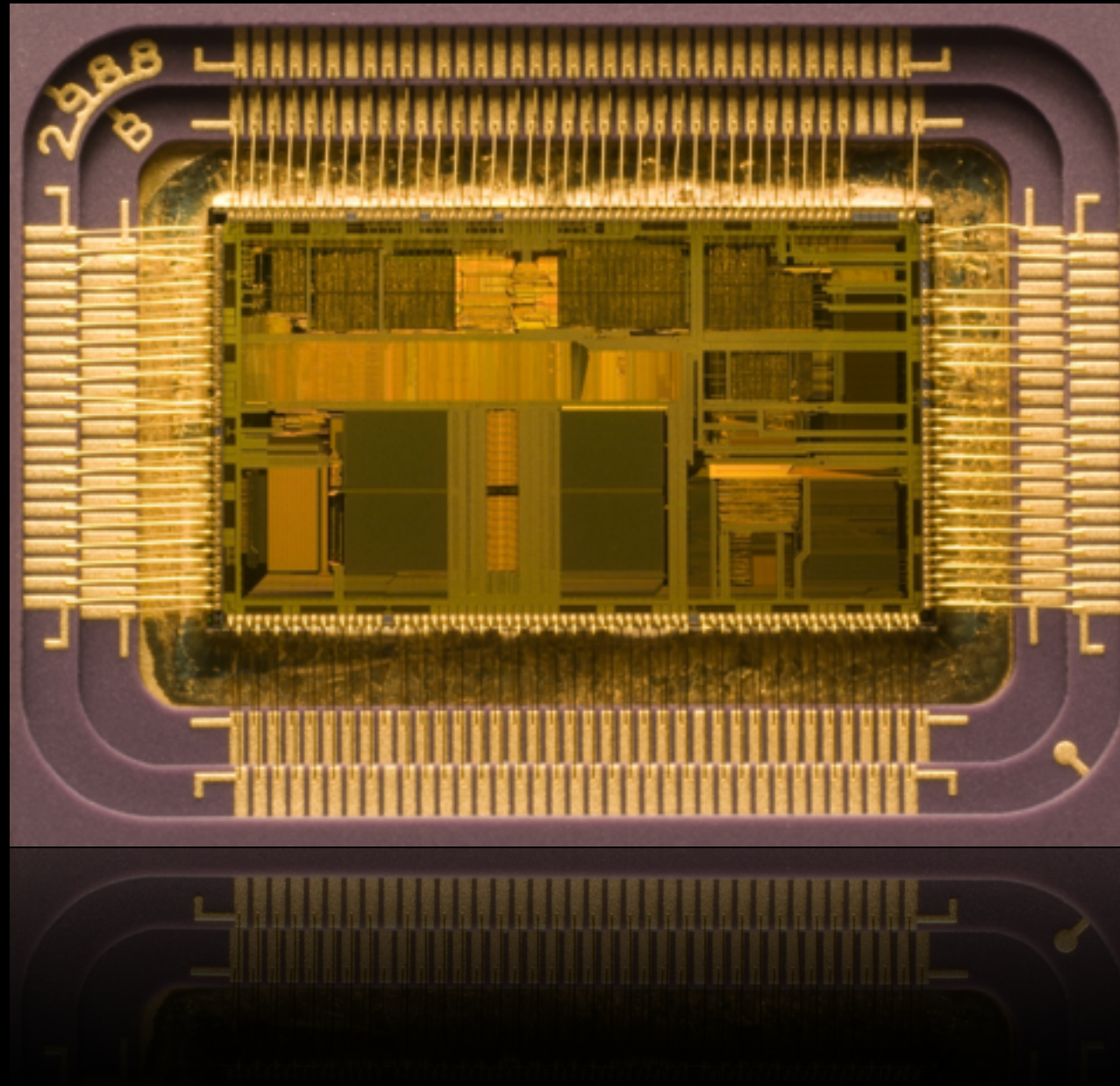


The European field study tradition

- Iron and Coal Union: Francophone ergonomics
- The Socio-Technical Tradition: UK, Scandinavia
- Humanisierung der Arbeit: Germany, Sweden
- Human-Machine Systems research: studies of supervisory control: UK, France, Denmark

