EPIC 2012
renewal

ethnographic praxis
in industry conference

CONFERENCE
PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER 14–17, 2012
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Hosted by:

SCAD
The University for Creative Careers.

EPIC

Conference Organizers' Welcome

Welcome to EPIC 2012 and welcome to Savannah. We are delighted that you have chosen to attend the 8th annual EPIC conference.

When selecting a theme for this year we were conscious of the location of the conference and aware that the economic, political and social turmoil which had begun in 2008 was still very much making the news. We felt that the beautiful city of Savannah, a place that continues to quite consciously renew itself was the perfect location for the EPIC community to gather to think about its own renewal and how our work contributes to renewal in, and for, the organizations and communities for whom we work.

Our program features different interpretations and emphasizes various aspects of renewal:

Disciplinarity: attaining and retaining professional standards; strengthening the theoretical foundations of our work; developing new tools, models and frameworks

Practices and fields: envisaging new arenas for engagement, developing networks; extending influence

Organizations: recasting change and stasis; activating new agendas

Cultural: preserving and recasting the past; mobilizing culture, reviving community

Places and spaces: engaging multiple social fields to envision possible futures

EPIC 2012 features a wide range of ethnographic applications in industry, policy making and design, with contributions from Asia, Latin America, Europe, and North America. Contributions speak to the theme of renewal based on experiences in different contexts (academia, business, NGO, government), different industries (technology, healthcare, consumer goods, advertising) and different purposes (product innovation, strategy, collaboration, communications, policy making).

We hope that the setting of Savannah, the people you meet and the content and activities you participate in will give you the opportunity to reflect on your work, explore new possibilities for the diffusion of ethnographic practice.

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    When we offer some*thing* to another person, community, or organization, we create the conditions for some sort of value to be created. This proposition about value creation remains at the heart of all ethnographic work in industry, and it has framed EPIC's exploration of Renewal, the theme set for this year's conference in Savannah. What does it mean to do something that is valued? How is that value organized and shaped in everyday life, in the workplace, in ethnographic practice itself, from methodologies to questions of ethics? As a broad and diverse community of practitioners, is there such a thing as "our" value? Should "we" expect ever to standardize it in those terms? These were just some of the provocative questions raised by the content shared at EPIC 2012. Indeed, both the opening and closing keynotes demonstrated this complicated dance of renewal and value creation in very personal and specific ways. Architect Emily Pilloton opened this year's conference with a story about how she and Matthew Miller, her partner at Project H, provided a group of high school students in Bertie County, North Carolina with the skills and tools to begin to rejuvenate their community. Emily and Matthew, who is also an architect, lived in Bertie County for three years, working unpaid as teachers at the local high school. There they designed a learning curriculum, studio environment, and shaped day-to-day interactions with students and the community that produced a set of compelling physical environments for the County. Emily's story, inspirational on so many levels, raised additional important and troubling questions, including what kinds of value are realized on either end of this relationship between Project H and Bertie County, and how does that value unfold over time and for whom?

    In his closing keynote, Philip Delves Broughton stressed the inevitability of dealing with value in terms of sales. We're always selling, argued Delves Broughton, as he observed that sales are tied, inextricably, to personal worth. If you believe you have something to offer – a thought to explore with

others, an opinion to advance, knowledge to impart, a creation of your own making to share – then you should be concerned with how you turn it into value. Value is created by representing that something with clarity. Pitches, Broughton reminds us, are often refined over time. EPIC is dedicated to pursing the worth of understanding social phenomenon in the world. As Broughton encourages, we must represent our work clearly for others to see. In this piece, we aim to capture a view on to the conversation at EPIC 2012 and to open up the conversations further to examination and debate, a core commitment of EPIC.

Presentations at this year's EPIC included a variety of looks at the social phenomena of value-creation in the world. They also exposed fissures and tensions, ways in which meaning and action can be undermined and sometimes re-appropriated. Participants also were exhorted to reveal and justify the mechanisms through which ethnographic examinations turn observations, insights and thoughts into worth.

This year's conference was rich with resonating strings looping through the varied presentations. Both **time** and **place** made strong appearances in this year's presentations. **Openness** was another theme explored in a variety of ways. Concerns for **naming** – from labels to metaphors – entered the discussion, often from the side and sometimes about the very nature of ethnographic work in industry. **Praxis**, including both its location at the intersection of method and theory, and its ethical dimensions, was reconsidered directly and indirectly throughout. And in an encompassing manner, this year's conference theme, **renewal**, was richly revealed. We'll touch on a few of these themes below.

TIME AND PLACE

The first session of papers started with endings, and with it renewal. Drawing on a traditional anthropological interpretation of rituals as ways to mark endings and renew beginnings, Salvador suggested that businesses, too, should think about endings. To look towards the right futures argues for designing for endings. Ladner explicitly focused on temporalities and the specific benefits of ethnography in revealing significant markings of time. This has special relevance in technical practice and product design. Contrasting analytic findings from big data and the flatness of digital time she argued that ethnography provides the kind of description necessary for sorting our temporal confusions. Patel, with references ranging from French critical history to modern day sausage stands in Chicago, argued that places can be invested with meaning to serve as a refuge from temporal dissonance. Aiken examined a distinctive case of designing for endings, how NASA is transitioning beyond the end of the space shuttle program. Shifts in place and time were also explored by Leonard, who described the Occupy DC movement's reconfiguration over time from McPherson Square to a digital community. Places of work also made a strong appearance, from the ways that mobile devices are reconfiguring office spaces (Watts-Englert et al.) to the signifying practices of putting post-its and binders in specific locations to manage the process of medical record keeping explored by Vinkhuysen.

The conception and representation of space and place was emphasized in a whole Pecha Kucha session that offered a journey through richly visualized and acutely observed places. From Grenoble's exploration of mountain tops laid bare by mining to the sites of riot in the London neighborhood of Peckham (Roberts), the efforts of people were shown to be reconstructing these places of devastation. Venkataramani's sensitive exploration of how the Highline in New York City unwittingly exposed the backsides and normally unseen infrastructures of places suggested that it reinscribes social space by opening up new possibilities for expression. Such normally unseen and

socially reconstructed spaces were echoed in Athalye et al.'s examination of changes to the city of Mumbai, with its juxtaposed blocks of rich and poor and corridors in-between.

OPENNESS

Another theme to make an appearance was that of openness. Pilloton's hands-on design/build learning projects opened vistas and career paths for high school students in a battered rural setting. Dornadic and Conand reminded us that knowledge production is inevitably shaped by whether we operate in an "open" or "closed" fashion, and offered a conceptual provocation about open source and open access ethnographic research. More tangibly, "open systems" have become a focus for our research. Beers and Yeager explored new open configurations of family, while Cefkin explored both the opportunities and tensions arising through open work systems, particularly those enabled through marketplaces for digital labor. We also had a chance to consider how renewal can require openness. Ichikawa and Tamura projected a vision of interlinked localities around the globe as a path to renew a fishing community destroyed by the 2011 tsunami.

NAMING

The labels we use for ourselves as well as those used by others became a topic of discussion across many sessions. In the panel discussion about the intersection of research and design, Mauldin, Evenson, Sherry, and the audience struggled with terms such as "user" and "participant" used in describing the subjects of our research. Provocatively, Ensworth brought up how we label ourselves in asking us to consider opening up ethnographic practice in industry to standards of evaluation and naming a body of knowledge and embodied practices through certification procedures. Do we in fact want to (or ought we to) give ourselves badges that proclaim both who we are and what our qualifications are?

Labels serve other functions as well. Vinkhuysen spoke of how physical labels in medical records communicate to physicians and office staff with an effectiveness that has not been matched with Electronic Medical Records. Gregory expounded on metaphorical labels and explained how words have power in the process of renewal, or as in her case of Detroit, as barriers to renewal.

PRAXIS (AGAIN)

Not surprisingly, reflections on purpose and impact of our work ran throughout the conference. In terms of our practices, Dornadic and Conand challenge to open ethnographic data sparked conversation around ethics, particularly around the sharing of data that comes from individuals. In the same session, Hammershoy and Madsen shined a light on Badiou's 'truth procedures' as a test for ethical research conducted in business context. They posited that we should understand ethics as relational rather than explicitly right or wrong, demanding that the ethnographers' ethics be driven through the active positioning of insight rather than the passive protection of subjects. Segelstrom and Holmlid used a very specific place-based event – the Advent fair in Gamla Linkoping, Sweden – for a comparative test of three different practices of research and design: social anthropology, interaction design, and a mobile application. De Paula and his colleagues provided a carefully executed case study

of how even the most vibrantly visualized patterns of data mining will be more fully understood by asking the actors for interpretive help.

Beyond these implications of our work, there were numerous efforts to bridge theory and practice. Jones spoke of the "chain reaction that occurs when theory and practice are brought together," and many authors sought that chemistry. Lieskovsky, Hill and Ramsey-Elliot brought Mauss's conception of Total Social Fact to bear on understanding a culture through the lens of a single object, and argued for reusing such key objects across research. Heine utilized Bourdieu's concept of social capital as a lens through which to identify project goals and the deeper beliefs and issues her interviewees spoke about regarding the local music scene. Squires and Mack used praxis as a frame for pedagogy, inviting discussion on how the interplay of theory and practice can be taught in graduate programs.

Our broader goals were questioned by Venkataramani who prodded us to mark the daylight between 'truth' and 'utility' as our ultimate research objectives. Such discussions raise that question of the theoretical versus the methodological. Indeed, the notion of praxis, for many, remains troubling. Why not just change "praxis" in the title of the conference to "practice" we often hear? The reason is that we firmly believe that theory and practice are mutually informing. We believe that the value we bring through providing ethnographic ways of knowing comes not just from our attention to the actions people take (including ourselves) and the behaviors they evidence, but more importantly from the frames of ways of knowing, from the theories that inform understanding.

TO 2013 AND BEYOND

Last year's Board opening to the proceedings began with the following crucial remark: "EPIC was created as a place for industry-based ethnographic practitioners to come together and take part in a conversation." In many respects this statement crystallizes the great ambitions of this organization from the start. Indeed, it is no small accomplishment to succeed in bringing together a growing and diverse group of practitioners from around the world to keep a conversation going over eight years, a conversation that might never take place inside the organizations that sponsor many attendees to participate in EPIC. To reach a point where people in Europe, Asia and Latin America express interest in establishing regional incarnations is evidence of this success.

Alongside this enthusiasm that has been engendered in so many parts of the world, the incoming Board recognized the urgent need to work hard to be clear on what it is that EPIC has to offer in light of the growth that has taken place, and in recognition of the many organizations that have chosen to invest in ethnographic work, but maintain an often fickle relation to its value. In order to focus on the task of clarifying what is it that EPIC has to offer to its participants, attendees and sponsors alike moving ahead, the incoming Board took the decision, prior to the Savannah conference, to not extend the EPIC brand to regional meetings outside of the planned annual conference at this time. This decision was a difficult one, but it was made with the intent to work to establish EPIC as an organization that has a stronger core from which it can extend a brand that is accompanied by a clear sense of its value. As a Board we redirected to seeing the primary value of our praxis in terms of understanding social phenomena in a way that's actionable by business. In the interests of this core focus, the Board intends to work towards three key objectives: 1) to continue to produce a high-quality program shaped by more explicit criteria for content, 2) to rationalize the operating complexity that has grown out of the last eight years of activity, and 3) to explore new business models that enable EPIC to create value above and beyond the annual conference activity itself. These objectives will not be met

within a single year. We intend to update conference participants at the annual event and to reflect as openly as we can on what we believe are the stakes for this type of change and what we believe are the opportunities for us all.

We'll end this opening with EPIC's renewed purpose statement: The Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference illuminates social phenomena through theory and practice. We explore, debate and engage knowledge production in the digital age. While business is a primary context for this activity, the effects of ethnographic work are far-reaching. EPIC is committed to the view that theory and practice inform one another, and that through our work in a large range of settings, we transform industry and the world.

Please enjoy this year's proceedings, and we hope to see you all in London in 2013.

OPENING KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Tell Them I Built This: A story of community transformation through design, youth, and education

EMILY PILLOTON
Project H Design

Emily Pilloton is the founder and executive director of Project H Design, a non-profit design agency founded in 2008 to use design and hands-on building for community and educational benefit. Trained in architecture and product design, Emily now spends most days in rural Bertie County, North Carolina, teaching her high school Studio H design/build curriculum, in which students design and build full-scale architectural projects for their hometown. She is the author of the book Design Revolution: 100 Products That Empower People, *a compendium and call-to-action for design for social impact, and has appeared on the TED Stage as well as The Colbert Report.*

Good morning. I'm really excited to be here. Last time I was here, I was down the street at the Trustees Theater for all of five hours, while on a cross-country road trip. It's nice to be back and to have a little bit more time to spend here and to tell the story — and to do so as part of the theme of a conference. What I want to do is just tell the story, and hopefully provide a little bit of context and maybe inspiration under the theme of renewal.

I am the founder of this nonprofit organization called Project H. I was thinking this morning about the theme of "renewal," what that means to me, and what that has to do with my own practice. I came from a background in architecture, and I was thinking about what I do now vs. why I got into architecture in the first place — which at the beginning was really about having grown up with a father who wanted to be an architect, living vicariously through that dream, being a math nerd, but also being really creative. Somehow architecture became this perfect storm for me.

But now, looking at Project H, and where my practice has evolved, I think the theme of "renewal" is actually really appropriate in that it's about reinvention and seeing possibilities — and always trying to be better. As a nonprofit, Project H was founded mainly based on that idea deeply rooted within me that as an architect that I wanted to do things that mattered. I wanted to do things that felt meaningful to me, and also to my community. I wanted to continue to push my own practice based on a constructive criticism around how I could renew and reinvent my own work.

Project H was founded in 2008. I had no business plan. I had $1,000 and I was living with my parents. I had just quit the only job I had ever had that gave me benefits and a 401(k). I was there for three weeks, and then I left to start a nonprofit and move in with my parents. As I said, this came from this deeply rooted urge within me to do something that felt meaningful. Over the past five years, that's been as much of business plan as we've had. I still don't really have a business plan, but we have a vision and values that guide our work.

When we first got started – and I say "we" because it's myself and my partner, Matthew Miller, who is also an architect – this started with the sense that "we don't really know what we're doing, but we're damn well going to figure it out." These small projects emerged all over the world. This is in Mexico City. It's a design of an easily sterilizable storage system for a Children's Hospital transplant ward. They're just small design interventions that could improve the experience for communities and groups of people that otherwise didn't have access, or maybe the desire to look to design as a resource.

This is also outside of Mexico City, a really simple DIY furniture kit of parts for students that were going to school in these pretty dilapidated rural school facilities, but to give them back some ownership over their own learning environments.

And then this is a redesign of a foster care home in Austin, Texas. This is kind of a long story, but they were using converted janitors' closets where, when the kids are misbehaving or having mental or emotional breaks, they would put them in these rooms and close the door and like just let them scream until they were better. We worked with them. They have acknowledged that this was not the best practice, and so we did a research-driven design project to rethink what these spaces could be and make them more therapeutic and more about healing and calming — rather than these like punitive solitary confinement spaces.

And then this next project is still going on today. This is called *Learning Landscape.* It's an educational playground system that you can build in one day for free, if you can find 25 tires and some people willing to dig some holes. This came out of the school that you see here. This is a school for AIDS orphans in Uganda, and this is like the case study for this project. The space itself is really simple; it's just this grid of tires, and then we wrote this whole suite of games for algebra or basic addition, or social studies and vocabulary and foreign language, so that kids could be outside learning through game play and activity — rather than in the classroom. This was the first place that we built it, and now I think that there are 28 or 29 of them around the world, and a network of schools that are all talking to each other around creating new games, and which games they're using, and so forth.

In the midst of all of this work - and this is about a year into Project H – I had a really wonderful opportunity to write a book. I did not put this up here for self-promotion, but mostly to say that this is a really great chance for me to do my own research and be able to benchmark — in August, 2009 when this book came out, what was going on in the design world; where had we been; how far had we come in this emerging practice of humanitarian design, design for social impact, or whatever term we want to use, and where were the opportunities for us to continue to improve.

In all of these categories — education, energy, mobility, well-being — there are a series in mostly product design, but some service design and other initiatives that we're looking at and what I thought to be doing a pretty good job of using design to tackle big social issues.

When this book came out my editor said, "You know, you should really do a book tour. I could hook you up with some Barnes & Noble stores and you could go and do book signings." I thought: that sounds awful. What I would prefer to do — I was living in this Airstream trailer at the time – would be to turn the Airstream trailer into a mobile exhibition and drive around the country for three months, building it out as an exhibition of the products, accompanied by lectures and workshops. That's what we did.

My partner, Matt and I, we did 25 cities in 75 days — Savannah being one of them. That's the last time I was here. Yes, I mean, it was a nightmare in a lot of ways, but it was wonderful in that we got to put these products out into the world — if only because I wanted people to be able to pick them up and not just look at them on a sheet of paper, but also to gauge the same goal I had with the book project: I wanted to do my own research around how did people look at these things; how were they actually working and functioning in the world, and then consequently how could we as Project H react to that and improve and renew our own practice?

This is what we would call Project H 1.0. More recently, we've moved away from some of the smaller interventions, because we've stumbled upon something that I think is pretty special and we

love doing it. It certainly is a renewal and rejuvenation of our own practice. I've now become a high school teacher and an educator around design and community.

INTRODUCING DR. Z

The next portion of the story starts with this man. This is Dr. Chip Zullinger. He is the former superintendent of the public school district in Bertie County, North Carolina. Has anyone heard of or been to Bertie County? Okay, one person. That's a pretty good reflection of what Bertie County is. It is two hours east of Raleigh, North Carolina — two hours west of the Atlantic Ocean. It is kind of the middle of nowhere. It is very much a resource-poor black hole in a lot of ways. I say that lovingly, having lived there for three years now. It is kind of a forgotten place in the geography of North Carolina, in the northeastern section. A lot of the counties in that area of North Carolina have a similar story, with an economic base of big agriculture, like cotton and tobacco production, but also extreme economic difficulty. A lot of the small towns are ghost towns. We've all sort of heard this story. Unfortunately, this is not really the exception to the rule.

This is downtown Windsor, which is the county seat. It's a town of about 1,500. I'm telling you all of this because this place sort of fell in my lap as somewhere that we were invited by Dr. Zullinger to come and work with him to use design to reinvigorate the school district. At the time I was based in the San Francisco Bay Area, and so this is the polar opposite of San Francisco in every possible way.

As a half-Asian woman from California, I was the black sheep in this place. That posed a lot of problems for our ability to do work, and also for my personal comfort level there. However, we were invited there by this amazing superintendent and we found this kindred spirit in a very unexpected collaborator. He cold-call emailed me and said, "You know, I saw some of your work with the *Learning Landscape* in *Dwell* magazine." I wondered: What school superintendent reads *Dwell* magazine? But that is awesome. I definitely think I want to work with this guy, and so he invited us down to build the *Learning Landscape* at the elementary schools.

We showed up there, and he has on the school site a backhoe and his maintenance crew with two guys named Otis and Woot. This is my introduction to Bertie County, where I know "I'm not in Kansas anymore." We built these playgrounds and then as soon as we finished, we felt as though it had been wonderful to meet this great superintendent, and it was really fun to do this, but now we're going to go back to San Francisco. He had other plans. He handed me his credit card and said, "We need three new computer labs, a weight room for the football team, and a countywide graphic campaign to advertise this new broadband program. Here is my credit card. Go."

This is the dream scenario for a designer, but also we're totally out of our element. I've never worked for a public school district as a client. I've never had someone's credit card. We didn't have an unlimited budget, but we definitely had a lot of leeway in what we *could* do. This is one of the computer labs that we did — another one. We wanted to bring design as an aesthetic, and then also as a way of thinking to the school district that otherwise was, as I said, countywide is pretty resource-poor.

Dr. Z was brought into this school district at a time when only 26 percent of their third through eighth graders were passing the state standard. The state basically said, "We're going to come in and take over unless you hire this guy as the fixer." He was in this mode: "this is fixable and I want to bring in unexpected and creative people to help fix it." We were some of those people. The weight

room for the football team, and then this graphic campaign, which involved this giant blue dot that started to pop up everywhere to get people excited about this broadband campaign.

We went through all of these really fun projects. We're feeling like this is a really interesting place and an interesting space — a professional space to be working as designers — in this public school district and yet trained as architects.

We woke up one day and we had done all of these projects. We felt like we were on to something here, but if we really wanted to get serious about understanding what design looks like in tandem with public education, then we would need to step up and put it in the classroom. Matt and I decided that we needed to write a curriculum for the high school and become teachers, and move to Bertie County and teach this program.

CREATIVITY, CITIZENSHIP, CAPITAL, AND CRITICAL THINKING

This all seemed like a really great idea in the five-minute conversation as we were driving down the road. Then it ended up — we started talking about it more, and it made so much sense for this place and for our work, and for Dr. Zullinger's vision. Mostly, as I said in the beginning, I really want to continue to push myself and to encourage other creative professionals to push themselves to redefine our own job descriptions. Sure, my résumé said that I went to architecture school, but why can't I be a high school teacher?

We wrote this program called *Studio H*. We modeled it after Project H, which doesn't have a business plan — we didn't really have a structured curriculum. We had these four values — creativity, citizenship, capital, and critical thinking.

As we got to spend time in Bertie County, and as we got to know some of the students and teachers, these were the four things. We kept hearing like these are four things that the students need in order to be successful as young adults. These are also four things that the community really needs in order to survive — their economic decline, their huge racial divisions, their poverty levels and social injustices. These are four things that were lacking and were hugely needed, if they were ever going to get over these big hurdles.

The program itself, I'm sure that many of you are familiar with the program, *Rural Studio,* out of Auburn University. It's a design-build program within the architecture school offered to the undergraduate and graduate architecture students, and it's rooted in community-based design.

Matt and I were very much inspired by that program and thought that we're trained as architects and designers. How can we use what we know how to do as a platform for students to develop those four things — creativity, capital, citizenship, and critical thinking?

We wrote this program as a one-year program for high school juniors, where over the course of two semesters we would teach them everything from how to draw a hand-drafted floor plan to how to operate a bandsaw; how to lead a design brainstorm; how to pour a concrete footer; how to weld, but to do all of this under the umbrella of community development. I took a shop class in high school and I made a birdhouse for my mom, which was great and she loved it. If I'm going to learn skills that have that kind of actual physical value, I wanted to be able to teach it in a way that would also have value for the community. Over the course of these two semesters, we're building all of these skills, and then over the summer with our students we would hit the construction site and build a full-scale piece of architecture for the community. Again, this is the ambitious idea in our head, and we felt we could

pull it off. We pitched this to Dr. Zullinger and he said, and I quote, "Sure, we could do that." That was the extent of the conversation.

We wrote this program plan and we started teaching. In the midst of all of this, Dr. Z got run out of town by the torch-wielding school board members — but that's a whole other story. We started the year without that advocate, and so the nature of the program changed very quickly. We had raised grant funding; we knew our students, and we were ready to roll. We wanted to prove that you could use design as a tool to engage kids in a different way to build real-world projects and to use the school as a source of community, rather than like the bane of the community's existence.

The first day of school rolls around and this is about the time when Matt and I realized that we have no idea what to do with a roomful of teenagers. Then also around the same time, we realized that these students are coming off of ten years of a public education system that has failed them at every step. Most of them had never had an art class. Most of them — actually all of them – did not know how to read a ruler. Most of them were taking all of the rest of their classes online, including PE. They would come to us at noon or after lunch, having taken online math and Spanish and PE, and then coming into our wood shop space. That was a culture shock for us, in and of itself. This is part of their school day, too, so they're in the like "I hate school" mode. We had to break them out of that and say, "Okay, you're not taking online PE anymore. We need you to pick up that saw."

We had a lot of hurdles just in the fluency around how do we get students excited that they're in this different kind of learning environment? All of the foundational skills were lacking. We used green bell peppers to teach plan section and elevation, and about the color wheel — what is a color wheel? No one had ever seen it, and some of them didn't know what the primary colors were. Why is that important? How is an understanding of complementary colors and contrast going to help us to communicate ideas better to the public? Then in the wood shop, let's learn how to read a ruler, and then let's learn how to read an architectural scale, and let's learn how to lay out a shop drawing — and not cut our fingers off in the process. We wanted them to learn how to lay something out and then put it together in a really precise and careful and thoughtful way. It's all of these foundational skills.

I can't talk about architecture or designing a building for the community, if we don't have that foundation to build upon. A lot of the beginnings were just building that fluency in the vocabulary around the tools and the skills.

Then this is where it got interesting. We have students who now know how to read rulers, and we're thinking, okay, we need to start building some things. As any architect will attest to, what we do at our core is to respond to context. We wanted all of the work that our students were producing to be in response to the local context, and hopefully provide a more optimistic solution for what existed.

I'm sure that many of us have seen the documentary *Food, Inc.,* and we know some of the horrors of large-scale poultry farming. This is very much the heart and soul of Bertie County. The biggest employer is the Perdue Chicken Processing Plant. One of my students, Stevie, had 250,000 chickens in ten houses on his family's farm. It was his job to go in every morning at 5:00 and suck up the dead ones with the giant vacuum cleaner. This is very much a reality for our students and for the community.

How do we as designers look at something going on locally, respond to it, and provide a better solution, but then also not alienate our students and their families in the process? This is their source of prosperity.

Our solution was to start with two classroom chickens — Henrietta and Jezebel. They lived in our classroom all year. The challenge was to acknowledge that this is the reality; we know that most

people have 250,000 chickens in ten houses on their family farm. What would it mean to have six or eight chickens in your backyard as a source of sustainable food, as egg-laying hens instead of the Perdue broiler chickens?

The challenge was to design a beautiful chicken coop — not for Henrietta and Jezebel, but for their friends and family. Then we were going to three families locally that could most benefit from having these egg-laying hens as sustainable food; give them the chicken coops; put them in their backyard, and so then set them up with chickens and the whole shebang.

This is also their first attempt at any kind of form-making, and so to ask a 16-year-old to design a chicken coop from nothing was a really tall order. These are students coming out of a system where at most they're asked to do a worksheet; turn it in; they get a grade; they take a test, and they're done. There is no iteration. With design, however, there is no 'here's my first model. I'm done.' I would say: "Oh, that's great. Do it fifty more times." They looked at me like I was crazy.

Exercising a different muscle and saying to them "that is a great idea, but I'm sure you have fifty more, and I want to see all 50 of them" is a very, very different approach to the way that they were learning.

The three coops that we ended up building were a reflection of each one of the three teams with their vision and their material interests, and the family that they were designing for. This first one was inspired by this really beautiful sketch that one of our students did. It was this skewed pentagon that he developed, and developed, and developed, and then this reclaimed palette wood. They each had a $500 budget. This team, Stevie on the left, suggested: if we use reclaimed palettes and we can get those for free and come in under budget, do you think that they'll let us keep the money that we don't spend? I had to say, "no, but I appreciate your creativity in that!"

The drawing evolved into a beautiful geometric prism. They had their first lessons in MIG welding. So fabrication involved both wood production and metal fabrication, and then this corrugated ribbon roof. This is the final coop with these big swinging doors. Not only were they designing for the needs of the chickens, whom they got to know very well since I made them sit and observe chickens for three days — again, they thought that I was crazy — but also taught them to recognize that they are designing for the needs of the person who has to tend to the chickens. These doors were intended to create easy access for the food and water area, and then the roosting box to collect the eggs. This is the Parker family to whom we gave the coop. They live around the corner from the school.

And then the second one is a very literal interpretation of the design brief. We gave them this list of requirements where it had to have space for food and water and space for roosting, and then protection from the elements and predators. This group said, "Okay, if we need two spaces, then we need a space for food and water and a space for roosting. That's two boxes. Then let's just find a cool way to connect those two boxes," and this is the model that they built.

I love this picture because five seconds after I took this picture, they're trying to get this thing to stand up. I took the picture, and then the whole thing fell over; that little A-frame that you see, that piece of metal that's holding up that upper box collapsed, and the whole thing fell over. The two of them looked at it. They cocked their heads and said, "that's actually way cooler. We should just build it like that!"

I was watching this and thinking that if this had been five weeks ago, they probably would have looked at that as a huge mistake. They took the time to stop and look, and think "oh, that's another

possibility and that's actually a really good solution." That was like a watershed moment for me as a teacher, and I know it was for them as well, in that they were able to see that as an opportunity.

It's a really simple construction on this one. This is just wood framing. This is like shiplap siding, and then again the structural steel component for that run space between the two boxes. Then this is the twisted run between the two. The cladding on that, one of our students came in with this pickup truck full of these sticks. I asked him: "What the heck are those? Where did you get those?" There were maybe 500 of them. He said, "Oh, I borrowed them from my neighbor, the tobacco farmer. It's the sticks that they hang the strands of tobacco over to dry." And I'm thinking "borrow or steal?" Anyway, we had hundreds and hundreds of these sticks that we stained in the same color as the shiplap siding.

And then this is the final coop, which they called *Chicktopia*, a chicken utopia. This was given to the Barnum family, who coincidentally live right across from the Parker family with the other coop. As you're going down this road for about 20 miles, there is absolutely nothing, and then all of a sudden there are the two craziest chicken coops you've ever seen, right across the street from each other.

And then the third coop that we built — this is our Buckminster Fuller-inspired chicken coop. It is part of building a fluency around design and architecture that we gave each of our students a precedence study so that they could look at a piece of architecture that we thought of as successful in a number of ways; understand why the architect had made certain decisions about it; understand the materials and maybe the site plan; air and light flow, and so forth. This student, his precedence study was the geodesic dome and the Dymaxion House.

He looked at Buckminster Fuller's work and was just like obsessed with how you could take such simple geometry of the geodesic dome, for example, and turn it into something so complex. When he went to design his coop, he started with these flat pieces of cardboard. He was slicing and scoring them based on different geometries. There is a trapezoid over here, and I think there is an isosceles triangle up there; he was just twisting them into three-dimensional kinds of cool shapes and seeing where that could get him. This image shows five models of maybe sixty that he did, as he was trying to understand the material possibilities.

This is the model that he brought us. This is maybe 65 models later, and this is what he wants to build. He brings this to me and Matt. He tells us: "I'm ready to go, and this is what I want to build." Matt and I look at each other sharing the thought that it is so cool, but we have no clue how to build this. The other two were pretty straightforward but this one — again, because that started as a flat piece of chipboard. In real life, we're thinking: "okay, how do we go from this beautiful model to something that will stand up and be structurally sound — but honor the original integrity of this design?"

This one, I love this coop the most. I have no problem in saying that I have a favorite. It's because it was a total puzzle. For this group of students this was crazy, frustrating, totally nonlinear as a learning process, and we prototyped at the hinge for how this thing would bend probably ten times. We were in wood shop and it failed miserably, and then we had to go back to the studio and redesign it — and then build it again and see it fail again. This was a two-and-a-half week endeavor just to figure out how to get this thing to bend in the right way.

We finally figured it out. In the same way that the model started as a flat piece and it had bendable joints and it twisted up into this thing — we mirrored that exact same thing in plywood and sheet metal. Then we had a *Raise the Roof Day*, and it took every single one of our students to pick this thing up and wrangle it into the right shape. We're looking across the room at the model that's sitting

there holding this thing above our heads. Okay, bend and pull that side down and push this side that way, and you move over there and someone give me a two-by-four. Eventually, it started to bend into place. We welded the steel frame to get it all dialed in and then rubberized roof paint to weatherize it. Then this is the final coop. What did they call this one? Coopus Maximus — and the team that built it, and for this team in particular, but I hope for all of them, because this is their first adventure in design or building.

FROM CHICKEN ARCHITECTURE TO PEOPLE ARCHITECTURE

What we did next, which I'll show, was to move from *chicken* architecture to *people* architecture. With this first project, I wanted to build their confidence that not only can we build things, but we can build crazy things, anything you can dream up. We needed that kind of optimism and hope going into this next one, the big build where we're going from chicken architecture to people architecture.

At the moment we finished the chicken coop project, this crazy flood comes through the county and destroys Windsor. Windsor is the county seat, and the whole town is under water. I took this picture after the water had started to come down, but basically every business was under water — not that there were many businesses there to begin with. This is the second flood in 15 years to destroy this town. Oh, by the way, there was also a second flood and an F-4 tornado in the ten-month span that we taught this program. It was not a great year for Bertie County. Coming off of this flood, you know, who are we as a group of 16-year-olds and two teachers to want to build something beautiful when the whole town is just thinking about rebuilding and getting back up on its feet? It was really uncomfortable, but at the same time an opportune moment to be saying to the town — and to the mayor and to the town councilman — that we're a group of high school kids, and we want to not just help build back, but build back *better* and contribute to the landscape of our own town.

The mayor, being a super great guy and also our next-door neighbor, said something like, "Oh, okay. If that's what you want to do, here is this piece of land. This is right in town." It's right around the corner from where that blue dot was, right in the main junction. He told us, "You can have this piece of land and build whatever you want on it." We had from this red truck to the ditch — that was our plot of land. It doesn't look like much, but it was in a really awesome location. Our students, we go to a Rotary Club meeting, and we do all of this research and go talk to everyone and their mom — literally.

The thing that we keep hearing from farmers — from town leaders and from family and friends — is that we live in this place that has a really high obesity rate and terrible public health; yet, it's an agricultural county and doesn't have a farmer's market. In any other place like, in San Francisco, for example, there is a farmer's market on practically every corner, but there is no farmer's market for 85 miles in any direction in Bertie; yet, here is this perfect storm of context where it makes so much sense on so many levels. Our students get really excited about this, and so we pitch it to the mayor. He tells us: "Great, that would be a perfect site for a farmer's market — go!"

We go back to the studio and we're building all of these models. We get super excited about it, and then we also realize that, wait a sec, not only do we have to build a farmer's market, but we have to *start* a farmer's market. We have to go and recruit all of these farmers, write this business plan, and get this management team gathered around this thing as an enterprise also. It's not just a building anymore, but we have to put something in the building.

The design itself ended up being kind of the easy part. We presented a lot of ideas to the town. This is my student, Koran and one of the town councilmen. This photo makes me want to cry because these two people — I can guarantee you would never ever have met each other in Bertie County if it weren't for this project. They definitely never would have talked about something that they both really wanted to see happen. I was eavesdropping on this conversation thinking, this is why I think that design matters, because it can open up these conversations between people that would never ever be at the table together.

We go back and we refined this design. We're building in a flood zone; in a hurricane zone; we have a limited budget, and by the way, we have a construction crew of teenagers. These are all extremely real and scary constraints, designing to 100-mile-an-hour sustained winds where we have to build the deck of the thing three feet above flood level. It's just a nightmare, but this is where all of the learning happens for our students — we didn't just pin stuff on the wall and walk away. We have to figure out how to build this thing. We bring in all of these architects to help us decide on a final design. We're looking at the budget and talking to the mayor, and we have the building inspector in the classroom with us.

We finally gather around this one design that's feasible to build. Given our labor and human resources, it's within budget and it's responsive to the context. We called this *Vernacular & Sublime*. It was a nod to some of the local agricultural structures, but with this kind of like elevated statement.

The last day of school rolls around and we have this thing that's ready to go. We have our building permit, and I have maybe 14 insurance policies. We have all kinds of contracts and waivers from the students and their families. Our students are super excited — it's summer. I'm thinking, "Why are you so excited? We have 2,000 square feet of farmer's market to build." We hit the site.

At the same time, I should mention that the farmer's market has started as an enterprise. It's in this temporary location right around the corner over here. Every Saturday these vendors and the people are coming to the farmer's market and seeing this building now start to happen. It becomes this spectacle for the community, though, where they're all a part of the story now. We dug a bunch of holes and poured a ton of concrete. It's also 110 degrees at this point. We had pre-fabricated the tresses — the main structure or the skeleton for the building in the wood shop — and then disassembled them. We brought them to the site and reassembled them, and then put them up.

This is a really cool day because our students got to be there and wear their hard hats. It was so cute. They watched this thing like literally come out of the ground — this thing that started on their desks as a cardboard model. Then we have to go back to basics, back to carpentry 101, they had to custom-fit all of these floor joists: if I say '95 and three-eighths,' don't give me 95 and a quarter. It was back to that care and precision that they learned during the first week of class.

And then this is two days before Hurricane Irene came through — the second flood. Luckily, on this day we had just put up the bracing. We had to turn our construction site back into a classroom for a minute and talk about how we engineered the building and why, and was it going to be okay with Irene coming through. It was, thank goodness, and then there were some finishing touches with just putting up the siding.

This was a really cool design decision on the part of the students. They wanted to have this double height building so that we could use the siding not just for ventilation — and to have some grandeur in the space itself — but to use it as a billboard. We could use that as the 'Welcome' sign for the town and for the market.

OPENING KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Here is the finished structure. This is two-and-a-half months of building and blood, sweat and tears. It opened to the public on October 1, 2011, and so it just had its one year anniversary. At the opening ceremony it was really cool. The vendors who had been in the temporary location all moved into the permanent structure. The mayor was there and all of the families were there. It was a big moment, not just for our students but for the town to see this thing come to life, and then get to inhabit it and have a lot of new enterprises come out of that.

For our students - I had mentioned that we're in a flood zone, right? We had to build the deck at basically three feet above ground level. Our students, being creative geniuses, used that constraint and said, "Oh, that's the height of a truck bed. We can use that as a loading dock and have the backside of the building be unloading for all of the vendors." For them to see a design decision that they made play out exactly as they had made the decision was also pretty awesome. They built out all of the vendor booth spaces. To see their own ideas being used by their friends and family and neighbors was pretty magical.

Then here are some of the kids at the opening ceremony. The mayor was there, and he gave them the key to the city, which is this big bronze key that says "Town of Windsor" on it. He handed it to the Jamisha who's standing in the middle. He hands it to them and he's thinking, "Oh, it's also a bottle opener." I'm thinking, "these kids are 17, but I'll take it!" Yes, that was really cute. He said something really lovely and thanked them and thanked us. Then Koran, who is in the striped shirt — I didn't know that he was going to do this, but he took the microphone from the mayor. He tells the crowd, "I just wanted to say that a year ago I never would have thought that I could build architecture or anything for that matter. Now, I'm super excited and I want to bring my kids back here someday and tell them that I built this." I was a mess — I'm balling.

AFTER YEAR ONE

That summed up for me in *so* many ways, exactly what I wanted the program to be, and what I think design in general can be, an inspiration and a catalyst for a kid like Koran, who is now at NC State studying engineering and maybe otherwise wouldn't have gotten there.

This was year one — just really quickly because I'm almost done, but after that first year we stayed for another year. We taught for one more year. Our students built these smaller farm stands around the county to try to expand the network of the farmer's market and build off of what the first year had done — really create an infrastructure for entrepreneurship and healthier eating and building and community around the whole county, which is so sparsely populated. Here, this is the other farm stand that they built.

So then, the very last chapter of this story is that we left. We were there for three years. After Dr. Zullinger was run out of town, the school board said, "You can stay and teach this, but we're never giving you a dime, including the salaries we had promised you." We taught for two years as unpaid teachers. I'm not telling you this as a sob story, but that's part of the reason we didn't stay longer, because I want you to know that what I do and what I do for my students is shared as a value, and that we can thrive and not just always be trying to survive. We moved our program to this wonderful, wonderful school in Berkeley, California, which is totally different — again, opposite end of the spectrum. It's the only charter school in Berkeley. But the heart of the program remains the same. They're making hand-bound, hand-stitched sketchbooks which they'll use for the rest of the year. We're looking at Berkeley in the same way that we looked at Bertie County, and what is going on

Tell Them I Built This - Pilloton

contextually. What can we do to respond to it? How can we open up different conversations for our students so that they can respond to their own environment?

It's a lot of the same tools, though. Just because we're in the city, it doesn't mean that we're going to stop welding or using the bandsaw. The population of the school is really interesting; it's majority minority. We have a lot of English language learners, and so we're only like two months into teaching there. We made the move and it was bittersweet. I think that for all of us as professionals — and as creative professionals — we owe it to ourselves to push ourselves but also to make the work *work*. I'm really excited to be in a place now that we can continue to grow this thing that we started, and that now we have the support to really see what's possible. Back to the theme of renewal and possibility — I mean, this is a place where I see all kinds of new possibilities.

This is my last slide. These are my sixth grade advisory girls. I ended up with this group of sixth grade girls kind of by accident as all the teachers have an advisory. These girls are amazing. Now, I'm thinking like oh, *Studio H* should have a middle school version.

All of this is to say that it started as this five-minute conversation and a nugget that we thought would be interesting. And then in two years, we've personally gotten to a place and we're in a school now where it just feels like the world is wide open. I'm really grateful to be in that place. I think for all of us, as we're here and thinking about this theme of renewal, it's important for us to not be afraid to put ourselves in situations where we have that kind of support — and that we're surrounded by people that will help us push ourselves and not be martyrs all the time. I'm saying that after having been a martyr for a long time.

These three words that we wrote, I wrote this slogan for *Studio H* on a napkin, thinking that we would think of something better and then we never did. I think that it sums up a lot of like my own approach to design, and I think to my own life and practice that I will always believe in design as this like creative resource. I'll always believe in building and making these things really, but most importantly I believe in transformation and in renewal, in that everything we do *should* have some kind of positive effect. Otherwise, what the hell are we doing? That's it. Thank you very much.

Renewing Ethnographic Theory

STOKES JONES, Curator
Lodestar / SCAD / IIT Institute of Design

    The place of theory in ethnographic practice is to reflect, puzzle, re-think, and guide research practices from a 'meta' perspective.

    Consequently, for EPIC 2012 our contributors have sought to renew ethnographic theory by questioning some fundamentals that often "go without saying" (even for a community as circumspect as ours). Thus, the role of Time, Endings, Facts, and Functions all come under scrutiny, as well as how our very "ways of world making" hinge on the categories implicit within our disciplinary commitments.

    But, unless such reflective (and reflexive) concerns get reapplied in practice*, there is no* PRAXIS *(to refine, or transform, what is done towards 'the next level'). However, as the concerns of these authors all stem from 'real' conundrums or opportunities in their own research (and since they have already sweated much of the theoretical labor for us) hearing what they say should enable you to achieve* PRAXIS *in your own work.*

    So the invitation is open - apply this thinking and learning to realize how engaging with ethnographic theory entails enriching your practice of ethnography.

DESIGNING the End

TONY SALVADOR
Intel Corporation

DEAN M. WHITNEY
Catapult Thinking

We consider implications for the active, intentional design of the endings of products, services, institutions and other structures and processes pervading our societies. We suggest psychological reluctance to some kinds of endings even in the context of broader social benefit. We propose direction for and encourage attention of this community to certain kinds of work designed to end some things while creating other things. We introduce the notion of "creative idiosyncratic ritualization for renewal" and propose that the EPIC community is uniquely situated to ask "strange" questions in the most "familiar" of ways to increase our collective general welfare.

PROLOGUE

Social commentator Ellen Goodman said it best, "there's a trick to the graceful exit." And it's true. So many times when we, as ethnographers or design strategist, are engaged in initiatives we tend to focus our efforts on the needs, desires and aspirations (articulated or not, real or not) of individuals and how to address them. And we imagine that if we meet their desires – or the imagination of their desires – at one time, then we've met them for all time, or at least a long time. We try hard to foster loyalty and longevity through our technologies, products and services to make them more relevant and useful. And this is good work. Yet, simultaneously, we recognize the increasing pace of technological development, of product evolution and change, of companies coming and going. And we do not tend to focus our efforts guiding people from one thing to the next, that is, on managing the transitional experience, of leaving one thing behind and moving onto something else. It's almost as if, building up is cool; tearing down, isn't.

In this new economy – where "things" and "experiences" vie for value, the importance and relevance of long-term possession is under question. There are new models of "fractional" or "shared" ownership and new possibilities where digital experiences are created, popularized and marginalized in very short periods of time. In these contexts, managing transitions and endings is going to become as critical as designing for attraction, relevance, or desire. What we hope to do in this paper is raise awareness of the need for focusing on endings – in both the small, e.g., products and services, and in some rather larger contexts, e.g., institutions and even nation states – and provide a few initial guideposts for ways in which the ethnographic praxis community can consider a focus on transitional experiences into their strategy toolsets.

We also note that this view is not entirely new to our industry thinking. It has been present in service design initiatives for some time, e.g., with emphases on customer journeys service design practitioners have focused efforts understanding the total experience from beginning to end and designing touch-points to bring someone through complex journeys. Yet still, there has been little

focus on how to best stage purposeful endings and perhaps converting that to successful beginnings; and dare we say: Renewal.

INTRODUCTION

When we hear: "The End." Does it suggest "finality"? Perhaps it's the completion of a story, a play, a move, or a song. Perhaps it's the ending of a relationship, *"that's it, I never want to see you again"* or of a contest: *"well, it's over, let's throw in the towel",* or even better*: "We won."*

Clearly, there are good (satisfactory, expected, desired) endings and there are bad (undesired, painful, tragic) endings. We often celebrate these good endings: Go Team! And we often don't mind endings when the "journey" has been distasteful - like concluding a terrible course of chemotherapy. Some endings are much anticipated for what they demarcate - final exams (as the *dénouement*, perhaps more so than the commencement), the departure of a houseguest who has overstayed their welcome. Some things we think shouldn't end, and some endings are more acute than others: the sudden death of a loved one, the sudden fall of a be-loved public official, the termination of a contract. And some ends can signify beginnings, e.g., revolution.

From these, it seems we rationalize some "goodness" from the end; we look for the "silver lining"; we look for the (psychic?) "good in it" – and there's almost always some goodness to be found – even if, as last resort, it's the proverbial "god's will" or "if it does not kill you, it makes you stronger."

In talking about graceful exists, Ellen Goodman goes on to say:

> It begins with the vision to recognize when a job, a life stage or a relationship is over – and let it go. It means leaving what's over without denying its validity or its past importance to our lives. It involves a sense of future, a belief that every exit line is an entry that we are moving up, rather than out.

It's odd, we admit, to refer to Ellen Goodman. But we think here, she captures the common or conventional wisdom an elder would impart to a youngster. Why is it necessary to rationalize the end as a beginning and to move "up", rather than "out"? Why can it not be what it is: a simple ending, a thing that's done?

What is this rationalization that even in the admonishment to "let go", seemingly prevents us from actually letting go? The making of such attributions – some real, some fantastical seems to be one of the things we do as humans. It perhaps helps makes sense of understand the people, things and events around us. We explain; we make attributions and judgments and in so doing we develop schemas and mental models for how to act, react, think and even feel in different situations. If we wish to reconsider "endings", we need to reconsider the schemas with which we process them and attempt to design accordingly.

SCHEMAS

Numerous theories of cognitive development suggest we become psychologically and physiologically attached to people and events, e.g., attachment theory (Bretherton, 1992) and attribution theories (Menton et al, 1999) respectively. Another contributing reason might be the nature of how we learn. Cognitive studies of learning suggest strongly that learning is "hard work" and that we operate best when we learn something well, and internalize it – create mental "schemas" – so that

we don't have to expend significant effort on the same task repeatedly (i.e., we have shortcuts) while simultaneously putting effort into some other pressing task. Latour calls these "black boxes", where we encapsulate "known" whole related sets of phenomena whereby subsequent opening of the black box becomes a non-trivial, effortful endeavor (Latour, 2005)). Arguably it is changing them – re-assessing their worth, learning some thing new that requires changing something old – that seems to be more difficult as the old maxim: *can't teach an old dog new tricks*, seems to suggest.

As individuals, we develop "mental schemas" over the course of our lives. Classic examples include how to act in social situations, or what we expect from a high-end restaurant, or even how we read maps (or now, interact with GPS systems). Schemas also inform us about endings; how to interpret them, how to act when they happen, when to expect them, whether we're disappointed or elated at them. Schemas tell us individually how to participate in the endings, even sudden ones, like what to expect from a funeral. And while we don't have schemas for everything making new ones is a part of development and learning–it is what we do (Willingham, 2010).

We find the changing and altering existing schemas to be the real challenge for us. We are challenged to comprehend events that don't match our existing schemas, as when something ends that we hoped or thought would never end, or some previously unimaginable or improbable event actually occurs. It is here when we experience dissonance – the inability to harmonize or explain one set of observations with a belief or expectation based on a different set of expectations. We predict December 21st, 2012 will be a "day of dissonance" for many people who are planning for the (apocryphal) Mayan end of the world.

We want to consider teaching the old dog new tricks is what we should focus our effots. As ethnographers, user researchers and design strategists, we typically focus our efforts on innovations and new product/service experiences that may be unfamiliar to people – they require a schema-shift or a transition to fully embrace– and people need a foothold to make the transition.[1]

WHY ENDINGS

While change is challenging, the world we face today is one of continuous systemic adaptation. We do not refer here to the trite adage that "the only constant is change" – which we see a fatalistic abandonment of at least some responsibility. The point is that uncontrolled environmental change – change occurring outside of your control and influence – requires systemic adaptation on our part. Adaptation requires the constant allocation and reallocation of power and resources, the continuous attachment, detachment and re-attachment of psychological bonds, the repeated opening, examining and resealing of our black-boxed knowledge and hence, the repeated creation and re-creation of mental schemas for "how things work". That is, continuous adaptation requires that (at least some) things must end. And yet, system change imposes endings on us, creating uncomfortable dissonances when our expectations are misaligned with actuality – that is, these disconnects breaks the foundational expectation of our schemas and it requires cognitive work to get them stabilized again. And we, as humans arguably, do take the path of least resistance - the reason we have schemas in the first place -

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[1] In this paper, we are addressing endings that are, presumably within our ability to influence; that is, we are not addressing tragedies, unexpected deaths, heinous act, etc.

and will tend to avoid or devalue experiences that are not aligned with our expectations (Festinger et al, 2011).

Focusing on endings is becoming increasingly importance because we are experiencing more transitions than in the past. More things come-and-go with more frequency and/or greater numbers – jobs, mortgages, phones, phone providers, computers, movies, serials, spouses, the list goes on – at rates that we would have never thought of in even the recent past. Furthermore, traditional product life cycle management seems dissonant with respect to the new digital economy.

Arguably, things that were, at one time, tangible, physical objects and practices are now digital objects and practices; this is obvious. Less obvious, perhaps is that as more and more of the physical becomes digital, it appears cultural values begin to shift as an adaptive response to the new resources and attributes of those resources. Concepts like ownership, accountability, privacy, social participation all shift in terms of their value, meaning and relevance to individuals, institutions and society.

As more "analogue" things become more "digital" things, the balance of resource scarcity also shifts – things that were once scarce are increasingly plentiful – a paper book was just a paper book; that same content in digital form is, theoretically, far less scarce. Further, control of production is shifting – digital goods allow a broader swath of the population to control the means of production. (Pointedly, leading professors have and are teaching computer science to large classrooms not of 40 or 50 students, but of 150,000 students through electronic means. (Hsu, 2012)

Finally, if cultural values are in flux, resource scarcity is rebalancing, and production control broadening, it follows that there will be a new ecosystem of beginnings and endings, starts and stops, commencements, completions and shifting schemas to accommodate attention to endings.

From a practical, point of view, there is precedent for actively considering the shift from "accidental" to "intentional" endings. Schumpeter (2006) and Drucker (1993), for example, have carried Marx's notion of "creative destruction" forward with considerable force. The general idea is that innovation – a creative force – is a force that draws from, and often draws the life out of, the thing it replaces or displaces. Drucker pointedly argued that in an information age "…change is normal and…healthy… and doing something different rather than doing better what is already being done…the entrepreneur upsets and disorganizes. As Joseph Schumpter formulated it, his task is "creative destruction"."

That's fine as far as it goes. The notion of creating something new by disorganizing something else suggests renewal in and of itself – by "shaking-up" the status quo in the context of "the market." There's also an implicit assumption of, "progress," of forward movement, of improvement. It's not *just* shaking-up for the purpose of shaking up. It must be useful, useable and desirable for its intended audience.

And it is here that we would like to encourage extending of the practice of our field. Can we make endings useful, usable and even desirable? Can we actively design with endings in mind– endings that provide less of a schema-disconnect, or leverage existing schemas to help people experience them appropriately as part of the design process. Given the pace of technological advancement and a new generation of consumers with a more disposable mindset, we believe we will have to.

SOME EXAMPLES

A major charge card provider had a high-end card that was a step up from their traditional consumer cards. They card had additional benefits and services that came with it, and it also involved a

significant fee increase. Prospective Card Members, typically from the traditional consumer-lever card, would request the card, and if the financial requirements were met, they'd get a card mailed to them. Once the card was activated, the Card Member would be charged the new fee. The company experienced high number of requests for the high-end card, but a low number of activations. The company initially felt that the low activation rate was due to people second-guessing the fee increase. But people knew of the increased fee when the requested the card. What was happening was that the high-end card arrival did not appear to have significant value to warrant the increased fee. In essence, company felt their job was done (ended) when they go people to request the card. And people were expecting a step-up "high-level" transition. Once the company recognized this, they changed the card arrival experience and experienced a 90% activation rate.

Some years ago, a large consumer computer company believed their job was done when you got the computer hooked up correctly. They spent considerable effort on helping their customers select and customize a computer as well as considerable effort with helping them connect the components when it arrived–providing color coded components and a large map. This computer company stopped their "out of box" experience when you get it connected correctly and started it up. However, customers were not satisfied. Getting their computer connected and started was one thing, getting their stuff off of their existing computer and on to their new one was another - this was the real ending/beginning of the experience. Their customers had a schema that they would be working on their new machine that day because the computer company had promised them that it was easy. The computer company had to change their ending mindset, and recognize that their consumers' expectations were different (and largely because of their promise) and that they had to help people complete the transition to the new machine.

These are two, relatively simple examples of companies recognizing their customers' dissonance. Arguably these sorts of "endings"/beginnings are increasingly recognized. But we don't necessarily anticipate the endings of favored institutions, e.g., a favored coffee shop shutting or other local community institution. Sometimes people even spring to action to save them. The US Postal Service recently began to shut post offices in rural areas; for example, in North Dakota a whole town mounted a defense of their Post Office, not only as a source of mail distribution, but as a local community center. In Woonscoket, Rhode Island some years ago, a local theater had fallen into disuse and disrepair and was scheduled for demolition when some townspeople resurrected it and today it thrives again. The found themselves more attached then they knew when faced with its demise. That is, the post office and theatre had acquired additional significance independent of the institutional significance and the institutions failed to recognize that significance.

FRAMEWORKS FOR RENEWAL THROUGH ENDING

Let's not be confused. Endings are endings; beginnings are beginnings. To use a metaphysical analogy: a life ends, an "afterlife" begins – and that afterlife is often construed as wholly new, qualitatively different, though, albeit influenced by the quality of the life itself. More prosaically, businesses are exposed to Drucker's notion of "creative destruction", but it's often one company creates and another is destroyed; Drucker was arguing at the market level, not the individual. Christensen's Disruption Theory is an exercise in creative destruction – others create new value, while your value is diminished.

RENEWING ETHNOGRAPHIC THEORY

Thus, we argue that while there may be threads of connection from the ending of one thing to the beginning of another, from a ethnographic and "designerly" perspective, it is more useful to consider them separately. For sure, some beginnings do lurk behind certain endings. But that should be a choice, not an assumption; cycles don't necessarily "repeat" just because. Retaining a customer or institution should be considered with intention, not by default. To that end, endings, per se, are intentional or not, planned or not, ritualized or not, liberating or confining, freely undertaken or imposed on us. But they are endings and we argue they should be considered and designed for with intention – at every level.

We've made an initial argument that global ecosystems– are increasingly digitally animated, changing the balance of resource scarcity, affecting the meaning of certain cultural values and changing the possibilities of what can end and when. We need not only to make new products, services and institutions relevant and attractive, but understand how to transition from one to another, not necessarily continuously, but appropriately.

For example, what might it really mean for the US Postal Service to "end"? Would it be that bad? Would something newer and better replace it? We might argue that we need to turn "creative destruction" onto one's own business. We suggest considering "creative destruction" not as a "between groups", macro-economic-social activity, as Drucker argues happens, but as a "within group", emic activity, as something we "do" to ourselves. That is, we need to plan to disrupt/destroy our own work freely of our own accord, with intention to create or open a new "possibility space", perhaps elsewhere, for renewal. We suggest at least considering "creative idiosyncratic ritualization" as a means of drawing closure and liberating individuals and groups to begin again.

CREATIVE IDIOSYNCRATIC RITUALIZATION THROUGH RENEWAL

The essence of this paper is a two step approach: first, intentionally design for things to end and second, purposefully design the ritual to go with it.

It's that easy. Below, we'll go through our examples, add a few more, and suggest where and how we should design for endings with creative idiosyncratic rituals. Of course, what's most interesting here is to intentionally design a thing with its ending in mind and to intentionally design for some things that already exist to end. Of the former, there's a wide range of things we can and should consider. Of course, there's the bits about sustainable design – products whose parts decompose or that are readily parted into various components for appropriate disposal and/or recycling. This is one kind of ending, but it's not so much the kind of ending that creates the opportunity for renewal – it's merely the functional ending of disposal. Another example of this the concept of hand-me-downs, etc. Vintage clothing is a great example of how a "discard" is reconstructed as "vintage" and given a "second life".

Novels also end; they are designed to end. And the design of the novel itself is a ritualized ending. Concerts end. They must, even if only to obey noise ordinances. None-the-less, they not only end, but their ending is designed – often spectacularly – and the design itself has become increasingly ritualized through encores – several at times – and/or standard songs or ballads that signal the true ending, such as "Freebird", leaving no ambiguity of anticipation for "more". Movies end.

In France, movie goers often attend the move and *then* attend dinner, where the ritual of a meal and conversation permits a second, more personal *denouement* of the experience of the movie. (In The United States, at least we personally have always found the ending of a movie and subsequent

departure of our group to be rather too hasty.) Perhaps in addition to the employees hurriedly racing to clear the theatre, there's potential additional ritual associated with movie-going endings in the theatre. Here would be an opportunity for ritualizing "the end" of the movie.

We'd also like to extend "ritual endings" in non-traditional locations. A shirt could "track" its contextual history, celebrating its demise as it frayed – or transfer – with a narrative based on its journey – perhaps in combination with other "shirts" over time. Of course, shoes – hiking boots, ski boots – could certainly track their "journeys", linking their presence with other contextual elements – working, *er*, walking towards their own "ends".

A "social" consumer electronics device, e.g., a phone, could function for a year or 18 months. You can buy it only in the month of January and a collective narrative of some sort unfolds over the year culminating in a glorious ending on an especially auspicious day the end of the year – the devices can be recycled, a new one available in January. It's not that odd – fantasy sports already does it – aligns its activity with a ritual ending (aligned to the championship ending of the season – events rife with ritual).

Moreover, we can design technologies that specifically offer affordances to end other more abstract structures. Consider for example the impact of "the internet" on US politics. The first author of this paper had a personal communication with a former head of research for a leading presidential candidate in which "the internet" was identified as the cause of the terrific polarization currently in evidence in US politics:

> *Me: "The internet?"*
> *Him: "Yep. It allowed the most extreme ends of both parties to hold every congress person accountable for every single vote, magnifying excursions from the extreme view in the primary system and thus preventing the possibility of any compromise in the capital. And the system was built and based on the ability of congress people to compromise."*
> *Me: "So, how do we fix it?"*
> *Him: "Oh, you can't. It's too late. Can't be fixed as it is today."*

So the answer is that the system is broken and can't be fixed as it is. We can actually accept that. Though it might seem oddly defeatist, what if – what if – it's actually a fair assessment of the situation. What if, as it is, it can't be "fixed" given that it was created at a very different time with very different affordances? What if the technologies initially designed to ensure communications during a nuclear attack have provided what Edward Tenner (1997) refers to as a "revenge effect" undermining our communications when there's *not* a nuclear attack? What if, we've nuked our own system from the inside? And if we have, are we going to simply try and "fix it"? Really? Now *that* seems defeatist.

We propose to design our way out of it. Maybe it's actually time to consider – to genuinely consider – an ending to at least some parts of the system as it is today. How might we design not only the new system to accommodate the new communications technologies we've invented and build on them, but also to design the ending of the current one. Gently. Suppose we design our systems to fix not only the proximal challenges facing us, but to fix the long standing challenges facing global human society. Here are three:

Let's celebrate the end of pyramidal organizational structure by designing new networked structures of social power. Consider that hierarchies exist in human society to control access to scarce resources and production of goods. Suppose that those erstwhile scarce resources are no longer scarce (digitization) and production of goods are no longer specialized skills (Maker Faire). If this is the case,

can we construct societies based less on hierarchies and more on networks that are flatter, more dynamic, more agile, more global? We can design the end of hierarchies and celebrate them as we do it, freeing us to pursue socio-economic-cultural-political structures through networks.

Let's design the end of massive asset valuations by designing the redistribution of asset ownership. According to the Economic Policy Institute (Allegretto, 2011), the top 1 percent of the United States owns 30% of its assets. And yet, technological advancements have provided opportunities for people to shift the value of those assets and shift the value of their own assets changing what it means to own something. That is, if individuals can monetize their own assets, this has the potential to redistribute wealth more equitably. We're not arguing for communal ownership, but for individual ownership in a way that support massively local commercial enterprise. E-Bay, Etsy, Air BnB – all examples of redistributed wealth away from current wealth sinks.

For ethnographers and designers, we might consider directing our engagements purposefully in directions of this ilk. For example, student projects should actively consider "endings and transitions" as well as beginnings. We might consider programs and projects that shift away from more "traditional" business models and focus on endeavors that recognize the new distribution of digital resources. This would give both students and practitioners experience with a new way to not only design, but also to work – alone and with/for others.

For practitioners, we could, as a community of practice, advocate for, seek and lead work that pushes individuals and organizations in directions that emphasize a more networked, participatory economy. If these concepts hold, it's something we will need to lead, not something that will happen accidentally or naturally as if on a "trend-line".

In an extreme case, perhaps to make the point, we might be able to work toward the end of the nation state as we know it and their associated institutional structures as we know them. We can design technologies and systems for transparency, accountability and social participation. We can also challenge the nature of accountability. Adam Smith (1776) in Wealth of Nations, to whom many politicians refer when bolstering (neo-)capitalism was quite clear that it's only on a level, transparent playing field that the invisible hand of the market function with prosperity and justice. Transparency is crucial. Up until now, we've had to rely on honest, complete self disclosure or the contentious legal system provide accountability. However, more and more we can design technologies – from our built environments (e.g., glass walled meeting spaces in city halls) to our transaction recording and reporting processes to enable transparency, and thus accountability. Moreover, this form of accountability can leverage the "vocal" or "interested few" who would then promote a form of social participation we've only seen inklings of today, but which could well become less contentious.

So, our assertion is, that as ethnographers, as an EPIC Community, we should strive to design explicitly for transparency, accountability and broad social participation and ceremoniously plan for an ending to the structures that we've come to hold dear to us up until now, structures that by their nature were designed for different world of different affordances. Perhaps as a community, we might work together to develop perspectives and design work that moves society and institutions in directions more in line with emerging resources, such as increased ability to organized as "networks" rather than hierarchies. Let's consider three very different cases.

First, let's consider the simple institution of "the conference." What is the point of being at a conference – even this one? What's the purpose for the time and miles? Perhaps rather than imagine that conferences continue ad infinitum (er, ad nauseum), perhaps we should re-imagine that they exist for a period of years, acquire a particular narrative arc and then end, freeing people to re-form or form

into something else or nothing else as warranted by conditions. Perhaps rather than "ending," they are completely restructured, re-considered, with a more explicit purpose, or goal – perhaps as outlined above. This is precisely the sort of question the EPIC community should consider. We are ethnographers, designers, etc., and yet, we are working in, with and through the same century old structures as used by physicists, physicians and psychics.

Far more challenging: what would it take to consider that the US Constitution – a document prepared in a hot, malarial infested, river delta city more than 200 hundred years ago is, in actuality, arguably, somewhat outdated? What would it take to realize that a nation of roughly 350 million people, who can communicate with each other at a moment's notice might not be benefiting from the electoral process as we know it today or from the institutions of government as we know them today? As an EPIC community, we might consider actively designing courses with our political science colleagues for high schools and certainly for universities that actively, conscientiously address what "constitutions" could actually mean as a continuously adapting document in pace with current society, rather than ensconced in the sacred myths of history.

And perhaps most poignantly at the time of this writing, one might argue that perhaps the Greek institutions of government aren't serving their constituents particularly well and maybe it's time for a refurbishment. Hierarchy, power, ownership, transparency, accountability, social participation – as construed actually may not be working in their best interests. Perhaps the institution of the Greek state – or any state at various times – should be reconsidered. For example, in one account (Inman & Smith, 2010) a German official proposed they sell some islands, and though at the time this was met with rioting in Greece, it's an idea that has some merit, or at least some practicality as since that original comment, apparently the Greek government is actually selling certain assets, including "leasing" several uninhabited islands. (Smith, 2012)

CONCLUSION

Ethnographic and design, research and researchers could help find the 'inflection points' where meaningful change - led by ending something - needs most to occur (or would be most welcomed or rejected). We need to more actively guide the strategies of the organizations for which we work – we need to find the business models that allow for decision makers to shift from old to new models. We need to engage collectively – or at least as subsets – or at least as networks – to engage across disciplines and organizations to drive perspectives that emerge from our individual and collective work. We need to extend our "conference" beyond the confines of our hall and actively catalyze and engage the best interests and intentions of others with purposeful, active design.

Our skills and talents, our research and knowledge enable us to ask very hard questions with a familiarity that may be quite strange to other disciplines. We can, when we're inclined, question the very assumptions of our own relevance and re-invent and renew our contribution. By actively considering the ends of things – of a product or service, of a conference or nation state, of a company – of our company – of our institutions, our small comforts or our collective roles, rights, responsibilities and obligations, we question the very notion of continuity and suggest that we can design not only for renewal, but for renaissance.

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RENEWING ETHNOGRAPHIC THEORY

Ethnographic Temporality: Using time-based data in product renewal

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Corporate ethnography is often targeted at renewing the life of a product. Getting customers to start using a product again – or start using it in the first place – entails a deep understanding of the rhythm of everyday life. When do customers begin to use this product? When do they stop? What else is going on during this time? It is tempting to rely on the automatically collected time-data from "big data" analytics to answer this question. But ethnography offers a unique cultural lens to understanding the temporal aspects of the product lifecycle. In this paper, I provide examples of technological products that demonstrate how ethnographic insight offers deeper insight about the temporal aspects of products. I introduce the concept of the "timescape" and its three dimensions of time, and explain where some products are temporally successful and others temporally fail. I explain in the final portion of this paper, I outline ways in which digital time-data should complement traditional ethnography.

AN INVITATION TO RENEWAL

Products go in and out of style. Some become obsolete, others become déclassé. Understanding the ways in which people start and stop using a product is a challenge for researchers. Today, this question is often answered using readily available transactional data. A user signs onto Netflix at 5:55 p.m. A user signs off at 8:32. A user signs on again at 10:45. These automatically collected time-data present a tantalizing opportunity to breath new life into flagging products. Good products leverage an understanding of users' temporal context. The users' "timescape" comprises three dimensions: time of use, timing of use, and tempo of use (Adam, 1990). I would argue that products that match a user's timescape have a better chance of uptake, all things being equal. But, as I also argue in this paper, digital time-data, taken alone, fail to provide adequate insight into *why* users use a product, because these data lack holistic "understanding," or as Weber (1978) might say, the "verstehen" of temporal context. This sort of understanding is the systematic interpretive process of analyzing a social phenomenon.

Ethnographic research is ideally suited to understanding a timescape, though it can and should be coupled with these ample and robust quantitative time-data that are now easily accessed. So-called "Big Data" is not a threat to ethnography so much as a complement. In the final portion of this paper, I suggest ways to mix Big Data with ethnography to produce insightful results about the temporal aspects of product design.

TEMPORAL CONTEXT AND SUCCESSFUL PRODUCT DESIGN

Good products are those that match the values of their target consumers (Martin, 2009). For a product to be a "good cultural fit," it must match any number of cultural values of its users, including language, aesthetic preferences, and the setting of collective priorities. A good cultural fit hinges, in part, on the product's ability to match the rhythm, cadence, and tempo of its users' everyday life. This jibes with established theory of culture; theorists assert that "time orientation" is a central defining feature every culture (Kluckhohn, 1953) and permeates wider systems of symbolic communication and political economy (Lefebvre 2004). Cultures with "future orientations" are aspirational, while those with "past orientations" venerate past accomplishments. Understanding this time orientation can be used for better organizational design (Gallagher, 2001) and, as I argue, for better product design. Time and its cultural enactment structures how people adopt and use products. Products fit (or do not fit) into a culture. The temporal aspect of product use is a key aspect of that fit.

Product designers that understand their users' temporal experience have a distinct advantage over those that do not – their products are more easily integrated into consumers' everyday lives. Well designed computer technology, for example, has an "calm" quality, which means it is apparent and readily available when it is called upon and "disappears" when its task is completed (Weiser, Gold, and Brown, 1999). A technology's "calmness" is a socially defined characteristic, as it is dependent on how users react to its appearance. "Calm" technology appears when the user wants it to. In Heideggerian terms, a "calm" technology is "ready-to-hand," that is, it is known by its user through its use. It is used easily and without conscious awareness or frustration. Researchers (Dotov, Nie, and Chemero, 2010) have recently found evidence that an "un-calm" technology draws attention to itself through its poor usability, thereby offering empirical evidence of Heidegger's original thesis.[1] Technology that pops up when unexpected or does not respond when asked is out of step with its users temporal context. Users expect good technology to match their timing.

Products that get this timing right have a better chance of delighting their users. In some cases, successful products correct temporal mismatches inherent to other products. For example, TiVo solved the temporal disruption of television itself. Television executives once dictated "appointment television" to the audience, setting the times for shows and requiring the audience to match those times. Appointment television disrupted household rhythm by requiring families to be in front of the television at the precise time the show was on, regardless of what else might be happening in the household at that time. All this changed when the ability to digitally record a show allowed television watchers to match entertainment to their personal household rhythm.[2] Families could schedule

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[1] Cognitive scientists 3/18/15 11:46 AM have recently found experimental support for Heidegger's thesis by testing technology users' awareness of a mouse that has poor usability. They conclude that ready-to-hand is the default state for technologies that are well designed to match users contextual needs, including temporal expectations of responsivity. They also use the term "unready-to-hand" to describe products with poor usability, though Heidegger may disagree with this terminology.

[2] Granted, the VCR allowed television watchers to tape shows long before the TiVo. The TiVo, however, had all the advantages of a an information communication technology: its near "bottomless" storage ability in a small space, its programmability, and its networked connection to other data such as personal preferences. A full examination of the differences between the VCR and the TiVo are outside the scope of this short paper.

activities without missing their favorite shows. The TiVo as a technology quietly does its work in the background, and when asked, produces content its users want to see. It is ready to be used when its users ask it be. TiVo's quick uptake is explained, in part, by its temporal design principle: users' temporal context dictates when content is watched.

But product designers can just as easily get this temporal dimension wrong. Consider the amazing product flop WebTV. WebTV was designed to be "thin client" or stripped down Internet-access device. Users were able to connect the device to their existing television and, using their existing telephone line, dial into the Internet. The big promise of WebTV was that its users could "interact" with or even purchase products featured on television in real-time. Users could potentially watch television, do research on their favorite stars, or most tantalizingly, shop for products featured on shows. This was a temporal mismatch. Television watchers routinely look up products while watching shows, but *they do not do so on the same device, at the same time.* Individual family members may discretely Google a product on their personal device while watching a television show, but they will not do so on the television screen. Families shop together and they watch television together, but they do not do both things together at the same time. WebTV failed to see how activities are layered and organized within a web of existing social patterns.

What went wrong with WebTV? What went right with TiVo? WebTV's failure was not so much a technological problem, but a social one. Its designers failed to situate "watching television" within the wider cultural and temporal landscape of family life. Some family members may wish to interact with products on a television, while others may wish to simply watch the television. This case demonstrates that fitting a product into everyday temporality is a far more nuanced and subtle design process than appears at first glance. Adam's (1990) notion of the "timescape" provides an analytical roadmap for time-based design principles. She asserts that time has three key aspects: time (how and when activities start); timing (the synchronization of activity with others); and tempo (the pace of activity).[3] Successful products match users' time orientation and provide affordances for it. When does an activity begin and how might the product be readily available for that time? With whom is an activity synchronized, and how might the product allow for other activities or people? How fast is the activity performed and what affordances does the product have to match that pace? Products that meet these criteria are more likely to be rewarded by quick uptake and higher user satisfaction. Designing for the timescape can thus be thought of as one aspect of the overall quality of user experience, along with usability, intelligibility, and aesthetic preference.

Successful products do not disturb an existing timescape, but rather fit within it. In the case of TiVo, its designers recognized that appointment television created an artificial beginning to "watching television," and that viewers would sometimes prefer to change that start time. WebTV failed to understand the "timing" or synchronization of activities. A group of users cannot simultaneously watch television, shop online, and check email all on the same device. TiVo lets users start watching television when they want. WebTV expected its users to shop with their family members while watching television – something they did not want to do.

Timescapes can change. Woe be the hapless product designer that fails to see shifts in the timescape because this is how products become obsolete. A changing timescape represents both an

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[3] Adam notes a fourth aspect: temporality, or the phenomenological imprint of timespace on a product or activity. This fourth dimension refers more to the metaphysical nature of objects.

Ethnographic Temporality - Ladner

opportunity and also a threat. When timescapes change, new products can be introduced but these new products must keep pace with shifts in temporal activity. Research In Motion, for example, recognized that the widespread adoption of desktop-based email also created a new set of consumers who needed immediate access to information. They answered this need with the first BlackBerry. Immediate reception of a new email became a design priority for the BlackBerry, one that differentiated it from competitors (Martin 2009). At that time, BlackBerry was the only product that matched users' immediate communication needs, but particularly those who work in the finance industry. The ability to immediately communicate was a competitive advantage that could even be quantified into dollar figures (which in some cases could be quite substantial thereby justifying the relatively high cost of the original BlackBerry service). RIM capitalized on this new tempo of communication.

But the timescape has shifted once again, and RIM has failed to adjust its products. The BlackBerry's recent challenges are due, in part, to a failure to see a shift in the timescape; research has found that the *tempo* of email has changed. It is becoming more of an archiving system rather than an immediate communication channel and is also being replaced with various other social media messaging (Gwizdka 2004; Ostrow 2009). Even BlackBerry Messenger is preferred over email for immediate communication by BlackBerry users themselves (Ladner & Butler, under review) But its makers continue to tout the BlackBerry's primary design feature as immediate email. This is was once a competitive advantage but the nature of the timescape has changed.

RIM could conceivably renew its flagship product by focusing on the timescape. Attending to the temporal reality of users is a direct path toward renewing old products. What kinds of simultaneous activities do users want to do that they cannot with today's mobile devices? When do they want to start or stop using a mobile device in ways that are not currently possible? What kinds of activities (besides email) have a faster tempo now, but no attendant functionality on today's devices?

THE PROMISE OF BIG DATA: AUTOMATIC TIME-DATA

How can we understand the timescape in order to renew existing products? There are promising new methods to gather this kind of insight, which ethnography can exploit and build upon. Witness the advent of "Big Data," or the massive collection of user information that is more or less automatically collected by various digital products, and digitally networked. Today, time is increasingly revealed through digital technologies such as smartphones and Google Calendar (Ladner, 2009; Sell, 2008). These technologies count time with precision; they do not merely mark its passage. They make it remarkably easy to collect time-based data, through the collection of "time-stamps" on all manner of digital artifacts. But this digital representational form is also low fidelity. It is devoid of character. It has no handwritten annotations. It speaks in faceless fonts and nondescript digits. Digital time is precise, but at the same time, inhuman. It therefore reveals little about consumers' temporal understandings of the world.

Big data is more than simply data; it is the promise of automatically collected insight. At first blush, Big Data holds a mouth-watering allure of insight for those who study people and technology, as Boyd and Crawford point out: "Big Data tempts some researchers to believe that they can see everything at a 30,000-foot view" (Boyd & Crawford, 2011, p. 2). Indeed, this temptation plays out in industry, as Slobin and Cherkasky (2010) detail in their case study. They argue that Big Data paints a reductionist picture of the actual customer experience while at the same time appearing to offer deep

insight into the temporal ordering customer experiences. They give the example of a client who insisted that purchase history and transactional data gives them a "360 degree view of the customer." The entire customer experience, their client argued, "is reducible to the measurement and tracking of this behavior across digital channels" (Slobin & Cherkasky, 2010, p. 193). Certainly it is relevant where and when the customer interacts with a product. But knowing mere "time stamps" of these activities offers little deep insight into where, when and why a customer starts or stops using a product. Big Data may allow time-data to portray a view of the customer, but it is a culturally illiterate portrait.

Worse, this representation of time by Big Data is frequently wrong. Digital technologies frequently fail to measure time correctly, in part because programmers themselves take short-cuts in their code. Programmer Noah Sussman (2012) has catalogued no fewer than 122 "falsehoods programmers believe about time" in his two blog posts on the subject. For example, "the server clock and the client clock will always be set to the same time" is an assumption programmers might make, according to Sussman, making it easier to record the supposed time a customer's client's computer accesses a web server but this record will often be incorrect. The ways in which Big Data presents time-data obscures this error.

The nuance of what time means and the potential errors have been made in recording it are all hidden in digital time-data. This is the very nature of quantitative data; they obscure the methods used to collect them. At heart, then, the real issue is an epistemological one. What can Slobin and Cherkasky's (2010) client really know about when her customers use her product, based on transactional data alone? Can she ever explain why a customer stops using her product? Or what it may take to entice that customer to use it again?

In other words, can she offer an interpretation of the customer's actions in a way that analyzes and explains them as a social phenomenon? The time-use data may never reach the level of interpretive fidelity that Weber exhorts us to achieve.

Essentially, these are all "why" questions, which are historically answered by qualitative methods in general and ethnographic methods in particular (Creswell, 1994; Esterberg, 2002). Time is not simply a quantitative phenomenon; it is also a cultural one. Designing a product for this environment hinges not solely on what time the clock says, but the rhythms of social interaction that are reflected in the time, timing, and tempo of activity.

Lived temporal experience is symbolically rich and subjectively vivid. It is governed by the imperfect and subjective functioning of our brain (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). We can only roughly discern the passage of hours or minutes, while seconds slip past our consciousness, barely perceptible. This does not mean that time does not pass in minutes and seconds, but that these measures are not the sole system of reckoning our minds use to make time intelligible. The human mind is a poor counting machine, but it is a spectacular creator of symbols. The human mind's inherent ability to discern patterns hinges upon its metaphorical reasoning (Dreyfus, 1992; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). Human cognitive synthesis functions largely based on stories, myths, and implicit schema. Digital time-data has none of this nuance. It is a plain, reductionist representation of time. Digital time-data can be a "correct" measurement of time (when programmers do not fall victim to false assumptions, that is), but it is a complement to our collective, metaphorical and conceptual notions of time. Timescapes can be measured but they must also be conceptually understood.

TEMPORAL CONFUSION

What does this automatic collection of time-data imply? We are currently experiencing a phenomenon I call "temporal confusion," which is endemic to 21st century life. Temporal confusion refers to the widening gap between time's contemporary representational form, i.e., digital representation, and our lived temporal experience. As I noted above, our minds create vivid symbolic representations of time, yet our time-measurement tools lack this kind of symbolic fidelity. What does it mean that life is revealed to us increasingly through low-fidelity digital technologies, such as Google Calendar? What might this suggest for culture in general, and applied anthropology in particular?

Digital time tools make time appear as if it were a collection of measurements. This kind of time-data look and feel like mere "numbers" and strip time of the high-fidelity of lived experience. 10:22 p.m. does not look significantly different than 11:38 a.m., but they are fundamentally different times. This rendering of time distances it from the lived experience of time, which includes cultural touchstones such as "lunch time" or "bed time" or even "banana time" (Roy 1959). A Monday morning in January is drastically different from a Friday afternoon in June, but digital time-data contain none of these cultural nuances. In other words, the *quality* of time is obscured by its *quantity* when we use digital time-data. In the digital representation of time, all time appears to be the same. But our lived experiences tell us that all time is most definitely *not* the same. Temporal confusion refers to this gap between how digital time-data represent time and how we actually experience it.

Temporal confusion is perception that "all time is equal," when it clearly is not. The gap between the flat representation of time and its vivid lived experience could actually contribute to our pervasive sense of busyness. When all time appears to be "the same," it is much easier to see time a resource to be used. "Bed time" means more than just 8 p.m. on Tuesday; it means spending precious time with children. When time is simply a series of low-fidelity digits, however, it becomes easier to schedule more activities. This is what Heidegger meant when he said that technology "enframes" phenomena as represents them as "standing reserve."

GUIDELINES FOR USING DIGITAL TIME-DATA VERSUS ETHNOGRAPHIC TIME DATA

But we should not throw out the baby with the bath water. Digital time-data offer a wonderful opportunity to gather insight, and to free the researcher to conduct more nuanced cultural analyses. I argue that we should allow computers to do what they are good at: perform mundane and repetitive tasks that human minds rarely do without error. Allow Big Data to collect information on the whens and how longs of time, timing and tempo, while ethnographers collect data on the hows and whys of time, timing and tempo.

This approach is similar to Anderson et al's (2009) work on visualizing digital time-data. In their work, they relied on computers to collect data about users' computer usage. Interestingly, these visualizations were then used to elicit conversations with users about their time-use, and specifically, about synchronized activities, or what Adam would call the "timing" of activities. Time-use scholars have a robust debate about simultaneity that simply cannot be answered through quantitative data alone; this is where the ethnographer's observation of the hows and whys of simultaneous activities

can lend nuance and richness to the quantitative data. Such insight would likely have revealed that television watchers are unlikely to begin "shopping" on a shared television device.

Ethnography remains a key method in ways to renew product design. We can count time more easily and precisely than ever before, but time is more of a cultural phenomenon than a quantitative one (TenHouten 2005; Adam 1990; Bergmann 1992). For this reason, ethnography should complement automatically collected time-data.

Gibbs (1998) points out that product designers unfortunately often have a narrow conception of what he calls the "consumption act," which should include the entire consumption process from consideration, to purchase, to use. Ethnographic research is ideally suited to uncovering more holistic conceptions of the "consumption act." It can answer questions that are key to uncovering potential product renewal opportunities. For example, what comes first? Who should get "first dibs"? Who actually does? How has this changed over time? The answers can provide road maps for new product features, or entirely new products.

Renewal of products like the BlackBerry, for example, can be achieved if designers and ethnographers pay attention to the cultural nuances of time, while computers offer them working hypotheses of where contradictions may occur.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Function and Change in China: Reviving Mauss' "total social fact" to gain knowledge of changing markets

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This paper attempts to revive Mauss's concept of the total social fact as a method to establish understanding of new markets. Our case study of alcohol in China illuminates the spirit baijiu's connections to the total social facts of guanxi (social capital) and hierarchy. We outline the distinction between symbols that communicate meaning and total social facts that communicate function. We propose a methodology based on using total social facts as a heuristic device, removed from some of the problematic assumptions of classical functionalism.

CASE STUDY: *BAIJIU* IN CHINA

Baijiu stories from the field

Two Americans and an Englishman had come to China to study female drinking practices—it sounded like a setup to a bad joke. We had been asked by our client, a spirits company, to identify future "opportunities" for alcohol-based products in the Chinese market. Although our primary focus was wine and spirits, a quick glance up and down supermarket aisles told us that alcohol has found its way into a surprisingly diverse set of categories: carbonated tea-flavored beer, wine-based facial cleansers and hair-masks, and vigor-enhancing "muscle wines," which indicated the breadth of possible opportunities for new offerings in this industry.

We decided to scope our study broadly; in addition to studying consumption of Western spirits and wines in relation to women's lifestyles and aspirations, we also explored their perspectives on traditional Chinese spirits, such as *baijiu* and *huangjiu,* which turned out to be a fortuitous decision.

Gu, a businesswoman in her late 30s, filled the trunk of her car with name brand *baijiu:* Wuliangye and Maotai. The rampant counterfeiting of high-end *baijius* is such a problem that she could not find a dependable source. For her, worse than being poisoned by "fake" dumplings would be to buy fake *baijiu* for a client: a loss of face from which she could not recover. She stocked the "heavy fragrance" type *baijiu* for clients who had become friends, in which case the sweet aroma mirrored their friendship. Maotai, with its mythic connection to Mao's victorious Long March and the later warming of Sino-American diplomacy, was reserved for government clients who were straightforward in their symbolism and believed that the power of Mao and Nixon could be symbolically channeled through replicating the consumption of Maotai. For Gu, keeping a stock of *baijiu* in her car meant being ready for an impromptu invitation for a business meal, which in the Chinese world of *guanxi* (social capital) and connections could mean the difference between new business or none. In her car she also kept Canadian icewine, a sweet taste she acquired when visiting her Chinese-Canadian boyfriend abroad. This she reserved for romantic meals and double dates with friends, and demarcated a professional/personal boundary. Gu's behaviors and beliefs about *baijiu*—where to buy it, store it, when to drink which kind, with whom, and finally when not to drink it—exposed deeply held beliefs

ranging from anxiety over the safety of food supply, to the corrupt *guanxi* business culture, and the fine-tuning of relationships spanning the spectrum from the professional to the romantic.