Sociology of work

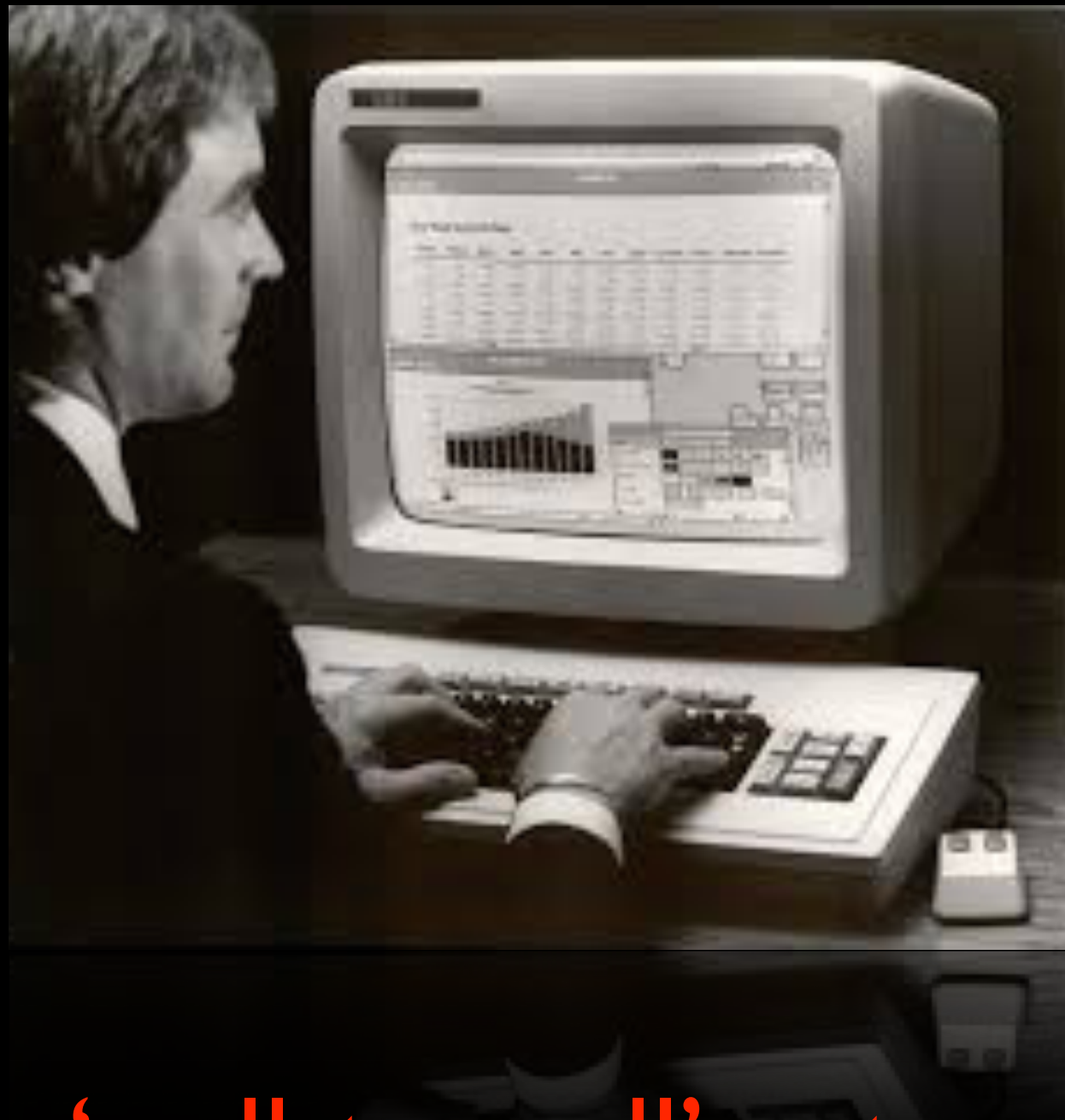
- One will have to look hard to find studies of actual work in sociology of work
 - Research program: The causes of conflict and adaptation
- Was German sociology of work (from Popitz & Bahrdt to Kern & Schumann) an exception?
 - Research program *Arbeiterbewußtsein*: The political potential of the working class in view of ongoing technological change
 - Research program: Technological change and workers' qualifications
- 'Technology' as 'independent variable'!



‘Out of darkness’, c. 1990 ff.



From 'wall-to-wall' automation
to 'interactive computing'



Xerox 8010 'Star', 1981

From 'wall-to-wall' automation
to 'interactive computing'

Interactive computing

- ✧ Whirlwind (1951): real-time online computing
- ✧ Cooperation via computational machine system
- ✧ Barrier: Coordination
 - ✧ Predesigned coordination ('real-time transaction processing')
 - ✧ Other coordination: outside of the system (telephone!)
- ✧ Heritage: TX-2, Minicomputers (e.g., PDP...)



Whirlwind 1951

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SAGE 1958

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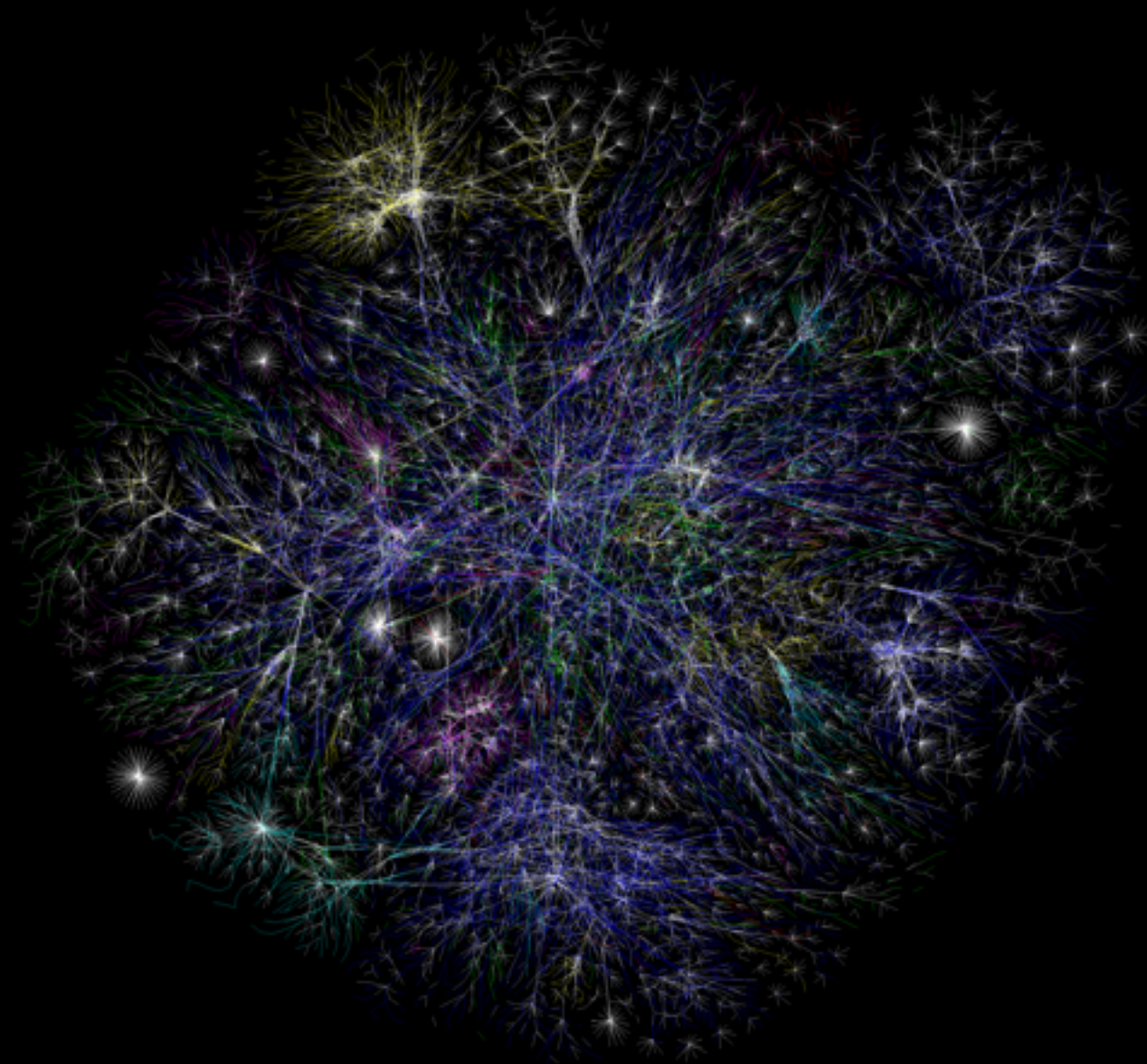


SABRE 1964

Interactive computing



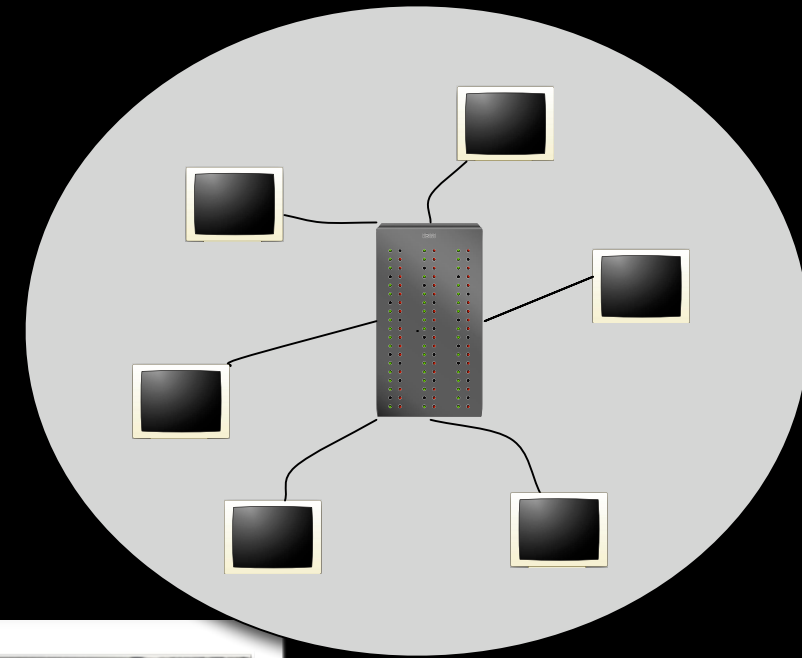
Ivan Sutherland: *Sketchpad*, 1958 (TX-2)