Younger, foreign educated, or female Chinese professionals and entrepreneurs, such as our respondents, are rebelling against the dominance of *baijiu* and what it represents. In particular, they are beginning to reject the relentless *ganbei* bottoms-up toasting culture that's a necessity for career advancement. Our respondent Li, a 28 year old newlywed from Shanghai, claimed that she barely drank. She avoided business dinners because of the *baijiu* toasting rituals that forced all participants into drunkenness, which isn't seemly for a married woman. Yet when asked about their plans for children, her mood changed. Their parents were pressuring them, though they still wanted to have fun and pursue their interests. Her interests were karaoke and clubbing. Of course she drank at these events: sometimes three large bottles of whiskey among six people. But that's only Western whiskey with green tea, nothing like *baijiu*. Li denied that she could even get drunk off of whiskey; it was *baijiu* that's the rough stuff, that makes her drunk, that she is forced to drink at work banquets by her male bosses, and forced by her in-laws to provide at their wedding, at great cost. For Li, *baijiu* was so mythical that it dominated her entire conception of drinking, and it represented everything oppressive about her life: her parents and in-laws, her hierarchical work situation, and even the patriarchal expectations that she bear a (male) child as soon as possible.

Another respondent, Yu, equally successful in her career, recalled how she, as the oldest grandchild, was responsible for starting the toasts to her grandfather and patriarch at family banquets. One day when she was twelve, her uncle urged her to ask to toast with *baijiu* instead of water. None of the women in her family, or village, ever drank. Young Yu had coughed, but no one laughed or questioned her *baijiu* drinking. She remembered the moment as a rite of passage. For Yu, it was her first step of defining a new generation of women, and she did so by co-opting a traditionally male liquor. Now, in her mid-30s, she drank *sanbianjiu*, a traditional male vigor tonic made by infusing rice whiskey with three animal penises, when out with friends at the Beijing equivalent of a dive bar. Showing her comfort and mastery with "male" spirits, instead of rejecting them, was Yu's way of creating her own female identity.

BAIJIU AS A PRISM FOR CHINA'S TOTAL SOCIAL FACTS

In these cases, the practices and beliefs around upholding traditional *baijiu* consumption and also purposefully rejecting it illuminate many facets of Chinese society. We argue that *baijiu* was able to efficiently illuminate for us so many aspects of Chinese society because it acts like a prism that reflects and refracts two of the key 'total social facts' that shape contemporary China: social hierarchy and *guanxi*. Hierarchy is a defining characteristic of Chinese society, and the respect and propriety generated around it is deeply rooted in everything from Confucianism to CCP organization and family dinner seating arrangements. Though our study was explicitly about Western spirits in 'modern' Chinese women's lives, *baijiu* repeatedly resurfaced in our discussions, and was a gateway to discussions about the traditional, patriarchal culture that our respondents defined themselves by—and against. Helen Siu's *Agents and Victims in South China* examined how social hierarchies in rural southern China have evolved over the last century, and how seemingly powerless peasants navigate these complex hierarchies (Siu 1989). Our respondents were similarly navigating and rebelling against complex, historically-determined social hierarchies, and we saw how their *baijiu* practices reflected these social processes.

Guanxi is the interplay between influence, relationships, obligation and "face" that defines many social and professional relationships in Chinese society. Mayfair Yang has shown that *guanxi* plays an important role in determining urban-rural relationships, gender dynamics, urban occupational strata, corporate and administrative uses, and obtaining the necessities of everyday urban life, including scarce goods, promotions, geographic mobility, health care, housing, political advancement, transportation, better education, and recreational activities, all of which Yang claims is not nearly an exhaustive list (Yang 1994). Yunxiang Yan also examines gift-giving and *guanxi* in a Chinese village, further elaborating the related concepts of *renqing* (norms of interpersonal behavior), *mianzi* ("face"), and *bao* (reciprocity), within a historical context of the dramatic transformations of the past four decades (Yan 1996). Building on Yang and Yan's conceptions of *guanxi* as well as our own research, we assert that *guanxi* influences these various aspects of society because it is a total social fact.

The "total social fact" is a concept introduced by the early 20th century French sociologist Marcel Mauss in his seminal study of gift exchange. Mauss's mentor Émile Durkheim's defined the concept of the "social fact":

> …there are ways of acting, thinking and feeling which possess the
> remarkable property of existing outside the consciousness of the individual.
> Not only are these types of behaviour and thinking external to the individual, but they are
> endued with a compelling and coercive power by virtue of which, whether he wishes it or
> not, they impose themselves upon him. Undoubtedly when I conform to them of my own
> free will, this coercion is not felt or felt hardly at all, since it is unnecessary (Durkheim
> 1982).

Influenced by the concept of the social fact, Mauss's own work examined seemingly "decadent" potlatches among Pacific Northwest Indians, shell necklace gift networks in Oceania, and ancient Roman slave gifting. Across all of these phenomena, Mauss identified a pattern he called the total social fact, which involves:

> "the totality of society and its institutions … all these phenomena are at the same
> time juridical, economic, religious, and even aesthetic and morphological, etc. …
> thus these are more than themes, more than the bare bones of institutions, more
> than complex institutions, even more than systems of institutions divided, for
> example, law, economy, etc. They are whole entities, entire social systems … it is
> by considering the whole entity that we could perceive what is essential" (Mauss
> 2009).

These are system-level phenomena (and as such can help us better understand whole societies), but they also manifest themselves at the individual-level. As Durkheim famously asserted, "man is double," at once "an individual being that has its basis in the body" and "a social being that represents within us the highest reality" (Durkheim 1995). From this conception of "man," we see how our respondents were compelled and coerced by the total social facts of *guanxi* and social hierarchy, by forces they could barely perceive. The behavior and practices of these individuals around *baijiu* was a response to both individual and social forces: individual drivers and collective norms.

TOTAL SOCIAL FACTS AND SYMBOLS

It is important here to make a distinction between total social facts and symbols, as they have different theoretical and methodological implications. Theoretically, although both symbols and total social facts communicate larger cultural values and beliefs, symbols communicate meaning, while total social facts communicate (and enact) function. For example, the great American highway system is rich with symbolic meaning (representing American progress, freedom, the conquering of nature, and so on). Or to take a classic example, Clifford Geertz's text on the Balinese cockfight (Geertz 1977) analyzed the symbolic meaning of the cockfight within Balinese culture, and influenced generations of anthropologists and ethnographers with a methodology based on "thick description" as a way to uncover cultural meaning. The American highway system and the Balinese cockfight are powerful symbols that communicate meaning by representing larger cultural values and beliefs.

In contrast, total social facts do not symbolize, but actually structure and govern relationships and interactions across a society. Some symbols, such as *baijiu,* can serve as powerful lenses into the total social facts that influence a society's social relationships. *Baijiu* is in itself rich with symbolic meaning, as demonstrated by our vignette at the beginning of the paper where Li rejects *baijiu,* thereby symbolically rejecting all of the patriarchy and other social constraints that it represents. In this case, the total social facts of hierarchy and *guanxi* were precisely what invested *baijiu* with such strong symbolic meaning. Studying things that have both symbolic meaning and are closely linked to a total social fact can enable applied ethnographers to understand both the ways that society functions, but also the cultural meanings of the object as a symbol. For example, studying *baijiu* as a lens into *guanxi* helps us understand how *guanxi* works and permeates all levels of Chinese society, while studying *baijiu* as a symbol helps us understand its symbolic meaning and value.

CRITIQUES OF FUNCTIONALISM

Durkheim defined sociology as the study of social facts, and Mauss' concept of the total social fact built on this conception, locating total social facts squarely within functionalist theory. Later scholars came to critique functionalism's implicit assumption that societies evolve towards progress and equilibrium. This teleological view was considered incompatible with the change and conflict obvious in most societies. Functionalism as an approach to understanding societies became largely irrelevant, and critical theory, structuralism and post structuralism gained favor. Even as functionalist thinking reappeared more recently in sociology, as through Jeffrey Alexander (1998), and interdisciplinarily, as in Systems Theory, total social facts have been left behind.

We don't assume that we can cleanly lift the concept of the total social fact away from its theoretical context within functionalism. The concept of the total social fact and its fundamental ability to encompass the entire social system is premised on the assumption that a society can be considered a system. The notion of a system with parts that have specific functions is based on the assumption that such a system should ideally be in static, in equilibrium and well-functioning. These assumptions leave the theory open to critique by just about any type of post-modern theory, conflict theory, practice theory, and so on.

We do not assume that the societies we study are static, well-functioning, or in equilibrium. Instead, we propose to use the total social fact as a methodological equivalent of a contrast medium, such as iodine or barium, that makes visible the branches and linkages of the system. It allows the researcher to take an X-ray of the system, but does not assume that the system is functioning. This is a

more cautious, diagnostic use of the total social fact--a heuristic device that jettisons much of the theoretical baggage of functionalism.

To continue using the diagnostic metaphor, studying total social facts reveals which branches of the system (which parts of society) are functioning well, and which are not. As design and strategy researchers, the blockages and dysfunctions represent problems, and therefore areas where there is an opportunity for a solution. Likewise, areas of vigor and health in the society we study can serve as inspiration and best practices to be used to guide our solutions.

If we return to the ethnographic vignettes, and how these women each responded differently to the coercion of *guanxi,* we see the struggle between Durkheim's two halves of "man," the social and the individual. The women's different responses to *guanxi* show the interplay of individual agency and social norms or realities within the women themselves. By studying the total social facts of *guanxi* and hierarchy through *baijiu*, we were not limited to a static view of society. In fact, seeing women rejecting, embracing, and co-opting *baijiu* and *guanxi* helps us better understand the changes and conflicts in contemporary Chinese society. Yang more recently revisited the topic of *guanxi* to argue that "the final word on guanxi can never be concluded, caught as this social phenomenon is, in the fluctuating stream of history, and resilient as it is in adapting to new institutional arrangements with the introduction of capitalism," critiquing approaches that "treat guanxi as a fixed essentialized phenomenon which can only wither away with the onslaught of new legal and commercial regimes" (Yang 2002).

Similarly, in our research, observing respondents' behaviors and attitudes gives us insight into the process of social change in China. The functionalist study of total social facts is not limited by a static equilibristic perspective, but in fact illuminates the interplay between the individual and the social, as well as a view into the mechanisms for social transformation.

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

In our consulting practice, the objects of our studies are often brands, products, or services. There are an infinite number of objects and phenomena that form the objects of our research studies. Very few of the topics we are asked to study are total social facts in themselves: these brands, products, services do not permeate the many facets of social reality, and therefore cannot be used to shed light on society as a whole. Some examples of topics of research projects that are *not* total social facts are: ostomy bags, manicure embellishments, and water pumps. A symbolic approach, in the tradition of Geertz, that attempts to uncover the symbolic meanings these objects communicate may prove to have limited effectiveness. There is a limit to how many times we can ask our respondents "but what do water pumps really *mean* to you" and how many word associations we can ask them to draw. However, we propose another way to study these mundane objects. Instead of, or in addition to, exploring the meaning they communicate, let us investigate the total social facts to which they are connected, and these objects' role in the *functions* of those total social facts.

We now revisit Durkheim's definition of the external social facts behind cultural norms: they exert "compelling and coercive power" that is "not felt or felt hardly at all." These "not felt or felt hardly at all" social norms that coerce human behavior may sound familiar to ethnographic practitioners. For us at least, these are often at the heart of our richest insights and research findings. The unstated, barely perceived yet coercive norms often shape behavior in ways that fall outside of rational predictions. Large corporations accustomed to predicting consumer behavior through rationally premised

quantitative analysis can often overlook seemingly "irrational" behavior driven by these "not felt" coercive norms. We propose a methodology that analyzes function in addition to meaning, through the heuristic device of the total social fact. Such a methodology will help us uncover these "not felt" norms that compel and coerce behavior.

Alexander Gofman identifies in Mauss two parallel meanings of the idea of total social facts, each of which has methodological implications for applied ethnographic research. The first of Gofman's interpretations of the total social fact as "*epistemological and methodological* above all else," which is "to study *all social facts as total."* The second interpretation is that total social facts are "*specific ontological entities* which are *sui generis* (to speak in a Durkheimian vein) and distinct from other social facts" (Gofman 1998). Both meanings of total facts are useful for our discussion of methodology, and we argue for using the first as a means for connecting with the second.

1. **"Study all social facts as total"**
   The first meaning calls for the sociologist or ethnographer to "to study *all social facts as total."* Taking a 'total' approach means looking at phenomena in relation to other parts of the system, and seeing how they work together as a system.
   In practice, this means framing research and business questions not as sharp inquiries that tunnel down into a specific problem, but looking at context, and expanding even what we consider context. A contextual or ecological approach is widely accepted, but by looking at the social fact or research phenomenon and how it permeates every aspect of the social system, or as many institutions as is credible, we can understand how these disparate parts form a system and function as a system.

   Even more concretely, this means expanding the subject of research (whether it is a product, service, brand, segment…) until it can be linked with a total social fact. For instance, this would mean expanding the research topic from insulin injection devices to diabetes, or illness, and looking at the intersections of economics, class, religion, culture, health, and education. However, while treating every object of study as if it were a total social fact is valuable methodologically, total social facts remain distinct ontological objects.

2. **Total social facts as *sui generis***

   The second posits the total social facts as *sui generis*, because of their unique position as "phenomena which penetrate every aspect of the concrete social system; they concentrate it and constitute its focus, they are the constitutive elements, the generators and motors of the system" (Gofman 1998:67).

This interpretation has two implications for methodology:

Parallel lines of inquiry – We propose researching a total social fact in parallel to the main industry focus a study. For example, if hired by an air conditioning manufacturer hoping to break into the Chinese market, we would propose to study both air conditioning, as would be expected, but also in parallel, study *baijiu*. Client companies might find this approach irrational, but we anticipate that studying *baijiu* would be one of the most effective and fruitful approaches to uncovering how people

think about and experience the home, social mobility, health, and progress that would help guide the client's design directions and strategy.

Different markets would require different phenomena be studied to reflect that society's total social facts, in addition to the client's actual target research area. Identifying those phenomena could be done through a combination of short expert interviews and review of cultural literature. For example, for a client entering the Indian market, weddings would probably be able to give a comprehensive reflection of that society's total social facts; or soccer in Spain, pubs in the UK, barbeques in the U.S., and so on.

Continuous Inquiry – Once fruitful total social facts are identified through past research, we propose maintaining a running line of inquiry into the total social fact, over time. Adding to, tracking, and observing the evolution of the areas uncovered by *baijiu* would enable us to have a more nuanced, longitudinal vision of China and the changes that are occurring than those covered publicly in newspapers and industry reports. Sustaining these lines of inquiry, more nuanced than social or economic indicators, might be an efficient but also intellectually compelling way of studying changing societies.

THE STUDY OF TOTAL SOCIAL FACTS IN PRACTICE

The global business landscape is littered with the failed attempts of foreign companies to enter unfamiliar markets. In China, American giants like Amazon and Google have both, to say the least, found it difficult to capitalize on the opportunities of the growing market. In this section we use the US consumer electronics retailer Best Buy as a case study in how studying total social facts can potentially help companies avoid such struggles.

In 2006, Best Buy tried to replicate their "big box" retail strategy and a high-end shopping experience targeting 1st tier cities and high-income consumers. David Deno, Best Buy's Asia Chief until earlier this year reflected on Best Buy's initial strategy in China by saying "we were stupid and we were arrogant" (Biz Journals 2012). What Best Buy didn't understand was how and why lower income consumers, earning an average of $800/month in Tier 2 and 3 cities could be a powerful value generator.

Zhao, a respondent in Chengdu, was a self-styled 'entrepreneur' who rode a beat-up scooter to business meetings and spent his nights at cheap disco clubs that played bad Korean pop. As a low income, young, migrant, he wasn't exactly the type of consumer that Best Buy thought they should target. However, when we started discussing *baijiu* with him, we discovered that he spent exorbitant amounts of money (upwards of $300) on bottles of the famous Maotai brand of *baijiu* when treating potential business clients and officials involved in his industry. Spending so much money on this spirit seemed entirely natural, expected even, because it demonstrated his facility with handling the complexities of China's social hierarchies. It also highlighted an economic ability to afford the high quality stuff, which was important for signaling to potential partners that he was somebody worth doing business with.

Zhao is just one, but a particularly clear example that Tier 2 and 3 residents are ambitious consumers willing to outspend their Tier 1 counterparts in their efforts to get ahead. A conversation with Zhao about *baijiu* illuminated the value of products that help people maneuver their way up social hierarchies.

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Best Buy closed its Chinese stores last year and is now focused on building its new Five Star brand in China. After over seven years of trial and error, they have stumbled upon a formula that appears to be winning: focusing on lower tier cities, and the emerging middle classes who buy home appliances as shining symbols of success and progression. By understanding how Chinese consumers perceive social hierarchies in these lower tier cities, an $800/month consumer base begins to make much more sense.

Even though it would have been a difficult conceptual leap for a consumer electronics retailer to make, we argue that studying *baijiu* would have helped them avoid a decade's worth of costly experimentation and the reputation of a global brand.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to demonstrate that the theoretical construct of the total social fact can be used methodologically to enable researchers to efficiently go deep and go broad in unfamiliar markets. Moreover, using total social facts as a methodological tool doesn't necessarily presume that the society of study is well functioning or static. On the contrary, it can actually highlight potential business opportunities (in the 'dysfunctional' areas of the system), as well as sources of business inspiration and transferrable value (from well-functioning areas of the system). More generally, understanding a society's total social facts can provide both the applied anthropologist and their client with a deep cultural understanding that can inform all of their future projects in that market. For example, the insights into Chinese society gained from studying *baijiu* were rich enough to be applicable beyond the scope of that particular project. We have since used the understanding of social hierarchy and *guanxi* developed during that project to studies ranging from healthcare to technology.

In practice, we suggest at the very least finding ways to expand the client's research frame to increase the likelihood of linking up with the society's total social facts. Another approach is to pursue a parallel line of inquiry to the client's target research topic, studying a phenomenon such as *baijiu* in China that, like a prism, reflects and refracts that society's total social facts. Finally, by tracking over time these phenomena and how they reflect the underlying total social facts, researchers can gain insights into crucial changes in the society, as well as emergent areas of opportunity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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RENEWING ETHNOGRAPHIC THEORY

One Case, Three Ethnographic Styles: Exploring different ethnographic approaches to the same broad brief

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In a research project aimed at suggesting improvements at an annual advent fair three different ethnographic research approaches were used; Social Anthropology, Interaction Design and Mobile Ethnography. The paper focuses on how the three different approaches on ethnography affected choices in the research process, the outcomes of the research and how the outcomes were presented. It is found that the different motivations for doing ethnography between the three approaches make their outcomes differ in a clear way. These differences make the three ethnographic approaches suitable for achieving different research outcomes.

INTRODUCTION

From its early origins in the works of Boas, the Torres Strait island expedition, and Malinowski, the ethnographic approach has moved in many directions. One of the many disciplines which has adopted and appropriated ethnography is User-Centered Design (UCD). The various branches of UCD aim to create services, products and interactions based on insights about the "needs" and habits of the people who are the intended users of the artifact being designed – ethnography has established itself as a crucial tool to gain that understanding. Yet another development is the emergence of Mobile Ethnography which guides smartphone owners in collecting ethnographic data about themselves. These forms of ethnography however often differ from how it is conducted in academic anthropology.

This paper offers a comparison showing how different ethnographic approaches produce different kinds of knowledge while investigating the same empirical context and broad brief. The paper is based on a recent fieldwork experiment with separate research teams using Social Anthropology, Interaction Design and a Mobile Ethnography app respectively.

COMPARING STYLES OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnography's journey from Anthropology to design and the design community's motivations for incorporating ethnography in its toolkit has been described in a number of publications throughout the years (e.g. Grudin, 1990; Ford & Wood, 1996; Segelström, Raijmakers, & Holmlid, 2009; Segelström, Holmlid, & Alm, 2009; van Dijk, 2010) and will not be discussed further in this paper. Nor will the argument that designers have misconstrued anthropological ethnography be explored any further than this acknowledgement of the (former) existence of such a discussion (see Dourish, 2006, for an example of this discussion). Rather, this short background section will focus on previous comparative studies of ethnographic styles.

At EPIC 2008, Dori Tunstall (2008) presented a comparison of how the basic approach to ethnography differs between anthropology, marketing and design. Her study was based on a literature review of how the three fields are described, grounded in one prototypical company for each approach. She used a framework for theory suggested by Barnard (2000), called QAME. QAME stands for questions, assumptions, methods and evidence. Tunstall explores each of the categories and maps how the three different approaches to ethnography differ. **Error! Reference source not found.** below summarizes her findings.

	Anthropology	Marketing	Design
Questions	What does it mean to be human?	How does one allocate resources to move customers to buy goods and/or services?	How does one design a successful product, service, communication, or experience?
Assumptions *- Issues* *- Roles* *- Scale*	- Origins, evolution, and meaning - Anthropologist as instrument - Qualitative significance	- Economic rational choice - Marketer as selector - Quantitative significance	- Context and user requirements - Designer as intermediary - Qualitative significance
Methodological approach towards ethnography	Preferred epistemological stance	"Intimate" consumer insight	Empathic intuition
Evidence	Informal conversation Experiential textual report	Formal presentation Strategic report	Concepts Prototypes

TABLE 1. Tunstall's analysis of ethnographic approaches. Adapted from Tunstall (2008, p. 220).

Anthropologist Rob van Veggel (2005) published an account of potential clashes which can occur when anthropologists and designers collaborate, due to the differences in motivations for using ethnography. He bases his comparison on recollections of his experiences whilst working as an anthropologist for design companies. He explains how designers and anthropologists approach ethnography:

> "[D]esigners approach ethnography for the practical reasons of gaining a rich and deep understanding of users that can be easily integrated into design projects, and yet quick and relatively inexpensive to obtain." (van Veggel, 2005, p. 5)

> "[A]nthropologists approach, ethnography as the methodological component of a theoretical endeavor to understand humans as socio-cultural beings, who presumably act and think in different way; ethnography is a method to understand other people – Anthropology is that understanding" (van Veggel, 2005, p. 8)

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Based on these differences van Veggel (2005) identifies four potential conflicts when the two disciplines collaborate: the translation of anthropological insights into usable insights for designers, designers lacking in preparation and training before doing ethnographic work, how to link people's actions and thoughts together and that Anthropology is excessively theoretical.

It is evident that both previous comparative studies presented see a clear difference between the design take on ethnography compared to the anthropological one. The motivations to use ethnography differ, leading to different aspects being seen as the important ones during the ethnographic process.

One of the goals of this paper is to assess the claims of van Veggel (2006) and Tunstall (2008) through an empirical study.

THE CASE

The underlying case for the analysis presented in this paper is a research study at an annual advent fair in Linköping, Sweden. The researchers had been invited to contribute with insights on the visitor's experience of the fair, insights which could aid in the renewal of the fair offering in upcoming years.

The advent fair is held in a small neighborhood called Gamla Linköping - "Old Linköping" -, which also is an open air museum. The neighborhood was constructed in the 1950's as Linköping, like most other Swedish towns, was modernized in terms of building standard (Gamla Linköping, n.d.). The neighborhood consists of houses originally built in other parts of Linköping, but rather than being torn down they were moved to Gamla Linköping. The neighborhood is meant to give its' visitors a feeling of what a Swedish town looked like in the early 20th century. Some smaller adaptions to modern life have however been done, such as opening up a gravel path in the streets to ease the pushing of trolleys and replicas of old houses being built from scratch.

The advent fair is held every year on the first advent weekend in cooperation with the local Lions Club. Being held only two days a year, the fair introduced a strong temporal constraint on how the research could be conducted. However, the fair is a popular event with around 15000 people visiting it the study year, meaning that there was a large pool of potential study participants to draw from. Taking the time constraints and the unique environment of the fair into account it was decided to use several approaches to understand the visitor's experience of the fair. Three different research approaches were used (Social Anthropology, Interaction Design and Mobile Ethnography), each with a brief corresponding to what could be expected had they been hired as consultants directly by the fair management. Each approach is described in further detail in the next section.

THE THREE ETHNOGRAPHIES

After the decision had been made to use multiple approaches, the researchers decided to set up a study which would produce data from different theoretical approaches. The researchers having access to the beta-version of a Mobile Ethnography application, it was decided to conduct an experiment where different ethnographic styles would be compared.

Mobile Ethnography is a still emerging method, which led to the decision to use two other approaches with varying degree of maturation. Returning to the roots of ethnography to use anthropologists was quickly decided upon as the most mature approach. Considering the authors work

in UCD, and the Mobile Ethnography app being inspired by service design, the UCD approach to ethnography, in form of interaction design, was chosen as the mid-point maturity wise.

In the following sections the approaches used by the fieldworkers coming from the different theoretical starting points are expanded upon. We do not claim that the teams conducting the research for this project are necessarily 'typical' or 'representative' of how these approaches should be applied.

Social Anthropology

Two thesis students in Social Anthropology were recruited as fieldworkers. Their project brief was to do a study according to the tradition of Social Anthropology which could aid in the improvement of the visitor's experience of the advent fair in coming years. The Social Anthropology head at Linköping University volunteered to be the advisor of the theses, (and to summarize their contents). The description of the approach of the social anthropologists below is based on his report (Alm, 2012) as well as the two finished theses (Karlsson, 2012; Nyman, 2012).

Both students followed a similar approach in their work. They started out by narrowing down the broad brief to match their research interests; in Hanna Karlsson's case she focused on the shopping experience of her informants and Mikaela Nyman focused on Gamla Linköping as a reconstructed past. This was followed by a broad phase where they acquainted themselves with literature on their thesis topics, Gamla Linköping as a field work site and finding informants. Aided by insights from the literature studies both anthropologists conducted semi-structured interviews with their informants.

The interviews were then transcribed with the aim of finding reoccurring themes and verifying/falsifying the insights from the literature study. The emerging themes were used as a foundation for participatory observations of the informants' visits to the advent fair.

Thereafter the anthropologists analyzed the material from their observations and compared it with the insights from the interviews. They then re-visited their informants with follow up questions to clarify issues which were unclear. The answers from the follow up questions were integrated into the rest of the analysis, producing the end result analysis wise.

Interaction Design

The interaction designers in the project were chosen to match the anthropologists experience-wise. The six students enrolled in the final Interaction Design course given to master students in cognitive science were given the brief to develop concept ideas for interactive artifacts, based on the wishes and driving forces of the visitors to the advent fair. The user research and presentation of it was stressed as a key learning moment in the brief. As (interaction) designers usually work in teams, the group was divided into two teams. Each team was given free choice in planning their ethnographic work. This resulted in the two teams conducting somewhat different tasks.

One team decided to do benchmarking of other advent fairs, to use structured interviews to interview people at the fair and to recruit two groups of friends to interview prior and after their visit to the advent fair as well as to shadow them during their fair visits. One group was shadowed at the advent fair in Gamla Linköping, and another at a competing fair. As the group analyzed their material they did however mostly use the interviews, and the team even states that "we've only used a small section of the observation data" (author's translation) in their project report. The questions asked focused on the motivations for visiting the fair, what was bought and how/if the informants searched

for information about the fair prior to visiting it. The analysis and synthesis led the team to creating two personas[1].

The other team started out by formulating hypotheses about what would be interesting aspects to study, formulating two questionnaires based on this. The focus was narrowed further by concentrating on two user groups; families with young children and retired people. The team had initially aimed at getting 30 questionnaires back from each group, but experienced difficulties in recruiting people on-site, only managing to get 29 questionnaires answered in total during the first day of the fair. The team thus decided to do undirected observations during the second day of the fair. Like the other team, they focused on the more tangible data, letting the observations take a backseat in the analysis. The analysis and synthesis of one of the questionnaires led them to create three user profiles, after having weighted the questions during the analysis. The team did not find any clear patterns in the second questionnaire.

Mobile Ethnography

The third research approach of the study was to use a smartphone application, in which the participants documented their visit to the advent fair without the researchers being present. The creators of the app have dubbed this approach Mobile Ethnography (Stickdorn, Frischhut, & Schmid, 2012): "[m]obile ethnography is a research approach to identify, evaluate and document the customer journey through a smartphone application" (Frischhut, Stickdorn, & Zehrer, 2012, p. 161).

Although not explicitly dealt with by the creators of the app used, this approach relates to ethnographic discussions on multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995), autoethnography (Anderson, 2006, and comments; Solomon, 2010) and ethno-mining (Anderson, Nafus, Rattenbury, & Aippersbach, 2009).

myServiceFellow – The app myServiceFellow[2] (mSF) is developed by a research group focusing on service design for tourism. The motivation for developing the app is that a holiday maker's experience of the trip starts when the trip is planned and isn't finished until they arrive at home again - tourism destinations need to understand this to be able to deliver a top-notch experience. Stickdorn, Frischhut & Schmid (2012) highlight the difficulties of getting this holistic view by only interacting with the holiday makers at the destination, as the holiday is a journey through many geographical places (the same kind of issues discussed around multi-sited ethnography).

The approach of the mSF-development team to issues of multi-sited ethnography is to let the holiday maker's document their own holiday (relating both to autoethnography[3] and the design probes approach (Mattelmäki, 2006)). The holiday makers are guided in documenting their holiday by a smartphone app, built according to the customer journey metaphor used in service design. The users

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[1] Personas/user profiles are a popular tool in design to create a number of prototypical users of whatever is being designed. They are used as an inspirational summary of research.

[2] A closed beta version was used in this study.

[3] The exact meaning of the term is autoethnography is still being discussed in the ethnography community. For the purposes of this paper it is understood as any effort to collect ethnographic data where no external ethnographer is present. Also see Solomon (2010) for a comment on this discussion.

of mSF add new data points, called touchpoints in the app, at their own discretion as note-worthy events occur:

> "It is the guests who decide what is a touchpoint during their individual customer journeys and it is them who evaluate and document those by adding text messages, pictures, videos or audio files besides meta data such as date, time and GPS position" (Stickdorn, Frischhut, & Schmid, 2012, p. 7)

As shown in the quote above the app makes use of the functionality available in modern smartphones, such as allowing the users to create video and photo material (see Faulkner & Zafiroglu, 2010, for a discussion on benefits of user-generated video and photo material) as well as ethno-mining of the holiday maker's movements.

Once the holiday maker has finished her holiday and uploaded the material, it becomes available to the project owners in the back-end of mSF, which is called *ServiceFollow*. All users' materials are shown in a chronological order by default, together with their rating of the occasion (ratings go from -2 to +2). ServiceFollow provides the project owners numerous ways of interacting with the material; re-sorting, varying degrees of detail, accessing images and videos, grouping of touchpoints and a map view (based on GPS-position) among others.

Methodology – The mSF-study used a mixture of pre-recruited and on-site recruited participants. A total of 26 respondents uploaded data from the advent fair. Three support personnel were available at the advent fair to support the participants who needed assistance. This team also handled the on-site recruitment by approaching visitors as they entered Gamla Linköping.

The participants were informed that the insights gathered through the tool were going to be used to suggest improvements for upcoming advent fairs.

FINDINGS

The focus of this paper being the similarities and differences between three approaches to ethnography, the findings section focuses on a comparison between them. The analysis highlighted a number of areas in which there were differences between the approaches. These areas are presented in the order they would appear in the ethnographic process.

Benchmarking

The benchmarking done by the anthropologists in the project focused on the existing literature on their topics. They spent longer time on the benchmarking efforts compared to the other two approaches, searching for and reading literature. The benchmarks were used to help them narrow down their focus and decide on what could be interesting to focus on in in their initial interviews. Furthermore the analysis of the collected material was aided by including insights from other anthropologists' studies of similar topics.

The interaction designer team which did benchmark focused on how other advent fairs and Christmas markets have solved the issues they hypothesized would be interesting, such as way finding

and event calendars. The benchmarking was used as inspiration during the ideation, but did not (explicitly) affect their own user research.

There is no built in benchmarking in the Mobile Ethnography app that was used, but the participants did their own benchmarking comparing with their expectations and previous experiences. A reoccurring example was that many users complained about the weather, as the winter weather during the market was the worst conceivable; windy nor any snow, whereas it normally would be snow and no wind worth mentioning.

Scope of study

The anthropologists started their projects by narrowing down their overall focus to specific research questions. Once the scope of the study was set it was not challenged again. The strong delimitation of the subject area however gives the opportunity to explore it in detail and have a deep research approach.

The interaction designers started by formulating a hypothesis on what could be interesting, which were used as starting points. The path set by the hypothesis could be left at any time if the emerging insights pointed to better design opportunities somewhere else. Thus new hypothesizes could emerge at any time. This means that the scope of the interaction designers is open. The openness however comes at the price of depth – the interaction designers' study does not consider the phenomena studied at the same level of detail as the anthropologists.

The overall scope of the Mobile Ethnography study is set by the organizers of the study, and is manifested in how they brief the participants. However, there is no way of making certain that all participants stay true to the intended scope, they may misinterpret instructions or (unconsciously) delimit the scope further.

What is made the focus of the study?

Whereas the scope of the study relates to width and depth of the study, the focus of the study relates to which aspects are studied within the scope. Focus of the study closely corresponds to the 'Questions' heading in Tunstall (2008).

The anthropologists focused on behaviors and motivations, and how what is observed relates to the existing body of knowledge. Being able to describe a small section of human behavior is the goal of the study. In the long run this is a part of what can be called "the anthropological task" – to describe humanity through detailed studies of all aspects of human behavior (see van Veggel, 2005, quote above).

In contrast, the interaction designers focus on findings situations which currently do not live up to expectations (or which can meet the unmet needs of the users). As a part of this the constraints on potential design solutions are also of interest. The goal of the user research is to find design opportunities within the current situation.

In Mobile Ethnography which aspects get studied are once again in the hands of the study participants. The things which happen to happen, where the participants are, and their experience of events, become the focus of each individual's participation (and data record). The overall focus for this approach thus emerges from the events which are most frequently chosen by the participant group as a whole.

Where and how are data collected?

The approaches on how to collect the data was similar between the anthropologists and interaction designers. Both used non-contextual interviews and contextual observations as their basic methodology. The difference between the two was mainly in the details; the anthropologists used a truly semi-structured approach to the interviews whereas the interaction designers had a structured approach with the possibility to add non-prepared follow-up questions. During the contextual observations the anthropologists did participatory observation whereas the interaction designers choose passive observations. Both did however observe continuously, getting a full view of their participants' fair visits. One difference, however, was that one of the Interaction Design teams chose to use surveys.

The Mobile Ethnography approach stands in contrast to the other two; it was only done in context and at the participants' discretion. As the participants added touchpoints only as they saw fit, the data gives 'snapshots' of the visit rather than a continuous description.

How is the analysis performed?

The analysis done by the anthropologists was thematically based, taking advantage of the different types of data collected and done without the help of any software. The differences between the various types of data collected are used to build a stronger argument for the conclusions. When the preliminary analysis was finished, the informants were approached again to fill in knowledge gaps.

The interaction designers seemed to view the analysis as a tool to support the synthesis. Both teams searched for patterns in their material through manual sorting and resorting, but mainly used the more tangible interview and survey data, neglecting their observations.

The Mobile Ethnography app mSF and its back-end ServiceFollow provides the project owner with the raw material submitted by the participants, thus making it the project owner's responsibility to conduct the analysis (according to whatever methodology they choose to use). There is functionality built into ServiceFollow to 'help' the project owner with the analysis, but usage is optional.

How is the synthesis performed?

Synthesizing the material is not part of the anthropologists' usual process; any synthesis which occurs is a by-product of the analysis.

On the other hand, the synthesis is *the* main focus for the interaction designers. They grouped and ordered their insights, aiding them in creating tangible evidences of their user research, manifested through the two teams' creation of personas/user profiles. These tangible summaries of the user research are later used as both inspiration for the design work and as a validator of the suggested design ideas.

As with the analysis, myServiceFellow and ServiceFollow do not provides the project owner with a synthesis but offers tools to aid them in performing the synthesis.

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What is more important – analysis or synthesis?

As the discussions on analysis and synthesis point towards, there is a difference in what is seen as the most important in the translation of raw data to insights (and reports); the anthropologists put their emphasis on the analysis whereas the interaction designers focus on the synthesis. ServiceFollow is neutral in this regard; having functionality to support both analysis and synthesis, but leaving the decision on how to do it up to the project owner.

Degree of interpretation

Degree of interpretation refers to how and to what degree the ethnographers transform the data during the analysis and synthesis. The anthropologists abstracted the material to a high degree, producing generalized insights. However, they stayed close to their informants and used them to illustrate their points even at the higher abstraction levels. For example, Karlsson (2012) found that her informants all reacted strongly against perceived knick-knack at the fair and wanted to have it removed from future fairs. However, all her informants had different opinions on what constituted knick-knack.

The insights produced by the interaction designers did not strive to abstract the findings into a larger context. Instead the insights were removed from the individuals who had participated in the research, trying to generalize in such a way that the main patterns could be highlighted in the form of personas/user profiles. The team using surveys even expressed disappointment in only finding patterns strong enough to create user profiles in one survey.

The interpretation offered by the back-end of myServiceFellow is that it automatically transforms the participants' uploaded material into journeys of their visit. It thus keeps focus on every single individual and does not abstract their experiences in any way.

How are the findings presented?

The anthropologists relied on text to communicate their insights. The texts were descriptive and argumentative in their nature and made strong use of existing literature and the theories presented therein.

The material by the interaction designers also included text, but rather as background material to those interested in how their tangibles were created. Design concepts, use scenarios and personas/user profiles are the center of the reports produced by the two Interaction Design teams.

Finally, ServiceFollow presents the raw material sorted according to the customer journey metaphor used in service design. The tool offers functionality to organize the material in various ways, but the underlying journey metaphor is a constant in the tool. The project owner can however dive deeper into a data point and participant generated video/photo/audio-material is not more than one or two clicks away.

What is presented?

Closely related to how the findings are presented is the question of what is presented (a question also discussed in Tunstall, 2008). The anthropologists presented their insights and how they relate to existing knowledge, providing a holistic view of the findings according to the scope of the study. As

already indicated in the last section, the interaction designers presented their design concepts and user research supporting them – they did so by making storyboard-styled presentations of how their design ideas would be used at future fairs, based on the problems they saw. ServiceFollow gave the project owner access to and data submitted by the research participants using the app.

Applicability of presented findings

The final reports presented by the anthropologist give a theoretical description of the situation as it is, not suggesting any changes. This is in line with the anthropological tradition, where descriptive accounts of the current state have been the standard outcome for a long time. To be able to use them for making design changes these theories need to be re-interpreted and adapted. Moreover, the re-interpreted theories are more applicable to long-term strategic changes to the fair than improving elements of the fair now.

The reports by the interaction designers are streamlined towards suggestions for design refinements. Their designs are almost directly applicable – some detail design might be needed before going into production. But the suggested designs are mainly add-ons to the existing fair or changes to specific components, such as augmented reality games, way finding apps and services to create tangible memories from the fair.

The applicability of the Mobile Ethnography data is a mixture of the qualities of the two other approaches; like Interaction Design it focuses on specific components of the market (both positive and negative), which are seen as the most important by the fair visitors. And like Anthropology the material is not directly applicable, but needs to be interpreted and used as input for ideation.

DISCUSSION

If the processes and outcomes of the three ethnographies conducted at the advent fair are compared with the two previous comparisons between different styles of ethnography presented in the background section (van Veggel, 2006; Tunstall, 2008), the similarities between the findings are striking. The suggestions made by van Veggel and Tunstall are confirmed empirically by the insights obtained in this study, where content overlaps; there is a match between Tunstall's arguments in regard to the questions and evidence of Anthropology and Design (described here as *focus of study* and *what is presented how*). There is also a fit with van Veggel's descriptions of the two fields which finds resonance here in our discussion of the *focus of study* and *applicability of presented findings* in this paper. For example, we saw that the Interaction Design students had trouble connecting people's actions and thoughts together, and opted to mainly focus their fieldwork analysis on what was said.

Comparing the three approaches in the study, it is evident that the Mobile Ethnography approach is the outlier of the approaches. A question arising from the material is whether Mobile Ethnography (in the form of the myServiceFellow ecosystem) truly is a form of ethnography or whether it should be seen as something else. This in turn raises the counter-question how to delimit ethnography. Agar (1996, pp. 241-246) suggests *the use of a student-child-apprentice learning role* and *the search for patterns* as defining qualities for ethnographies. As our analysis points out, the back-end does not provide much theoretical or methodological guidelines for analysis or synthesis (*search for patterns*) of the material received from the participants. Nor does it provide a true *apprentice role* (which relates closely to the aim of creating empathy held forward in design (e.g. in Segelström, Raijmakers & Holmlid, 2009). Thus, the

beta-version of myServiceFellow used in the study does not pass current delimitations of what a full ethnographic approach is. However, a skilled user of myServiceFellow could end up with results which are close to fulfilling Agar's criteria for what constitutes ethnography, aided by their previous knowledge in fields like Social Anthropology or Interaction Design.

Differences between the three approaches

Comparing the three approaches to ethnography it is evident that they differ from each other in many ways. These differences can be explained by the theoretical starting points used by the field workers. The differences manifest themselves in many ways, such as in the scope of the study, how the material is interpreted and to which degree.

In the case of Social Anthropology, they want to describe behaviors and make mental models apparent based on a very specific focus of the study in comparison to the two other approaches. This narrow focus made it possible for the anthropologists to go deep into the worlds of their informants and to get an understanding which was abstracted from their informants while still maintaining each informants perspective on the issues discussed. The focus of the work post-data collection for this team was to make the analysis true to the informant's voices and produce an ethnographic text where the informants and their opinions were placed in a larger, descriptive, context. This deliverable is in line with the anthropological tradition.

Looking at the interaction designers we can similarly see how the overarching aim of their fieldwork (guided by the theoretical commitments of Interaction Design) affected their methodological choices throughout the project. The ethnographic work was directed at getting actionable insights; the initial focus was open to change at any time if the fieldwork pointed to more promising areas for future design work. This openness meant that the studies did not go as deep into any single aspect of the visitor's experience of the fair as the anthropological study. Yet, on the other hand the interaction designers studied more aspects of the fair. The post-data collection work likewise focused on getting actionable insights for design, which meant that synthesis became the main focus in the processing of the material, leading to individual informants disappearing from the material (and the commonalities between various types of fair visitors being highlighted). The synthesis is however not seen as an end-goal, it is used as the inspiration for the design work, and later on as the guarantee for the relevance of the design solutions.

Finally, the Mobile Ethnography app myServiceFellow brings its own assumptions about the nature of the object of study, namely that it has a strong temporal aspect to it. As touchpoints cannot be reorganized by the individual participants, the phone app presumes that the order in which events happen is the most relevant to the participant. This assumption follows the material as it is transferred from the participant's phone to the server of the project owners, who are also presented the data according to the timeline. The back-end offers the opportunity to re-sort the material but not to break free from the journey metaphor used along the timeline.

CONCLUSION: WHICH ETHNOGRAPHY WHEN?

Given the differences between the ethnographic approaches produced in this study the question of their relative qualities naturally arises. The answer naturally depends on the reasons for commissioning ethnographic work. In the case at hand, with a short time frame for fieldwork and

improvement agenda the Interaction Design approach and its' focus on actionable insights was the most helpful. However, as pointed out by Norman (2010), a user-centered design approach to ethnography is more likely to produce improvements to the existing situation, rather than bold transformation.

Keeping the focus on doing ethnography for applied purposes, the depth of the (social) anthropological approach provides insights which can drive long-term innovative change processes. The ethnography produced provides a rich description of the topics at hand, but without offering suggestions for how these descriptions can be lead to changes which will improve visitor satisfaction of the fair.

The Mobile Ethnography approach shows a lot of potential for ethnographic work where the object of study is more permanent than a weekend long fair. The material gathered by the visitors could provide great context to anthropological as well as design ethnographies which have a change agenda. By using myServiceFellow or similar apps for benchmarking, ethnographers can improve their possibilities to find the most rewarding focus for their ethnographies from their employers' perspective. The Interaction Design approach would be aided in so far that it can remove some of the openness in the approach and be able to go deeper into the informants' worlds whereas Social Anthropologists will be aided in specifying areas of studies which can produce more applicable ethnographies. We believe that the gap between ethnography for Interaction Design and Social Anthropological approaches will be lessened with the help of Mobile Ethnography. The study shows that to use a mixture of the approaches, if possible, gives the broadest amount of actionable insights.

To use an example based on insights from the study; several participants who used myServiceFellow commented on the number of people at the fair. Depending on the time of their visit some thought it was too crowded and some too few. Closely related, one of the social anthropologists (Karlsson, 2012) noticed that her informants avoided overcrowded market stands and found support in previous anthropological work on the amount of personal space needed to make people feel comfortable in shopping. Put together this gives us insights into the importance of trying to "even out" the amount of people visiting the fair at any given time to increase both the enjoyment of the fair for the visitors, and the likelihood of them buying anything from the stands. We also noticed that the most appreciated part of the advent fair - in the data retrieved via myServiceFellow - were mini-events (like dancing around the Christmas tree). Furthermore with the help of the time-stamps from the touchpoint data we could actually confirm that there was higher attendance at the fair during the hours where events were scheduled. By adding more events, or spreading out the existing events over time, we could thus improve both the visitor experience and the stand holder's income. Concepts coming from the interaction designers included suggestions for how to make people more aware of scheduled events, based on their learning that most people did not know in advance when events were due to be held (even though these were a highlight of the advent fair for them).

In conclusion, this paper has described a study on how three (self-described) styles of ethnography led to different types of findings whilst studying the same advent fair. The study results give empirical support to previous papers by van Veggel (2006) and Tunstall (2008). Furthermore, the study shows how the theoretical starting points of the three ethnographic styles affect what will be presented as the outcome, and how that outcome is achieved.

RENEWING ETHNOGRAPHIC THEORY

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Emerging Practices for Renewal

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Papers in this session fully incorporate the theme of this year's EPIC. They invite us to engage in ongoing consideration of significant dimensions of the ethnographic project. First are the sources and destinations of ethnographic data and its representations in the digital era. The availability of data and representations can vary in time, access, and quantity but with necessarily ambiguous consequences however these dimensions are configured. Second, is the issue of ethics, which, as contributors show is not reasonably a matter of universal principles, but also of issues of time, place, varying stakeholder interests, and degree of exposure. Just as the uses of ethnographic data, ethnographic ethics are fundamentally ambiguous with regard to these dimensions. Third is the issue of spatio-temporal rhythms; the point being that business anthropology is not merely in the business of studying them as in classical ethnography, but also in producing commercialized spatio-temporal ecosystems, both enterprises fraught with ethical consequences for stakeholders. In some ways, the papers all confront the inevitable interlacing of ethnographic knowledge and power.

EMERGING PRACTICES FOR RENEWAL

ETHICS IN BUSINESS ANTHROPOLOGY

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Solely protecting research subjects undermines ethical business anthropology practice. In this paper, we argue that a negative definition of ethics, manifest in the primary focus of "doing no harm" to research subjects, undermines a concern for the potential of business anthropology to do good in a broader sense. Alain Badiou's concept of truth procedure gives, we argue, an actively responsible and necessary direction to ethical business anthropology in its complicity with constructing new subjectivities within contemporary society.

PREAMBLE

Central to the AAA Code of Ethics sits the concepts of respect and rights. These respects and rights are designed to protect the subjects encountered and studied in applied anthropology. Indeed, a paragraph in the AAA Code of Ethics states that, *"[…] anthropological researchers must do everything in their power to ensure that their research does not harm the safety, dignity, or privacy of the people with whom they work, conduct research, or perform other professional activities"* (AAA 2012). As such the authority that these ethical 'codes' convey, rests in the apparent self-evidence of being logical and universally agreeable.

However, we insist that this statement is too easily escaped from, and that it demands further unpacking and more serious scrutinizing. The central problem rests not in its intentions but in the meaning that it conveys. What, for example, do concepts like harm, safety, dignity, and so forth really mean? Our question is this: When we know that business anthropology unfolds contingent to the contexts and objectives of the businesses that drive them, can these codes of ethics be anything but relative? Subsequently, to say that 'rights' and 'respects' mean something universally agreeable / decipherable implies that a contingent state can somehow found a stable principle.

In this paper we will argue, following French philosopher Alain Badiou, that the meaning of the ethical aspirations in anthropological practice is entirely ambiguous. When anthropology is applied within any context, we will argue that a principal question ought to be emphasized over general codes of conduct: Is ethics really derived from a *universal* set of "humanitarian", moral principles because they somehow seem intuitively uncontroversial to us – Or are we obliged to retain moral integrity singularly confined to a situation? That is, paying no heed to *method*, should the *practice* itself conform to a universality of ethics or not? And if it should, how does it situate itself toward such an ethics? In other words, what is the meaning of the content and how does it unfold beyond relative statements such as "do no harm"?

Whilst a great deal of attention is directed towards methodology in anthropology, the discipline's overall *project* and its understanding of ethics, both as an academic discipline and as in its history of being applied - that is to say in representation of the Other and the capitalization hereof, is more complex. The reason why this is so, is not confined to this discipline alone. It reflects what ethics have come to mean in a larger populist sense, through what appears to us as innately universally agreeable principles that manifest in, above all, humanitarian concern and human rights.

If social sciences continue to follow this model of implied natural, universal morality, we will argue that it leaves them in the dark, even indifferent, toward how ethics and morality are being advanced, problematized and understood for example in some recent philosophical thinking. Crucially, it prevents it from engaging in ethical questions critically and systematically to inform praxis. We therefore in the following attempt to shed light on ethics in business anthropology in an attempt to further clarify the project of business anthropology, instead of uncritically assuming a demarcation between anthropologists and their subjects, or a contradictory positioning of anthropology and business.

Ethics in the field of business anthropology

In recent discussions of ethics in the still emerging field of business anthropology, where the quest to represent the Noble Savage has been replaced by an exploration of the effects of the organization of contemporary capitalist societies, the distinction between 'pure' academic anthropology and anthropology in its applied version, continue. Batteau and Psenka (2012), in the first issue of Journal of Business Anthropology 1(1) from 2012, set forth the idea of a collective clarification of the ethics of this new field among its practitioners:

> "We need to negotiate just what is business anthropology, what are its conceptual and ethical boundaries and within those boundaries what constitutes good work. We should also examine both "what is business" and what should its anthropology look like."

They furthermore suggest that the distinction between the pure, theoretical version of anthropology versus an applied, practicing version is correlated to a social hierachization of these two sub-disciplines, and therefore merely an academic convention we ought to examine. They discuss the contradictory interests between the anthropological and capitalist projects, and oppose more genuine business anthropology with simple 'opportunistic ethnographies'. They propose that business anthropology should take as its primary concern, *"the commercialization of numerous experiences and institutions uniquely human"* (Batteau and Psenka (2012). It is in other words suggested that we, as business anthropologists, study both how these uniquely human experiences are commercialized, and what consequences this has, instead of implicitly contributing to this commercialization.

Batteau and Psenka go on to suggest that the ethical challenges around this kind of work often lie in the conflicting interest between the hired business anthropologist and his employer, but that the gain of anthropological knowledge derived from venturing into business as an anthropologist, is greater than the risks associated with the practice: *"Our challenge and invitation to anthropology is to get your hands dirty, to transgress the boundary between Academia and Business, to understand better this Brave New World of flexible rationalization"* (Batteau and Psenka (2012). This invitation is however set forth without having established in their entirety, the criteria for what constitutes good work within business anthropology, according to Batteau and Psenka's initial proposal to clarify the ethical boundaries of this field.

Much more reassurance do we get, if we look to the International Journal of Business Anthropology and its first issue dating back to 2010. Jordan puts forth an, for a social scientist, enviable amount of trust in the AAA's Code of Ethics within business anthropology and doesn't question the ethical issues of the field: *"By following these guidelines as outlined by the American Anthropological Association, we are able to ethically conduct business anthropological work."* (Jordan 2012). Jordan specifies how

the code of ethics from the AAA focus on protecting the individuals studied from harm, and goes through the practical implications of the code of ethics, and how the ethical business anthropologist and Jordan herself should comply with the code:

> "If it appears that the individuals they will be studying can be harmed by the work, they do not undertake the study. For example, if it appears the corporate bosses are only interested in increasing profit for the shareholders at the expense of the employees or the community, then I do not undertake the work. This is also the reason anthropologists do not work in competitive intelligence. No work should be illegal and no work should be done under false pretenses. I should always be able to tell those I am studying that I am an anthropologist conducting a study and I should always be able to tell them why I am conducting the study and what it is about. It is unethical for me to misrepresent my interests" (Jordan 2010).

However, the trust and implied straightforwardness of following the code of ethics doesn't seem to question things like; *Will the work I do be used to better the situation in general for the subjects studied, as opposed to not doing harm?* In other words, avoiding harm (evil) is imagined to be of greater concern to us, than is contributing to a good project. Also assumed in this statement is that striving for maximum profit for shareholders is an exception rather than the rule. But most critically, this statement on the uncomplicatedness of conducting ethical business anthropology only takes responsibility for the anthropological work of capturing and representing data truthfully. By avoiding the larger ethical implications of business anthropology when discussing ethics in this field, it assumes a disassociation of business anthropology from the larger project of business.

If we look for guidance in the Final Report from the "Commission of Ethics to Review the AAA Statements on Ethics" how to ethically do business anthropology, we firstly learn about who should be concerned with the ethical dilemmas of anthropology, disregarding its setting and location. The Commission agrees that, as an educational document, the AAA Code of Ethics:

- Should become an integral part of the overall anthropological enterprise, from teaching through research, training and application.
- Should apply across the intellectual breadth of the discipline.
- Should apply to the conduct of all anthropological research, and not make distinctions based on funder, site, or purpose, and should not distinguish between basic, applied, academic-based, or proprietary research. (AAA 2012)

In other words, the AAA states clearly that the Code of Ethics applies to all anthropological research, also that of business anthropology. The report even mentions that:

> The Code should be relevant to persons with anthropological training who are applying anthropological knowledge in their work, regardless of the setting (that is, for example, those hired by a for-profit firm because of their anthropological training). (AAA 2012)

In this way we cannot be left uncertain as business anthropologists as to whether the general AAA Code of Ethics applies to us. According to AAA we should simply follow the code and strive to protect the people we study. But the Review Commission also acknowledges the problems with the focus on protecting the individuals studied, as the statement in the Principles of Professional

Responsibilities on 'Anthropologists must respect, protect and promote the rights and the welfare of all those affected by their work'. Because as the Commission rhetorically asks in their final report: *"Who determines what is in the best interests of the people studied?"* (AAA 2012). And even though the question is raised, but left unanswered, the Commission goes on to say:

> The anthropological researcher, however, does have duties to the people studied, including doing no harm or wrong, full disclosure and informed consent, warnings of possible outcomes (good and bad) of the research for the people involved, and a careful weighing of the risks and benefits of the study for the people being studied" (AAA 2012).

In other words, it is made clear to us as business anthropologists that we first and foremost must protect the subjects we study; however we are quite left to our own devices in regards to figuring out how we position ourselves towards the larger project and aim of business anthropology.

Why do we need a philosophical discussion of ethics in business anthropology?

This paper addresses ethics from a philosophical standpoint. The reason for this is simply that the ethics that social sciences aspire to and express as an ideal is built on a proclaimed universal humanitarian concern. Whereas the philosophical understanding of ethics we wish to push forth, address and explode this concern. We propose that in a field mainly concerned with praxis, application and outcome of anthropological methods, an introductory philosophical discussion of ethical issues can contribute to the evolution of the field. Even though Batteau & Psenka suggest an immediate diving in and *'getting our hands dirty'* and Melissa Cefkin in her "Ethnography and the Corporate Encounter" suggest a disregard of *"angst-ridden hand wringing about practitioners' moral and political complicity"* (Cefkin 2010:1), we believe it might be productive to explore the ethical issues in business anthropology further.

In short, these statements outline the tensions between anthropology, ethics, and capital that we hope to address:

1. Anthropology is understood as a discipline that aims to uncover and represent particularities, contexts and subjectivities as they are, in a scientific and value free way.
2. Corporate culture and business is understood to have other goals, namely appropriating these particularities, contexts and subjects in order to support stakeholders; ultimately through capital growth.
3. Ethics are generally something, which 'guides' anthropologists in the choices, they have to make within this presumed conflictual relationship and which helps them protect their research subjects or material against the evil of business.

Already we can identify problematic assumptions within these statements. Firstly neutrality (and even sometimes truth) as the basis for a discipline become increasingly unsteady, once we unravel the concept as it is, in-itself, and its dialectic relationship to the concepts of interpretation, analysis and, crucially, representation. It is, as we know, an emptive referent that can never be understood in absolutes. In political and philosophical terms, there is simply no such thing as neutrality and to assume such a position could be construed as passively accepting the conditions presented.

Secondly, assuming that there is a conflict between business and the 'academic' discipline of anthropology, identifies the practitioner of social science within this relationship as somehow more

'free' and 'pure' than the venture capitalist for which her skills are employed. Ethics then comes to mean the set of principles from which we navigate questionable tensions in which we find ourselves stretched between academic ideals and client obligations.

The sorts of questions we can draw from such a schema are for example: Is it more ethical to categorically refuse projects for clients we find morally distasteful in order to escape this dilemma? Within this logic we could deduce that:

1. Ethics comes to mean a set of principles that guide actions for humans, in this case the business anthropologist or the subjects she encounters, in order not to become 'corrupted' by external conditions.
2. Moral choice presumably unfolds before a given situation - it is assumed to be founded on universal principles for what is Good and what is Evil, for how else can we know what is morally distasteful?
3. This universal principle takes good to be derived from evil and not the other way round, which is to say that evil, is that which we must protect the subjects we encounter from befalling.

The problem with ethics

In the literature on business anthropology we can identify an articulation of ethics to take as its primary concern the presumed demarcation between academic and corporate praxis. In these discussions, there seem to be a demand to securitize academic/scientific rigor and its assumed opposition to corporate barbarism and careless utilization. Another strand of discussions, as we have seen with The Ethics Commission for revising the AAA code of ethics, emphasizes the responsibilities to protect human subjects that are part of the ethnographies produced within a corporate context against this same evil. As such, this discourse scrutinizes and asks to the implications for the *integrity* of an academic discipline when it is taken up in a corporate context.

Within both these positions, ethics comes to mean a principle for protection against evil — what is considered the Good is quite simply the principles that protect against Evil. The former position emphasizes the structural protection of academic rigor, the latter with the protection of innocent human subjects. But with this emphasis on *protection* of universally identifiable and stable categories, instead of constant critical self-reflexion and affirmation of contingency, *responsibility* is removed from the singular concrete situations in which the social scientist is inscribed. Instead, belief is put in a universal schema of ethical conduct. In a nutshell: The ethics we encounter in this discourse is non-contingent, and it deals with the subject through abstract notions of security and order alone.

At the heart of this discourse sits the problem that ethics of business anthropology risk becoming an oxymoron, and an impossibility. According to Alain Badiou, what we have come to understand by ethics are nothing more than blind belief in universal humanitarian rights, namely those that we invoke to fight the evil that befall on those less fortunate. Badiou aims with his philosophy to work against this idea. He wants to shows us that ethics, understood as a universal principle, is nothing but ideology. In opposition to a general consensus of humanitarian rights at the crux of ethical concerns, Badiou suggests a radically different meaning:

> "[...] Rather than link [ethics] to abstract categories (Man or Human, Right or Law, the Other...), it should be referred back to individual situations. Rather than reduce it to an aspect of pity for victims, it should become the enduring maxim of singular processes.

> Rather than make of it merely the province of conservatism with a good conscience, it should concern the destiny of truths, in the plural." (Badiou 2002:3)

For Badiou, an ethics founded on principles of humanitarian concern, protection and security, is fundamentally a nihilism of thought, and more crucially it signifies a submission to animality and a rejection of our uniquely human capabilities to resist subjectification to roles of victim, and to push and work *against* sedimented possibilities.

For Badiou the understanding of ethics that we have come to accept as natural is suspended between a kind of Kantian ethics of reason (a universalism based on the idea of human rights) and Levinasian relativism ('difference' oriented concern for the Other). However, for Badiou, neither of these positions is sufficient in any way if we are to properly understand and guide actions in singular situations that demand it. In fact they demand very little of us outside the normative demand of 'good citizenry' which we judge from the position of security and order.

With Kant, we can understand that there are universal regimes of good and bad and that these are to be chosen through some general schema, which neglects individual situations. As for concern for the Other, then Badiou's point is that we are of course all different from another, but what does respect and rights for the Other mean when we are confronted with real radical alterity? *"Respect for the Other has nothing to do with any serious definition of Good and Evil. What does 'respect for the Other' mean when one is at war against an enemy, when one is brutally left by a woman for someone else, when one must judge the works of a mediocre 'artist,' when science is faced with obscurantist sects, etc.?"* (Cox, Whalen and Badiou 2001) For Badiou, the rhetoric of ethics fundamentally only serves to distract us from dealing with the concept critically and singularly in situations, obstructed by the two positions that form the consensual basis for ethics (universal human rights and the ethics of difference).

Why this is so, primarily hinges firstly on the conception of the human. In order to construct an idea of universally applicable human rights, the concept of Man must necessarily be constructed from a weak position i.e. the ability to identify himself as a victim, and ethics in turn becomes the thing that obscures the procedure, which instigated this position in the first instance. Ethics thus refuses to identify Man as something other than an animal. This is to be understood in opposition to our actual human capabilities to rise above both the roles of victim and protector – in our unique ability to emancipate ourselves from our animal backdrop. If Man as a victim exists for Badiou, then it is only because we already put ourselves in this situation. So, we can see why this universal principle for human rights, really introduces an inequality in the divide between the victim and the protector. For Badiou, however, this cripples and sediments our human capacity to act: *"Since the barbarity of the situation is considered only in terms of 'human rights' - whereas in fact we are always dealing with a political situation, one that calls for a political thought-practice, one that is peopled by its own authentic actors"* (Badiou 2002: 13)

For Badiou, politics and ethics are not about securitizing and managing differences and rights, but about an active will to engage in projects that transcend these positions. A belief in difference is for Badiou just as contingent and no less conservative than the idea of human rights. As we see with the way these 'respects' play out in international politics for example, it can be even more detrimental, since the advancement of the fact of difference into solid principles can be seen to even sanction inequalities:

> "As for the love of the Other, or, worse, the 'recognition of the Other,' these are nothing but Christian confections. There is never 'the Other' as such. There are projects of thought, or

of actions, on the basis of which we distinguish between those who are friends, those who are enemies, and those who can be considered neutral. The question of knowing how to treat enemies or neutrals depends entirely on the project concerned, the thought that constitutes it, and the concrete circumstances (is the project in an escalating phase? is it very dangerous? etc.)." (Cox, Whalen and Badiou 2001)

As we have outlined above, the consensual ethical schema built on humanitarian universalism assumes an *a priori* evil. Within its logic, ethics are mere defensive principles that ward off supposedly universally recognizable and permanent evils. We have shown that this effectively amounts to an implicit solidification and justification of the imbalances and inequalities at place in what Badiou calls 'the state' of things, or the status quo. Which is to say that ethics are intrinsically conservative from the perspective that it operates from a consensual realm alone and refuses the possibility that things might be otherwise. This is why, for Badiou, it *"amounts to a genuine nihilism, a threatening denial of thought as such"* (Badiou 2002:3).

Then, what is to be done?

Ethical concerns for business anthropology are seen to be the management of rights and securitizing those rights for subjects studied. However, we must acknowledge that business anthropology does not live in isolation from the political and monetary networks that use ethnography in a production of subjectivities that become the basis for new forms of commercialization. As we know in the conditions of neoliberal capitalism we find ourselves entangled in processes which no longer produce services or tangible products in order to fulfill actual market demands, but instead conditions the criteria for new and previously unidentified desires, and takes as its primary operation the production of new markets as well as the conditions for the constructed desires to take root. In order to produce these conditions, the processes must necessarily reconfigure and actively introduce new forms of subjectivity in order to mold the possibilities that in term create demand. In other words, these operations conflate distinctions between consumption and production in order to produce the conditions for production.

Rather than being somehow isolated, business anthropology is indeed constituent to precipitating this milieu and, more crucially, it is immediately amalgamated to the appropriation of real world research in the production of new forms of subjectivity. In other words, business anthropology is not only a sidekick in the world of business, but we could argue that it fills a much more profound role. This is because in order to create demands that are fulfillable with previously non-existing products and services whether material or not, businesses need to mold these from situations and subjectivities that are very real to feed in and justify internally the creation of these new products and services.

Within these situations where real world data is transferred into business opportunities, anthropologists are rarely simply performing pure representational mechanisms. Anthropologists are hired to work in these milieus, not only to simply rapport reality, but very often also to make-up the lubricant that makes business goals and real world situations fit together seamlessly. In other words, the demand from business anthropologists is not only to report that people are content with their fitness practices, if they are, it is also to help the fitness industry target unmet needs. As a consequence, an 'ethics' which works from a general assumption that the composite material of applied anthropology

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is value-free from its context, and therefore directs attention only to a general idea of security and respect, become impotent when we talk about the processes through which this material is used.

As we have just said, anthropology is a crucial and, by now, deeply integrated component of many contemporary businesses, and to exhibit an attitude of demarcation between these two spheres is simply not realistic. To assume such a divisive position could even be seen as negative in the sense that it demands securitized borders between 'pure' anthropology and business, which means that it removes the anthropologists' ethical responsibilities of engaging critically in the processes whereby ethnographies are disseminated and appropriated in order to forcefully assure that these processes don't betray the 'truth' of data.

Instead, it would be more interesting to talk to an ethics of business anthropology that is anchored to processes themselves, one that doesn't restrict itself to security and protection of the discipline or research subjects, but one that asks; is this a fundamentally good project, and am I being as truthful toward it as humanly possible? This sketches an ethics that asks of, even demands, a continuous assessment of rights and wrongs anchored to particular situations, as opposed to general schemas, which in effect potentially obscures critical judgment. This would be an ethics which seeks not just to resist universal and humanist modalities and the instrumentalization of the concepts of neutrality and science in the idea of a value-free anthropology, but one that actively works toward destabilizing these sedimented conditions, in order to understand and take a real position on the particularity of the singular situations in which the anthropologists finds herself.

As a response to general humanist ethics, we hope to sketch out a different 'activist' meaning, which we could call an ethic of truth, following Badiou. For Badiou, rather than understanding protection and security (of life, subjectivities, stakeholders etc.) as the essence that creates *a priori* principles for action, the challenge for ethics are to work toward new forms and projects of commonality. Ethics in this schema aims to transgress and redefine all sedimented conditions in order to uncover and partake in the work toward a collective *project*.

This necessarily requires us to understand ethics as a positive and affirmative possibility of realizing what is centrally human. Only by submitting to this idea can we, in Badiou's terms, rise above the asymmetric roles of victim and liberator implicit in general rights, and inactive defensive identities and become something else, something that is above our animal backdrop - a contemplating, acting, creating, co-operative human being.

What, then, does this really mean? For Badiou, ethics are essentially linked to the notion of truth-processes. Ethics, to put it rather reductionally, are for Badiou simply to stay honest and true to a path of truth. This is a decisively active commitment, in that it refuses neutral or passive positions. Ethics are neither a constant principle nor general moral schema, which we can use to steer from. Truths only become aware to us and unfold from situations and processes that precipitate from events.

For Badiou, an event is a complex concept, that essentially is an unexpected rupture in what he terms 'the state' - that is to say, the existing practices, politics, knowledge and identities that make up our understanding of the world. Events are the unexpected that breaks with prior understandings of the world around us. It is the 'thing' that opens up for the possibility of imagining new ways of thinking and acting upon a situation. Through its rupture with the existing, it potentially inspires radically new ways of imagining the world - these are what Badiou terms 'truths'.

Truths are not to be understood in imperial terms as absolutes, but rather in a sense of a becoming, as in the idea of a truth of art or of love. Truths make us simply to become something else due to the awareness brought about through a new situation and, crucially, they also come with a

demand attached; that we uphold an honesty to this awareness. Ethics, for Badiou, mean to ruthlessly follow this new way of seeing the world. But, because a truth comes from a rupture and marks something that is fundamentally new, we can understand why ethics can never proceed from a general schema, *"[…] there is no ethics in general. There are only eventually ethics of processes by which we treat the possibilities of situations"* (Badiou 2002:40).

Our reading of the implications for such an understanding for business anthropology, would mean to understand ethics as not tied to overall ideas of rights, but the ability to stay honest to the situations that we bring about through anthropological research. The knowledges and subjectivities that we, as business anthropologists, are part of making appear and unfold, in many cases 'break' with existing knowledges and situations. Ethics here become the signifier for being able to stay honest and true to this new way of seeing the world. That is, in a ruthless refusal of devaluing or opposing this knowledge. In Badiou we see this most clearly in the romantic idea of love. In a situation of love, a truth unfolds that have the potential of making a truly new subject, the two that become one. But this possibility, the possibility of love, entirely hinges on whether we behave ethically in the process. That is, in hinges on whether we are brave enough to stay true to the path toward the possibility of becoming something other than two autonomous beings, after the proclamation of love.

So, ethics in Badiou fundamentally progresses from a rupture and a singular situation. As such, it is decisively anti-consensus oriented and its realization rests on hard work, and a being-honest to the truth. As we can see, ethics, then, are not about preventing securitizing against evils, but rather about working toward realizing the good. Evil in this understanding only appears under conditions of the unethical, when we betray this path.

How can we know an event, and in terms, how do we know what ethics means since it means to be honest toward the truths opened by the event? A truth, in Badiou, is qualified by being available and valid for everyone. In this sense it is universal. Furthermore, we can be sure that it takes effort and, courage and endurance to follow. Since even when something is purportedly out of our control, it doesn't change the fact that it still remains our responsibility:

> "A Truth is the subjective development of that which is at once both new and universal. New: that which is unforeseen by the order of creation. Universal: that which can interest, rightly, every human individual, according to his pure humanity (which I call his generic humanity). [Following a truth] requires effort, endurance, [and] sometimes self-denial. I often say it's necessary to be the 'activist' of a Truth" (Cox, Whalen and Badiou 2001).

CONCLUSION

Considering our discussion of ethics, to simply rely upon a code of ethics that takes protection as its guiding principle, can be understood to be a passive position. This is because it works from the hypothesis that ethics are simply performing the work of dodging the evils we meet. But following Badiou, ethics in the practice of business anthropology should instead be an active principle for engagement in defining our role and contribution as business anthropologists in the larger contexts of our work.

This demands of us that we consider every research situation as a singular situation, where our ethics form the ability to work through it in a way that stays honest to that situation alone. It means to

take a rigorous responsibility for at every step of every process that we find ourselves within, in a procedure of constant evaluation of rights and wrongs.

This active engagement sits in stark opposition to the idea that once we have represented things as they are and protected our research subjects, our ethical implications and responsibilities end. Instead we must actively consider our ethical responsibility also in the application and employment of the data and insights we provide. This active ethics, albeit more demanding, we feel, would not only guide us but also hopefully inspire and give meaning to us as practitioners of business anthropology.

In conclusion, we find that discussing the ethics of business anthropology brings light to the opportunities for this praxis to flourish as a responsible professional field and an important pillar of the organization of contemporary society.

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EMERGING PRACTICES FOR RENEWAL

If These Walls Could Talk: The mental life of the built environment

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Renewing Henri Lefebvre's unfinished and overlooked science of 'rhythmanalysis,' I propose physical space becomes meaningful to us to the extent that it provides refuge from the ravages of time—specifically, the intersecting rhythms of everyday life. In other words, we develop affinity with space based upon its restorative function. Conflict between overlapping rhythms is mentally exhausting. There are cognitive costs associated with the work day's intrusion upon our sleep cycle, or extension into our evening leisure time. I will contend that we love our local bars, coffee shops, and hangouts because they are intermediary spaces, situated between cycles, thereby easing our transition and restoring our mental energy. I conclude with some examples of these dynamics at play in the urban life surrounding two peculiar Polish sausage stands on South Side of Chicago.

INTRODUCTION

Time Dilation

According to Einstein's theory of General Relativity, time slows down as an object increases in velocity relative to another object at fixed velocity (Born 1962). This is why astronauts, "actually take a short trip to the future every time they go into outerspace" (Kaku 2009, 219). Orbiting at 18,000 mph, their clocks run fractions of a second slower than on Earth, hurling them slightly into the future when they return. Physicists call this *time dilation.*

I thought about time dilation during my last trans-Atlantic flight to Manchester, UK. The 3,868 mile journey lasts eight hours, but to the agitated woman sitting across from me, this trip appeared to be taking an eternity. I began to suspect I was simply traveling faster than her. "Eight hours," she exclaimed, between Vodka-tonics. "No Wi-Fi! Can you believe they haven't got Wi-Fi? What am I going to do with my Blackberry!" I shrugged, directing my eyes toward a dense copy of *Sherlock Holmes: the Complete Novels and Stories* (2003).

Imagine what Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's characters would have said in my place. In their time, the speediest journey from Boston to Manchester lasted between five and seven days. Decades before, it would have been the better part of a month. Watson would have marveled at modern air-travel. Holmes would have regarded it with detached inattention, having deduced its inevitable existence decades before.

In her defense, however, we live in a world it's easy—forgivable, even—to forget that our experience of time is founded vast spatial expanses. Online transactions travel across continents at the

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[1] This paper solely expresses the opinions and ideas of the author and does not in any way represent, refer to, or opine on, the views or opinions of, Google, Inc., Motorola Mobility Inc. or Google/MMI personnel.

speed of light. Shipping firms promise ludicrously convenient next day global delivery services. Even so-called "warp" travel—yes, faster than light travel—may become reality in our lifetimes (Millis 2005).

This may be why space, itself, is disappearing from the conversation. Today large corporation operate as global entities, divorced from borders, beyond nationality (Castells 1996; Panitch 1999; Sassen 2001; Pinder 2011). Markets are "interconnected by high-technology communication in real time," blinking in and out as they "pass their 'books,' … from time zone to time zone, following the sun" (Castells 1996; Knorr-Cetina & Bruegger 2002, 906). Ideas reach audiences by converting into digital bits for instantaneous global exchange in virtual space. In other words, our planet was once ruled by distance, but today, the world is flat, compressed into mere units of time by technology and globalization.

If These Walls Could Talk

Or so we like to believe. The premise of this paper is that space hasn't disappeared or become irrelevant—just our ability to comprehend the cultural meaning of space. So as ethnographers, we simply neglect it and focus on people. I am to renew attention to space in three ways—first, by re-considering the importance of cities[2] and 'places' in the context of globalization. Second, I draw upon the overlooked work of social geographer Henri Lefebvre (1996; 2004) in order to introduce a novel theoretical framework for ethnographers to investigating the cultural meaning of built environments.

Specifically, I suggest that everyday life is a procession of overlapping, often conflicting natural, subjective, and socially-constructed rhythms—circadian, biological, economic, social, even cosmic patterns of time that rule our lives. Whereas conflict between these rhythms is a source of temporally-induced mental fatigue or '*temporal dissonance*', unique physical spaces provide a sense of mental relief to the extent that they stand at the intersection or ease transition between temporal patterns. Otherwise normal built environments and physical spaces become culturally meaningful to us to the extent that they relieve forms of temporal dissonance—extracting us from the raging cacophony of everyday life.

Finally, I will examine my hypotheses in the context of an ethnographic study of two Polish sausage stands on the South Side of Chicago, near the former site of historic Maxwell Street.

The Importance of Cities in an Era of Globalization

The world became a considerably smaller in the latter half of the twentieth century. Shifting manufacturing operations from the United States and other industrialized nations to developing countries in Asia, South, and Central America created a new type of global firm, characterized by the geographic dispersal of economic activities, coupled with the need for their simultaneous integration (Sassen 1998). This made the central functions of large global corporations so complex and strategic that it became necessary for large corporations to outsource central functions to highly specialized

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[2] This paper uses "cities" and "built environments" somewhat interchangeably, which is typical in much of the academic literature on urban space. In truth, what "is" and "is not" a city is a literature in itself (Park & Burgess 1925; McKenzie 1926; Hoyt 1939). Assume that 'built environments' refers to cities and buildings within cities unless otherwise specified.

service firms—attorneys, accountants, programmers, financiers, telecommunications experts (Harvey 1991; Sassen 2001).

This new 'global' economy focuses on producing 'command and control' capacity more than mere commercial goods (Bell 1999). So one might convincingly argue cities, 'places' in general, are irrelevant in a world where economic activity is no longer tied to a single locale (Panitch 1991; Sassen 2001; Pinder 2011). But Sassen (2001) argues that this is merely half the story. Instead, select cities—like New York, London, Sao Paulo, Tokyo and others—ascend to 'global' status, driven by a few major historical and social trends. First, coordinating global operations requires vast telecommunication infrastructure, and due to the Cold War nearly all pre-1980 fiber-optic cable networks were situated around major cities. Second, global firms continued to require the transport infrastructure previously concentrated in cities such as access to railways, airports, shipping lanes, and highways (Sassen 1998; Sassen 2001). Third, an economy built on delivering elite, specialized services requires human capital to grow. Academic institutions situated in urban metropolitan areas furnish a steady supply of elite graduates, while cities with 'global' aspirations—eager to attract and retain talent—retro-engineering themselves to provide an attractive urban experience tuned to the tastes and lifestyle of wealthy professionals (Harvey 1991; Lloyd 2005).

RENEWING HENRI LEFEBVRE

Mediation: Lefebvre in His Own Words

Lefebvre describes cities as a "projection of society on the ground" (1996, 109). Physical environments, architecture, geography, and residential patterns are a *text*, encoding a dialectical conflict between two forms of social order: the *near order*—local, lived experience, culture, and social organization—and hegemonic institutions *the far order*—religion, capitalism, the nation-state (1996, 101, 114). He refers to this process as *mediation*:

> The projection of the global… on the specific plane of the city [was] accomplished only through mediation… global processes, general relations inscribed themselves in the urban text only as transcribed by ideologies, interpreted by tendencies and political strategies (Lefebvre 1996, 108).

Urban denizens are, of course, the "mediators." Those with power—politicians, wealthy business interests, civic leaders might seek influence over urban planning to inscribe their worldview on the physical stone and steel of cities. Simultaneously, there are rich local histories and community values written in murals, religious institutions, parks, and street art in urban neighborhoods. "Local acts and agents left their mark on cities, but also impersonal relations of production and property, and consequently, of classes and class struggles, that is, ideologies (religious and philosophical, etc.)" (Lefebvre 1996, 107).

At the same time, each actor is part of an institutional process, taking shape over the *longue durée*. Even actors with power are themselves agents of a larger system operating according to its own rules. "Planners," Lefebvre observes, like to "believe that they have invented the commercial centre [sic]"— but commercial centers owe their existence to the role of cities as sites of commercial exchange since

the European Middle Ages (Lefebvre 1996, 106). The commercial center appears necessary because it is institutionally ordained by the *far order*–"a *form which has become function"* (Lefebvre 1999, 107).

Cities serve as effective institutional vessels because they tend to mask tensions and contradictions in the materiality of their built forms. Buildings and monuments present the ideologies and institutions of the *far order* to people in a way that makes sense. The *far order* "projects" itself into reality by "persuading through and by the *near order*" (1996, 101). For example, consider the Dirksen and Kluczynski Federal buildings in Chicago, Illinois[3]. During a time of social unrest these grave, towering charcoal monoliths commanded a grim sense of authority. The jet-black, high-tensile bolted steel and concrete project a cold, impersonal bureaucratic authority, foreshadowing the ruthless display of police power during the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

Critical Reception of Lefebvre

The three scholars most directly responsible for resurrecting Lefevbre's work are Stuart Elden (1996; 19972004), Neil Brenner (1999; 2000), and Edward Soja (1989; 1996).

Though presented in the nigh-impenetrable language of post-modern cultural theory (Bhabha 1994), Soja (1996) faithfully combines Lefebvre with Foucault (1991) in an attempt to foreground the simultaneous "real-and-imagined" mode of existence described in Lefebvre's theory. The *near order* is part material, part mental, a symbolic projection of the *far order*. Soja's point is that people react to both in the context everyday life without distinguishing between the two—but social geographers ignore this duality. "Thirdspace," Soja declares, "is an as an-Other [*translation*: irreducible] way of understanding and acting to change the spatiality of human life, a distinct mode of critical spatial awareness that is appropriate to the new scope and significance being brought about in the rebalanced trialectices [*translation*: Lefebvre's articulation of "dialectical" materialism, involving the trifecta of social structure, history, and space]" (Soja 1996, 10).

Journeying through Los Angeles, Soja envisions various possibilities for Thirdspaces. *Exopolis*, for example, means living in a city that does *not* in any way resemble a city—the "re-invented" 'city' of Orange County, for instance, consists entirely of suburban sprawl but refuses to be called anything but a city (1996, 238). *Cosmopolis*, on the other hand, is the conscientious imposition of "global" space in local environments—like Castell's *space of flows* driven to an absurd level of concern with global 'worldliness'—think Peter Gabriel, 'Putumayo,' and 'Fair-trade' coffee (1996, 21).

At the same time, Soja, like his Los Angeles School colleague Dear (2002) seems unable to separate his interpretation from Los Angeles itself. Though he anticipates this criticism in the book, he does not offer any real dispute. "His response," Elden observes, "is to suggest that what he finds in Los Angeles is present in other places… but Los Angeles is the place where 'it all comes together.' This may be so, but to use the tools of postmodernism continually to examine one particular place… may blunt their critical edge" (Elden 1997, 47-48). Elden further argues that Soja's account is synchronic because he emphasizes spatial dynamics without fully attending to their history. Contrasting Soja with Foucault's spatialization of history, Elden argues Foucault is more effective because he actually demonstrates "how space is important in a number of ages" (Elden 1997, 47).

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[3] Designed by Mies van der Rohe in 1960 and completed in 1964.

EMERGING PRACTICES FOR RENEWAL

Elden's (2004) work investigates the influence of German Romanticism on Lefebvre, and its implications for his theory. Lefebvre breaks with Marx (1978) by asserting physical space is not just the "locus and medium" of class struggle, but the "object of struggle itself" (Elden 2004, 183-4). At the same time, Lefebvre favors Heidegger's vision of a world alive in symbol, myth, and meaning at odds with the calculative mode of rational thought imposed by Euclidean geometry (Elden 2004, 188). Though he rejects Heidegger's Romantic obsession with ruralism, he defends the Heideggerian critique of Cartesian geography as indeterminate—approximating, but not fully capturing, spatial reality (*see* Latour 1999). Geography, from Lefebvre's perspective, is therefore a political enterprise. Space is not "discovered" and "occupied," but "transformed" by a process of subjective as well as physical colonization (Elden 2004, 183). Thus, Lefebvre concludes, space cannot be physically read, so much as it must be 'lived,' or 'experienced.'

Unfortunately, this is where Lefebvre paints himself into a corner. He wants to, on the one hand, construct a metaphysical dialectic with physical space—but simultaneously argue that it produces real, physical realities which we can decode in for evidence of these dynamics at work. But the indeterminacy of this reality endangers the act of "reading" those dialectics, so they must truly be 'lived' to be 'understood.' This is the sort of talk which leads Castells (1996), for instance, to argue that Lefebvre lacks any empirical grounding. "Those seeking a stringent, consistent, operational analysis forming a coherent theoretical construction," one reviewer declares, "should not turn to Lefebvre" (Simonsen 1992, 81-2).

Renewing Lefebvre

Before distilling what I hope will be 'a consistent, theoretical construction' from Lefebvre's writing, I want to suggest there's a working epistemological framework underneath his predilection toward prosaic abstraction and borderline incoherence. In *The Specificity of the City,* Lefebvre (1996) declares that classifications of "urbanism" cannot "go without a practico-material base" (1996: 103). Taking aim at theorists for whom the urban is "a kind of imaginary transcendence," Lefebvre argues that they outline their arguments according to "a speculative mode of existence of entities, spirits and souls, freedom from attachments and inscriptions," without regard to "land and material morphology" (1996: 103). In other words, Lefebvre contends that the study of urban life has to, at some point, move beyond *mentality* and into the organization and reconstitution of physical space. He thereby expands the definition of 'urbanity' to cover the mental *as well as* the material—dare we say it, ecological processes—which "produce" urban areas.

Whereas engaging with the 'practico-materiality' of urban space requires historical and empirical methods—the same does not, in Lefebvre's formulation, apply to understanding mental life. Lefebvre understands strict empiricism has its limits, so he advocates an epistemological perspective which also recognizes the proper role of abstract, theoretical, and metaphysical knowledge. "Knowledge has hesitated in the face of creation," Lefebvre argues, "either creation appears to be irrational… or else it is denied and what comes to be is reduced to what was already existing" (Lefebvre 1996, 104).

Lefebvre is not unlike Simmel (1978), though the latter suffered considerably less ridicule when he wrote about the distinction between the empirical and philosophical. Simmel opens *The Philosophy of Money* (1978) by delineating between ontological questions positive knowledge *can* and *cannot* address—such as the absolute origin of things—which are still relevant to scientific inquiry, even if they can only be approached philosophically. "If the history of the sciences really does reveal that the philosophical

mode of cognition is the primitive mode," Simmel observes, "then this provisional procedure is nevertheless *indispensable* when confronted with certain questions… namely those questions… that we have so far been unable either to answer or dismiss" (Simmel 1978, 53). According to Simmel, "even the empirical in its perfected state might no more replace philosophy as an interpretation… than would the perfection of mechanical reproduction of phenomena make the visual arts superfluous" (Simmel 1978, 53).

Thus, according to Simmel, the 'art' of abstract inquiry provides insight into the meaning of phenomena which can't be captured through empirical measurement. Simmel justifies a *philosophy* of money on the grounds that philosophy "presents the pre-conditions that, situated in mental states, in social relations and in the logical structure of reality and values, give money its meaning and practical position" (Simmel 1978, 54). In other words, what Lefebvre refers to as the "practico-material" can be approached empirically, while the *origins of things*, the mediation and "production" of symbolic order, must be dealt with abstractly.

I could be accused of arguing that we should accept Lefebvre on the basis that he reminds us of Simmel, but their shared preoccupation with subjective and objective knowledge suggests a kindred epistemological perspective. Lefebvre must have found the 'indeterminacy' of geography highly seductive—it meant he could make the bold argument that space itself cannot be material 'superstructure,' because it I always being produced, so it must be the object of class struggle. Yet in the shift away from Marx and toward Heidegger, Levebvre acquired the latter's metaphysical baggage, but did not continue to carefully delineate between "philosophical" and empirical arguments in later writings.

But reconciling Lefebvre's epistemology doesn't address the criticism that Lefebvre does not produce a coherent empirical framework. At best, he's offered a "supplemental" urbanism that doesn't lend itself to definitive empirical tests. At worst, he proposes an impossibly complex phenomenological project (Elden 2004). Just imagine the scope of research required to decode "the *utterance* of the city; what happens and takes place in the street, in the squares, in the voids, what is said there… the *language* of the city: particularities specific to each city which are expressed in discourses, gestures, clothing, in the words and use of words by the inhabitants … the *urban language*, which one can consider as language of connotations, a secondary system… Finally, there is the *writing* of the city: what is inscribed and prescribed on its walls, in the layout of places and their linkages" (1996, 115).

One of the main problems with Lefebvre is that "'reading' a space is not like reading a book, but more like *critically* reading a book, understanding intent, power relations, and context" (Elden 2004, 192). These are the terms in which we ought to approach Lefebvre—if we force Lefebvre's argument to its logical extent, we reach the absurd conclusion that "books are written (produced), not to be critically examined (read), but to be read (lived). It would be a strange thesis," Elden reflects, "that suggested that critical reading of books is therefore invalid (2004, 192)."

RHYTHMANALYSIS

Lefebvre's Unfinished Work

I do not disagree with Elden, but my own interpretation is that Lefevbre expected to reconcile contradictory tensions among his various claims through his unfinished work on *rhythmanalysis*. In the study of rhythms, Lefebvre aspired to an empirical science of temporal modes which would,

effectively, explain how the logic of the *far order* subverts the institutional fabric of the *near order* by subtly disciplining, molding, and re-shaping the subjective disposition of urban denizens (Lefebvre 2004 3, 39, 75).

By extending the workday, Marx (1978) explains, capitalist production made time into a weapon which intensified the alienation of labor, securing the substantial measure of production for profit, rather than subsistence. The influence of shifting temporalities on alienation, Lefebvre (2004) argues, demonstrates that at least part of human subjectivity draws on the experience of time, and temporal modes. He thereby reduces the body to a complex bundle of intersecting rhythms—circadian sleep rhythms, digestion, circulation, fertility, and metabolism. In addition, he observes that these rhythms operate interdependently, hierarchically, and concurrently. There are biological time scales such as the succession of aging, growth, reproduction, and organ death—and natural time scales, like the cosmic rhythms of seasons, phases of the moon, day, and night (2004, 55).

Dressage, Alienation, and Saturday Night Fever

Lefebvre, of course, cannot resist the temptation to re-imagine Marxist alienated labor in temporal terms. "Society," Lefebvre argues, "a bitter and dark struggle around time and the use of time," a dialectical contest between the circular, regenerative rhythms of nature, and the tedious "destructive" linear rhythms of capitalist production (2005, 55, 74). Over the *longue durée,* this struggle produces new social forms, embodied in temporal modes. For example, as nocturnal activities multiply, they overturn circadian rhythms, displacing social practice into the night. At the end of the modern week, instead of the *Sabbath*, a "day of rest and piety, 'Saturday Night Fever' bursts out" (2004, 74).

At the same time, institutions of the *far order* impose rhythms on personal life for a more insidious purpose. "One breaks-in another living human being," Lefebvre observes, "by making them repeat a certain act, a certain gesture or movement" (2004, 39). Rhythms of *dressage* alternate "innovations and repetitions," producing a linear series of "imperatives and gestures [which] repeats itself cyclically" (Lefebvre 2004, 39). In other words, *dressage* creates a new "everydayness," conquering our time when contested institutional imperatives of the *far order* become an essential and absolute part of the temporal organization of life (2004, 75). The production of space, therefore, encodes itself in time to ensure 'compliance.' Something passes as *natural* precisely when it "conforms perfectly and without apparent effort to accepted models, to the habits valorized by a tradition" (Lefebvre 2004, 38-39).

Rhythmanalysis as an Ethnographic Perspective

I offer two amendments to Lefebvre's *rhythmanalysis* intended to establish a new theory explaining why built spaces become socially meaningful in everday life. In doings so, I propose a research program designed to investigate the social meaning of built environments in an empirically rigorous way.

First, I want to suggest that overlapping rhythms make conflicting demands upon our time, and traversing multiple time scales in everyday life costs cognitive energy, inducing a sense of *temporal dissonance.* Lefebvre's discussion of *dressage* implies that rhythms overlap, imposing themselves, and conflict with each other. He is, of course, obsessed with the metaphysical costs of these dynamics, but ignores the more obvious possibility—that conflict between temporal modes in everyday life is mentally exhausting.

But beyond binary rhythm of capitalist production and nature, Lefebvre concedes that time "divides itself in to lots and parcels," creating manifold rhythms corresponding to "transport … work, entertainment and leisure" (2004, 74). Every activity in life either belongs to or operates according to own hierarchy of rhythm. There is not time to do everything in life, but "every 'doing' has its time" (Lefebvre 2004, 74).

Indeed, life is not a 'symphony' but a 'cacophony' of overlapping cadences and rhythms, each competing for our time and mental attention. The work day warps its way into our leisure time, which overlaps with familial or domestic cycles—like the preparation of food, or the maintenance of vehicles—influenced, in turn, by the circadian and metabolic rhythms which dictate the needs of children. For instance, Hocschild's (1997) study of work-life balance, for example, illustrates how working adults resolve *temporal dissonance* by borrowing against their own circadian rhythms, but not without cost. Gwen, for example, becomes increasingly overwhelmed by the extension of her work day. She "used to work a straight eight-hour day. Now it is regularly eight and a half to nine hours, not counting the work that often spills over into life at home" (Hochschild 1997, 11).

Second, I hypothesize that individuals seek recovery from temporal dissonance in physical environments situated at the nexus of multiple temporal modes. Indeed, I propose that physical space becomes meaningful to us to the extent that these spaces relieve us from the ravages of time—providing detachment from the conflicting rhythms of everyday life. We love our local bars, coffee shops, and hangouts because they are intermediary spaces, positioned between cycles, which ease our transition among temporal modes, and restore our mental energy.

I devised this formulation in search of empirical measures of *temporal dissonance*, based on task-oriented diagnostics and psychological assessments designed to detect mental fatigue. Moreover, time studies and journaling can capture whether, or the extent to which, subjects experience overlapping temporal modes. The design and context of physical environments can be experimentally configured and re-configured to determine whether they truly relieve mental fatigue.

The foregoing observations of Old Maxwell Street do not incorporate these methods, which are intended for a future research project. However, the spatial and temporal dynamics observed on Old Maxwell Street demonstrate social forms associated with the presence of both *temporal dissonance* and the relief from temporal dissonance conferred by intermediary space.

(OLD) MAXWELL STREET

Background

For nearly 150 years Chicago's Maxwell Street served as a "gateway" neighborhood for immigrant communities. First settled by Europeans in 1847, Maxwell Street grew into a thriving and prominent Jewish merchant community by 1920 (Berkow 1977; Eshel 2001; Eshel and Schatz 2004). From the Southern Reconstruction of the late 1800s to the post-World War II era, migrant African-American laborers from the American South transformed Maxwell Street into one of Chicago's first truly integrated multi-ethnic communities (Berkow 1977; Grove and Makedulski 2002; Eshel and Schatz 2004).

The cinema-verité masterpiece *And This is Free* (1964) captures the liberated, anarchic, 'carnivalesque' sensibility of the Maxwel Street Sunday Market and the neighborhood itself. The Maxwell Street Sunday Market, famous since the days of its open-air pushcarts in the 1920s, the market

reached from Canal and Roosevelt to Blue Island and Racine Avenue, bordered on the south by Sixteenth Street (Grove and Makedulski 2002). It was the crown jewel of middle- and working-class entrepreneurship. Mississippi Blues musicians and Gospel singers wailed on street corners and in Church fronts before finding their way into clubs, auditoriums, and recording studios (Berkow 1977; Zashin 2002).

However, for as long as Old Maxwell Street existed, urban land developers sought its destruction. Ira Berkow (1977) traces threats to abolish the market to as early as 1905. The street shrank in 1926 when the city re-routed the Chicago River and installed new railroad tracks over the eastern end. The construction of the Dan Ryan Expressway in 1957 bisected the street and pushed the market further west. According to historian Steve Balkin, the Richard J. Daley, Sr. Administration made several attempts to 'fence in' Maxwell Street, starting with the 1967 expansion of the University of Illinois ("UIC"), followed by the development of the Barbara Jean Wright Courts Apartments, and culminating in the closure of Old Maxwell Street in 1994, led by Richard M. Daley, Jr. The 1994 campaign wiped nearly all traces of Old Maxwell Street from the map—further expanding UIC, re-branding the neighborhood as "University Village," a high-rent district. In 2008, the city moved the Market itself from Maxwell Street to Roosevelt Road.

Thus in the "production" of 'New' Maxwell Street we observe the mediation between the institutions of the *near order*—Old Maxwell Street's ethnic roots, working-class ethos etched in Blues, Gospel, and the untamed urban experience of the Market—and the neo-liberal, growth impositions of the *far order*. 'New' Maxwell street is a sterile, orderly cluster of corporate chains resembling one of Hausmann's Parisian Boulevards. The polished front façades of the old buildings, staring outward from renovated new retail spaces at bronzed statues of black soul singers and street hawkers project an awkward sense of hyper-reality. 'New' Maxwell Street is a sanitized, cartoonish re-imagination of Old Maxwell Street, compliant orderly, obedient to whims of the *far order*.

Yet, one block east of 'New' Maxwell Street, tucked against Interstate 94, the culture of the Old Market thrives as if uninterrupted, localized entirely around two curiously juxtaposed Polish sausage stands which never close, have the exact same menu, and seemingly deplore each other. Merchants beckon from tables piled high with socks, t-shirts, bootleg CDs, DVDs, and watches. Street musicians play drums and horns, street urchins hustle for money, a curious fellow wrapped in telephone phone cord chases around his pet rooster (we will later learn his name is "Chicken Charlie," and that he used to live on Maxwell Street). These two Polish sausage stands, and the intense micro-climate of cultural expression surrounding them, first provoked my interest in the relationship between built environments and time.

Observational Study: Maxwell Street Polish

Between January 25 and February 10, 2006 researchers from the University of Chicago set out to learn more about these peculiar Polish Sausage stands. They spent 2-3 days per week recording observations, shooting video footage, interviewing subjects on and off camera, collecting life histories, and interacting with patrons, street merchants, and former Maxwell Street residents. In addition, researchers met with business owners, collected oral accounts from local activists and residents, observed Maxwell Street Sunday Markets, and interviewed experts Professor Steve Balkin and Julie Grove of the Maxwell Street Preservation Society.

Jim's Original Maxwell Street Polish began as a hot dog stand in 1939 on the corner of Maxwell and Halsted Street. That same year James "Jimmy" Stefanovic—born on July 11, 1901, in Gostivar, Macedonia, Yugoslavia—immigrated to the United States, and got his start selling taffy apples on Maxwell Street. In 1941, bought the stand from his aunt, and collaborated with "Sausage King" Leonard Slotkowski to create the first Maxwell Street Polish Sausage Sandwich in 1943 (Berkow 1977). The recipe, a smoked polish sausage with mustard and grilled onions, has not changed since 1943. Jimmy's cousin, Tomislav Lazerevski, immigrated to the United States a few years later to work at the Polish sausage stand.

But before long, Lazerevski hatched his own plans. Sometime in the 1950's, Lazerevski bought the storefront across the street at the corner of Maxwell and Halsted, and opened up his own Polish sausage stand—originally named 'Maxwell Street Polish,' but eventually renamed to 'Express Grill' to avoid litigation. The sausage 'arms race' which followed created the menu and offerings as we know them today—two stands, both open 24 hours a day, offering an identical array of Polish sausages, hot dogs, cheeseburgers, pork-chop sandwiches, all with free fries and hot peppers.

Today, Jim's Original Maxwell Street Polish and the Express Grill, along with St. Francis of Assisi Church, are the last surviving institutions of Old Maxwell Street. They are the only two Old Maxwell Street businesses still operating in the wake of City Hall's 1994 'slash and burn' redevelopment efforts. Equipped with the financial means to fight relocation in court, the stands settled with UIC in 2005, moving to Union Avenue, adjacent to the Dan Ryan Expressway.

Researchers observed three distinct social, spatial, and temporal suggesting the presence of both *temporal dissonance* and the restorative effect of socially significant space. First, the stands operate at a nexus of conflicting, overlapping social, professional, and commercial rhythms—creating tense social formations which are both realized and relieved in the presence of the Polish sausage stands.

University Village businesses operate according to strict zoning laws, which the stands won partial exemptions to in their court battle. So while surrounding businesses, save for a handful of sports bars, shutter promptly at around 6:00 P.M., the stands continue on into the evening. As local residents retire from their work day, evening work crews, truck drivers, and construction workers if all stripes are clocking in, grabbing a Polish sausage for 'lunch' on the way to work. Wednesday through Saturday, corporate professionals in dress casual flood the stands at around 8:00 P.M. to make a quick gastronomic transition from the happy hour bar scene to the late night club scene.

As the activity continues into the night, Police become more prominent. Black squad cars and police vans encircle the block at relative intervals, eager to dispense warnings for broken tail-lights, noise violations, or 'drunk and disorderlies.' By 10:00 P.M. the old Maxwell Street residents trickle in, some from the underpass adjacent to Maxwell and Union. The street vendors set up merchandise tables soon afterward—hawking bootleg clothing, DVDs, CDs, socks, and other goods.

Then an interesting chain of events, as coordinated as a wedding waltz, begins to unfold. The merchants break down shop, pack up their goods, and return to their vans. The police circle by and, finding nothing, proceed on their routine nighttime patrol. Once they are gone, the tables snap back together and commercial exchange continues. The waltz continues on a regular cadence until around 3:00 A.M., when the club crowd arrives, and sets the entire block ablaze with cars, music, and bodies. By 5:00 AM, all traces are swept away, a few stragglers happen by, and the sausage crews settle in for the morning rush.

This gleeful procession repeats itself, in an orderly fashion, 3-4 times a week without leadership, organization, or any discernible planning. I believe it is possible, and perhaps only possible because the

stands, by remaining open 24 hours a day, synchronize these various social rhythms. Where it cannot, locals develop unique modes of temporal negotiation, like the 'waltz' observed between the police and street vendors.

In other words, the Polish sausage stands do not simply mediate between the *near order* of Old Maxwell Street and the *far order* of University Village, they provide safe harbor from the imposition of *dressage*—with its curfews, loitering laws, and noise regulations. The fanfare of Old Maxwell Street operates concurrently within the spatial confines of University Village's regimented urban shopping district, because the stands operate *outside* of any real schedule and in all schedules at once. They're simply *always open,* and, as a result, liberated.

Second, this allows the stands to function as a spatio-temporal anchor point—a pilgrimage site, if you will—for diverse leisure routines. It is simply not 'a night out' until you make a visit to the Polish sausage stands—they are the geographic capstone on a thousand evenings. Researchers observed a remarkable diversity of patrons from all manner of social strata—wealthy couples in overcoats on their way home from the symphony, urban bikers on a quest to disrupt traffic, goth-rockers, skinheads, skateboarders, white-collar workers, construction crews, ravers, Euro-clubbers, North Siders, South Siders, frat guys, hipsters, and everyone in between. When we interviewed subjects, many remarked it was not simply the food—there are plenty of places to purchase fast food in Chicago—but the food coupled with the journey itself. One subject, who we nicknamed 'Cigar Guy,' remarked, "I come late at night—get my girl a couple Polish, get me a couple, get my other girl a couple. You know what I'm saying? We going to do the damn *thang* tonight!"

Third, subjects report that the Polish Sausage stands serve as a cognitive and historical anchor point to residents with memories of the old neighborhood. They continue to return to the stands for their entire lives because, for a moment its sounds and smells transport them backward in time. Jim's Original owner Jim Christopolous reflects—"Sunday changed… the feeling of the market. But even today, we still get people coming from the market over here to eat. Even after Jim's relocated from the northwest corner of Maxwell and Halsted Streets, he marvels at the fact that "today people come here. I mean, the food, I know, brings back memories to people… they'll say 'oh yeah, my father used to take me down [here] to buy boots, shoes, suits at the old market,' and they always get a Polish sausage." Displaced, longtime resident Leonard affirms this story. "He would feed us. Back in the day, when we didn't have money, he would take us up to the shoe store, buy us shoes." "I remember when Howlin' Wolf used to be there," recalls Jesse, another resident. "On the corner and stuff, yeah! That brings back—aww, man—now you gotta go to a club to see these guys… You'd hear these guys doing their Mississippi blues and stuff like that. [*Sighs*] it was pretty cool."

These accounts illustrate another form of restoration from temporal dissonance. Socially significant built environments resurrect and preserve memories long overwritten by history. The Polish stands are not music venues or museums in and of themselves, but they provide a deeply felt moment which renews engagement with a long gone past. Hence, they are monumentally significant to an entire generation of former Maxwell Street residents.

CONCLUSIONS

These brief observations of Maxwell Street's Polish Sausage stands are intended demonstrate two things. First, that conflict between forms of rhythm in urban life results in *temporal dissonance*, a kind of mental and cognitive fatigue. Second, built spaces have restorative abilities when they ease the

transition between impinging rhythms, function as geo-spatial anchors in temporal routines, and relieve the mental ravages of time by reconnecting individuals with past experience.

More broadly, this paper offers a formulation of the relationship between built environments and mental life that lends itself to empirical research. Future contributions will analyze the results of experiments designed to test of the presence and extent of *temporal dissonance*, while measuring the remedial effects of built environments.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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EMERGING PRACTICES FOR RENEWAL

The Ethnographer Unbounded: Considering open source in corporate environments

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Technological advances that enable seemingly endless information sharing, as well as various counter efforts that attempt to limit and control access to information, have prompted us to reexamine how industry-based practitioners of ethnography promulgate their research. A comparison of two distinct professional experiences reveals how varying degrees of information "openness" impact ethnographic work. One occurs within a large corporation in which research is proprietary and confidential. The second is an open source project supported by a Knight Foundation grant. In doing so, we aim to discern which elements of open source ethnography have beneficial applications in corporate environments. We present a "layering model," as well as a set of questions to consider, as a way of determining which aspects of ethnographic research should be shared and with whom.

OPENNESS TODAY

Introduction

We are currently working in an era of friction, as information is increasingly unowned and untethered, there are more efforts to control it, and attempts to increase stringent restrictions and laws trying to curb the right to information. Controversies regarding open access to information have recently fomented a series of protests, for example, against legislation such as PIPA/SOPA and the Research Works Act. Even professional organizations, such as the American Anthropological Association, are struggling to decide how open to make information (Boellstorff 2012; Golub 2012). These debates have led us to question how we, as practitioners of ethnography, promulgate information. Ethnographers in both the public and private sector can blog, tweet, pin, comment, bookmark, and share information across a multitude of open (available to all, at no cost) online platforms. These tools help spread ideas, promote ethnography, enhance collaboration, and further one of EPIC's central aims to "promote public recognition of practicing ethnography as a profession.[1] We argue that in addition to recognizing the profession in the public sphere, ethnographic research itself should be promoted, as openly sharing content such as interview transcripts, analysis, commentary, applications, and resulting deliverables may also benefit practitioners and the public in surprising ways.

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[1] http://epiconference.com/, accessed April 6, 2012

With this in mind, we set out to explore how "openness" of research impacts our own ethnographic work by comparing two distinct professional experiences. The first occurs within a large corporation, in which almost every stage of work is undertaken internally and confidentially. The second is an open source project, funded by a Knight Foundation grant, relying on collaboration across several public institutions. By comparing these projects, the authors explore the benefits and the tensions of working on "open" projects and seek to learn which elements of open source have beneficial applications for ethnographers working in corporate contexts. We then propose utilizing a "layering" model, along with a set of questions, that can help disentangle the openness issue. The amount of information that is shared, with whom, in which formats, at what times, are framed as questions which practitioners can ask themselves at any given point in a project to assess whether sharing information would be beneficial or not. The depth and breadth of sharing can be considered on a project-by-project basis, at multiple project stages.

We aim for openness because "closing" ethnography threatens to widen the gap between ethnographic output and a public audience; to stifle opportunities to make meaningful contributions to a wider variety of public and social issues; to stagnate interpretations of ethnographic data over time; and to limit the formats of ethnographic data representation in the public domain. All of these shortfalls splinter ethnography in the public eye, or worse, render it mysterious or meaningless. The fact is, technology and open access models are changing the way we work and communicate, and it is not a choice of whether or not to jump on board, but simply to what degree and how.

Information Societies

Living and working in an industrialized nation with widespread broadband access, we find ourselves in an "information society," where information and its circulation are at the center and where a system of social relations are oriented toward the production, commoditization, circulation and manipulation of information (McSherry 2001). It will never be more difficult to copy digital material. Legislators, corporations, and academic organizations can oppose open information exchange, yet technology makes it inevitable. Cory Doctorow writes, "Just as the industrial economy wasn't based on making it harder to get access to machines, the information economy won't be based on making it harder to get access to information...the more IT we have, the easier it is to access any given piece of information" (2008, 59).

In addition to ease of sharing information, the boundaries around online privacy, in the sense of regulations, corporate policies, and individual user attitudes, are shifting. "It is no longer controversial to say that the future of cultural production will be open. The fact that open models that rely on the unpaid contributions of users are surpassing proprietary models in terms of usage and even quality, means that industries that rely on proprietary business models are feeling increasingly threatened. As Wikipedia surpasses Encyclopedia Britannica and Linux outperforms Microsoft on servers around the world, these industries are struggling to adapt" (Ford 2009, 34). Heather Ford cites Charles Leadbeater who, in a 2005 TED talk says, "The reason why despite all the efforts to cut it down, to constrain it, to hold it back – why these open models will start emerging with tremendous force, is that they multiply our productive resources. And one of the reasons they do that is that they turn users into producers; consumers into designers."

EMERGING PRACTICES FOR RENEWAL

Definitions and Models of Openness

Openness and accessibility to information is a spectrum rather than an open/closed dichotomy. As we move forward in the discussion of how open our work as practitioners of ethnography could or should be, it will be useful to clarify the range and definitions of openness and ultimately, the benefits and consequences of conducting research with various degrees of openness.

Open Access (OA) generally refers to literature that is "available online to be read for free by anyone, anytime, anywhere – as long as they have Internet access" (Crawford 2011). According to Peter Suber (2012), Director of the Harvard Open Access Project, "OA removes *price barriers* (subscriptions, licensing fees, pay-per-view fees) and *permission barriers* (most copyright and licensing restrictions)." The moral argument for Open Access claims it removes barriers to information, rendering knowledge accessible to rich and poor alike. It lays the "foundation for uniting humanity in a common intellectual conversation and quest for knowledge" (Crawford 2011, 9). Daniel Miller (2012) calls for the development of Open Access for anthropological books and journals and critiques the way we have "ceded control of dissemination to inappropriate commercial concerns." HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory and Journal of Business Anthropology are two relatively new examples of open access social science journals. Many blogs about ethnography would also fall under Open Access, including Ethnography Matters and Savage Minds, for example.

Open Source also promotes free redistribution of work, but in addition, promotes access to an end product's design and implementation instructions. Most commonly used to describe free access and distribution of computer software, open source projects are usually peer-produced and maintained by collaboration. Open source projects always include the source code or "blueprints" and documentation at no cost to the public[2]. Creators give "customers control over the technologies they use, instead of enabling the vendors to control their customers through restricting access to the code behind the technologies" (Young 1999, x). Neither open access nor open source models translate directly to opening ethnography in corporate environments. However, we will use them as starting points to imagine openness within corporations and possibilities for various forms of open corporate ethnography. The source material of ethnography, for example, could include raw data (audio, video, written transcripts and translations), analyses in the form of domains, themes, or trends, background context and goals of the work, and applications or implementation of the work. It might also include final reports, presentations and opportunities for feedback.

This concept of openly sharing work is not completely foreign in corporate contexts. Ethnographers have been using participatory design or co-creation, and more recently crowdsourcing, to engage stakeholders, including employees, partners, customers, citizens, or end users etc. to participate directly in the creation of new products and services offered by a company to help ensure the product meets needs, is usable, and adds value (Howe 2006; McCracken 2009; Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2004; Schuler & Namioka 1993).

To dissuade thinking in absolutes of "open" and "closed," we propose a layering model that shows degrees of openness and helps us consider which data to make accessible and to whom in projects. There are at least three sets of layers to consider. One, layers of data; what kinds of

2 http://opensource.org/docs/osd

information are being shared. The shallow layer is sharing little ethnographic work. This might mean only distributing final reports or presentations. A layer out might include analyses and themes that provide a deeper context for the project. Further still, is sharing more work such as description of methodology, screeners, etc., then the last layer would be sharing all work including certain raw data, such as transcriptions, audio/video recordings, and interview instruments. Two, layers of sharing; who will have access. "Open" does not always have to mean full public access. For example, it could include a white paper on findings that is shared with other departments in your company, or sharing analyses with other practitioners through an online group. Three, layers of time; when is it appropriate to share information, from before a project starts, towards the end, or after its completed. It is through the interplay of these layers of data, participants, and time that corporate ethnographers may find emerging opportunities to open up their research in beneficial ways. This model allows us to consider options of openness on a project by project basis.
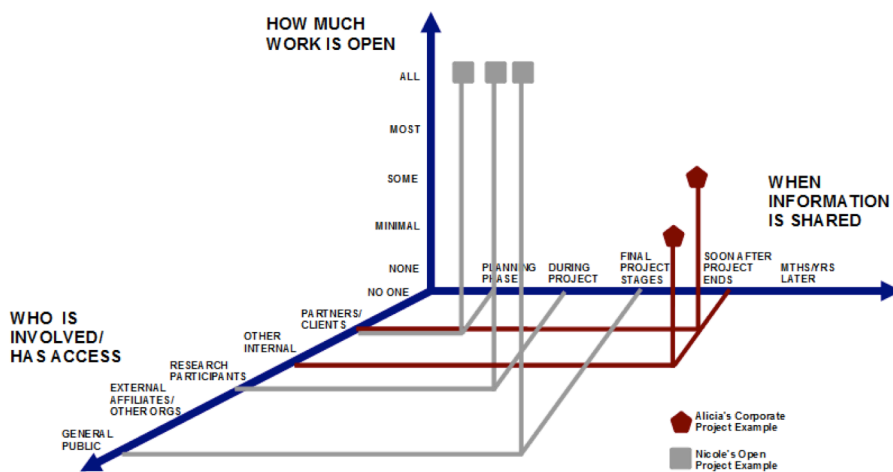
FIGURE 1. Layering model that shows examples of what kinds of ethnographic information can be shared, at different stages of a project, and with whom.

COMPARING PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

To illustrate how different kinds of information sharing and openness affect ethnographic work, we describe two contrasting work experiences. The first occurs within a large corporation, in which almost every stage of every project is done internally and confidentially. The second is an open project funded by a Knight Foundation grant, involving collaboration across public institutions.

Case Study 1: A Corporate Ethnography Experience

Dornadic speaks from her experience doing "consumer-centric research" in-house for the research arm of a large property-casualty insurance company from May 2010 to February 2012. All

stages of all research activities were proprietary and executed under confidentiality constraints. Dornadic's experience is not unique. Ethnographers employed by corporations are often bounded by legal obligation to not disclose research data or resulting analyses and conclusions. "Some limitations on access, topics, and documentation are common in all types of ethnographic work…in corporate work…these kinds of constraints are bureaucratically embedded. They are also driven by competitive concerns about intellectual property, privacy, and image" (Jordan 2009, 102).

The steps to undertake an ethnographic study in Dornadic's experience might unfold as follows. Initial scope of study and goals are either determined independently, meaning within the research center, or with internal partners from various departments across the organization. For example, an internal client from the Marketing department might approach our team asking for feedback on a new web-based auto insurance quote concept with Baby Boomers as their target customer segment. Recruitment of participants is done internally, usually initiated through our network of contacts. We release minimal information to recruit, sufficient to receive informed consent from research participants. Before starting the study, we have research participants sign a non-disclosure agreement (NDA). Even when we reveal little or nothing about the insurance company's process or products, when all information is one-directional, meaning information comes solely from participants to the corporation, we still have them sign paperwork first. This sends several messages: 1. The participant's knowledge and time are so valuable to the company we do not want them telling anyone else what they share. 2. They can trust us to protect their privacy. We do not want external competitors to know about the study, and we will not reveal any of their personal information 3. We can take legal action if they betray the rights of the company; we have a certain legal power and authority over them.

All analysis and report writing is done internally within our team. We immediately share information with internal partners if the work had been initially requested by them. This usually takes the form of a PowerPoint presentation and conference call to review findings and recommendations. Anonymity is granted to research participants, however, it matters little as we, the researchers, are the only ones who ever see the raw data transcripts and rough analysis. We rarely share research findings with participants unless it is to help clarify our findings or to initiate a following stage of research. If subsequent brainstorming or workshops are desired, we translate research findings into design fodder, usually in the form of research patterns (bullet points), quotes, and images, and continue an iterative design process of brainstorming and testing concepts with new research participants. Work for internal clients is often reactionary and attempts to answer specific questions. It is unlikely that we remine data or that the data can continue to grow or be used in future projects. If the research is initiated within our group, we continue the design process independently until the research is "ready" to be released to other groups within the company. We are reluctant to share information that was not yet finished or to share underdeveloped ideas in fear that other groups would misappropriate or reject it. Our release of data across the organization is extremely controlled. Employees need to be granted access into our department's folders to see our unfinished work, and rarely, in my experience working at the company, does information extend beyond the corporation. Even an initiative from senior management to strive for Open Innovation (see Chesbrough 2011) resulted in careful information management. External partners have to sign NDAs and are given information on a "need-to-know" basis.

Case Study 2: An Open Ethnography Experience

Conand managed a collaborative project between the local television station CreaTV San Jose and the San Jose State University Anthropology department, publicly funded by the John and James K. Knight Foundation between 2009 and 2011. The purpose was to uncover models of civic engagement being explored and utilized in Silicon Valley by individuals whom the team referred to as "SparkPlugs," or leaders in their respective communities who create change. One of the SparkPlugs, for example, is the head of De-Bug, a media, community organizing and entrepreneurial collective in San Jose. By setting out to create a multimedia resource, freely available in the public domain, about Silicon Valley community engagement, the team also experimented with alternative, digital media-based forms of anthropological data representation. The ultimate goal in this was to reach a wider, more diverse audience who could then use that resource to support action.

From the onset, it was decided that efforts would be made to ensure the project was as open as possible, meaning collaborative in process, and accessible and sharable in outcome. Conand's team also wanted to share as much of the raw data as was possible and relevant. Participants were not given anonymity, volunteering to participate with the knowledge that their experiences would ultimately be shared in an open access forum. The project team conducted semi-structured interviews with all participating SparkPlugs regarding their use of technology, organizational forms, information exchange, and networks used in their respective engagement work. The analysis of these would help inform a more structured instrument to utilize in later filmed interviews. After conducting the subsequent film interviews, all footage was edited down to an eight minute vignette per SparkPlug, based on analytical categories developed by the team. A public film screening and discussion was held in San Jose to showcase the project, and a website was developed where the project would be housed. The website includes: the finished film vignettes, description of how the project was developed, project team member profiles, bios and video interviews from regional experts to provide context, analytical themes, interview transcriptions, and a brief survey in order to continue collecting public feedback.

The film screening and website were key modes of information distribution. The screening and discussion about Silicon Valley SparkPlugs took place at a local theater shortly after the completion of the project and included participatory activities. In this way, the project team members, the SparkPlugs themselves, as well as the audience experienced the project outcome together, publicly. The event included a brief question and answer session with the seven individuals who were featured in the vignettes acting as the panel, fielding questions from audience members. Finally, it closed with a group activity to engage the audience. The research team had prepared questions on large format posters regarding civic engagement that the audience could respond to by brainstorming ideas on Post-Its. While this seems very low-tech, it created a very tangible and visual process of sharing information in such a large group. Quickly, the front of the room was covered in colorful Post-Its as a very visual sign that ideas had been generated. The concepts and suggestions that came from this activity provided insight for a second phase of the project. Ideally, the project and the event goal was to incite action, but at the very least, for people to leave that event talking about what they had seen, heard, and thought about, connecting with each other. It served the dual purpose of making people feel good (even if they did nothing with the information after that screening) and helped the researchers move into the next phase of their project by using the output of the event as data.

The website, the main channel of communication about the project, was developed in a way that allows for layers of the project to be uncovered, depending on an individual's level of interest in the

project. For example, an interested community member could visit the website, watch one or more vignettes, and then be done with it. Another might find the vignettes interesting enough to want to watch the contextual videos, or read more about the participants. Beyond that, there may be fellow ethnographers who find the project relevant to their own work, and would like to look through the transcriptions or theme analysis for deeper investigation. To summarize, this model of openness allows for various levels of engagement and discovery by multiple interested parties, from the layman to the seasoned researcher, who can use or share the research as they see fit.

While the focus was on openness, it is essential to understand that there were activities undertaken to manage content. For example, it was decided early in the project that the interview transcripts would be shared on the website, and therefore it was necessary to review the transcriptions and edit them in order to ensure they were appropriate for the website as an open source, public document. The process included editing grammar and punctuation (for example, there are no commas in speech, the researchers decided where to add them), editing out repetition, asides, "hems and haws," unnecessary interviewer dialogue, as well as mentions of embarrassing or harmful information. Names of other people (besides the participants) and organizations, and places or words in other languages were changed, translated, or clarified. Since these individuals trusted Conand's team and participated in the project knowing there was no anonymity, it was important to the team to ensure they were presented in the best light.

CONSIDERING APPLICATIONS OF OPEN SOURCE ETHNOGRAPHY IN CORPORATE ENVIRONMENTS

We had initially wanted to make the case that open is always good and closed is bad. We came into this discussion with the assumption that opening up data could increase corporate transparency, enhance goodwill, and increase corporate accountability. Henry Chesbrough (2011), who coined the term *open innovation*, has been suggesting that businesses "open" for the past decade. He says businesses should make more use of an open iterative process, be more multidimensional in collaboration and integrate the customer more centrally into the web of collaborators. We wanted to show that sharing ethnographic research makes corporations more transparent, efficient, legitimate, and trust-worthy, however, the benefits and drawbacks we found through our comparison are in fact more subtle and nuanced.

What Corporations Can Gain by "Opening Up"

Corporate ethnographers can enhance their research by conducting open source ethnography. In particular, we saw open sharing of ethnography as an opportunity for ongoing learning, new partnerships and ways of working, and new forms of data representation. The open source nature of Conand's project increases the potential for continuous learning and multiple feedback loops. As the interview transcripts and video footage "live" online, there is endless possibility for how it can be expanded and appropriated in the future. The SparkPlugs website includes a description of the project, its intentions and goals, the researchers' backgrounds, and the data collection and analysis process along with the data, so that their methods can be repeated and their data be remined for new purposes. The work maintains rigor since its context and background information are included with the raw data

and results. Although the SparkPlugs project has ended, there is no expiration date on the data. Dornadic, often frustrated by the short shelf life of her ethnographic work in corporations, can imagine this as one possible solution to the "one-off project" problem in which a quick turn-around project is undertaken to answer specific questions and then is forgotten shortly thereafter. Open information can be shared internally across the organization and can be reexamined when new questions arise or new projects commence. A site could be created where information is collected, donated, or borrowed. It could be referred to in future projects, workshops, or planning meetings. The same effect can occur if information is shared more broadly, with external partners, for example, or with the public. We need not release every design spec and conclusion to obtain interesting or useful information or feedback.

When researchers share ownership of their data it opens up new ways of working and new partnerships, be it with colleagues, research participants, organizations, or the public. Conand created a network of organizations that became involved in the SparkPlugs project. Individuals from these organizations were brought together for her project and she could rely on them, as they could on each other, for help or information in the future. We can imagine corporate collaborations occurring across organizational departments where they may not have occurred before. We can imagine joint corporate projects, where multiple organizations benefit from sharing data and learning from each other. We could imagine groups that started outside the corporation being brought in as partners to share ideas and information. This has the potential to influence organizational processes. When we are not limited by proprietary and confidentiality boundaries, there is greater potential for learning.

Creating new partnerships, both inside and outside the corporation, is beneficial because it infuses projects with more brain power, garnering more ideas, and possibly a larger variety of ideas. During the SparkPlugs film screening and brainstorm session, Conand was able to get a theater-full of people working on the topics and problems that came from the research. The information collected from this session helped inform the next stage of the project. Rather than the usual process of filing away data and rarely sharing back with participants, let alone the public, discussions and brainstorming with participants led to insights that would not have otherwise been gleaned. More inclusive models of brainstorming allow for feedback loops, more points of evaluation of a project or process along the way, and a more holistic planning process in general.

Including research participants and the public in the process had an empowering effect. The SparkPlug research participants enjoyed sharing their stories publicly, feeling a renewed sense of purpose in their work, pride, and validation that their work is important enough to be documented on film and shared online. If the research were proprietary and confidential they would not have had the opportunities to discuss and share with each other or in public with a large audience. In the corporate realm, Dornadic's research participants know very little about how their information will be used later. They are less involved overall, have less at stake or claim to the project, and it is more difficult to build rapport and ongoing relationships.

The SparkPlugs project is an example of bringing ethnography into the public realm. Ethnography here takes a very accessible and familiar form – short online videos. As online forums provide the space for data to be accessed, they also allow for different forms of data representation to be utilized. Thinking beyond the familiar forms of essays and white papers can increase the opportunities for a larger audience. "There are clearly genres within anthropology where we have failed to properly convey or disseminate our results because we have ignored the potential to use sound, animation, and other expressive genres that can be placed online to complement written texts" (Miller

2012, 389). The film vignettes in Conand's work are an ethnographic investigation of community engagement work, but are condensed into bite-sized chunks of visual data that are accessible to a general audience. Because the participants knew from the beginning that all information would be filmed and publicly available, sharing the video online was never contested. If practitioners are serious about the desire to promote public recognition of ethnographic practice and its applications, then the utility of the online forum, and the accessibility of different forms of representation, say video or graphic, should be recognized and more widely utilized. Within a corporate setting, experimentation with data representation can occur based on project type, participant involvement, and audience, be it internal or external to the organization.

Why Corporations Should be Cautious

As optimistic as we are about open ethnography, we understand the limitations and risk associated with it. Recruiting and obtaining consent from research participants, for example, may be more difficult in corporate contexts. Research participants may already be suspicious of the motives of a corporation and hesitant to share information when it remains confidential and private. They may not want to be publicly linked to the corporation, which would make it more challenging to recruit. However, for those participants who are uncomfortable being associated with a particular company or have hesitations to share personal information, there are other strategies to employ. Pseudonym strategies, which are common in anthropology, allow for contributions to be made and shared while retaining privacy. Participant anonymity and an open source agenda are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Ethnographers must understand that open source ethnography increases risk for the corporation and the participants. Sharing the "source material" such as raw data and project descriptions is arguably the most dangerous proposition. Information may be misappropriated, abused, or linked to the organization's strategic plan, dulling its competitive edge. Corporate ethnographers already find themselves in an ethical tug-of-war where, "The practitioner must negotiate an intricate balance between the interests of the clients who commissioned the work and those of the community being studied" (Kedia & van Willigen 2005, 16). The ethnographer must be especially sensitive to privacy issues, "realizing that the potential for abusing the researcher-informant relationship is high" (Kedia & van Willigen 2005, 18). Research goals, uses of the information, and inability to control information must be clearly discussed and understood by the participant.

Even expanding the reach of ethnographic research in-house, trying to extend sharing across the organization can have drawbacks. Grant McCracken (2009, 11-12) describes a "death by committee" scenario in which there are too many internal processes that will kill an idea before it fully materializes. He gives the example of Geoffrey Frost who joined Motorola in 1999, who recognized the Razr as a promising product and therefore kept it secret to the company itself. He concealed it from the corporation, reaching out to only a select few, claiming the phone was a "brand builder" and would not make money. He did this to protect the product from the organization's own internal processes that might have led to the delay or cancellation of the product. Once released in 2004, the phone did well. In 2005, it sold 20 million units and by end of 2006 sold 50 million.

GOING FORWARD

Stepping Out in the Open

Perhaps, at this point, you are wondering if you should try to open up, or make freely available, your own ethnographic work, or to build an open source ethnography project from scratch. A critical (and perhaps less daunting) first step in considering openness in corporate contexts would be finding beneficial opportunities to disseminate ethnographic work more widely across the organization, to internal employees. Despite McCracken's example, distributing work across organizations has the potential to spark new collaboration and innovations (Kanter 2006; Chesbrough 2011). At each stage of each project, one can consider whether it is beneficial to share work openly and with whom, other professionals, colleagues, research participants, or the public.

Questions to Consider Open Ethnography

We propose a set of questions which can help clarify which elements of a project might benefit by being open so that more projects can be open from the beginning. These questions can be repeated over the length of a project as goals and information-gathering activities change. We argue that increasing accessibility to ethnographic work has the potential to enhance research, project outcomes, partnerships, and make ethnography more relevant in the public sphere. Accessibility and usability of ethnographic data (format, style, description of methodologies etc.) will impact how ethnographic data are used.

Q1: What do we hope to gain by opening up?
- To establish new networks of partners?
- More inclusive and diverse brainstorming process?

Q2: How sensitive is the topic area?
- Are people willing to share on this topic?
- Could it potentially cause harm?
- Are there legal limitations to sharing? (e.g. research in a medical clinic)

Q3: Who should be involved?
- Internally within the organization?
- Externally, across organizations?
- Truly open source, co-created and maintained by anyone?
- When and to what degree in the process?

Q4: What materials should be shared?
- Who might benefit from each piece of information?
- Is there potential for misappropriation?

Q5: When in the process should sharing occur?
- Are there benefits to sharing earlier in the process?
- Does it make more sense to wait and share more developed results?

Q6: Who has access?

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- Is it limited to similar organizations and professional colleagues?
- Could it include clients, customers, and the general public?
- Are they passive receivers of information or active participants? What is their role?

Q7: What formats are there for sharing data?

- What is the most appropriate format for the audience/participants in question?
- What will have the most impact? What will be most accessible?

Q8: How do current organizational processes limit or enhance opportunities for sharing?

- How could sharing change organizational processes?

CONCLUSION

Our reasons for advocating on behalf of openness are to improve research projects, longevity of project outcomes, achieve increased inclusiveness, and increased awareness of ethnography in the public domain. Furthermore, we hope to enhance the research process itself and encourage ongoing institutional learning, rather than fragmented studies with limited data. Most importantly, making ethnographic work open and accessible is not an all or nothing proposition. There are degrees of openness and a wide range of channels for distributing data, formats, audiences, and times to share. The authors ask only that you consider open source opportunities in your own work, and incorporate new methods as appropriate.

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Visions of Renewal

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The works in this session all participate acts of envisioning the future. These visions, however, are not mere ocularcentric hand-waving. No TED-style broad proclamations here. Each piece is grounded in specific evocative materials. One takes concrete—literally, concrete-- as a site of envisioning what constitutes sustainability. Another investigates paper, space and embodied action as ephemeral materials that enact collective healing after a disaster. A third resituates "the digital" in relation to populations, social fields and city space to renew notions of civic participation. Through careful attention to materials, social processes and above all context, these papers all get beyond notions of vision as brash proclamation, and render new social dynamic conceivable in contextually-sensitive ways.

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Concreting Sustainability: Renewing the cement industry through sustainability implementation

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While the cement industry had traditionally been linked to the concepts of modernity and development, the drive towards socially responsible and environmentally friendly business practices has required a revision of the industry mostly in relation to its sustainability programs. This paper examines the logics followed by employees when relating to the concept of sustainability as sustainability programs are implemented in the cement industry. The interaction with different stakeholders in combination with personal convictions about ethics, power, environment and participation in a team influence how an individual understands sustainability policies and makes them concrete.

> Hard and Soft
> Beautiful Concrete
> The next time it rains, go out and touch some.
> Kingwell 2008, pp. 2-4

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL SUPPORT

Sustainability, according to the United States Brundtland Commission (1987), has been broadly defined as "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." However, this broad definition is hard to grasp and the road to implementation requires far more detailed actions. How are the needs of the present and the future negotiated and defined by all interested actors in the traditional industrial sector? In the case of the cement industry, the transition towards sustainability has required finding specific pathways to make it concrete and palpable. This industry is located at a challenging crossroads where economic, environmental and social considerations seem to part ways while at the same time conform the triple bottom line of sustainability (Savitz & Weber 2006): Socially, concrete is positively linked to the concepts and practices of development and progress by providing materials for infrastructure building; economically it represents a very attractive market; and environmentally, it is responsible for significant negative impacts though potentially lower than other building materials such as wood and steel. The global cement industry accounts for about 6 percent of all anthropogenic emissions of carbon dioxide, which is a leading greenhouse gas involved in global warming (McCaffrey, 2002).

The research that supports this paper took place within Cemex, one of the largest cement companies in the world, between May, 2009 and December, 2010. My aim was to unveil the meaning making process that employees followed when faced with new policies regarding sustainability implementation. This paper shows how the ethnographic tracking of sustainability policies as they are negotiated and implemented in the cement industry allows for an understanding of the cultural change

process that the introduction of sustainability requires. I describe the logics followed by employees when they give meaning to the abstract goal of becoming sustainable as it is implemented in Cemex in the context of competing interests. Stakeholders play a paramount role in shaping policies and their interpretation by different groups of employees influencing either the economic, social or environmental aspects of the triple bottom line that represents sustainability in business. At the same time, employees' personal priorities and experiences filter all of these.

For cement, the opposing forces that shape sustainability can be clearly identified: while the growth of the cement industry addresses the economic and social dimensions of sustainability, it has a negative impact on its environmental dimension (Owens & Cowell 2002). During most of the XX century cement construction represented the advancement of civilization through the expansion of the urban lifestyle symbolically expressing the strength of progress through the use of reinforced concrete in infrastructure as has been studied in the case of Mexican cement (Gallo 2005). However, there have been various calls for the adoption of sustainability measures to reduce the CO_2 emissions that accompany cement production and for industry leaders to engage with their communities to tackle social challenges.

In 2004, Cemex subscribed to the Global Compact, a UN sponsored policy group which companies can voluntarily join to address the Millennium Goals that are heavily involved with sustainability broadly defined. Through this and other similar commitments, Cemex has engaged with sustainability initiatives for some time. However, its systematic implementation can be tracked as far back as 2000. The industry is undergoing a process of renewal that goes from reviewing the production process to modifying the uses of cement and the aesthetic propositions that it enables. Even the profile of new employees goes beyond the traditional bottom line concern to look for environmentally aware and socially responsible individuals.

Stakeholder theory (Freeman and Reed 1983)[1] states that the firm should be managed in the interests of the firm's stakeholders (Bowie 2008). Though it implies a normative guideline and an ethical position, stakeholder theory offers a particularly useful analytical framework for this research since it allows the introduction of multiple actors working together at the juncture of negotiation and/or domination. The stakeholder theory acts as a theoretical framework that explains the introduction of policy makers, experts, bankers, NGOs and others as important actors who participate in giving meaning to sustainability recognizing the potential capabilities of different publics (Warner 2002), which in this case are constituted as stakeholders. Hence, treating publics as stakeholders implies that they share a discourse regarding a particular interest regardless of how active the group is at a certain point in time. Similarly, in this paper it is assumed that stakeholders can be constituted, spatially and discursively, only in relation to sustainability concerns who derive their existence through the dominant narrative around it.

Tracking the interactions of Cemex with the relevant stakeholders was thus a useful way for me to track sustainability that enriched and complicated the ethnographic approach. For ease of communication with the business audience and to establish rapport with informants as well, I framed

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[1] A stakeholder can be defined in a wide or narrow sense; the wide sense of stakeholder is used in this research: "Any identifiable group or individual who can affect the achievement of an organization's objectives or who is affected by the achievement of an organization's objectives" (Freeman and Reed 1983).

the analysis as a case of stakeholder engagement where I take stakeholder theory as an analytic. In this way, the stakeholder approach acts as an analytical tool and at the same time, as a discourse that was deployed and performed to engage informants. Similarly, the engagement with policy makers, experts, bankers, NGOs and others can be facilitated through stakeholder discourse. Additionally, the triple bottom line's aim of meeting economic, social and environmental goals as explained by business authors (Savitz & Weber, 2006) is a relevant idea because it refers to how these can compete and merge at the same time; the concept of the triple bottom line influences policy and management strategies followed by informants.

The anthropological interpretation of how employees give meaning to the concept of sustainability, though framed by stakeholder theory and the triple bottom line as a business proposition, requires room for a wider interpretation that avoids normative standards. To this end, I consider the responsibility that sustainable behavior entails as one of the commitments that citizens face by being a part of a society. In this case, it is helpful to refer to the social contract (Rousseau 2003) to which corporations and individuals implicitly subscribe to by participating in society. Taking the social contract as the point of departure, my tracking exercise follows how the meaning of sustainability evolves within the organization from an abstract concept into very concrete and measurable parameters oriented to business performance. Furthermore, the emergence of the sustainable subject in Foucauldian terms (Agrawal 2005) along with the disciplining technologies which have become a part of neoliberal audit culture (Strathern 2000, Rose and Miller 2008) are helpful when analyzing how employees give meaning to sustainability. Applying stakeholder theory to sustainability helps the industry to transform and respond to current market requirements; it also transforms the meaning of sustainability to adapt to profitability parameters that can be expressed in measurable terms.

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

At the time the research was conducted, the cement industry was undergoing a process of transformation. The industry leaders had been participating in the Cement Sustainability Initiative (CSI) (http://www.cement.ca/en/WBCSD-Cement-Sustainability-Initiative.html) with the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD). At the same time, Cemex was facing changing market conditions and financial trouble related to a recent acquisition; however, the Sustainability Director was interested in the potential benefits of qualitative research that would complement the information provided by established key performance indicators to better communicate the sustainability initiatives and engage employees and external stakeholders through it. Employees were faced with changing administration styles and with the introduction of new policies that sometimes changed the way their jobs had been done for a long time. These changes required adaptability from all the interested parties and provided a special showcase for organizational change that allowed me to gain insight into the sustainability implementation process. The project was made possible thanks to the open door policy of the company towards stakeholders, and specifically, to academics interested in it.

The company allowed me to conduct interviews, participate in meetings and observe daily tasks in multiple facilities located in three countries: Mexico, the United States, and the United Kingdom. These countries occupy important places in the corporate landscape; Mexico is where the company

started and continues to be a relevant market, the American market is very attractive due to the widespread use of concrete in infrastructure, and the British environment showcases the regulations that characterize the European markets. Each country has very different traditions that enrich the project. I replicated the methodological steps followed by Fortun (1999): tracking, triangulating, accounting for paradox and power in the three countries.

Cemex provided office space and meeting rooms endorsing all communications and providing me with technical and safety training to properly participate in all business areas. While my aim was to unveil the meaning making process that employees followed when faced with new policies regarding sustainability implementation, it was also necessary to balance this goal with the company's interests. In order to provide the company with measurable deliverables compatible with management expectations, I reported partial findings to each country's management team after spending time with employees in the different business units while maintaining continued communication with the corporate headquarters.

Given that Cemex executives and employees were not familiar with this kind of investigation, a research guide was created describing the nature of information that would be gathered through open ended interviews and participation in multiple operating activities. It was important to convince informants and colleagues to co-participate and co-produce the project (Beers, Stinson and Yeager 2011). Hence, the research design was a collaborative effort where the employees at the highest level would suggest which facilities, members of each team, and activities or meetings within the next few days would be particularly rich or representative of sustainability in their area of responsibility. From there, the employee in the following hierarchical level would do the same, and then the next one until ready mix truck drivers, kiln operators and quarry shovel drivers would be reached. The interpretation of sustainability that each person had become evident through their suggestions and their points of view shaped the direction of the research while minimizing the risk of the researcher shaping the results of the investigation. I was able to witness the key interests that drive a negotiation by conducting ethnography at the interface (Garsten 2010) beyond temporal and spatial definitions. I placed myself at the point of interaction of the employees with the stakeholders with whom they regularly deal where the negotiation between bottom line reasoning, markets and moralities (Garsten 2004) was taking place.

Overall, a total of 220 interviews were conducted. 60 employees were interviewed in Mexico in various locations around the city of Monterrey including those in the global headquarters of the company. Another 60 employees were interviewed in the US in several facilities, mostly around the Houston area where the US headquarters are located. 110 interviews took place in the UK, in multiple locations mostly in England and including some external stakeholders representing environmental organizations, journalists, government officials and neighbors though mostly focusing on employees. These were complemented through the participation in meetings and training sessions, informal conversations and detailed observations of the different sites.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The implementation of new policies and the introduction of concepts such as sustainability into global organizations require a complex strategy where cultural processes, geographical and legal contexts are taken into account. In the case of the implementation of Cemex's Sustainability

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Management System (SMS), a mix of administrative, communicational and training tools have been used to pursue an organizational transformation directed to embedding sustainability into the day to day operations of the company at all levels. The goal of the SMS is to contribute positively to diminish the social disparities where suitable, to operate respecting the environmental constraints of our planet while continuing to care for the interests of shareholders, and to consider the long term carrying capacity of the planet while also providing a platform for the continuing operation of the company. The tracking exercise included interviewing the people responsible for the introduction of particular initiatives related to five areas: Environmental, Community Relations, Conservation, Health and Safety and later following the channels for their distribution in the selected regions.

The sustainability communication strategy included sharing with employees in different business areas and regions how the five avenues would contribute to the important goal of transitioning to sustainability. Employees had to be trained by the company to learn that sustainability performance is an important business parameter not only due to regulatory frameworks but also to meet the challenge that socially responsible companies and individuals need to account for in the context of the Global Compact and the WBCSD Cement Sustainability Initiative (2009). In addition, investment and research decision making processes had to be adapted to reflect the company's commitment to sustainability. The goal of the SMS has been expressed in the Cemex sustainability model, called Smart World Together, which focuses in competitiveness, impact reduction and stakeholder outreach. In summary, their Smart World Together model portrays the adoption of the triple bottom line that adapts according to the interests of the multiple stakeholders.

However, the basic question remains: What does it mean to the employees when a company vows to be sustainable? While the company clearly follows a managerial approach to sustainability; the multiple interests at stake are weighted differently by the members of the organization. Figure 1 shows a sample of Cemex's employees' varying interests as they were mentioned during interviews. As can be appreciated in the figure, the mix of interests that an individual has can vary according to priorities and circumstances. Additionally, the interactions with other people, either as such or in their capacity as representatives of different groups, introduce additional complexity, since the saliency of interests can be related to their constant reference through social interaction.

Those interacting with employees have their own set of interests in addition to the interests of the organization to which they belong and represent, and both sets of interests influence the outcome of such interaction. It is through interests that a common ground can be established to engage in conversation and an empathic relationship can be developed. The space where the individual ratifies shared interests and membership of multiple stakeholder groups is thus flexible and strongly resembles the public sphere where it is difficult to distinguish a public from the public (Warner 2002) at the abstract level, though it also offers concrete spaces for negotiation.

Any exchange refers to the constant balance of everyone's interests, and implies their negotiation and communication. Figures 2 and 3 respectively show the set of stakeholders that employees and Cemex have according to the descriptions of employees throughout the company. As can be appreciated, many of them are the same; however, not all employees interact with all the company's stakeholders and each person has a particular set of experiences, beliefs and commitments that shape the interactions in which she/he participates giving more or less weight to different interests. A very personal process takes place when an individual gives meaning to a particular action or policy. There are three layers of meaning making mechanisms that overlap at the personal level which interviewees, usually unaware of the process in which they are immersed, followed: First, the

Figure 1 Individual interests

superstructure apparatus that informs the individual's context where constraints, regulations, paradigms and assumptions historically and geographically defined surround the person, enabling certain interpretations and not others. Second, the affective dynamics in which the person is involved including stakeholders near and far. And third, the ethical dimension that guides which interests will be weighted higher in each decision.

Not only is the employee making a decision based on his/her interests, but considering those of others following an intricate process which resembles the expectations and considerations framed by adherence to an imagined public and affinity with a stakeholder group. Warner (2002) describes that though some have tried to define a public in terms of a common interest, a public is also self-organizing by its own discourse, uniting strangers through participation that reshapes subjectivity around co-membership. Similarly, employees as individuals affectively engage and participate with various stakeholder groups interacting with multiple sustainability discourses that impact their subjectivity, leading to interpretations of what a sustainable subject is according to the perceived membership of a group and their shared interests.

Figure 2 Stakeholders with whom the person interacts

Figure 3 Stakeholders with whom Cemex interacts

At the company level, Cemex implements the SMS strategically responding to key stakeholders through the offering of sustainability-related concrete commitments tailored to their interests, hence transforming the broad promise of becoming sustainable into context-specific measures. While all the areas of sustainability are being developed in all countries, some important differences emerge as a consequence of this adaptation. Cemex Mexico prioritizes social programs such as the sponsoring of community centers and promoting the program "Patrimonio Hoy" within the sustainability umbrella recognizing the interests of neighbors and the housing needs of low income groups. Cemex US focuses mostly in energy saving efforts partnering with the EPA through the *Energy Star* program; and the UK establishes new accreditation mechanisms such as the "Carbon Label" that account for low carbon emissions given the importance of carbon reduction for the regulatory agencies and the environmental groups in that region.

For employees, these concrete promises are sometimes directly related to the working environment but also to the community's quality of life at a more general level; employees are members of the community and at the same time, they deal with external stakeholders on behalf of the company. Similarly, Cemex employees also are impacted by the needs of the corporation, the fading hope in a supportive welfare state, the uncertainty of the conditions of the future regarding their jobs, and also their life expectancy, as even the planet is undergoing rapid deterioration. The desire to trust others and to establish reliable relationships, the drive to improve one's condition and surroundings, and the anxiety of not being able to control any of these are some of the facts that are faced by both Cemex and its employees. In addition, the increasing adoption of auditing and accreditation mechanisms that privilege quantification and metrics in the context of business management and government policy shape not only sustainability implementation but the employees' subjectivity, leading to the emergence of an accountable and transparent sustainable subject.

According to the nature of the interests that prevail when giving meaning to sustainability, six meaning making logics were identified through the analysis of the data as described in Figure 4. Only four of these logics effectively result in sustainability becoming meaningful to the person: the market, hope, relationship and conscience logics which will be described below. However, two other logics emerged from the data showing how people who reject sustainability policies follow a denial or pessimistic logic.

The same practices are often interpreted and given meaning in various ways even by colleagues in the same department. Similarly, not only one meaning making logic is followed by any person all the time; according to the sustainability initiative being discussed and to the particular circumstances that the individual faces at a given moment, the meaning making logic used varies.

POSITIVE LOGICS

I refer to the meaning making logics that result in the employee effectively relating to sustainability related initiatives and engaging with them as positive logics.
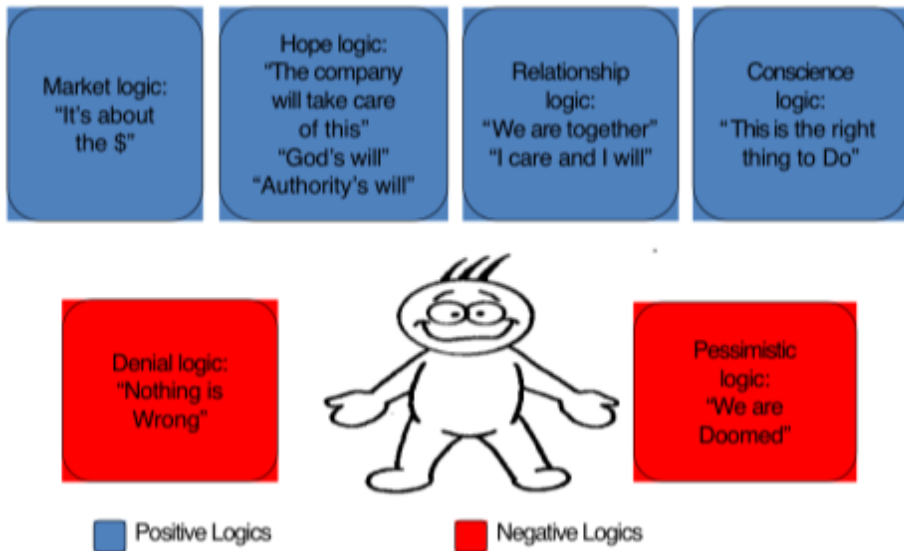
Figure 4 Meaning making logics followed by employees

Market oriented logic – "Sustainability makes business sense"

This logic was found widely across the organization, mostly at the managers' level, though it was also displayed by operators at times as in the example below. Employees who follow this logic consider that sustainability is relevant as long as it is profitable. These persons have naturalized market dynamics to the extent that they filter their decisions through this lens without hesitation; they generally consider that if sustainability makes sense in business terms, then it must be adopted or that it is the reason for implementation. Economic considerations seem to mediate sustainability transactions and they are used to translate sustainability actions among stakeholders or organizational levels. For example, an operator in a cement factory explained after being asked about the new environmental policies being implemented in the plant: "The environmental programs make us more efficient, we take care of the environment but the company saves, and this is important in busines." Similarly, following a market oriented logic, the perceived need of conforming to competitive market standards regarding sustainability acts as a driving force in combination with the need to comply among many executives. For example, one UK manager stated the following: "Though sustainability used to be mostly about compliance, there has been a huge cultural shift towards green building in the market, and that has also become a driving force".

Hope-human oriented logic – "Trust in human capacity to solve problems"

This logic was followed by employees in all geographic regions. Employees who follow the hope logic seem to believe in the capacity of humankind to successfully address the social and environmental challenges of our time. They trust authority and institutions such as the government, giving the public

sector an important role in enacting policy; or top management, placing the private sector as one of the key forces to put policies in place and evaluate their effectiveness. When people have this kind of confidence in institutions, they often support the managing technologies that emerge from audit culture, considering them the manifestation of the effective controls that can guide us towards sustainability. In relation to this, a top executive explained how: "We need to figure what credentials we need as an organization beyond the license to operate". Their engagement with sustainability derives from their respect of these superior forces. Members of various stakeholder groups sympathize with these views, since they share similar interests with regulators or the environmental groups *RSPB* and *Conservation International*. Interestingly, many employees in the UK mentioned the state as a capable entity that not only could and should enforce sustainability measures, but that was already achieving a positive change. A UK union representative explained: "Through the years, there have been changes in regulations and we do things differently. We then got the training and became aware and changed the mindset". In contrast, in the US and in Mexico, it was more common to listen to employees referring to the positive changes that society could accomplish through the activities of the private sector. For example an operator in Mexico said: "The cement from our company has always been known for its good quality, but then, it is not that we were polluting, but we got the ISO 14000 certification to put procedures in place that avoid risks of pollution" which was a voluntary company effort.

Hope-divine oriented logic – "God will help us get out of this problem"

Another stream of hope oriented employees followed a logic that placed the power to attain sustainability in divine hands. Under this logic, the employee trusts God to solve current challenges while adhering to its mandate as a religious commitment. Mostly, it was employees in Mexico who followed this logic, though there were also a few in the US but not in the UK. The interests of the church as a stakeholder group are compatible with those who follow this logic.

There is an important contrast between the two hope oriented groups given that the first one reflects a belief in the spirit of modernity where man is able to achieve progress and improve quality of life for all through either the private or public sector, while the second one displays the importance of God and his intervention to attain better living conditions on earth.

Relationship oriented logic – "My peers would not accept differently"

For the employees who followed the relationship logic, the belonging to a community is important and defines the way they give meaning. This logic was shown by employees across the organization. They talked as members of a group and considered themselves to be responsible; in addition, they often expressed an expectation of reciprocity or recognition from their peers as well as a sense of ownership. The belonging to a community referred here to being a part of the working unit at times, but also to being a part of the surrounding neighborhood, or to mankind. For example, another kiln operator explained the changes in the kiln operation and his participation in it: "See, I started working in the kiln, and we were looking for ways to be efficient. Today, we try to be productive and do it by saving energy when operating the kiln". Neighbors, media representatives and environmental organizations as stakeholders who promote the interests of the community are satisfied when this logic is displayed during interactions with them.

Conscience oriented logic – "It is the right thing to do"

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The conscience logic is followed where normative thoughts take precedence for the employee. This means that sustainability actions 'ought to be done' because of ethical reasons and these employees interact with others who relate to sustainability without expecting something in return besides a shared responsibility and recognizing the intrinsic value of some initiatives. Though this logic was not as frequently followed as the others, it emerged throughout the entire organization. For example, an operator who was describing the benefits of alternative fuels said: "We have changes, now we are burning tires, and that is good because the tires are not biodegradable and they stay there forever if we don't burn them". Among stakeholders, this principled stance is valued when it can endorse their interests.

Most of the examples given in this section were taken from the kiln operator interview pool, and their close connection with environmental issues is evident. Their constant exposure to environmental control systems and the training which they have undergone shapes their views. At the same time, it is possible to appreciate the diverse interpretations and priorities that this group has. Other groups of informants would offer different examples and their closeness to environmental issues would probably be different. However, the diversity of logics that kiln operators followed resembles the diversity found among the other groups.

In many instances, employees used several logics when explaining the relevance of a sustainability initiative. For example, an employee in a cement factory who was referring to the installation of energy saving devices in a kiln said: "When they came to install the new equipment, they trained us and then the new materials started arriving. And, you know, it is good that they came because it is better for the planet if we use tires, and it is all right because the kiln works and it cost less", mentioning a conscience logic and a market logic argument that support his appreciation of the change being considered "good", it is possible to appreciate how all priorities and interests are being assessed simultaneously.

There were also a few employees who would express the balancing of competing logics and interests of multiple stakeholders. One of them, a manager who had just been told that he had to reduce the working force of his area, explained: "They (upper management) need to improve their financials, but now I need to face the guys in my team and let go a couple of them. How can I explain that we as a company care for the well being of the community and the environment when we cannot even retain these good people who have been working together for so long?" This kind of statement rarely came up during the interviewing process, but it clearly shows how it is not always possible to satisfy all the competing interests and priorities at play.

NEGATIVE LOGICS

There were two meaning making logics followed by a few employees who refused to engage with sustainability initiatives and I refer to them as negative logics.

Denial logic – "Climate change is a hoax"

The denial logic was only followed by a few employees in the US. Given that climate change has become a political issue in the US, it is understandable that this logic was only shown there. These employees would not recognize the existence of social or environmental problems requiring action. As an example, there was a truck driver who said: "You know, it is only the media that talk about climate

change, but what climate change are they talking about? There is no need to stop driving or saving gas, it has been the same forever".

Pessimistic logic – "The world is about to end"

Similarly, a few US employees believed that sustainability measures are not helpful in overcoming the current planetary challenge. For them, it is too late to avoid the consequences of humankind's historically bad environmental behavior and they do not accept the possibility of a positive outcome through sustainability implementation. For example, an old employee in the maintenance department in a US plant talking about the environmental alternatives that society had said: "The only thing we can do now is to pray; we are beyond redemption and we need to just stop and ask for forgiveness, since the end is near". This position contrasts sharply with the widespread belief that most people expressed about the possibility of achieving sustainability through committed stakeholders working together in the US and elsewhere.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper provides help in achieving an understanding of sustainability implementation as an example of organizational change and its obstacles when a company engages in a process of renewal; namely, the importance of communicating about sustainability to multiple groups not only according to their context, but to the multiple meaning making logics that are followed. The shaping of sustainability in Cemex is being influenced by various stakeholders with whom different departments throughout the company interact. While market policies are strong in this case, and the market logic is often used as a translation device, the green-cultures are also widespread.

By considering the meaning making logics, it is possible for the company, the advocacy groups, and all stakeholders to tailor communication strategies about sustainability to promote their interests, expressing them in terms of meaning making logics. Stakeholders might take different approaches to influence implementation and to spread a particular view, tailoring communication to the identified logics. In the future, the human resources department might select candidates who display positive logics about sustainability. The stakeholders that benefit from audit culture such as regulators, inspectors and experts are currently in an advantageous position to impose their construct of sustainability given the business structure that privileges measurable key performance indicators when coping with sustainability challenges.

The audit culture mechanisms have transformed the understanding of sustainability through their introduction into the business culture as shown here for the cement case. They have taken sustainability from an ideal abstract stance that refers to general guidelines of caring for the planet and future generations and made it tangible. Through audit culture, sustainability has become concrete, allowing for the triple bottom line to be met and for the socially responsible sustainable subject to emerge. Measurable referents and concrete goals are privileged over philosophical discussions on how to better take care of the planet or what the basic needs of those living on it are. As an adaptation of the promise of modernity, sustainability today offers a manageable future that makes the improvement of living conditions and eternal growth possible when respecting certain parameters, while also preserving the market economy through its naturalization. The discussions about the viability of the consumption society and market economy are postponed while the car culture and the fossil fuel

economy continue to be a part of the landscape. At the same time, the built environment begins to show the new standards that align with sustainability definitions. Sustainable subjects are emerging; they make new environmental and socially responsible practices a part of their daily tasks, populating the industry according to their own interpretations. Whether market oriented, hope oriented, conscience oriented or relationship oriented, most employees affectively engage with the sustainability policies being introduced as defined by widely accepted mechanisms such as the Global Reporting Initiative.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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VISIONS OF RENEWAL

Role of the Ephemeral in Recovery and Renewal

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Installed during the Tohoku earthquake relief fundraising event, CONCERT FOR JAPAN, at Japan Society in New York City on April 2011, the Luminous Washi Lanterns *was a meditation and celebration of renewal through light and impermanent materials. The paper examines the role of the ephemeral from the ancient to contemporary Japanese culture, collective experience during an ephemeral performance, and translation of traditional Japanese renewal rituals into a piece that engages a diverse range of people outside of Japan. How can designers instigate a process of renewal following a disaster in manners that engage people of all ages and backgrounds in a collective healing experience?*

INTRODUCTION

How can designers instigate a process of recovery and renewal following a disaster in manners that engage people from a wide spectrum of backgrounds? Following the March 11, 2011 Great Tohoku Earthquake, my students and I faced the challenge of designing an interactive, temporary installation that would become a part of earthquake relief fundraising concert at Japan Society in New York City. Constructed and installed during the Tohoku earthquake relief fundraising event, CONCERT FOR JAPAN, at the Japan Society on April 9, 2011, The *Luminous Washi Lanterns* was a celebration of renewal and recovery through light and impermanent materials. The work explores and celebrates the ephemeral, fleeting nature of materials traditionally used in Japanese rituals and events. The lanterns were designed as a part of an intensive design studio class at Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) over the four months preceding the event. Over the twelve hours of the concert, the students ran a workshop to teach hundreds of visitors with varying skills and age levels to fold the lanterns and collectively hang them. The participants were also given an opportunity to write wishes or make drawings for the survivors on *tanzaku*, a piece of paper traditionally used for writing poetry, and tie them on bamboo frames along with their lanterns.

The project raised these additional questions:
1. How can traditional renewal rituals of Japan be translated into a work of art that engages people outside of Japan?
2. How do impermanent materials such as paper provide a sense of renewal in Japanese culture?
3. What form of participation will allow the makers as well as the viewers to be renewed and empowered?

The paper will examine aspects of Japanese culture that were translated in a contemporary American context, the design process of the *Luminous Washi Lanterns*, and the outcome and impact of the installation.

VISIONS OF RENEWAL

1.   **Luminous Washi Lanterns installed in Japan Society's atrium**

EPHEMERALITY IN JAPANESE RENEWAL RITUALS AND EVENTS

In Japanese language, the word for the ephemeral is 泡沫(pronounced *houmatsu*), meaning 'a bubble on surface of liquid', indicative of the intimate connection between the ephemeral and nature. Renewal rituals and built environments have been intrinsically tied in Japanese culture since the ancient times. Every twenty years since 785, the *Naiku* and *Geku* shrines at the Grand Ise Shrine have been dismantled and rebuilt to the exact specification on an adjacent site next to the old structures. This is consistent with Shintoist understanding that nature lives and dies, that it is continually renewed and reborn. The belief in the impermanence of all things, the process of constant renewal, has been at the core of Japanese environments.

In his book *Japan-ness in Architecture*, architect Arata Isozaki argues that while the Greek temples' stone columns with entasis (slight convex curve of its shaft) is said to be preserving its root to having been made from a bundle of plants and attempts to attain permanence by being built in stone, Ise omits this transubstantiation. Isozaki says Ise sustains identity through repetition:

> At Ise…the rebuilding-and-relocation scheme of twenty-year cycles embraces a biological model of regeneration. In order to preserve life, forms are generated and regenerated isomorphically. In this manner, Ise ensures a replica of itself, daring to retain those impermanent elements such as *hottate-bashira* (massive bearing columns without stone bases) and thatch of miscanthus. In the process, architectural and ritual impetus strive to preserve identify through maintenance of an archetypal form (Isozaki 2006:145).

Ise's renewal ritual and the duplex mechanism of renewal in which the new shrine is constructed adjacent to the old, is explained and analyzed in great deal in Gunter Nitschke's essay "Daijosai and Shikinen Sengu - First Fruits Twice Tasted". In this essay can be traced reasons why impermanence is

valued in Japanese culture. Nitschke claims that that the sanctuaries in earliest phase of Shinto had no permanent shrine buildings, but "the layout and rites were structured by the dynamic, non-stationary quality of the agricultural deity, which was venerated as a mountain deity in winter and a field deity from spring to autumn." There are rituals for calling down the deity from the mountain, and a separate set of rituals for sending the deity back up the mountain (Nitschke 1993:23-24). These deities did not live permanently in one place but came and went with seasons. This might help to explain why the Japanese are highly aware of changes in natural surroundings and why holidays and rituals are intimately connected to the seasons. It may also elucidate why passing on of rituals from one generation to another may be more valued than the permanence of materials or buildings. *Luminous Washi Lanterns* installation is as much about the rituals and collective experiences through passing of rituals as it is about the physical work of art.

In everyday life, no other ritual exemplifies Japanese ephemerality as a cherry blossom viewing. Anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, in her paper "Cherry Blossoms and Their Viewing: A Window onto Japanese Culture", traces the background of cherry blossoms to its roots in the agrarian cosmology in which the deity of the Mountains comes down from the hills to become the Deity of Rice Paddies. As cherry trees grew in the mountains, cherry blossoms symbolized the sacred mountains (Ohnuki-Tierny 1998:214). Over Japan's history, the elite established their own identity through their rituals of cherry blossom viewing, accompanied by elaborate rituals of drinking, feasting, and composition and reading of poetry. *Manyoshu* (759 A.D.), the oldest collection of poems in Japan, contains references to cherry blossoms, and other poems about rural areas by unknown poets also embraced them (Ohnuki-Tierny 1998:219). In wartimes, cherry blossoms took on a Nationalist symbol. The military government used the beautiful, short life of cherry blossom to urge soldiers to die for their country.

Today, cherry blossom season is associated with spring, the season of renewal and rebirth; it is the start of the school year, the fiscal year, and the time of new hiring at companies. For people of all classes, farmers and urbanites alike, cherry blossom viewing holds an enormous importance to companies and families. There is a frenzy of excitement every March as viewing and festival take place starting in the southernmost islands of Okinawa moving north to Hokkaido (Ohnuki-Tierny 1998:224). The occasion is a collective ritual used to strengthen the group bond, whether they are families or coworkers (Ohnuki-Tierny 1998:231).

Japan is one in a small number of countries to officially designate the title of National Living Treasure to a living person practicing a craft. While the US and other countries bestow such status to historic monuments or parks, which are then placed on the National Historic Register, Japan designates people who embody intangible cultural values as National Living Treasures. There is greater value placed on the process or craftmanship associated with making of the artifacts than the artifacts themselves(Hakomori 2002:86). These people will eventually age and die, so these treasures are impermanent. However, what is preserved and protected are the processes and skills that are passed on from one generation to another.

Yo-ichiro Hakomori, in his chapter "The Sacred and the Profane in *Matsuri* Structures" writes how the *matsuri*, seasonal festival specific to local harvest and cultural traditions, embody Japanese Shintoist and Buddhist beliefs in the ephemerality of all things and beings.

> The ancient Japanese made no clear spiritual distinction between gods, inanimate objects, natural objects, and human beings. Many natural objects such as large

> stones, mountains, the sun and large trees were thought to possess spirituality. Natural phenomena such as the wind or thunder were thought to possess spirituality. Great man-made products, such as swords or brilliant mirrors, jewels, and sometimes the shrine structures themselves, were also believed to possess spirituality (Hakomori 2002:79).

If spirituality can be possessed by wind, stones and shrines alike, this provides insights into questions why permanence is not as highly valued, why there is a high level of craftsmanship in humble materials such as paper or rope, and why permanence and impermanence are both highly valued.

There are various types of matsuri structures, which are all displayed or carried by festival participants only during the few days of the festival. These temporary structures are believed to mediate between the sacred, the deity that descends from the mountains during the festival, and the profane, the townspeople (Hakomori 2002:78). The deity is taking temporary shelter in a portable shrine that is festively carried around town, so it becomes understandable why preparing and construction of the structures are done with great attention and care.

There are many examples of small, temporary structures in Japanese culture that grow as public participants add to them. At shrines, visitors buy paper *omikuji* (fortune telling paper strips) which they tie to trees on the temple yard or a wooden scaffolding that is built hold the paper strips. On July 7, for the *Tanabata* star festival, children decorate bamboo trees with paper garlands much like a Christmas tree, though with a shorter lifespan of a few days. Following the tradition of writing short poems, children today write wishes on strips of paper, or *tanzaku,* and hang them on the bamboo branches.

Washi is the Japanese term for handmade paper (*wa*=Japan, *shi*=paper), most commonly made with *kozo* (mulberry tree) fibers, which are some of the longest of all papermaking fibers. While they are 'delicate, wafer thin, translucent, soft and absorbent,' they posses strength as a result of the long fibers, and have many uses beyond writing and printing. They are also used to make fans, dolls, clothing, umbrellas, and *shoji* and *fusuma* room divider screens. Handmade washi is said to possess "a certain *kansei*, which roughly translated means the paper is imbued with the maker's character, his perceptions, his attitudes, his feelings, his outlook and his generations of inherited skills" (Turner 1991:36-37).

OBSERVATIONS & REFLECTION PRECEDING THE INSTALLATION

My own experience of growing up in Japan provided insight into the role of paper in the aforementioned rituals, and observations of people and temporary constructs further confirmed my instinct about using washi in this installation. *Washi*, or which are often used to build spaces and objects, is not intended to be permanent. The washi that provides translucent sheathing for the *shoji*, the wooden lattice partitions in Japanese architecture, is ritualistically torn off and reapplied every December in preparation for the New Year. The house is renewed through replacement of this impermanent material; it is a form of cleansing that signals a new start. In this spirit, the *Luminous Washi Lanterns* was designed so that the participants fold the washi lanterns and leave a written wish to be collectively hung and illuminated for a short period of time. They are then taken down so that a new life can begin.

From a young age, I have had a fascination with festivals or seasonal events that take place around

temporary structures. Growing up in Tokyo, I looked forward to seeing wooden scaffolding, strings of lanterns and food stalls go up in the public parks and parking lots in preparation for summer *Obon* festivals, when families came out at night to eat, dance, and play. In the springtime, people gather with bento box lunches and sake under the cherry trees. The delicate blossoms on the branches overhead are admired while the falling pink petals create natural confetti. At night, the parks and temples illuminate the trees for another kind of experience. As an architect, it is fascinating to observe what makes people occupy and enjoy these seemingly undesigned spaces so naturally. While not permanent structures, faint pink blossoms create an overhead enclosure, and the beauty of it is in its impermanence, the knowledge that this is a fleeting moment that will pass with the short life span of the flowers.

Similarly, a scaffolding holding hundreds of paper lanterns creates walls or overhead canopies that define spaces for activities such as dancing and eating. After a few days of the festival, the lanterns come down, turning the parks and temple yards back to their everyday states. The materials may be gone, but the memory of the experience and the illumination, along with the anticipation of the event recurring a year later, makes a permanent mark in people's imagination. Besides the knowledge of cultural rituals, is there something about the luminosity of the lanterns and the petals that captivates people to come out and stay almost spontaneously? What about the temporary nature of these spaces make these experiences so memorable?

Design ideas for the *Luminous Washi Lanterns* also surfaced in 2009 and 2010 when I taught a class called 'Light in Japanese Architecture' at Japan Society. During the 45 minute class, 3" by 7" screens made by children using tracing paper and basswood were assembled to form an enclosure on top of a table, and illuminated from within to reveal shadows of the wooden lattice. Paper cut out in shapes of human and animal figures were placed inside to cast shadows on the screens, and the lamp was moved close up and farther away to show how the shadow's size and crispness change. When the room is darkened and the attention is focused on the illuminated space on the table, the mood of the children is both delightful and contemplative. There is a sense of delight because the play of shadows, like shadow puppets, are interactive and fun to watch, and the children take pleasure and pride in knowing that they contributed to the project that is captivating a roomful of their peers and adults. It is also contemplative because the darkness and the focused light visually and mentally shut out the chatter that is outside of the small, luminous world on the table.

The results from the class suggested an idea for a larger scale installation that assembled parts made by individuals into a larger whole which would then be illuminated. The participatory nature of the project created a sense of community that seemed appropriate at a time following a disaster. It also revealed that the illumination of the paper screens created a place of gathering and contemplation.

METHODS OF ENGAGEMENT AND CULTURAL TRANSLATION

Three means of engagement were employed in the *Luminous Washi Lanterns* installation to engage people who may not be familiar with Japanese culture: use of rituals, gathering around source of illumination, and writing as a means for coping and renewal.

It may be said that production and proliferation of cultural heritage outside of the native country is often effectively done through rituals. Sylvie Guichard-Anguis writes about the production of artifacts that connects to notions of "Japanese culture" outside Japan: "People are not only asked to

watch cultural producers but to be part of the process as producers themselves in this culture." By learning how to arrange flowers in *ikebana* or by participating in martial arts or festival performances, the participants become cultural producers (Guichard-Anguis 2001:212). These rituals, she points out, often focus on creation of the ephemeral as a cultural production and use impermanent materials such as paper, powdered tea, flowers, and parades in festivals. Ritualistic aspects of these arts are passed on from one generation to another, both inside and outside of Japan (Guichard-Anguis 2001:214). One might say that ritualistic aspects of Japanese heritage make it possible to imagine there are experiences representative of Japan which are ever-evolving and adaptable to being performed outside of Japan.

The second method of engagement was through the use of illumination as a place of gathering. Philosophers and architects have called the space around fire as a place where the first gathering of people occurred. I quote from *The Psychoanalysis of Fire* by philosopher of science Gaston Bachelard:

> To be deprived of a reverie before a burning fire is to lose the first use and the truly human use of fire. To be sure, a fire warms us and gives us comfort. But one only becomes fully aware of this comforting sensation after quite a long period of contemplation of the flames; one only receives comfort from the fire when one leans his elbows on his knees and holds his head in his hands (Bachelard 1964:14).

Around the fire, humans built a hearth, which became both the physical and the symbolic center of a building. In 1851, architect and theorist Gottfried Semper said in The *Four Elements of Architecture:*

> The first sign of human settlement and rest after the hunt, the battle, and wandering in the desert is today, as when the first men lost paradise, the setting up of the fireplace and the lighting of the reviving, warming, and food-preparing flame. Around the hearth the first groups assembled; around it the first alliances formed; around it the first rude religious concepts were put into the customs of a cult (Semper 1989:102).