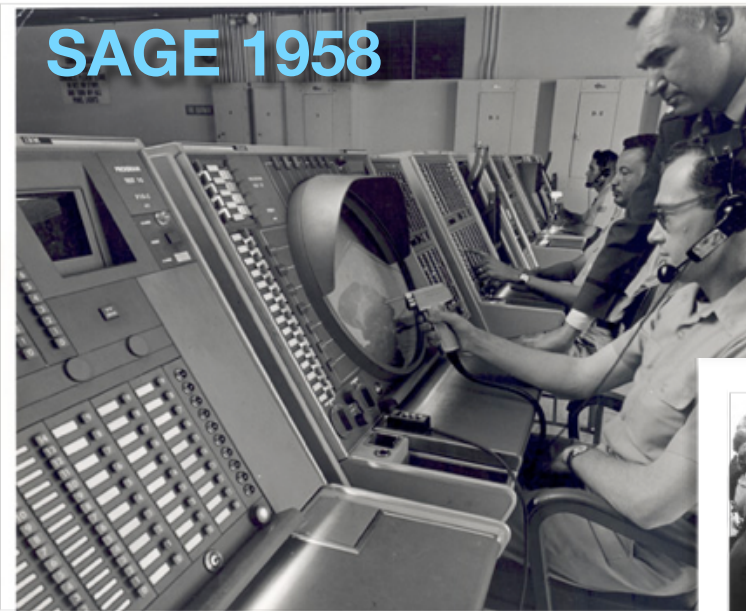
Collaborative computing paradigms

Collaborative computing paradigms

- ✧ Facilitation of cooperative work
- ✧ Mediation of communication among workers
- ✧ Support of coordinative practices