Visitors during CONCERT FOR JAPAN at the Japan Society gathered around the lanterns in the atrium as the sun went down and quietly contemplated as if they were sitting around a fire. They were comforted by the illumination emanating from the field of lanterns, the long fibers of mulberry trees softening the glow of electric light.

Lastly, the act of writing was used as a means of collective engagement and healing. In the past few decades, studies by psychologists have demonstrated the healing effects of writing about emotional experience. Studies of people who disclose deeply personal thoughts through writing have overwhelmingly shown that the writing is a valuable tool in healing from trauma. Professor James W. Pennebaker, the Chair of Psychology Department at University of Texas, Austin, has written extensively about the healing effect of writing. Writing has found to have benefit on immune functions, significant reduction in distress, and increased performance at schools and workspace (Pennebaker 1997:162). In his paper "A Social Stage Model of Collective Coping: The Loma Prieta Earthquake and The Persian Gulf War", Pennebaker explains how the cognitive act of putting the experience into words affords insight or perspective: The social act of communication with other people opens channels for affinitive benefits (Pennebaker 1993:131).

Though the experience of writing during CONCERT FOR JAPAN occurred over one day and was shorter than in James Pennebaker's study which was conducted over days or weeks (Pennebaker 1997:164), reactions of people at the event suggest that writing wishes to the victims of the Great Tohoku Tsunami had the similar healing effects on the writers. Writing on tanzaku paper during the Luminous Washi Lantern installation provided a place for people to, however brief, put their thoughts to paper. Some did so privately while others discussed amongst their friends and family for what they might wish. While some people identified their *tanazaku* with their name, others left them anonymous.

2.   **Paper folding and wish writing workshop during CONCERT FOR JAPAN**

Pennebaker's studies of coping following the 1989 Loma Prieta 6.9 magnitude earthquake showed that the frequency of quake-related thoughts and talking by the survivors dropped sharply after two weeks of the quake, which he calls the *emergency phase*. Beginning the second or third week to about the 6th week following the quake, they wished to talk about the disaster again but did not want to be an audience to others' quake-related thoughts and feelings. He calls this the *inhibition phase*, and this is the time that social conflicts, disturbing dreams and health problems surface. After about the 6th week, in the *adaptation phase*, thoughts and talk both drop significantly (Pennebaker 1993:133-134). CONCERT FOR JAPAN occurred four weeks after the quake in Japan. The participants in the installation were past the stage of constantly thinking about the quake but still desired to communicate and connect with others while they tried to make sense of the disaster. The space in which the lanterns were folded and wishes were written became a quiet place of collective healing and renewal, one that allowed people to share their thoughts as much or as little as they wanted. It may have provided an appropriate level of privacy and connection during their inhibition phase.

PERFORMANCE THEORIES OF COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE AND THE EPHEMERAL

Because *Luminous Washi Lanterns* was installed during the fundraising event over a period of about eight hours, the participants witnessed the growth of the work. In installations that do not involve audience participation in its making, the work of art is put in place by the gallery staff and presented to the viewers as a static, finished piece. This interactive, dynamic aspect of our work shares a kinship with a performance than a static sculpture. Performance theorist Richard Schechner, in his book *Anthropology of Performance*, writes about the collective experience that is shared during a performance:

> Spectators are very aware of the moment when a performance takes off. A 'Presence' is manifest, something has 'happened'. The performers have touched or moved the audience, and some kind of collaboration, collective special theatrical life, is born.

He goes on to say that this connection occurs in performances that build to a climax the way a Pentecostal church service does or *Macbeth* might. Building up of slow "patterns of accumulating intensities", as in Phillip Glass's work can bring the spectator into ecstatic trance (Schechner 1985:11).

In a similar way, audience members who participated in the folding of lanterns or writing of wishes stayed or came back hours later to the atrium to view how the installation had grown. They walked along the balcony, pointing to their friends the pieces that they had folded or the wishes that they had hung on the bamboo frame. The audience was the participant, and as a result, many were emotionally moved while they made the lanterns, then again when they came back to see their work as a part of a larger, collective installation. There was no moment of climax or the most important piece of paper in the total installation – the work built up gradually and quietly, but throughout its evolution and at the end of the evening, the participants felt a connection to the work and to others who took part.

EPHEMERAL WORK IN CONTEMPORARY ART

Besides the traditional rituals, there are examples of contemporary art installations to which ephemerality is fundamental. An example is works by German artist Wolfgang Laib. Laib's installations consist of meticulously collected and placed regenerative substances such as pollen, milk, beeswax, and rice. Rituals play a key role. In his *Milkstone* piece, a rectangular block of polished white marble has slight depressions in which a thin layer of milk is ritualistically filled by the museum staff daily to maintain an illusion of a solid form (Sean Kelly Gallery). In his *Pollen* series, he harvests pollen from one plant at a time near his home, and painstakingly spreads the fine yellow pollen with a sieve into a rectangular shape on the floor. At the end of an exhibit, the pollen is carefully collected and stored in jar. Here, as Swiss art historian Philippe *Büttner* notes, 'we face the fact of extreme fragility and fleetingness' (Büttner 2005:78). However, as Ulf *Küster*, curator at the Foundation Beyeler, notes, while pollen may look fragile on first glance, it is extremely durable. At its microscopic scale, pollen grains can be seen as balls covered with barbs that can attach to surfaces. Pollen can be found preserved over many millennia in moors, telling the history of the earth (*Küster 2005:106*). A viewer would only

appreciate a small fraction of the depth of Laib's work if they experienced the aesthetic beauty – the materials have rich physical properties, meanings and cultural associations, resulting in work that has both ephemeral and eternal qualities.

Another example of ephemeral art involving audience participation is the *Wish Tree* by Japanese artist Yoko Ono. Exhibited throughout the world since 1981 following John Lennon's death, over 700,000 wishes have been collected and sent to the Imagine Peace Tower in Reykjavik, Iceland (Koch 2010). Ono exhibited 10 Wish Trees around Washington DC during the 2007 National Cherry Blossom Festival, one of which was acquired permanently by the Hirshhorn Museum and is located in their sculpture garden. During the summer months when the leaves are full, the museum provides paper tags with strings for the visitors to write wishes and hang them on the tree. The museum staff harvests the wishes everyday and ships to Ono's Imagine Peace Tower in Iceland where they become part of a larger collection of wishes (Imagine Peace). The project reflects the spirit of cherry trees that were given to DC by the city of Tokyo in 1912 to foster friendship between the two countries. Ono says about her Wish Trees: "As a child in Japan, I used to go to a temple and write out a wish on a piece of paper and tie it in a knot around the branch of a tree. Trees in temple courtyards were always filled with people's wish knots, which looked like white flowers blossoming from afar" (Ono 2000:261).

While both the cherry blossom trees and the Wish Tree may become a permanent part of the landscape as long as they stay live, they both draw people seasonally and become catalysts for collective experience – the cherry trees to encourage people to come see the beautiful blossoms, and Ono's Wish Tree to encourage people to stop, write and/or read wishes. The wishes varied from mundane ("I wish to come back here soon" or what they wanted for dinner that night) to optimistic ("I wish everybody lived happily ever after"). In his essay "Seduction of the Gaze and Life Experience of the Work of Yoko Ono", Pablo Rico says Ono asks the audience to "participate… by desiring and wanting to desire, identifying our desires and daring to write them down…" (Rico 2000:267).

DESIGN PROCESS

The RISD students who designed the installation were enrolled in a class named Architectonics, an intensive introductory class geared primarily towards freshmen looking to major in Architecture. The class took place over 6 weeks during RISD's Wintersession in January and February 2011. The project evolved over the last five years in which I had taught the course, and in 2011, I began looking for a venue in which to execute an installation in real life.

Following conversations with the Japan Society staff several months prior to the semester, a plan to teach a course culminating in a lantern installation was already underway for the annual J-CATION festival at the Japan Society. On March 11, 2011, the Tohoku region of Japan was hit by the devastating earthquake and tsunami. Japan Society changed the event to a benefit concert and agreed that the installation was appropriate to remain as a part of the program.

In the class, the students were first asked to create a series of three mulberry paper screens that filtered light in three gradations. They were to design simple systems by using a variable technique, such as folding, slicing, or layering, and study them through drawings and photographs of their models.

In the second phase, specific conditions of the Japan Society atrium site were introduced. The students were asked to study how their system of paper light filters could be scaled up or multiplied to become lanterns that engaged the site, which was roughly 30 feet by 55 feet and over 20 feet tall. To

ensure audience participation, an important factor for the students to consider was the lantern's constructability by visitors of all ages and skills on the day of the event. This meant that the process of making the lanterns had to be simple while not losing the richness of its effects, and it had to be systematized so that the pieces made by many participants could be assembled together easily on site.

The third and final phase of the six-week semester was to propose how the full-scale lantern units would be repeated to engage the entire atrium site. This was done through architectural drawings and scaled paper models of the atrium. Following the final presentations of the semester, three students' schemes were selected to be developed further for the installation in April. The criteria for selection included the effectiveness in how the paper transmitted and filtered light, the ease of construction by participants of all skill range, and how well the construction was systematized with the right balance of predictability in planning and unpredictability in effects.

The grades had been given and the semester was over, but design meetings and planning continued into the spring. Mockups of the developed design were tested first on campus, then tested again twice at the Japan Society atrium. Each time, problems and new possibilities to enhance the experience of the event were identified and the design developed. The day before the event, a van packed with students and materials left campus at dawn and arrived in Manhattan by lunch time. There was still pre-assembly of the bamboo frames to be done before the next morning, and about one-third of the lanterns were to be folded to ensure that the entire installation could be completed by the end of the concert.

On the morning of the event, the students began to arrive at 7am to continue folding the paper and attaching the bamboo grid to the balustrades surrounding the atrium. A stamp with a heart was carved out of a baking potato to seal each of the wishes that the guests would write on the tanzaku. The students ran a workshop from 11am to 6pm to teach the visitors how to fold the mulberry paper lanterns and add their pieces to the installation. In a room set up with tables and chairs in front of the gallery, the students offered the visitors a choice of folding lanterns and/or writing wishes on tanzaku. Visitors of a wide range of age and skills participated in the making of three types of lanterns

Once each participant finished their lanterns and/or the tanzaku, the students accompanied them in hanging the pieces on the bamboo frames attached to the balcony balustrades. The lanterns were lit naturally from the skylight above the atrium during the day, then by lamps concealed by the paper lanterns through sunset, dusk, and into the evening until the concert ended at 11pm. The bamboo frames that lined the balustrades surrounding the atrium space could be likened to impermanent matsuri structures that become the place of gathering in Japanese festivals. In *"*The Scared and the Profane in Matsuri Structures", Yoichiro Hakamori explains, "In many cases, such as the *mikoshi*, the structures become the point of interaction that makes manifest the threshold between the spiritual and mortal worlds. Often they become the catalyst for the interaction that forms the basis for the matsuri." In the context of CONCERT FOR JAPAN, rather than a threshold between the spiritual and mortal worlds, it could be said that the bamboo frame carrying the washi lanterns was a threshold between the well-wishers in New York and the receivers of the wishes in Japan who are struggling with the aftermath of tsunami.

3. Young visitor reading messages left by other participants

Standing along the two-storey atrium with the color of the sky tinting the white washi as the sky changed in color and light through the day, touching the washi lanterns and the wishes written on tanzaku connected the people in New York to the survivors on the other side of the world. Visitors could be seen at night and during the day either quietly contemplating while walking the balcony, or in groups gregariously reading the tanzaku that other visitors had left on the bamboo frame.

The event was attended by over 2,400 guests in one day. While initially intended for a 12-hour lifespan, the Japan Society requested to have it stay up for one additional week, which was then extended to stay for over a month until mid-May.

REFLECTION

As Ariana Moir, Education Associate at the Japan Society, noted, the fact that the installation was not only viewed but was made collectively by hundreds of participants was significant: "We noticed that visitors became deeply invested in making their part of the installation, taking the time to carefully craft pieces to add to the larger installation." (Moir 2012). While some visitors spent well over 30 minutes carefully folding the folders, for others, writing on tanzaku became their form of participation in the installation.

Many wishes by adults were written in second person, and reading them felt as though we had glimpses of intimate letters that were written to the survivors. Such messages included, "We are proud of your strength during this time" and "You are in our hearts." Others were written in forms of prayers, such as "We pray for safety and strength for all Japanese", and "Wishing for a peaceful world full of compassion". Ones by children often included drawings. One message from a child was written in colored markers, "I'm heart broken. I hope all of you are fine" next to a drawing of a broken heart. Also spotted were ones written by adults and youths who are studying Japanese as a foreign language, as evidenced by their use of Roman letters to phonetically spell out Japanese words: "*Nihon ga daisuki*

desu (I love Japan). *Inotte imasu* (I am praying for you)." Many of the tanzaku were written in Japanese by native Japanese speakers living and working in or around New York City, sending compassionate thoughts and prayers and fighting sprit to their native country.

When asked whether the participants were required to have previous knowledge of Japanese culture and rituals to be impacted the installation, Fumiko Miyamoto, Program Officer at Japan Society responded,

> I believe most people who came to Japan Society on that day came with the notion that the events that were going to unfold inside of the building would be mainly related to the 3.11 disaster. I think the interactive component of the installation gave an opportunity for the audience to deepen their association with the event and about their particular choice they had made to be in that space on that day (Miyamoto 2012).

Collectively leaving words of encouragement created a place of communal gathering. While some tanzaku wishes were written by Japanese natives who were familiar with the rituals, the process was simple enough to be followed by someone who was not. By seeing the wishes hung together, written in both Japanese and English, with drawings or in words, a wide spectrum of visitors felt that they took part in a collective effort.

Miyamoto further made an observation about a reason why background explanations of Japanese culture and rituals may not have been necessary in the context of this event – its architecture. In 1971, Junzo Yoshimura designed the Japan Society building, as the first Japanese architect to design a building in New York City. It is executed with material sensibilities, proportions, and intimate connection to the garden and natural light in ways which are often found in Japanese architecture. Miyamoto says, "Walking into the building already gives you a sense that you are in a Japanese context. The installation itself was such a perfect fit to the surrounding, existing environment that I am not sure if the audience had to even make sense of it."

Miyamoto also noted that the soft light emanating through the washi paper created a sense of peace and healing, and that she and other staff members at the Society continued to be moved by it over the five weeks that it remained in their building: "Leaving messages on a piece of paper and hanging it (and) being able to read them as a third person was probably a moving experience for many when the memory of the disaster and the scope of damage were still very raw in many people's minds" (Miyamoto 2012).

Eri Yamagata, a Japanese architecture student studying in New York City, assisted the guests in folding the washi paper and writing wishes on tanzaku during the workshop. When asked how people seemed to make sense of the installation, she told a story of a guest who approached the workshop tables in excitement, then became very quiet and focused once he started folding. She said it was the act of folding, their dedication of time, focus, and interaction with paper that helped them find meaning in the installation. She also noted that visitors who came to the event, most likely either consciously or subconsciously, associated the act of paper folding with something Japanese, such as origami and the story of one thousand cranes (Yamagata 2012).

EXTERNAL GAZE

"From its inception of the problematic of "Japan-ness" has belonged to an external gaze, that gaze directed toward Japan from beyond this insular nation," writes Isozaki. He says,

> It has not emerged causa sui. Were an insular nation merely a closed, self-sufficient community, it would have no need to solicit its proper characteristics or the essence of its culture. Any such query would be halted in a circle of self-referentiality. Only when a gaze from without supervenes has a response to be formulated in an effort of introspection bound to shape aesthetic tastes. Throughout history, the problematic of Japan-ness surfaces whenever an encounter has occurred on the archipelago's perimeter, that is, at the edge of its lapping ocean (Isozaki 2006:3).

He then goes on to write about moments in history that resulted in the Japanese to introspectively examine its own nationhood in its architectural culture: western passion for collecting *japonaiserie* exotica; how Frank Lloyd Wright, who was in love with Japan and its aesthetics, misinterprets Japanese space when he designed the Imperial Hotel, which is really a "conventional Beaux-Arts scheme unrelated to Japanese way of sensing space."(Isozaki 2006:8); and how German expatriate architect Bruno Taut's awe and affirmation of Katsura Imperial Villa as a 'masterpiece' in 1933 resulted in re-examination of Japan's own ancient architecture (Isozaki 2006:12-14).

Artist Isamu Noguchi was born in Los Angles as an illegitimate son between a Japanese writer father and an American artist mother. He lived between two countries in his youth, and went back to Japan as an adult and learned traditional Japanese lantern making in rural Gifu. His Akari light sculptures made of washi became an icon of 1950's Modernist design. They are a re-interpretation of Japanese traditions through an external gaze of a Japanese-American whom Japan considered very foreign in his time.

When faced with a challenge of designing for an event that is about recovery and renewal in Japan, but in an event context outside of Japan, I as a Japanese-American architect was led to introspectively examine rituals of Japanese culture through an external gaze. Architects build primarily out of permanent materials, with anticipation that it would outlive them if it is designed well. On the contrary, a temporary installation that looked to renewal rituals in Japanese culture and made of the most impermanent of materials, light and paper, may have been just as, if not more, consequential and memorable than permanent memorials or buildings.

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VISIONS OF RENEWAL

STAND Where You Live: Activating civic renewal by socially constructing Big Ethno

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This paper explains how STAND Chattanooga became the world's largest community visioning process in 2009. Behind its public success, the authors relate the underlying 'research story' of how 26,263 viewpoints were achieved by changing course in midstream and adopting more ethnographic methods of survey collection. For an EPIC audience, we analyze STAND's ultimately successful outcomes as a case of following the logic of 'social fields' (however unintentionally). The paper furthermore argues that STAND is a paradigm example of the way ethnographic principles can be deployed at various scales to accomplish goals (such as community renewal) outside the reach of most 'Big Data' analytics.

PROLOGUE

If we are living in an "Age of Analytics", as some EPIC commentators dub the current research scene, (Slobin & Cherkasky, 2010)[1] must ethnography be content with a supporting role? These authors' telling accounts "of analytics overshadowing ethnography" on various digital marketing projects (2010:195) led them conclude the most productive path forward was one of 'constructive engagement' (our word) in which ethnographers secure a place on multi-disciplinary teams, then carve out a meaningful share of a project's interpretive role (in "partnership with data strategists" (2010:198).

Despite the necessity for engaging, we have to ask if this partnership for sharing in "consumer understanding" will run so smoothly when (as Slobin and Cherkasky note) there are many clients motivated to give analytics the whole ball of wax? Extrapolating to the future, can we anticipate a growing cadre of ethnographic practitioners (awed by the scale of "Big Data") reframing our craft as niche specialists whose main role is providing cameos of "illustrative faces" or "contextual richness" so the invisible masses that populate customer databases can communicate to their companies in a human voice?

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[1] We are not sure if their title 'Ethnography in the Age of Analytics' is ironically meant to recall Walter Benjamin's mediations in *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (Benjamin, 1997). But if so, they have found a nice homology for the role of the contemporary ethnographer; turning well-honed, traditional skills towards the identification of, and reflection on, emerging new phenomena (haunting social data sets the way Baudelaire haunted the Paris arcades).

This is a seemingly far-fetched, even Orwellian, vision that surely would amount to a 'Handmaid's Tale' for our discipline (Atwood, 1998). However, like many so-called 'Visions of the Future', it is already being partially fulfilled. Whether this scenario will follow a path to dominance is as yet unknown. To explore such questions Foresighting teams look for 'weak signals', 'anomalies', or 'reversals' in prevalent trends to find signs that an existing paradigm might be losing its hold (or an emergent one taking shape).

Consider the story we tell here then, as just such an anomaly (and possibly a strategic 'pointer') within our "Age of Analytics". For this tale is one where ethnographic principles *lead* not *follow* in the creation of some decidedly 'Big' data for the city of Chattanooga. As we describe how Chattanoogans pursued renewal as a city, ethnographic practitioners may find a sense of renewal of their own.

Framing

Our focus here builds on investigations from some of the authors' previous EPIC papers in the following areas: how research can ground successful 'community visioning' (Miller & Jones, 2011); the importance of embodied group experience for motivating grass roots activism (Jones, 2005); as well as, how ethnography succeeds or fails through continual 'attention' and 'attunement' to participants in the field (Jones, 2010). Knowledge and theoretical concepts from this previous work helped us understand the ways STAND accomplished its landmark.

DIRTY OLD TOWN / NEW TRADITION

In 1984, fifteen full years after Walter Cronkite described Chattanooga, Tennessee as "the dirtiest city in America" (when its downtown had reached an undeniable state of decline) a handful of civic leaders formed 'Chattanooga Venture'. After a short period of public consultation, this initiative launched 'Vision2000' selecting 40 goals for the city to achieve by the start of the Millennium. The regeneration targets included the categories of Places, People, Work, Play and Government; and involved initiatives ranging from improving the livability of downtown Chattanooga, solving air, water, and toxic waste problems, to creating after school programs. By the year 2000, many of these goals had been realized. Chattanooga had even been able to make the label "The Scenic City" stick when in 2008 it was named one of the 'Best places to live in the US' by Outside Magazine.

In July of that same year Volkswagen chose Chattanooga as the site for its first US manufacturing plant in 20 years (after a hard-fought battle with rival Southern cities). This decision was projected to bring an investment of $1 billion to the local economy. Immediately following this announcement, Chattanooga's Mayor called on the city to continue, even intensify, its regeneration efforts (to better welcome the new arrivals). In characteristic Chattanooga fashion the Mayor first made his appeal at a Rotary Club meeting. Later the same month his call was answered when STAND was formed by a diverse group of citizens, corporate, and non-profit organizations. Its goal was to build on Vision2000's initiatives over the previous twenty-five years, but whereas the earlier civic regeneration efforts had sought limited public input (through large town hall meetings, which 2,000 or so people attended), STAND decided to first create a wider shared view of where to take Chattanooga's future.

CreateHere (a nonprofit with experience redeveloping downtown Chattanooga) was charged with providing organizational support and a team for running STAND. It was instrumental in catalyzing the

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more publically consultative or 'inclusive' approach to civic regeneration that emerged. Hence, the cornerstone of STAND's 'community visioning' process was a survey to solicit citizens' input on preferred futures for the region. STAND created a four-question questionnaire, and set itself the ambitious goal of collecting 25,000 responses. This number was meaningful because it was close to 10% of the population (and because it would top the city of Calgary's previous high of 19,000 viewpoints – which the organizers thought was achievable due to Chattanoogans' strong enthusiasm for their city). The rationale for wanting high levels of participation was to identify directions for improving Chattanooga which the whole region could embrace (because a sizable amount of its citizens had helped shaped the direction themselves).

Launching STAND

The plans for conducting the survey were straight-forward, if audacious. The STAND initiative would achieve high levels of 'public' awareness by way of high-visibility branding throughout the city. STAND would be marketed as a kind of movement that anyone around Chattanooga could contribute to. The survey's four questions would appear on billboards (print and various other media) to generate interest, and in turn drive people to complete the questionnaire online. In addition to the core web channel, the plan was for STAND volunteers to man stalls (and circulate through the crowds) at public events (like festivals, concerts, or open-air movies) for the duration of the survey's five-month span. The third channel was a handful of large employers who promised to circulate the questionnaire among their staffs (via their corporate intranets). Through these means the numbers of completed questionnaires would spiral upwards until STAND reached its goal of 25,000 respondents.

THE FLIP-FLOP

However, research (as *we* all know) rarely runs exactly as planned. Three months into the survey's five-month deadline STAND had achieved 7,500 completions with a slowing response rate. As co-author (and STAND researcher) Bijan Dhanani puts it, "The online survey just plateaued at that number then stopped". Likewise the public events - where STAND volunteers offered people surveys - were not frequent enough (or netting sufficient responses) to generate numbers that would achieve the quota. And the returns from the corporate intranets were described as "abysmal". Employees had learned to ignore the STAND intranet questionnaire the way they ignored most things there. In writing this paper we carried out interviews with the co-founders of CreateHere, Helen Johnson and Josh McManus (as well as other CreateHere members) probing them about the little known near-crisis that underlay STAND's public acclaim. It became clear these organizers had made a concentrated effort to identify the factors causing the survey shortfall (and to correct course while there was still time).

According to Helen, there were two problematic issues with STAND's survey collection methodology. First, they were seeking a "broad spectrum of responses" from a wide demographic, and secondly, "We never expected it would be so hard to get to more than 7,500 completions with the online component!" The STAND survey had almost saturation coverage across local media, its own website, and a presence on Facebook and Twitter (social media platforms with the world's greatest 'reach'). Yet, Josh added, "There was a week of NO returns and people got worried that the entire initiative would stall out".

Summit

Yet, since the 25,000 target was a commitment they had made to the entire city; "We knew we *had* to get there," explained Helen. So when the responses trickled to nothing, they called a mini-retreat of the CreateHere Board, Staff, and Fellows. One of the first decisions made was to dedicate more time and "people power" to the STAND initiative. Fellows and Staff working on other CreateHere projects were brought into the meetings, then seconded, or fully allocated, to STAND. One of these was Katherine Currin. Helen recalls her at the retreat saying, "We need to bring some practicality to this". Katherine then got on the Chattanooga.gov 'calendar of events' and started looking for any events and meetings that would draw 25 people or more. She calculated that "We need this many completed surveys *every day* to reach the goal. So go out and get those surveys, and don't come back until you do!"

> Katherine remembers this turning-point herself as, "There were 15 to 20 fellows there, I realized if we all got ten completed surveys a day, we could hit our goal! Breaking it down to what it would take on an individual level enabled people to see that (reaching the quota) was possible". Katherine went on to be a co-director of STAND alongside Sarah Lester (who had been very successful in getting businesses to support the initiative early on). The co-director leadership model for STAND aped that of CreateHere itself; and it is now one Josh and Helen advocate for community development work whenever possible.

Outreach Strategy

"At this point people began to own the process" says Helen. There was a change in collection methods; "Everything got tied to a time line", but the more important shift was acknowledging that "We needed to take (the survey) to where the people were accessible. This shift is referred to by some CreateHere Fellows as "the flip-flop". Josh describes the new collection process like this:

> We got extremely 'creative' in outreach. It was during the summer. We went everywhere there were more than 25 people gathered together: churches, concerts, neighborhood meetings…Every morning we scoured the paper to see what events were going on, that we could send people out to, so we could get to as many diverse pockets of the population as possible: retirement homes, soccer matches where the Hispanic community were involved, I went to a motorcycle rally once…

In fact the pre- and post- flip-flop survey processes were different enough (in terms of three important variables) that you could almost call them STAND Phase 1 and STAND Phase 2. The first was more like a traditional marketing campaign (albeit an extremely well-designed and well-branded one, especially for a community initiative). For all that however, it was still trying to 'convince' a large population of people (based on limited messaging or information) to do something. In this it echoed the well-known AIDA model (Awareness-Interest-Desire-Action) for selling to (or influencing people) by moving them through these four states. Furthermore, even though there were many channels aiming at raising awareness and interest *about* the survey (from magazine ads, to yard signs, to coffee sleeves) unless you happened to bump into a STAND volunteer at an event., for most people online

was the only channel through which to actually *fill out* the survey (at STAND's website, or via Facebook and Twitter). Phase 2, on the other hand, was dominated by another channel, and is even called the period of "face-to-face canvassing". As Josh and Helen described above, the whole recruiting mechanism or 'conversion' strategy' for STAND had changed; from *bringing the people to the survey* before, to *bringing the survey to the people* after (to the places, occasions, or 'habitual' contexts where they lived, worked, played). These changes also brought about a third shift in effective targeting: from targeting the whole city of Chattanooga with the *idea* of the survey (via a marketing campaign) in Phase 1; to targeting groups and organizations one by one to *complete* the survey (via the logic of 'social fields') thereby indirectly achieving a study reflective of the whole city.

We have described these shifts in methodology (for a large-scale community visioning study) as involving a move toward 'context', toward 'face-to-face' research, and as '*bringing the survey to the people'*. Readers should therefore be able to guess what type of approach it now resembled. The 'flip-flop' summit explains how the "ethnographizing" of STAND happened from an organizational/managerial perspective.

THE GROUND GAME

But there are always multiple layers to any event or history. The mini-retreat had delivered a vivid new game plan, but now it had to be executed on *every day* until the quota was reached. So how did STAND actually achieve its record response rate? The project had canvassers staffed from the beginning, but in small numbers (for secondary event collection "to clean up around the edges," as Josh put it). Now, more full-time CreateHere fellows would be working full time on STAND (many as canvassers) along with a number of dedicated volunteers. Also, since the impetus from the retreat made it clear canvassing was going to save the project, we can surmise the status of this role within the non-profit rose. Josh and Helen describe how at this time they shifted budget away from additional web marketing work to hiring and funding more fieldworkers. In STAND's last month the original allocation of five 'field organizers' with teams of 3-7 canvassers under them (depending on the occasion) doubled to ten field organizers busy with outreach.

Trial & Error

For writing this paper, we also carried out interviews with a selection of STAND canvassers, including co-author Bijan Dhanani who served in this role himself. 'Canvasser' of course is just another word for a field researcher who works in a quantitative survey context (often for non-profits or political campaigns). Their job is to get respondents to answer a questionnaire. Canvassers usually carry clipboards (an emblem that alerts passersby to quickly head the opposite direction). So it is perhaps an illuminating index of the success STAND eventually achieved, that Bijan (who soon assumed a leadership role for STAND's fieldwork) drew on past experiences of being *a target* of charity canvassers – and decided to do otherwise in his work for STAND. He recalled how past canvassers would stand in his way, use a cheesy line, and how their whole focus persuade him to say 'Yes, I'll do your survey'. Instead (after trial-and-mostly-error which brought back these memories), Bijan decided he would he would act less like a canvasser and more like a fellow citizen who wanted to talk to people about the future of Chattanooga. The STAND questionnaire itself facilitated this approach; it was a model of simplicity, consisting solely of four open-ended questions:

QUESTION 1   WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT THE CHATTANOOGA REGION?
QUESTION 2   IMAGINE THE BEST POSSIBLE CHATTANOOGA REGION.
                    DESCRIBE IT.
QUESTION 3   WHAT CHALLENGES MUST BE ADDRESSED?
QUESTION 4   WHAT ACTIONS, BIG OR SMALL, CAN YOU TAKE TO HELP?

Hence Bijan found that by simply adding a few words, and omitting any procedural tone, ("first question, second question, next…") he could 'conduct a survey' that was just like "having a conversation" (or at least felt that way to the respondent). (This hybrid style of interview is of course a hallmark of ethnography (Spradley, 1973) distinguishing it from positivistic forms of research). Bijan said he went even further to ensure this feeling by trying hard to maintain eye contact, not looking down at the survey form, and copying down the respondent's answers so they could focus on what they were thinking and saying. Josh (who while co-directing CreateHere did a fair share of STAND canvassing) independently echoed Bijan's approach, saying, "The best experience was when I wrote for them – it made it easy and more conversational. That jogged things for them". We do not know how standardized the research methods were across the STAND canvassers, but having confirmation of techniques like this (from separate interviews at separate times and places with two leaders of the canvassing) we believe there was a convergence on methods like this that proved to work (for generating both more responses and better responses).

Further evidence (of the shared adoption of successful research practices) came from another canvasser, Blair Waddell. She said the eventual canvassing lead-in for STAND that she arrived at, (for potential survey-takers) was saying, "We want to know what *you* want for the future of Chattanooga". She learned quickly that the very word 'survey' was a "turn off" that made people freeze up. So as an alternative, she would follow that opening with, "I got just 4 questions for you…" and then she would begin talking through the questionnaire questions (above) as if it was *she* was asking the respondent, not the survey.

Some of the original canvassers had been learning these lessons even before the flip-flop. Another prime lesson was that if you simply 'handed out' the survey form, most of them never came back. Which is to say they learned the most successful form of face-to-face canvassing was not simply 'distributing' the survey, but 'performing' it in a dialogue with the respondent. Both Blair and Bijan talked about their role as *facilitating* the respondents, *to better articulate* their feelings and thoughts (not merely as getting them to 'give answers'). Since these were open-ended questions, people hardly produced binary answers. And these particular short, simple questions opened up a host of issues about place (and people's current and potential lives in *a* place) that could not always be easily captured or 'processed' (emotionally).

'Accelerated Praxis'

So the 'ground game' we are describing here (added to the managerial account above) explains how the "ethnographizing" of STAND happened at the level of practice and execution. The STAND canvassers had in effect (through an intense period of experimentation and 'accelerated learning') managed to ethnographize their collection techniques to meet the survey's high quotas for sample size and widespread community involvement. And this is all the more remarkable for the fact that none of

these canvassers were trained researchers (and none of them were aware of the techniques of ethnographic research).

Yet the research learning process that occurred on STAND is descriptively similar to an approach mentioned (in one author's earlier EPIC paper) that locates researchers' motivations for growth in ethnographic practice within an individual's experience of the never fully-fulfilled potential inherent in concrete research encounters. Accordingly, each of these canvassers was learning how best conduct a survey in *'attunement'* with the respondents they were facing in context (Jones, 2010:255-56). They were *'attending to'/'observing'* relevant critical variables, such as of body language, level of interest or engagement, to whether this potential respondent versus that one agreed to talk (or were just taking a survey form as a way *not* to talk) in reaction to one version of their approach line (and questions) versus another one. The STAND canvassers were then *'adjusting'* their survey performance over sometimes hundreds of iterations a day. For professional ethnographers, this is a fascinating case study that queries the very nature of our *praxis* – for it suggests that non-researchers with a deep pragmatic motivation, but no theoretical basis, can arrive at something very close to 'doing ethnography' (especially evincing its more empathic or dialogical aspects) through concentrated field engagement.

'LeadHere'

It appears that what these canvassers did not have in terms of theory (or training) was *compensated for* in volume of trial and error with people. But what was "learned" then got fed back into their practice so rapidly, that maybe we should call what happened with them 'accelerated praxis' (instead of accelerated learning). We are not sure if their experiences ever got translated into propositional knowledge that could easily be verbally shared. The slogan "turning canvassing into conversations" was actually in STAND's 'Field Strategy' document. But we also know there was *no* explicit, preparatory 'canvassing training' provided by CreateHere for STAND canvassers, so we expect realizing this ideal in practice, like most of their skill development, was via 'tacit' or 'apprenticeship' learning. It was rooted in each researcher filtering their own canvassing attempts though what they saw their teammates doing (and having success with) around them (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This type of 'experiential learning' seemed to be a part of the non-profit's management model called 'LeadHere'. It mandated learning while doing, and that those in intermediate leadership roles (closer to the work than HQ) should take responsibility for spreading the new skills their people needed. This might seem to put the burden for any canvassing training on the five (and later ten) 'field organizers'. However, we believe sharing best practice for conducting the survey worked more like an "ad-hocracy"; flowing in both directions up and down from field organizers (based on whoever's numbers showed *they* were bringing in the surveys). In this way Bijan, starting on STAND as a line canvasser, became a field organizer himself. We also know some of these 'new researchers' (even though never formally trained themselves) did later give more explicit canvassing "crash courses" to those people called 'individual supporters' (*more below*) who were spreading or conducting surveys (even though not STAND staff or 'official volunteers). So there was most likely also a "zone of proximal development" in operation that especially deepened the abilities of such trainer-canvassers (Vygotsky, 1978).

In addition to these social-cognitive processes, there were also some overlaying organizational mechanisms that helped account for the STAND team's productivity. Katherine Currin had said "Breaking it down to what it would take on an individual level enabled people to see that (reaching the quota) was possible". This had helped pull team members out of their fear of failure and get the

project back on track. But keeping the survey accounting "broken down to an individual level" also helps explain how the project *stayed* on track, and the response numbers kept rising. Canvassers worked in small teams of 2 to 7, so each canvasser knew how many surveys he or she was bringing in each day. Bijan relates there was a state of 'healthy competition' between canvassers about their numbers which he terms was "more like 'pride' in how well you were doing to help STAND" reach its goal. Once it was realized that many respondents would only do a survey if you 'talked them through it' face-to-face, a positive feedback loop was likely created by the fact that giving a survey this way, was the only sure way a questionnaire would count as one of 'your' totals (vs. just handing them out). The CreateHere HQ also maintained a STAND "survey counter" which ticked up the response numbers each day (so canvassers could be aware of the progress the entire initiative was making towards its overall goal (and where their own personal contribution fit within this).

Mission Accomplished

Through the fieldwork processes described here, we know the shift initiated by the STAND flip-flop paid off. The project exceeded its overall target of 25,000 responses by over a thousand. Ultimately, the success of STAND can also be measured in terms of pure financial management. With a budget of $450,000 STAND achieved 26,263 responses to make it the world's largest community visioning survey to date. Compare this to the former record holder of Calgary, Alberta (whose team members had actually been advisors to STAND). This city used a larger budget of $2.5 million to achieve 19,000 visioning survey responses (even while it had a larger population in its catchment area). This comparison raises fascinating questions about the "cost effectiveness" (contrary to popular opinion) of ethnographic, or face-to-face research, for this type of project (and therefore others). Because here is a firm case of how the STAND team, led by CreateHere, achieved more with less.

Ethnographic, face-to-face, or contextual surveying techniques were not 'part of the problem', when this initiative neared crisis, they were quite literally the solution out of it. In fact, the ethnographic canvassing approach helped make STAND successful along three key dimensions: achieving and exceeding its target sample, achieving the desired 'diversity' of sample (by going into neighborhoods whose 'demographics' had not come to the survey themselves – and in many cases facilitating non-literate respondents to dictate their answers to canvassers), and finally (as we now know) completing the project within budget. So more data, and better data, for less money. The STAND model has already set the benchmark for scale and breadth in community visioning. It is very likely to also set the benchmark for methodology and sound management, once interested parties realize the first two attributes were a consequence of the second two.

Consequently, in the project's final channel accounting 80% of STAND's record 26,263 responses were collected via face-to-face canvassing; compared to 20% of responses which were self-completed online. What this means is these data points were quite literally 'socially constructed' (through the kind of "encounters, situations, experiences within various groups to which each individual belongs" which alternative sociologists like Maffesoli (1996:88) believe constitute the true experiential basis for whatever sense of 'Society' still remains. And these encounters between canvassers and citizens, or citizen to citizen, occurred on occasions or events that STAND either set up, or 'joined', as part of its outreach to a plethora of 'social fields.' Therefore, this community visioning process is a true (not merely metaphorical) example of 'the social construction of a set of 'Big Data' for the city of Chattanooga. So it's probably more precides to call it 'Big Ethno' to reference the way it was collected

and created. Because STAND's survey data were socially constructed, even down to the fact that a majority of its responses were hand coded, from thousands of paper survey forms which canvassers and respondents scrawled on while engaged in live conversations in Chattanooga neighborhoods, offices, churches, parks (and countless other spaces) within the city and surrounding counties.

Josh McManus, co-director of CreateHere, reflected on this unexpected outcome during the current heyday of online research (and 'Age of Analytics').

> It's not that Chattanooga wasn't a 'tech savvy' community, but it was much more *effective* for us to interact with people face-to-face. You need the human interaction to *connect* with people, so they know someone really cares and *that their opinion actually matters*.

This statement gives a good outline of the driving influences at work, and further explanation is furnished by considering the nature of 'social fields.'

ENGAGING THE LOGIC OF SOCIAL FIELDS

As a result of STAND's shift in methodology, canvassers starting to visit hundreds of group meetings where they soon learned to approach survey collection through the prevailing logic of the 'social field' each group of people belonged to.

> In advanced societies, people do not face an undifferentiated social space. The various spheres of life; art, science, religion, law, economy, politics, and so on, tend to form distinct microcosms endowed with their own rules, regularities, and forms of authority… (Wacquant, 1998)

> A 'field' is a patterned system of objective forces much in the manner of a magnetic field… (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992)

French sociologist and anthropologist, Pierre Bourdieu, arrived at the notion of 'social field' as a flexible way to describe the balance between the structuring forces within different subcultures (or 'forms of life') and the relative autonomy individuals had in deciding to follow or resist the 'objective forces' within them. By using the metaphor of a 'field' he also wanted to imply that there was always a sense of 'play' within a field (as in a sports field) but that this play was constrained by certain 'rules of the game' and never took place willy-nilly. Yet Bourdieu simultaneously deploys the analogy of magnetic fields (and the forces of attraction and repulsion they generate) to dramatize the influences actors within a field are subject to. With this analogy, he was drawing on an older conceptualization from Kurt Lewin (1951) based on field theory in physics.

The most relevant concepts here (which illuminate what happened on STAND) come from Bourdieu's contention that fields structure the action of those within them by imposing on their players: 1) a 'logic' (about the way things work 'within' the field), and 2) 'stakes' or interests 'within' the field (which they seek to maintain or grow – in part by working with forces 'outside' the field). The key point for STAND is that before the flip-flop it was taking advantage of very few of these 'forces of attraction' (within the many subcultures or microcosms of Chattanooga) to promote the survey, because the Phase 1 marketing strategy was focused on targeting the whole city.

That decision was rationally based on the strategic judgment according to Josh that "this was the widest expected channel" from 'general public' to website survey. We should always remember that most research projects (especially large ones), whether commercial or non-profit, (as this one) are shaped as much by management decisions (starting with budget size) as purely methodological ones. It seemed an efficient, even elegant strategy (similar to Calgary's) to try to sell the concept of the STAND process city-wide, then wait for people to stream into the website to complete the questionnaire. And, as we said before, the STAND branding was exceptional; the billboard and print ad communications were visually arresting and carried witty slogans like "Will another visioning process really make a difference?"

Despite this, as Mr. McLuhan opined so long ago, the mass medium became the message, and in terms of creating a reason to actually complete the survey, all the executions distilled down to the same core proposition, something akin to: 'As a Chattanoogan you should want to help Chattanooga, so take this survey to be a good citizen'. As we have already described how the STAND organizers based their 25,000 target completion number on their belief Chattanoogans had a very high level of civic enthusiasm, this message was aligned to that belief. But the fact that the Phase 1 communication approach did not translate such enthusiasm into sufficient numbers filling out the online questionnaire does not necessarily mean it is not characteristic of the city. This response only shows that the kind of messaging you can do at this level (however good the copy) is always going to be 'untailored' or "one size fits all" for *motivating* people compared to kind of the enthusiasm you can unlock when speaking directly to a single group.

So after the new community outreach plan went into effect, not only did STAND canvassers come into the physical space of disparate 'social fields' (from Chattanooga dog show people, to the Ruritan rodeo cowboys, to suburban elementary school moms and dads, urban churchgoers, and inner city street party rappers) but each social field was spoken to with a message and language that appealed *through* the group, to their shared stake in the city. The field was thus the prime intermediary to civic concerns about Chattanooga, not vice versa. The STAND organizers had learned that even though different groups nest within the same city, they could not be motivated by the same logic. So during face-to-face canvassing STAND was adapted to appeal to the 'logic' and 'stakes' within each group.

For example to the Lions Club (an explicit community service organization) the appeal to the 'logic' of their organization *was* closest to the generic message above - that it was their duty as Lions Club members to help the city shape its planning through this survey; and their 'stake' was they did not want to reduce their organization's share of influence in civic affairs. A similar 'logic' worked for the college sorority women (at the University of Tennessee-Chattanooga) who, as a rule of their club, have a monthly service requirement each member must perform. So when connected through a friend of a friend working for STAND, every girl in a sixty-person sorority was asked to get ten contacts to fill out the survey (thereby fulfilling that month's service obligation).

From a very different demographic, a downtown African-American Baptist church was responsible for contributing several thousand surveys. The motivating 'logic' (that like magnetism) pulled the surveys into these churchgoers hands (and later into STANDs) was that the highly esteemed elder preacher of the church stopped his services, asked his congregation to fill out the survey and gave them time (during church) to complete their questionnaires. The 'stake' he employed was equally persuasive, that their area of town needed improvement, and it would come sooner if the voice of their community was represented. In contrast, when STAND fellows worked with an outlying Methodist

Church, the survey questionnaire was simply inserted in the church bulletin (not becoming part of the service) and resulted in a much lower response rate.

One of the most frequent outreach targets were homeowner associations or HOAs. (These were all listed by neighborhood in the Chattanooga.gov database mentioned earlier). A field organizer team would travel out to these regularly scheduled meetings (of usually ten or so people led by elected HOA officers) and describe the STAND initiative and its objectives. Then the canvassers would 'work the room' doing full survey interviews with some, handing out questionnaires to others, being on hand to explain the questions, or talk these respondents through the survey. The consistent 'logic' of these events were that the HOA officers represented their subdivisions; and the 'stake' for HOA officers and residents alike was that their neighborhood, in their zip code, needed to be heard from.

Ultimately, through this process of face-to-face outreach, STAND collaborated with many 'social fields' and sub-groups: including 40 businesses, 20 religious organizations, and 48 nonprofit interest groups, to achieve its record number of responses. Also perhaps most effectively, this strategy motivated 239 individual supporters. 'Individual supporters' is the STAND team word for people who attended one of these outreach events, then decided to become a survey distributor (or also a survey collector) within their own social world. This is probably the strongest examples of the magnetism of 'social fields' to gravitate survey forms into the hands of new respondents. It happened for instance when an officer of a homeowner association (within one 'social field') would realize he or she could extend it to another overlapping (or distinct field) by offering to "Give me some questionnaires and I will take them to my church and racquet club too" as it went according to Bijan.

Likewise some HOA officers would take sheaves of questionnaire forms away from their HOA meetings (which only the *most* concerned subdivision residents usually attend) and take them door to door for residents to complete. The 'logic' and 'stake' motivating the HOA officer here was, I am the person who is the conduit between the city authorities and my subdivision, this is my natural role,(and of course by enacting it they were at least maintaining, and probably *growing,* their authority within the subdivision community).

Similarly, many of the college sorority women who had fulfilled their monthly service requirement earlier, followed the 'forces of attraction' back to STAND to become canvassers at a large street festival. Their 'stake' in performing this 'service' was again to fulfill their organizational role (even more so) but also to increase the visibility of their sorority, take part in a fun street fair with a 'public' role in it, and hopefully to score one of the by-then sought-after bright yellow STAND T-Shirts (that only volunteer canvassers who netted a sizable number of completed surveys were awarded). In cases like these the 'logic' of each 'social field' helped multiply the labor force of canvassers conducting the survey – making it more likely STAND would achieve its goal. Without STAND Phase 2's outreach strategy, and the way it managed to harness the logics of (and thereby find a place within) a wide array of 'social fields', it is uncertain if *any* of these people would have even filled out a single survey for themselves.

Survey Collection as Service Design

The distinction between STAND Phase 1 and 2 may have been slightly overdrawn in this paper. But only to the extent that the winning ground game of canvassing continued to profit from the marketing 'mind share' generated by STAND's advertising campaign (which in any event ran throughout the entire survey collection period). It helped both organizers like Katherine Currin in

booking outreach meetings (when the gatekeepers at neighborhood associations, churches, or retirement homes already knew what STAND was), as well as canvassers asking questions who found people had heard of it too. But it is still a certainty that face-to-face canvassing was (in the language of service design) the crucial 'touch point' that enabled the STAND visioning process to achieve its goals. And furthermore it was by greatly expanding the role of *this* touch point (in comparison to others) that this effort prevailed. The affective-emotional motivators of feeling that your opinions really matter, and you are 'connected' to others that really want to hear them (as Josh describes) were the most powerfully motivating factors that made the greatest difference; but this 'effect' of the outreach events was combined with some simple features of the outreach events in themselves (*as* a touch point) that made these "happenings" advantageous for the goal at hand (securing completed questionnaires).

It is a well-know tenet of user centered design that at every stage, step, or click, of a process you lose some percentage of 'users' who are not pulled over this threshold (or obstacle). Basically, the outreach meetings (mentioned above) collapsed all the stages of the AIDA model (Awareness-Interest-Desire-Action) into one event. You were hearing about STAND, (possibly for the first time, but surely in more detail than ever before) hearing why it mattered *for your 'social field'* as well as the whole city, and then without skipping a beat you were completing the survey in conversation with a canvasser (or those around you). There was little opportunity to 'drop out' of this process. In fact, the outreach meetings STAND set up in neighborhood meetings and churches approximated the conditions of the alternative See-Feel-Change model (which behavior change theorists like Kotter and Cohen (2002) advocate over the AIDA approach).

STAND WHERE YOU LIVE: CONCLUSIONS

This paper has related a 'research story' that industry ethnographers will find telling, and in some respects, wearily familiar. The initial strategy for conducting the STAND community visioning survey was to be via a "convenient" online questionnaire that as a channel (or survey 'format') did not come close to achieving its target. As face-to-face outreach and interviewing ultimately drove the majority of STAND's responses it becomes important to ask why these methods succeeded (as a lesson for future community visioning projects, or any forms of 'public research' that will not rely on pre-recruited samples or commercial databases). The lessons on display in STAND are also useful for any inquiry that needs to stimulate an audience to 'care enough' to take part and overcome the thresholds of sharing or apathy that research usually entails (especially when no monetary incentive is being offered).

We believe the reasons face-to-face outreach succeeded as a means of survey collection for STAND go far beyond issues of 'channel access', convenience, 'reach', or even the 'digital divide' (since most of the people who took the survey face-to-face also had internet access). In short, our view is the online questionnaire did not fail so much as a *transactional platform* as it did as a *conversion medium* (in tandem with the above-the line marketing that supported it). What Josh McManus meant earlier refers to this consequence, that face-to-face outreach was "more effective" to make people *want* to take the survey than billboards or print ads which 'tell' you about the community visioning process, but do not identify your stake in it. And thus more effective methodologically to generate responses for this type of project. We think STAND had tapped out the number of people at 7,500 who had a generalized interest in the issue of city regeneration (based on their generalized identity as Chattanooga citizens) that made them 'motivated' enough to complete a questionnaire. (Whether they 'liked' it on Facebook or not). That is, until the STAND personnel met with groups within their 'social field' and

let them know (in person) why and how getting their voice into this survey mattered. The face-to-face outreach, in a single event, had the power to tip people's balance of possible 'interest' towards the more crucial state of 'engagement', by making this visioning process relevant, even meaningful, to them.

This occurred in part because it cannot be overemphasized what a different experience it is to see an ad for a survey, and complete it online, compared to having a conversation about your city where you feel 'heard' by a fellow citizen (who has their life staked in the city as well). The first experience is Gallup; the second is Goffman (1967). In other words, the affective-emotional and interactional-interpersonal content at play for these two modes of survey response had a very different 'lived significance' for the respondents (and canvassers alike). Both modes provide 'data points', but the second mode is both a data point, and *part of* the social process it is supposed to be "reflecting". Consequently, as a research methodology for a community visioning initiative (with an ultimate aim to catalyze community participation and 'community development') the second mode is more desirable. The online survey can capture and measure 'beliefs' about the city; but face-to-face methods are more fruitful for *activating* civic renewal by encouraging people towards engagement. If the first way captures the 'public opinion' *of* a community; the face-to-face method also helps generate *'communitas'* (the feeling of solidarity, togetherness, or joint empathy) *within* one (Turner: 1969:132), (Jones, 2005:39).

We maintain that this effect was further catalyzed (and intensified) by the specific questions in the STAND survey, and the relationship between the questions. After asking the participants first what they liked about Chattanooga, then to imagine the best possible version of the city, and next to talk frankly about its "challenges", the survey 'conversation' culminated in question number four. The first three questions served to establish what has been called "communalized empathy"(Maffesoli, 1996:136), (Jones, 2005:39) between canvasser and respondent. This is the sense of a shared common fate that bonds people living in the same place together. Following this, the final question, building on this place-based empathy, was easier for canvassers to elicit, but it also added still another dimension to the survey encounter. "What actions big or small can you take to help (the challenges in Chattanooga)?" Answering this question (even to a previously unknown canvasser) amounts to a public 'speech act' (Searle, 1972) akin to a pledge where there is a dimension of 'witnessing', along with some implicit obligation attached. Consequently, we hold that thousands and thousands of these 'public conversations' (across Chattanooga from May to September 2009) not only generated increased 'communitas' in the region; but 'communitas' with a directionality toward civic renewal. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to actually determine the impact of STAND research on the post-STAND level of civic or social participation in Chattanooga (and such an 'outcomes study' has not yet been conducted). But it is our strong hypothesis that conducting this visioning research more ethnographically (via this highly empathic style of face to face canvassing and outreach) has encouraged more people to be more active in their city and communities. The examples we do know are the number of STAND and CreateHere fellows who (now that CreateHere has disbanded) have started their own non-profit or social entrepreneurial organizations[2]. The likelihood of further impact

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[2] These include *Unfoundation* - a crowd funding initiative established by co-author Bijan Dhanani; *Glass House Collective* - a neighborhood revitalization non-profit founded by Katherine Currin; *Causeway* – a cause-sourcing charity where people can find local initiatives to donate their time or money to, founded by Stephen Culp, a

on citizens' ongoing participation was increased by the fact that STAND staff (especially Josh and Bijan) undertook a 'results outreach' five months later when they returned for meetings (with every group over ten that had hosted STAND when they were conducting the survey) to deliver and discuss the significance of the survey results for that group.

STAND Where WE Live: EPIC Learning from Big ~~Data~~ Ethno

Since the STAND survey was relatively unique in asking its respondents what actions they could take to help their city, it is an excellent test bed from which to investigate the extent to which people's experiences while taking part in an ostensible research 'exercise' can actually prime commitment to the kind of widespread "volunteerism" (or social entrepreneurship) that makes civic renewal accomplishable. Furthermore, as part of an EPIC research program, we could examine the ways that ethnographic techniques (such as person-to-person open-ended questioning) specifically contribute to the success of such efforts. Since the intent of STAND's fourth question was not merely 'cognitive' (or information-seeking) but also a kind of request aimed at 'enrolling' the research participant in action beyond the survey, its focus is consistent with EPIC's concern to move from 'descriptive' to 'generative' (or "could" to "should").

Mack & Squires (2011) and Lovejoy, Cefkin, Anderson, and Liebow (2011) both outline how an important way forward for the EPIC community lies in moving from 'findings' and 'analysis' to making ethical recommendations and guiding sensitive decisions. The normative potential for ethnographic work suggested by the STAND case affirms this call, suggesting that ethnographers using their discipline's traditional strengths to deploy tools such as large scale surveys (or any teams working according to ethnographic principles) have the potential to both identify preferable options, and then mobilize populations toward achieving them. This would cast ethnography in the role of *effecting* change, in addition to *reflecting* upon it (in a way that most of the quantitative consumer research that goes into 'Big Data' currently does not).

It has been shown, in part, that this type of impact can be achieved purely by focusing community-wide "attention" on the outcomes of certain choices (Scharmer, 2007). In this manner, the EPIC community can take note that the results of the STAND survey expanded Chattanooga's community's vision to a heightened focus on overlooked problems (such as the city's growing level of gang involvement) that had not been prominent in public discourse before. Now three years later a current Chattanooga mayoral candidate is even using STAND results as a core part of his election platform.

As Bruno Latour has argued for many years (1988) (1993) (against the reductionism of many brands of systems theory) perhaps the most profound truth of networks is that they remain at all points 'local'. Similarly, we would say the research for the (very healthy 26,263 person) STAND survey remained at almost all points *local* and *ethnographic* (certainly the 80% of responses gathered from face-to-face canvassing) while remaining quantitatively significant. Thus, the STAND case supports Patel's (2011) attack on the fallacy of the qual-quant divide as it applies to the ontology of the phenomena we study. But as students of context, we should note (as Patel would) the strong divergences that remain

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STAND board member; and *Project PopUp* – a small business incubator started by Blair Waddell that holds competitions to give away downtown Chattanooga retail space rent-free for 6 months.

in the habitual contexts, effects, and applications of qualitative vs. quantitative data. Yet not all of these divergences stem from pure illusion, or the partisanship of tribal loyalties.

For example, STAND points to crucial differences in what ethnographic research *per se* (not only 'Big Ethno' on the scale of STAND) may be able to achieve, that conventional customer analytics usually does not. By virtue of the way ethno data is "conquered, constructed, and confirmed" (Bourdieu, 1992b:41) in closer and more attuned interaction with its participants (who emically guide it in the direction of *their* concerns - and thereby feel 'empowered' in the process) ethnography can be recommended as a preferred methodology for a range of purposes that require the reflexive shaping of outcomes by stakeholders. These include a host of practice areas (often clustering around the 'c'-word) where enrolling participation of the agents studied (or people like them) is key to success, such as (among others): organizational change, change management, behavior change, as well as; community regeneration, urban renewal, medical compliance, and harm reduction[3].

In all of these practice areas, ethnography has made great inroads, yet is still not conventionally a 'core' discipline (even if we can make a strong argument why it *should* be at least in the mix of methodologies for them all). If we are therefore as a community of practitioners (working across industries and myriad types of organizations) looking forward to a future of more action-oriented research, and shaping a greater range of outcomes, then the ethnographic research approach, which requires a greater level of collaboration from active participants (beyond that of a tick box), is still one that has a powerful potential for growth because of its considerable success at engendering the 'transformations' such practice areas aim for. Furthermore, the collaborative 'competency' of ethnography remains one which many forms of quantitative inquiry (no matter how 'Big' the data they generate) are hard-pressed to equal, (unless they not only partner with a participatory discipline like ethnography (as Slobin & Cherkasky (2010) hope); but also then do not regard their new 'partner' as a mere handmaid (e.g. servant) to a worldview 'constructed' chiefly by analytics).

The STAND community visioning process gives us one more reason to believe that Big Data and Big (or small) Ethno can productively cooperate on the (ontological) common ground that Patel (2011) shows they already occupy (so long as all parties agree to *share* that ground - both its wealth and discursive space). The STAND model can help the various sides recognize the distinct advantages of each approach; realize size of reach is not all that counts; and that 'precision', 'rigor' (even 'objectivity') comes in various forms (which *may* be thoughtfully and judiciously combined) for shaping different (and sometimes the same) realities

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[3] A key point to make here is that "The Age of Analytics" may not have taken hold as firmly in all the areas above, as it had for Slobin & Cherkasky's "line of work - the marketing and IT space" (2010:189) when they gave their cases of ethnography being "overshadowed" by analytics .

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Renewing Workplaces / Organizations

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In organizational and workplace related work, ethnographic praxis has been used as a tool to identify opportunities for enhancing and improving work practices. As the world changes, many organizations are faced with a need to renew and innovate their organizational visions and work practices by tapping into unknown and unfamiliar territories. Under this new climate, ethnographers are increasingly asked to play the role of change agent and unlock the potential of organizations. Such undertakings present practitioners with challenges that lead us to question how we engage in our ethnographic praxis to renew complex organizations under the new paradigm.

Back to the Future of Work: Informing corporate renewal

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This paper describes the results of a multi-year ethnographic study of how knowledge workers integrate new technology into their work practices. We studied mobile and remote workers who use smartphones, tablets, cloud computing, and social networking to support their work. Study findings describe the characteristics of mobile work, the coordination of multiple devices and sources of information, how new technology functioned as a social resource and issues that arose when participants used personal mobile devices to support work. We will also discuss how we are working with corporate teams to renew our research projects, and the solutions and services the company offers to support the changing nature of work.

INTRODUCTION

The world of knowledge work is changing rapidly. New technology like mobile devices and cloud computing allow people to work anytime, from almost anywhere. Work takes place across globally distributed teams, who co-create complex, interconnected webs of dynamic information. Work and personal life continue to blur, especially as people begin to use personally owned devices, like tablets and smartphones, to support work. The convergence of these trends is creating significant changes in how work gets done (Meerwarth et al., 2009).

Our team conducted studies in 2008, 2009 and 2011 to explore the impact of these changes on the nature of work. Using an ethnographic approach, the team conducted in-context interviews and observations of people who engage in mobile and remote work, and use cutting edge technology like smartphones, tablets, cloud computing, and social networking to support their work. This paper builds on our 2009 EPIC paper (which presented the findings from our 2008 study) to share what we have learned in our 2009 and 2011 studies.

We first describe the characteristics of mobile work, and then discuss how participants integrated new technology like mobile devices, as well as multi-media like video and images, into their everyday

work practices. We describe how participants coordinated multiple devices and sources of information, how these new devices replaced everyday things in the lives of participants, and how the new technology functioned as a social resource. We also discuss how the consumerization of IT (where knowledge workers use their personal devices to support work) affects issues like information security and shared account management.

Finally, we describe how we incorporated study findings into UI concepts and experiential prototypes - to set a vision for the future of our company, and how we are working with corporate teams to renew our research projects, and the solutions and services we offer, to support the changing nature of work.

BACKGROUND

In looking back at our 2009 EPIC paper (Watts-Perotti et al, 2009), we find that many of the trends noted from 2008 have continued. For example, the mobile worker population (defined as those who worked outside a static office for more than 30% of their time) continues to increase. In 1998, the worldwide mobile worker population was 919.4 million (Llamas & Stofega, 2011). This number is expected to increase to 1.3 billion by 2015, (Keitt et al., 2011). The number of US telecommuters also continues to increase. In 2000, 4.2 million people in the US worked from home at least part of the time. This number is expected to increase to 63 million by 2016 (CNBC.com). Additionally, smartphone sales continue to skyrocket. In 2008, 151.1 million smartphones were shipped globally (businesswire.com). IDC reports that the number of smartphone shipments jumped to 472 million in 2011, and will double to 982 million by 2015 (Llamas & Stofega, 2011).

A few new trends have emerged since our paper in 2009. For example, in addition to smartphone sales, companies have begun tracking tablet sales, which have continued to increase. In 2010, 17.8 million tablets were shipped globally. This is projected to increase to 135.1 million tablets by 2015 (Llamas & Stofega, 2011). Business research companies have also begun to note that many employees are using personal mobile devices to support work. Ipass claims that 87 percent of mobile workers who own tablets use their tablets for at least some work (ipass.com). This trend presents new complexities for IT departments, who must now manage confidential enterprise information across multiple mobile devices and platforms.

METHODOLOGY

In our 2009 and 2011 studies, we used a combination of interviews and observations to gain a deeper understanding of how work was changing for participants located in the San Francisco Bay area and the Rochester, New York area. In both studies, we conducted open ended interviews with each participant and shadowed them for a full work day. We followed them wherever they did their work, including riding with them in their cars and shadowing their meetings and other activities throughout the day. We audio and videotaped the interviews and observations, and subsequently transcribed them for analysis.

In 2009, our study focused specifically on mobile workers and involved 17 participants who worked outside a static office for at least 30% of their time (many were mobile for closer to 80% of their work time). They all used smart phones and received company or work email on these phones.

RENEWING WORKPLACES / ORGANIZATIONS

Participants worked in a wide range of jobs including sales, design, rental properties, consulting, and startups.

Our 2011 study targeted participants that worked for small to medium sized businesses (5-500 people). We conducted 14 in context interviews at the location where the participant did a majority of their work (often a coffee shop or other transient meeting or work space).   In addition to the interviews, we also observed 8 of the 14 participants for a full day of work. All participants in this study used smartphones, tablet computers (like iPads), cloud computing, and social media to support their work. They represented a mix of ages and a variety of job titles including educator, business owner, services supervisor, rental property manager, researcher, and student.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

Our comparison of the findings from our series of studies revealed a rich set of trends concerning the future of mobile work. Here we discuss four main themes: 1) how effectively accomplishing mobile work is an art; 2) how workers are continuing to push the limits of mobile device integration in their work and everyday life; 3) how technology is a resource for social connectedness; and 4) how personal mobile device ownership and community sharing is revolutionizing work place practices.

Mobile work remains more of an art than a science

While technology makes it easier to work anytime, anywhere, we found that effective mobile workers must proactively develop strategies to handle infrastructure shortcomings and technological deficiencies. For example, some carried duplicate cords, batteries, and other hardware in travel bags that were always packed and ready to go (See Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. Participants carried backup cords for laptop power.

Like our 2009 study, participants continued to strategically configure their devices in parallel to maximize their work process. In order to increase their screen real estate, participants usually set up the tablet computer next to a laptop, not to share these screens but rather to coordinate the work on the laptop (See Figure 2). The tablet or smart phone provided a type of status display showing incoming information (i.e.: email or other kinds of messages), as illustrated by this quote "Usually (my iPad) is just watching the mail in case there's something more important to interrupt (my work)." Other types of device coordination included the use of tablets to look up information while

participants were using their phone for voice calls, and using the phone to access the internet if the tablet did not have access to Wi-Fi.

FIGURE 2. Participants often used their mobile devices in parallel.

In addition to organizing their tools, mobile workers orient to a situatedness (Wertsch, 1985) of their information to facilitate their work. As many participants interacted with multiple people with varying backgrounds and roles throughout the day, they required flexible views into their contact lists that supported the task at hand. For example, to support conference calls with client groups, one participant manually constructed an overview spreadsheet that listed attendee names and roles within the company; this view into client information was not available in her electronic contact list. Another participant, a real estate owner, bundled his contacts around specific rental properties to facilitate project based tasks: "Here are the names of my colleagues (related to a specific project). They're all in there together. If I was trying to reach one, and couldn't get one, I would go down to the next person. They would all be in one file instead of having to jump all over the place."

Due to the variable nature of mobile work, which features multiple meetings and travel that disrupt the flow of their work, participants use communication media and their physical location to re-prioritize their work throughout the day. For example, participants made an explicit effort to check their email, voicemail, and text messages between meetings to reorient to their work and to update the status of tasks that needed attention; this allowed them to reprioritize their to-do lists if new, more important tasks emerged while they were engaged with their meeting.

Participants also use their location, surroundings and amount of available time to re-orient and situationally re-prioritize their work. So if a meeting ends early, participants may take advantage of their location to run errands at nearby businesses. In another case, when a landscape designer happened to stop for gas near his main office, he decided to take advantage of his location and call the office to see if new work had come in. Since there was a new project, he stopped by the office to pick up paperwork after finishing at the gas station, thereby changing the set of tasks he was responsible for throughout the rest of the day.

Mobile work magnifies the fluid, organic nature of work. In the micro moments that occur throughout the day, people are presented with small moments of free time to check email messages at a stop light, or while walking down the hall. In waiting rooms and during meals, they also used their mobile devices to read articles or access information (See Figure 3). Participants considered these new

behaviors to be very productive and many commented that the ability to keep up with their incoming messages throughout the day allowed them more free time later in the day. However, while mobile technology can increase productivity, it can also make it difficult to maintain a balanced life. Several participants commented that they proactively decided to spend time away from their technology. "Everything is digital. It has its perks, but, …sometimes I don't want to be connected. ..I just want to interact (with real people).""Sundays are no technology (days) for me."

FIGURE 3. This picture shows how one participant spends his breakfast – using his coffee cup to prop up his smartphone, so he can catch up on the research articles he needs to read.

Device Integration across Work and Personal Tasks

Participants' mobile devices became very smoothly integrated into their work and personal lives. Smartphones and tablets were treated as appendages and companions, being carried on the person – in pockets or on belts (rather than being hidden away in bags and brief cases). These devices were often kept next to the bed while participants slept, sometimes acting as books, alarm clocks, televisions, music players, flashlights, etc.. Participants often said these devices were the last things they interacted with in the evening, the first, in the morning. This radical integration of mobile devices is causing the reduction and elimination of everyday objects, forever changing the landscape of our material world.

One way in which we can see how device integration is revolutionizing the way we store and access information is the use of these devices as ad hoc portals into their personal information landscape. For example, one participant stopped carrying printed information with him because his mobile devices would give him access to whatever he needed, at the moment when he needed it. He explained: "I'm sitting in front of the receptionist ... And before she runs out of patience, I've usually found that group number (on my smartphone), and I just show her the phone and say, 'Here. I'm insured.'" This participant did not plan ahead, looking at his schedule to determine what kinds of information he would need to carry with him that day, instead he relied on the ability to access whatever he needed with his smartphone.

Technology as social resource

Increasingly mobile devices are being integrated into the social interactions that support people's work and personal lives. Tablets were referred to as talking pieces that people could jointly refer to in conversation; in fact one participant actually bought his tablet to share information with people who attended his booth at a trade show. Mobile devices not only play a role in the conversation, they enrich the conversation by bringing in ad hoc reference resources. One participant, a professor, constantly used his phone or tablet to engage his students by pointing them to information on the internet, or in specific applications (See Figure 4), and another participant, a real estate agent, used her iPad to show her clients available properties that fit their criteria. Because tablets have the ability to display information in engaging, multi-layered ways that allow users to interact dynamically with the figures and illustrations, and provide hyperlinks to further explore topics mentioned within the pages, people are increasingly bringing them into their conversations.

FIGURE 4. This professor and his students constantly referred to their smartphones and tablets during meetings and tutoring sessions.

Social media and cloud computing spaces enhanced participants' ability to share information with colleagues, friends, and family. For example, social media enabled one participant, a pastor, to track his impact within his community of friends and followers by reading and responding to comments on his posts. Other participants invested time and effort to ensure that their businesses were visible in social media channels like Facebook and Twitter. Similarly, participants commented that cloud spaces made sharing very easy because the information was already "there" , on the cloud, and they just had to send or share the link, rather than sharing the actual video or picture which could be buried somewhere on a computer.

Ownership (Consumerization of IT)

In addition to being social resources, personal mobile devices were often shared with participants' family, friends, and sometimes colleagues. In the professional setting, the sharing of a community device presented several challenges. We observed teachers who shared their personal smartphones with

students, so they could use educational applications that they had downloaded onto their phones. We also saw teachers who shared a community iPad with one another. In both cases, teachers commented that it was difficult to manage the accounts for their device since the applications had to be downloaded through someone's personal account. Personal account purchases were difficult to get reimbursed by the school, and on the community device, with only one account able to be created, the teachers had to coordinate the acquisition of apps, and they had to be careful not to delete apps that other teachers had downloaded.

Interestingly, while we are seeing an increase in the use of personal mobile devices in the workplace, most participants commented that they still were not able to use tablets to do their "heavy" work. Participants said their tablets didn't yet "plug and play" with everything they needed to use. They said it was still difficult to print from tablets, and the integrated keyboards were difficult to type with. They commented that while some of the work related applications they use on computers are now available for tablets, the tablet versions of the apps require brand new interaction styles. Menus have been rearranged, and participants said they had to re-learn the application to use it on the tablet. Consequently, one of the biggest barriers for replacing computers is the huge investment of time required to cobble together a set of apps to serve the functions that the more integrated computer based apps already serve.

DISCUSSION: INFORMING CORPORATE RENEWAL

We work in an industry in which print media continues to displace print, so our company has no choice but to renew its business models and solutions offerings. Our team has used several techniques to connect the company to our findings, and to influence their thinking about new opportunities as the company invests in renewal (Watts-Perotti et. al., 2009). Here we reflect on the ways in which across time our engagement with our company's business groups has impacted our study methods and our ability to serve as a catalyst for innovation around the future of work.

The Advisory Board

At the beginning of the project, we recruited members of our organization to participate on a project advisory board (Watts-Perotti et. al., 2009). We created this advisory board with the goal of garnering visibility and support from relevant business groups; our collaboration ended up to be mutually beneficial. We kept membership open to everyone, expecting it would be difficult to find people who could commit the time to participate. However, we were surprised to receive many requests for membership on the board. For example, we gained members from internal groups like Human Resources and Corporate Real Estate – who were updating internal policies and practices to support employees of the future. The advisory board ultimately ended up with more than thirty members, representing fourteen groups across Xerox. This board led to new synergies that eventually led to the creation of a new cross-company team to facilitate collaboration across several of the groups whose members attended the advisory board meetings.

The advisory board proved to be an invaluable resource for keeping key players in the company involved with the project and informed about new project findings as they were released. In partnering with the business groups, we offered them the opportunity to accompany us on field visits in order to see for themselves the kinds of practices we were observing and documenting. This created

an analytic intersubjectivity between the research and business groups that was productive; in discussions about the findings, the gap between the work practice findings and their significance for solution design was minimized and our focus centered on the implications for ways to deepen the analysis and move design solutions forward.

Along the way, we received important feedback from the advisory board that helped us to incorporate their questions into our continued research inquiry. At first, one area of research focus was on the work practices surrounding printing. One key finding we had early on was that participants printed in order to address technology weaknesses (constrained screen size, usability, portability, etc.). By making the implication of this finding explicit for our business – that printing (the company's core business) could decline rapidly if or when these technological problems were solved – it caused the advisory board to look beyond printing and embrace findings about how people organize and share their information regardless of the medium. Later in the project, the company's interest in digital documentation and information flow in tandem with an increased emphasis on healthcare reform initiatives caused us to select study participants working in the healthcare industry who are using mobile and emerging technologies.

Concepts and the Design Directions Document

One way we were able to engage the company was to take our set of qualitative, descriptive findings and translate them into product and solution concepts, which are embedded within scenarios in a Design Directions Document (Watts-Perotti et. al., 2011). The goal of this document was to provide a vision for how the company might respond to study findings and implications by generating a set of high level concepts and scenarios which were mapped to study findings. The design directions document summarized study findings, provided sketches and descriptions of the concepts, and discussed how the concepts could address the difficulties observed in the study. The concepts were not specific recommendations for product ideas, but were instead high level templates that intentionally left room for readers to fill in details that resonated with their business function. The document was designed to be read by many different kinds of people within the company, including researchers working on innovation and new concept development and business groups working on product development.

Figure 5 shows an example of one of the concepts presented in the design directions document. The basic concept template was a software or service that facilitated remote collaboration. While many systems like this already exist today, we found that our participants were still not able to make them work effectively to support their tasks. We used the concept template to frame the study results about the current problems experienced with remote team collaboration, and added details to the design directions document describing how a collaborative team space might be built to better support remote collaboration (Watts-Perotti et. al., 2011). While the image representing the concept template does not include all of the contextual details that we observed in the field, each concept in the Design Directions Document was embedded within a rich description of the fieldwork findings which included images, quotes, and text.

FIGURE 5. An example of one of the concepts presented in the Design Directions Document.

Experiential Prototypes

At the end of the first year of the Future of Work study, the company invested in a complimentary project to review competitive and technological trends, and to make predictions about how the landscape of our industry might change by the year 2020. By 2011, the company had a deluge of data and reports from this 2020 project, combined with two years of data from the Future of Work project. We decided to take a step back and synthesize the data from all of these projects to determine the larger corporate implications for a forward-looking vision.

We embodied this synthesis into what we called "experiential prototypes." These prototypes were three-dimensional spaces that envisioned what work might look like in the future. For example, one prototype was a mock-up of mobile work. Observers of the prototype started by sitting in a car, and followed a story line which led them to a coffee shop, and then to the lobby of a client's building. Each area was set up to resemble a car, coffee shop, and lobby, and contained a video that described the story about who the observer was pretending to be, and included details about what it might be like to work in these spaces in the future. The videos were embedded into technology that might be used in the future. For example, the car video was embedded into a heads-up display in the windshield, the coffee shop video was played on an iPad, and the lobby video was played on an iPhone (this particular prototype was created to envision the near-term future).

In addition to the experiential prototypes of mobile work, we explored aspects of work in other prototypes that embodied Ideas about what it would be like to work at home, and with remote team members in the future. We presented these prototypes in different kinds of settings, including an open house where people could freely explore the concepts and workshops that focused on specific topics.

FIGURE 6. Experiential Prototype: This is the car, which is the first stop in the mobile work prototype. The large screen played a video showing a story which walked observers through the prototype stations, and demonstrated what it might be like to do mobile work in the future. When the video was playing, it looked like the observer was looking through the car's windshield.

Workshops

We conducted workshops with product and research teams using the Design Directions Document and the Experiential prototypes to inspire discussions about their own specific work. In the workshops, we presented the concepts embodied in the document and/or prototypes, together with the study findings that led to these concepts. We then divided the audience into small teams and asked them to work on a task that would contribute to the workshop goals. For example, in one workshop, we asked the teams to discuss the implications of the study findings and experiential prototypes for our company, and then create 1-2 more concepts for services or offerings that our company might develop. These workshops strengthened our collaboration with the business groups and helped them to understand and look beyond their current practices and business offerings.

By becoming familiar with business group's questions and assumptions, we were able to tailor our findings and concepts in ways that piqued their interest and drew them into the project. In this way, our findings had more impact as they were not only the answers to the business groups' questions, but they were positioned to give them exposure to other issues they might not have originally thought to ask about.

Video Podcast

In order to reach a broader audience across the company, we embodied study findings and implications within a video podcast. The podcast was a ten minute stand-alone video that summarized key findings and concepts, included video clips from the field, and referred viewers to the design directions document for more details about the study findings. We created this video with the hope that viewers would better remember study results after having experienced a multi-sensory

representation of our findings. The video was well received throughout the company, and has been adopted by the internal Public Relations group, who is modifying it to for external presentation.

Impacting Corporate Strategy

The project has impacted corporate strategy –both at the senior management and grass roots levels. Given the urgency of corporate renewal, our project was visible to senior management from the beginning. We were able to construct the study questions and design in a way that resonated with the issues that senior management was addressing. The findings were so relevant that they traveled up the chain of management to the top of the company. Each time we presented findings to a senior manager, management at the next level up became aware of them, and invited us to present to them. At the end of the year, we found ourselves presenting to the CEO and her senior management staff.

Several things seemed to amplify the resonance of our findings at the senior management level (Watts-Perotti et. al., 2009). The study was timely, studying how work was changing at a time when print was clearly declining, and work processes were beginning to change rapidly. The study findings painted a picture of cutting edge work practices which senior management could relate to, since many of them engaged in some or all of these practices themselves; and the picture painted by the findings were different from the work styles that our company typically supported. The format of the findings presentation also seemed to make an impact. We included rich examples to illustrate findings, supported by images and video. We also presented a set of provocative questions at the end of the presentation, which allowed us to lead a discussion about the implications of the study on the future directions for the company. Ultimately, the study emphasized the importance of some of the issues and activities that senior management was already starting to address, while at the same time provided rich details to support the forward-looking vision of the company.

While it certainly helps to have access to senior management, we typically focus much of our efforts on making an impact at the grass roots. Over the past several years, we have found several ways to make an impact at this level. One way is by partnering with technology-focused research teams. In the second year of our study, we partnered with a team that was interested in developing mobile technology. Members of this team provided input into our study questions, accompanied us to the field, and brainstormed implications for the study findings. We have found that we can make a significant impact on the partner project directions and solutions in this way because we can create study questions that are relevant to the team, make them aware of patterns that they did not expect to see in the field, and collaborate to determine implications both for their team and for the company as a whole. This partnership grounds the technology development and makes it more relevant for potential users.

We have also worked closely with product development teams to determine implications for their product features and roadmaps. For example, we conducted workshops with teams who were developing mobile print solutions, and we worked closely with a product marketing team in that business group, who was working on longer-term roadmaps and marketing campaigns.

CONCLUSION

These days, business groups and product teams are often so busy solving current problems that they often do not have the bandwidth to look beyond their current practices and business orientations.

This has always been a problem for corporate researchers – to make impactful connections with frenzied development teams who are driven by deadlines and the bottom line. Our Future of Work project was successful both in creating buy-in for the project across the company and moving beyond qualitative findings to envision explicit corporate implications from the study and facilitate innovation within the company.

Qualitative findings of ethnographic studies may not always help a company draw explicit implications. We used several techniques to envision study implications in the Future of Work project. We brainstormed explicit business-relevant implications, envisioned possible responses to study findings through a design directions document, experiential prototypes, workshops, and a video podcast. It was not enough to just present our observations from the study. In order to have impact we had to take a finding and dig deeper to find the true implication of the practice (e.g. people are only printing to make up for the shortcomings of their current technology solutions).

As the nature of work continues to change with the continual introduction of more and more new technology that makes it easier work anytime, anywhere, exploratory studies on the emerging practices will grow. Our ethnographic studies of workers on the cutting edge of these changes have informed a more grounded renewal of our company and a set of practices that continues to help us have impact within the company.

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Integrating Organizational and Design Perspectives to Address Challenges of Renewal: A case study of NASA's post-shuttle workforce transition

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As organizations become increasingly complex and technology-dependent, likewise their challenges become increasingly complex and technology-driven. In the practice of organizational and design ethnography, the elements of organization and technology design overlap. However, a need remains for an explicit framework to deal with the complex challenges of innovation and change faced by contemporary organizations. This need is evident in a case study of NASA's workforce transition as a result of the space shuttle's retirement. NASA's challenge is both organizational and technological – the end of the Space Shuttle Program left the agency without a clear replacement vehicle and the risk of losing an experienced, expert workforce. An integrated organizational and design approach could foster an environment of renewal by involving stakeholders at all levels of the agency and adopting a future-oriented approach to anticipating change.

> "The shuttle is always going to be a reflection of what this nation can do when it dares to be bold and commits to follow through. We're not ending the journey today… we're completing a chapter of a journey that will never end".
> Shuttle Commander Chris Ferguson to Mission Control prior to the final launch of the Space Shuttle Atlantis on July 8, 2011(Rasco 2011:1)

INTRODUCTION

As organizations become increasingly complex and technology-dependent, likewise their challenges become increasingly complex and technology-driven. The organizational, or human, problems have become increasingly intertwined with design, or technological, problems. In practice, the elements of organization and technology design overlap. However, a unifying theory has failed to emerge which effectively addresses the complex organizational and technological challenges contemporary organizations face.

Anthropologists introduced ethnography to industry through work focused on organizational application, but now practitioners are being a pulled towards design applications. A brief look at the history of organizational and design anthropologies[1] reveals that workforce topics have been delegated to the organizational ethnographers and technology projects to the design ethnographers. Historically, both share a close engagement of the employee or consumer-user as a research participant. Design paradigms have shifted, however, towards a more user involved, active approach. Moreover, design ethnography is a future-oriented activity. In an ever-changing technology-driven world, academics and

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[1] Although practitioners from many disciplines conduct ethnography, this brief history illustrates the separation in the organizational and design ethnographic approaches.

practitioners have acknowledged the interrelatedness of technology and organization. Now is the time to develop a new approach to addressing the challenges contemporary organizations experience that incorporates participation, anticipation and innovation.

Building on Melissa Cefkin's introduction to *Ethnography and the Corporate Encounter* (2009), I undertook an exploratory research study investigating new applications of corporate ethnography. I was familiar with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) as a highly complex, highly technological organization having worked within the agency for several years. The retirement of the Space Shuttle Program (SSP) affected many of my former colleagues and presented a unique opportunity to study organizational renewal from the beginning of the story. The pilot study I conducted exploring NASA's post-shuttle workforce transition revealed an interrelated organizational and technological challenge. I present my findings as an example of the need for an integrated approach to organizations which combines organizational and design ethnographic perspectives.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL LOOK AT ETHNOGRAPHIC PRAXIS IN INDUSTRY

Organizational Ethnography

Anthropology's involvement in industry began with an interest in the cultural aspects of work in the industrial organization. In 1931, W. Lloyd Warner began the first ethnographic study on social organization within the work setting in the Bank Wiring Observation Room at General Electric's Hawthorne Works (Baba 2005). The Hawthorne Studies established human relations as a topic of study and the field of industrial anthropology which later evolved into organizational anthropology. Warner's work brought to the forefront of organizational ethnography the concept of informal structure and unwritten protocols of behavior (Jordan 2003). Those that followed the industrial anthropological tradition in the 1940s focused on workplace studies including studies of assembly line workers, Chicago restaurant workers, incentive systems, and factory teamwork (Jordan 2003).

Industrial anthropology receded to the sidelines during the 1960s and 1970s but reemerged in the 1980s as the work of anthropologists moved more and more outside academia (Jordan 2003). In academia, the revolutionary work of Marietta Baba (1989) and Patricia Sachs (1989) renewed interest in the anthropological study of organizations. In the business community, the ethnographic methods practiced by applied anthropologists appealed to the popular notion of organizational or *corporate culture* (Jordan 2003). An intrigued business community coupled with renewed academic interest paved the way for the seminal applied works of Ann Jordan (1990) and Elizabeth Briody (1991) in the early 1990s. Management consulting, organizational development, program evaluation, cross-cultural training, and workplace operations continue to characterize the ethnography practiced by organizational anthropologists.

Design Ethnography

Prior to the inclusion of ethnographic methods, social scientists employed in design were primarily cognitive psychologists focused on human factors or ergonomics research (Wasson 2000). Researchers and designers at the Palo Alto Research Center (PARC) in the Industrial Design Human Interface

department at Xerox were the first to actively pursue collaboration between ethnographers and designers, notably that of anthropologist Lucy Suchman (Wasson 2012). At Xerox, anthropologists were first introduced into the field of design through research in Computer-Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW). By 1997, every major design firm in the United States claimed to include ethnographic methods in their research and its popularity remains widespread in the design community today (Wasson 2000).

Increasingly, design projects have adopted ethnographic methods as design firms over time have discovered the benefits of qualitative approaches to user research (Kensing and Blomberg 1998). Anthropologists and other ethnographic practitioners provide a deeper understanding of consumer or user behavior. By situating user behavior within a larger contextual frame, contemporary applied ethnographers such as Charlotte Linde (2006) and Crysta Metcalf (2006) provide their respective organizations, NASA and Motorola Mobility, Inc., with practical knowledge of what users actually do versus what they say they do.

CASE STUDY: EXPLORING NASA'S WORKFORCE TRANSITION AS A RESULT OF SPACE SHUTTLE RETIREMENT

As a graduate student in applied anthropology, torn between the seemingly separate concentration areas of organization and design as illustrated above, I designed an exploratory study to investigate possible topics for my future thesis research regarding ethnographic applications in the space industry. The purpose of the pilot study I conducted was to explore the transition of NASA's workforce as a result of the space shuttle's retirement. The recent end of the SSP presented NASA with several challenges. After 133 missions the retirement of the nation's only operational manned space fleet created a period of uncertainty for the thousands of individuals who claim rocket science as their livelihood. As an agency, NASA was forced to address potential obstacles in successfully retaining an experienced workforce. Being a former NASA intern and contractor[2] for over five years, I was familiar with the complexities of what retirement could mean for the workforce. As a case study, I present my findings and research experience as an example of the need for an explicit framework integrating organizational and design ethnographic perspectives.

Shuttle Program Background

The birth of the space shuttle concept occurred shortly after the moon landing in 1969 when President Nixon put forth the task of creating a reusable, economic manned spacecraft. On April 12, 1981, Columbia lifted off from Cape Canaveral marking the first of 133 space shuttle missions. For 30 years, the space shuttle fleet served as the nation's icon for space exploration. Despite the catastrophic losses of Challenger and Columbia, the SSP continued to further other NASA missions including the

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[2] As a student studying aerospace engineering, I completed two internship rotations with flight controller divisions. Post-graduation I supported flight controllers as a contractor and served on JSC's Culture Change Task Force of the Columbia Accident Investigation Board (CAIB).

launch and repair of the Hubble Space Telescope and the complete construction of the International Space Station (ISS).

In January 2004, President George W. Bush delivered to NASA the new Vision for Space Exploration which called for the retirement of the space shuttle. At the time, the SSP employed over 17,600 civil servants and contractors. NASA and its primary contractor United Space Alliance (USA) soon became concerned of the impacts the shuttle's retirement would have on the workforce. In 2005, the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) reported that "both NASA and USA have acknowledged that sustaining their workforces will be difficult as the space shuttle nears retirement, particularly if a career path beyond the space shuttle's retirement is not apparent to their employees" (GAO 2005:2). The following year NASA began assessing the critical skills possessed by the shuttle workforce that would be vital to the success of future agency missions. The GAO testified to Congress in 2007 that the scheduled 5-year gap between the last shuttle mission and the planned launch of the new vehicle, Constellation, would "pose a unique set of challenges, and the agency is developing plans to mitigate the potential loss of critical skills and institutional knowledge" (GAO 2007:1). In 2008, NASA finalized their plans to manage the shuttle's retirement and published the NASA Transition Management Plan for Implementing the U.S. Space Exploration Policy.

NASA defined *transition* as the work which "encompasses the careful planning, utilization, and disposition of the SSP and ISS processes and resources, while leveraging existing assets for the safety and success of future Exploration missions" (NASA 2008:4). In recognition of the potentially negative impacts of shuttle retirement, the Management Plan stated, "the Agency's overarching goal is to preserve its critical skill base, ensure the viability of its core competencies, and execute its challenging, dynamic, and evolutionary Exploration mission" (NASA 2008:21).

Early on, one of the planned approaches to retaining critical skills and knowledge was to move shuttle workers to the Constellation Program aimed at returning to the moon. In 2010, this strategy proved futile when President Obama announced the 2011 NASA budget which cancelled the new program[3]. Therefore, the end of the SSP in 2011 marked the end of one manned spaceflight venture without a certain, foreseeable replacement vehicle for the first time in our nation's history. On July 21, 2011, the shuttle program ended as Atlantis safely returned her crew to the Kennedy Space Center and left many to question when America would return her own to space.

Research Design & Sample Selection

This study applied an ethnographic, qualitative approach to the exploration of the space shuttle's retirement and the resulting workforce transition. NASA's manned spaceflight missions are developed, managed, and operate out of the NASA Johnson Space Center (JSC) in Houston. I selected the center in Houston as the field site because it housed the highest percentage of civil servant SSP employees,

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[3] The 2011 NASA budget preserved the Orion Crew Exploration Vehicle portion of the program. However, at the time of this study, adequate funding to develop the heavy-lift Space Launch System (SLS) needed to carry the reclassified Orion Multi-Purpose Crew Vehicle (Orion MPCV) into space did not exist. It is important to note that while budgetary resources exist in 2012 to support NASA's new SLS, engineers are pursuing the development of the Orion MPCV and heavy-lift SLS without a clear mission objective defining where the vehicle will go or what it will do.

and because the greatest threat of in-house critical skill loss resided with those employees. This decision was reinforced by findings of a 2007 survey conducted by NASA of civil servants at each space center concerning the end of the shuttle program. The JSC response was less positive than results from the other centers. The Marshall Space Flight Center results revealed 71 percent of civil servants planned to remain at NASA after the last shuttle flight, and 72 percent of civil servants in Florida said the same. In Houston, only 59 percent of the civil servants surveyed said they were likely to stay through the shuttle's retirement. Of the 41 percent of JSC civil servants planning to leave NASA either by choice or the anticipated layoffs, 53 percent of the respondents reported to likely seek a job elsewhere before the retirement of shuttle fleet (GAO 2007).

I limited the sample population of the case study to four participants[4], shown by their pseudonyms in Table 1, due to the constrained timeframe and resources of the study. In order to recruit initial participants, a criteria-based call for volunteers was posted on the closed NASA listserv of mission operations personnel. Additional participants were recruited through the use of a snowball sampling technique. I restricted participant selection to civil servants at JSC who previously worked in a Shuttle mission control position for at least five years. Pre-study communications with my former JSC colleagues along with a review of social networking sites maintained by mission operations personnel revealed an observable pattern to NASA's plan for reassigning shuttle flight controllers. The three apparent strategies were 1) temporary job rotations, 2) converting from shuttle to ISS flight controller positions, and 3) promotions to management. Subsequently, one study participant was chosen from each strategy category, and one study participant was selected from upper-level management within the Mission Operations Directorate. Further determinants in participant selection included flexibility of workday schedules and level of security clearance required to access personal workspaces.

Participant	Sex	Age	Education	Years @ NASA	Shuttle Position(s)	Current Position(s)
Annie	F	30	M.S.	7	Flight Controller	Job Rotation
Beth	F	43	B.S.	16	Flight Controller	ISS Flight Controller
Carol	F	36	B.S.	11	Flight Controller	Technical Manager
David	M	56	M.S.	35	Flight Controller/ Division Chief	Division Chief (ISS Operations)

Table 1. Participant Profile

The individuals selected participated in in-depth, semi-structured interviews and workplace observations that took place in November 2011 onsite at JSC. At the completion of the interview and a brief survey, each participant was asked to give a tour of their normal work environment. Depending

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[4] Although three out of the four of the participants in the study are women this is not representative of the NASA civil servant population or the population of SSP flight controllers.

on each person's schedule, participants were observed while they went about their average workday duties including meetings and lunch breaks. During this time, notes were made documenting characteristics of their individual workspace including location with respect to key areas of JSC, proximity to former and current colleagues, floor plan layout, visual condition of office technology, agency-office decorations, and personal artifacts.

Research Findings

Defining Critical Skills - Flight controllers make up a significant portion of the shuttle workforce in transition, and the loss of technological skills developed and honed in the Mission Control Center (MCC) have been a concern to NASA administrators (GAO 2005). This concern does not appear to be shared among the four former flight controller participants. Each participant attributed greater significance to the non-technical skills of the flight controller. After explaining that the flight control software for the ISS is vastly different from the shuttle's software, which will also be the case for future vehicles, Carol expressed her thoughts on retaining critical flight controller skills:

> There are flight controller skills that are universal - so much of it is a basic way of approaching problems. I'm not worried about us forgetting how to do flight control, but after while if we were to lose all the key people I don't see a way we could train new people.

When asked if he was worried about the possibility of losing critical flight controller skills, David said that "If we suddenly lost all the [flight controllers] for some reason, even after being behind a desk for 19 years, I feel like if they called me up and said 'Fill in', that I would have no problem technically."

The Agency's Attempted Solution - In 2006, administrators in Houston created the JSC Transition Integration Panel (JTIP) as a forum for planning and coordinating the workforce transition (NASA 2008). The JTIP sponsored several activities and communication tools aimed at assisting those affected by the shuttle's retirement. Table 2 shows a list of communication tools presented by the JTIP to the Space Shuttle Transition Liaison Office at NASA Headquarters.

Communication Tools
• JSC Transition Management Integration Plan Document
• JSC Transition Website
• JSC Transition Graphic
• JSC Quarterly Transition Newsletter
• 2007 Transition Road Show
• PM Challenge 2008 Transition Panel
• Biweekly panel discussions with JSC departments
• Brown Bag Luncheons
• Town Hall forums

Table 2. JTIP Communication Tools (Dornell 2008)

The JSC Transition Graphic advertising the Transition Website and the JSC Transition Update Newsletter were the most visible artifacts created by the JTIP. I noted numerous full color, 11x17

posters of the Graphic-Website advertisement in the buildings and cafeteria utilized by JSC administration, astronauts and former shuttle trainers. Several copies of the Newsletter were also observed in these areas. However, I did not observe any of the JTIP products on the opposite side of the JSC campus where the MCC, majority of flight controller offices, and their main cafeteria are located.

Despite the apparent efforts of the JTIP, all four participants stated they did not utilize any of the tools because they were either unaware of their existence or believed the aids did not apply to their situation. Although all participants were aware of JSC's official transition program, the JSC Transition Website was the only NASA-designed tool that was mentioned when interviewees were asked to list available transition aids. Annie and Beth reported that several resume workshops were offered to help those affected by agency-wide layoffs, and all four participants reported numerous job fairs were held onsite - transition tools that were initiated by NASA contractors and not the agency.

The Employees' Perceived Solution: The Need for Meaningful Work - When asked what type of work they consider important, each former shuttle flight controller said that it must directly relate to a future manned mission and that it should involve something "hard-wired", "technical", or "worthy of an engineering background". Activities relating to the ISS, robotics, and management duties while important to NASA's overall mission were considered less desirable roles by the former shuttle flight controllers.

When asked about their personal experiences in the transition, each participant directed the conversation towards the topic of work satisfaction. Beth, Carol and David voiced this theme through their observations of colleagues and refrained from giving testament to their personal level of work satisfaction. Annie, on a temporary job rotation outside mission operations, expressed extreme satisfaction with her new job role. She viewed her day-to-day activities as "meaningful work" preparing for NASA's eventual return to flight. The phrase *meaningful work* has been used in the media, academic literature and in official NASA documents to describe motivation in NASA's work environment (Vaughan 1997, Dornell 2008, Rasco 2011). The phrase was echoed by each participant when discussing their opinions on why civil servants may voluntarily seek employment outside NASA:

> "… there is a lack of meaningful work now…" (Annie)

> "We need to find more work that is meaningful to folks… work that serves a real purpose." (Beth)

> "There are those who are die-hard flight controllers who feel they will never find meaningful work here again in their lifetime – for those it doesn't matter where they work now." (Carol)

> "[He] loved the new environment and the pay was not a factor – there was simply no meaningful work knowing that the [system] would never be used." (David)

INTEGRATING ORGANIZATIONAL AND DESIGN PERSPECTIVES

RENEWING WORKPLACES / ORGANIZATIONS

As I developed my research plan, I struggled with how to approach the study of NASA's transition. My perceived need to choose between an organizational perspective and a design perspective perplexed me - a crisis of personal identity I also experienced in my first semester of graduate school. A clear, explicit framework for describing the challenges faced by the agency and the shuttle workforce was not apparent. However, I could see how the two seemingly separate styles of ethnography could apply. This thought was reinforced as I concluded my research and discovered the complexities of NASA's challenge in retiring the space shuttle - NASA's challenge is both organizational and technological.

In the rhetoric of business ethnography, workforce topics have been delegated to the organizational practitioners and technology projects to the design researchers preserving their historical disconnectedness. In reality, much overlap exists between the two apparently separate groups. Organizational knowledge has influenced design projects aimed at creating environments of collaboration and change. Similarly, the focus on participant involvement characterizing many design traditions has impacted the view of the worker inside organizational ethnography. However, there remains a need for a fully integrated framework to deal with the complex concerns of innovation and change faced by contemporary organizations.

Creating an integrated framework built on both design and organizational ethnography perspectives goes further than methodology. More than a cross-application of methods, an integrated approach to addressing the challenges of contemporary organizations calls for an exhaustively holistic look at both the organizational and technological. Even though my framework is still in development, three elements emerged from this case study, and each bear further consideration in constructing an integrated approach to organizations. First, the new integrated framework should place a premium on the voice of organization members and provide them with the opportunity to participate throughout the ethnographic process. Second, an integrated framework should be oriented towards the future when considering the contemporary issues of organizations. Third, a continual awareness and acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of technology and organization should be present when contextualizing current and future challenges. By integrating these elements, as shown through a theoretical discuss of the NASA case study, ethnographers can provide organizations with the ability to foster innovation and renewal.

People-driven

Plans for implementing change will be better suited to the needs of the organization if they empower members at all levels. Although they served as an important introduction between industry and ethnography, the Hawthorne Studies, and the functionalist framework on which they relied, eventually received criticism within the field of organizational anthropology for failing to take into account influences of power. Design ethnography, however, allows for a research process which provides participants a stronger voice. The North American tradition of Participatory Design (PD) emerged from the roots of Scandinavian PD which is characterized by a focus on active user involvement throughout the entire development process (Kensing and Blomberg 1998). User-centered

and user-directed design paradigms[5] are those most often discussed within anthropological circles of praxis and academia, and allow for similar yet distinct approaches to design projects which continue to evolve and co-exist simultaneously in contemporary practice.

I easily recognized the benefit of a participatory research process through the participants' discussions regarding NASA's transition programs. Although the shuttle's retirement ultimately affected both civil servant and contractor flight controllers, the civil servants interviewed did not utilize the aids because they did not feel the tools were relevant to their situation. The services most noticeable to the participants were the aids aimed at supporting workers transitioning out of the NASA organization rather than helping those staying behind. In addition to the unsuitable support programs, JSC's strategies aimed at retaining their expert flight controllers did not reflect the desires or voice of the workforce. The flight controllers interviewed felt powerless in their ability to choose what their new roles might be in the agency. Regardless of JSC's attempt to offer relevant, new opportunities to all members of their shuttle community, the options were limited and were often times undesirable by a workforce accustomed to real-time operations[6]. Perhaps a more participatory approach would have resulted in transition programs and strategies better suited to the needs of flight controllers.

Future-oriented

The concept of change is intertwined with notions of future. Change implies that a certain amount of time is required for transformation to occur. This viewpoint, of change and future, is well-known by organizational ethnographers. Organizational ethnographers are often called upon to offer insight into organizational change, as evident in the early works of Ann Jordan (1990). Design ethnography could contribute to the insights of organizational ethnography through its emphasis on the future and needs that are not yet known or perceived. Johan Redström coined the phrase of designing for "use before use" (Redström 2008:421). Ehn (2008) argues that PD provides a framework and methods to meet the design challenge of fully anticipating, or envisioning, use before actual use takes place. PD requires the identification of future users while meta-design, another strand, allows for future stakeholders to remain unknown (Ehn 2008). Even though these perspectives are mostly applied to the design of material artifacts, the benefits of a future-oriented perspective still apply towards the issues faced by changing organizations, as seen in the NASA case study.

Findings from the study revealed a shared concern among management and workers for retaining an experienced mission operations workforce to ensure the success of future missions. However, NASA and the former shuttle flight controllers maintained an inconsistent definition of *critical skills*. The agency administration framed their concern with retaining experienced in-house flight controllers as the possibility of losing those skilled in the technological expertise deemed necessary for future missions. The flight controllers interviewed assigned greater importance to non-technical knowledge. Both the agency administration and the flight controllers shared a concern that was future-oriented. As

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[5] Other design paradigms exist which place the user in a central role which I will not discuss within the scope and length of this paper.

[6] NASA engineers often align themselves in one of two camps - systems or operations. *Systems* characterizes engineers involved in hardware applications while *operations* refers to those involved in real-time mission activities.

an example of the need for a future-oriented approach, NASA's challenge will not become measurable for some time. The stakeholders in this example will be the next manned NASA program and the future members of their workforce yet to come. Will they lose critical skills? With a future-oriented approach to this problem, and by giving the flight controllers a stronger voice in the transition planning, a clearer definition of the critical skills more likely to be lost could have been made years before the last shuttle flight.

Org+Tech- interconnected

The idea that technology and organization are interwoven is well accepted in academia and praxis. Activity theory (Holt 1993, Nardi 1996) and sociotechnical systems (STS) theory (Baba and Mejabi 1997) acknowledge the influence of artifacts on behavior, and these theories regularly ground the praxis of design and organizational ethnographers. More explicitly than activity theory, STS attempts to connect the two worlds of organization and technology through a framework concerned with people and their interactions with technical or designed products and processes at work. In a world increasingly sustained by technology, organizations will be better equipped in decision-making if they view their problems not as separate organizational and technical issues but as a single, interrelated challenge. As revealed in the case study interviews, the key to retaining a motivated workforce rested in the agency's acknowledgement of the flight controllers' definition of *meaningful work*.

NASA Headquarters as well as JSC leaders developed solutions to the problem of workforce retention by developing new roles within the agency for those impacted by the shuttle's retirement. However, those roles failed to provide widespread opportunities for *meaningful work* as defined by the flight controller participants. Each participant gave their definition of significant and worthwhile work as that which is directly involved with the technologies of manned spaceflight. As engineers in mission operations, they shared the belief that working in roles directly relating to the development of new spaceflight capabilities (i.e. technology) was crucial to preventing the loss of in-house experts. In short, NASA's organizational problem of retaining flight controller experts was directly related to the space agency's lack of new operational technologies[7].

Integrating perspectives to foster innovation and renewal

Both organizational ethnography and design ethnography offer the insight and means to anticipate change and address innovation. However, by integrating the three proposed elements, organizations will be better equipped to foster renewal and innovation. Strengthening the voice of members throughout the organization not only solidifies the best-made plans of the establishment's leaders but also allows for a stronger creative process. A people-driven and future-oriented approach puts members' needs in a central position when planning for the organization's future while at the same time allowing the organization to tap into unused human resources for innovation. However,

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[7] The absence of an operational American spacecraft posed another problem for NASA. With the retirement of the shuttle fleet, America became totally dependent on Russia to transport astronauts to the ISS. Russia responded to the situation by tripling the cost to ride on the Soyuz capsule from $20 million per seat to roughly $63 million (Atwood 2011).

innovation involves more than producing a new technological invention or strategizing organizational effectiveness. As Allen Batteau (2010) points out, innovation is more often a restructuring or redesigning activity than it is about creating something new. In light of this observation, concepts of innovation and change involve routine activities of adaptation and renewal. Organizations foster renewal by incorporating practices of anticipatory behavior into their milieu. In terms of sustainability and industry innovativeness, organizations remain profitable if they can effectively anticipate and adapt to internal changes and external influences, as seen in Jeanette Blomberg's (2011) recent work investigating enterprise transformation. An organization's attitude of innovation and an orientation towards continual renewal is more likely achieved when a focus on the future is just as prevalent as an understanding of the past and present.

Ethnographers integrating organizational and design perspectives, in this manner, create an awareness that renewal and innovation is an on-going process. For NASA, a futuristic outlook is second nature; their ability to anticipate change is crucial. Aside from science-fiction-esque plans to inhabit Mars, NASA provides a noble example of an organization oriented towards the future through their routine re-purposing of technology. Driven by the political climate of the nation, NASA is familiar with ever-changing mission objectives and works through budget constraints to retain its technological assets. However, the retirement of the shuttle fleet has presented NASA with a challenge of renewal on a grand scale. Whether or not NASA will recapture its place as the leader in manned spaceflight is a question only time can answer.

CONCLUSION

Although the research findings are not generalizable to all members of NASA's workforce, this study has laid the groundwork for future studies. In addition to establishing access to the field site, additional research questions have emerged from this study that once explored may gain better insight into the impacts the shuttle's retirement will have on NASA's expert workforce. One such question that bears attention is how the concept of *meaningful work*, as understood by the participants in this study, impacts critical skill retention. More significant to the scope of this paper and the EPIC community, the case study provides an example of the need for an integrated ethnographic framework in addressing challenges of organization renewal and innovation.

An integrated organizational and design approach could foster an environment of innovation by involving stakeholders at all levels of the agency in a co-creative, future-oriented renewal process addressing interrelated issues of technology and organization. Approaching industry from a mixed perspective allows for dynamic, solution-making decisions which would allow for organizational and technological solutions to be considered simultaneously. With stakeholder buy-in a major obstacle for practitioners to overcome, diversifying the range of deliverables offered by ethnographers on any given project should be a welcome innovation to any discipline. Discussion among scholars and practitioners suggests that jobs outside academia are on the decline for purely organizational anthropologists. Organizational projects today are often undertaken by ethnographers who work in a variety of applications such as technology design, program evaluation, and teaching. Combining these applications under one integrated paradigm would strengthen our ethnographic praxis and allow us to better serve our clients in an ever-more technology dependent world.

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NASA is but one example of the need for an integrated framework. Approaching industry from a mixture of organizational and technology design perspectives would allow ethnographers to apply a complete, or exhaustively holistic, view of modern organizations both large and small. As the business world becomes increasingly dependent on technologies of globalization and innovation, an integrated organizational and design perspective has the potential to provide a theoretical foundation and methodological practices applicable to organizations of any size in any industry. In keeping with the elements I have proposed, I invite the ethnographic community to become co-creators of this new paradigm. Take a future-oriented look at the nature of our discipline and consider the interrelated nature of challenges you have observed in contemporary industries. With such a great need apparent, our ability to renew ethnographic practice by anticipating change and planning for times of needed innovation makes this study and subsequent studies urgent, meaningful work.

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Opting Out Of Stasis: Using integrated techniques to create sustainable change and renewal in healthcare organizations

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In recent times, hospitals and healthcare organizations have become more accepting of using human-centered approaches, including ethnography, to lend insight on how to prevent risk, increase efficiency, improve staff experience, and advance delivery of care. But often times, these approaches lack the tools and techniques needed to carry these insights to implementation. This paper identifies and reflects on the hurdles that make change and innovation difficult and how the integration of practices, such as quantitative, co-creative, and change management, with ethnographic methods can help facilitate responsive and sustainable transformation in healthcare organizations.

Introduction | A Call to Action

Past EPIC papers and presentations have highlighted the changing value of ethnography, as Bezaitis and Anderson (2011) lay out: "Our job is not simply to look at the world and report the facts or 'insights' in connection with what we see." Due to changes in the kinds of questions being asked and business problems to solve, we must change how we work in order to remain effective. They call for more from us as ethnographers – more disciplinary approaches, tools, and methodologies that we can use to uncover the 'truths' that ultimately help to drive change in the world around us.

We have heard this call for action, and we are responding. Renewing workplaces and organizations requires the keen insight that ethnography produces in order to uncover the truths about behaviors, interpersonal dynamics, and underlying cultural norms that are specific to the organization. However, renewal takes more than just insights and recommendations. We must take steps to restore or repair the components that need an overhaul – it requires action. Can ethnographic insights alone produce action? Perhaps, but in order to achieve renewal in organizations effectively and efficiently, we must go beyond our typical presentation of insights and recommendations. We must bring about action in the form of aiding in the implementation and maintenance of new practices.

Thus, it is this adoption of action that requires us, as practitioners of ethnography, to push ourselves into new territories and acquire new skills and approaches to effectively renew workplaces. We can be most valuable when we are able to support ethnographic insight with methods that help to uncover truths as well as enable change and renewal within the workplace. We believe this interdisciplinary approach is especially necessary in the area of hospital and healthcare renewal – a workplace where complexity is the norm, human lives are at risk, and enacting lasting change has been a notoriously difficult task.

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Understanding the Complexity of the Healthcare Setting

Our focus for this paper is the improvement, transformation, or renewal of hospital processes to enrich the human experience (whether that focuses on patients, professionals, or both) without jeopardizing the quality of care or safety of the patient. This turn to renewing the healthcare and hospital experience is becoming a particularly relevant subject in recent times since hospitals are increasingly understanding the value of the human experience. As the worldwide population increases in size and diversity, traditional models of care are struggling to adapt in the face of systemic obstacles to change (Parameswaran & Raijmakers, 2010). This, in turn, leaves patients unhappy, staff overworked, and administrators overwhelmed, which results in healthcare systems that prioritize efficiency over excellence. Ultimately, the healthcare system is in crisis and needs new strategies for innovation that will allow for sustainable success in the face of innumerable challenges. These challenges are an outgrowth of a healthcare industry that is complex, confusing, and at times archaic.

It is incredibly difficult to navigate these complexities when organizations are being tasked with bringing change and renewal to the delivery of care. There are many barriers that 'change enablers' encounter at different levels of a healthcare system or hospital.

At a systems level, healthcare is a product of its political and economic environment, which means that factors that influence patient care are coming from many different directions (Reid et al., 2005). These factors, which include financial and regulatory entities, may not always support a human-centered approach to healthcare delivery (Bissent & Maher, 2009). Yet facilities are expected to balance financial and legal constraints while continuing to provide quality patient care.

At an organizational level, communication of information between departments and units tends to be fragmented. Critical information-gathering is distributed between various units, each with its own objectives, obligations, and capabilities. Patient care benefits from a seamless flow of information within and across these entities, however this is rarely achieved. Whether this is a consequence of the information technology employed (such as EMR/EHRs) or the inconsistent communication between staff members, these barriers can create negative perceptions and infighting within and between departments that can lead to an unsuccessful change initiative (Cebul et al., 2008).

At a cultural/social level, staff and administrators tend to rely on evidence-based research to make decisions about healthcare guidelines and standards. While this approach is thought to reduce variations in practice – thus reducing potentially negative consequences in the organization – it can in fact undervalue tacit knowledge that practitioners have honed over years of experience (Gabbay & le May, 2004). In addition, these evidence-based guidelines are based on systematic scientific research studies. More qualitative approaches, including ethnography, do not always fit within the narrow parameters of what is said to be 'evidence' (Hjørland, 2011). Thus, qualitative methods, while becoming more established in some areas (such as nursing), aren't always accepted as a relevant or satisfactory method of investigation and insight (Brooks, 2007).

At an attitudinal, cognitive, or motivational level, practitioners and staff members have differing – and sometimes conflicting – priorities. These differences in priorities may be due to a lack of awareness or knowledge or a lack of motivation to change their routines (National Institute of Clinical Studies, 2006). Either way, the siloing of departments, as discussed earlier, can escalate this issue of opposing priorities. Without understanding what priorities motivate each group, consensus on important insights and the 'truth' of what goes on will be nearly impossible to achieve.

In sum, bringing renewal to healthcare systems and hospitals require strategies that can enable change at each of these levels – strategies that will allow them to reshape processes and practices that were instituted decades ago and based on an outdated model of care. We believe that ethnographic methods are crucial to forming these strategies, which must not only seek to understand the cultural core that makes change so difficult, but also be generative of methods to encourage transformation and renewal.

The Changing Value of Ethnography in Renewing Workplaces

According to Atkinson (1994), ethnography was originally employed to contribute to disciplinary knowledge rather than solving practical problems in the world. The intent was to provide an account of the 'truth', which was seen as valuable in its own right. We believe the goal still holds true that the production of knowledge is intrinsically valuable. However, to truly renew the workplace we must go beyond the idea of research as outcome to research as input to solutions.

As discussed earlier, the culture of the staff as well as the organization as a whole plays a huge role in carrying through effective changes in practice. Ethnography has slowly been gaining more traction in healthcare as an approach that can bring these cultural and social implications to light, which in turn can help inform the creation and implementation of transformational changes.

Not only can ethnography help to uncover behavioral practices and routines, but it can help us, as researchers, uncover strategies for realigning expectations across siloed teams. It can also uncover strategies for increasing buy in and ownership of these changes. Ethnography as a stand-alone practice is particularly well-suited for gaining insight into the current behaviors and practices that are needed to launch a change initiative. It is also a great tool for helping healthcare providers understand their context and the challenges associated with the system they operate within by exposing the true practices and behaviors that occur. But within the healthcare setting, ethnography alone isn't always enough to carry the proposed changes through to implementation and adoption.

Renewal in organizations means redefining our work

Traditionally, researchers would do the bulk of the work and encourage the client to participate if they so desired. After providing insights and recommendations, the researchers were generally no longer involved in the process and the client would move forward to develop, implement, and revise solutions, often times enacting more innocuous recommendations that may miss the key essence for success.

As we move into renewing the workplace, rather than just consumer goods and services, we must ensure that the most impactful ideas aren't swept under the rug by becoming embedded teammates with our clients in the journey of renewal. We can equally share the responsibility for research and improvement. We can continually empower our clients by working in lock-step with them from research through implementation.

Thus, as researchers, we must continue to evolve our roles, skills, and impact on the transformative work that we provide to organizations. We can no longer simply pass off our insights and recommendations and rely on our clients to carry through these changes. If we are to be 'change enablers' that bring about renewal in organizations, we must become part of the implementation

process. How many of us have provided insights, only to become unsure what has become of them – or worse, to watch them flounder and sink in an organization? While we strive to create recommendations that are 'actionable' for our client, we don't hold any power in ensuring that any action is, in fact, taken. If we believe our insights are 'truths' and our recommendations are solutions, then we should either expand our role through implementation of these solutions or ensure our clients have the capability to adopt and advocate for transformation – or better yet, use both strategies to see change realized and help create structures that can be self-responsive to change in the future.

In order to adopt this 'action stance', we must utilize additional approaches and skills, especially when it comes to the complex hospital workplace.

Supporting qualitative insights with quantitative data

As discussed earlier, most healthcare professionals rely on evidence-based research, which tends to be quantitative in nature. As Barbour (2001) argues: "The question is no longer whether qualitative methods are valuable but how rigor can be assured or enhanced." Quantitative data, whether they are gathered through the IT department's metrics database or simply collecting metrics of our own, can help support qualitative insights gained from ethnographic methods. This triangulation of insights and data helps to bring the 'rigor' that Barbour mentions, essentially 'validating' the qualitative findings from ethnographic work. This is especially important when dealing with particularly contentious issues.

Another benefit that quantitative measurement brings to healthcare change initiatives is that it allows us to track the changes being made – whether positive or negative. By creating a baseline of data that is relevant to the proposed changes before they are launched, we can compare those to metrics captured at different points during and after the change initiative. This ability to evaluate measured improvement, or decline, is particularly important for healthcare systems. In order to disseminate change initiatives to other hospitals, changes must be recognized as effective and defensible.

Quantitative data can be a powerful tool to lend rigor and depth to qualitative insights. However, when the quantitative and qualitative insights are conflicting, it can be difficult to uncover the 'true' story. A hard look at the quality of both types of data can help to reconcile this concern.

Co-creating the vision with 'experts'

After uncovering insights, we traditionally develop recommendations for change based on our 'expert' knowledge gained from hours observing and interviewing, without input from those that know the work best. While we may spend hundreds of hours observing in the hospital, we will never be as knowledgeable as those from which we are learning. Fortunately, we can harness this foundational knowledge through co-creative methods. Co-creation, or the approach of actively involving all relevant stakeholders in the creative process, fits in where ethnography leaves off. The stakeholders are truly the experts of their domain, so creating solutions that are based around their perspective can help carry the initiative through to implementation and adoption successfully.

This approach not only allows the stakeholders' expertise to be gathered but also allows greater customization of the initiative. Making solutions easily customizable is particularly important for initiatives to be successfully adopted within and across hospitals and healthcare systems since they account for differences in the culture of the organizations and professional domains. It lessens the role of the researcher and increases the stakeholders' roles as the creators of their future.

An important aspect of the success of co-creation is ensuring the 'right' people are included in the process. Due to the typical siloing of departments and units within a hospital, it is critical to include a cross-section of management, administration, practitioners, staff, and even patients. This cross-sectional team can help bridge the divide between units to share knowledge and expectations that aren't always communicated in the hospital environment. It also increases empathy between teams and units, so they can understand each other's perspective of the process to reduce unfounded perceptions or in-fighting.

So what does it look like to co-create a process? We have found the most effective communication tools are ones that are able to communicate very detailed information while showing the overarching process. Journey maps have been effective for us to do just that – to show every touch point in the experience as well as the people involved, tools used, and potential opportunities for improvement. This document builds situational awareness and acts as a source for subsequent activities. This mapping however is not meant to be a product. Rather, it is a means to an end and a way to frame and inspire change.

Facilitating renewal with change management techniques

We, as researchers, tend to use our skills for sense-making rather than actual transformation. As Holme (2010) asserted in a previous EPIC paper, this may be attributed to our reluctance to impose changes on people's lives. This leads to insufficient guidance in the creation of impactful and lasting changes within an organization since our preference is to tell people's stories rather than open up new opportunities for transformation.

We know both <u>what</u> needs to be changed through ethnographic insights and quantitative data and <u>how</u> to plan for change using a co-creative approach to construct a new process. We now need to create the optimal conditions in which innovative changes can be implemented and sustained. While we know change is difficult, we can make use of our cultural sensitivities to facilitate organizational changes. As Blomberg (2011) states: "Employees, change agents, and clients can avoid some of the pain often experienced when new process, policy, or technology standards are introduced by viewing change as an iterative process that grows from the inside out, even when the transformation is defined from the top down." This is essentially the role of change management.

Change management is a set of tools, processes, skills, and/or principles for managing the people-side of transformation in order to achieve a desired goal or outcome. There are many different models for how to successfully manage change within companies (Booz & Co., 2004; Burnes, 2004; Kotter, 1996), but they all tend to have a common strategy. First is to shake up a hardened status quo, then introduce the new practices, and finally firmly incorporate changes into the organization's culture.

The first step of shaking up the status quo helps to prepare individuals, as well as the organization, for change. To do this, establishing a sense of urgency helps to counteract inertia and complacency that can thwart effective change initiatives. Ethnography, along with quantitative findings, can aid this undertaking by tracking and uncovering the cause and effect of certain practices so staff may understand the true implications of their current behaviors at a holistic level. Ultimately, they can become aware of how and why these implications are important as well as how they may affect values that are important to them – whether it's efficiency, safety, quality of patient care, or other.

The next step of introducing new practices is where new skillsets for researchers can come into play. The creation of these new practices may come out of co-creative sessions with the work team,

but they still need to be communicated and disseminated to the rest of the staff in a clear and consistent manner. By using ethnography to map and track valuable communication channels, we can enlist these insights to naturally and effectively circulate new practices. Developing an iterative approach to new practices, such as a rapid cycle change, allows us to test and quickly modify proposed changes by understanding what is working and what isn't. By testing and refining, it helps to build momentum in the organization and allay people's fears about being stuck in process changes that will actually do more harm than good.

Finally, in order to firmly incorporate new practices into the organization must be anchored into the culture by supporting changes to behavior norms. Again, the employment of ethnographic insights can help guide us to appropriate courses of action that will uphold the work we have done. These strategies may include additional training sessions with staff, verbal support by supervisors and management, or reworking of evaluation and promotion criteria. This may be seen as a more controversial step in renewal since we are seeking to actively change the workplace culture, but it is at this point in the process where the changes will be sustained even after our work is complete. This is where we can ensure that the transformation is complete.

A NOTE ON ETHICS

This action-oriented process we have laid out above goes against our very nature as 'participant-observers' – that is, we are calling for a change to the very culture of the group we are studying. Thus, it is imperative to revisit the ethical implications of our work to understand the risks to participants Hammersley & Atkinson (1995). It is our ethical duty to ensure that participants are not harmed or exploited during this process, though it is clear that changes can produce distress. Ethical dilemmas are a contentious issue and are mostly based on individual judgment, but if we can determine that the importance of the change outweighs the consequences, then at least we are making a reasonable effort to uphold our ethical duties. In sum, if we are taking on the responsibility of action, then we must take responsibility for our actions.

CONCLUSION

As hospitals and healthcare systems start to move away from top-down mandates for organizational change and process modifications and towards a bottom-up human-centered approach to renewal, our skills as 'agents of change' are continually being enlisted. We can agree that bringing renewal to the workplace is challenging – not only for the organization but also for us as researchers and ethnographers. To remain effective and valuable, as well as to truly enable successful change, we must be willing to renew our practices and ourselves. There is still much work to be done to redefine our roles when tasked with organizational renewal as we evolve from problem-seekers to problem-solvers to solution-realizers. Additionally, using ethnography as a means to renew an organization or workplace can involve significant ethical dilemmas if the research isn't approached with care and consideration. In any case, we hope this paper helps to encourage ideas about ways in which we can help enact change in organizations and workplaces by adopting a stronger responsibility of action for ourselves.

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Renewing Places

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Rich narratives and insights about places and activities are commonplace in ethnographic research: perhaps even the bread and butter of our field. We have studied TV watching in homes in Cairo, body products in bathrooms of Mumbai, and open office spaces in Stockholm, to name just a few. Often, we describe these locations as a way of giving richer context to our findings. For the most part, however, these sites have been incidental. They were where we happened to be when we were studying something else. This session takes seriously place as the object of study. Further, the session turns our attention to a particular kind of place: the city. As evidenced by research, investment and product development by companies like IBM, Cisco and Siemens, cities are vibrant business opportunity spaces, yet they are all too often lumped together in an undifferentiated heap: the city. Each of the authors provides beautiful, full descriptions of particular urban places: Detroit, Kesennuma, and Savannah. They do so, not just as the context, but as a way of teasing out the particular social, cultural and economic processes of how placeness itself emerges. Putting place at the center, rather than the margins of study, opens new pathways to understanding key players and roles in Detroit's economic revitalization process, Kesennuma's community and economic re-development after the Japanese earthquake and tsunami, and the importance of Savannah's music scene for the city's identity and growth.   These papers represent a "pioneering," staking out places as such, and cities in particular, as objects of study for the EPIC community.

Maru: An ethnographic approach to revive local communities

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How would Japan's rural communities renew oneself when the nation's economy no longer holds the absolute financial and technological powers in the global sphere? Through our post-3.11 recovery effort in local communities of Kesennuma, Japan, we discuss - a gap between the perceptions of Japan's rise from the 1950s and how in fact rural economies, such as the one in Kesennuma, have lost independency through its process. This paper seeks to capture the power of Maru, an inter-local activity, seeking an alternative to the conventional model of development based on the economy of capitalism, and how ethnography and design would play a central role in the success of community revival.

> "Ethnographic fieldwork clearly reveals that disasters affect religion and ritual, economics and politics, kinship and associations … they stir conflict. If not actual change, disasters certainly bring about the potential for change."
> Hoffman & Oliver-Smith 1999: 10

Introduction

"From recovery to reconstruction", is an iconic phrase that appeared in 1995, when a great earthquake hit the town of Kobe killing more than 6,000 people. The statement entails a criticism towards the government at the time, which in haste restored the city but eventually left its citizens paying off the debt through heavy taxation. Since then, the word reconstruction has been used over recovery, emphasizing that fundamental measures should be taken upon the restoration of the town to transform the catastrophe caused by the earthquake into an opportunity for change. After the great earthquake on 3.11 hit the Northeastern coast of Japan, it was no surprise that the government immediately named the new institution engaged in a recovery effort The Reconstruction Agency.

When IMF First Deputy Managing Director, David Lipton, visited Japan in June 2012 and stated, "Japan is experiencing a solid recovery (IMF, 2012)." Lipton continued, "The *country's recovery* would be sustained by the *reconstruction spending*," he sounded as if the *reconstruction* in disaster area is to help the country recover. Here in this short statement lies confusion between a number of notions, between who needs saving and who are saved, the cause and the consequence, and the nation and its regions. In the end, *whose* recovery was it? And what actually determines these acts of "recovery"?

While we could continue debating on what defines the recovery, the situation in the disaster area was changing rapidly and a decision has to be made how we, as researchers, were to enact. Our visit to the disaster area started in April 2011, approximately one month after the disaster struck the region. Little were we aware at the time, as we made a decision to enter the disaster area, which was devastated by the loss of lives, livelihoods, and the industry, that our commitment would take a form of participatory research. In this situation, we the researchers became a part of the action where we together with the locals seek for the alternatives on how local communities can be actually restored.

The events, challenges, and discussions in this paper centralize in Kesennuma, one of the Northeastern towns located in Miyagi prefecture, where 3.11-disaster had a devastating impact, and where the research has been taking place. By deconstructing what initially appeared as the 'unusual' event that struck the town, we describe how globalization, particularly within the context of fishing, has been affecting the town in good times and bad. Through the inferior situation that the town is placed today, we would describe why the town needs to depart from economy-driven recovery, and to seek its way through alternative paths by strengthening their own discourse and to enhance exchanges between other locals of the world.

Our Approach

Authors of this paper take two professional roles, one as corporate ethnographers and another, as educators. The research and the following activities are the outcomes of these two roles, and in many cases, beyond them.

As corporate ethnographers, we were stumbled upon the fact that due to large aftershocks, most corporations, including ours, were cautious to have any of their employees to enter the region for business for the first few months since the 3.11. Meanwhile, as the time passes by, the situation and the issues around the disaster area were changing rapidly: authors eventually made a personal decision to enact nevertheless.

As educators, Tamura, one of the authors, in particular is a founding director of i.school in the University of Tokyo (i.school, 2012). Since 2009, every year at i.school, around 20 students are accepted in the annual program. Through series of human-centered innovation workshops, organized by both the global educational and business bodies in field of design and innovation, students are asked to work on issues, which often addresses the social and the industrial challenges we face at present: As the 3.11 disaster took place, students of the program have gone through a field visit and together tackled the theme 'Future of work in the disaster area.' Although the workshop itself has been completed during September 2011, seven students continued to work on the topic until today.

As we visited different municipalities, we learned that among the disaster areas, some areas seem to be in a critical state more than the others. Among 44 municipalities in four prefectures, where damages were most severe, 26 municipalities had ratios of workforces engaged in agriculture and fishing higher than the national average (Watabe, 2011), indicating that both their lives and the livelihoods were affected. With so much impact from the sea, it was obvious that the fishing would have had the biggest damage as its infrastructure and naturally, the residents residing nearby. Through these initial insights and engagements we have made, Kesennuma, despite of its location being far from Tokyo, where we reside, and difficult to access as local railroads were swept away and seemingly never to be rebuilt, became our field.

Together with students from i.school, authors' periodical visit to Kesennuma has begun, through which the team was able to see how the political and physical processes are taking place and affecting the community until today. Among the visits we have made, particularly two visits we have made in collaboration with our partnering education bodies are worth the emphasis, as students and professors of Royal College of Art in London, UK joined in September 2011 and Polytechnic of Milan, Italy in February 2012, which led us to think as their visit to the town inspired both the locals and the team to pursue the inter-local activities.

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As much as we would like to describe our approach as proper, organized, and executed in an orderly manner, it was hardly the case for this research. As commercial accommodations were hardly operational, many of our studies took place with the help of the locals offering their homes to accommodate our students; Transportations were challenged, with roads are to be rebuilt due to land subsidence and railroads never to be recovered. A situation that has been affecting the disaster areas has also affected our research creating a rather chaotic logistics. But because of this chaotic situation where the team was dependent on the locals, we were offered with openings to learn so much more than what typically a commercial ethnographic research is permitted to exist. Through additional time the team stayed with the locals, many of the team members learned about their everyday lives, livelihoods, as well as the abundance of the natural resources and geographical characteristics that made the town as it is today. In that sense, we acted as Graham-Gibson cited Latour, among others, 'learning to be affected'. Graham-Gibson particularly describe this notion of learning as:

> Not learning in the sense of increasing a store of knowledge, but in the sense of becoming other, creating connections and encountering possibilities that render us newly constituted being in a newly constituted world. (Graham-Gibson, 2009:322).

Our dependency at site enabled us to build a relationship with the locals and made us understand a complex social relationships and underlying issues, which were often untouched with the local community. The team has made an effort to visit people of 'extremity' in that sense, as our interviews took place between local politicians, the old wise, people in temporary shelters, fishermen, historians, oyster farmers, and the students. What we are about to describe below is what we mostly constructed through these countless engagements we have made throughout the period of research.

From Local Bonito to Global Tuna: Kesennuma History

The Bonito

For most Japanese, Kesennuma ('ke-sen-nu-ma'), a town located at Japan's northeastern coastline, is a synonym with its great harbor and fishing. Facing the Pacific where warm and cold currents meet, the town and the surrounding Sanriku Coast has one of the best conditions for fishing. In particular, Kesennuma has been known for trading the biggest amount of *katsu-o*, bonito every year, during its high season between June and November. While there are varieties of fish consumed in Japan, bonito is special: *Hatsu-Gatsuo*, the very first bonito catch of the season, has been considered one of the best delicacies by the people of Edo, a city which is today known as Tokyo since the 18th century. Although it maybe difficult to measure its values, the record shows that in today's value a single bonito would

FIGURE 1. *Former city center of Kesennuma half a year after from the disaster.*

have cost 50,000 yen (630 USD); People of Edo described "Hatsugatsuo / to pawn one's wife for this is / a worthwhile exchange (Tokyo Metropolitan Library, 2012)", indicating how important it was for the urbanites to enjoy the fish in a timely manner, and how the industry has flourished around this particular fish.

The Fish Industry: The Impact of 3/11-Disaster in Kesennuma

On March 11, 2011, this town of fishing industry was hit by a massive earthquake, which measured the magnitude of 9.0 on the Richter scale 70 kilometers (43 miles) offshore. Although large earthquakes have periodically attacked the city, the recent ones being in 1893 and 1933, long intervals in between and the scale has not been experienced for 600 years (Imamura, 2011). The impact has been described as 'unprecedented' and 'beyond our assumption,' making scientific records and multiple preventive measures insufficient to protect the community from being harmed.

The 3.11-earthquake had a devastating impact to the entire region where Kesennuma was no exception. The earthquake generated a powerful tsunami, which exceeded far beyond the scientific records and calculations based on the past 200 years. In Kesennuma, the tsunami reached the height of 10 meters (33 feet), and massive water and swaying fishing vessels together attacked the town,

destroying 45% of their entire architecture. In the harbor, trawlers and fuel tanks were destroyed spewing fuel. Eventually, the mix of fuel and water caught fire, burning down the remaining. Kesennuma had a population of 74,387, and on that day lost approximately 1,400 people, two percent of the entire population, through these series of disasters. In addition, 9,000 households lost their homes and nearly 20,000 were forced to live in evacuation centers (Kesennuma City, 2012).

If there is one thing that distinguishes the 3.11-disaster from other major earthquakes that previously hit the town, it is the scale of economic impact it had upon the town. In Kesennuma, fishing industry provides 85% of the jobs (Bloomberg, 2012); Among 3,100 fish boats registered, more than 90% were either destroyed beyond repair or missing; all of the 102 fish processing factories were destroyed and 90 ice factories producing ice essential to deliver fresh fish to consumption became inoperable; among 23 fuel tanks (Kesennuma City, 2012), all tanks except for one has been destroyed, which made fuel supplies to fish boats a great challenge. Many authorities and experts publicly commented it would take three years, if not five, until the town would regain its function for proper fishing business. Bloomberg (2011) reported that the impact of 3.11 is today leading this fish town into 'a terminal decline.'

While Kesennuma needs an urgent support to get itself back on track, the government, both the local and the national, seem not to have an economic capability to do so. The national government reports that the damage caused by the 3.11 disaster is estimated as 16.9 trillion JPY (216 billion USD), and has been facing financial challenges as they have used up surplus funds during the 2011 as they tried to deal with the urgent reconstruction and the crisis at the Fukushima No.1 nuclear power plant (The Japan Times Weekly, 2012).   Everyday, the articles and online posts remind us that Japan no longer holds the superiority in the industries where once was so dominant, whether gaming, electronics, or automobile industry. In fact, according to the nation's public release, the average economic growth rate of the nation between 1999 and 2011 mark a mere 0.9% (Government of Japan, 2012). While the American Economist Tyler Cohen speaks of 'the lost decade,' here in this nation talks of 'the lost two decades,' where nation is struggling to sustain oneself regardless of the disaster.

The Anchovies: Behind Kesennuma's Amazing Recovery

"Reconstruction needs to happen fast to prevent workers from leaving the town for good", mentioned Itsunori Onodera, a Diet Member representing Kesennuma in April. Around mid-June, only three months after the disaster, Kesennuma fisheries cooperative made the harbor a partial recovery and started trading the bonito. By late November, Kesennuma once again announced that the harbor managed to record another biggest bonito catch of the year. The news was overall merry, and gave the readers an impression that the town is in a better condition than many other municipalities hit by the disaster.

As we entered Kesennuma for the first time in early June, three months after the 3.11-disaster, we realized that the depicted image was in fact hardly true: Although Kesennuma harbor maybe popular for bonito, there in fact was no bonito boat left from Kesennuma; Bonito were, instead, caught by the boats from other regions. As we stood by a small harbor in one district of Kesennuma, we saw a small boat going back and forth between the shore and the harbor. Tomotaka Kumagaya, who operates the boat and hires 17 local fishermen, described that even this small boat was a donation from another region.

FIGURE 2. *Local fishermen busy unloading the fish in a small harbor in Karakuwa district of Kesennuma, taken in November 2011.*

While there are many fish that is coming back to the shore, their priority has been on placing fish net to catch Japanese anchovies. This particular fish has little value for consumers, the wholesale price of which being mere 43 JPY (0.55 USD) per kilo (JAFIC, 2012). Nevertheless, this is not to state that the fish has no value but on the contrary: the fish is essential for the bonito fishermen as it is used as live bait for bonito upon line fishing. Meanwhile, it was clear that the sea was filled with other possible catch; as the winter approached in November, a school of salmon was visible even for an ignorant eye. With its quality and the consumer's high appreciation to the female salmon carrying eggs, the wholesale price can easily reach 800 to 1000 JPY (10 - 13 USD) per kilo.

When there are obviously more expensive fish waiting in the sea, how come these local fishermen catch Japanese anchovies over salmon? We were left in confusion as to why so much time and effort were spent for cheap anchovies. Referring to the bonito fish boats, Tomotaka told us that they are waiting. Instead of focusing on the business for them to earn money, he and his crews were making sure that the traveling bonito fishermen had sufficient bait to continue their business. "Catching salmon may be a proper thing to do, but without anchovies, Kesennuma will be in trouble." His statement showed that despite of his own circumstances, it was the harbor and the community that need saving.

RENEWING PLACES

Meanwhile, Kesennuma appeared to be going through a slow yet steady restoration, which centralizes in the removing debris, and restoration of the facilities and infrastructure. Today there are 90 locations in Kesennuma where temporary shelters are built; emergency evacuation centers, which were at normal times serve as school gymnasiums and public halls that were occupied to accommodate 20,000 evacuees, are now emptied. The industry was vigorously trying to put itself back on track, as some fish processing plants restarted its operation and the city announcing a construction of a new industrial complex.

Despite of all these efforts, statistics shows that the people are leaving the town in much greater speed: In a town of 70,000, more than 5,000 residents have left Kesennuma since 3.11, many of which are in 20s and 30s the prime age for the work and to start their own family (Sanriku Shinpo, 2012). With young workers and their children leaving altogether, the Kesennuma population is aging rapidly: Today, 40% of its residents are over 60 years old.

Failed transformation of the local industry, depopulation of the rural, and ageing society are the key issues at hand. Suddenly, we come to realize that issues in this small, post-disaster town, sounds all too familiar. These are issues that almost any rural area has been experienced in Japan, or in many developed industrial nations. 3.11-disaster did not bring issues, it only accelerated the ones existing. As issues at the core are not resolved, the government's initiative and public spending on the physical restoration may restore how the community was before the current disaster, it would not be sufficient to prevent people leaving the town.

The Tuna: Kesennuma's Modern History in the "Hegemony" of Global Fishing

As we deconstruct how the town has come to its critical situation since 3.11, we can in fact trace back its history of globalization of fishing industry since the end of World War II. In 1951, as the nation recovered from the war, the Kesennuma harbor was appointed as a Grade Three Port, one of 13 strategically important harbors for the nation. The harbor was then built at the current location in 1956, and its architecture, stretching for 320 meters (350 yards) in length, was praised as being "the biggest of the Orient (Kawashima, 2012)."

In the 1960s, along with the evolution of freezing and storage technologies came the pelagic tuna fishing. Like many other harbors in Japan, Kesennuma had been appointed for dealing certain kind of fish, tuna, saury, and bonito, among some others. The town enhanced its facilities particularly for the large pelagic fishing vessels, as the coastline was equipped with boat maintenance workshops, fuel tanks, accommodations, restaurants, and ship agencies.

The vibrant atmosphere and the affluence of the town at the time is well described by Jun Ikushima (2012), a journalist who has revisited the history of Kesennuma after the 3.11 earthquake, the harbor was by then so well equipped that 58% of all pelagic fish boats departing from Kesennuma were from other parts of Japan; Local agencies would make arrangements so that every boat would be sufficiently equipped with fuel, food, and most importantly, the crewmembers, which many fish owners would request for "all Kesennuma," a dream team of fishermen, engineers, and chefs all from Kesennuma, as they were known their skills and for their resilience for a journey, which could take for 10 months, if not longer. And after such a long and demanding journey, crewmembers and their waiting family members were rewarded graciously. Kesennuma's local fishermen's incomes were so high that people often compared their salary with the ones of professional baseball player's, and can be seen in their luxurious sedans and the houses they lived.

By 1970s, many political and economical factors started to change the course of Kesennuma: 200-mile fishing limits around the world eliminated foreign fishing vessels from where their primary fishing took place; The environmental awareness towards the marine resources also forced many of the Japanese fishing fleets to scale back; The ever-increasing fuel costs in comparison to the stable fish prices meant fewer round trips for the pelagic fish boats; And ironically, it was the freezing technology, which once helped pelagic fish boats carry tuna from the seven seas, enabled jumbo jets to carry tuna like any other commodity in a single day. In sum, fishing was no longer a business for the ones who fish, but rather for global traders who transfer commodities beyond borders. Kesennuma's once highly praised resources, whether they are crewmembers or maintenance facilities, no longer became vital.

Today, as we became acquainted with the fishermen, they have told us that their annual household income is around 2.5 million JPY (32,000 USD), below the national average; With income ever decreasing, fishing has become a job aspired by neither the aged fishermen nor their successors; With so few people to aspire the job, local high schools no longer offer educational program for fishing, but instead, teaches fish processing at factories; the shortage of fishermen has become so serious that today, "all Kesennuma" nor "all Japanese" became the mission impossible; many Japanese pelagic fish boats today operate with staffs from Indonesia and the Philippines; And with no locals leaving, *defune-okuri,* Kesennuma's local culture of sending the boat off by dancing and singing, is a tradition of the past.

Sushi Success: Will it Bring Future To Kesennuma?

While the fishing industry struggles to thrive, it is interesting that the culture around raw fish and sushi seem to enjoy its popularity around the world more than ever: Sushi was, though arguably, ranked fourth most delicious food of the world (CNNGo.com, 2011); Restaurants serving sushi can today be found in hundreds, if not thousands cities, and from businessmen in New York to high-school students in Thailand. Sushi is no longer exotic or unfamiliar. The aspiration towards sushi is found everywhere, one of the recent being an American documentary called "Jiro dreams of Sushi." The film features an 85-year-old sushi chef Jiro Ono, who runs Sukiyabashi Jiro, a humble 10-seat sushi restaurant inside the Tokyo subway. The restaurant has become one of the very first three Michelin star restaurants in Tokyo, and since then, his skills in preparation of sushi is considered to be the best in the world. The film depicts how Jiro pursues his *do*, his art form, and teases the audience by the appearance and the description of beautifully prepared sushi, which led some reviews to comment the film as being the "high-end food porn." The fact that many overseas media consider the film so desirable and tempting is another example of how sushi, a simple dish consisted of rice and raw fish, became a global aspiration.

"Globalization doesn't necessarily homogenize cultural differences nor erase the salience of cultural labels. Quite the contrary, it grows the franchise." describes Bestor (2005), as he investigates how blue fin tuna, along with the success of sushi became the globally aspired commodity. Due to its cultural and economic power symbolized in the craftsmanship of fish buyers and sushi chefs, Bestor describes Japan being "the core", while harbors, whether at the Adriatic, the Australian, or the Atlantic seaboards, remains as "distant peripherals." Although Kesennuma may geographically be located at the core of this hegemony, such affluence is obviously not enjoyed in the town. Indeed, a typical sushi enjoyed overseas, with fish on top of bite-size rice, is in fact, what Japanese call as *Edo-mae*, which inevitably suggests that the style is originally from Tokyo. Despite the hope that the global success of

sushi would place the nation's fish industry to flourish, the core is surprisingly small and seems to stay this way: Tsukiji, the Tokyo's fish market, and Sukiyabashi Jiro, a 10-seat, three-Michelin-starred restaurant, both of which cater to the capital of consumption and the culture of fish, are the core of the core. In the meantime, towns like Kesennuma, one of many rural fishing towns trying to thrive by producing and delivering fish, is as far as any other distant peripherals that hardly benefit from the cultural and the economical success worldwide.

Maru: Challenging the Global/Local Binary

If Kesennuma can only be a part of globalization as the lower stratum within its competence in fishing industry, what would the future of Kesennuma hold? If the town cannot escape from the hegemony of globalization, should Kesennuma try to detach oneself from it?

While the modern history of Kesennuma may seem less promising to endure the hegemony of globalization, there are other clues, which prove otherwise. According to local ethnologists Kawashima and Yamaguchi (2002), Kesennuma has always been a society connected with 'out there' through the sea. Though the town is today often referred as the 'inaccessible land,' ethnologists describes this is merely a 'logic of the land,' which became possible only after the late 19th century, where modernization brought railroads and steam engines that connected locals with major cities as their hub. Until then, distribution of goods and travel took place via sea and there are many traces left that Kesennuma was in fact well connected with other parts of Japan, if not with the world. Through the sea, the line-catching technique of bonito came to Kesennuma nearly four centuries ago. Through the sea, people of this region exported seed oysters and scallops as far as Seattle in the 19th century; and when oysters of France was nearly extinct due to the virus 40 years ago, it was their oysters that saved the industry. You can still find the physical characteristics of these oysters eaten in Bretagne even today. And because of these connections, fishing cooperatives from other parts of Japan and French luxury brands such as Louis Vuitton came to the region after 3.11 to support them in going back in business.

And Kawashima writes that here in Sanriku Bay, there is a saying "It is travelers who suffice us after tsunami." For a small community like Kesennuma, most people are not only acquainted with each other, but are aware of your entire family members, easily across three generations: Although the term word 'traveler' may sound as if they are here for the temporary, the saying in fact refers to the people who have origin outside of Kesennuma yet settled there. The saying suggests that whenever there was tsunami destroying the area, it was these strangers or newcomers who eventually brought new blood, new culture, and new technologies from elsewhere that enabled Kesennuma to change or to revive.

The history of Kesennuma suggests that globalization, or simply put, being connected to the world, is not the very cause of the town's inferiority. What we need to revisit is not whether the town should be connected, but rather, *how* and *with whom* the town should be connected: How might Kesennuma revive oneself, without being dominated by the globalized world and be considered as one of the distant peripherals? How could the town regain their 'permission to narrate (Said, 1984)' when public media or the political leadership fail to tell the story from their side? With whom could people of Kesennuma be connected so that it would not be a hegemonic relationship, but rather, with mutual respect?

Indeed, Herod and Wright (2002) have already put this in the center of discussion in their editorial book called "Geographies of Power: Placing Scale." Referring to it as the 'scale question,' they pose the question of why certain events, such as September 11, 2001, the bombing of the World Trade Center

was considered "global" terrorism, while a bomb attack in an Israeli station, which took place on September 9, was considered a "local" threat. How are each constituent of these bodies determined and what actually constitutes the global and the local? How are the local and the global related? Will a community of 70,000 people be ever sufficient to gain its autonomy when other municipalities like Tokyo would hold nearly 20 million? The discussion clearly challenges our simple notion of the world:

> "[The world] should not be thought of as being made up of discreet levels of bounded spaces which fit together neatly, as if scales could be stacked one above the other or fitted together in much the same way that Matryoshka dolls are contained one within another" (Herod and Wright 2002).

Whether metaphor being the ladder, or circles of different radius, or Matryoshka dolls, all of these representations force us to think that these small locals have no direct contact with the world, the largest, despite of the fact that there in the global sphere lies other smaller ones: And indeed, although it may be taking place within the nation, the post-3/11 disaster recovery has been driven in the manner, where the ladder metaphor most fits, as from water and food emergency supplies, recovery of telecommunications, permission to rebuild one's homes inside the city, to the distribution of the donation, we saw larger municipal bodies receiving the priority. Instead, Herod and Wright continues to cite Bruno Latour (1996: 370), and describe that the world's complexity cannot be captured by "notions of levels, layers, territories, [and] spheres," and instead, should be perceived as a network of "fibrous, thread-like, wiry, stringy, ropy, [and] capillary [.]"

If we accept this description of how places are networked in fibers, threads, wires, or strings, an active network of inter-locals where they are constantly bound to change as a result, we suddenly see an advantage where rural, small 'locals' in fact can be more prone to change. In particular for towns like Kesennuma, where fishing is so engraved into their livelihoods, this metaphor of active lines works particularly well as people are familiar with the notion that fish boats have been drawing *lines* on the campus of sea, as sea routes. In Japan, every fish boat bears a name that ends with *maru,* meaning circle. According to Kesennuma people, the word 'circle' represents hope, a hope of every fisherman and family member, that the boat would draw a circle with its sea route as departs and returns with success and safety. Together with the saying that "It is travelers who suffice after tsunami," it comes to our belief that Kesennuma people have been fully aware of the values of *maru*, to have travelers within and to welcome travelers from outside, they have learned to exchange technologies and eventually knowledge, which helped them update or renew themselves at times of crisis. With this enactment that is represented in circular lines, the town perhaps once again could renew oneself despite of its inferiority.

Maru Activities: Connecting between Locals of the World

Through the research work, we have come to realize, that here in the disaster area we find another local, where hegemony of globalization is once again taking away their 'permission to narrate', placing them under the everlasting inferiority. The most serious consequence of this could be what we have feared for: despite of our learning from Kobe in 1995, the *reconstruction* will only be a narrative, and will only bring a fixed pathway, or rather a closed future for towns like Kesennuma.

RENEWING PLACES

Yet as we realized the potential of *maru,* a cyclic movement between one's local to another, we realized there was an opportunity to bring more alternatives to Kesennuma. And under the circumstances, where people who shared these stories were facing such challenges, it was natural for the team to practice our theoretical outcome. What was fortunate for us is that many among our international network of universities have raised their hands, not to *speak,* but to act. In particular, as Politechnic of Milan in Italy have described their effort in the community renewal in Tramutola, a town in Basilicata of Southern Italy, we realized that this could potentially become the first *maru* act. Here, instead of ethnographers continuing to narrate, we became a mediator so that locals themselves could become the agent who observes, feels, and narrates: From Milan, a professor and a student have visited to engage in home visits and interviews in February, 2012; From Kesennuma and from Tokyo, a team of researchers, students, and most importantly, a student whom we referred to as 'local ambassador', visited Tramutola early 2012 to conduct the equivalent.

While many solutions were created as a result of conversations and visits between the two communities, one particular example highlights the impact of this endeavor in particular, which was, a discourse around the fish. As the Japanese team visited Tramutola, the team was stunned with the town's rich food culture, filled with locally produced ham, cheese, and vegetables. However, essentially none of them came *raw,* and instead came dried or processed. In particular, this triggered the team to suddenly rethink the belief that it is the rawness of the fish that enjoys the status of being superior and having the best taste.

As we returned to Kesennuma and shared our insights, the idea of placing dried food in such a high status in one's meals, was at first taken as disbelief, but caused a ripple effect to reflect on one's businesses. In Kesennuma, where raw fish has not only been the food but the commodity, eating and distributing fish in raw and complete form had always been their ultimate goal. While Kesennuma has its own dried fish, it was never considered as equivalent of raw fish, whether it being bonito, salmon, or tuna. "Because raw tastes the best," were the unanimous opinions from the Kesennuma fishermen; "Because the people in the city come here for raw fish," said Kesennuma seafood restaurants; through this belief of ultimate superiority of raw, the entire fishing industry was in operation. In a nation where the rawness has the utmost respect, dried food was, regardless of its taste, always nothing but an inferior.

Started from the team's acquired taste, or as Gibson-Graham has mentioned the significance of "Starting with the body" (2002: 324), both locals and the team gradually come to realize what benefits the dried food would bring: First, the distribution becomes much more sustainable as it will not require the town to produce ice, which is required in a unit of tons to deliver fresh fish to larger cities; Second, the dried food, give opportunities for creativity, unlike simply offering the raw and complete fish only to be cut and prepared by the chefs at the destination; Thirdly, fishermen as producers of fish gain only 24.7% of the final revenue as with vegetables (Fisheries Agency, 2012): However, should local producers would gain knowledge to distribute processed food, these producers could regain its position in this chain of distribution. As many advantages become imminent, the team has set up Dry Food Lab, where a hybrid of researchers, designers, nutritionists, a chef from Tramutola, local food producers, fishermen and their wives, and students, are getting together in Kesennuma and working to reinvent the possibility of dry food.

CONCLUSION

As the act of *maru* has only started, it is too early to conclude whether this is viable. However, as we prepare ourselves for the next action, we see exchanges between these locals, not as a relationship of who helps whom, but as partners who try to make this happen. As we are now about to expand this act beyond these two particular cities, we believe the network would continue to grow and will be able to see more in detail how they together would have an impact on each other.

As Graham-Gibson (2009) describe their practice of putting together the hybrid research collective consisted of researchers of multiple disciplines and locals in creation of community economy for the Anthropocene, they have become our inspiration. Yet in the context of disaster, it is immediacy we emphasize: As people are leaving, which could lead the town to a terminal decline, an action needs to take place now. In that sense, unlike Graham-Gibson, we hardly function as a collective of researchers, or let alone ethnographers: much of what we do is closer to designers, whose target of design is the local community.

'Speak now and hasten future' (2002) – concludes these two economy geographers as they deconstruct the discourse around the global vs. local binary. While it can be travelers, who might bring the alternative paths to the future, it is the locals who ultimately should regain the permission to narrate so they would be the ones to regain the power to affect one's own future. This is not to say that the ethnographers has no role to play: As we are to construct the network, ethnographers would continue to be the ones to 'articulate (Ota, 1988),' not in the sense of refining the narratives but to actively become a joint where various locals, often dislocated under the hegemony of globalization, would once again be connected. And hopefully, through these acts, the local would regain the permission to narrate and will have alternatives on how to revive oneself. - *Let them* speak now and hasten *opened* future.

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Scene and Unscene: Revealing the value of the local music scene in Savannah, Georgia

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Throughout human history, music has been central to the fabric of society. Music is a powerful form of communication, it helps us relate to one another, make sense of the world, and commemorate moments together. Yet, music is often perceived as an extraneous element in a local economy (Markusen 2003), and the occupation "musician"—with the rare exceptions of those who achieve mainstream recognition—often conjures images of the starving artist or delinquent idler. What if the value of a local music scene could be made clear from an economic and cultural perspective? What is the value of a local music scene in establishing an identity of place? How can a city facilitate the conditions for a local music scene to exist and thrive? Although music plays a key role in a city's creative and cultural life, a local music scene is too often overlooked as a driver for economic and community development. Through ethnographic research, this study uncovers the collective needs and vision for the future of the local music scene in Savannah, Georgia and proposes a framework for action.

PROLOGUE

Twelve years ago, I made a decision that would forever change the course of my life. I was two years into my undergraduate studies in visual communication at the University of Kansas. I found myself spending my leisure time with a group of people that played music together. They were students my age, and they played guitars and banjos and mandolins and basses and drums and whatever else they could get their hands on. They seemed to have an intense connection with one another when they were in the moment of practicing their craft. They spoke a special language through their instruments and rhythms and vocal cords. Twelve years ago, I'd had enough of merely observing from the sidelines: I decided to be a fiddle player.

Music had always been a presence in my life. I started piano lessons at a young age; I learned the basic guitar chords before I was a teenager; and—like many young people—a major part of my identity, particularly in those formative teenage years, was always tied to my musical preferences. But by the time I decided to take on the fiddle, my motivations came from a deep desire to be a part of something more.

Despite having no experience with the fiddle or violin, I saved up a few hundred dollars, bought a fiddle from my local music store, and found someone willing to teach me some basics. I'd opened the first door, and each subsequent door opened up many new ones, to new worlds I never knew existed. Before long, I found myself at music festivals across the country. I found myself engaging with other people who shared my interest (or obsession, perhaps). Soon, I was on stage performing for audiences and even teaching others the skills that I had learned.

From 2003 - 2010, I worked as the Executive Director of the Folk School of St. Louis, a community music organization providing educational programs in traditional folk music. Through my work at the Folk School, I became a "connector" and key player in that local music community.

When I moved from St. Louis to Savannah, Georgia two-and-a-half years ago, I was struck by what seemed to be an absence of a music scene—or, at least, it wasn't easy for me to find. I began to realize how crucial a local music scene was to my relationship with a place. It is a primary way that I meet peers and interact with them. It is part of the way I express my own identity and understand others'. The scene may be embodied in the form of the exchange of sweat and energy at a live rock concert, or a gathering of musicians that assemble themselves in a tight circle to "jam" together, or a new and unexpected pairing of performers at an open mic night. In a world that feels increasingly impersonal, anonymous, and intangible, the music scene is an enduring palpable expression of the character of a place and its people. I don't want to live in a place without it. Surely, I thought, there are others like me, and perhaps music is more valuable to a city than is immediately apparent.

As the daughter of fervently urban-dwelling parents that work professionally in architecture and urban development, a fascination with understanding cities has always been a part of my psyche. Added to that, over the years, I've become keenly aware of the power of music to build a sense of community and—at the same time—the challenges that face musicians and the music industry. The intention of this study was to make a case that the richness of a city's culture and its perception as a desirable place depends, in part, on its ability to facilitate the conditions for a thriving local music scene to exist. The inspiration for this work draws from the work of others in the areas of social sciences (Bourdieu, Wirth 1938), social activism (Moyer et al. 2001), ethnomusicology (Turino 2008, Bennett and Peterson 2004), and urban planning (Jacobs 1961) as well as from my years of experience both as a designer and as a performing musician, musical participant, music educator, and local music community leader.

INTRODUCTION

Music Scenes

The concept of "music scenes" was first a subject of academic research in 1991 by Will Straw in his essay, "Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music". In academic discourse, music scenes refer to contexts in which clusters of musicians, fans, and other participants share their common musical tastes thereby collectively distinguishing themselves from others (Bennett and Peterson 2004, 1). Hence, scenes are often conceptualized in relation to a particular style of music, such as jazz, blues, country, hip-hop, folk, or a multitude of other genres or even more specific sub-genres. Sociologists Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson (2004) take a high-level view of scenes, defining three basic types of scenes: local, translocal, and virtual. A local scene is clustered in a specific geographic area. A translocal scene refers to geographically scattered local scenes that communicate amongst each other and are united through a distinct form or style of music and lifestyle. A virtual scene is one in which geography has no bearing; the sense of a scene is created via the Internet, fan zines, and other forms of global communication. This study focuses on music scenes at the local level and defines the 'local music scene' as the whole collection of various genre-based music scenes that exist within the physical constraints of a city's metropolitan area.

RENEWING PLACES

Music and City

Throughout human history, music has been central to the social fabric of civilization. For those in the act of making music, dancing to music, or otherwise experiencing music with others, the experience can be a realization of an ideal world, where human-to-human connection gives a sense of merged selves—an experience "akin to what anthropologist Victor Turner (1969) calls *communitas*, a possible collective state achieved through rituals where all personal differences of class, status, age, gender, and other personal distinctions are stripped away allowing people to temporarily merge through their basic humanity" (Turino 2008). British sociomusicologist and rock critic Simon Frith explains that music "both articulates and offers the immediate experience of collective identity" (quoted in Florida 2002).

In Louis Wirth's "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1938), a city is defined as "a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals." The heterogeneity and diversity natural to cities (Jacobs 1961) gives rise to a lack of *communitas* and collective identity, and an absence of "the bonds of solidarity that are relied upon to hold a folk society together" (Wirth 1938). If, indeed, music has the power to fuel a sense of collective identity, how might that power be harnessed to catalyze collective identity in a city?

The theme of Renewal in ethnographic praxis invites us to consider how looking at a place through a new lens may be the catalyst for change. Considering a local music scene's significance in the economic and cultural nexus of a place, how might a local music scene be renewed and be a vehicle for renewal? This study uses ethnographic praxis and design thinking to reveal the often hidden value of music, and to identify the conditions conducive to growth of a place-based music scene.

Context: Savannah, Georgia

The city of Savannah, Georgia is the research site for this case study. Founded in 1733, Savannah, Georgia is the current county seat of Chatham County. Savannah is situated on the Georgia coast, just south of the South Carolina border. According to the 2010 U.S. Census statistics, the population in the city limits is approximately 137,000, with the metropolitan area population estimated at 356,000. The racial composition is approximately 55% black, 38% white, 4% Hispanic, and small percentages of other races. It is a city that has historically struggled with racial and economic divisions.

Savannah has a busy seaport—the second largest on the eastern seaboard measured by container weight. Major corporations in Savannah are heavily based in manufacturing, including jet maker Gulfstream, construction equipment manufacturer JCB, International Paper Company, and Dixie Crystals sugar products. The city is home to small and mid-sized colleges and universities, including the Savannah College of Art and Design, Armstrong Atlantic State University, Savannah Technical College, and Savannah State University. With a historic downtown and riverfront and a close proximity to beaches, tourism is a major industry in Savannah.

Savannah's music scene – Conversations with Savannah musicians and music supporters often express dissatisfaction with Savannah's local music scene. In February 2012, Kayne Lanahan, CEO and founder of the Savannah Stopover Music Festival, wrote about Savannah's music scene on *The Creative Coast Blog*. As a response to grievances expressed by the community, she outlined some findings she has made over the course of her work in the music industry. Cities that have a reputation for vibrant

music scenes also have many other vibrant scenes—such as a restaurant scene—which cross-pollinate, and are responsible for not only attracting people to the city, but also for keeping them there, she says. These cities typically reflect openness to new ideas and new businesses. Her list of conditions for a vibrant local music scene to exist include: a connected community of musicians and promoters, a record label, a recording studio, a prominent festival, a great local radio station, a local music blog, a forward-thinking municipal government, and access to capital for emerging music businesses. The post sparked intense debate on the blog, further demonstrating the relevance and timeliness of this study.

Yet despite barriers, Savannah has some powerful musical assets in its corner. In its tenth year, the Savannah Music Festival brings international world-class performers to town for three weeks each year. The Savannah Stopover Festival—which just finished its second year—is working to put Savannah back on the map for up-and-coming touring acts. Several local bands have had successes in national and international markets in recent years, including bands CUSSES, Kylesa, and Baroness, and newer bands are cropping up. Other efforts are taking place: a bi-monthly local songwriter showcase, an urban arts festival, a brand new day-long festival featuring local bands, some developing grassroots informal venues, and various small open mic nights, to name a few. Bill Dawers (2012), columnist for Savannah Morning News and blogger says Savannah's music scene is getting increasingly vibrant, but concedes that "we are far from our potential."

In this loose association of people that make up the Savannah music scene (or "unscene" by some estimations), can a coalescence of organizations and efforts reveal an emergent scene with the potential to create a dramatic shift?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Through primarily ethnographic methods, the research is focused on identifying existing assets and barriers in Savannah's local music landscape, defining the collective desired state, and demonstrating the value of working toward the desired state. In other words: *What does the Savannah local music scene have? What does it want? Why does it matter?*

Participant Observation

Personal experience as a member of an active Savannah-based band for over two years provided an insider perspective and deep immersion into the local music scene, as well as familiarity with music scenes in other cities that I visited for music-related purposes. I also spent one month working full-time at the headquarters of the Savannah Music Festival, the region's largest music event, and four days working as a volunteer for the newer Savannah Stopover Festival, in order to get a behind-the-scenes perspective. As an avid consumer of live music, I used an ethnographic eye in my participation as an observer at local and non-local music events and venues. As a member of an online discussion group of Savannah musicians and a frequent consumer of local music blogs and news, I gained yet another dimension of insight. The combination of these forms of participant observation gave me a holistic overview of the context.

RENEWING PLACES

Interviews

    Interviews with key players—especially musicians, music event organizers, and promoters—in Savannah's music scene provided rich data for analysis. I conducted official formal interviews with six Savannah-based musicians of a range of types, the two organizers of Savannah's largest music events, a newspaper columnist and music blogger, and with the program coordinator for Savannah's Department of Cultural Affairs. I held less formal discussions with a host of others—including additional musicians, venue owners, community organizers, residents, and music fans—which also directly contributed to the findings.

    Interviews were held in various places in Savannah, depending on the preferences of the interviewees. My interview with Dare Dukes took place in the quaint courtyard of a coffee shop. This was the first time I'd met Dare, a middle-aged, dark-rimmed glasses-wearing, confident and poised indie songwriter and non-profit grantwriter, who was transplanted to Savannah from New York during the last decade. Dare's answers to questions were thoughtful and articulate; it was evident he had put thought into these issues before.

    Anna Chandler, a multi-instrumentalist indie musician in her twenties, also met me at the same coffee shop courtyard. Cool and casual with an edgy swath of eyeliner, Anna was straightforward and sincere in her conversation.

    Angel Bond, lead singer for rising Savannah-based rock band CUSSES and operator of informal music venue No Control, met with me on the front porch of her home just outside of the downtown area. Angel greeted me with a smile and a hint of sweet southern drawl that I didn't expect to come out of this rebellious rocker with a bold coiffure and commanding stage persona. Like the aforementioned interviewees, Angel was forthcoming and seemingly enjoyed the opportunity to reflect on some of the questions.

    I met Jason Bible in his music studio room in his small house on the east side of town. Jason is a country/rock/rockabilly musician that makes his living playing music. The room was loaded with music gear—instruments (both functional and decorative), recording and mixing equipment, a computer, effects pedals, and posters. His dog, Hank (named after one of Jason's musical heroes) displayed a keen interest in my presence there. Jason's wife, who was in the next room making a music accessory for Jason—a belt to hold harmonicas like ammunition—encouraged Jason to wrap up the interview after about two hours. He was generous, if a bit ambling, in sharing his thoughts on the Savannah music scene. There was a sense of urgency in the house, as Jason and his wife were expecting their first baby in just a few weeks.

    My meeting with street musician Gustavus Frazier was impromptu; we were both waiting for hours at the casting call for *CBGB, The Movie*, about the legendary New York punk rock venue. Gustavus, an upper middle-aged black man, sat next to me, and—despite the loud and crowded room—we struck up a conversation, becoming fast friends. Although the casting call did not specify for musicians to bring instruments, Gustavus brought his acoustic guitar, confident he could woo the casting director to give him a role based on his guitar skills. (We kept in touch after the casting call; neither of us got a part.)

    Laura Pleasants, front woman for well-known metal band Kylesa, met me at her house near downtown—a house she rents with roommates in order to save money. Laura is in her 30s; she sported a sleeve of tattoos, frayed shorts, and a bit of a hard edge that generally comes along with the territory of metal music. But her warm and personable side cut through quickly; we sat on a couch in

the living room and talked for over an hour, during which time she grew more comfortable with me and really began to take an interest in the project.

I met with Rob Gibson, Executive Director of Savannah Music Festival, on the dock behind his well-appointed home on the banks of the Isle of Hope outside of town. He was my first interview for the project, but the fine wine he served helped calm any nerves.

Kayne Lanahan met with me at her office, the headquarters of the Savannah Stopover Festival, located in the heart of the downtown historic district in Savannah. We sat at a makeshift conference table in the open space of the office, the two other regular employees within easy earshot until they left for the day. The wall was covered with large sheets of paper, displaying to-do lists and deadlines in thick colored marker. Kayne was thoughtful in her answers. The fact that I volunteered for the Stopover Festival earlier in the year, I believe, gave me a little bit of leverage in encouraging her to commit her time to me.

Blogger and all around "Man About Town" (as his newspaper column title suggests) Bill Dawers met me over a long Sunday lunch at a local "shabby chic" coffee shop. Probably no one in town has put more critical thought into Savannah's music scene than Bill.

I interviewed Debra Zumstein, Arts Programs Coordinator for the City of Savannah Department of Cultural Affairs at her office in the downtown area, housed in "S.P.A.C.E." (Savannah's Place for Art, Culture, and Education). It was a very quiet Friday morning at the office, which was spacious with a hodge-podge of well-worn furnishings.

A plethora of less formal discussions also shaped my understanding of Savannah's music scene, its character, its actors, and its potential: a new resident who stumbled upon my jam session in the park and told us of his surprise and disappointment with a scanty music scene in town; a legendary bluegrass and country fiddler who reminisced about his heyday when Highway 80 in Savannah was dotted with roadhouses where he played every night; a restauranteur and bar owner who spoke of the challenges bar owners face with the open container laws downtown; a member of a Canadian band in town to play a show who described his band's strategy for touring success; a community organizer who is often fielding complaints about the music scene; a musician and real estate professional hoping to open a new music venue to fill the void of mid-sized venues; a street musician just out of rehab; a disgruntled record shop owner; and many others.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Model Music Cities

Interviewees' responses to the question "What cities have thriving music scenes?" were plotted on a U.S. map and combined with results of three other studies conducted since 2010 on top cities based on their music scene (Figure 1).

Using interviewee responses cross-referenced with the four sources (Figure 1), a list of top three music cities[1] in three categories—small cities, medium cities, and large cities—were compiled to be used as comparators (Figure 2).

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[1] This is not meant to be a definitive list, but rather a set to be used as comparators.
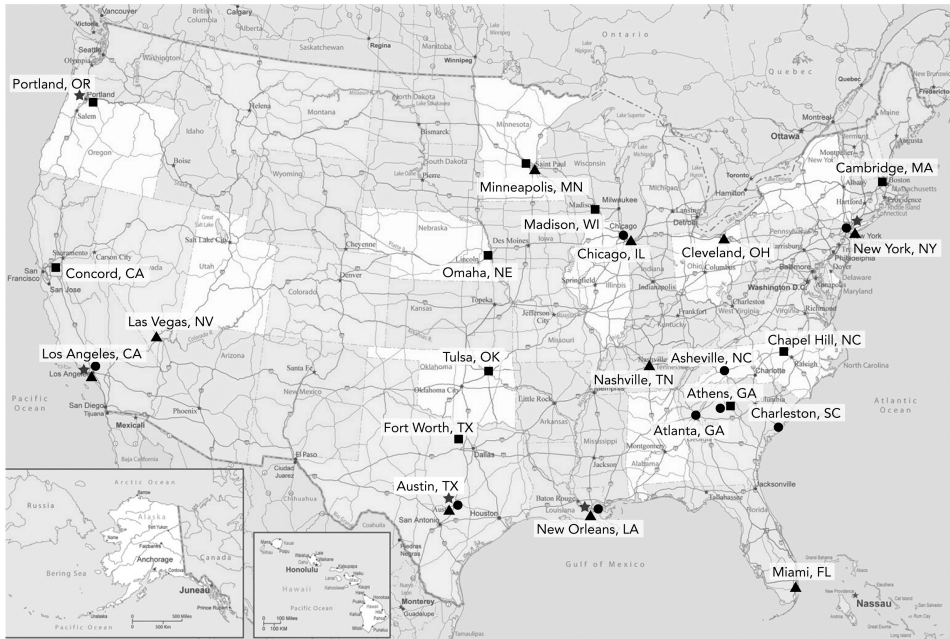
FIGURE 1. *Top Music Cities in the U.S., according to four sources.*

SMALL MUSIC CITIES <1 million population MSA	MEDIUM MUSIC CITIES 1 million - 3 million population MSA	LARGE MUSIC CITIES >3 million population MSA
Athens, GA	Austin, TX	New York, NY
Asheville, NC	Portland, OR	Los Angeles, CA
Charleston, SC	New Orleans, LA	Chicago, IL

FIGURE 2. *Based on findings in Figure 1, a set of top music cities in the U.S., grouped by Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) population, for use as comparators.*

A Local Music Scene as a Social Field

Sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002) provides a framework for understanding social phenomena through his three main interlocking "thinking tools": *field*, *capital*, and

habitus (Maton 2008). According to Bourdieu, interactions occur within social *fields*; these interactions can be seen as a game with the players vying for accumulation of *capitals* (Bourdieu 2005; Thomson 2008). He identified four types of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (as well as several sub-types), positing that it is "impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory" (Bourdieu 2006).

In conducting analysis of the data I collected, I took the liberty of building from Bourdieu's framework in order to understand the social phenomena of a local music scene. Scholar of Bourdieu, Patricia Thomson (2008) notes that Bourdieu's field theory "must be understood as a scholastic device—an epistemological and methodological heuristic—which helps researchers to devise methods to make sense of the world." In organizing the plethora of information, I found that the insights could be organized into distinct, yet interrelated, areas. Taking cues from Bourdieu, I named the areas in terms of the "capital" they represent in the field of Savannah's local music scene.