SAGE 1958



Whirlwind 1951

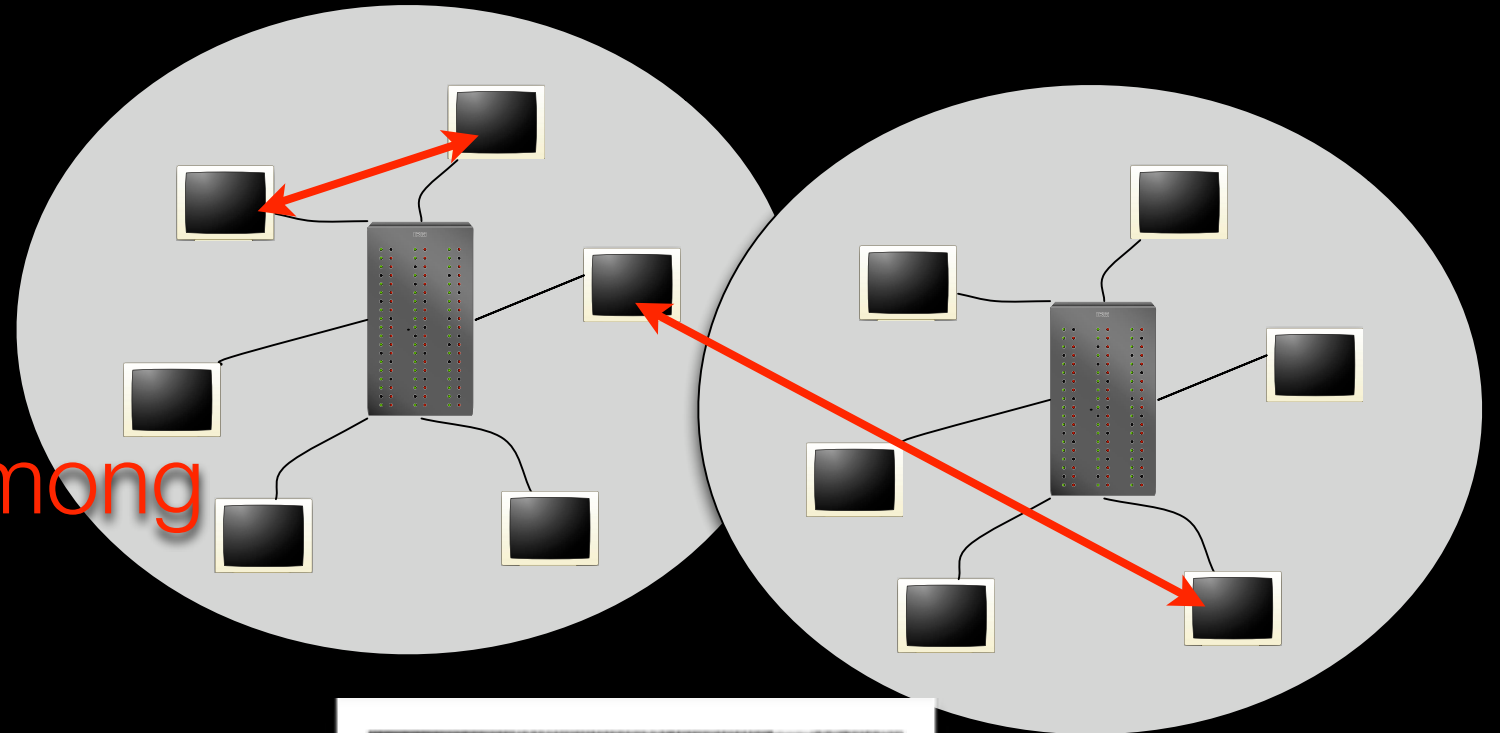


SABRE 1964



Collaborative computing paradigms

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MAILBOX 1965
Network email 1971

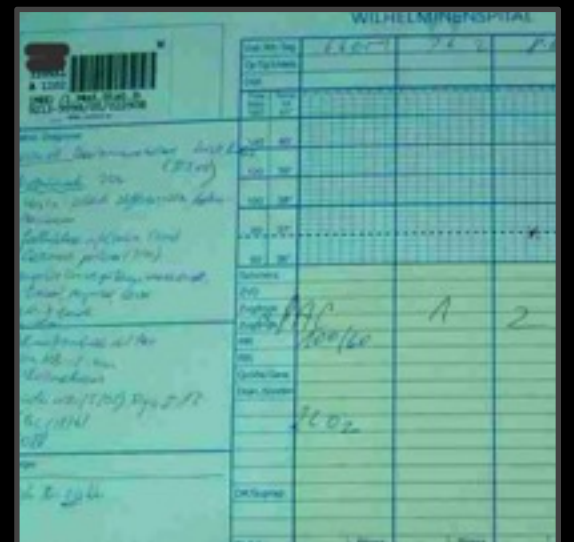
Collaborative computing paradigms

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Supporting coordinative practices: with great difficulty

- Document management systems
- Workflow management systems
- Production planning and control systems (ERP)
- Electronic patient record systems
- Project management systems



Paradigm shift c. 1989: Computer-Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)

- Panko-Babatz et al., 1989:
 - Computational models and architectures must be grounded in ‘fundamental understanding of Group Communication processes’,
 - This requires contributions from ‘sociology, anthropology, economics and political science’
- Greif, 1988:
 - ‘Methodologies for testing individual user interfaces don't apply as well to group support systems. As a result, CSCW is looking more to anthropology to find methodologies for studying groups at work in their natural settings’