Physical capital: the role of space in enabling a music scene – Although Bourdieu does not identify a specific capital for elements of the built environment, in analyzing data it became clear that it was important to call out this form of capital. Nearly all interviewees in this study commented that the absence of mid-sized venues in Savannah poses a major barrier to the growth of a music scene.

> It's definitely been challenging because we tend to only have venues that are about 200 capacity and then we jump up to about 1100 … and there's not much in between. And most of the touring acts that have some name recognition need and want to play the kind of 300-600 size venue, which we don't have. (Kayne Lanahan, interviewee)

Additionally, due to certain regulations, Savannah has a shortage of venues that admit patrons under the age of 21—a significant potential audience group. Anna Chandler, local musician, said her biggest problem with Savannah's music scene is the inaccessibility of live music to audiences under age 21:

> I think that being a college town, for one, it's outrageous … When you do have that age group come out, they are the most excited about it, they are the ones that are going to make mix CDs, they are the ones that have their parents' money and are going to buy your merchandise, and, like I remember being in Greenville and indie bands come through and you cling to that so intently, that becomes *your band.* But that age bracket is just totally cut out of it [here] … It's just really hard for your scene to grow if you don't have that audience, they aren't even allowed to be there.

Touring performers often skip over Savannah, even though it is located close to a major interstate and would be a convenient stop on Southeastern tour routes. The venue problem is one of the major deterrents; touring musicians tend to opt for shows in other cities in the Southeast that have cultural amenities like mid-sized venues and admittance for underage audiences. According to Angel Bond, lead singer for Savannah band CUSSES and operator of small informal venue No Control, "We get skipped because we don't have [mid-sized venues]. A mid-sized venue would *crush it* here."

RENEWING PLACES

A recent article by Michael Seman, University of Texas doctoral candidate in urban planning and public policy identified specific music venues in Austin, Seattle, and Omaha as "legendary music venues that fostered scenes later embraced by local leaders as catalysts for economic development." His article went on to state that "despite these successes, there's little formal research into how these venues emerged or what economic value they truly hold. At a time when cities are competing for the highly skilled, mobile workforce that wants first-rate cultural amenities, this seems a notable oversight" (Seman 2012).

It is notable, too, that each of the cities recognized as a top music city (Figure 2) have at least one mid-sized music venue. Even in the small music cities, those venues are nationally recognized. Athens, GA has the 40 Watt Club and the Georgia Theater; Asheville, NC has The Orange Peel; Charleston, SC has the Music Farm. *All* of these venues allow patrons of the 18 to 21 age group.

As a local community organizer remarked in conversation, *venues act as a physical manifestation of the local music scene.* They enable interaction between audience members, between audience members and musicians, between musicians, and—importantly—between local musicians and non-local touring musicians (a subject discussed in the next section).

Finally, data revealed a desire for more visible, outdoor music and public spaces conducive to visible, outdoor music. Kayne described her wish of being able to walk around town on a Saturday afternoon and there would be stages with live music gatherings. "We have such a good climate here, and we have so many beautiful outside spaces," she said.

Social capital: symbiosis and diversity in the ecosystem – Not only do venues and audiences attract touring bands to a city, but local bands in that city are needed in order to attract touring bands. And, symbiotically, touring bands are needed to spark development of local bands. Indie musician Dare Dukes summed it up: "I think one of the things you need for a thriving arts scene of any kind is an infrastructure for cross-pollination between local artists and national artists." Laura Pleasants of the internationally-known Savannah-based metal band Kylesa explained that these relationships were instrumental to the development of her band:

> We had this underground network … I knew all these people in these other towns who were in bands, and I knew who were the popular bands in each town. "Okay, that band draws, let's play with them, and if they ever want to come to Savannah, we'll trade a show." So that's how we used to do it. And it worked well.

Others supported this notion, including a musician in a young touring band from Canada, who described his band's touring strategy as being reliant on relationships with other bands.

Throughout this study, I've taken note of perceptions expressed about the Savannah Music Festival. It undeniably brings world-class musicians to Savannah for three weeks each year. Local musicians do not typically perform as part of the festival. Thus, the infrastructure for cross-pollination among local and national musicians is not part of the festival, which is a point of tension for some residents. One local art and music advocate even described efforts to host an anti-Savannah-Music-Festival event, which would showcase only local musicians.

There is a wide array of types of musicians in Savannah, which was an important insight. Musicians can be classified based on multiple axes: hobbyist vs. professional, workhorse vs. artist, local vs. national, and new vs. established. Musicians tend to fall in different places along a broad spectrum

of each axis, making for a diverse and complex ecosystem of musicians. This led to generating a typology of Savannah musicians and set of musician archetypes[2].

As discussed in the Introduction, music, by nature, has potential to be rich in social capital. It has the capacity to inspire *communitas*. The interviewees in this study confirmed the hypothesis. The most common theme that emerged among all interviews was: *Music unites people*. How, then, might the unifying power of music be channeled toward empowering the local music scene?

Cultural capital: constructing the narrative of place – Dare Dukes says of recognized music mecca Athens, Georgia: "The nice thing about a place like Athens is there is this kind of lore about it. It's a famous music town, so there's a certain amount of caché that comes from being there." Kayne Lanahan echoed those sentiments:

> Athens has such a long history of it, going back to R.E.M. and the B52s and that's a market that literally has created some really mega star bands … It's still a market that creates a pipeline of new music and bands … I think that's just become sort of a badge, you know, once you've got one R.E.M., if you say, "Oh, I'm from Athens, Georgia", they're like, "Oh, that's where R.E.M.'s from" … I think it sort of self-perpetuates.

Many of the top music cities tend to have generated a particular music movement or genre, such that a style grew to be associated with the city. This was the case for Nashville and country music, New Orleans and jazz, Memphis and blues, Atlanta and hip-hop, Asheville and acoustic folk, and Athens and indie folk. This cultural capital has real impacts. For one, it provides a scene for local residents, entertainment for tourists while they visit, and a point of orientation for new residents and visitors. But it also creates a city that becomes a place of pilgrimage for fans in search of the "authentic" source of that music, and who will come from far and wide to hear its performance *in situ* (Stokes Jones, pers. comm.). Certainly, the cities that have achieved that kind of a status offer a wider array of music genres than the one with which they are primarily associated. But it is their observable distinctiveness that has given them an advantage.

So, what is Savannah's sound, and does Savannah need to have a distinctive sound if we want a recognized music scene? This has been a subject of much conjecture in Savannah's local media of late. In August 2012, blogger Savannah Red said, as compared to cities like Nashville and Austin, "Savannah's sound seems to be much more fragmented and diffuse which, to me, seems less able to be understood by the masses." Others argue that diversity makes the scene more interesting and is one of Savannah's greatest musical assets. Some would say genre divisions have become irrelevant in this era of music. Still others believe that Savannah *does* have a distinct sound.

Economic capital: reifying the value of music – In 2001, the city of Austin, Texas, one of the medium-sized model music cities, completed an economic impact assessment of their music scene. They determined that the music industry in Austin at that time generated:

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[2] Not included in this paper

> $616 million in economic activity
> 11,200 jobs
> $11 million in tax revenues
> (TXP, Inc. 2001)

According to Wendy Morgan, director of music marketing for the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau, "music is how we promote this city. It is a major role-player in [Austin's] local economy" (Smith 2002). Other model music cities, Chicago for one, have conducted similar economic studies (Rothfield et al. 2006). If Austin's figures were extrapolated to Savannah's population, it could be said that a music scene in Savannah could conceivably generate:

> $175 million in economic activity
> 3,186 jobs (2% of all jobs in the Metropolitan Statistical Area)
> $3.13 million in tax revenues

Musicians themselves tend to fare low in terms of economic capital. It probably comes as no surprise that it is very difficult to make a living as a musician in Savannah or anywhere, except in the case of the small percentage of artists who achieve mainstream recognition or, perhaps, work full-time with an active orchestra. A majority of Savannah musicians must work other jobs—usually part-time—in order to meet their financial needs. Typically, the job of a musician does not provide benefits that a typical full-time job would provide, like health insurance and other benefits. In 2010, the Future of Music Coalition conducted a study that found that 33% of all musicians lack health insurance—more than double the national average; 86% of the uninsured musicians attribute it to their inability to afford insurance (Thomson 2010). Kayne Lanahan, music promoter and organizer of Savannah Stopover Music Festival, says health insurance for bands and musicians is a top priority because "it's impossible for them to get. It's super expensive." For Savannah musician Jason Bible, it has recently become an even more dire need:

> I think that every city that has musicians in it should take care of their musicians and not treat just them like peasants or steerage, you know? … I'm about to have a baby, and hopefully play music for a living with a child. The only problem with that is the insurance. I can't afford a family premium insurance rate. That's the most important pressing issue for me that the city could do … [but] the city government [in Savannah] would never EVER EVER allocate any money towards it. They'd be looking at it as "they're all drug addicts and junkies, why would we take care of musicians?" It's that whole stereotype that has not gone away.

To be sure, transplanting to Austin, New Orleans, or Chicago wouldn't solve the financial stresses of most musicians. But the fact that these cities committed resources to conducting economic impact analyses of their local music scene demonstrates a degree of consensus about the value of a music scene. Austin has services like the Health Alliance for Austin Musicians (www.myhaam.org) that addresses health care needs for their local musicians. New Orleans, according to interviewee Gustavus Frazier, a street musician, regularly demonstrates their sense value of their local musicians:

I've seen New Orleans myself personally show gratitude to their local musicians because they help make New Orleans what New Orleans is. I don't know if Savannah, Georgia would ever notice if all the sudden there's nobody playing music on River Street or around the different squares or parks in Savannah. I don't know if they realize just how fortunate it is to have talented people on your streets and parks and squares to add to your city flavor.

The evidence in the sections above demonstrates that a local music scene *is* a driver of economic growth, but the attainment of economic value is contingent upon accumulation of *other* forms of capital as well. Capital is currency: it gives us power to act (or as Bourdieu would say, position in the field), but its effects mean nothing until our dispositions (*habitus*) enter the equation. In this case, a city's perception of the value of its local music scene—and subsequent behaviors toward it—determine its capacity to accumulate capitals and to translate them into action (or *practice*). For Savannah, as highlighted in the next section, this point is critical.

Habitus of a city: a local value system – Perhaps the most pervasive, yet the most elusive, barriers to the growth of a music scene in Savannah exist in the realm of the psychological and behavioral. Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* focuses on our behaviors, feelings, ways of thinking and being. Habitus "captures how we carry within us our history, how we bring this history into our present circumstances, and how we then make choices to act in certain ways" (Maton 2008). Using this lens, the significance of those intangible aspects of a city's values, attitudes, and behaviors become clearer.

In the previous section, Jason Bible talks about the negative stereotypes of musicians and Gustavus Frazier talks about a disregard for the value of street musicians in Savannah. In my impromptu conversation with the owner of a new record store in Savannah (and recent transplant to Savannah), he expressed frustration with the apathy he perceived. Savannah news columnist and blogger Bill Dawers posted on his blog *Savannah Unplugged* (2012): "Savannah's culture of apathy obviously presents all sorts of problems for ambitious cultural programming."

A common theme that emerged among the interviewees was a resistance to change at the governmental, regulatory, and legislative levels in Savannah. Musician Angel Bond said, "It's hard for the downtown associates to change. There's a lot of old school rules here that are very set in place. It seems like there are a lot of very cool things that could happen that don't happen."

By contrast, a *Savannah Morning News* column by Jake Hodesh (2012) of The Creative Coast in Savannah relays Jake's observations about Austin, Texas:

Austin is cool. The culture, identity, culinary and music scenes and the overall vibe are great. The economic development goals are clear, concise and understood by the masses. The city is young, vibrant, energetic and cohesive. There seems to be a pervasive thread of "yes" running through all circles. I know this may sound crazy, but there is something transformative about this idea of 'yes.' What if we, Savannah, adopted "YES!" as our official motto?

How would a shift from a culture of apathy to a culture of "YES!" impact one of Savannah's biggest challenges, as described by Dare Dukes?

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> I think if you talk to anybody who is paying attention in any sector they will tell you one of Savannah's biggest challenges is how migratory the population is and how there's kind of like a brain drain, like the student population always leaves and never stays. And so there's kind of a tension … Tourism is one of the top three industries here, and there's this feeling that downtown has to be like a museum, and, if it's not like a museum, that somehow the tourism industry will be hurt. And so, I think, this is totally my perception, but I think there's a tension between THAT and local, messy, arts-based energy.

This study shows evidence that a local music scene has value—both economic and intrinsic—to its city. A local music scene has the potential to facilitate physical and social interactions between people, attract and retain residents, attract tourists, be a source of civic pride and shared narrative of place, and drive economic growth. But this potential can only be seen when music and musicians are perceived as valuable—as being part of the essence of a place—and thus, that "messy, art-based energy" that is a local music scene is not a point of tension for a city, but instead, a form of capital.

Insular Efforts

The inadequacies of Savannah's music scene have not gone unaddressed, nor have its assets gone unacknowledged. In fact, local music reviewer Bill DeYoung (2012) says Savannah's music scene is "currently the healthiest and most productive it's been in years." The Savannah Stopover music festival, which has put on two annual weekend-long festivals as of this writing, seeks to "put Savannah back on the map" for young touring acts. The Savannah Urban Arts Festival holds an annual event featuring local music. Squarefest, a brand new public, outdoor, all ages music event featuring a lineup of local bands, attracted over 2,000 audience members to its inaugural concert in August 2012, and the organizers aim for it to be an annual happening. Angel Bond, lead singer for local band CUSSES, along with another band member, have been running an informal all-ages music venue (although the venue has been temporarily shut down as of this writing due to licensing issues). Several individuals and small groups are in planning phases hoping to open a mid-sized music venue. In 2011, Graveface Records opened the only independent record store in Savannah. Many bars and restaurants hire local bands to entertain their patrons on the weekends. There are ongoing discussions and potential plans for the construction of an outdoor amphitheater.
There are musicians and bands that have made Savannah their home and are actively pursuing careers in music.
Despite these efforts, the scene is still often described as insular. Bill Dawers (2012) says "Savannah's tendency toward cultural insularity sometimes has marvelous results, but it can also foster defensiveness that encourages isolation. That defensiveness sometimes has prevented Savannahians from realizing just how special this place is and how much more we can do." Interviewee Laura Pleasants spoke about insularity in the Savannah music scene:

> I think the scene here is just very disjointed … instead of one big one, it's more like really small pockets … rather than everyone coming together and doing something. Everyone is just kind of doing their own thing. Which is, you know, probably pretty normal.

Debra Zumstein of the Savannah Department of Cultural Affairs noticed a similar condition in the arts overall in Savannah: there are clusters, but they are disconnected from one another. Yet, disjointedness and insularity are at odds with the single most common theme that emerged from this ethnographic research: *music unites people*.

IMPLICATIONS FOR DESIGN

As is the case with many problems that exist in complex social fields, a design-driven *solution* was not readily apparent. True, one could design a mid-sized venue for Savannah, design the business model for it, and open for business. This would be a big step in removing one of Savannah's major barriers. One could design a presentation to convince legislators to reconsider how people under age 21 are handled at music venues. One could design (another) live music event for the public that features local bands.

But there is not one problem, which, if fixed, would solve all. A social field like a local music scene is a problem in organized complexity. Jane Jacobs described cities in much the same way. Cities, she says, "do not exhibit one problem in organized complexity, which if understood explains all. They can be analyzed into many such problems or segments which, as in the case of the life sciences, are also related with one another." (Jacobs 1961) The real design problem, then, is *how can a place create lasting change?*

Throughout history, the real advancement of society has been achieved primarily through citizen-based collective actions, or social movements (Moyer et al. 2001). As Bill Dawers (2012) wrote: "No single person is in charge of creating a better scene. It's a collective goal that will be reached if passionate residents support each other's efforts. And a stronger scene would bring broad benefits to the city, even to those who never think of heading out to a club."

Plan for Design

This study led to an understanding of Savannah's local music scene as a complex social field and the forms of capital at play that must be addressed in order to elevate it. It shaped a vision of the desired future state of Savannah's music scene. It showed that the crux of a local music scene is its *people*, and that music has the innate ability to unite them. The findings informed a set of design criteria that are systemic, holistic, and participatory.

Building from theory and models for social movements and activism (Moyer et al. 2001), I will use this research to build the proposal for a "Music Scene Task Force" (working title), designing the tools to empower and mobilize a group of people united with a mission—united by music—toward collective action. "Fans, music writers, musicians, music professionals, venue programmers, and municipal leaders — we all need to do a better job of making connections between the disparate elements that make up our current scene and sound" (Dawers 2012). The design for this task force will offer the roadmap to making those connections, and directing the collective power toward action. The findings on types of capital and habitus in a local music scene will provide an organizing framework to make decisions about the types of people and roles needed in an effective task force, as well as provide the guidance and insight to build the agenda based on a systemic approach.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EPIC

This study reminds us how ethnographic research in a complex social field reveals issues that may not be easily observable and cannot be captured through quantitative measures alone. EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) implies the application of ethnography in organizational structures. Although it is a loose association of people rather than a traditional organizational structure, a local music scene is a socio-cultural *organization*. As *organic* as it may be, it calls for *understanding* and *organizing* in order to advance.

This study looks at the music scene in the city not only as an organization within the context of the city, but also as an essential part of that particular city. This project demonstrates how an ethnographic approach helped to shed light on the powers and issues at play and build understanding of the day-to-day lived experiences of people and place. This understanding provides the framework for place-based action and becomes a catalyst to create sustainable, lasting change, even amidst a field of complexity.

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Detroit is a Blank Slate: Metaphors in the journalistic discourse of art and entrepreneurship in the City of Detroit

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This paper presents an investigation of metaphoric language in the contemporary discourse of Detroit's "renewal." News articles from local and national news sources from 2009-2011 provide evidence of critical and provocative metaphoric constructions found in the gentrification discourse of Detroit. As harbingers of gentrification, the discourse communities of artists and business entrepreneurs are the focus of this review. The author argues that metaphoric language in journalism must be critically evaluated and challenged to help ensure sustainable, equitable, and historically sensitive "renewal" of the city of Detroit and similar inner-city urban communities experiencing gentrification.

INTRODUCTION

Many American cities like Baltimore, Cleveland, Gary, Pittsburgh, and Detroit were once markers of industry and American opportunism. Their landscapes, made up of buildings, homes, parks, roadways, institutions, and dense populations, spoke of a thriving present and a promising future. These cities, once defined by growth, movement, and change are now often described with language that speaks to distress, suffering, stagnation, failure, or death. These cities, and the ways in which we talk about them today, challenge our sense of identity as a progressive nation. The experiences of their landscapes disappoint our typical notions of success and, all-to-often, they are talked about as failures to be fixed or wrongs to be righted.

Language that reflects these notions of failure has permeated the discourse of the City of Detroit. The landscape of Detroit is a marker for decades-long divestment of city infrastructure and social and economic disenfranchisement of city residents. In the book *The Origins of the Urban Crisis; Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (2005), Thomas Sugrue critically discusses how systemic conditions of disproportionate wealth, racial segregation, and class division were solidified in the mid-century and dominates the history of Detroit: from the 1940s when Detroit offered the most abundant and highest paying blue-collar jobs in America; into the 1950s and '60s when the city lost millions of residents and workers as industry headquarters, along with a rising class of affluent Whites, "flew" to the suburbs; followed by a steady decline of the middle-class Detroit population from there on out. "White flight" has become somewhat of a catchall expression, frequently used to answer questions of why the City of Detroit looks and operates the way it does, with rare mention of "Black flight" also being a reason for the decline of the city. I argue that this language reinforces a narrative that when Whites leave cities or neighborhoods, they somehow "fall apart" and that "rebirth" and "renewal" are dependent on Whites returning.

Today, roughly 83% of the people in the City of Detroit are Black and roughly 11% are White (USA Govt 2010b). The majority of city residents struggle financially, with 50% of Detroit families making less then $25,000, 15.5% of the population unemployed, and 35.5% of families living below the

poverty line (USA Govt 2010c). High numbers of buildings, schools, and homes remain empty and uncared for due to foreclosure. The Detroit that had a population of 1.8 million in 1950, had an estimated population of 706,585 as of 2011 which was down from 713,700 in 2010 (Schulz 2002, USA Govt 2010a). This is roughly the equivalent of a loss of 20 people per day. The city, which is 138 square miles, now contains roughly 79,700 vacant homes (USA Govt 2010b) and over 40 square miles, or 30,000 acres of vacant land scattered throughout (Weatherspoon 2012, Mogk 2010, USA Govt 2010b). Additionally, there are 80 unused school structures throughout the city and school closings have accelerated recently (Huffington Post 2012). However, the past few years have shown a steady increase of nation-wide media attention to a "comeback" for the City of Detroit. The narrative of this comeback is that Detroit is now at a critical point of "rebirth" or "renewal." In targeted areas of the city, such as the Renaissance Center, the New Center, and the recently renamed Midtown area (which includes the Wayne State University Campus and a few well-populated neighborhoods including the Cass Corridor, Woodbridge, and Historic Canfield), developers are refurbishing former factories and warehouses into "luxury loft" apartments; erecting mix-use condominium and retail spaces; and restoring many of the historically recognized office buildings that have been left vacant for years. Starbucks has been trickling in and a Whole Foods supermarket is slated to open in 2013 (Gallagher 2012). Restaurants, boutiques, cafes, and other enterprises are surfacing at a steady pace. As is the case with many gentrifying or gentrified neighborhoods in America, these changes to the landscape are often indicators that the function, the identity, and the economic value of these neighborhoods are being re-determined primarily through an influx of capital investment and the expectation that new, financially attractive residents will follow.

Beyond these areas of "renewal" Detroit looks a lot different. Much of the landscape, left untended for so many years, often feels unshaped and unformed, chaotic, and complicated. The landscape itself communicates a loss of control, disorder, and danger. However, in the discourse of urban renewal in Detroit, the landscape is used as the vehicle through which to present a narrative of opportunity. The city is often presented as cheap, up for grabs, and, depending on the economic standpoint from which you are viewing, a place where you can set up shop with minimal investment and for minimal risk. This presentation is made up of stories of successful startups and entrepreneurs moving into the city to take advantage of low rents and housing prices and how young people from all over the world are coming to utilize the landscape for creative inspiration. I argue that the landscape of the city itself becomes a metaphor through which to construct this narrative of renewal.

In the ways in which metaphors help us to understand and articulate abstract concepts, metaphors of our experiences and responses to space and place are often a means through which to understand and evaluate social and economic values. For example, Sugrue uses metaphoric language when reflecting on the once prosperous urban center of Detroit as a "shell" of it's former self:

> Today the city is **plagued** by joblessness, concentrated poverty, physical **decay**, and racial **isolation**. Since 1950, Detroit has lost nearly a million people and hundreds of thousands of jobs. Vast areas of the city, **once teeming with life, now stand abandoned**. Prairie grass and flocks of pheasants have **reclaimed** what was, only fifty years ago, the most densely populated section of the city. Factories that once provided tens of thousands of jobs now stand as **hollow** shells, windows **broken**, **mute** testimony to a lost industrial past…. Whole sections of the city are **eerily apocalyptic** (Sugrue 2005).

This excerpt illustrates the patterns of metaphoric language that are often used to describe Detroit: sickness, death, exile. Sugrue uses words such as *plagued, decay, isolation,* and *abandonment* to describe Detroit, as it existed in 2005. Some of this language reflects a lack of a voice or a soul, *muted* and *hollow.* He describes the feeling of the landscape as *eerie* and *apocalyptic* where nature reclaims the city. Prairie grass grows back and wild pheasants return. This language continues to proliferate the journalistic discourse of Detroit today. However, undertones of "White flight" as the source for the death of the city also still exist. This is most poignantly clear in examples of journalistic writing that biases the comeback of the city as largely dependent on the upper-middleclass White return. These stories of opportunity and opportunism are set against a backdrop of negative reporting that reinforces and deepens the belief that poor Black people are at the root of crime, danger, the deterioration of the landscape, and the overall plight of the city. Building on the above examples of Sugrue's use of metaphoric language, this paper continues by exploring how language in journalism both blatantly and subtly shapes a narrative of the White savior, especially in the context of high art and business entrepreneurialism, twisted from a more comprehensive and humbling narrative of preexisting conditions of urban poverty and social disenfranchisement.

METHODS AND INTENTIONS

Although this project did not engage in ethnographic work, the purpose of this project is to inform future ethnographic work on gentrification, identity, and sense of place in the City of Detroit. The project was influenced by an increased focus on urban agriculture, land use, resource capacity, and foreclosure in the City of Detroit. This focus was further influenced by the emerging presence of analogies of Detroit to cities like Berlin or Brooklyn, as in the July 7, 2011 PBS online article and July 21, 2011 NPR program which both posed the question, *"Is Detroit the Next Brooklyn?"* These analogies communicate a referential present and future for the City of Detroit where inexpensive properties lure the creative class, followed by the upper middle class, and increased gentrification.

The source material is documentary and pulled from the online news sources: *Time Magazine Online, CNN.com, The New York Times Online, Huffington Post Detroit,* and the local online magazine *Model D.* Articles from these journals were reviewed for patterns in metaphoric content. The timeframe includes articles and some blog posts from the years 2009 to 2011 with much of the content cited from 2010. The 2009-2011 time bracket was chosen primarily to include, as a focal point, the *Time Inc.* and *CNNMoney.com 'Assignment Detroit'* collaborative project which was initiated in Fall, 2009 and ended in November of 2010. Twenty-eight articles from this blog were reviewed in total, all written by *Time* reporters and freelance journalists hired for the project. Articles from the *Time.Inc Detroit Blog* and the associated *CNN.com* reporting were selected through a search of all posts from 2009-2010. *The New York Times Online* articles were selected through a word search of "Detroit artists" and Detroit entrepreneur" within the years of 2009-2011. *Huffington Post Detroit* articles were scanned through a word search of the writer and creative director Toby Barlow, a Brooklyn-to-Detroit transplant who has been rigorous in his pursuit to "brand" Detroit (Andrews 2008). Barlow has received significant public response for his article entitled "Detroit, Meet Detroit" in which he encourages more people to recognize the assets of the City of Detroit and to relocate themselves and their businesses to the city (Barlow 2011). The *Model D* posts were selected through searches of the key words: entrepreneur and

artist. The first 50 articles for each search were then selected and reviewed based on relevancy and date.

The structure of this investigation follows the approach of Otto Santa Ana's article *'Like an Animal I was Treated': Anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse* (1999). Santa Ana references articles from the *Los Angeles Times* for the entire year of 1994 and concludes that a main metaphoric theme in the discourse of immigration in America is that IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS. His analysis is powerful in that he addresses how metaphors can be used as linguistic vehicles to subversively penetrate the public discourse with racist sentiments that, in their subtleness, they quietly offend while effectively shaping a public viewpoint. This paper draws from Santa Ana's approach by identifying and analyzing metaphoric language used in the discourse communities of artists and entrepreneurs.

The project of this paper was not an attempt to tell the whole story of journalism about Detroit. Nor do the metaphoric constructs revealed here communicate a code or model for understanding the real-life experiences of the people residing and working within the city. Rather, this is a focused attempt to look at messages that were being conveyed at a time when there was a noticeable increase in national media attention about entrepreneurialism and urban renewal in the city of Detroit.

ABOUT METAPHORS

Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) discuss how metaphors, pervasive in everyday thinking, speaking, and acting, are tools through which we structure our relationship to the world. The authors posit that by looking to metaphoric language we can start to understand our hidden conceptual systems, or the structures through which we shape our understanding of abstract concepts and ideas. Through language and metaphors we can begin to understand the systems that make up how we construct, think, and act (Lakoff and Johnson 1980b). The authors use the example of the conceptual metaphor of ARGUMENT IS WAR to illustrate how war is evident in the ways in which people talk about arguments: *He shot down all my arguments; His criticisms are right on target; I've never won an argument with him.* Arguing is thus shaped by the concept of war and, therefore, the metaphor of WAR structures the actions of arguing. In contrast, the authors ask us to imagine a culture where an argument is viewed as a dance, with participants as performers and where the goal of an argument is to have a balanced and aesthetic outcome (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a). Arguments as we know them would look, sound, and feel completely different, and the very concept of an argument would be transformed. Another example, TIME IS MONEY, illustrates how metaphoric expressions are tied to metaphoric concepts. In our conceptual framework of time, time is a valuable commodity. It is something that is gained, lost, shared, spent, saved, etc: *You're wasting my time; I don't have the time to give you; I've invested a lot of time in her; this flat tire cost me an hour.* This concept plays out in various cultural constructions like wages, hotel room rates, and interest on loans. The significance, and perhaps the danger of conceptual shaping through metaphor, is that this "systematicity" of one concept shaping another causes other aspects of the concept to be hidden.

Metaphors also play a role in how we understand our emotions. We use metaphors of *being swept off our feet, being madly in love,* and *boiling with anger* to describe our feelings and emotions (Kövecses 2000). These metaphors allow us to move beyond common words for feelings like anger, sadness, happiness, and into more descriptive and creative spaces. Through understanding metaphors, we can start to understand how our motivations, social goals, expectations and other aspects of how our lives are shaped.

I argue that in discussing metaphors used in journalistic discourse it is important to consider the fact that trained writers deliver prose with the intention to reach and influence the masses. Rhetorical skills, often finely honed, are where the production of powerful metaphors can be found (Cameron and Deignan 2006). It is also critical to note that in the context of discourse communities, people are inseparable from their language and equally inseparable from the context of the conversation being played out. In discussing metaphors in the discourse of Detroit, these ideas help us to see how language is intimately linked with feelings about the city, its history, its current conditions, and its many complex components that become the basis for metaphoric constructions. In the journalistic space of this discourse, we see a range of metaphorical possibilities to explore. The following sections highlight some of the metaphors that were identified in this project.

METAPHORS IN THE DISCOURSE OF DETROIT: Race, Class, Gentrification, and Sense of Place

DETROIT AS OUT-OF-PLACE and the ENTREPRENEUR AS PIONEER: The anthropologist Mary Douglas and the geographer Tim Cresswell discuss *out-of-placeness* and that in our seeking to create order, we condemn disorder. Tim Cresswell writes that our ideas of *out-of-place*-ness are engrained in the way we think and act. What we understand to be *in-place* and *out-of-place* become part of our common sense and when something conflicts with this common sense, it is considered deviant and dangerous (Cresswell 1997, Douglas 1966). Wilson notes that urban areas, like Detroit, that are "targeted for renewal" are often discussed in terms of taking the *out-of-placeness* and putting it *in-place*. These *out-of-place* places are called *"no man's land"* and *"places of no return"* and, without renewal programs to "*wisely steer*" and "*plot a redevelopment course*", they would *"be left in the backwater of the stream instead of navigating upon it."* (Wilson 1996). This language metaphorically places the people who reside in these areas in socio-spatial isolation, demeaning them symbolically and socially, and positioning them as outside of the process or *"path"* of redevelopment. This begins to illustrate how deeply engrained biases of race and class are placed, consciously or otherwise, in the construction of urban renewal programs. Similarly, in the discourse of renewal of Detroit, the city is often discussed in terms of a lack of directionality: *unstructured, unbounded, nebulous;* its landscape often referred to as *cavernous* and *hollow*. The examples below illustrate how this lack of directionality both challenges renewal and justifies renewal (demolition as a form of improvisation and shrinking the city):

> "For generations, residents of this hollowed-out city hoped that somehow Detroit could be reborn — its population would return and its crumbling core would be rebuilt. No idea was more heretical than widespread demolition of thousands of derelict buildings. But a new momentum has taken hold here that embraces just that: shrinking the city in order to save it…. Strategies are now coming from every corner, with community groups and nonprofit organization and trade groups producing frameworks…" (Saulny 2010)

> "…block after block of what used to be neighborhoods and now are weed patches and incipient forests, devoid of people unless they've bedded down in the tall grass where we can't see them….As the city dissolves back into the landscape, analysts discuss the possibility of forcing the few still living in the empty zones to

> move into more densely populated areas so the city can cut back on utilities and police services." (Hale 2011)

> "What would a new Detroit look like? Many say it will have to be smaller, greener and denser. The city can start with the chunks of town that have withered into wasteland…. The approximately one-third of the city lying empty or unused--an area about the size of San Francisco--is not just an emblem of its corrosion but also the blank slate on which to chart a path to renewal." (Altman 2009)

In these examples we see how Detroit is linked to a sense of something withering and fading, beyond grasp and lacking a structural presence, perceived as empty and unused and in need of strategies, frameworks, charting, and path-making. Unlike traditional ideas of urban reconstruction as going up (as in skyscrapers), Detroit as an orientation is seen as needing to become flat, parceled, chunked, and shrunk. In one example from the *New York Times*, a young artist and technology entrepreneur discusses the intentions for a project where inches of land in Detroit are sold for a nominal fee for small artistic projects:

> "Even such a lightweight form of ownership has a really cool psychological effect. Even if they bought the inches on a whim, it would bring people into the city a little bit more." (Ryzak 2010a)

It could be argued that this *lightweight form of ownership* that can be had *on a whim* reinforces the idea of ownership of land in Detroit can be viewed as a *psychological* investment more than a full-on commitment. Other stories of young entrepreneurs further construct Detroit as a low-risk investment. The uncontrolled and unmonitored landscape; the abundance of empty buildings and storefronts; and the weathered infrastructure hold the promise of business ownership and creative inspiration for artists:

> "I don't know of any other city in the country where you could open up a theater just because and where four screw ups who are just hanging out can now be business owners. Detroit is the one place where you can just kindda do whatever you want to do." (Mehta 2010)

> "…the city offers a much greater attraction for artists than $100 houses. Detroit right now is just this vast, enormous canvas where anything imaginable can be accomplished… local and international artists are already leveraging Detroit's complex textures and landscapes to their own surreal ends." (Barlow 2009)

> " 'This city is a blank slate,' says Detroit's Nicole Rupersburg, 29, who relaunched herself as a culinary tour guide after being laid off."(Easton 2010)

> "There's a sense that it's a frontier again, that it's open, that you can do things without a lot of people telling you, 'No, you can't do that….
> 'It's the land of opportunity.'"(Ryzak 2010a)

Many of the examples illustrate a sense of unboundedness and emptiness that is appealing to the

entrepreneur. The language starts to illustrate a perspective that what isn't there (the *vacancy*) provides a promise for what can be claimed and what could be built. In this sense, the current economic decline of Detroit is in a state of tension: it is good for starting a business, for buying cheap and getting out if you need to, and it speaks to the notion that Detroit is there to be taken by the adventurous and the willing. This example further illustrates this relationship:

> "There are a few brave souls who CHOOSE to live in Detroit… All of a sudden, everyone they know is coming to see them downtown. And they lived to tell the tale." (Erdodi 2010)

The language *"those who CHOOSE"* illustrates that there is a marked value distinction between the people who are moving in and those who are already here. The language *"they lived to tell the tale"* presents a narrative of bravery and heroism. New residents with *choices* are celebrated for their relocation because they are perceived as having more economic and social value than existing residents who may be perceived to not have these same choices.

I argue that this perspective reinforces a construction that the city requires outside interest in order to be *saved*. In these examples, the landscape- the place- has literally become a metaphor. The metaphor of DETROIT AS OUT-OF-PLACE illustrates how the idea of *boundaries* is used to construct ideas of how these entrepreneurs define their communities and their work in the city. We can start to see this desire for structure, for chunking and parceling, for a sense of rigidity, boundaries, control, all deeply rooted in colonization and historical American values of land claiming and property ownership. I further argue that because the conditions of the city have been largely deemed unattractive, undesirable, or crime ridden, the entrepreneur is given allowance to exercise ownership in a way that closely parallels the pioneer rhetoric of the Wild West and Manifest Destiny: the potential for personal gain in exploiting the main weakness of the city which has been and continues to be grossly undervalued real estate. The constructions of Detroit as a *blank slate,* a *vast, enormous canvas,* a *frontier,* or *the land of opportunity* serve to devalue and/or negate existing people, structures, and artifacts while glorifying the new.

These examples begin to illustrate how those without capital or without entrepreneurial motivations might be marginalized or overlooked by the media, rendered invisible in the metaphoric construction of the "renewed" city. In the American historical discourse of "Go West" and Manifest Destiny, the poor who have remained in the city are as the indigenous American tribes were to the original pioneers: a misguided and unworthy people who stand in the way of economic and social progress. The ENTREPRENEUR AS PIONEER is in essence understood to be critical to a changing landscape and is recognized as being entitled to the space, resources, and identity of that landscape.

DETROIT AS A VICTIM and the ENTREPRENEUR AS SALVATIONIST: Wilson identifies the metaphoric concept of CITY AS ORGANISM whereby the city has body parts that suffer from *"eyesores, lesions, and hardening arteries"* until the SALVATIONIST provides *nourishment* and *resuscitation* to bring it back to health, as a doctor or technician would save a sick patient (Wilson 1996, 2004). In understanding CITIES AS ORGANISMS, Detroit as an organism is one that is perceived as dying, dead, vanished, or ghostly:

> "Bustling neighborhoods have vanished, leaving behind lonely houses with

> crumbling porches and jack-o'-lantern windows. On these sprawling urban
> prairies, feral dogs and pheasants stalk streets with debris strewn like driftwood…
> Asked recently about a dip in the city's murder rate, a mayoral candidate
> deadpanned, "I don't mean to be sarcastic, but there just isn't anyone left to kill."
> (Altman 2009)

> "Spread over roughly 140 square miles, it has a business district that resembles a
> ghost town." (Yablonsky 2010)

The metaphor of DETROIT AS A VICTIM stems from this language: Detroit is in a state of *disease, decay* or *death*. In the discourse of optimistic entrepreneurs, Detroit is dying but not quite dead. The language tends to describe a tragic victim, often without hope, without motivation, and unmoving, mentally ill, self-destructive, and blamed for its own condition. The examples below start to illustrate these ideas:

> "The island [Belle Isle], like the city, is plagued by neglect… The aquarium is still
> in a good state of repair. Unlike much of Detroit, vandals and nature have yet to
> ravage it." (Dybis 2010a)

> "Detroit often seems numb to violence." (Gray 2010a)

> "They are the vultures who feed on the carcasses of dying neighborhoods…
> miserable crooks turn fast bucks by feeding off the innards of this town… we're
> going to have to figure out a way to stop feeding on ourselves…" (Dawsey 2010)

In the metaphoric construct of DETROIT AS A VICTIM, some of this victimization is self-induced. Detroit is *numb* and *feeding off its innards*. In these examples we see Detroit as self-loathing and self-defeatist, and in the last example, Detroit is actively participating in its own demise. Detroit is blamed for Detroit. This language positions Detroit to be without health, mentally and physically, and in need of protection, help, and *new blood*:

> "Oliver… [is] confident that his startup will help the battered city…. Oliver is one of
> the exceptions to a dire situation." (Gray 2010b)

> "To disprove the charge that Detroit is in terminal decline, Nafa Khalaf offers
> himself as Exhibit A…. For Detroit, a city in critical condition, this new blood could
> make a difference." (Ghosh 2010)

Similar to the pioneer construct, the victim construct of Detroit affords the space for an outside intervention to right what has been deemed to be wrong. The entrepreneur is described as *confident*, the *exception*, an *exhibit*, and *new blood*. The city is described as *battered*, *dire, in terminal decline,* and *in critical condition*. This relationship positions the entrepreneur as empowered and special, amidst a victim or sick patient in need of saving. Other examples illustrate a sense that the position of SALVATIONIST belongs to a few individuals who are *"doing good."* Again, these stories present creative entrepreneurs who are building businesses and projects, which, in the context of Detroit, are often framed as acts of altruism. These examples from the *New York Times* frame a local restaurateur in this light:

> "…this creative do-gooder verve is small. "You can't change a city of 800,000 with 200 people," said Phil Cooley, an owner of the popular Slows Bar BQ in Detroit. "There's so much work to do." That includes diversifying: a largely white creative class stands out in a largely black city; integration remains rare." (Ryzik 2010a)

> "To make sure the positive change takes hold, Mr. Cooley has parlayed the good will of his barbecue joint into a restless pursuit of community-building. This is an incredibly fruitful place to do business, because we're so starving for anything… I'm needed here," he said. "It's rewarding, the day-to-day work that I do. I wake up and I feel like I'm making a difference." (Ryzik 2010b)

These examples begins to illustrate a construction that if you are not one of the entrepreneurs who is *"doing good,"* than you risk sitting outside of a narrative of who cares for communities and what that caring is supposed to look like. In these examples, the SALVATIONIST positions themselves at the center of renewal. That renewal rests with a few individuals who assume that responsibility for everyone. If you are not one of the few who are *"doing good"* you are outside the "path of progress." Overall, the narrative that is taking shape in the examples above favors the values of movement, change, and personal investment, revealing constructed ideas of the entrepreneur and the evidence of entrepreneurship. We can see in some of these examples where the entrepreneur is determining and declaring that change needs to happen and that they are at center that change. The entrepreneurial communities being presented here are often more affluent and educated than many of the long-term residents of Detroit who make up the actual (and not the rhetorical) identity of the city. I argue that the ENTREPRENEUR AS SALVATIONIST (in these examples, the *do gooders*) threatens to negate the value of your average Detroit resident who may not have the means, the time, or the interest in opening businesses or restoring infrastructure. Simply put, I am arguing that the exceptional-izing of the entrepreneur as SALVATIONIST for the city challenges the value, and in some cases the identity, of many Detroiters.

DETROIT AS A SEXUALIZED FETISH and ARTIST AS DOMINION: Finally, the metaphoric construct of DETROIT AS A SEXUALIZED FETISH is rooted in artistic tensions of provocation and control. As mentioned earlier in this paper, there is much rhetorical evidence that illustrates a fetishization of the landscape of Detroit. Phrases like "ruin porn" and "horror and beauty" have become popularized in the public discourse of Detroit. The language is highly visual and stems from criticism of fine art and editorial photography of factories and public buildings, like the Packard Plant or the Central Train Station, that have long been unused. The language also symbolizes a consuming of the landscape for artistic use. To the entrepreneurial artist in Detroit, the *abandonment* and *decay* is mystified and romanticized. Detroit is a prize to be both exploited and guarded, and which, in a state of submission and abandonment, is aestheticized:

> "There is the city: Detroit, in all of her horror and beauty. Then there are the suburbs: everything else around Detroit." (Dybis 2010b)

> "It is a look at one art museum's decision to run a series of 'ruin porn' photographs about Detroit and people's reaction to both the display, the photos themselves and the city as a whole." (Dybis 2010c)

> "Doulos says artists lured to the 'beauty of the decay' need to look beyond it. But, he admits, "it's difficult to escape because we work with the visual language. Let's be fair, we get stimulated by this orgy of decay." (Archambault 2010)

> "Artistically they're very important in the way that they combine the almost romantic sense of horror with beauty," she said. "That dissonance between the beauty and the sense of waste and destruction and decay leads you to really consider not just the situation of Detroit but to put them in a larger context of the rise and fall of civilizations…" (Rubin 2011)

These examples start to illustrate how conditions of poverty and economic divestment are fetishized and glamorized for artistic inspiration. The entrepreneurial artist coming to live or work in the city exploits the *decay* and *horror* as *stimulation* and inspiration for their work. In thinking about how this language exists alongside the more blatant "orgy of decay" language of the artistic community, we can start to see some tensions between mainstream culture outside of the geographical boundaries of Detroit and a growing subculture of ARTISTS AS DOMINIONS within the geographical boundaries of Detroit. This language is revealing at a time when the landscape, both physical and metaphorical, is appealing to young creatives who may feel priced out of other cities in the United States and abroad. However, the language of these artistic entrepreneurs sometimes reflects a tension with personal identity and speaks strongly to a desire for exclusivity and control– a desire to own both the artistic identity of the city and the consumption of the landscape as inspiration. These journalists write:

> "Get used to 'intruders' playing an even bigger part of the creative culture here…" (Archambault 2010)

> "Detroit's wonderful. Detroit's horrible. Detroit's wonderful in the way it's horrible. I sooooo want suburbanites to like us, to visit us, to really get it. I so want this place to myself… Where did all these people come from, and why don't I know any of them?" (Boyle 2011)

Metaphorically, Detroit in these examples has been fetishized as a prize to be claimed and protected. However, these examples also express a fear of personal identity being taken away through *intrusions* of new artists and an influx of *suburbanites*. In the context of the city of Detroit, and the impending gentrification that is surfacing there, the ARTIST AS DOMINION both covets and fears the city. This combination of "wonder" and "horror" serves to further fetishize and turn into spectacle an already abstracted narrative of the city. I might argue that, for the artist, the exclusivity and the status that is created as a result of this fetishization is only maintained if the level of poverty of the city is also maintained. The established individuals, families, and businesses, which exist as part of the existing landscape of Detroit, are then folded into a construction of the city that is romanticized (and then commercialized) in terms of broken infrastructure and the proclamation of cheapness.

However, the amenities that regularly surface as a result of this creative influx (cafes, restaurants, boutiques, galleries, etc) also become the emblems of renewal that serves to attract more mainstream investment that inherently changes the landscape. These new emblems, in turn, often overshadow, or even negate, long-established businesses, artists, and other residents. As a result, these established individuals and efforts remain under-represented in the media discourse of positive urban transformation, in a chapter in the city's history that is being written largely by and for the "new."

CONCLUSIONS

Mary Douglas challenges us to think about people who are on the margins of society or "people who are somehow left out of the patterning of society" by where "they may be doing nothing wrong but their status is indefinable" (Douglas 1966). If Detroit is *out-of-place*, then many of the Detroiters who have occupied and sustained the city for decades are thus considered irrelevant, indefinable, or, at worse, deviant. Their values, experiences, challenges, and ultimately their voices sit outside of the "planning," "strategy," and "frameworks" of "renewal." Whether consciously or not, this affordance further anchors a belief that a narrative of returning Whiteness to the city is the preferred formula for success and that Blacks are not critical to this scenario.

Bonnie Urciuoli writes that in the United States "character requirements" for good citizenry are rooted the dominant cultural model of the middle-class White Anglo (Urciuoli 1994). A model of *self-motivated production,* where one can support oneself and contribute socially and economically is a key concept to *the good citizen* model and *self-control.* Therefore, the defining ideas of the "good ethnic citizen" are always tenuous measurements of Whiteness. She refers to this as "race-making" and adds that when racial status is low, it is the "result of not trying hard enough." Working-class status becomes an unacceptable endpoint for good citizenry. In essence, our ideas of model citizenry are highly individualistic and ideologically narrow, overvaluing personal effort while hiding economic disparities like access to adequate resources (shelter, safe neighborhoods, education, job opportunities, etc).

Where race and class are prominent in the social discourse of a city, we can start to see how the rhetoric of PIONEER, TECHNICAL SAVIOR, and DOMINION can be linked to ideas of the good, desirable citizen. The examples cited in this paper reveal that the narrative of Detroit privileges optimistic entrepreneurs and independently minded artists who embody these ideals and therefore become the empirical, and therefore measurable, evidence of urban renewal. The metaphors discussed throughout this paper are at the root of this privilege. The public discourse of artists and entrepreneurs in the city of Detroit has often been exclusionary in highlighting a well-curated sampling of stories. This curation threatens to diminish the larger narrative of the city and mask a more comprehensive picture of a city that is much more diverse both culturally and socio-economically.

Although this project references articles and blog entries from 2009-2011, it is important to note that in 2011-2012, criticism of metaphoric phrases like *blank slate* and pioneer rhetoric has grown. Although the presentation of "renewal" is still predominantly one of youth and whiteness, local journalists and contributors to the website Model D and other websites are starting to speak out against these themes. Here are a few examples:

" 'Detroit [is] not a blank canvas, there are pre-existing conditions.' This was in

> response to a point raised regarding some newcomers to the city not respecting Detroit's style." (Wasacz 2011)

> "...In talking about Detroit as unsettled frontier, we have effectively removed anyone living in marginalized, underfunded, or neglected neighborhoods from the conversation… because newcomers are mostly White, gentrification in Detroit picks at the abscesses of racial segregation in our city..." (Elliott 2011)

> "There's a quiet turf war going down in Detroit. Or maybe it's a capital-intensive neighborhood re-branding campaign…. It isn't just the rumble of bulldozers clearing ground for huge new projects like the Auburn Building or the much ballyhooed Whole Foods supermarket. It's the history, the identity of the place, that's being forgotten." (Sands 2012)

These examples start to illustrate how language that makes up the public narrative of urban renewal challenges neighborhood identity and can lead to negative feelings and resentment. I argue that there is room for a more comprehensive narrative of renewal that is grounded in the voices, experiences, and successes of a broader and more representative cross-section of people. I further argue that metaphoric language in Detroit discourses (and the racism, exploitation, appropriation, and colonialism that are part of that history) must be critically evaluated in order to explore more comprehensive and inclusive approaches to improve urban life and strengthen urban communities. If not, urban renewal efforts may serve to further disenfranchise the many individuals, families, institutions, and organizations that often get ignored in the name of progress.

As anthropologists, we try to be vigilant in our self-critiquing of how language informs and reinforces our biases. As ethnographic researchers, we must force ourselves to continue to understand how language shapes our experiences in the field, our findings, our assumptions, our conclusions, and our resulting production. I feel that an acute awareness of metaphors, and linguistic anthropology overall, can help us get there. As we have learned from Lakoff and Johnson, we, as humans, rely heavily on metaphors to understand and to communicate our experiences, values, assumptions, fears, and desires. A critical review of metaphors used in a discourse community– like the project presented here– can provide an ethnographer with some context through which to begin an ethnographic project. As advocates and storytellers, metaphors will ultimately influence our stories and how we tell them. Through identifying patterns in language, we can better identify and understand metaphoric constructions found in the communities that we serve and those that are embedded in our own points of view. This recognition will lead to far deeper and more insightful evaluation of our data and how we understand our obligations to that data.

The metaphors in this paper reveal that narratives of urban renewal often privilege a narrow set of ideals that become the construct of urban renewal. To go back to Lakoff and Johnson and how language shapes our actions and our thinking, we have come to accept that urban success and urban failure looks a certain way. In this case, it is deeply rooted in existing constructions of colonialism, progress, and privilege. As anthropologists, it is crucial for us to more critically evaluate and more regularly challenge the ways in which ideas of "renewal" are constructed and presented and what this really means in the context of our work. If we, the anthropologists, self-identify as agents of renewal, it is imperative that we then also be self-critical of what this might mean and what this might imply to the

communities in which we work: What is ANTHROPOLOGIST AS AGENT? Who is an "agent" who imposes themselves on a group of people and, in writing about that group, becomes the representative for the group but not necessarily part of the group? Are we like the SALVATIONIST or the DOMINION that exploits and also guards? Might we be wrongly assuming this role for ourselves, and if so, why are we assuming this role? From the position from which we stand, are we allowing ourselves to critically discuss how "renewal" often means drastic changes to the landscape: the removal of people; the deconstruction of buildings and the construction of new buildings; the loss of culture; and the material means through which to connect with history (both good and bad)? As is the case with Detroit, are preexisting conditions of disenfranchisement and poverty twisted into a narrative of opportunity? Is "renewal" a word that encourages us to celebrate taking without considering theft? As an anthropologist working in this most complex of landscapes, I find these questions to be critical to research and resulting production. I argue that understanding the prevailing metaphors in a public discourse can help us better understand our own biases while also critically evaluating the empowered position from which we stand.

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Renewing Services

SHELLEY EVENSON, Curator
Fjord

Papers in this session look at service systems from two seemingly different but surprisingly related perspectives. In one study, the introduction of new digital service processes had unintended consequences across the healthcare clinic system and suggests potential ramifications more broadly. The other study covers how system-administrators manage and collaborate toward solutions as part of service delivery practices in a large-scale IT services company. Each addresses renewal by looking at the research challenges from the broader ecosystem perspective—understanding the why, what, and how people are working together as communities along with the objects or components of their work. They each explore the social systems in their settings and look at the interplay with objects as systems of systems. You will be impressed by their conclusions on both a practical and theoretical level.

RENEWING SERVICES

Implementing EMRs: Learnings from a video ethnography

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This yearlong video ethnography of a healthcare clinic that transitioned from a paper process to a scanning solution documents in detail how the new technology impacted different groups in the clinic. While the scanning solution reduced the retrieving, filing, and paper-processing work for the Medical Record clerks, the ethnographic analysis showed that it also eliminated some of that work's tangible benefits for providers. Ultimately, the scanning solution resulted in a shift in the division of labor in the clinic from Medical Records to the healthcare providers who were burdened with additional administrative tasks. Indeed, the scanning technology did not make the clinic more efficient overall, as the number of patient visits per day remained the same.

INTRODUCTION

In the 2009 Address to the Joint Session of Congress, President Obama explained, "Our recovery plan will invest in electronic health records and new technology that will reduce errors, bring down costs, ensure privacy, and save lives." He thus joined a chorus of Healthcare Information Technology (HIT) apologists and researchers (e.g., Hillestad, 2005, Rifkin, 2001, Wang, 2003) who herald the great benefits the technology will bring. Certainly, several studies have found tangible benefits of paperless records, including the legibility, completeness, and accuracy of the information in the records (e.g., Hippisley-Cox, 2003).

However, there are increasing signs that the expected cost reduction from Electronic Medical Records(EMR) implementations has not been fully realized. Healthcare costs have continued to rise despite an increase in the use of EMRs. Individual practices that use EMRs have increased billing (likely the result of more complete documentation to support additional billing), but do not appear to have decreased the labor cost associated with their production (Sidorov, 2006). While this can be a good result for a healthcare organization, this does not make the healthcare system as a whole more efficient. With regard to patient safety, there are indications that EMRs have had decidedly mixed results: reducing the number of small mistakes, but increasing mistakes with greater impact (Ash et al. 2004, Koppel et al., 2005, Koppel & Gordon, 2012).

Many of the studies of EMR systems have relied upon interviews and focus groups, along with analysis of outcome metrics, providing a representation of use without actual examination of use. Ethnographic studies of such technology, on the other hand, have focused on how technologies are taken up in the course of healthcare work. As Timmermans & Berg (2003) wrote, in this approach to the study of "technology-in-practice" technologies are seen to be:

> embedded in relations of other tools, practices, groups, professionals, and patients and it is through their location in these heterogeneous networks that treatment, or any other action, is possible in health care. (p.104)

As such, ethnographic studies of healthcare have led to a number of deep insights into how technologies are affecting healthcare practice. For instance, ethnographic studies of doctor-patient interaction have shown how the usage of computers during the doctor-patient encounter has changed the interaction between doctor and patient (Greatbatch et al., 1995; Luff et al., 1992). Many physicians lament this change and some are unwilling to use the computer in the exam room. Another reason for physician resistance to EMRs is the benefit of having tangible paper records (Heath & Luff, 1996, Fitzpatrick 2004, Sellen & Harper). Not only is paper easier to read, navigate and mark up, it has a certain "ecological flexibility" and can be "mobilised and manipulated for various purposes" (Luff et al., 1992). Paper can also more easily serve as a resource in collaborative decision making (Hartswood et al., 2003, Clarke et al. 2007) than digital technology.

There have been a growing number of studies examining the effects EMRs have on physician's practice, but less on how EMRs have impacted the work of people other than healthcare providers. Aside from the work by our colleagues Martin & Wall (2008), for instance, very few studies have looked at the work practices of the staff in Medical Records. Our study builds on their work, and expands it by tracking the transition from paper charts to electronic records and the accompanying changes to the work processes and practices of the different stakeholders affected by the change. We show that the attraction of the paper chart lies, in part, in the flexible division of labor it affords between the clerks in Medical Records and the providers.

BACKGROUND

This research project was initiated by a division of Xerox that wanted to explore the possibility of developing scanning solutions in healthcare. We contracted with them to study a healthcare organization that was in the process of transitioning from paper charts to an EMR. The healthcare clinic we studied employs primary care providers as well as some specialists: pediatrics, psychiatry, neurology, podiatry, physical therapy and massage therapy. It is a non-emergency clinic that is open five days a week, patients are seen by appointment only, although some exceptions are made for the occasional walk-up patient.

While the clinic had transitioned from paper records to electronic records a few years before our study, they had yet to get rid of the paper charts completely. The electronic medical record system was for the internally generated records only. The providers used the EMR to document each visit, order prescription medications for their patients, maintain a list of current and discontinued medications, as well as enter the diagnostic codes, which were then used by the accounting department for billing.

The reason the clinic still used paper charts was that they received a lot of paper from other healthcare institutions. Whenever the clinic's patients went to some outside provider, for instance if they had been to the emergency room in the local hospital, or had an MRI with a radiologist in town, the clinic, as the primary care provider for the patient, would receive a report in the form of a letter or fax from that institution. These incoming reports were filed into the paper chart of the patient by the clerks in Medical Records. So whenever a patient visited the clinic the providers would use a paper

chart alongside the EMR. It was this incoming-paper process that was radically changed when the clinic adopted a scanning solution.

METHOD

This ethnographic study was conducted by two researchers. We observed the clinic on 21 days over a one-and-a-half-year period, both before and after the transition to the new technology. While we observed the different workers in the clinic (33 total), we video recorded their work and collected more than 150 hours of video. The groups we observed included the providers who saw and treated patients: physicians (5), physician assistants (2), and registered nurses (1); the medical assistants (5) who roomed the patients; the clerks in medical records (6); the transcriptionists (2); the pharmacist (1) and pharmacy assistants (2); administrative staff: referral clerks (1), front desk employees (2), billing clerks (4); and the employees in verifications (2), who checked the insurance status of the patients. Additionally, we conducted informal interviews with the clinic's management.

After each visit we studied the video recordings in a secure video laboratory at our research center. The recording of patient data was allowed under the clinic's HIPAA policy which included a statement that the patient records may be used for research purposes. We kept the data in a locked cabinet and the video on computers that were disconnected from the network. In presentations we made sure all patient information was thoroughly disguised.

In the next sections we will describe the work practices of the employees before and after the clinic implemented the scanning solution. We organize our description by roughly following a document from the moment it is received by medical records, since this is the process that was affected by the scanning solution.

The paper-based workflow for incoming documents

The clinic's medical records group employs eight clerks, two of whom are full-time transcriptionists. It is one of the largest groups in the clinic. Before the introduction of the EMR, the group maintained the paper charts, which was a very labor intensive job. The paperwork was reduced dramatically when the organization adopted the EMR. With the introduction of the EMR, the providers started to document the patient visits in the EMR. However, other healthcare providers continued to send the clinic reports in the form of paper. We will describe briefly the processes involved with the incoming documents workflow: updating charts, reviewing charts, "doing the table," and archiving charts.

Updating charts - The mail and faxes that came into the medical records department were opened by a clerk and sorted by patient last name. A few times a day, one of the medical records clerks took this sorted stack of paper and went to archives to 'pull' the corresponding patient's charts out of the movable cabinets, in which the charts are organized alphabetically by patient name. The clerk put the newly received documents inside the chart, and stacked them on her desk.

Then the clerk sat down at her desk, opened a chart and punched holes into the top of the incoming documents' pages, and attached them on the top of the left side of the chart (paper can be filed on both sides of the manila folder). She would place a stamp on the paper and attach a flag to the side of each page that the provider had to review and sign. The clerk checked the EMR to see whether

the patient had already scheduled a next appointment, and if so wrote the date on the stamp (this would help the provider determine whether the already scheduled appointment should be altered given the new information they received). When done, the clerk put the charts on bookshelves, one designated for each provider.

Reviewing charts. Providers would visit the medical records department at least once a day to go through the new incoming documents in the charts. They would take down the charts from their bookshelf, open them, and read the new documents on the left hand side of the charts, circling critical values and making notes on the stamp as needed, and sign off on the pages.

In case the content of the reports had implications for care, for instance if they wanted to see the patient to discuss a lab result, the providers could indicate on the stamp when they wanted to see the patient. In case the report required immediate action (if a lab value was extreme, for instance) the chart was put into a special box for the registered nurse, who would contact the patient directly. If not, they would put them on some book shelves the medical records clerks referred to as "the table".

Doing the table. Several times a day the Medical Records clerk assigned to "do the table" would take the charts from the shelves and take them to her desk. The charts on the table came from two sources: the providers who signed incoming paperwork, or were returned from 'the floor'—the name Medical Records used for the exam rooms—where they had been consulted by providers during a patient visit.

For the former, the medical records clerk would check whether the provider had indeed signed all the pages and read whatever instructions the provider had written on (or near) the stamp and take action accordingly. In case the provider indicated that the patient needed to come in for an appointment, for instance, the medical records clerk would notify the clerk at the front desk who was in charge of scheduling appointments. After taking care of any such follow-up business, the clerk removed the flags from the side of the pages and reattached them at the top of the page as a reminder; the change in the flag's location served as an indication to the providers that they had yet to discuss the results with the patient.

For the papers coming back from the floor, by contrast they would remove the flags from the top of the pages, as presumably the providers had discussed the information with the patient (if not, the providers were supposed to indicate as much on the page), and would file the papers under the appropriate tabs inside the paper chart. Then they put the chart on a set of shelves (organized alphabetically), which would be emptied by another clerk. That clerk would then file the paper charts in the alphabetically organized archive.

The incoming paper process is illustrated in Figure 1 and was designed to ensure that the providers were kept abreast of any medical information about their patients gathered by other healthcare providers outside the clinic, such as labs or emergency rooms. The second process that involved the paper charts made sure that the providers had access to the paper charts when the patients came to visit the clinic.
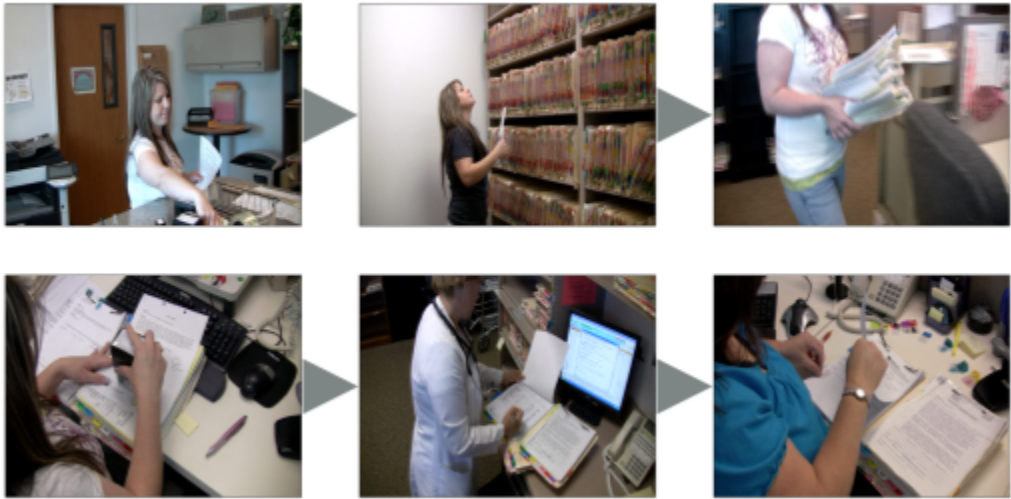
FIGURE 1. The incoming paper process

The Patient visit process - Every afternoon one of the medical record clerks printed the names of the patients scheduled to visit the clinic the following days and collect their charts from the archives; marking them off the list as she found them and collecting them on a cart, one cart for each day.

Since charts were moved around the clinic regularly, they would often not be in the archive. In that case, the clerk would check the other shelves in medical records—the provider shelves, the "table," the desks of the other clerks, etc.—and if it was there she would either collect it or—in case that the date of the visit was still a few days away—attach a note on the front of the chart with the date of the patient's appointment date. In the case a chart would not be in Medical Records at all, it could be out on "the floor," possibly in a provider's office. Since there would always be missing charts the medical records clerk would start pulling the charts for appointments several days ahead of time, so she could start keeping an eye out for the missing charts; after all, the charts must come back to Medical records at some point.

In the afternoon, the clerk would push the cart with the charts for the next day's patients to the front desk. The front desk clerk would unload the charts from the cart and put them on shelves, now no longer organized by patient name, but by provider first and then organized by the time of their appointment.

Using the chart during the patient's visit - The next day, when the patient checked in at the front desk, the front desk employee would pull it from the stack of vertical charts and put it horizontally next to the otherwise vertically stacked charts. The front desk clerk then flipped a notification flag mounted on the wall, a different color for each provider, a sign to the medical assistants that a patient in the waiting room was ready to be 'roomed'. When an exam room became available (each provider has at least two) the medical assistant would walk to the front desk, grab the chart from the shelf and collect the patient in the waiting room and bring the patient to the exam

room. After taking the vital signs and the initial interview, the medical assistant would leave the chart in the room for the provider to review with the patient.

All the providers had to do to view the latest incoming documents was to open the paper chart and look at the left-hand side of the chart where any papers they had yet to discuss with the patient would be directly visible and marked with the flags at the top of the page (older papers would be filed under tabs). After the visit, many providers would take the chart to their room and refer to it when they documented the visit in the EMR. When done with the chart they put it in a cabinet whence they would be collected by Medical Records clerks and returned to "the table" for further processing. The process is illustrated in Figure 2.
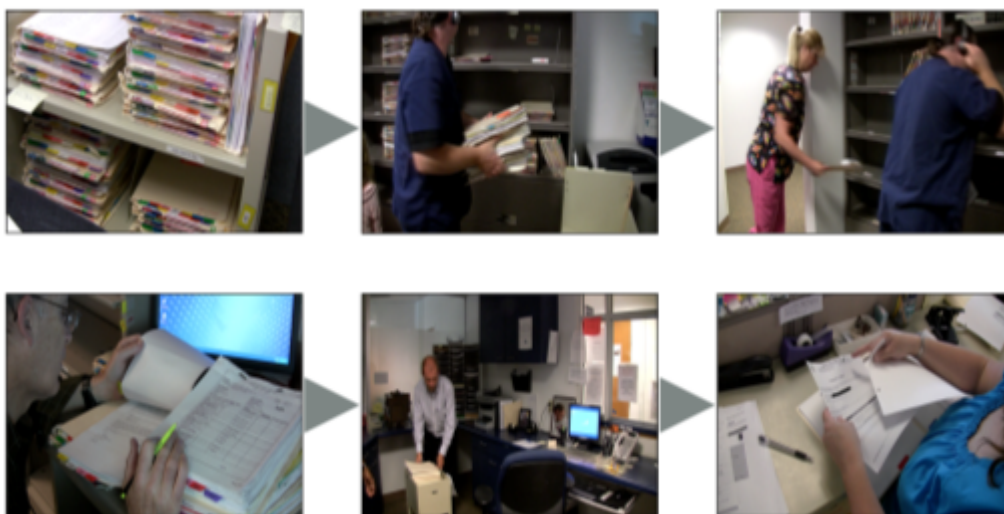
FIGURE 2 The patient visit process

PAPER PROCESS - DISCUSSION

As can be seen from the description above, the incoming paper process in the clinic was quite labor intensive, because the charts needed to be pulled from the archive and moved through the clinic, and papers needed to be punched, filed, stamped, and flagged. It was a full time job for one of the clerks, and several others were assigned specific parts of the process like "doing the table." Searching for charts alone would take up considerable time each day and often involved multiple people.

It was clear that a full EMR system that would eliminate much of this work would be a great improvement over the paper charts. The problem was, however, that the other healthcare providers in the area did not send these documents in electronic form (only lab reports from quest diagnostics could be loaded into EMR directly). Since the incoming paper was not going to be eliminated in the foreseeable future, the organization implemented a scanning solution.

The digital workflow with the scanning solution

One of the first differences between the old paper-based and the new digital workflow is that the incoming paper no longer needs to be organized alphabetically, as the scanned image can be linked directly to the patient's electronic record, indeed one of the benefits of the new system was that it made the alphabetical organization of charts superfluous. The scanning clerk opens the letters and faxes and scans them at a workstation with the scanning equipment (Figure 3). She performs a quality check on the resulting digital image and if necessary she adjusts the settings and rescans the document. Then she enters the provider's name as well as a brief description of the document in the notification for the provider, "Dr Wilmott, ped. cardiologist" for example. Finally, the clerk stores the scanned paper documents alphabetically by patient name; Medical Records holds on to the incoming documents for a month before they are shredded.
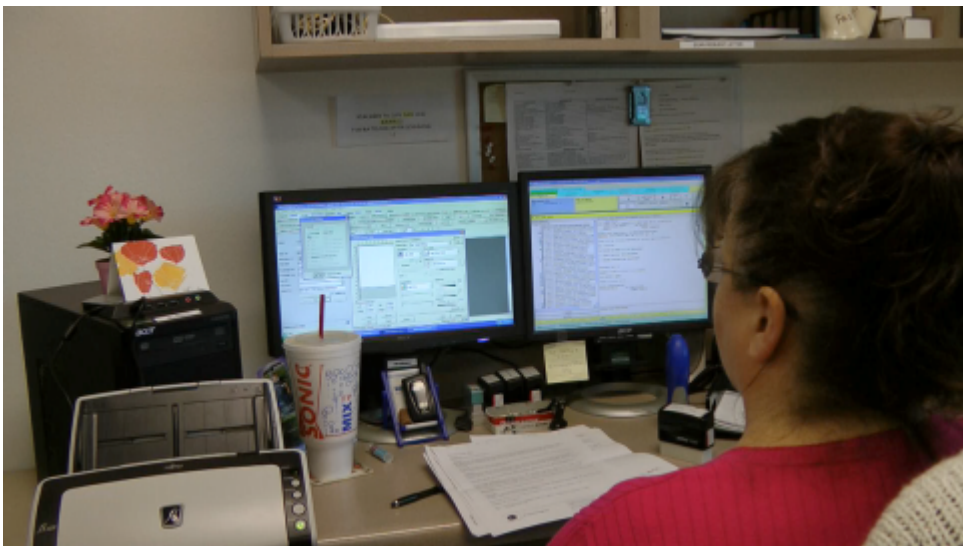
FIGURE 3. Scanning incoming paper

Reviewing incoming documents. Whenever a new image is added to a patient's record, the primary care provider for that patient receives a notification through the EMR. The notification list of the EMR is like the e-mail inbox for a provider and part of the official patient record. A notification for a scanned image is marked as "to review" and lists the title of the document so the provider has some sense of what they will be looking at. They can select "display" from a drop-down menu, which will cause the system to access the scanned documents for that patient in the database, which requires that the provider logs in. Double-clicking an image file brings it up in a viewing program which allows them to scroll down the page or jump to the next or previous page.
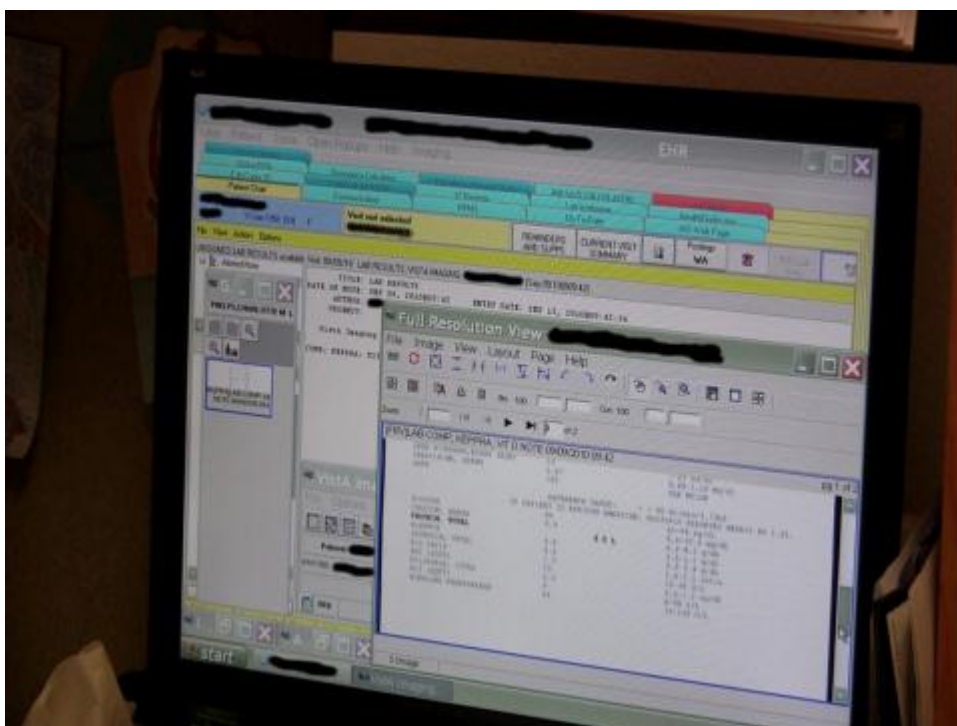
FIGURE 4, The scanned image from a notification

Signing off on notifications - Once they have read the document the providers can sign off on the notification, which they can do electronically by entering their password; this also removes the notification from the list, in the EMR.

Patient visits - When patients come in for a visit, the Medical Records clerks no longer need to pull a chart for the visit (except when the provider requests it to see older lab values, for example). All the information is now in the EMR system, which the providers can access from the computers in the patient rooms or from the computers in their offices.

THE DIGITAL WORKFLOW--DISCUSSION

The impact of the scanning solution on the work in Medical Records has been profound. Medical Records clerks no longer need to pull charts or store them back into the archives. Nor do they need to do any of the paper processing, such as the punching of holes, adding and removing flags, and filing paper into the chart. Nor do they need to lug charts to the front desk or retrieve them from the floor several times per day. In short, the scanning solution reduced the work of medical records significantly. The job of scanning documents is not much less time-consuming than the original filing

work, however; it is a full-time job for one clerk as the quality control processes are quite time-consuming.

The workflow for physicians also changed substantially. For them, too, there are clear benefits of the new scanning technology. For instance, they no longer need to go to Medical Records to sign off on their paper charts, they can do that from the comfort of their own office now. Indeed, they can access these documents while away from the clinic. Perhaps most importantly, the scanning solution eliminated the dual systems they had to manage ever since the introduction of the EMR; finally all the information about a patient is accessible in the EMR.

However, there are distinct drawbacks as well. For instance, when providers receive a notification that there is a new incoming document for them to sign, it takes several mouse clicks before they can actually see the document. Moreover, since the scanned images reside on a centralized, off-campus server, bringing up the images takes a while, certainly much longer than simply opening a paper chart and looking on the left hand side.

Also, while the quality of the scanner is very good, the scanned images on the computer are more difficult to read than their paper counterparts. The displays used in the clinic are not large enough to show a complete page at a time, so providers always need to scroll to see the bottom of the document. This process of scrolling from the top to the bottom of a page and then selecting the arrow to move to the next page of the document was considered so cumbersome that the providers requested that for any incoming document longer than five pages, the medical records staff would allow them to read the paper copy and sign off on it before scanning the document (it was then scanned into the EMR without sending the provider a notification). Our findings in this regard are consistent with previous research (Sellen & Harper, 2002).

Another advantage of the paper charts was that providers could mark up the paper quite easily and they would routinely do so, for instance by circling a lab value that was out of range or drawing a vertical line in the margin of an important paragraph from a narrative of a specialist's report. This "active reading" (Adler & van Doren, 1972) helps the providers process the information and is more difficult to do when reading an electronic document. Additionally, such markings and notes would immediately draw attention to the most important information when providers opened the paper chart again when they were with the patient. The scanned image, by contrast, could not be marked up, thus depriving the providers from making their second reading of the document more efficient. In the days of the paper record, the provider would be handed a chart and could open it to see the incoming paper records that they had marked up on the left hand side; access was nearly instantaneous. Moreover, the flags on the pages would indicate that the provider had not yet discussed these documents with the patient; the physicality of the paper chart would serve as an indication of what needed to be done. With the scanning solution, by contrast, the provider must search the EMR to see if there are any records that ought to be discussed with the patient. This involved logging into the system, looking up the patient in the list of appointments for the day, finding their own note from the last visit, in order to ascertain which documents in the list were added since the last patient's visit. Moreover, in order to see the scanned images they must go through the same cumbersome process of clicking on an image icon and navigating through the scanned pages as they did when they signed off on the paper. These processes were more time consuming, and meant that providers needed to spend more time before or during each visit to go over the next patient's electronic chart to check what needed to be discussed. But when providers were busy, and their next patient had already been roomed and was waiting, many

would prefer to just go into the room and care for the patient. This meant that discussing the latest documents became more likely to fall through the cracks.

To make the process of looking at the latest scanned images superfluous, many providers typed a brief summary of the most important information of a scanned document into the notification itself. This would save them time when they had to look at the patients' documents again, since they would not have to go through the rather time-consuming process of opening the image files again and rereading the information in them. However, typing a note is a much more involved process than simply circling an out of range value on a paper-based report. On the left of Figure 5 is a scanned image, and on the right is the notification in the EMR, in which the provider has typed the last paragraph. When I asked her how she had created the paragraph in the EMR, she told me "I wrote it down on a piece of paper. I tried copying it but it just makes you crazy, so then I just wrote it down."

A scanned image of an X-ray report   The addendum to the notification contains the impression
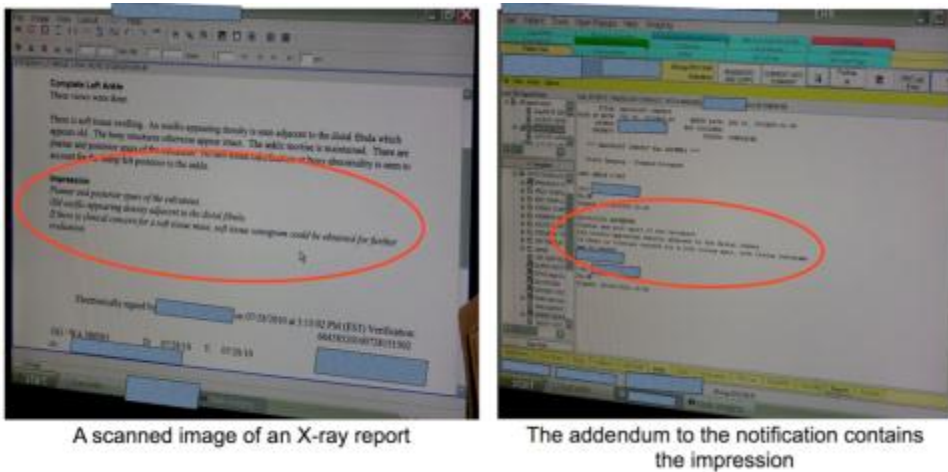
Figure 5. A provider copies a paragraph from the scanned image into a notification

The ability to write a quick note on the paper charts also helped other processes. For instance, with paper charts, providers could write on the stamp that they wanted to see the patient, and when. The folks in medical records would then process this request by contacting the folks at the front desk who made appointments. In the new process, they need to type a note into the EMR, sign off on it, and then make the people responsible for making appointments co-signers of the notification, which causes the system to send them the notification as well. A process that used to require only a few words on the paper chart, now required numerous keystrokes and mouse clicks to accomplish.

In summary, the transition from paper charts to a scanning solution had different repercussions for different stakeholders in the organization. Medical Records clerks had more time to spend on auditing the providers EMR entries as much of the paper processing had been eliminated; no more searching for charts, no more flagging pages, no more filing papers, etc. However, while most of this work was certainly tedious, it had considerable value for the providers. For providers, the introduction of the scanning solution meant more work, as they now had to do themselves some of the tasks

Medical Records clerks used to do for them. In the aftermath of the implementation of the scanning solution, then, many providers complained that they spent extra hours after work processing the EMR notifications that they now received. In short, the division of labor shifted from Medical Records staff to providers.

DISCUSSION

As we have shown, the introduction of the scanning solution has had both positive and negative effects for the organization. It is unclear whether the efficiencies gained in one department outweigh the losses in the other. On the one hand the efficiencies gained in Medical Records did not actually lead to a reduction in resources. While the scanning solution made pulling paper charts unnecessary, the scanning process itself turned out to be a full-time job. The clerk that pulled and filed paper charts full-time before the transition was replaced by someone who scanned all the images. The other staff in Medical Records had much less paperwork, which was a time-savings, but now had to spend more time in front of the computer, which made their work more monotonous. Overall, we believe that there were certainly some efficiency gains for the Medical Records department of the clinic.

Several providers complained about the new workflow when it was first implemented, and this is no surprise given the analysis presented above. However, it was striking that six months or so after the implementation those same providers were used to the new workflow and did not complain about it much. They had by then gotten used to the new workflow and knew their way around the system, which alleviated some of the initial complaints. The providers just adapted to the increased workload by changing some of their other practices. For instance, several started to dictate rather than type their notes into an audio recorder, which would be transcribed by the transcriptionists in medical records, who now had more work, reducing their documentation time. And some providers mentioned that they started coming in earlier or staying later to process their list of notifications, for others there may have been some slack in their schedule that they now used to accomplish the additional work. So while the overall impact of the transition on the clinic's efficiency was minimal, the shift in the work from Medical Records clerks to the providers is a concern. Not just are the providers' salaries much higher than that of the Medical Records clerks, the impact of a reduction of patients on the bottom line would be considerable.

It should be noted that this shift in workload from support staff to providers is part of the real impact of EMRs. Some of the providers mentioned that the transition from paper charts to the EMR that happened a few years before this study had similar impact on the work for providers. Take for instance the Computerized Physician Order Entry (CPOE) process. Providers used to write prescriptions on a paper form, on which they specified the drug, the number of times a day it should be taken and for how many days. The patients themselves would take the prescription to the pharmacy. Nowadays, prescriptions are entered into the computer, and sent directly to the pharmacy. Selecting the drug and specifying the dosage is now done through drop-down menus, not a bad process in and of itself, but quite time consuming. The provider must specify the pharmacy that should fill the prescription, as the system needs to be instructed where to send the prescription. This is something that they never needed to know before and is arguably of little medical importance. Yet finding out what pharmacy the patient uses can involve a time-consuming search through previous prescriptions. In one instance we observed a provider enter a refill prescription for cough medicine

and just when he was done with the order he discovered that he sent it to the wrong pharmacy. He had to erase the order and redo the entire prescription. Including those mishaps, it took the doctor seven minutes to complete the order. Here, too, we can see that there is a shift in work, in this case from the patient to the provider. And the trouble is that since the work must be done on a computer, and only providers can enter these orders and sign off on them, providers must perform small additional tasks that can add up to a very substantial part of their work day.

Another case in point is the documentation of patient visits. Providers are not only supposed to write prescriptions and write a note, they are also supposed to enter diagnoses for the visit, enter a visit code, keep the list of chronic ailments up to date, etc. In the days of the paper chart much of this work could be done while with the patient. With the EMR many providers perform this essentially administrative work on the computer in the exam room during the patient visit, but most don't like the way the work on the computer interferes with the interaction with the patient and take notes on a notepad and then later enter the information into the computer, essentially documenting the visit twice.

These tasks and many others like it ultimately cut into a provider's time has to see patients. One provider in the clinic reported that she was able to see 35 patients a day when she had her own pediatric practice that used paper charts, and had two dedicated medical assistants. At that time, her documentation consisted of one sheet of paper that she filled out while in the room with the patient, and a dictation that she did afterwards and had transcribed. Now that she had transitioned to the current clinic she could maximally see 20 patients in large part because of the long time it took to do her documentation. Crucially, the paper charts allowed her assistants to fill out the paper-based documentation, so that, in effect, they could do the documentation together, something that the EMR no longer permits.

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown a heretofore-underreported aspect of how the transition from paper charts to EMR affects healthcare practice. It concerns the shifting of work away from back office work to healthcare providers, by documenting the work processes before and after the implementation of the scanning solution. We saw how the scanning solution did not just automate a back-office work process, but altered the division of labor, in effect increasing the administrative tasks of the physicians, PAs, and RNs.

The question is, of course, if this division of labor can be reconstituted with the new EMR technology through the implementation of new work processes and organizational change. We believe that there are many opportunities here, but they depend on changes in the technology as well. For instance, it would require medical assistants to attain access to the parts of the medical record so they can do some of the documentation for the doctor without being able to sign off on the documentation, which should remain the providers' responsibility. The challenge is that many systems have limited the access of non-provider personnel to certain functions within the system. This certainly is understandable given the concern for patient safety, but it has also led to the undesirable situation in which healthcare providers spend an inordinate amount of time doing administrative tasks rather than practicing medicine.

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RENEWING SERVICES

Service Infrastructures: A call for ethnography of heterogeneity

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This paper investigates the notion of heterogeneity, inspired by Latour's work on Actor Network Theory, as a lens for understanding daily work practices in a large service delivery organization. To this end, we present and discuss the findings from an ongoing research where we unpacked how system-administrators manage and negotiate incident resolution requests as part of service delivery practices. In particular, we looked into how performance metrics, such as, service level agreements (SLAs), mediated those practices. This paper contributes to the studies of infrastructure and explores the critical synergy between quantitative and qualitative methods in support of large-scale work practice research.