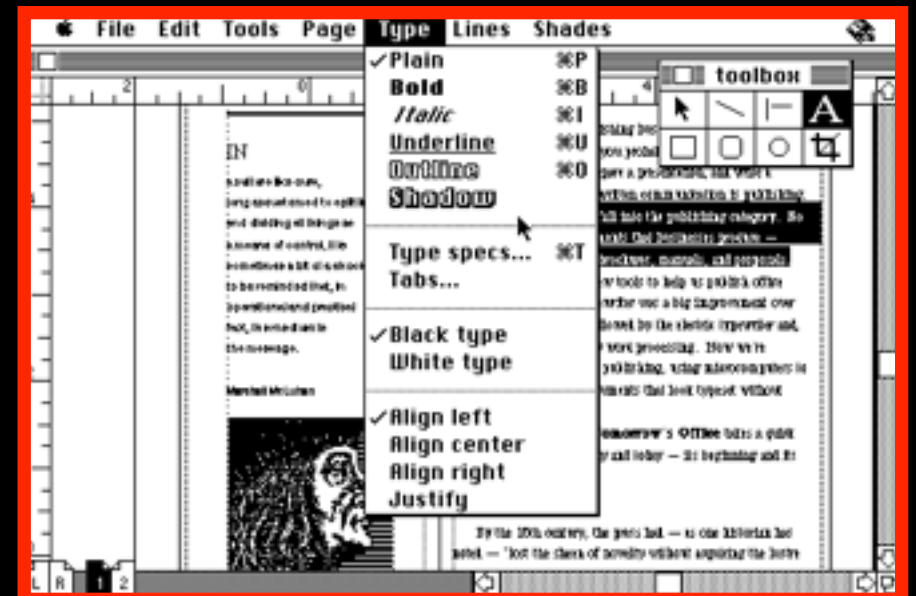
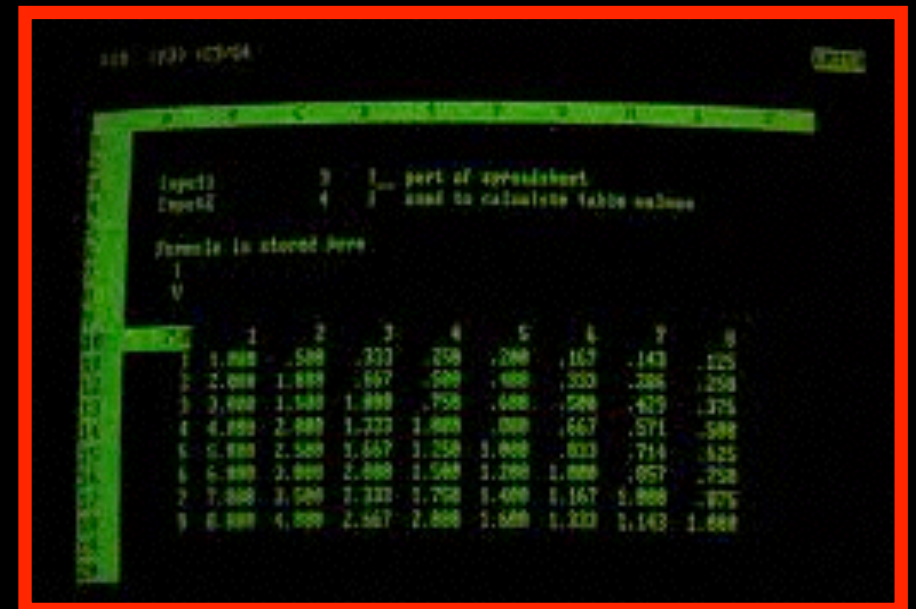
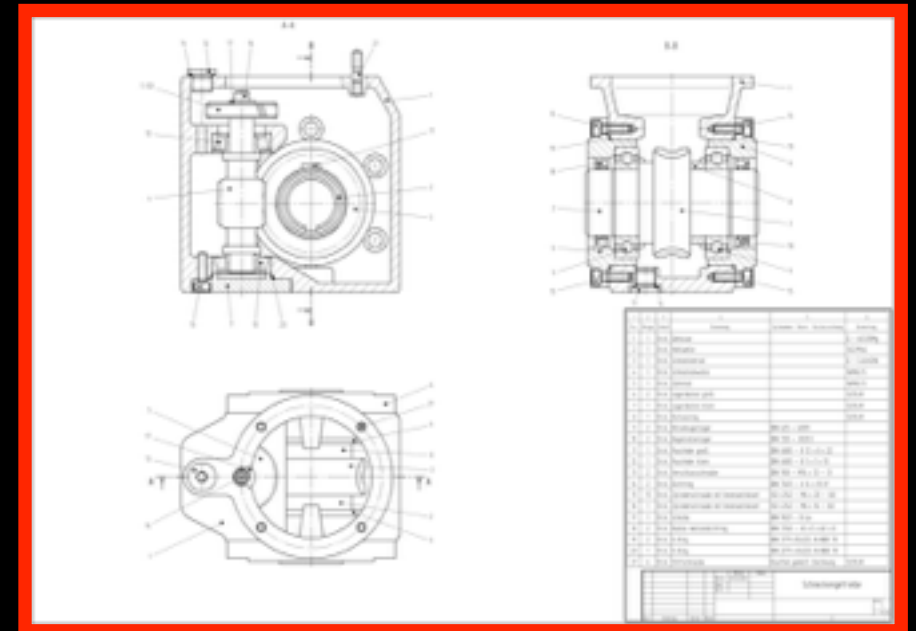
Interplay of 'work practice'
and 'computing'

Interplay of 'work practice' and 'computing'

- Design of technology for technicians' own use:
 - Time-sharing, 1960
 - Email, Instant Messaging, File transfer, 1965 / 1971
 - World Wide Web, 1989

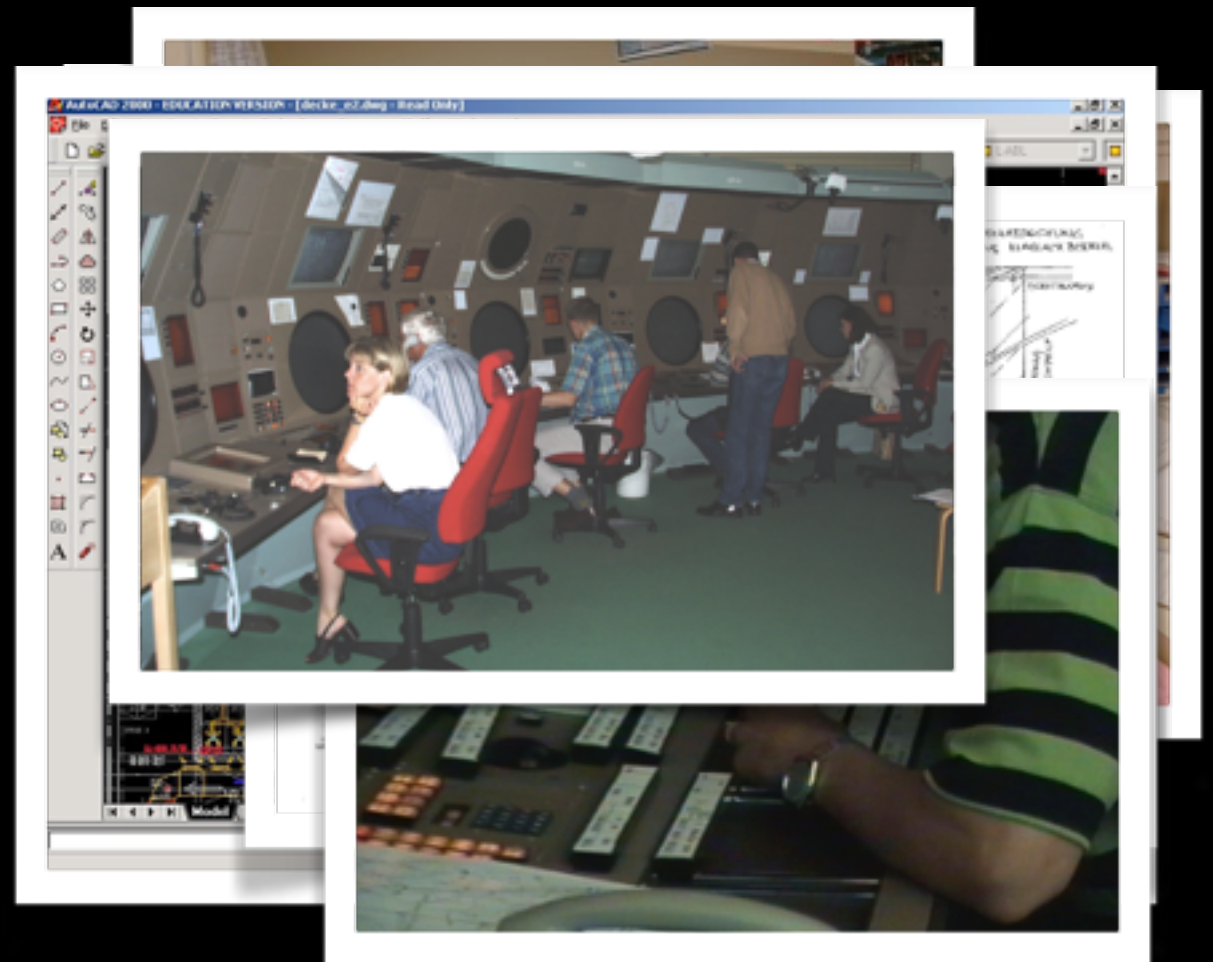
Interplay of 'practice' and 'computing'

- 'Participatory design'
- Computer-Aided Design, (automotive industry, 1960s ff.)
- Spreadsheet (Visicalc, 1979)
- Desktop Publishing (PageMaker, 1985)



A new interplay of 'practice' and 'computing'