INTRODUCTION

Managing large information technologies (IT) infrastructures—vast configurations of heterogeneous actors and artifacts—constitutes the everyday service practices of a large-scale IT services delivery company. They form assemblages (and networks) of servers, network cables, routers, and protocols, work processes, operations, performance metrics, time zones, business interests and values, clients, system-administrators (sysadmins), salespeople, management, and practices, which are constantly being activated (and deactivated), brought together, and brought into effect as result of ongoing efforts to orchestrate and maintain the overall socio-technical system operational. That is, while customers infrastructures are taken as a stable and transparent substrate against which the actual business operations unfold (or they would seriously like to take them as such), for IT service organizations such infrastructures are manifest aspects of their everyday work routines. They are the locus and focus of IT service organizations' business concerns. This "infrastructural inversion" (Bowker 1994)—foregrounding the actual backstage elements of service delivery practices—helps to unveil and account for the ways in which those actors and artifacts come into play shaping (and being shaped by) the daily work of service delivery people.

This study thus looks into service delivery through the lens of infrastructure maintenance practices. That is, we are interested in the standard forms of representing, assigning, and reporting incident resolution that shape the logics and practices of service delivery in an organization. Following the Star et al.'s longstanding line of ethnographic research of infrastructure (Bowker et al. 2010; Star 1999; Star 2002; Star and Ruhleder 1994; Star and Ruhleder 1996), we set out to examine some of the more mundane aspects of service delivery. To this end, we set out to study the processes whereby not only are contractual agreements (i.e., service level agreements—SLAs) artifacts for measuring and ensuring high quality levels of service delivery, but also for negotiating a team's performance. That is, we examined the practices of incident dispatching (read, problem handling) and the ways in which they

are often modulated by a particular customer's SLA. We gathered narratives around the tensions between the local and the global, observed the ways in which existing (homebrewed or global, standardized or otherwise) tools affect delivery practices, and examined how incident 'tickets' become currency for performance assessment and negotiation.

In this paper, we thus attempt to explore and expand the Star et al.'s notion of infrastructures by introducing Latour et al.'s notion of heterogeneity (Latour 2005; Law 1992). In this context, infrastructures are not different from society in that they can be thought of as assemblages or networks of heterogeneous 'things' (animated or otherwise). In brief, Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT) suggests that society, organizations, agents, and machines are all results of patterned networks of diverse/heterogeneous materials (Law 1992), be they people, machines, policies, organization hierarchies, and so on. As these materials interact with one another, they leave behind traces that we usually call "the social." While Star et al's recognize heterogeneity in their ethnographic accounts and theorizing of infrastructure and consider its relational property—i.e., it emerges out of its relations to organized human practices (Star 2002), they still separate the underlying material substrates from the actual practices. According to ANT, on the other hand, humans, boxes, networks, software applications, documentations are all actors in those heterogeneous networks (or assemblages). We believe then that this 'messier' account of service delivery 'infrastructuring' can help shed new light on how different network configurations of materials come to affect service delivery practices, performances, and results.

STUDIES OF SERVICE INFRASTRUCTURES

Although IT outsourcing service is a major, business critical, and growing industry worldwide, ethnographic studies of everyday practices inside service delivery organization remain still few. There are remarkable exceptions, notwithstanding. Back in 1997, Sandusky (Sandusky 1997) investigated the work of network administrators of a large financial institute. He was primarily interested in the patterns of communication across group and organization boundaries. As subsequent studies also observed, his work illustrates the complexities of network (infrastructure) management work, pointing to the challenges of coordination across various dimensions (time, space, and organizational). Maglio, Harber, and colleagues later carried out an extensive series of fieldwork (for over 4 years) visiting a number of different IT service delivery organizations (from web hosting to operating system support to computer security to data center operations) (Haber and Bailey 2007; Kandogan et al. 2012). Kandogan and colleagues offer an in-depth and thorough account of IT service delivery in major IT outsourcing companies worldwide. Based on series of observations and contextual interviews, they present a series of episodes about sysadmins everyday practices, showing a great deal of deal on the ways in which they go about planning, deploying, monitoring, and troubleshooting IT infrastructures as inherently collective practices. Blomberg (Blomberg 2011) investigated the effect of process changes in organizational transformation, which involved both synoptic and performative accounts of day-to-day transformation of a large IT service organization. And, de Souza et al. (Souza et al. 2011a; Souza et al. 2011b) investigated the coordination practices in service delivery of a global IT service organization.

IT infrastructures are a key component, if not the most important one, of service delivery. But, as traditionally, they are usually in the background—invisible and frequently taken for granted (Star and Ruhleder 1994). In particular, these service delivery studies take infrastructure as the underlying substrate upon which sysadmins operate. As such, it conflates the systems (be it, computers, norms,

protocols, and the like) that support and enable their work and those upon which 'they' service. But, as will be described next, this takes no notice of the dual and relational nature of infrastructure where it is concomitantly in the background and the focal point, standardized and customized; local and global; internal and external; technological and social; transparent and opaque. Studying IT service delivery as part of large infrastructure deployment and maintenance thus becomes critical.

The traditional notion of infrastructure often invokes the image of the underlying substrates that support human activities, such as, water/sewer pipe, roads, rail-tracks, bridges, computer networks, and the like. This paper nonetheless draws on Star and colleagues' longstanding tradition on ethnography of infrastructure. Drawing on a number of ethnographic studies of what Star came to call, the studies of "boring things," they explored the embedded, messy, and relational nature of everyday infrastructures. From the start, they were particularly interested in studying unusual, often considered dull topics, which had attracted little attention of ethnographers. Nonetheless, as they delved into the various 'boring' topics they start to uncover a myriad of critical socio-political-cultural practices that had been left untouched by the simple fact that they were deemed as less exciting, exotic, and the like. In doing so, they start to investigate and deconstruct what they called infrastructural barriers, namely, social-political decisions that could enable, hinder, reinforce, or destabilize (depending on one's point of view) actions, processes, institutions, or even knowledge (Dourish and Bell 2007; Star 2002). By its own nature, infrastructures are thus biased toward orthodox, conventional, standardized, conservative ways of doing things. This led to the understanding that infrastructure is in fact a mean of constraining, building, and preserving knowledge—based on whatever standards or cultural values. In other words, infrastructure embeds specific institutional arrangements that ultimately reify their existence. Significantly, Star and colleagues take infrastructure as fundamentally a relational concept (Star and Ruhleder 1996)—it can only be comprehended in relation to a particular organized practice or perspective. Hence, it has no fixed meaning. "One person's infrastructure is another's topic, or difficulty" (Star 1999).

A CASE OF SERVICE DELIVERY IN A SERVICE FACTORY

Big Service Factory[1] (BSF) is an IT service factory, a large-scale IT service operation company where hundreds or even thousands of support personnel manage complex IT systems comprised of thousands of (heterogeneous) servers, routers, and other IT equipment, often from multiple customers, concurrently (Souza et al. 2011b). BSF employees are very specialized, often focused on specific tasks repeated exactly many times a day. In particular, many of these professionals are sysadmins, who are responsible for some of the most critical functions necessary to maintain the customers' IT infrastructures running well and efficiently. Despite the specialization, the work of sysadmins is highly dynamic, collaborative, and interdependent (Haber et al. 2011).

In the past two years, we have been investigating the everyday service delivery practices in BSF (Souza et al. 2011a; Souza et al. 2011b). We started our research right after the BSF implemented a new organizational model (see next section) aiming at achieving economies of scale by means of shifting team organization from competence-based rather than customer-based. Our research thus took place

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[1] This is a pseudo-name for the actual company's name

in the midst of this major "infrastructuring" (Hughes 1983) process whereby previously invisible (uninteresting) elements came to the fore while others faded into the background.

Methodologically, we implemented a dual research program, inspired by ethno-mining (Anderson et al. 2009), which integrated both qualitative (ethnography) and quantitative (data-mining) methodologies. For the quantitative representation, we devised an analytical tool, named Workload Profile Chart (WPC), which characterizes the overall performance of a team by plotting on a log-log chart the normalized values of assignment and resolution times respectively of every incident in a given period of time. With regard to the qualitative study, we carried out a number of meetings in which we presented the WPCs to participants (ranging from sysadmins to management) and served as mediators of the conversations between researchers and participants—it helped translate a host of odd operations (according to response-time depicted on WPC) into SLA negotiation practices. This approach thus allowed us to unpack both synoptic and performative accounts of service delivery practices. Blomberg has proposed this methodological approach for studying the transformation of a large-scale IT service organization (Blomberg 2011), which intertwines synoptic and performative accounts of transformation with a service organization. In so doing, we were able to trace the trajectories of changes over time while at the same time unpacking the ways in which changes are in fact enacted in people's everyday actions. Our ultimate goal was to uncover the ways in which service practices were transformed in people's day-to-day work

THE BSF'S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The BSF organization used to be organized in departments focused on particular customers, i.e., a group of sysadmins of different platforms would provide support to only a particular customer. In this context, they were more likely to build an in-depth understanding of important IT components of the customer to which they deliver services. On the other hand, the overall organization was unable to achieve economies of scale by sharing resources among customers, and second, technical knowledge was often not shared among those groups. Due to the highly competitive market, about seven years ago the BSF international started to implement a new organizational structure based primarily on technical competencies: namely, departments based on common skills, competencies, and activities performed. For example: UNIX group, responsible for dealing with issues with UNIX-based server systems; and Security group, responsible for accountability, security updates and similar issues across operating systems. These departments (or service pools) are responsible for handling incidents, where an incident is defined as "any event that is not part of the standard operation of a service and causes, or may cause, an interruption to or a reduction in the quality of that service" (The ITIL Open Guide, 2011). Each incident (or service request) is managed through an IT object often referred to as a ticket, which is a record that aggregates all the key information about the incident. Tickets describe an interruption (or reduction in service quality) of a particular service offered by the BSF to its customers formally agreed upon via legal contracts. Within the BSF, there is also a department responsible for bringing in new customers or selling additional services to existing ones. One of these teams is the customer account team whose job is to manage the overall relationship with the customer. They interact with both BSF employees and customers negotiating prices, contracts, and monitoring the quality of the services delivered.

Establishing well-defined roles is another aspect of the process standardization. For instance, to concentrate the information and knowledge specific to particular customers, the model proposes the

role of the customer experts (CEs), responsible for understanding in more detail the IT environment and the organizational structure of particular customers. However, given the large number of customers, some BSF employees are CEs for up to 5 different customers. In addition, within each department, sysadmins are grouped into three different job categories according to their level of expertise required to carry out the work. Another role is of the pool dispatcher, in charge of ticket assignments and monitoring; through the latter seems to be a collective responsibility, shared with sysadmins, duty-managers, and the like. Their assignment is based on their nature and difficulty level (or complexity) matched with a sysadmin's resolution capability (i.e., expertise). Figure 1 illustrates the process of ticket dispatching. Typically, tickets are created by customer requests and described on the IMS by help-desk personnel or generated by monitoring alerts (automated scripts) and routed to pools through the IMS. Then, based on the dispatching strategy adopted by the dispatcher working in the service pool, every incoming ticket is moved from the incoming queue to a sysadmin's who is capable of solving the incident appropriately.

The dispatcher thus plays a central role in service delivery, for her primary function is to match incident resolution requirements (based on the nature and difficulty of the problem at hand) and the best, available resource to tackle it, in a timely fashion. One of their main concerns is to comply with the SLA associated with every ticket. In so doing, they set the cadency of work performed by each pool. They set the *assignment time* of incidents. In juxtaposition lies the time it takes for a sysadmin to actually solve the incident—the *resolution time*. Incidents are recorded and represented by the incident management systems as *tickets*. Hence, tickets can be thought of as service requests. Considering that a ticket, say, with high severity might have the SLA of 30 (or even 15) minutes, any exceeding time spent *assigning* a particular ticket impacts its *resolution* time, thereby putting pressure on sysadmins. As will be discussed next, this is a major point of contention amongst different groups as they negotiate who fault it might be for missed SLAs.
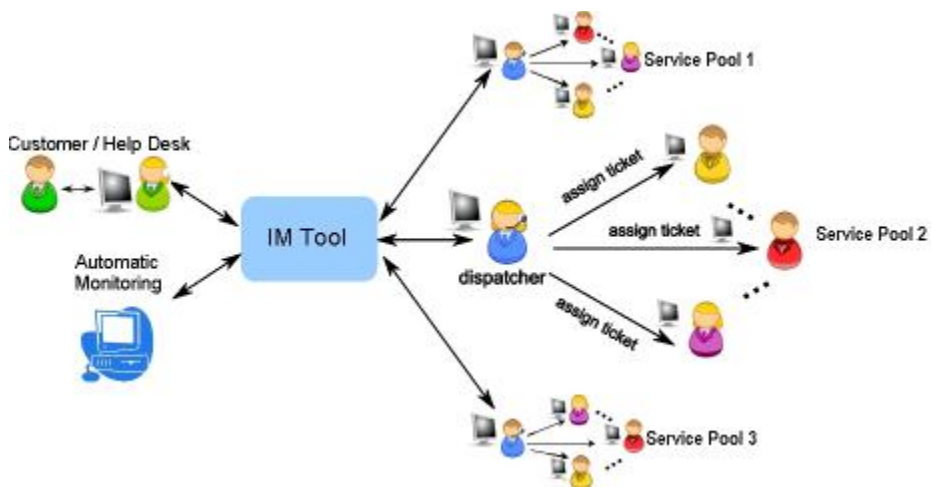

FIGURE 1. *Ticket dispatching process.*

RENEWING SERVICES

Throughout the entire IT service delivery processes, a major concern is maintain IT infrastructures running uninterrupted and ready-at-hand, and whenever necessary to re-establish normal operations as *quickly* as possible with the least possible impact on customers' business or their clients. Hence, response time is a key metric of service quality. Contracts between IT service factories and their customers establish formal instruments to regulate the 'quality' of the service to be provided, clearly determining how fast incidents have to be investigated and resolved to guarantee the least possible disruption in IT infrastructure. To this end, SLA is a formal contract between parties that establish the maximum time within which a certain type of incident must be addressed and resolved. Typically, a formal classification of incidents is defined to associate types of incidents with their particular impact on a customer's organization due to service unavailability. Failing to abide to the SLAs of high priority tickets may result on fines and penalties.

THE X-RAY OF SERVICE POOLS

Aiming at investigating ticket dispatching, we gathered from the IMS database tickets of four main service pools equivalent of approximately 10 months of work. In attempting to create a more effective visualization of the BSF's overall 'performance' relative to ticket *assignment* and *resolution*, we first devised a scatter plot representation, where each point (x,y) represented a percentage of SLA spent during *assignment* and *resolution* times, respectively. In so doing, we were able to draw a first picture of the ticket distribution (see Figure 2b). First, we observed a large number of tickets at the lower part of the chart; that is, tickets being assigned and resolved under 25% of SLA (*assignment* and *resolution*) times. We needed however to come up with a better way to visualize these tickets.
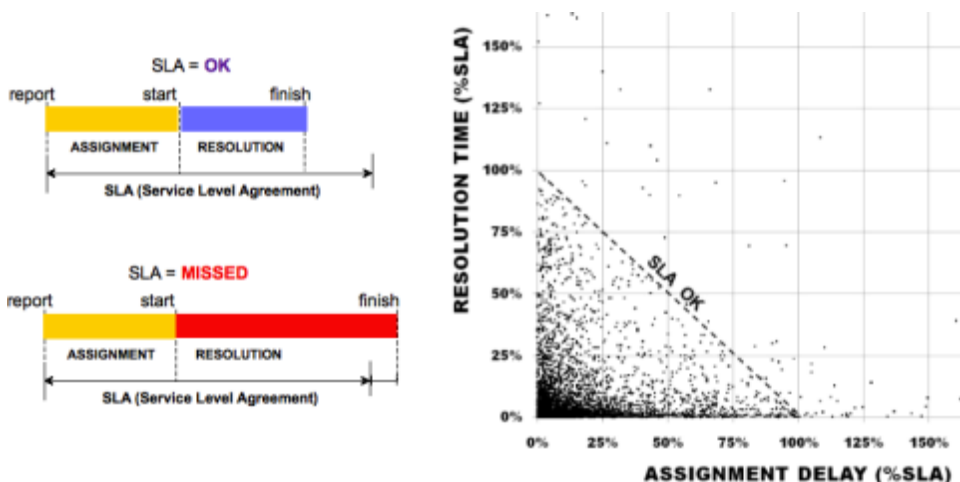
FIGURE 2. *(a) Ticket assignment and resolution representation; (b) Ticket assignment and resolution chart.*

We shifted from a scatted plot representation to a log-log chart (see Figure 3). This new visualization helped us reduce the clutter on the chart by magnifying the 'distances' for low order

assignment and *resolution* times. To further improve our reading of the chart—in particular, we were interested in answering the question of "how to visualize the number of tickets occurring in similar (x,y) location"—we decided to treat our chart as a grid. As such, each cell (or bean) of the grid contained the sum of tickets within delineated quadrant. It then turned into a heat map representation. We called that new chart, Workload Profile Chart (WPC), but described it as the "X-Ray" of service pools. In practical terms, it can be thought of as a characterization of the performance of service pools relative to the overall *assignment* and *resolution* times with respect to a customers' SLA. Hence, the allusion to an "X-Ray," It is a picture of the "guts" of a service-line, namely, a representation of its productivity and service quality that allows, for example, to map transformation impacts and to *diagnose* service delivery problems. In short, the WPC depicts of the workload profile density matrix with a grey scale associated to different ranges of ticket concentration.

UNDERSTANDING PRACTICES

The field study thus examines in greater detail particular 'behaviors' of these service pools and the ways in which everyday practices might have affected the manifest characteristics observed in their particular WPCs (Figure 3). It thus enabled us to gain critical insights relative to the distinct processes, practices, and problems that shape the ways in which different pools handle tickets. We believe that these insights help illustrate the factors and circumstances that impacted those service pools over the period of this research, which in turn resulted in particular ticket distribution manifested in the WPCs. It's noteworthy that we did not only look into the overall aggregate of 10 months of work; we also examined the month-to-month transformations as well as differences across work-shifts. For brevity's sake, we will only represent the overall aggregate of tickets handled from March to December 2011, but the interviews, conversations, and analyzes utilized the overall spectrum of representations at hand.

This paper is particularly interested in the hectic and extreme 'behaviors' that emerged from the inspection of WPCs, nonetheless. For instance, service pool 3 shows an odd behavior of that tickets tend to be resolved at the end of SLA (areas 3a), however easy to solve they might be. We found for instance an interesting practice of "holding" the ticket—for certain types of incidents, sysadmins would stop the time just before the SLA is met so as to have more time for figure out a solution. One can clearly see the number of interesting questions that this simple fact warrants. Why are sysadmins waiting until the last minute to answer these 'easy-to-solve' tickets? In contrast, service pool 4 seems to operate much more comfortably, where tickets sit around the "comfort zone." The "comfort zone" refers to the areas found at the center of the WPCs [1%-10%, 1%-10%] where tickets are "comfortably" assigned and resolved (see the "squares" in Figure 3). A high concentration of tickets in the comfort zone seems to characterize a service pool that is working smoothly and comfortably. In fact, it warrants some interesting tensions/questions. Is this due to over-staffing? Or is this 'behavior' due to the nature of software application incidents? We asked, participants of the study demonstrated that the notion of a "comfort zone" is much more contingent on the everyday configurations of a particular service pool than a broad, static definition. But, at its core, we are particularly interested in investigating how a particular pool can be best staffed or structured to handle incoming incidents. Hence, we will describe briefly a few observations from the WPCs and the stories we were told and explanations given relative to these particular characteristics such as to illustrate how we moved back and forth from the WPCs to the field.
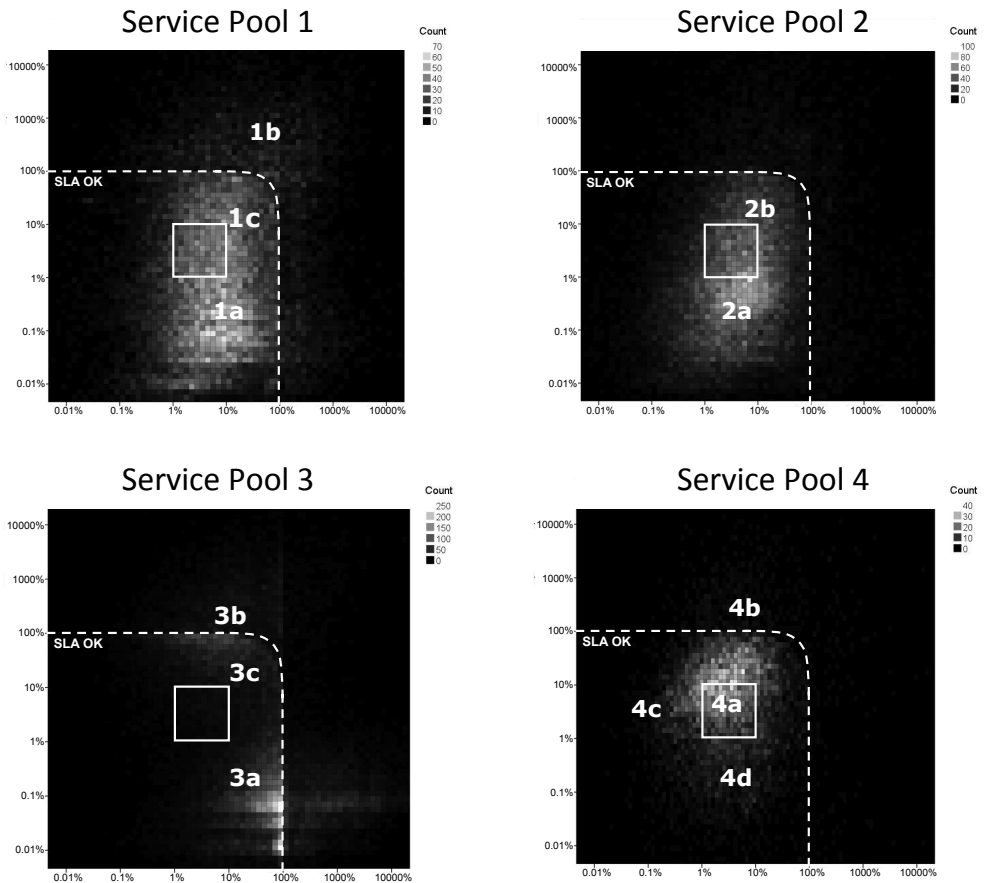
FIGURE 3: The X-Rays of *four service-pool from March thru December 2011 (areas of interest highlighted)*

Coping with structural changes – When analyzing and discussing with participants the month-to-month changes in WPCs, we were able to capture relevant insights relative to major organization transformations that took place throughout the last 10 months of 2011. In analyzing the changes in the distribution of tickets over time for service pools 1 and 2, we came with the hypothesis that some major events contributed to two major ticket dispersions. As soon as we showed research participants the time evolution diagrams of the pools, they brought up that in mid-2011 a new, large customer outsourced its IT infrastructure to the BSF. The sudden demand for IT resources (storage, servers, infrastructure, and the like) momentarily affected the overall operations of the BSF. Such a demand contributed to the generation of large number of tickets. They became overwhelmed with system requests. The overall service delivery system became provisionally unstable (i.e., the observed ticket dispersion), as the BSF run to increase its infrastructure capacities. After a few months, it is noticeable that the system started to find its new equilibrium as new IT resources are brought in to meet the

demand. Service pool 3 was, on the other hand, affected by the lack of skilled workers. Research participants pointed out the difficulties of finding skilled workers for the particular backup & restore systems in use in the BSF. By the end of the year, the service pool was able to hire new employees but mostly junior—without prior system skills.

Mismatched Standards – Service pool 3 manifests a particularly distinct 'behavior' as compared to the others, namely, a large number of tickets handled solely at (and around) the limit of the SLA. As sysadmins pointed out, backup & restore are long-lived processes which reflect the fact that it takes time to carry out these tasks. In fact, at times, it might take longer to carry out the resolution task (such as, restore a backup) than the SLA time limit permits. Also, they are usually scheduled for late-night shifts. Hence, there is a high degree of uncertainty as to the ability of the pool to respond on schedule according to a particular SLA. To workaround this problem, sysadmins informally agreed internally to "stop the clock," (or as they put it, "to hold SLA.") That is, they stop the SLA time ticking while waiting for the operation to take place.

This demonstrates a mismatch between the SLA agreed upon between the BSF and its customers and the actual technological realities, for instance, customer's slow backup devices. Interestingly, as for the tickets orbiting the region about the comfort zone square, in the interview, sysadmins of service pool 3 pointed out that these are more likely to be the tickets correctly timed whereas the ones at the lower regions more likely represent those that clearly were not adequately timed. This resulted in a conversation about the effectiveness of SLA metrics. They pointed out that, in their case, SLA should not account simply for the percentage of incidents responded in time, but the overall availability or unavailability of the systems in questions. That is, they pointed out to the problem that their service pool might miss the target SLA (e.g. 5% of the incidents), although the actual impact of such a miss might represent just 1% impact on the system overall availability. As they put, it would not matter whether 2 or 20 hours has lapsed, but the aggregate number of incidents that missed the target SLA. Significantly, it affects not only the overall measure of performance, but also the choices sysadmins make relative to what incident to respond next. Hence, the behavior we observed manifests their choices of tackling the incidents that are about to 'expire' as opposed to focusing on those with potentially greater impact on the customer.

Not my fault, ticket exchange practices – In general, we observed a large number of tickets being assigned at last minute, where some were quickly solved (and sometimes dismissed, as we came to learn) and some miss the SLA (in particular, see 1a and 3a in Figure 4). That is, these are tickets that are taking more time to be assigned than resolved (or simply taking too long to start being resolved). For one, the process of ticket assignments (or dispatching, as previously described) heavily relies on the dispatcher's capacity of interpreting the problem described in the ticket—the nature of the incident—in order to efficiently and correctly assign it to the best available sysadmin in the pool to tackle it. But, at times, tickets' assignments get delayed resulting in reduced time-window for their resolution. Given that the SLA accounts for the total time (*assignment* plus *resolution* times), the sysadmin who is assigned to a belated ticket will have less time and more pressure to get the work done.

For example, a ticket might be mistakenly placed in a pool's queue by the help-desk operator who first answered the customer's request. (In fact, we learned that the help-desk personnel tend to place incidents in the OS queues whenever they are unsure of the actual nature of the incident at hand.) In fact, it might sit on the dispatcher's or sysadmin's queue for a while until they realized that it was on the wrong queue. It thus has to be re-routed to the appropriate queue in order to be dispatched once

again, while the time is still ticking. A ticket can actually go back and forth between different service pools a couple of times before it gets resolved. When the new dispatcher or sysadmin finally receives this belated assigned ticket and is unable to resolve it in time, he will most likely contest it so that his pool does not take the blame for the missed ticket, given that the "offender" is from elsewhere—so they say.

At times, a dispatcher or a sysadmin might need more information in order to resolve the incident than what was originally described in the ticket. She might then consult other colleagues or ask the customer for more specific information. Again, the time continued ticking. In case this was perceived as having hindered the resolution process and prevented her from meeting the SLA, she might ask to "expurgate" this missed ticket from the DB so that it would not count toward the pool's monthly allowance. Missing the SLA monthly target will incur in financial penalties and most likely to affect customer's relationship. At the service pool as well as organization levels, monitoring the SLA status of individual customers is an ongoing concern so that attention can be paid to those that are at risk of missing the SLA target at the end of the month. Customers' accounts at risk become the focus—more resources are allocated, incidents are prioritized, account business managers scrutinize pools' actions, and more—so that no more incidents are lost and the service response performance improved. In this context, the possibility of purging (or expunging) missed tickets becomes a powerful mechanism of coping.

Automated systems and the flood of false alarms – While our study focused on the dynamics of everyday practices as affected by the nature of incidents as well as organization structures, we also looked into the affect of the tools sysadmins use to carry our their work. For instance, service pools 1 and 2 (Figure 4) respond to OS related incidents. We can observe quite similar ticket distribution characteristics including a large number of false alarms or easy-resolution tickets (the large concentration of tickets in areas 1A and 2A in the figure). Significantly, OS experts pointed out that a great number of tickets are automatically generated via OS scripts, which monitor various states of the servers. Hence, the observation that this is due to false alarms and tickets of easy resolution. One of the interviewees, for example, pointed out that such a large number of easy-resolution tickets is in fact a typical characteristic of OS service pools in which CPU usage, HD space, and the like are constantly monitored by automated scripts. Interestingly, as transpired throughout our studies, this is a point of contention—a clear conflict between a team's resolution goals and its performance metrics. As team performance is in part measured by meeting a target SLA (percent of tickets resolved in time), to reduce the 'number' of tickets that can be easily resolved directly affects (percentagewise) their performance, as they will be left with a larger number of difficult tickets to resolve. A clear distortion created by this simple, inconspicuous performance assessment.

Similarly, as discussed earlier, backups (service pool 3 in Figure 4) are long-lived operations—it simply takes time to backup and restore a machine. Hence, they might be subject to interference and disruption from other unscheduled or unanticipated system operations, such as, OS updates, reboots, and the like. These faulty operations then generate a large number of tickets as backups are interrupted in the middle of their processes. Provided that backup is a recurring operation (daily, weekly, and monthly), it creates a cascading effect as automatic tickets due to faulty backup pile on top of next cycle's scheduled backups.

Participants of the fieldwork (i.e. sysadmins) pointed out that this large number could also represent that they might need to re-calibrate their metrics and monitoring scrip-rules since these were

too strict. In this respect, the WPC quickly became a tool whereby sysadmins were able to reflect on the characteristics and behaviors of their particular pool and daily practices. The high volume of tickets on the 'edge' was also a topic of discussion by OS sysadmins. A lack of personnel (number and skills) was identified as the possible cause. In one pool, the limited number of people with adequate skills was pointed out as a main concern. Staffing quickly becomes an 'impromptu' topic of discussion in the interviews, meetings, and informal conversations. As technologies develop, for instance, the development of virtual machines (VMs), cloud computing, and the like, it becomes increasingly 'easy' to 'clone' machines, creating literally at the touch of a button new technological infrastructures that can quickly address business and system demands and opportunities. But, on one hand, these technologies are not resource limitless (i.e., CPU, memory, HD, and the like have limits), and, on the other, they demand more human attention (i.e., people capable of keeping these systems running, as previously described). Hence, the emergence of these new technologies that enables the business to quickly (more often, hastily) bring in new clients falls short of creating socio-technical conditions for their actual assimilation and integration.

FINAL REMARKS ON HETEROGENEITY

The integration of the WPC inspection method with fieldwork has helped unveil some of the actual meanings and practices of IT service delivery that were manifest characteristics of the various configurations of the WPCs. We were able to observe how organizational changes (process standardization, new clients, re-orgs, operational optimizations, and the like) affected the ways in which those involved (e.g. system administrators, customer experts, infrastructure architects, dispatchers, and the like) were able (or unable) to accomplish their work. On the other hand, WPCs revealed a number of unarticulated practices that would have gone unnoticed in our investigations for the simple fact that they are unaccounted for and not aligned with established process models and standard procedures. All in all, we believe that the WPCs allowed us to view some of the *traces* left behind by the dynamic and complex interactions among this network of actors (animated and otherwise) that constitute the everyday service delivery practices.

Hence, the method has unveiled part of the heterogeneity of service delivery that rests not only on the configuration of the work settings—by means of its complex and heterogeneous arrangements of computer systems, network cables and routers, software applications, and more—but also on the very nature of the work practices—by means of people interdependences, organizational structures and standards, and socio-technical infrastructures. In light of Latour & Law's notion of heterogeneity, we can exam service delivery as complex assemblages of heterogeneous materials. The 'social' is not an aspect of the work processes; instead it emerges as *traces* from the interactions among those materials, according to Latour (Latour 2005). However, this should be considered not as a departure from Star et al.'s theoretical and methodological approach for studying 'infrastructures;' rather the notion of heterogeneity is an analytics lens that allows us to draw together this vast set of actors (animated or otherwise) to play important roles in determining the usefulness of IT service delivery systems. From the more complex, abstract server operations to client's business critical applications to monthly performance metrics to the more mundane (often tedious) process norms, the everyday routines in a service delivery organization is comprised of more than simply keeping the 'infrastructure' running, but managing and fixing the relationships among its various components.

RENEWING SERVICES

By introducing heterogeneity in the study of IT service infrastructures we aimed at contributing to the long line of ethnography of infrastructure research. We were able to account for the complex assemblages of heterogeneous materials that come into play in an attempt to move beyond the dichotomy between technology and social and show the ways in which these materials affect ongoing everyday accomplishments. Methodologically, we showed the critical synergy between quantitative and qualitative methods in support of large-scale work practice research.

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Renewing Our Discipline

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There always comes a time to reflect, explore and renew ethnographic praxis in industry. We face a felt need to cast a new light on praxis, be it broadening its coda, certifying its practitioners or pushing boundaries of what are considered contexts of consumption. This session focuses on three aspects of renewal: revitalizing practitioner ingenuity and expertise; pushing the limits of knowing consumers by enclosing broader discourses on context laden values; finally, incorporating an accreditation process to professionalize and certify a shared body of skills, methods and knowledge.

RENEWING OUR DISCIPLINE

Badges, Branding and Business Growth: The ROI of an ethnographic praxis professional certification

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Renewal is not just about natural cycles of waxing and waning: sometimes it means a leap forward. The progress of ethnographic praxis in industry has been a gradual but steady evolution. Yet recent economic events and academic trends suggest that the moment has arrived for ethnographers to expand our influence by codifying our practices. This paper proposes the establishment of an Ethnographic Praxis Professional (EPP) certification based upon an Ethnographic Body of Knowledge (EBOK). A professional credential and an authoritative repository of shared concepts and methods would benefit clients, employers, professors, students – and most of all ourselves as practitioners.

INTRODUCTION

Renewal is not just about natural cycles of waxing and waning, like the phases of the moon or the seasons of the year or the bull and bear episodes of the capital markets. Sometimes it means a leap forward.

The progress of ethnographic praxis in industry has been a gradual but steady evolution. In response to the "scientific management" doctrines espoused by Frederick Taylor and his disciples during the first decades of the twentieth century, emphasizing efficiency based upon time-and-motion task studies (Taylor 1997), the Depression era in the U.S. gave rise to an alternative viewpoint. Beginning in the 1930's, the Human Relations movement sought to demonstrate the effect of social dynamics upon productivity and to focus management attention on the people doing the work (Mayo 2003). Meanwhile the creation of the American Marketing Society encouraged social scientists to employ qualitative and quantitative research methods in the service of product design, advertising and customer relations (Burns 2009).

The Society for Applied Anthropology was founded in 1941, and World War Two elevated the urgency of studying how workplace communities interacted with new machinery. Human Factors Engineering emerged initially as a means of verifying the safety of aircraft for combat. Later these methods proved helpful in evaluating the usability of other innovative technologies and the ergonomics of Human-Computer Interaction (Wickens 1997). Postwar industry adopted Quality Management methods for manufacturing that regarded understanding workers' needs, attitudes and habits as a prerequisite for implementing effective process improvements (Deming 1982).

As computers spread beyond laboratory clean rooms into offices and homes, the demand for anthropological insights into the work environment grew. The National Association for Practicing Anthropology was established in 1983. That same year saw the creation of the Institute for Research and Learning at the Palo Alto Research Center; this initiative became the renowned Work Practice and Technology Group in 1989 (Szymanski and Whalen 2011). The new fields of Requirments Engineering (Robertson 2006) and User Experience Design (Norman 1990) gained influence in the 1990's as developers recognized the importance of researching users' sensory, emotional and cognitive responses. With the inauguration of EPIC in 2005, many of these occupations which historically had been distinct but related soon discovered their common purposes and methods. Ethnographic

research has proved a worthwhile investment for an ever-expanding range of industries, businesses and commercial endeavors (Cefkin 2009, Jordan 2012).

During this period of growth, a recurring topic for water cooler discussions and nowadays for chatter in cyberspace has been the creation of a professional certification for ethnographers. Codifying ethnographic praxis would indeed be a big leap, and it's time to give the idea more serious consideration. This paper is intended to stimulate brainstorming and debate, as well as to mobilize any EPIC colleagues who may wish to develop an action plan. Regardless of the ultimate outcome, envisioning alternative future directions for our community should foster a sense of renewal.

BUSINESS CASE

Goal and Deliverables

The goal of professional certification would be to expand the influence of ethnographic praxis in industry: more jobs; greater impact upon business strategy, operations, and workplaces; and higher compensation in recognition of the value of the contribution to the enterprise.

Based upon comparisons with certifications in other domains, the components of a certification would include:

- An Ethnographic Body of Knowledge (EBOK) that would comprise an agreed-upon set of standards and procedures.
- An Ethnographic Praxis Professional (EPP) certification that would be awarded to candidates who passed an exam demonstrating sufficient familiarity with the EBOK, who obtained training in ethnography through either an academic institution or an approved provider of continuing education, and who documented work experience related to ethnography.
- An Ethnographic Praxis Institute (EPI) that would create and maintain the EBOK content and EPP certification process.
- Financing for the EBOK, EPP and EPI would be obtained through revenues from the EPP applications as well as sales of the EBOK and EPI annual membership dues.

Problems to be Solved

Outside academic anthropology departments, the definition of ethnography is not well understood. Concepts and methods that ethnographers routinely employ in social science research studies undergo significant modifications for use in business environments, and the results of customized approaches to data gathering and analysis become less verifiable and reproducible. While there will never be one "right" way to "do" ethnography for industrial purposes, the absence of common principles, methodologies, standards and vocabularies can foster an attitude of "I'm an ethnographer because I say I am." Without peer reviewers or Institutional Review Boards to evaluate proposals and works-in-progress it is difficult to determine the boundaries of competence, ethics and professional conduct.

From the perspective of many clients and employers, it is hard to shop around if you do not know what the price should be, what features are standard vs. optional, and what normally is included in the warranty. Experienced clients who hire ethnographers for consumer research projects have developed

checklists to compare different vendors' services. In response, experienced consultancies that market ethnographic research services to large corporate and government clients have created tiered packages of offerings with clearly defined deliverables. Each customer relies on its own needs assessments, insights and lessons learned for establishing the goals and evaluation criteria, cross-pollinated to some extent by the movement of client sourcing specialists between jobs. Likewise, organizations that employ ethnographers as individuals or as members of a research staff vary widely in the degree to which they label the work as ethnography and in the responsibilities they assign for policy making, product and system design, or customer service. It is possible that if ethnography's menu and ingredients were clearer, more new clients and employers would develop an appetite.

Professional life as a practicing ethnographer can be rather lonely and solipsistic. Nowadays many practitioners attend EPIC, but one gathering per year has a limited effect upon sustaining a community. There are some excellent on-line forums such as the AnthroDesign Yahoo listserv, the NAPA LinkedIn discussion group, and the Open Anthropology Cooperative website. Yet compared with other occupations, opportunities for professional development are limited. When new technologies give rise to new ethnographic methods, knowledge transfer is ad-hoc and informal. When an individual ethnographer is promoted and given funding to build a research staff, trial-and-error rather than systematic study of best practices is the typical approach to learning. If a mid-career businessperson in another field wishes to become an ethnographer or understand how to manage ethnographers, non-academic training courses are scarce. Creating a standard body of knowledge and a professional certification could lay the foundation for a human network infrastructure that nurtured the discipline's ongoing growth and continuous improvement.

In the current economic climate, academic institutions are under pressure to cut costs, increase enrollment and provide graduates with marketable skills. Students want internships that lead to jobs, and after graduation a steady career path that enables them to pay their debts. Some anthropology departments are having difficulty demonstrating the ROI of their curricula both to their own universities and to future job-seekers. Student ethnographers who develop an interest in law, medicine, international development, government and other well-established specialties can more readily find internships and follow the footsteps of successful mentors in those fields. By contrast student ethnographers who prefer to focus on business, technology, and other forms of industry are less likely to receive support and encouragement from their anthropology professors, and may find themselves at a disadvantage when competing for internships with students from business, engineering or design schools. A professional certification for ethnographers could enhance collaboration between universities and their surrounding communities. It could enable anthropology professors to better explain how ethnography can serve the purpose of designing, making and selling things. It could help recruit more anthropology students who hoped to apply their humanistic perspective throughout a career in industry.

Opportunities Identified

During the decade before the financial crisis of 2008, the growth in computing power inspired a management strategy of relying upon mathematical algorithms and quantitative data to model, analyze and predict human behavior. This trend came to an abrupt halt when the assumptions underlying the numerical constructs proved false and led to a worldwide recession. Subsequently a new idea has taken hold in executive corner offices: to understand people, it is useful to observe them and talk with them

because their decisions are sometimes irrational and often influenced by cultural factors that are hard to quantify. To be sure, data analytics remains a robust field of research – and its growth mirrors the expansion of enormous datasets compiled from internet traffic, mobile telecommunications device logs, credit and debit card transactions, and other sources on an ever-growing list of monitoring capabilities. For point-of-sale consumer behavior tracking, the statistical approach has always yielded worthwhile insights. Yet when an individual is continuously enmeshed in a social group, and the group's identity and norms strongly affect his or her choices, then ethnography can uncover those seemingly irrational and cultural elements that may otherwise be invisible. From the management perspective, the ethnography "brand" is presently in vogue, and a professional certification could strengthen the brand.

The demographics of anthropology graduates suggest that any growth in opportunities for ethnographers working in industry could be well supplied by qualified practitioners for the foreseeable future. A recent AAA survey reported that more than 50% of students who earn anthropology degrees at all levels now work outside academia. Among respondents with Master's degrees, 76% worked in occupations typically represented at EPIC (Fiske et al. 2010). A professional certification could cause that percentage to increase as ethnographers were recruited from other specialties and new graduates joined the ranks.

Among Human Resources professionals, a preference has evolved for job applicants who possess formal certifications. The range of certifiable bodies of knowledge is vast and growing. Once limited to financial, medical, scientific and engineering domains, common credentials now include such badges as Certified Marketing Professional, Certified Purchasing Manager, Certified Risk Professional, and Certified Meeting Manager. Many organizations employ automated screening software to filter out applications submitted on-line that lack specific keywords related to certifications. If an ethnographic professional certification were officially recognized by Human Resources managers, it would be added to the automated software's search criteria and more ethnographers' resumes would be passed along to live recruiters who understood the qualifications.

Within large organizations, cross-cultural communication for projects and operations has become a critical success factor. Beginning with the implementation of secure business-to-business data exchange on the internet in 2006, companies have spread their work across the globe. Whether in regional offices or on the premises of outsourced offshore suppliers, it is now routine for people of disparate cultural backgrounds to collaborate on virtual teams. Meanwhile immigration policies in the U.S., Canada and United Kingdom that favored skilled, well-educated workers expanded the cultural diversity of co-located team members who must learn to get along with each other face-to-face every day. Inevitably, tensions and misunderstandings arise. Under these circumstances, ethnographers play an important role as referees and ombudsmen, particularly during the processes of requirements definition, system design and usability testing. Professional certification could add legitimacy and authority to this function, and provide managers with additional bargaining power when they wish to include ethnographic services in their budget.

CONTEXT: OTHER CERTIFICATIONS

Not all professional certifications are created equal, and not all professional certifications that are created ever issue a sufficient number of badges for the brand to be taken seriously. So far this author has been unable to find any published research analyzing the impact of various types of new certifications upon their respective professions. Therefore the evidence presented here is subjective and anecdotal.

The information in this paper is derived from the author's ten-year experience as a faculty member at the American Management Association, teaching courses to novice, middle and senior managers from a wide range of industries and occupations across the U.S. In addition, I have worked for more than twenty-five years as a manager and consultant in the software engineering and information technology division of large global financial services organizations, from which vantage point I have observed the birth and maturation (and occasionally the demise) of various types of certifications. Finally, in ethnographic terms, as a participant I have obtained a PMI certification and have experienced its effect upon my own career.

To provide context for the exploration of an ethnographic professional certification, I will describe three other well-established programs in order from newest to oldest.

Certified Business Analysis Professional

The CBAP certification was created in 2006 by the International Institute of Business Analysis (www.theiiba.org). No data is available on the number of IIBA members, but the organization claims more than 1000 CBAPs in 30 countries as of 2012. Criteria for certification include an exam based upon the Business Analysis Body of Knowledge (BABOK), 21 hours of related education, and 3,600 hours of work experience distributed across the BABOK's six Knowledge Areas (IIBA 2009). The IIBA states that the occupation of business analysis has grown by 20% since the CBAP certification was introduced.

Business Analyst first appeared as a job category around the time of Y2K remediation projects. It combined elements of strategic planning, requirements definition, system design, usability testing, and end user training – all conducted within the organization. While some quantitative methods such as surveys were included, a far heavier emphasis was placed on qualitative methods commonly found in market and consumer research and product design. Data modeling with techniques and schemas familiar to engineers was also incorporated into the official body of knowledge.

After a strong start, the growth in CBAPs awarded seems to have leveled off. Many continuing education schools offer courses on business analysis, and attendance is high enough that demand seems steady. Organizations still employ business analysts, and the content of the BABOK remains relevant even amid the major economic and technological changes following the 2008 financial crisis. The slowdown in certifications may be caused by the fact that budget-conscious employers are willing to pay for some training but not to subsidize the entire cost of certification.

Certified Software Engineering Professional

The CSEP certification was established by the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers in 2004 (www.ieee.org). The IEEE has 85,000 members worldwide, and has awarded 1000 CSEP certifications as of 2012. Criteria for certification include an exam based upon the Software

Engineering Body of Knowledge (SWEBOK) and 7,000 hours of relevant work experience during a four-year period (IEEE 2004).

Proponents of the CSEP and other associated but less rigorous software engineering certifications believe that it bridges the gap between the concepts and skills typically conveyed by academic computer science degrees and the knowledge necessary to succeed as a software engineer on the job. Of the three certifications discussed in this paper, it has been the least successful in terms of attracting applicants and obtaining management support. One possible explanation may be that the technologies upon which the SWEBOK is based change too rapidly for the vocabulary, standards and procedures to stay current.

Project Management Professional

The PMP certification was established in 1984 by the Project Management Institute (www.pmi.org). Today PMI has 600,000 members belonging to 250 chapters in 70 countries. The Project Management Body of Knowledge (PMBOK) is recognized by the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) and its framework is embedded in the structure of many project management software tools (PMI 2008). PMI reports that there are presently 460,000 certified PMPs.

To obtain a certification, an applicant must pass a 4-hour exam on the PMBOK. Work experience of 3,500 hours during a 3-year period must be documented and several professional references supplied. The initial certification requires 35 hours of formal project management education, and ongoing professional development activities are necessary for renewals every five years. PMI reports that earning the PMP certification results in an average salary increase of 9.4%.

The creation of the PMBOK and PMP certification coincided with the deployment of personal computers as standard office equipment in developed countries. Software that had been installed only on mainframe computers operated by specialized technicians became available to the general population of white-collar workers. Project management methods previously employed to construct tangible deliverables such as roads, bridges, and factories began to be applied to less tangible deliverables such as training programs, marketing campaigns, event planning, and software development. The demand for certification arose out of a need to ensure that practitioners were speaking a common language, following defined and repeatable processes, and achieving appropriate standards of quality.

In my experience the PMP certification has been a good investment. I obtained the certification in 2003 at the request of several of my clients who felt I needed it to stay competitive, even though project management was not the principal service I was offering. During the past ten years I have observed that organizations have grown increasingly selective about having only PMP-certified project managers as employees and contractors; at the same time corporate procurement managers have increasingly stipulated that outsourced suppliers' project managers must hold PMP certifications, and vendors include this information when submitting proposals. As the PMBOK has gained acceptance, a stronger culture of project management has evolved within organizations that support it. Managers benefit because projects can be more easily compared, measured and monitored. Practitioners benefit because talent can be more easily recognized and rewarded. The number of PMPs awarded continues to grow steadily, and the number of organization adopting the PMBOK also continues to rise.

The appeal of the PMBOK and the PMP certification may be attributed in part to unique characteristics of the project management domain. Yet some features could provide guidance for

ethnographers seeking to emulate their success. For example, the content is based upon general knowledge areas, phases, processes, and skillsets rather than specific behaviors or technologies. Within this framework there is much flexibility for interpretation and customization.

EBOK Components

To create an Ethnographic Body of Knowledge, practitioners could begin by borrowing, leveraging and adapting the conceptual frameworks of other professional BOKs. This approach would avoid duplication of effort, focus the design discussions, and make the EBOK more comprehensible to non-ethnographers. Such a conceptual framework might include three components: Knowledge Areas and Domains; Phases and Activities; and Process Cycles.

Knowledge Areas and Domains

The Knowledge Areas and Domains describe the types of professions and occupations for which the EBOK can provide useful ideas, methods and tools. Typically a practitioner would specialize in a particular domain. However, to obtain an Ethnographic Praxis Professional certification an applicant would need to demonstrate an understanding of and familiarity with the praxis of ethnography in the other domains. Certified practitioners in other fields often report that studying multiple knowledge areas leads to more inspiration and cross-fertilization in addressing creative challenges on the job, as well as greater professional mobility.

- *Management* would comprise domains such as work practice and work process research, risk analysis and quality assurance.
- *Engineering* domains would include the development of products, systems and services.
- *Design* would be devoted to the domains of user experience, interaction and innovation.
- *Sales* would encompass the domains of advertising, market and consumer research, and political activism.

The information for a domain would consist of vocabulary, principles, success factors and generally accepted practices for that specific type of work. Experts would provide case studies and references to literature illustrating these concepts in action.

Management	Engineering	Design	Sales
Work practice/process research	Product development	User experience design	Advertising
Risk analysis	Service development	Interaction design	Market/consumer research
Quality assurance	Systems development	Innovation design	Political activism

FIGURE 1. Ethnography Knowledge Areas and Domains

Phases and Activities

An ethnographic research study follows a pattern of sequential steps. The high-level steps are phases; each phase can be broken down into activities; if appropriate the activities can be further broken down into smaller-scale tasks. To improve the probability of success, a checklist with assignments of roles and responsibilities should be developed for the most detailed level of work.

- *Engagement.* The initial phase involves establishing the sponsorship of the ethnographic study and identifying the target community about which the research is to be conducted. The scope of the effort is agreed upon by the sponsor and the ethnographer. Formal contractual or administrative approvals are obtained and documented.
- *Strategy.* During this planning phase, appropriate methods are selected to achieve the goals of the research. In collaboration with the sponsor, the ethnographer creates a workplan that ensures the scope of the effort can be accomplished within the budget and deadlines. If the study needs multiple researchers, the team members are recruited. The lead ethnographer develops and delivers training to the team so that methods of data gathering will be consistent.
- *Fieldwork.* Activities during this phase would include selecting the location(s) for the study; identifying the informants; building the schedule for the interviews, observations and other research tasks; and establishing auditable procedures to ensure that the implementation goes as smoothly as possible to collect valid, reliable data.
- *Results.* Back from the field, during this phase the ethnographer's activities focus upon organizing large quantities of data, performing the analysis, and reporting conclusions.

While some back-to-the-drawing-board revisions are usually necessary because requirements change and reality in the field differs from expectations, the ideal sequence of steps would be based upon a model where a predecessor phase finishes before a successor phase starts.
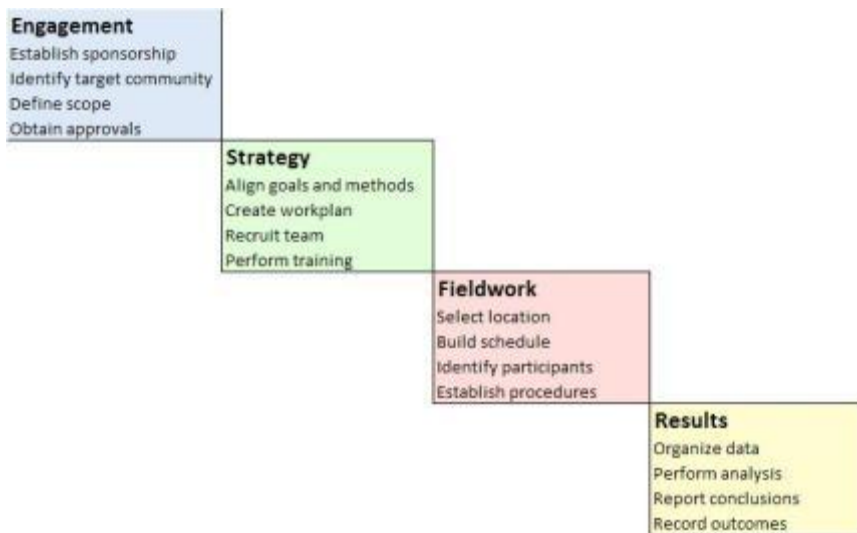
FIGURE 2. Ethnography Knowledge Areas and Domains

Process Cycles

In contrast to the sequential phases, an ethnographic research study also features iterative process cycles that repeat multiple times in an ongoing feedback loop of discovery, re-evaluation and adjustment.

- *Advocacy.* The ultimate beneficiaries of the research are not always identified at the beginning of the study, and new stakeholders may emerge while the work is in progress. Likewise the risks to vulnerable populations within the target community may surface during the data collection. In response, the ethnographer may be obliged to set unforeseen limits upon the scope of the effort or articulate the consequences of the study in such a manner that the risks can be mitigated.

- *Theory.* Practitioners are by definition practical people, and discussions of theory are rarer in industry than in academia. Yet every practitioner's conceptual framework and approach to conducting research are fundamentally molded by some sort of theory, however unconscious. Some practitioners learned traditional ethnographic theories as students of cultural anthropology; some acquired theory by studying marketing or Computer-Human Interaction. Explaining the ethnographic theories animating the study to sponsors, stakeholders and team members who are interested enhances the researcher's credibility and provokes worthwhile discussions. Being mindful of the governing theories can enable the ethnographer to select appropriate advisors if the research encounters obstacles. Theory also influences the taxonomy of patterns discerned in the data.

- *Technology.* A quick glance at the discussions on the AnthroDesign listserv reveals the enormous range of technology available to an ethnographer today, and selecting the right

affordable tools for the job is no easy matter. This process involves first analyzing the environment – both the location where the research will be performed and the organizational constraints of the stakeholders who will be paying for the gadgetry and/or hosting the data. Involving the sponsor and team members in evaluating potential technology can facilitate budget approval and appropriate usage.

- *Methodology.* By default, the first set of methodology process decisions usually relate to the qualitative and quantitative techniques to be employed for the study. These preliminary choices inevitably change as issues arise with resources, schedule and budget. Yet other methodologies require attention as well. Most organizations have a project management methodology which a research study must incorporate. A finance methodology determines procedures for bookkeeping, cash flow and payments to team members and participants. A documentation methodology establishes the data repository, the specifications for information to be recorded, and the requirements for privacy and security.
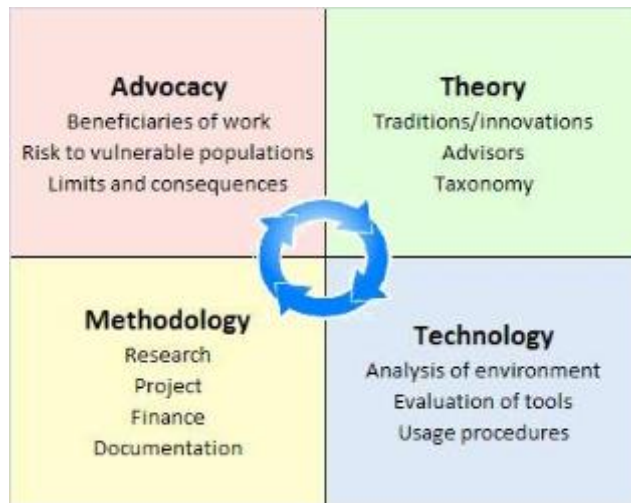

FIGURE 3. Ethnography Process Cycles

EPP Skillsets

To earn an Ethnographic Praxis Professional certification, an applicant should document education, training and relevant professional experience in research skills that are of value to industry: data collection, data analysis, and presentation of results.

- *Data Collection* skills would include both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The core curriculum might be based upon the methodology workshops taught to anthropology graduate students by the National Science Foundation, augmented by recent innovations employing advanced digital technologies. The ethics of data gathering would also be

presented, along with comparisons showing the differences between academic and commercial research.

- *Data Analysis* would likewise encompass both qualitative and quantitative skills, and applicants should show that they understand how different analytic techniques are appropriate for different perspectives, insights and audiences. Evidence of peer review of analytical work by colleagues, stakeholders or team members would demonstrate an ability to perform analysis in a praxis environment.

- *Presentation of Results* varies in format among the knowledge areas, but applicants should be familiar with a range of options beyond their own personal experience. Oral formats would include lectures, demos, meetings and teleconferences. Among the most common written formats are reports, white papers, slide decks and websites. Visual media such as films and videos have long been effective for conveying ethnographic insights. Digital social networks and listservs are becoming increasingly influential.

Reviewing all applicants' documentation of their qualifications in each of these skillsets would of course be impossible. Organizations that award other professional certifications rely upon "spot checks" of a small sample to ensure compliance and maintain standards.

Risks and Issues

A leap forward into new territory entails pitfalls and slippery surfaces. To borrow concepts from the field of risk management, one can expect to face "known unknowns" and "unknown unknowns." For the latter category, planning is impossible; preparation consists of setting aside a contingency reserve and relying upon decision-makers' good judgment. For the "known unknowns," analysts sometimes divide the possibilities into categories of Product, Process and People.

Product

The Ethnographic Body of Knowledge, the Ethnographic Praxis Professional certification, and the Ethnographic Praxis Institute can be regarded as three separate but interdependent products.

- *Business model.* The creation and maintenance of these products would require time, money and resources. The business model could prove economically unfeasible or unsustainable over time.

- *Boundary definitions.* Certifications already exist in fields that are related to or share praxis space with the proposed EBOK Knowledge Areas. Professional associations for ethnographers such as NAPA, SfAA, UXPA, and ACM SIG-CHI already represent the interests of specific types of practitioners. Establishing the boundaries of the EBOK and the agenda of the EPI could provoke fragmentation and factionalism within the community of practicing ethnographers.

- *Assessment tool validation.* Selecting appropriate multiple choice questions and establishing the correct answers for the certification exam could become an obstacle if a consensus cannot be obtained.

- *Certification criteria acceptance.* In addition to the exam, other evaluation criteria would be necessary. Obtaining a consensus in this area could likewise present challenges.

- *Publication review board.* The content of the EBOK would be presented as a document of several hundred pages. It might be available for free, or it might be sold to raise funds to support the certification program. In either case, difficulties could arise in recruiting qualified practitioners who have enough time to serve on the editorial board.

Process

The development and operation of a certification program would set in motion a number of ongoing processes.

- *Administrative infrastructure.* The requirements for running a non-profit organization could be burdensome. Applicants who earned a certification would regard it as an investment in their careers. Meeting the expectations of these customers could demand an increasing amount of resources over time.
- *IT infrastructure.* Most certification exams are conducted on-line. Some aspects could be outsourced, yet the need for the EPI to maintain a Web presence and basic record-keeping functionality could become costly.
- *Volunteer vs. paid labor.* The founders of the EPI and the creators of the EBOK would be volunteer subject matter experts. The administrative and IT staff would expect to be paid. The division of labor between these two groups could be ambiguous.
- *Revisions.* Periodically the EBOK and the EPP exam would need to be updated. The effort involved in revisions could be significant. If subject matter experts were unwilling or unable to do the work, the certification could become obsolete.
- *Renewal requirements.* Many professional certifications expire periodically unless evidence is submitted of continuing education, publications, conference presentations, or other forms of service to the professional community. If these requirements were too narrow or time-consuming, the EPP certification could lose its appeal.
- *Marketing plan.* The launch of a new professional certification would be of interest to clients, employers, practitioners, Human Resources managers, training companies and academic anthropology departments. Unless a marketing plan were developed that took into consideration the various perspectives of these stakeholders, the impact of the program could be diminished.
- *Adoption by training companies.* A key factor in the growth of the certification would be the availability of training courses offered to the public and to organizations by companies that have international reputations as providers of continuing education for employers. A lack of enthusiasm on the part of the training companies for the EBOK or an underestimation of its value to a wide range of business customers could prevent the certification from achieving a critical mass of acceptance.

People

Ultimately a new certification is about people. It changes their perceptions and relationships, and influences the dynamics of power both within an organization and between a vendor and a client.

- *Barriers to entry.* Awarding certain people badges of distinction automatically creates an in-group and an out-group. Some practitioners could object to a certification program on principle because they disapprove of perceived elitism or orthodoxy. Others could claim that a standardized certification process excludes the most creative innovators.
- *Theological disputes.* Obtaining a consensus on the exact words of a definition is never easy, and sometimes the debate uncovers profound philosophical disagreements. If the developers of the EBOK and EPP certification requirements are intransigent and cannot negotiate compromises on standards, the group's best efforts could be futile.
- *Institutional ossification.* The success of a professional certification brings its own challenges. Over the years, the Body of Knowledge can become a canon. Certified practitioners may resist new ideas and approaches because they are reluctant to admit that their expertise is obsolete. Unless the EPI accommodates changes in praxis, it could hinder rather than facilitate the growth of the professional community.

Next Steps

The goal of this paper has been to address the complaints and wishes expressed by many practitioners for greater recognition of ethnography as a profession within industry, business and engineering. A certification program is one potential solution to the problem. I have presented a business case for certification and described the characteristics of other types of certifications whose frameworks might offer useful models for ethnography. I have created the equivalent of a whiteboard rough sketch for the components of an Ethnographic Body of Knowledge and the skillsets expected of an Ethnographic Praxis Professional. Based upon my experience as a management consultant and trainer, I have envisioned potential risks and issues that developers of a certification program might face.

If a sufficient number of ethnographers agree that a certification program would be worthwhile, EPIC should consider creating a task force. Following the model of the other disciplines described in this paper, the members of the task force would represent the four knowledge areas and twelve domains in as equal proportions as possible. They would elect a chair and make a commitment to produce several initial deliverables such as draft outlines for an Ethnographic Body of Knowledge and an Ethnographic Praxis Practitioner qualifications. A minimum of ten years' experience with ethnographic praxis would be necessary to serve on the task force. The term of membership should be at least three years. It would also be useful at the outset to form committees for program management, research, technology support and administration.

The research committee would clarify the potential return on investment by evaluating the attitudes of practitioners, clients and employers. In effect, this could be regarded as an ethnography of ethnographers. Additionally, a feasibility study would determine the degree to which subject matter experts were willing and able to volunteer for the detailed development work. A workshop could be scheduled for the EPIC 2013 meeting to discuss progress and plan the future agenda.

The "brand" of ethnography already carries a certain cachet. With all the talent available among EPIC members, just imagine how brilliant our "badges" could be. Perhaps we should begin by designing a renewal-themed logo just for the fun of it.

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Framed by Experience: From user experience to strategic incitement

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CHRISTOPHER AVERY
SonicRim

Ethnographic and other related practices in industry focus - for a variety of historical reasons - primarily on studying the experiences of individuals/institutions as consumers/users. We suggest that this framing limits our work to descriptive forms of knowledge, and renders invisible larger social and institutional changes that nevertheless have an impact on the domains we study, and whose invisibility curtails the forms of innovation we can support. While a variety of practitioners are indeed broadening the range and scope of their work, we contend that for this expansion to succeed sustainably in our community it must also incorporate a discourse on values, and engage with other forms of knowing outside the frame of consumers and users, by encompassing context and engaging in a values discourse.

INTRODUCTION

The practice of ethnography in the corporation has most commonly been justified with a narrative something like this: "You make products for people. A better understanding of people will help you make better products. But it isn't enough to just ask people what they want, in a lab or focus group – you need to understand them in their context—their homes and workplaces. You need to understand how *they* see and experience the world. Guess what? We ethnographers know how to do exactly that! Hire us! We'll show you what people are *really* like. How do we do that? Well, we observe people, participate in their activities, interview them in a certain style, and we have our own special ways of doing analysis."

Now this is not to say that this is what ethnography *is*, but this baseline formulation is how it's now commonly understood by non-ethnographers. Note that this is a formulation based largely on methods: the most tangible and measurable aspect of our work, and historically the least contested and the least alien to corporate ways of knowledge-making. It is the one that least surfaces epistemological differences from other disciplines in the corporation, and appears to be the most scientific and "objective". Notice the focus on experience: the claim made here is the nature of people's experiences vis a vis a domain can be understood in terms of their behaviors, beliefs, values and, occasionally cultures – and ultimately expressed, prioritized and related to in terms of 'needs'; in many cases, "ethnography" is used as a short-hand for contextual, qualitative research. It is thus outward facing: the ethnographer is positioned as the intermediary between the corporation and the real, helping the corporation understand the world of its customers.

This format is by no means the only version of ethnographic practice: indeed, inward-looking ethnographies of work were one of the earliest strands of corporate ethnographic research [e.g. Suchman 1983; Zuboff 1989; Heath and Luff 1996; Orr 1996]; paralleling the shift in management ideologies, the focus of ethnographic research has since shifted from improving process and practice

to enabling innovation. Lately, ethnographic practitioners have been part of consultancies that influence business & product strategy (Depaula 2009), organizational change (Holme 2010), and other innovation capabilities.

In short: ethnography is positioned in the corporation as a way of understanding people and their experiences, and thence leading to implications for design or other action. This positioning is not without its downsides, nor are we the first to note this. Dourish (Dourish 2006) challenged the efficacy of 'implications for design' as a framework for understanding and transmitting knowledge. In particular, what is lost in this above narrative is the analytical commitment: "What is missed is the extent that ethnography is always, inherently, a perspectival view, and that this perspectival quality is critical to what ethnography is."; and reflexivity, the most significant effect of which is to introduce criticality about the nature of knowledge produced through the research activity.

We, the authors, contend that there are further casualties of the "study of experience to produce implications for design" framing:

1. that the focus on the experiences of individuals or other user/consumer units renders invisible certain kinds of challenges faced by society;
2. that this invisibility creates problem spaces that are not owned by any one economic/innovation actor, and thus leaves open spaces for innovation that are both essential for society's well-being and largely unattended to;
3. that a turn towards these problem spaces cannot succeed without a values discourse in the corporation; and
4. that since it is highly unlikely that corporate/industry ethnography will ever return to its "classical" form, ethnographic practitioners must engage in other forms of knowing if they are to engage with innovation in these big, society-level problem spaces.

We are aware that our commentary is aimed at a diverse community of practice and, per William Gibson, the future is already here but unevenly distributed; there are those among us who are already engaging with social-scale problems, some ethnographers have managed to create an ethnographic program in the organizations they work for, and the dialectic between design and research methods is evolving. At the same time, there are those who are still struggling to justify and establish their roles in terms of the aforementioned narrative. And those who are established within the narrative face competition from other disciplines – notably traditional market research – who also claim to do ethnography because they have co-opted traditional and emerging qualitative research methods. Finally, the role of descriptive research methods as a means to innovation is being reduced due to the development and now widespread adoption of what are called "projective" methods that are better at generating visions of futures and opportunities – a claim that only makes sense if the methodological narrative above is taken to be the definitive construction of ethnography.

This leads us to our final contention: that the continued existence and evolution of ethnographic practice in industry depends not on the creation and policing of disciplinary boundaries, or even one of bridging the qualitative/quantitative divide (Patel 2011) – those are probably necessary – but on a departure from the purely descriptive and methodological narrative outlined above to one based on forms of knowing and problematizing.

We are aware that several of these themes have been covered before, in some form; our intent is to bring them together in order to highlight some foundational issues, and to encourage discourse

about them. In what follows, we will ask more questions than suggest answers; given the nature of our work, we believe this is entirely appropriate.

FRAMED BY EXPERIENCE: THE PROBLEM

In order to understand the limitations of the experience frame, we begin by unpacking the assumptions underlying user/consumer research; make explicit the power structures surrounding our work; and examine some consequences of such framing and power context. Much of this has been discussed before in some form – what we aim to do here is show that these consequences limit our work in certain ways.

Axioms

The primary axioms of any user/consumer[1] research practice are:
1. Consumers/users are people conceived of primarily in relation to the things they use or consume, and this is the most salient feature of their lives to study.
2. The best way to understand users and consumers is to enact the appropriate combination of observation and expression, preferably in the context of their lives so as to limit the influence of the research setting. Ethnography suggests a few ways to do this well, but is not the only source of methods.
3. Understanding is achieved by first documenting and then analyzing the lives and contexts of users, and communicating those descriptions to people who will make decisions based on such knowledge; the ethnographic / user research discipline is primarily a descriptive practice that mediates between producers and consumers.
4. The purpose of such study is to reveal people's "needs", based on which the producers/institutions (sponsoring the research) will attempt to direct its efforts to satisfy such needs.
5. An understanding of needs will help shorten the socio-technical gap (the gap between what people do and what technology does) (Ackerman, 2000) by shortening the descriptive gap between what producers know about consumers and what consumers actually do.

Taken together, these axioms – for that is what they are – constitute a frame of inquiry. Each has limitations it imposes on the resulting frame. We will take them in turn.

1: "Users"

The user/consumer definition of people has been critiqued and problematized by Cohen (Cohen 2005); starting with the way that sampling and products are connected:

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[1] We hence will use 'users' to refer to both users and consumers, though the two have slightly different connotations and are used by different disciplines/industries.

"study users of X in order to understand the phenomenon of X, where we can replace X with "mobile phones" or "toothbrushes" or "SUVs" or "Internet-based investment banking tools." We identify a thing that we want to study, then look for "users" of that thing… One assumption at work here… is that, in order to conduct useful research, one must study people who can be considered a viable market for goods and services… Another assumption—in some ways far more problematic—is that users of X are the only people who can tell us about the social life of X." (Cohen 2005)

There are two major problems with this: the first, that

"it draws on a narrow band of people (the people who might buy, and who have bought in the past) in order to design the landscape of possibility for a far broader set of people… "users," as a concept, occludes most of the ways in which people interact with things, and with each other." (Cohen 2005)

That is, the "user" frame limits the interactional phenomena visible to research whilst also limiting who are considered part of the phenomena. Other than the fact that it may be methodologically worthwhile to include non product-user populations in the research sample for purposes of strange-making (e.g. Ljungblad & Holmquist 2007, Djajadiningrat et al 2000), the exclusion of populations from an analysis of effects and consequences is very much a moral issue; for instance, see (LeDantec et al 2009).

The second problem is that such framing assumes, and further naturalizes, market logic – the logic of exchange – as the dominant mode of relationship between the consumers of research output ("producers") and the consumers of their products ("users"), thus eliding aspects of the relationship that have to do with civic commons and power hierarchies. We will return to this point later.

2 & 3: Description

The primary outputs of user research are accounts of people's behavior; such accounts are taken – by the producer/institution – to essentially be descriptions of people; the impact of such research is taken to be the impact of having these accounts. This privileges the account over the process, and thus ends up positioning the ethnographer/researcher primarily as a fieldworker and creates a "fetishism of the real":

"The message sent to the audience is that the researcher has a directly ascertainable pipeline to a potential customer. Indeed, the types of quotes that are most often presented are not presented to be deconstructed for the audience, but to be consumed as truth out of the mouths of the customer. This type of quote temporarily absents the interpreter, and in the extensive reliance on quotes, the ethnographic brand suffers from a more systemic downplaying of interpretation. If real people are capable of speaking for themselves (and the use of quotes seems to remind the audience of this), then it is not at all difficult to understand the ethnographer's job is one of simply capturing the real quotes and bringing it back." (Nafus & Anderson 2006)

The natural progression of positioning the researcher as a pipeline of knowledge about 'real people' is that for some institutions, the researcher later becomes primarily the facilitator of the observation of real people by institutions – like tour guides for the real; this is already happening, and even recommended by some (Howard & Mortensen 2009). The consequence of this shift is that the analytical/interpretive aspect of the researcher's role is replaced by that of a facilitator of analysis in other people; this requires a different set of skills, and it is not clear that the user research community knows how to do this well, nor that such skills are equally distributed in the community.

Of course, not all user research is about documenting and describing what "naturally happens" – in addition to laboratory methods like usability, an increasing integration between design and research processes means that user research as a discipline is finding ways to stage encounters between people and products under a variety of circumstances, often corresponding to stages of the product design process. The purpose of this still remains to describe 'real usage behavior', with the understanding that as the lifecycle of product development proceeds, the research questions will become increasingly narrower and concerned with the increasingly fine details of usage and interaction. That is, these encounters are ways to create certain kinds of accounts – they are meant to identify problems with the people-product interactions in a way that suggests resolutions – and not critically, as means of creating new kinds of knowledge and new forms of problems. That is, such encounters are not used as epistemic moves.

This does not have to be so: description is but one form of creating knowledge, and in a later section we will examine some alternatives. The ethnographic/user research community may have its origins in a largely descriptive & interpretive practice, but in the contexts we operate in, there is no reason we shouldn't move beyond it.

4: "Needs"

That a user research study should end in an account of the needs of the users is almost universally taken for granted, and rarely even debated after the project definition. "Needs", however, is not a neutral term.

Firstly, the use of the word "needs" implies an element of necessity to the desires described in user research accounts. (This then leads to ways of gauging the relative priority of such necessities, and the prioritized needs list is a common fixture in research outputs the most common measure of which is the estimated impact on the users – not an entirely unproblematic metric.) This implied necessity has the effect of making an implicit claim that the users will pay for the fulfillment of these needs, and that these are the aspects of the user's lives that the producer should attempt to impact because, after all, it's what the users consider necessary.

Thus, "needs" functions to justify product decisions by deferring the rationale to descriptions of users' desires instead of situating it in the persons of the decision makers. It is thus simultaneously a political tool (within the context of the institution) and an economic one (suggesting the market relevance of desire fulfillment.)

"Needs" also has a positive spin: after all, research is not commissioned to find out "don't needs", and negative results are not the norm. This creates a warping of language: a common refrain heard by one of the authors (Arvind) at the beginning of his research career was to frame problems in positive terms: *"don't tell us what* not *to do, tell us what we* should *do."* Leaving aside the fact that not all negative

language can be restated well in positive terms and that such transformation thus incurs information loss, this position assumes that the primary basis of making design decisions should be what users want, and not what they often end up getting as a consequence (unintended consequences being an early theme of corporate ethnographic research). That is, the focus on needs renders peripheral the *effects* that products have, especially those effects that are not part of a direct interaction with the products.

This disjunction is especially problematic, since it makes it difficult or impossible for a researcher to question the necessity of the producer's products in the lives of the users, because such problematization questions the very basis of the researcher-producer relationship, and the point of the producer's existence. It is not clear to the authors why this should be so, and this paper will not attempt to explore the issue; nevertheless, this means that the people in the institution who *do* engage in such questioning are not likely to be motivated by user research, but, as in the case of the outdoor clothing and gear company Patagonia, why an environmental sustainability initiative (in this case encouraging its customers to recycle/repair before considering a new purchase) appears to come from of the values of its founder, and not from consumer research. (Aaker 2011).

5: The Socio-technical Gap

This last axiom acts as a justification for the focus on needs, and more broadly on the necessity of studying users. Ackerman (Ackerman 2000) introduced the notion of the *socio-technical gap* as the gap between the design of technology and the actual practices of people around that technology. The default purpose of user research is assumed to help shorten this gap, by helping make products more closely fit the practices of users – which assumes such shortening is both possible and desirable, the history of science-technology and media studies notwithstanding.

> "Ackerman critiques the intuition that people adopt and adapt technologies because the technologies are poorly designed, and that better designed technologies would obviate the need for such adaptation and appropriation. By contrast, ethnographic perspectives suggest a different perspective on the creative processes by which people put technology into practice. In particular, these are seen as natural consequences of everyday action, not as a problem to be eliminated." (Dourish 2006)

The idea that a product should better reflect the realities and practices of its users is not in and of itself problematic, and is undoubtedly necessary to a degree. However, the 'must narrow' position on the socio-technical gap limits the forms of design programs imagined and conceived. As Dourish points out: *"By introducing and focusing on the notion of the gap, Ackerman suggests not that it is the fundamental problem to be solved, but rather that it is the fundamental phenomenon to be understood."* (Dourish 2006). Problematizing the gap opens up new forms of design: an example of this re-imagining may be found in (Dourish 2010).

Stated in other words: behaviors and desires are to be problematized with respect to their context, but the context itself is not a focus of problematization. This is the origin of the invisibility of certain scales of problems, and we will discuss this shortly.

RENEWING OUR DISCIPLINE

Power Structure

Most user research happens in a power structure established by the management and marketing disciplines, modeled as projects tied to one or more product units (though what a product/business unit is, varies widely). There are politically charged organizational, budget, timing, and epistemic consequences of this model, but they are both well discussed (e.g. Thomas and Lang 2007; Flynn et al 2009) and less relevant for the present discussion than the *fact of the power structure itself*. This has two consequences: first, that inquiry is bounded in specific ways, even if such bounding is not what is best for discovering opportunities and being innovative. For instance:

> If, for example, we had been working for a financial institution, we might have been constrained to develop innovations scoped by 'financial management technology'—despite our reframe early on pointing to a more appropriate, alternate entry point for the discovery process, leading to our refined focus for one concept on innovations in 'earning.' (Cliver et al 2010)

Ultimately, of course, all corporate user research will need to impact the economic bottom-line positively. However, to argue that we take our practice beyond this historical bounding doesn't mean we abandon the profit-making imperative, just that we think about innovations in more distal, social terms first. For instance, the Khan Academy started out as a personal favor to some nephews and now is a business leading a disruption in primary and secondary education.

Second, the fact that user researchers/ethnographers are rarely in a position to craft research programs as they see fit means that, for the discipline as a whole, a power strategy is indicated if such epistemic bounding is to be overcome.

Consequences: Invisibility

To sum up, the consequences of the "user experience" framing are:
  a. Only some kinds of knowledge are produced
  b. Everything must be accounted for / represented in terms of stories of individuals e.g. personas and segments; research is primarily a descriptive exercise
  c. The 'real' is fetishized; ethnographers turn into fieldwork 'tour' guides
  d. Extremely hard to look at boundary cases… the sort of stuff that only becomes visible through longitudinal observation
  e. A bias towards positivity; needs evoke fulfillment and novelty; outcomes are subordinate to opportunities
  f. Everything is seen in terms of the consumer-producer relationship; more specifically, as extensions of the particular existing consumer-producer relationships
  g. Context is treated as external and unchanging; instead of treating it as an object of study, and part of a chain of causation
  h. Assumes the sociotechnical gap is a problem to be solved; not a phenomenon to be engaged with

The sum total of these consequences is to make invisible certain kinds of problems. These are one of:

1. Problems faced by populations excluded from the research by virtue of not being direct users or consumers of the products forming the research focus;
2. Problems that cannot be solved by a particular product, or which arise due to the interactions between products created by different businesses;
3. Problems that challenge the dominant narrative of the institution's purpose;
4. Problems arising out of design/business decisions that do not impact usage behaviors;
5. Problems arising out of features of the users' context, especially at scales of complexity apparently beyond the domain of action of the relevant products;
6. Problems that do not exist yet, but can be envisioned based on design and business decisions and a knowledge of the social lives of products; and
7. Problems of society whose solution involves significant civic and political action, which are at least partly created by businesses.

Thus the automobile industry treats suburbanization as a reason to continue to make and sell vehicles to individuals and families, and not as an outcome of their business and products; thus, it is primarily non-profit organizations like Mozilla & EFF study and are responsible for innovations in electronic privacy even though the technologies involved aren't made by them; why the tensions between developing and selling new products and creating ecological waste are not normally seen as a topic for user research; why technology and, lately, design – instead of social contracts and political change – are seen as the most promising avenue for social innovation.

These kinds of problems are not hard to notice for user researchers and ethnographers; it is merely that the framing of our roles often sets these problems outside of our work's practice and discourse. (It also means that the primary difference between user research and other kinds of ethnographic practice in industry can be traced to the kinds of problems that are considered to be legitimate foci of inquiry: ethnographies of business/service, for instance, are legitimated from inception as trying to explicate social contracts and practices within institutions.)

Engaging with these problems will involve leaving the "experience" narrative of research; this is not easy, and naturally creates dissonance between a research team and its clients if not done well. We expect that in some workplaces, these kinds of problems are taboo, especially if it conflicts with deeply-held assumptions around the purpose of the company or the profit motive. Making these problems visible also introduces conflicts with multiple dependent layers of planning that a typical research project sits within, and questions that suggest rethinking the entire enterprise bump up roughly against quarterly budgets, product planning "gates" and so on.

Ultimately, this creates problem spaces that no one owns except entrepreneurs who – because they answer primarily to themselves – can align values, purpose and methods or, as the meme goes, work to a 'triple bottom line': people, planet and profits.

Given that we aren't all entrepreneurs with control of the direction of our work, or going to be, how can we make these kinds of problems visible, and worth engaging with? Foresight is an emerging practice, but in an organization that doesn't already have a long-term orientation supported by leadership, it's a non-starter. We suggest that a values discourse is a key element of creating a discourse around these (institutionally invisible but individually obvious) social problems, and a way of overcoming the constraints imposed by the corporate context.

RENEWING OUR DISCIPLINE

FRAMING A DISCOURSE ON VALUES

Discussions of "values" have a lengthy history in academic anthropology, from informing the education of budding anthropologists (Robins and De Vita 1985), to contemporary discussions of how cultural values shape the extrinsic value of objects and commodities (Eiss and Pedersen 2002). The values of an anthropologist shape his or her practice, and the values of research participants are often the key to understanding and representing larger interplays of culture.

Why, when the notion of cultural values is so critical to our colleagues in academia, do we not bring it to the fore of our practice in industry? What explanation do we have for such an anemic discourse on values in our corner of the field?

By making cultural values central to our mission, we can encourage corporate research sponsors to innovate not just product or service value, but moral and social purpose. This requires crafting insights that go beyond immediate consumer needs or economic benefits to the organization. This refocusing will enable corporations to think about *how* they into forms of social renewal that go beyond corporate social responsibility, to create shared value throughout the extended value chain to which they belong.

The word "values" has three valences in this context, all of which are pertinent to our mission of moving out of the experience frame and towards a context-focused corporate ethnography. These are: the value structures of the practitioner, the value structures of the participant, and the value structures of the corporation sponsoring the research.

The first mode is the value structures of the practitioner. The basic exercise of reflexivity, central to the training and effectiveness of an ethnographic practitioner, is fundamentally one of examining taken-for-granted values. We cannot understand others until we untangle our observations from our own ingrained judgments. (Agar 1996).

The second of these modes is the value structures of the participant. While the user experience is informed by deeply held values, we are often inexplicit in our pursuit of understanding how deep value structures arise and influence participants' decision making. This lapse is a consequence of privileging 'experience' and 'needs' over developing a rich sense of context. While the experience frame can contribute to beneficial outcomes at the level of the individual, it lacks both the incisive depth to touch on 'core values,' and the scope to examine the larger social forces at work that influence and inform them. User experience research does lead to actionable insights, however, a reframing towards a more 'value-conscious' corporate ethnography could have the dual benefits of enhancing not only the outcomes of product-oriented, user-oriented studies, but also positioning the corporation to have broader impact on the social landscape, for the greater good of many.

This notion ties directly to the third mode of 'values' addressed here—those of the corporation that sponsors a given research endeavor. Corporate Social Responsibility is one instantiation of corporatized values, albeit with an explicit focus on responsible stewardship and adherence to standards under societal pressure. More critical to our vision is CSR's recent evolution, "Creating Shared Value" (CSV) (Porter and Kramer 2011).

The concept of value embedded in CSV is not the top-of-mind association with monetary values, which is inextricably connected to short-term economic thinking, a focus of hyper-capitalism. Instead, CSV reflects a sea change in how corporations are reframing their connection to society. CSV is predicated on a growing assumption that the corporation can and should better align its values with those whom they serve, and with those in whose communities they operate. Moreover, by entering

alignment with the stakeholders in their extended value chain as a means of driving business, the corporation stands to benefit not only their bottom line, but also to tie those economic benefits to commensurate social benefits.

As ethnographers, we are well situated to participate in and help to grow this novel re-envisioning of the relationship of the corporation to society. In this scenario, our role could grow from purveyors of consumer insights to encompass serving as brokers and translators between stakeholders, facilitating communication between corporations and communities, and identifying opportunities for communities and corporations to co-create *shared value*, in this emerging and profound sense.

Crafting a practice around understanding the values of users has the additional consequence of extricating us from the "experience" frame, and enabling us to step into "impact" frames. This modulation allows the researcher to refocus inquiry on motivation, context, and social forces, rather than assuming that the *default motivation* for the business is to satisfy user needs. By talking about values, one can have a reason to talk about aspects of human experience one would otherwise not be motivated or authorized to based on the project brief. Critically, this values-centered perspective can help make visible the problems enumerated in the previous section, but more importantly, empowers the researcher and their clients to identify heretofore unseen opportunities to address problems and innovate new products and solutions to service users.

A cross-disciplinary parallel to the value-focused practice we are proposing is already extant in HCI research in the form of 'value sensitive design'. Value sensitive design (henceforth VSD) is a theoretically-grounded approach to technology design that pays particular regard to the values of stakeholders, both direct and indirect, throughout the research and design process, based on the position that there is an interactional relationship between human values and technology (Borning and Muller 2012: 1125). VSD is a movement, taking root and influencing design, driving discourse in the field and shaping its future course.