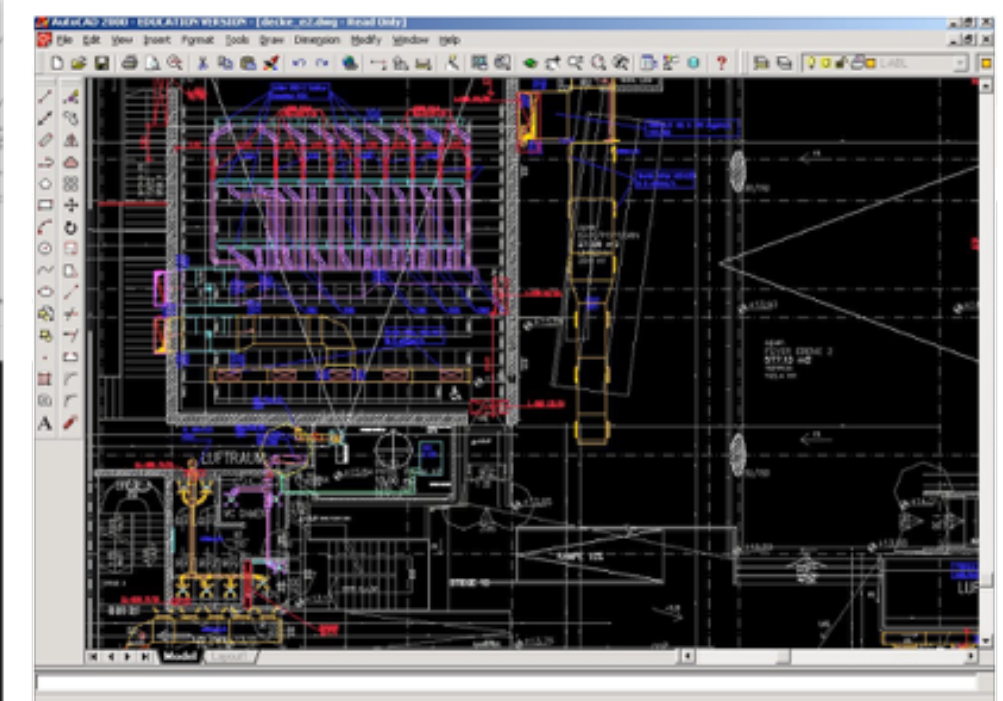
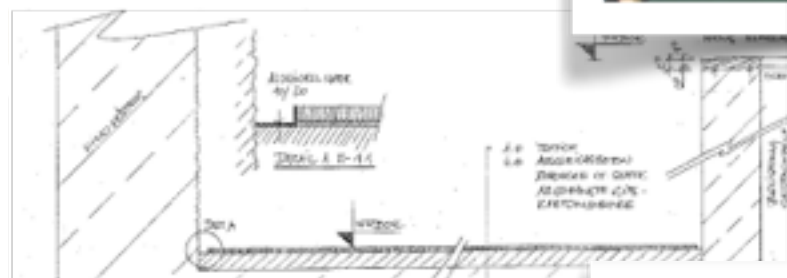
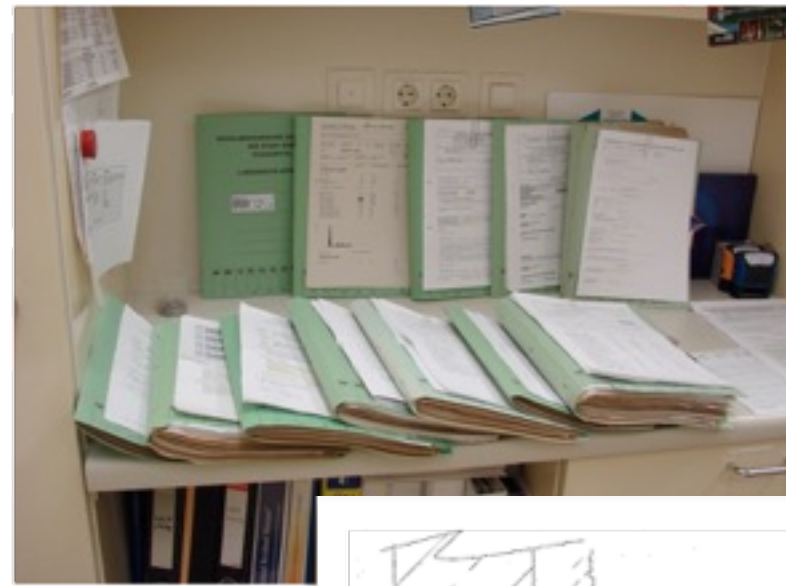
- CSCW: **Systematic studies of work practices**
 - Health care
 - Design work: software development, architecture
 - Emergency management
 - Air traffic control, urban rapid transit
 - Scientific work
 - ...



A new interplay of

‘practice’ and ‘theory’

- CSCV of work
- Health
- Design development, architecture



A new interplay of 'practice' and 'computing'

- CSCW: Systematic studies of work practices
- Key issues:
 - 'Mutual awareness': cooperative work involves heeding the changing state of affairs in the setting
 - Coordinative practices and artifacts: cooperative work involves designing, applying, and adapting plans and procedures

‘Out of darkness’?

- Complete automation is a technocratic myth
- Challenges:
 - Integration of computational artifacts in actual practices: issues of design, organization, learning
 - Requires deep and subtle understanding of our work practices



The end