Like CSV, VSD is a clear indicator of the way the winds are blowing, *vis-à-vis* the twin roles of values and empathy in shaping how savvy corporations will approach business as the decade unfolds. As we observed above, our discipline is well suited to lead from the front as this movement takes hold, but only if we are actively revisiting our methodologies and assumptions, and constructing our own values discourse.

OTHER FORMS OF KNOWING

As stated before, user/consumer research – including ethnography – is primarily a descriptive practice, with origins in documentary and interpretive methods. If we see our discipline as being primarily defined by such an orientation, this is not a problem. On the other hand, if we want to define ourselves in terms of the impact we can have on corporations and other institutions, we must consider other forms of knowing, and the skills that those entail.

Weber's exploration of the hermeneutic device verstehen—interpretive knowledge as a rigorous way of knowing, as distinct and apart from observational methods—resonates still with this framing of ethnography. We have new ways to 'do' verstehen—new forms of data (Anderson 2009), new ways of engagement with people ('crowdsourcing'/'mob'/mobile-device methods), new ways to do sensemaking (advancements in visualization), and new theories and understanding of human behavior. Some of this finds its way into the domain of impact (design, change management, etc.) Yet the

dominant mode of user research knowing is still the interview/observation mode (because we continue to privilege the study of individual behavior.)

Epistemic orientations: Truth vs. Utility – The first issue here is the contrast between Truth vs. Utility as different epistemic orientations. A Truth orientation is primarily concerned with the validity of statements and propositions, whereas a Utility orientation is concerned with the use of statements and propositions to create new perspectives. The fetishism with the real we are faced with places us into a truth orientation; even ideas of reflexivity are essentially about the construction of what is claimed in an ethnography as truth. This essentially comes from our descriptive orientation: but it is not enough for the kinds and scale of problems we need to engage with. So far, in the EPIC canon, the question of problem scales hasn't arisen much; in particular, discussions of problem complexity are merely hinted at, and it's the rare paper that makes complexity an operating concept. e.g. Salvador (2011).

If we move away from descriptions of experience, what happens to our truth/utility orientations? What changes need ensue in our analytic stance and the theoretical corpus we use? We contend that the large portion of social science and anthropological theory that orients towards cultural or social behaviors & phenomena is of vanishing importance in our analytic work, and we will need to create new "theories" and operating concepts, such as 'flux' (Bezaitis and Anderson 2011) that aren't necessarily about the behaviors of individuals or clearly demarcated social groups but instead foreground the corporation's business model and its constituent interactions.

This is not just a question of taking our interpretations beyond 'opportunities' and into making design and business strategy; it is not clear that such movement into business roles creates any additional opportunities or scope for ethnography. This is also not just a question of critical reflexivity: the goal is not to study up, but to study out. A recent effort in this direction is Intel's program on consumerization:

> "Our new stakeholders, who range from government affairs, to corporate responsibility roles, to education and health groups, to marketing and branding, are not necessarily interested in the ways in which ethnography as a specific practice could inform their design and business decisions. They do, however, have reasons to figure out how their own actions and decisions had (or would have) an effect on these socially-constituted worlds. They do not, of course, put it quite this way, but suddenly, the groups who work with governments and multilateral development organizations became very curious indeed about how Intel's messages get interpreted, and where market opportunities were mixing with economic development efforts." (Nafus et al 2009)

An effort like this is a direct examination of the socio-political context of the corporation's customers, and is capable of providing powerful forms of envisioning and leverage. (For the same reason, of course, a values discourse is necessary and relevant: it provides checks on corporate action at this scale.) This ultimately considers the entire corporation as instrument: reflexivity at scale.

Problem Scales – To return to the question of problem scales: user/consumer research has largely been working at a small scale: that of shaping individual behaviors. The promise that ethnography

holds is of both understanding factors of relevance at other scales, and understanding one's place in it critically.

A brief introduction to problem complexity scales: a widely used formulation divides up complexity into Simple (*predictable with heuristics*), Complicated (*predictable with analysis*), Complex (*unpredictable, and knowable only through action, experimentally*) and Chaotic (*unpredictable, and impossible to act with guarantees*) domains; this is often known as the SCCC model. (For an in-depth analysis, see Graves 2011.)

Corporate ethnographic research as currently practiced in its user/consumer research incarnation is well suited to the Simple and Complicated domains: its descriptive and analytic orientation is appropriate, as is the concern with truth and validity. Operating in the Complex and Chaotic domains, however, has different demands. To be useful, descriptive practices of knowledge production must keep ahead of the pace of change in the domain: in order to do this, we will need to produce knowledge even faster than we already do, and under conditions where it is unclear that we will be able to establish research programs which build on constituent projects to create continuously aggregated knowledge. And, as noted earlier, certain kinds of problems and problem features will never become visible under this framing, and consequently the knowledge produced by the user research framing will always be contingent and incomplete. A truth orientation is not useful here.

On the other hand, a utility orientation is far more appropriate. Under this paradigm, instead of attempting to document and describe the 'real', we attempt to create a multiplicity of maps of the domain. This does not mean that truth concerns are irrelevant, but that they are secondary to uncovering gaps and holes in institutional knowledge, which, naturally, cannot be done without some level of knowledge of the 'real'. This is primarily an exercise in empirically informed speculation and synthesis, much closer to design fiction than design requirements, and its purpose is to reveal avenues of investigation not hitherto considered. It consequently foregrounds sensemaking and creative abilities over fieldwork methods – an entirely different toolkit of skills than those traditionally prioritized in user/ethnographic research. This form of knowledge practice is currently labeled 'foresight'; the opportunity for ethnographic practice here is to inform the empirical content of inputs into foresight practice, in ways more nuanced than trend reports and quantitative measures of problem domains.

The Complex and Chaotic domains are also particularly suited to methods of knowledge production that adopt an experimental attitude: not in the traditional sense of experimental research methods, but in the sense of performing design/business experiments to reveal knowledge about reality. An important emergent practice here is that of Critical Making (Ratto 2011): doing design as a way to throw light on a domain; not design trying to solve a problem, but design trying to discover its shape, and uncover the set of linked issues. Again, this has a utility orientation: the critical design process does not attempt to move down the product development pipeline; unlike with a truth orientation the resultant designs are not early versions or prototypes of eventual products. In other words, critical making is largely an exercise in problematization, something that aligns well with ethnographic practice. This points to a need for engagement with designers, so we can move from question/problem framing to reification and back.

There are other ways of mapping complexity: the SCCC model is merely one of the most basic and oldest. What is relevant to note here is the sparseness of ethnographic meta-methodological theories and approaches that incorporate problem complexity scales. Complex-domain techniques need complex domain practices, knowledge-orientations, values and institutions to function

successfully. The challenge facing most of us is how to create those practices, orientations, values, and institutions in organizations that face complex-domain problems.

Corollary: organizations that design at different scales have different forms; our roles won't change unless our organizations do.

There are numerous other forms of knowing from a variety of disciplines: historical analysis to reveal patterns of change not visible in a single 'deep dive'; theatrical and improv techniques to learn by enactment; museums for materialist exhibitions of insight; art to produce changes in perception; science fiction to produce synthesized and provocative visions of possible futures, and so on. Compared with these, videos, Powerpoints, and posters – the stuff of the dominant communicative parlance – seem rather limited as means of teaching/learning and transformation.

None of these forms of knowing are relevant for those practitioners who wish to define their work and roles primarily in terms of the origins of ethnographic practice in anthropology and sociology. For those of us wishing to define ourselves in terms of potential impact instead, engaging with these forms of knowing is necessary, and is already happening (see for instance VanPatter 2011.)

Armed both with the ability to build layered, reflexive, value-laden pictures of the operating context and to engage in/with other forms of knowing, we will be in a much better position to have or shape impact; we term this 'strategic incitement': the act of selectively problematizing and inspiring action in ways that encompass the context not just of users/consumers but also that of the producers themselves.

A PROGRAM OF CHANGE

Any speculation on disciplinary futures must of necessity speak to emerging movements and problems in our field. Keeping this in mind, we suggest a program of change focused on 5 contextually relevant pillars: collective creativity, problematization discourse, engagement with society, de-commoditization, and alternative learning/knowing orientations.

Collective Creativity

Get better at reframing the work. It will be tough to leave the "experience" narrative frame. Doing it well will require the ability to produce and manage frames for others; this means we have to be equally good at describing, interpreting, and contextualizing the project team as well as the data and the research insights.

Develop a variety of cognitive architectures for innovation: Reframing our work involves shifting scales. It is unclear that the same set of methods and processes we use to produce insights from descriptions of human behavior will scale to society-scale problems. We'll have to get better at knowing how to select methods for research, analysis, sense-making, designing, prototyping, collaborating and so on. Ethnography is a methodology; we need to wrap it with a meta-methodology.

Encourage critical consciousness: It is one thing to take clients into the field, and give them exposure to the context/site of study. It is another to turn that experience from an observational tour to a process of critical inquiry, something that is essential to having an empirically-based discussion of values. We'll have to get better at helping others do analysis.

Problematization Discourse

Produce problems in addition to insights: Insights – esp. in their 'opportunity' form suggest solutions; problems suggest directions for exploration. We are often under pressure to direct us to immediate and actionable solutions; while this might be appropriate in many situations, the sheer complexity of innovation practices suggests that we need to be smarter about when we introduce questions as well as answers, even when only the latter is explicitly requested.

Convince clients that problematizing context is valuable. It produces different kinds of implications for product development than studying user experience alone. Problematizing context is an avenue for bringing corporate values into alignment with the values of the people and communities whom they serve and impact. This broadened focus contributes to the recognition of socially beneficial outcomes as a category different from market outcomes, but equally as important and compelling.

Engagement With Society

Find ways to talk about values: It will neither be appropriate nor useful to foreground personal values as instigations for values discourse in a corporate context. In order to create a values discourse, we'll have to find ways to formally include them into our processes, as well as bringing up questions of values in times & places outside formal project contexts.

Encourage corporate research sponsors to innovate not just product or service value, but moral and social purpose. This requires crafting insights that go beyond immediate consumer needs or economic benefits to the organization. This will enable corporations to think about *how* they can fit into forms of social renewal that go beyond corporate social responsibility, to create shared value throughout the extended value chain to which they belong.

Produce work for the commons: Many of the 'invisible problems' we've described cannot be engaged with successfully without the cooperation of multiple institutions. Producing insights and other outputs of ethnographic work for the public domain (or at least available for purchase) will make it more likely that otherwise disconnected or competitive institutions will collaborate. Precedent for this in the EPIC canon is recent (Radka and Margolis 2011), but this is a well-established model in the trends/market research industry, and there are plenty of organizations working on nation-scale, civic issues to engage with.

De-Commoditization

Counter commoditization and de-skilling by shifting from methods to methodology and meta-methodology. Methods are easily copied: if we want the continued adoption of ethnography, and not merely the continued adoption of ethnographers, we must present the value of our work more in terms of our ability to adapt methods and theories to different problem and organizational spaces, and less in terms of the methods themselves. This will have the additional advantage of reducing the commodifying effect of new technologies and tools and the standardization of methods and techniques.

RENEWING OUR DISCIPLINE

Devise a power strategy: Previously published literature in the user-experience/ ethnographic research canon have made visible power structures operating in our workplaces. What we need next is a power strategy for the discipline that speaks both to tactical techniques we use to establish influence, as well as how a power strategy should play out across careers and teams.

Build up a body of examples of values-driven innovation. The best way to prove to disciplinary outsiders (i.e. our clients) that an approach is valuable is to show that is has already worked elsewhere. We need a library of examples we can point to and use as inspiration for championing values-driven approaches to large-scale problems.

Alternative Learning/Knowing Orientations
Engage with makers; produce knowledge through made objects and experiences: ethno*graphy* might be a good starting point, but to engage with the 'invisible problems' we'll also need an ethno*techne*: exploring the emic/etic through making, not describing. This is not the same as the well-established use of projective methods with research study participants and eliciting knowledge through expressive acts: this is the use of creative and critical construction to understand a problem domain, as an alternative to fieldwork.

VERY INCONCLUSION

We are calling for an evolution of our practice: from the description and explanation of human behavior to a position of strategic incitement that is animated by a sense of values. We believe that, at least for some portion of the ethnographic practitioner community, this evolution is necessary for sustained impact, and for another portion, necessary to resist commodification. At a more personal level, we believe this evolution is necessary to bring about some sense of consonance between the ethnographer as employee and the ethnographer as citizen.

A polemic on such issues as this paper presents is necessarily incomplete and inconclusive. While observations we have made will – given the diverse nature of our community – not apply to everyone, our intent is to draw attention to some fundamental aspects of the nature of our practice. We have also skipped over much nuance and detail: a more exhaustive analysis will be required before a clear picture of possible disciplinary futures emerges.

In sum, we may not be right about everything, but we hope to at least be usefully wrong.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Renewing Our Practice: Preparing the next generation of practitioners

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A key aspect of renewal is disciplinary renewal though the addition of new practitioners, who can bring revitalization to our practice. To successfully land their first job, today's new practitioners need practical, relevant basic skills and knowledge, which they can acquire through a range of training programs. In this paper, we reflect upon the significant methodological, interpretive, ethical implications of such training programs for ethnographic praxis in industry. How they evolve and change the work, how new knowledge is created in the field and what that may mean for the future renewal of our practice begins with how they are trained.

INTRODUCTION: DISCIPLINARY RENEWAL

A key aspect of renewal is disciplinary renewal, which takes at least two forms. In the first, practicing professionals engage in "continuous" and self-directed learning, building on their skills and knowledge through conferences such as EPIC and through the practice itself. A second renewal of our discipline is though the addition of new practitioners, who may initially lack knowledge and experience but also bring fresh perspectives and revitalization to our practice. These new practitioners have very different opportunities and challenges than those faced by their senior counterparts. As we wrote in 2011, today's senior practitioners did not train to be ethnographic practitioners in industry. Rather, the majority came through "traditional" academic programs but, for various reasons, found jobs in industry and learned the skills of practice "on the job." As we noted last year (Mack & Squires 2011) to successfully land their first job, today's new practitioners are expected to come into that first jobs with some practical business or industry relevant background and basic ethnographic skills and knowledge, which they can acquire through a range of training programs that have emerged worldwide

In this paper, we reflect upon the significant methodological, interpretive, ethical implications of such training programs for "ethnographic praxis in industry" beyond the addition of new bodies doing the work. Educators have long held that teachers teach as they were taught. Following this maxim, those who teach new practitioners will have an important influence on how these new practitioners practice. While professional development influences our personal practices, what we collectively will become in the future is dependent on those yet to enter the field. How they evolve and change the work, how new knowledge is created in the field and what that may mean for the future renewal of our practice begins with how they are trained. We begin by reviewing the current ethnographic training programs for practitioners and why such programs are so important. Next we describe the Design Anthropology course currently offered by the Anthropology Department at the University of North Texas with its stress on theory-building in combination with hands-on learning. Finally we reflect on the trade-offs each of us has made to create and conduct the design anthropology course.

TRAINING ETHNOGRAPHIC PRACTIONERS

In the last few years several academic programs have emerged to train practitioners in "ethnographic practice in industry" including institutions such as Savannah College of Art and Design, Swinburne University, Mads Clausen Institute, University of Dundee, and the Institute of Design. However, most of these programs are based in departments or schools of design. While all of these courses are multidisciplinary, their homes in design schools do influence the courses offered. Many members of the EPIC community, including the authors, were trained in anthropology and other social sciences and we believe that one of the strengths of our practice is the multidisciplinary nature of the practitioners. If we are to keep our multidisciplinary approach we must continue bringing new practitioners in from a variety of fields including anthropology. As a social science, anthropology brings theory (in particular social theory) to bear, and that is a particular analytic view that is distinct from other fields represented in this community of practice. From firsthand knowledge we admit that bring theory into practice is not always easy. It takes a little more time to develop theory-based insights and a tension can develop on a multidisciplinary team between those who want to ensure a solid theory-based model for action and those who are eager to implement ideas or are concerned about business needs and timelines.

Theory is core to "ethnographic **praxis** in industry," in that the conference started to help bring theory into practice. As Rick Robinson noted at the first EPIC conference, "Application of methodology to an arena doesn't make a domain, or a discipline. Theory debate does" (Robinson 2005:2). At the same conference, Stokes Jones meditated on the need to balance theory and observed "fact" (Jones 2005). Skill, we argue, can only be gained through an understanding of both. Using anthropological theory in combination with ethnographic methods can provide explanatory models that broaden and deepen the understanding of the context(s) in which events happen and people act (Crain & Tashima 2005: 42-47). Thus, anthropology should continue to be a core field for training industry practitioners based on its potential to prepare people who can practice in the context of theory, and further push our field to new places in the future. As practitioner-scholar and anthropologist Meta Baba reflects, "a praxis theory of practice which places the applied anthropologist in a collaborative role founded on the dynamic exchange between theory and action" will not only enhance the work of the multidisciplinary team but the field of anthropology as well (Baba 2000).

While as two anthropologists we are admittedly biased reporters, we strongly believe that anthropology departments should continue to be one of the key sources of new practitioners in our field. However, as the training of practitioners has become more formalized, anthropology departments have not followed the path of design departments in terms of this training. Of the few academic anthropology departments who have taken the reigns in training practitioners, only a handful of applied anthropology programs have a business focus—most notably at Wayne State and the University of North Texas (UNT).

We also acknowledge that this more industry-aimed training faces particular challenges within departments of anthropology. While traditional anthropology education includes a great deal of theory, and sometimes practice, often there is little that is applied practice. Much of this stems from a traditional distrust of private practice and industry.

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Most academic departments do not teach their students about the history or anthropological practice, much less provide courses on practice for future professionals. While interviewing academic anthropologists Meta Baba found two widespread concerns: lack of theory in practice and ethics.

> It is likely to be during a discussion of ethics, when practice may be disparaged as dangerous ethical ground. . . . If pressed to explain why practice is denied a place within the required curriculum or as a source of knowledge, some of our colleagues will contend that the reason is theoretical. Applied anthropology, they argue, has no theory of its own but only borrows superficially from other fields and dilutes what it borrows (Baba 1999:10).

Baba suspects that fundamentally academic anthropologists argue against practice because they are suspicions of large corporations and government and. by extension, those anthropologists who work with them. The relationship practitioners have to commercial interests does not allow them to maintain an objective orientation, the academics argue, and research conclusions are, thus, questionable (Baba 2006). Baba has written extensively about the tension between the academy and practice and we recommend her articles on this topic for further reading.

This distrust has meant that while we are not the first industry academic pair to collaborate in the goal of educating new practitioners, nor are we groundbreakers in academic and industry partnership, such collaborations are relatively rare in our academic discipline. While academic anthropology partnerships with industry are rare, in the design and engineering/technology fields academic partnerships are found with many industries. Likewise the renowned design programs mentioned above have successfully partnered with industry as part of training their students. In fact, Mack and her group at Pitney Bowes have collaborated with the Mads Clausen Institute for several years.

DESIGN ANTHROPOLOGY COURSE

Building theory into practice does not always happen naturally, but we believe that orienting practitioner students through training early in their careers provides a crucial foundation on which they can continue to build. Our case study for this reflection is a Design Anthropology course described in this paper, which is part of the applied business anthropology program at the University of North Texas. The anthropology department is one of the few programs in the United States to offer a master's degree in applied anthropology with a business focus option. The goal of the program is to provide graduates with the knowledge they will need to undertake informed and thoughtful action, whether as street-level practitioners, administrators, agency-based researchers, or as program evaluators in private and public sectors, foundations, and businesses in local, regional, and international areas. Students can obtain a master's degree in one of two ways: through a traditional on-campus program where students meet face-to-face with an instructor, or through an online program that was created to serve students who are unable to attend an on-campus master's program due to geographic, work and/or family constraints (ReCruz et. al. 2007: 1-6). The on-line program attracts students with diverse backgrounds and work experience who live all over the world. The department offers several specialties including Business, Technology and Design Anthropology (BTDA). Within this specialty, students can take courses in organizational analysis and change, teams, user-centered design, marketing, communication in the workplace, human-computer interaction, consumer behavior, diversity and globalization.(http://anthropology.unt. 2012, Jordan et al. 2013). The Design

Anthropology course described in this paper is an elective within BDTA, though enrollees have included students from design, information sciences, marketing, education, library science and media studies among others. It is considered one of the primary courses for a minor in anthropology in the college of business and in the college of design. The only prerequisite is that each student has taken an introductory course in anthropology.

The first Design Anthropology course at UNT was initiated by Christina Wasson, who worked with Christa Metcalfe of Motorola as an industry partner. Her course was created for the classroom where students from a variety of disciplines learn the fundamentals of the design anthropology field by reading about, and discussing topics relevant to design anthropology in general. In the second half of the course, there was a class project where students had the opportunity to practice applied research methods and video ethnography based on proposals and field guides created by the instructor and industry partner (Wasson & Metcalf 2012). Students worked in teams of two, a designer and an anthropologist, to collect the data. Data analysis took place in the classroom under the direction of the instructor and the final report was organized and assembled by the instructor for delivery to the industry partner.

Redesigning the course

In 2010, Susan Squires joined the department and taught Wasson's face-to-face Design Anthropology course. She invited Alexandra Mack to be the industry partner based on our personal and professional relationship and shared research interests. The evolution of the course also took into consideration the experience that both authors have working in industry. Squires was a practitioner for over 20 years and brings a practitioner's knowledge to the project process. Mack is a Research Fellow at Pitney Bowes who has been a practitioner in both consulting firms and industry R&D for over 15 years. The first time this course was taught, Squires and Mack largely followed Wasson and Metcalfe's successful formula including the face-to-face classroom environment. However, Squires did begin to put more responsibility on the students for framing the research and final deliverables than was expected in earlier iterations of the course.

The second time the course was offered in 2011, Squires was ready to reframe the content to better prepare the students for actual industry practice. Importantly she was able to consider the recent findings from interviews she and Mack had conducted with senior EPIC members about the skills and knowledge both necessary and valuable as a practitioner in industry (Mack & Squires 2011). These interviews had asked senior practitioners to reflect back on the "first generation" of ethnographic practitioners in industry who were mainly trained in conventional graduate anthropology programs and geared toward the academic job market. These senior practitioners, who now hire, had cautioned Mack and Squires that "no one can just be a field worker." The skills they brought to bear in their jobs included "leadership, management, consulting, innovation, and marketing" (Mack and Squires 2011) and advised that such skills were important for new practitioner success. Squires and Mack decided that some background and hands-on experience in these additional skills was necessary as the course content evolved.

In addition to a redesign to meet the changing demands and expectations of employers, the course had to be reworked to become a class for online students in 2011. We realized that the pedagogical changes prompted by the shift to online could be further used to help prepare students for workplace realities, which are also shifting toward more remote collaboration. The Department of

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Anthropology at UNT has offered online course for a number of years. Squires followed the format for departmental online courses (Davenport & Henry 2007:12-15, Nuñez-Janes & Re Cruz 2007: 20-23). All the work was completed while working through online supportive technologies, such as Blackboard, Skype, Google Docs and PBWorks.

In line with the need to train for current jobs, the course objectives explicitly reflect what senior practitioners advised regarding the skills and knowledge necessary to become a practitioner:

1) Develop the ability to think and relate with the world in an anthropologist.
2) Learn the values of anthropology and its conceptual tools as it relates to ethnographic practices.
3) Provide project experience from the client interview to final deliverable.
4) Understand the different research approaches and how to select the most appropriate: discovery, definition and evaluation.
5) Can describe what different disciplines bring to the process (psychology, sociology, design, engineering, marketing etc.).
6) Learned to work in multidisciplinary teams.
7) Understand business and business goals.
8) Be able to work with others remotely.

Underlying the design of the course is a pedagogy called Constructivism. It is also called, 'hands-on learning' or engaged learning. "Constructivist" learning theory was inspired by Jean Piaget's ideas about experiential learning (Piaget 1950). Behind these ideas is the proposition that each student is an individual with a unique set of knowledge acquisition preferences and skills that are situated within the context of their background and culture. By extension using a 'constructivist' pedagogical teaching approach provides the student with the tools to manage their own learning experience. The particular model used for the Design Anthropology course has been modified from Kolb & Fry's four component model of constructivist learning (Kolb and Fry 1975):

- Providing the student with a concrete experience – a project
- Building skills in observation and reflection through the application of ethnographic methods
- Using analytical skills to formulate abstract concepts and theory derived from anthropology , and
- Testing in new explanatory models and insights.

In the first two steps learning is based on hands-on experience where the student carrying out a task or activity and reflecting on its outcome. In the third and fourth step, the concrete experiences must be analyzed and translated into general principles or explanatory models under which the task or activities fall (Kolb & Fry 1975). In the final step the course applies anthropological theory for deeper insights and hypothesis testing.

The constructivist pedagogical philosophy led us away from the structure of an overview course that included a project in which students had the chance to practice data collection methods. Instead, we used the project as a frame for teaching theory and skills. Thus the project became the framework for the course in which students could participate in all aspects of a practitioner's work. Working in teams the students were engaged in the entire process from the first meeting with the client (Mack),

writing a proposal, conducting the research, analyzing the data and creating a final deliverable of findings and recommendations, which was presented to the client during the final week of the course.

In order to build the students' theoretical knowledge, each phase of the course project is accompanied by theoretical readings that provide insights relevant to the current project phase. The course has 10 learning modules which are woven into the sixteen week course project (Table 1). Topics include the anthropological perspective, the concept of culture, comparisons of theoretical models used by different disciplines, theories on team-building and practical manuals on developing a field guide and the various methods for coding data and finding themes. By the end of the course the students are expected pull this knowledge together to develop explanatory models to explain findings that are supported by research literature. While each learning module includes a theoretical overview of the weekly topic, we realize that one course cannot give all the theory they need. However, what is provided has two benefits: the theory gives an introduction that provides a foundation on which the student will build, and it allows the students to work with the theory as it connects to practice and vice versa.

WEEK 1	Introductions		
WEEK 2	Overview of Design Anthropology	Squires 2002 Fluehr-Lobban 1994	Theory Overview
WEEK 3	Theory on Material Culture: The Partnership of Design and Anthropology	Sacher 2002 Byrnes & Sands 2002	Choose Team Partners
WEEK 4	Psychology & HCI in Design Research	Norman 1988 Sanders 2002 Frascara 2002	Theoretical Approaches used by different disciplines
Week 5	Anthropology & Ethnography in Design Research	Sunderland and Denny 2003 Blomberg et al. 1993	Theory behind anthropological methods
Week 6	Working in Multidisciplinary Teams	Wasson 2002 Bailey et al 2011	Team building theory
Week 7	Meet our Client	Overview of Client Organization Engeström and Escalante 1996	Client Meeting
Week 8	Interviewing and Observation	Metcalf 2009 LeCompte 1999	Design Interview Guide Sign up for Team Fieldwork
Week 9	Interviews		Recruit Interviewees Interview

			Write up interviews notes or transcribe
Week 10	Interviews		Interviewing Continues Write up interviews notes or transcribe
Week 11	Analysis	Sunderland and Denny 2007 Woodruff and Aoki 2004	Team Field Work Report Out Class Analyzes Data
Week 12	Finding Themes in Analysis	Ryan and Bernard 2003	Team Field Work Report Out Class Analyzes Data
Week 13	Finding Themes in Analysis	N/A	Class Analyzes Data Teams Select Theme
Week 14	Team Themes	N/A	Teams Develop Themes Prepare Client Presentation Section
Week 15	Draft PPT Slides Due	N/A	Prepare Client Presentation Section
Week 16	Revisions PPT Slides Due	N/A	Draft Client Presentation for Client Review
FINAL	Client Presentation	N/A	**Client Presentation**

Table 1. *Design Anthropology Course Modules*

All students were expected to form teams of 2 to 3 individuals who collaborate on all project work through the entire process. Stress was placed on small team-based work, and team-based analysis and theory building. The students were expected to reconcile differences and work out team dynamics. Each team used space on a private Wiki to facilitate group interaction. Teams created and posted "deliverables" every week which were shared with the entire class. We gave direction in broad strokes so as to allow creativity in teams, but did not otherwise structure team or project work. For example, each team developed their own field guide using a field guide template, and the field guide was then posted to the entire class. It was up to the class members to agree on the final document. Before the final client presentation was created, each team developed its own theoretical models and posted it to the class to decide which would be use. The liveliest discourse centered on these. By collaborating on an applied project, students gained transferable skills on how to interacting with a client, write a proposal, apply research methods, engage in collaborative analysis, build theoretical models to explain findings, and to translate their research into practical applications.

STUDENT PERSPECTIVES

While it is admittedly difficult to assess results in only a year or two after a class has been taught, we have asked for feedback from the students themselves on the preparation they feel the course has given them. At the end of the course each student was asked to provide anonymous feedback on their learning experience. While we always like to receive positive comments, the most valuable feedback provides specific information on what is good and should be kept and what was challenging and might be improved.

Reflections on Design Anthropology

Overall students found the course rewarding. "This is truly among the best courses I have taken at UNT. I have learned so much during the course of this semester. I think about research completely differently than before." Included in this comment is a nugget of learning about the nature of design anthropology, which provides some positive information about the success of the course content. Efforts to instill the importance of anthropological theory appears to have been well received as reflected in the student comment which noted that, "The subject matter is maybe the most relevant to anthropology because the design of ethnography is central and paramount to the discipline." And another commented, "Many of the concepts are important for any focus in anthropology."

While online teams were a challenge for the students, they valued the experience, noting, "I appreciated . . . all of the importance placed on making great groups." Finally the constructivist approach combining theory with hands-on learning, is supported by the comment that, "The course provides "a wealth of real-world anthropology in a field filled with academicians."

Challenges of the Online Course

Under the best circumstances distributed work is not easy and the tools used in both academia and industry tend not to be state of the art. As students learned remote collaboration can be a real negative as illustrated by one student's comment, "The structure of the course was challenging. Going between Blackboard, which is a terrible interface. PBWorks, which is better, but not great. And various word documents and PDFs. It was hard to know where to go for what and go between the different forums. Blackboard is an abomination and online courses are suffering greatly."

For better or for worse, the tools used for remote collaboration in industry are often no better than the ones the students complained about. Mack's research with a globally distributed group at Pitney Bowes revealed that challenges to "good communication" included both infrastructure and practices (Mack, et. al, 2009). While we can't improve on the infrastructure provided, we did try to take these prior learnings on practices into use with the students, guiding them toward developing their own "rules for engagement" for "good communication" within their work groups. Learning how to communicate in the context of an online course provided real time preparation for the work environment.

INDUSTRY / ACADEMIC PERSPECTIVE: BENEFITS, CHALLENGES AND TRADE-OFFS

Industry-academic partnerships are not without their challenges. As Bruneel observed, academia and industry will have "different incentive systems and different goals" which can lead to misunderstandings (Bruneel et al. 2010). Wasson and Metcalf found particular "challenges of combining anthropology and design across organizations" (2012) echoing the reflections of the editors of the forthcoming book, *Design Anthropology: Between Theory and Practice,* that design anthropology has at least two research traditions with different objectives, assumptions and methods (Gunn, Otto & Smith 2012).

The academic/industry partnership we have established, is what Freitas defines as "personal contractual," a partnership that is based on personal knowledge and trust. This partnership models is one of the more successful, Freitas suggests, not just because of the existence of a personal relationship but because each individual in the partnership also agrees to take responsible for navigating their own institutional barriers (Freitas et al. 2010:16). Perhaps the tacit agreement by each of us to share the responsibilities has made our particular partnership work. Likewise, as we are both anthropologists who have worked in industry, we have avoided some of the industry-academia disconnects possible. Yet there are challenges and trade-offs to our partnership.

Industry Tradeoffs

Monetarily, the cost of the course has been minimal for Pitney Bowes. In contrast, many industry partnerships with academia involve a transfer of finances in exchange for research and consulting services. Coming from a research division that is primarily focused on technology, Mack has experience with such partnership agreements with other departments in which Pitney Bowes gains knowledge and maintains clear ownership of intellectual property while the partner university benefits from financial support. Pitney Bowes's currently has several university relationships and payments of up to $100,000 a year in exchange for student course work and research consulting with various professors are not unusual.

The relationship we have established is more informal, though in deference to Pitney Bowes' corporate legal there are signed agreements in place between the institutions regarding non-disclosure and intellectual property, and individual students are also required to sign off on these. Where necessary for the work, Pitney Bowes has invested some money in the course. For the face to face class, Mack has traveled to Texas for the final presentations and bought pizza for the class—not a big outlay. Pitney Bowes has also covered recruiting and incentive fees for a student conducting an independent study version of the course with multiple participants.

With regard to the partnership with Squires, Mack has different expectations about what she will gain from the research. Her expectations are based on two factors. First she came into the agreement with the understanding that she was helping to train students, some of whom will join the field as industry practitioners. Since the project was framed as a learning experience for them as well as data gathering around Pitney Bowes's interests, she knew that some of the data the students were asked to collect was not of central interest to her projects, and that some of their findings would not be "new." At the same time, every group of students did deliver new insights and perspectives, with outcomes

comparable with those of class projects at universities with which Pitney Bowes has paid agreements. She understands that she is not paying for consultant level work, nor does she expect such based on the minimal investment. For her as well, the process of helping students learn and gain experience was positive in and of itself. As a practitioner who is very involved with EPIC, she also views the renewal of the field as worthy of personal investment, beyond where her company may or may not see direct or quantified value. At the same time, she realizes that her particular position grants her some leeway around this personal investment that is not always allowed in industry contexts.

Academic Tradeoffs

For Squires the partnership allows her to introduce the design anthropology students to "real-world" research from a "real" industry client and provide the context to engage in theory building. In turn, the learning experience is foundational for the transition from the classroom to a workplace setting. Further benefit is gained from Mack's understanding that her involvement is educational, and her contributions have been instrumental to student learning beyond her role as "client." But this partnership has trade-offs for Squires too.

For one thing class projects such as those undertaken in the partnership are more time consuming than traditional teaching. However, the university makes no consideration for the extra time involved. This is directly tied to the unpaid nature of the project. While her partnership with Mack and Pitney Bowes is valued at UNT, it has been made clear that such unpaid academic-industry partnerships have less value than those that bring in funds. Further, such unpaid partnership projects have no career impact while those that are funded are included for tenure consideration.

For both of us, the rewards of the partnership include the enjoyment of working together, and the commitment to renewing our practice by training the next generation of practitioner.

NEXT STEPS: GUIDED INTERNSHIPS

During the summer of 2012, we began to experiment with extending the design anthropology course model from the classroom to a guided internship. To discover if a guided internship model might have value, Pitney Bowes offered internships to two anthropology students who are getting a masters in the applied anthropology department at UNT. One student intern had previously taken the Design Anthropology course. The second student intern took a Design Anthropology directed study with Squires, which focused on the same theoretical frames offered in the course, at the same time she was conducting a research project for Pitney Bowes under the supervision of Mack.

The student with previous coursework in design anthropology reported that working within the company provided important knowledge about its organization and goals: knowledge that was not as in depth for the course. This knowledge was helpful in crafting the research and customizing the research deliverables and present findings clearly to Pitney Bowes staff. Being there also provided informal encounters with individuals and teams from other parts of the company who would be "acting on the ideas." These informal get-togethers in the hall or after a presentation, allowed the intern to get to know the internal staff and their thoughts and reactions to the project findings. It also allowed the intern an opportunity to clarify and discuss research findings. He reported that the theory taught as

part of the course was valuable in his role as intern and he found himself returning in particular to the books and articles on analysis.

The second student followed the course curriculum as outlined for the Design Anthropology course while an intern undertaking a project. While this student had less background in anthropology than the other, she did have extensive experience in "practice" as a market researcher. We found that she struggled more with applying the theory to the project. In part this may be due to the intellectual burden of application of theory before it can be internalized, as well as the challenge of doing something seemingly familiar (user research) in a new way (with a theoretical orientation). In addition, unlike the students in the course, she did not have a team and lacked the support team members can offer, nor did she have peers with whom she could discuss ideas or build themes from analysis. She also reported difficulty juggling the on-the-job research requirements Mack expected as a job supervisor with the course paced direction provided by Squires as her instructor. Despite these drawbacks, she reported that she learned a lot and thoroughly enjoyed the experience noting,

> This dual format turned out to be a highly rewarding learning experience. I especially appreciated being able to apply lessons learnt in the coursework parallel to conducting the research, e.g. I was able to use the interview techniques in field and theme development methodologies in the analysis.

We were both satisfied with the results of the projects. Given the experiences of these two interns, we are comfortable with continuing with guided internships, but are reluctant to say whether it is preferable for a student to conduct an internship once the course has been taken, or to do one concurrent with the course material. In the end the choice of model may depend on a student's individual background and needs.

CONCLUSION

Theory is core to "ethnographic praxis in industry" and the EPIC conference was founded in part on the goal of bring theory into practice. The renewal of practice includes the ability to continue with the theory and methods from a diversity of fields, including anthropology. For the field as a whole we need to continue to include the anthropological perspective and anthropologists on our multidisciplinary teams.

However, while we argue in this paper that we need to train practitioners who know how to put theory into practice, we also recognize that we can no longer expect aspiring practitioners to spend years in traditional academic departments of anthropology acquiring analytical skills as we ourselves, and many other senior practitioners, did. Yet at the same time we also have struggled with the challenge that Jordan (2011) has identified regarding the ability to teach and to learn deep analytic competence without "years of graduate education that include multiple stints of fieldwork."

While a challenge we do feel that the connection between method and theory is a key part of anthropological training, and we (perhaps stubbornly) also want to see practitioners trained in our discipline so they can continue to join the fantastic practitioners being trained by our colleagues in design schools as ethnographic praxis in industry evolves. Yet, it is not practical, nor even possible to embed years of literature review into a semester. We recognize that we are only providing an introduction to theory and practice and that it is far from all the theory or all the practice they need.

The Design Anthropology course described in this paper is our attempt to overcome some of the challenges by offering an approach that provides a practical real world experience that is also grounded in theoretical perspectives, which parallel the experience. It is a beginning—a way to start introduce important concepts early in the careers and, in this way, guide the renewal of our practice and a learning experience that is rare in anthropology master's programs. We also see the course describe in this paper as only one model for introducing students from a variety of disciplines to the convergence of theory and practice. It is by no means the only model for the emerging courses in applied anthropology departments that can be offer, nor is it the only model that will work for industry partners. Yet we do argue that we all (academics and industry practitioners) should be taking conscious actions regarding the renewal of our field, and consider the formal and informal actions and structures that enable us to grow and move forward. This routinization should come from all disciplines and practices, as part of the power of what those of us at this conference do comes from the diversity of background and experiences we bring to projects. The more we can continue to introduce this diversity early in the training of new practitioners, and in more academic departments and training environments, the better prepared practitioners we will bring into the field.

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WORKSHOPS

NEAL PATEL, Co-Curator
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IRISH MALIG, Co-Curator
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Bronislaw Malinowski once wrote, "In the field one has to face a chaos of facts." EPIC's radical community of thinkers, designers, artists, methodologists, intellectuals, strategists, researchers, and innovators (to name a few) thrives in this sort of "chaos," because the elusive truths of the world continue to demand an interpretation.

By re-visiting the question of ethnographic practice each year, EPIC's workshops uniquely prepare us to distill "meaning" from "chaos." This year's workshops drive the conversation forward with diverse methodological applications of gamification, reflexivity, branding, experiential modeling, creative place-making, and more. Sessions will provoke reflection on the practical contexts for renewal presented by recent history. Topics range from the socio-economic restoration of blighted communities, and the 'Occupy' movement's attendant challenge to capitalist institutions; to engagement with film, storytelling, and design as narrative mediums; to "re-engagement" with interpretive frameworks through novel experiential "lenses"—sensory input, storytelling, empathy, games, and even magic.

Finally, in order to capture the practical experiences which occur at workshops, this year's Proceedings will include a new "Learnings" section, to be completed by workshop organizers and participants. We hope this new addition will add continuity to the insights produced by workshops at this and future EPIC Conferences.

Grounding the abstract research topic: Using games to get tangible with the intangible. OR: Tools for Understanding Topics Like "Wellness" or "Mobility" when Time in Field is Limited

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WORKSHOP DESCRIPTION

What happens when a time-pressed researcher is confronted with an intangible subject where observation is difficult and conversation barely scratches the surface? When faced with this challenge, workshop organizers have infused their research design with principles of Design. A focus on these principles has yielded an approach to games that can be used to better understand abstract topics when engaging with research participants.

Games become facilitation tools that give research participants tangible interaction and response nodes within the context of complex and non-rational spaces. Games can be central to creating researcher-participant interactions that are rich yet targeted while respecting time constraints of a research environment. Workshop participants will learn to apply the design principle of tangibility to research methodologies and walk away with fundamental techniques for gathering data in new ways.

TANGIBILITY

Tangibility manifests itself in the form of real objects, rules, options and consequences, which allows people to quickly anchor the ambiguous by reflecting inward and thinking critically about their true values, behaviors and experiences before making a choice. *Iteration* gives researchers and participants alike the freedom to explore (maybe even change the rules) as games are viewed as an evolving activity that helps us shape the space we're interested in exploring. Games are best used as flexible stimuli (prototypes, if you will) in service of eventual solutions based on what's real and resonate to participants. *Collaboration* is ever present as the researcher-participant relationship is interdependent. As researchers, we learn from and with participants as they lead the twists and turns of our conversation. Still, we are stimulus providers and gentle guiders; allowing them to be the best versions of themselves. By focusing on tangibility and iteration, we're able to foster a co-creative environment and create opportunities for enhanced conversation and more authentic responses.

Design thinking and games allow us to problem solve. All research endeavors involve the 'problem' of understanding – and we must support people in their efforts to fully and genuinely express themselves. Often, we ask our subjects to help us unpack broad, abstract or even uncomfortable information spaces, all of which can be difficult to access through conversation or observational methods alone. These methods prize in-the-moment response, while games can allow participants to engage more deeply. Games have proven efficient facilitation tools and have become a central part of our practice, as they create rich yet targeted researcher-participant interactions while respecting logistical constraints of research environments (e.g. limited time).

LEARNINGS FROM WORKSHOP

When games are good

Games are good when they represent the ideal facilitation tool for ambiguous, sensitive, mundane, too narrow, too broad and/or complex research topics. Games should keep people: engaged (when the details of a subject bore, e.g. shampoo), focused on objectives (when it's easy to get tangential in a broad space with endless possibilities), energized (extensive conversation is fatiguing to anyone), thinking critically by digging deeper (programmed, top of mind or superficial responses are rarely useful), honest (the truth surfaces as people access and share their experiences) and uninhibited (when lots of information requires too much mental tracking).

When games are bad

A game is unsuccessful when: (a) it isn't rich enough in terms of options or activity flow, the conversation will result in one-dimensional comments and exploration. (b) It's too rigid or inflexible, conversation will be stilted and learnings stifled by a facilitator's insistence on being led by the game not the participant. (c) it's not designed based on a real set of choices or options (i.e. not a reflection of true human experience). (d) it's too complicated, people will be lost and anxious as their energy is spent trying to understand the game instead of themselves. (e) If options or tradeoffs are obvious or low commitment, participants are unable to access the depths of the experiences as we've primed them to remain in the superficial space. (f) it feels more like work than play (g) it doesn't result in real exploration as the participant and researcher gets backed into a corner if you've constrained people to just share what you've given them. It's then designed to merely validate your own hypothesis. (h) it's gratuitous. The researcher and greater team should work through whether or not it's really necessary to get at the information you need in the interview. Not every interview needs a game. It should never be just for the sake of doing a 'fun' or 'beautifully designed' game! It should be purposeful and functional.

Ethnography and Direct Action: The 99% Spring Activism Project

CHRIS DARROUZET
Water Cooler Logic

WORKSHOP DESCRIPTION

This workshop is a an introduction to *non-violent direct action* ("NVDA") in the historical context of and with reference to the *99% Spring Activism Project*, a nationwide training action project conducted in cities across the USA in March-April 2012. This workshop was conducted in a seminar format to accommodate a small group, with participants including four anthropologists and designers from the USA, one from Spain, and one from India.

WORKSHOP, PART ONE

The situations and scenes of such political activism in the US as exemplified in Occupy Wall Street ("OWS") are clearly important socio-cultural ones, as well as ones that invite the interests of ethnographers and designers. OWS tugs at the intellectual and activist sentiments of many EPIC practitioners, as indicated by the display of OWS posters at EPIC 2012 and the Pecha Kucha presentation on Occupy Washington DC.

Direct Action events as socio-cultural phenomena feature assemblages of large to enormous numbers of people, intent on expressing and representing through their actions an emergent, popular will. Such formations and actions of crowds represent a response to a call to action and to change, whether explicitly planned or occurring more spontaneously. The huge amassing of protesters in events referred to as 'the Arab Spring' represent recent examples of emergent direct action on a vast scale. Questions about the role and affordances of social media and the Internet in helping with "the Arab Spring" apply readily to those of social activism targeting corporations or other neo-liberal institutions. One of our discussion points near the end of the workshop was that such larger-scale actions *are liable to continue and increase, not diminish*. They feature hundreds of thousands of people venturing into "the streets" or "the public square" of with the intention of expressing and demanding one major change in the socio-political and economic status quo.

Where ethnographers stand in relation to activists engaging in direct action events sharpens the general tension between ethnography conceived of either as an objective, social scientific method or a critical analytical project. In either of these two constructs, "ethnographic distance" from the hosts' projects, or "objectivity" and "relativism" in respect to their actions and attitudes, are usually considered hallmarks of well-formed ethnography.

A major foil to the conventional position of ethnographers operating in relation to their host or subject community is found in the position taken up by the contemporary anarchist-activist-

ethnographic anthropologist, David Graeber (see *Direct Action, An Ethnography,* 2009). Graeber declares, "I make no pretense of objectivity here. I did not become involved as a participant in order to write an ethnography. I became involved as a participant." And: "Even when I am critical of the movement, I'm critical as an insider, someone whose ultimate goal is to further its goals." As it turns out, unlike many who posture on these issues in academic settings, many EPIC practitioners share a similar interest in furthering the goals of their sponsoring organization.

'Skin in the Game' in Direct Action: One's Own, Alongside Others

We discussed a key aspect of direct action: people putting themselves on the line, physically; putting "skin in the game" in a very literal sense, going beyond the rhetorical sense of this idiom. This idiom is usually used figuratively to signify that someone has some stake (often economic or status-related) on the line in some contest or confrontation. In direct action of this socio-political kind, the *skin* one puts in the game is one's own actual skin—again, in the most existential, embodied sense of being a human being.

Skin in the Game, Self-craft, Alienation. David Graeber raises the question of the re-appearance of the concept of the *self* and the *subject* in direct action. Self and subjectivity reappear on the scene of direct action … after decades of post-structuralist work disavowing these concepts. Graeber addresses self and subjectivity mainly in respect of the concept of alienation, which seems require a subject if not a self who is alienated. A tension may arise in direct action in every one's sense of their respective willingness to put one's actual, embodied self in some kind of jeopardy: from that of inconvenience to risk of arrest, to physical danger, even death. One of the more striking aspects of this phenomenon is how 'people' the world over find themselves compelled to leave their regular confines and collect or assemble in such deliberate shows of resolve, if not shows of force—or force often of a non-violent kind. They/we are often doing so now in the face of the forces of the states that assign their police and military forces to confront and deal with these insurrectionist activities. One's own safety on behalf of some collective purpose generates this sense of oneself-in-action. Contemporary anarchists devoted to direct action cite participation in such actions as a wellspring of meaningful action and an antidote for alienation. Direct action then may be experienced as a project of "self-craft", one through which "the sovereignty of the individual" — a concept dear to contemporary anarchism — blends into that solidarity, mutual support, and autonomy. (For more on the notion of "self-craft," *see* Evens 2009.)

Professional Situations of Ethnographers/Designers

We began with personal-professional testimonies and observations about the role and position we have taken up as anthropologist, ethnographer, or designer (AED), *while working for, with —or otherwise in socio-economic* synch *with— powerful corporatist-capitalist neo-liberal organizations.* The tensions raised for each of us in our doing so are considerable. The organizations and activities of Neo-liberal institutions and corporate-capitalist ventures are chief targets of a great deal of contemporary activism in the US and around the world.[1] Our main concern in the workshop was how our work in corporations stands in

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[1] They are targets alongside what may be categorized roughly as authoritarian or totalitarian political regimes — for example: neo-liberal states and global corporate entities with their Western style liberal democracies as distinct

relation to activism that challenges the power and activities of these institutions and organizations. We registered among ourselves—informally, no show of hands—that we do not count ourselves as being among the ranks of the self-declared contemporary anarchists; nor among those who are radically opposed in fundamental, revolutionary ways to the neo-liberal state and its global corporate-capitalist institutions and organizations — such as contemporary Marxists or Neo-Marxists. We are among the "rest of us" who have not adopted these more absolutist, or "purest" positions. We spoke also of our being not so condemnatory of these organizations in which we work as one finds in the attitudes of contemporary anarchists or Marxists. We hold hope, interest, and motivation in finding ways of helping reform them from within and without. Reform them — but also with room to adopt vigilant direct action against them as required. In this light, we discussed this situation as one for which the easy-to-come-by figures of being 'inside' and 'outside' an acceptable organization do not work well.

Slow Direct Action / Taming the Leviathan of the Globalized State

We discussed aspects of our work in terms of what I call "slow direct action", where the ethnographer/designer works directly with those in powerful positions in an organization in which we are professionally aligned. We make progress, some of the time, usually slowly, and incrementally, but not always "indirectly." I contrasted this with a polemical notion of traditional research ethnography as a species of Direct Inaction —*direct* in the sense of the intimacy of the work with one's hosts, but *inactive* in respect of one's abstaining from involvement in the projects of one's hosts.

The question becomes one of how we might contribute to what James C. Scott has called the project of "taming the Leviathan of the state." Scott argues that History is largely the story of the dialectic between state-controlled societal spaces and non-state controlled spaces, where those in the non-state space have been for ever-so-long now, "state evaders". Now, the 'state' has achieved for the first time in "world history" the world-wide system of state-based administration of so many important aspects of the lives of 6-7 billion human beings.

We contrasted the incremental successes of reformist-minded slow direct action with that of the ideal of utopian transformation which contemporary anarchism pines for—even as it recognizes it is not going to happen anytime soon. We also contrasted it with some expressions of what mainstream neo-Marxist social revolutionaries call for … or await the opportunity to accomplish when the current global, neo-liberal system implodes or collapses under its own weight. I situated these themes of direct action and contemporary anarchy in a framework of utopian social movements, seeing them as manifestations of the will to transcend the contradictions and paradoxes of our creaturely existence. In this regard, we discussed the notion of *activism* over and against *passivism*. We cited one prominent activist thinker, the philosopher Simon Critchley, who has labeled such passivism in the face of the situations before us "passive nihilism". We noted in passing the vitriolic debates among the Marxist philosopher Slojav Zizek, the anarchist David Graeber, and Critchley on these matters.

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from more blatantly autocratic, military-controlled regimes such as were toppled in 'the Arab Spring' in Libya and Egypt.

WORKSHOP, PART TWO

San Francisco and Oakland Occupy Actions and Police Responses: A Tale of Two Cities, or Good Cops/Bad Cops?

In the second part of the workshop, Darrouzet introduced consideration of (a) material from the 99% Spring Training Action event and (b) video from two actions related to various Occupy movements in the US. The training material demonstrated the attempt of US based activists across the spectrum to build on the momentum of OWS. The aim of the nationwide training was to inform, instruct, prepare and en-courage folks living in the US to be willing to take up such direct action in the months and years ahead. The training included material aimed at showing the philosophy of non-violence and how in fact great changes have been accomplished over the decades using these strategically formulated tactics.

The direct action we considered ethnographically consisted of material Darrouzet developed as an activist (first, rather than as an ethnographer) when I participated in Occupy San Francisco's action to disrupt the Wells Fargo Bank annual shareholders meeting in San Francisco, April 24, 2012. The other action event we looked at was from Occupy Oakland's action following OWS. For the Oakland material we used video supplied by journalist Tucker Phelps of a confrontation between demonstrators and a unit of the Oakland Police Department in November of 2011.

Our focus in looking at these video materials was on the role of the police as a front line wall against direct action activists: police whose work it is to keep people assembling in the public square or streets from confronting powerful controllers of neo-liberal institutions and corporations, as well as protect the privileges of private property in the face of confrontational actions that "violate" the law, or enforce rules or policies that direct action events routinely challenge or violate. While this theme of the police as "bureaucrats with guns", as enforcers of statist policy is a major one in contemporary anarchism, it is also a hugely important matter in terms of the general situation of the confrontation between the police/military and activists in our globalized-state world. This global phenomenon of people amassing and occupying public places and streets en masse pits people, demonstrators, against those who are called up and outfitted to respond and control the activists. These police forces are also those who have been deputized as the one group authorized to use physical violence against others as an means to the end of keeping social order.

The videos highlighted differences in outcomes of activist/police confrontations in San Francisco and Oakland. The details of these events and analysis are too complex to address here, and will be the subject of a separate paper. The upshot of our viewing and discussing these materials featured our sense of our just getting a start at seeing the work that lies ahead in "taming the Leviathan" at this sharp-edge of confrontation between the police and "the rest of us"; that is: any of us who venture out into the public squares, spaces, and streets to protest, challenge, or contest actively the status quo. Our discussion highlighted the grounded struggles ahead in "taming the Leviathan": 'taming' or otherwise 'domesticating' the police. Training in non-violent direct action, even in the face of combative and force-wielding police, is, in its own way a 'taming' or 'domesticating' of *activists* in these crucial situations. The idea *of taming the police* to behave in a like-wise tamed way may be part of what lies ahead for all social activism which eschews the use of violence. In a partially tamed environment, we can at

least envision as a thought experiment that actions may be bound in new ways, boundaries respected, including the boundaries of respect for the many selves whose skin is on the line in these events.

NOTES

I thank Tucker Phelps for his help in preparing the material used in this workshop, including use of the video he took of the street demonstration in Oakland.

Experience Design Modeling

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WORKSHOP OVERVIEW

As our worlds become more connected, we have both increasing opportunity and obligation to design experiences that recognize individuals in their context. Such experiences serve to continuously improve our environment and ourselves. Experience Mapping provides a means to surface implicit and tacit information vital to effective design of experiences.

Participants in this workshop worked with a variety of "lenses" vital to designing meaningful experiences: storytelling, magic, games and improvisation -- employing these lenses and a design process focused on facilitating experiences conducive to meeting identified goals and outcomes.

EXPERIENCE MAPPING

There is a subculture of magicians who approach stage magic with algorithms that produce "effects known as magic." In support of this approach, this group of magicians generated a Magic Modeling Language.

This technology serves to support an explicit mapping of experience. The workshop began describing experiences holistically, accounting for the actors, the framing of interactions with media and technologies, the outcomes anticipated to support mapping larger experiences in detail. We explained how pre, during, and post event community management is integral to success. Participants demonstrated a general understanding of an experience design process by and applying a simple modeling language to something they have previously experienced.

MAGIC

Magic as a change agent to help move ideas forward. Examining types of magical moments (stage magic and illusion a la Penn & Teller, Disney, unexplained phenomena), we opened up ways to think about an experience that can shift perspectives. Magic is a way of increasing subjectivity about a topic. By opening up new viewpoints to the same topic ethnographers are better able to make observations that are outside of their own. Magic is a means to transcend double-binds. When conflicting 'truths" are present, it is a means to help people break from their perceptions of reality, opening their perception to something "possible." Participants expressed how previous assumptions change via disruptive shared experience by participating in an activity in which they will rapidly learn to sketch – literally, learning how to draw.

IMPROVISATION

Improvisation is a means for co-creation within a shared context. There are many types of improvisation: theatrical/comedic, musical, bricolage (tinkering/making with whatever is immediately available). Improvisation creates a safe context where failures are not only permitted, they are rewarded. For meaningful connections with people in a new cultural context, attention must be given to the particular social norms, particularly with regard to "saving face." Theatrical/comedic improvisation as a means to spur conversations and information gathering may be less helpful to the ethnographer in some contexts than bricolage. Participants demonstrated a comprehension of the value of improvisation in experience design by collectively engaging each other through a number of short improvised scenarios.

GAMES

Games provide a construct for players to apply information in certain ways which assists or sway decision-making. There are many types of games in multiple modalities at different scales following concepts of competitive and cooperative gameplay. Games provide simple rules, like memes, which construct the environment where information amongst players can be exchanged. Every culture has games that encourage social interaction as a means for information exchange within a commonly supported set of rules or constraints. Leveraging this as a means for information exchange, the ethnographer can better account for bias within an understood set of constraints on the environment. Games have rules beyond just embodying characters. Gamestorming, and particularly bodystorming (as an exercise) explores what "rules" a character or system or device must play by. This exploration of rules helps validate, if not challenge, the read of a given context. Participants demonstrated their understanding of how games can open up collaborative information exchange by participating in a gamestorming activity.

STORYTELLING

Using stories as a more meaningful delivery method for new ideas. Using stories to convey ideas needs to be done strategically in context with extra cultural sensitivity. Understanding how to use a story as a method of information transfer is important when attempting to frame it in the right way for the audience. The model of Character-Object-Relationships-Environment (CORE) will be reinforced as a

narrative model. Participants demonstrated a competency using narratives to contribute to an experience by crafting a story that conveys a specific idea or concept.

Tangible Empathy: Research to Change the Design of Touchpoints

TOI VALENTINE
Adaptive Path

Conducting research to inform design is an expected and required practice; however, the translation from findings to actionable design is not always apparent. Using traditional ethnographic methods with a twist, we, as designers, can design stronger and more empathetic experiences for people. As small research teams, we went out into the heart of Savannah with the goal to better understand people's "stuff" and their interactions with that stuff and learned how that could define future experiences.

INTRODUCTIONS

Introductions and discussion around tools, research activities, and goal of the workshop. Began with ethnographic research to study the touch points, or things that facilitate interactions, we can create more empathetic experiences. We specifically focused on research techniques around people's stuff and how that impacts their behaviors/needs, evaluating the effectiveness and quality of those methods.

FIELD RESEARCH

Each small group chose a research activity to test over an hour. They were given specific research questions to answer and a design challenge.

Design Challenge: How might we design better experiences and engagement for users?
Research Questions: How do users interact with touchpoints within the current experience? How does the environmental context impact these interactions?

Tested and evaluated methods and tools that can be used to frame actionable design:

METHOD 1: Photo Documentation: Using digital cameras to document all the touchpoints and how users would interact with these touchpoints within the context we were researching (ie. Café or lounge)

METHOD 2: Acetate Drawings: Using clear acetate sheets, trace over the actual interactions that were occurring.

METHOD 3: Flow Diagrams: Using high-level floor plans to document where users were interacting with touchpoints.

METHOD 4: Card Sorting: Interview users through this card sorting activity. These cards displayed icons of touchpoints and the researcher shared them with users to talk through which of those touch points they would use/need in that context and how they would use/need it. Researchers used these to facilitate their interviews.

For all of these 4 tools, the research teams were charged with capturing and documenting the users, their things, and how they were interacting with those things. They had to answer the following questions: Are there behaviors you are observing when they interact with these touch points? Are you observing user needs when interacting with these touchpoints? Is the current experience, space, or touchpoint designed to meet the needs of these users?

They were also given a rubric for evaluation criteria for the research activity and its effectiveness in answering those questions, sharing them with the larger group. Using a Likert Scale of 1-5 (1 is the least, 5 is the most) answering the following questions:

QUESTION 1: Was the tool effective in accomplishing the goals of the research?
QUESTION 2: Could you identify the touch points?
QUESTION 3: Could you identify or outline the experience?
QUESTION 4: Could you identify user behaviors when interacting with touch points?
QUESTION 5: Could you identify user needs when interacting with touch points?
QUESTION 6: Was the tool appropriate to use for that experience / setting / user group?
QUESTION 7: How intuitive did it feel to use the tool?
QUESTION 8: Did you come across any challenges when using the tool?
QUESTION 9: What would have made the tool more effective for this activity?

Participants left this exercise with some new techniques or a refresher on traditional methods.

SHARING RESEARCH

We led an informal discussion around how the research went and if there was anything interesting that happened when they were conducting research. This discussion focused on the researcher's overall experience with those specific documentation tools.

ANALYSIS AND INSIGHT / THEME GENERATION

Each group posted research documentation (photos, drawings, cards, etc.). We then created stories out of the research to represent the current state of the experience, pulled out the insights (were

touch points supporting a positive experience?), highlighted and identified opportunity or breakdown areas in the story/experience (what can we design to make the experience better for users). Participants identified patterns and themes, clustered research findings, and analyzed/synthesized research from insight to principles.

CONCLUSION

Groups shared their results of their rubric and their experience using a particular method. They gave context around the results (what use, value, and impact would this work have) and how this work would turn into actionable design.

LEARNINGS FROM WORKSHOP

Our Tangible Empathy workshop introduced three great methods for collecting data in the field, and then explained how to use them around human beings, objects, and environments. Then each group examined one methodology in the field. I volunteered to experience working with "Acetate Sheet" in Galley Espresso, a local Savannah Café. Using the acetate sheets, I traced the gestures of people in the area to better understand how they physically interacted with their environment. After tracing the individuals, we wrote more details about them on the acetate sheets, including their objects and activities. During the analysis session we learned how to think of "touch-points" within a story in order to better understand the interactions, organize our findings, and discover opportunities based on our data. We reflected our methodological experience as we approached the end of the workshop.

EPIC is about understanding peoples' behaviors, and I found "tangible empathy" completely related to this concept. "Tangible empathy" methods show the importance of understanding the intangible touch-points of the human behaviors, objects and the environments and their combination. Not every project is related to the tangible materials or services; sometimes understanding the intangible elements is the tricky part for making decisions or implementing the ideas. The "Tangible empathy" workshop also was quite relevant to Epic's 2012 theme which was Renewal. It is about rethinking the design process. It doesn't change the whole research process, but rather provides better options for how to apply it more productively. It illustrated that the ability to translate data to an actionable design is as important as the research itself (Azadeh Abrishami, SCAD).

Workshop 'Maru': Connecting Local Regions for Revival

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A year has passed since the major earthquake and subsequent tsunami hit the Tohoku Region of Japan on March 11th, 2011. While there are gradual recoveries and economic activities in the people and industries of the regions, the smaller, rural districts are left behind. These recoveries and their associated communities are shrinking at a far more rapid pace. Although the decreasing population has become imminent after the crisis, these local communities have already seen such tendency for decades.

Interacting with rural regions, we discovered that these problems were due to the local regions relying on the conventional model of capitalist development. Rural regions cannot create a sustainable and open-ended future without changing this model. So, how is it with your own local region? Whether the cause may be different, we have come to realize that this is a major societal problem for marginalized regions not only in Japan but also in many of the other countries around the globe.

So how might we create futures for marginalized local regions? An idea for solving such problem is our new concept 丸 (pronounced 'Maru'). First, ethnographers conduct ethnography in two local regions to articulate views on cultural and historical practices ("values"). Second, by comparing these views, researchers re-interpret these values as opportunities. These opportunities become a starting point for economic transformation in local regions, and generate an alternative vision for self-renewal. Furthermore, these actions strongly connect disparate local regions, forming active social bonds. An example of this approach is "Dry food Lab," created in Kesennuma—a local city in Japan devastated by the tsunami—which became inter-locally connected to Tramutola, Italy.

What do tourists eat in Kesennuma? Bonitos that are grilled outdoors, tuna sashimi, oysters in shells, and—if they are lucky—delicacies such as the shark heart and sunfish. What all these have in common is that they are eaten raw: the common belief among the locals and tourists is the best way to eat these foods is as they are.

FIGURE 1. A massive ship in the middle of the road in Kesennuma city, after the tsunami.

Is it really so? A visit to Tramutola, a small village located between the mountains in South of Italy, transformed how we see these ingredients. Dishes served by the local chefs were delicious, but what caught our eye was the taste of 'baccala,' the dried cod. The taste and the way it was cooked inspired us greatly. Looking around the kitchen, we could not but notice many preserved ingredients utilized in all the dishes such as ham, cheese, sun-dried tomatoes, dried red pepper, and of course, 'baccala.' These ingredients date back centuries, and have been used in Tramutola ever since.

Kesennuma has its own preserved food: abalone, shark fins, and they are known worldwide as some of the highest quality preserved food. However, because they are not 'fresh' or 'raw', these processed foods have for a long time did not get equal amount of attention as other delicacies. Our observations in Tramutola led us to a new opportunity in Kesennuma: rediscover dry food and to let people know there are other ways we can eat food. This discovery led us to establish an organization called "Dry Food Lab", which will develop new ways to eat dry food, like that of Tramutola.

The workshop challenges to reproduce this by looking closely at a local region Kesennuma, Japan and to compare that with the participants own local region to exchange views and thus discover new opportunities. This we hope will enable the participants to deepen the understanding of Maru and also help them to be able to adopt the concept in reality. At the end of the workshop, we would be opening up the discussion to get ideas on what kind of themes would participants like to use for their local regions. Moreover, gain feedback on the thoughts towards the concept Maru, for further development and expansion.

FIGURE 2. Baccalà with peperoni crushki (Dried Fish: Cod) in Tramutola, Italy

Finally, why is the concept called 'Maru'? Maru is a character that describes 'circle' in Japanese. Once you stroll along the Japanese harbors you will most likely come across 'Maru,' as fishing boats often bear the character in their names. This embodies a wish for safe and cyclic winds to protect the boat and its brave sailors venturing into the open sea. These travels exposed local areas to the outside world, engendering a re-identification and re-interpretation of local economic value through trade opportunities. Although this sort of inter-local activity no longer continues in the local regions such as Kesennuma, here, we once again will utilize this way of thinking, to connect local regions and restart inter-local activity. Through this, people in the local regions would be able to have economic alternatives, making it possible to create their own futures, instead of relying on the conventional economy. These alternative economic arrangements are the key to reviving these local regions.

LEARNINGS FROM WORKSHOP

Participant Reflections

The facilitators led participants through experiential activities in which they had to generate data points from our own contexts/locales and compare/contrast them with data points coming out of Kesennuma. There were additional supporting artifacts like video from Kesennuma, printed sheets of paper with data on one side, visuals on the other, etc.

Methodologically, it's very interesting and thought-provoking to try to synthesize two seemingly-distinct sets of data from different locales about similar cultural processes to drive innovative ideas. In the EPIC community we don't do enough cross-cultural ideation---and I mean culture from the ethnic/geopolitical perspective. This workshop sparked that realization in participants—that we might be able to drive more interesting innovation when we do ideation with people of different cultures.

This workshop is extremely relevant to EPIC, and perhaps more importantly, to our global community and economy, because it focused on driving innovation in local community renewal through design-based thinking and activities.

Luxurious Rebranding: Reinvigorate Your Brand in a Global Economy

JAMIE BOWERMAN
Bowhous

KRISTA SINISCARCO
Savannah College of Art and Design

How do we take the data that we collect as ethnographers and make it actionable? The goal of this workshop is to propose a method of answering this question through the introduction of service journey mapping and brand analytics as a way to refresh customer service offerings. To achieve these objectives the workshop will be divided into three main sections; field research, documenting the customer experience and refreshing the service through brand analysis. The workshop participants will engage in activities to document and reenact a customer service experience to gain better understanding of the process, supporting system and customer emotion. Brand analysis methods will be introduced to allow participants to reflect on core brand attributes and incorporate those attributes to refresh service offerings.

INTRODUCTION TO JOURNEY MAPPING

A customer journey map is a tool for visualizing a customer's experience moving through and interacting in a process, service or system, which can be used as a means to collect, analysis and/or visual ethnographic research. The workshop began with an introduction to the concept of journey mapping and deconstructing examples. A website, created by the presenters, was used as an aid throughout the workshop. Participants were introduced and familiarized with the concept of customer journey mapping which they used as a tool later in the workshop.

INTRODUCTION TO BRAND ANALYTICS

The identification and validation of brand attributes can be achieved through or incorporated in ethnographic research methods. Participants were introduced to brand analysis methods and went through an exercise to list attributes of known luxury brands to be used later in the workshop.

FIELD RESEARCH

Following introductions, participant groups went out into Savannah to conduct field research. Pine's & Gilmore's Field Guide for the Experience Economy was available as a reference in planning methodology. A list of local businesses, within walking distance of the workshop location were identified prior to the workshop, and provided to the groups. Participants were asked to identify a member of their group to experience a service (from buying a soda at the local to asking for information from a tour company) while other members of the group observed and documented the experience through note taking, photos and video. The groups were also told to take note of the customer's mood and emotion, documenting what they liked and did not like. One member of the group was asked to photo document the experience and tag and post images to Instagram for future reflection, analysis and commenting.

CONSTRUCTING JOURNEY MAPS

Participants reconvened in the workshop room to begin mapping out the customer experience. Each group worked together to condense their notes and constructed a complete customer journey map. By documenting the experience, the participants had the opportunity to view the experience holistically and identify opportunities for improvement and innovation.

INCORPORATE BRAND ATTRIBUTES TO REDESIGN SERVICE

Once opportunities for improvement of the service have been identified, the brand analytics exercise was revisited, comparing aspirational attributes to actual experience. Each group selected a few key attributes of a selected luxury brand. The groups then attempted to incorporate said attributes into their documented service experience to improve the customer experience and change any "dislike" moments to "like" moments. For instance, the group worked with the BMW brand and identified luxury as one of the core attributes. The group will then try to apply the idea of luxury to their experience of buying a soda at a convenience store to improve customer satisfaction.

FINAL PRESENTATION AND CLOSING

Most ethnographic studies culminate in a presentation of findings and reflection and assessment of the process for future applications. The workshop concluded with each group sharing their ideas and general thoughts on the exercise. The presenters facilitated a conversation on how the workshop can be adapted, expanded and applied to a particular businesses and service organizations to return value to the client. Facilitators will post workshop results & findings to the website for participants to refer back to and further reflect upon.

Exploring Gameplay to Understand Principles of Design for Social Systems

DIANNA MILLER
Fidelity Investments/The Service Station

Design for services and other social systems pose new challenges to researchers and designers as we attempt to understand emerging relationships and behavior across many channels. Unlike a product, a service is never finished being built. Instead, it is co-created and constantly evolving. To gain a concrete and holistic understanding of dynamics within the system, researchers and designers are turning to generative methods that are collaborative, iterative, and improvisational. Instead of attempting to control the design of processes and outcomes, we now find ourselves creating conditions that people use to explore, learn, negotiate, decide, and even create their own rules for social exchange.

The goal of this workshop was to allow participants to observe the design process through the lens of gameplay to consider how to explore and design for these conditions. Using a rapid, improvisational technique, teams spontaneously and collaboratively explored social needs and dynamics to prototype a new fictional platform for next year's conference-attending ethnographers and designers.

WORKSHOP ACTIVITIES

The Mixer: creating an activity to uncover intentions

In the first activity, participants were asked to consider, as conference-going attendees, how they would design a social platform to connect the EPIC community at conferences and beyond if it's not entirely clear at first how people would naturally engage with it. Since workshop participants represented a microcosm of the conference community, we played a mixer game as a means of interacting to explore why people were attending the conference and what they wanted to gain from the experience.

Each player's stated goal was to take someone else's conference objective and negotiate ways to help that person in achieving that aim. The underlying goal of the game as a research activity was for us to observe spontaneously emerging group dynamics as participants negotiated, engaged others, and made strategic choices in order to complete their tasks. Before beginning, participants were given four cards to fill out with one thing they wanted to achieve at the conference. Then, they exchanged cards so each person had four new cards, each with the objective of another person—the person's conference "quest." Participants then were given 20 minutes to find leads or answers to the other people's quests they currently held. They could use any means available to do so.

After the 20-minute activity, we debriefed on what happened. People had to negotiate obstacles of time and space, lack of information, and other things to find workarounds. They figured out tactics and also found unintended benefits, like using the activity to make other connections to people in the

room. Some tactics were beneficial to the group dynamic and others were not. Often these tactics can seem inconsequential unless the design researcher is seeing it as part of the play. Any observed dynamic can be supported or discouraged with a designed condition or, to use a game design term, a mechanic. The mode of the mechanic then is how the mechanic is applied— it's the rule of the game and can also become a criterion for the design of the platform. For example:

- DYNAMIC: People offered to help others find answers in exchange for help with their cards.
- MECHANIC: Support helping other with a reward: call out to credit when someone else has helped.
- MODE/DESIGN HEURISTIC: Only give the call-out when the person's help results in a answer or a successfully completed connection.

Designing by playing a game called "EPIC"

In the second activity participants broke into teams of 3-4 people and were instructed to design a game in 15 minutes that other participants could later play within 10 minutes. The game's theme was still a service platform for next year's conference, but first the teams would prototype and test it as a game using lo-tech materials like index cards, dice, game pieces, boxes, markers, etc.

Most teams tend to begin this directive by talking and planning only to find they run out of time. In his book, *Group Genius,* R. Keith Sawyer describes conducting a similar activity. He found that most successful games (as rated by players) were designed by improvisation. Children were best at it, spontaneously starting to play. He cites a University of Wisconsin study on improvisational innovation that found one of the most powerful abilities of innovative organizations is their ability to improvise, while maximum innovation comes from a balance between improvisation and planning. [2]

In this workshop, participants were told about this finding up front, before beginning the activity. In spite of the advance knowledge, some teams found it difficult to play spontaneously and so made assumptions about how the game would work. There were given a list of themes, roles, and gameplays, which teams reported they used as a starting point, but soon moved in other directions.

After 15 minutes of designing, teams were asked to rotate all but two team members to the next table to play another team's game. A team member stayed behind as moderator at their own table to teach the game to the newcomers. This was the Round 1 of testing and forced planning into game play. Discoveries were immediately made and design assumptions challenged.
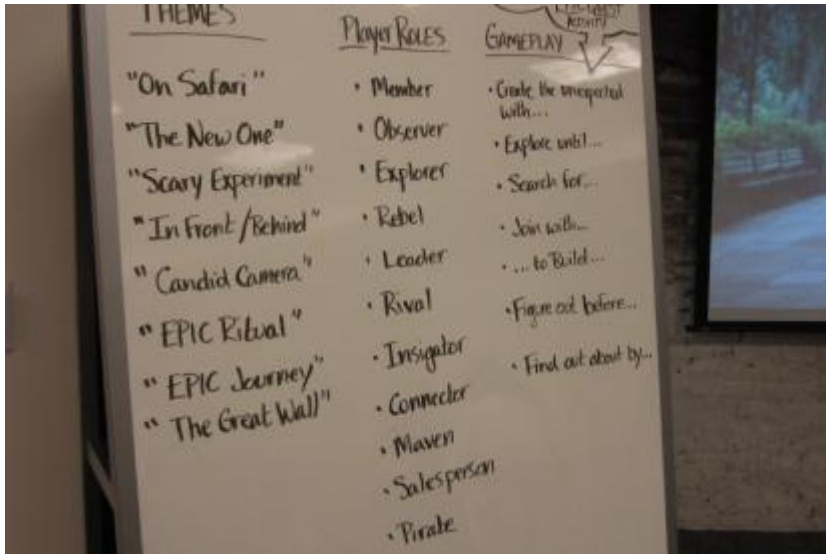
FIGURE 1. Themes, roles, gameplays generated by participants.

After 10 minutes of gameplay, the design teams regrouped so the team moderator could debrief the team. Refinements were made to the game. A new team moderator was chosen to stay behind for Round 2 of testing. The remaining team members rotated to a new game and 10 minutes of game play. After the round, one more debrief was done before rotating one last time for Round 3 of testing.

FIGURE 2. Debriefing and refining gameplay.

LEARNINGS FROM THE WORKSHOP

After the final activity, we discussed participant experiences and insights, as well as some principals and phenomena at work during the workshop. The concept of meta-design is an important function for researchers and designers of social systems to be aware. In this workshop, the teams design the context and conditions of the game, but the game-players themselves co-design a new game event and evolve the game every time they play. The design of the workshop activity, its mechanics and structure, also affects the teams' game designs. We also considered how the Mixer exercise was co-designed, how findings emerged, and how they were applied, if at all, during the design activities. Finally, we talk about the deliverables — as a toolkit, a set of principles and repeatable processes.

NOTES

[1] This version of the improv exercise comes from Performance of a Lifetime in New York, NY.
[2] p. 31, Sawyer. R. Keith. 2004. *Group Genius: The Creative Power of Collaboration*: Basic Books.

The Evolution of Human-Centered Innovation: Designing for Empathy

BARBARA BURTON
MASUMA HENRY
DAVE MCCOLGIN
Artefact Design Group

As researchers, designers, and strategists, we believe that products, messaging, and service designs have the potential to contribute to a more empathetic society, with an enhanced capacity to reduce conflict and generate collaborative solutions to problems that affect diverse people. Thus, drawing upon our experience as ethnographers, we would like to create more opportunities to experience empathy.

Indeed, some say that ethnographic research is, in fact, a kind of science of empathizing. But we have found that appropriately designed services, messaging strategies, and products can also build empathy *between* users, and also between ethnographers and clients/stakeholders who will utilize the research. Identifying how this can be done—the strategies and systems which seize opportunities for empathy-building, as well as the barriers which obstruct empathy were driving interests of the workshop.

UNPACKING THE EMPATHIC EXPERIENCE

Our first workshop objective was to co-develop a definition of empathy. We employed group exercises and structured storytelling to collaboratively generate a nuanced and actionable definition of empathy, beginning with the idea that empathy occurs as the result of co-experiencing something with another person.

Thus, storytelling—as listener and teller—provides an important technique to create that shared experience, as well as a lens to identify when and how we began to feel empathetic toward one another.

Some specific observations of storytelling techniques that allowed for empathy included:

- *Framing stories* with generally accessible titles such as "The Big Debut", enabled listeners to quickly reference their own personal history and find points of identification with the storyteller;
- *Supportive listening environments* enhance the intimacy and emotional honesty of the experience on both sides;
- *"Surprise" endings or twists in a story* provide a form of inspiration for the listener, where empathizing provides a new survival skill or source of support. Participants describe surprise endings as a kind of "gift" to listeners engaged with the storyteller:

We found that story-telling that leads to this sort of co-experience and shared emotion begins to create a feeling of community among listeners, and that this community might begin to feel bound by a sense of shared responsibility for one another.

Assumptions about empathy

We then worked to synthesize this experience we shared, with some sort of a standing definition of empathy and empathizing, sharing the perspectives of a few key theorists and social scientists—such as face-to-face interaction, in-group and out-group dynamics, and the relationship between empathy and ethnography.

Ethnography has the capacity to understand and represent the fuller complexity of human beings, thereby changing the way we imagine the 'others' that are subjects of a study. Paul Willis referred to this as communicating the "irreducibility of experience" (see *The Ethnographic Imagination*, 2000).

We shared common techniques and experiences used by ethnographers to build empathy in the field and communicate "irreducibility" by asking participants to share anecdotes of their experience translating these field experiences to clients. We noted that the humanizing potential of these stories depends upon the authentic character of the story, sometimes in tension with the need to reframe narratives in order to create a more useful bridge between client and informant, and at other times, in tension with the our personal feelings about the subjects themselves: is it possible to empathize when informants make racist, offensive, or abusive remarks? Is it helpful to learn to empathize with those who have committed atrocities, historic villains like Hitler and Stalin?

Empathic Products and Service Illustrations

Our next objective was to make links between these understanding of empathy building and the empathizing process to the experience of using particular products and services. Participants and organizers shared examples of products, services and messaging campaigns that facilitate empathy, and identified common elements and processes.

Some examples included:

- *Dan Savage's 'It Gets Better'* Project, a video campaign intended to reduce LGBT youth suicide through video-taped stories from celebrities and ordinary LGBT adults relaying their experiences.
- *'How Many Really?'* is an online educational tool produced by BBC that helps readers gain a greater understanding of historical events by engaging their own social network. For example, if the Battle of Gettysburg happened to your Face Book friends – this number would have been wounded, and this many would have been killed, etc.

Key empathy-producing tactics and strategies

We began to recognize common strategies utilized in each of these cases, and the relationship of particular techniques to empathizing experience. These include:

- Giving a user the opportunity to listen to or view live stories and story-telling
- Giving the user an opportunity to gain access to individuals outside of one's in-group that one may not normally get to meet
- Providing an opportunity to have face to face interaction with other human beings

We also reflected on how and when empathy does *not* occur, and what prevents empathy from happening.

We then shared methods for identifying opportunities that may lie in ordinary and seemingly un-related products, services and campaigns, and assembled an initial set of markers we could apply to cases:

- Are there prominent areas of conflict between persons or groups in your user base?
- Are there power relationships or hierarchies of people that don't consider each other equals?
- Are people making decisions about the future? Can they empathize beyond their current situation?

How could the product or service…

- Involve more in-person interaction?
- Make positive associations to out-group characteristics?
- Encourage shared experiences?

LEARNINGS FROM THE WORKSHOP

WORKSHOPS

Our final objective was to have workshop participants apply all of these ideas and techniques to a particular product, service or project. We broke off into small working groups to focus on individual case studies. During our last hour, each group prepared and produced a crafted design / strategy solution for the product / project case. During and after each presentation, we identified the common tools and tactics common to each case, with the goal of generating a collection of techniques that can be applied to numerous projects and processes.

We found a number of unexpected insights during this process and each group presentation delivered additional ideas about how to create empathy, and ways in which ordinary products or services could generate provocative and innovative experiences.

Key design strategies generated by the case studies included:

- Transform an ordinary everyday object into something that is meaningful by turning it into a platform for sharing with others
- Creating opportunities to share an object in a new way gives users a feeling of shared discovery and a bonding experience over this process
- Reach out to the supporters of a messaging or user target and find opportunities to help them feel more engaged with the needs of the target
- Turn an out-group into an in-group by forging new experiences that enable them to come together.
- Transform an ordinary activity into something that is meaningful by creating different opportunities for interaction within that activity.
- Create opportunities for access and visibility to a worker or agent who is currently invisible
- Build opportunities for everyday people to do something generous for a stranger.

This workshop approached the theme of EPIC 2012 by looking at the role of ethnography among other disciplines. We are often the storytellers who give other people a sense of another culture or niche demographic. The workshop offered insights into how creating a greater sense of empathy, through design, can be the vehicle to share ideas and thinking. At the end of this workshop, participants walked away with:

- Ways of thinking about inducing empathy into product design , fieldwork, and interactions with clients
- Ideas to help create empathy-rich experience in the products and services we touch in our own workplace.
- Methods of identifying and addressing obstructions to empathy that may exist in any given context.

Video Editing Workshop for Ethnographers

NAN BRESS
Docnography, LLC

WORKSHOP DESCRIPTION

Goals

This workshop seeks to provide a primer "how-to-edit-and-share-video" intended for ethnographic researchers who wish to edit their own research footage as part of their final deliverable to corporate audiences. We will focus on the key tool-kit skills required for ethnographers. Workshop participants will edit tutorial ethnography footage (provided by the instructors) or they are encouraged to bring and edit their own footage. All participants will be asked to output their edited video in a manner most in keeping with their professional work-flow. Though hands-on in nature, the workshop will also include discussions on the role of storyteller/participant, highlighting the key differences between ethnographic, documentary, and dramatic storytelling techniques. We will also share resources for further instruction (video tutorial website suggestions and free on-line edit/sharing resources), troubleshooting assistance (support forums and linked-in groups), and DIY solutions (hand-made motion-stabilizer rigs, gliders, in-camera editing, and camera-to-smartphone editing/sharing). As a bonus feature, workshop participants are invited to check out new gear (dslr and go-pro cameras) and borrow the several "steadicam" rigs (hand held or body-mounted, camera stabilizing units ideal for some ethnographic fieldwork situations) and bring them out to the streets of Savannah for testing.

Themes

We believe that professional ethnographers can acquire the skills needed to edit their video footage for their intended audiences, and part of renewal means expanding their offerings to include best practices of video creation and video storytelling that are available today. This means learning about new technology tools, sharing tools, workflows, and the rich assortment of stylistic and storytelling choices available in ethnographic video editing.

LEARNINGS FROM WORKSHOP

The instruction was intended for absolute beginners in non-linear editing, as well as moderately-skilled and advanced editors, and anyone who wants to compare/contrast the leading non-linear editing systems (NLE) and distribution platforms. We had several professional editors on hand for

one-on-one coaching and small group instruction, and topic overviews were conducted by an ethnographer/documentarian. Hands-on instruction was provided for the following NLE software programs: Final Cut Pro 7, Final Cut Pro X, Adobe Premier Pro 5.5, and Avid Media Composer (Multi-Platform Distribution). This overview instruction on editing and distributing ethnographic video benefitted those who hire professional editors (editors that are not ethnographic researchers) to alert them to the different practices required for ethnographic editing and the unique requirements of the intended corporate audiences.

A Sense of Savannah

DANIEL GODDEMEYER
UnitedSituation, School of visual Arts

WORKSHOP DESCRIPTION

A Sense of Savannah' is a workshop that aims to explore, bring back and encourage a more aware sensory interaction with our urban environment and it's sensory stimuli. We will explore how we, as observers and designers, can create richer interactions with our cities by experiencing the urban fabric utilizing our five human senses of touch, taste, smell, sound and sight.

During the workshop we will create inspiration and ideas through storytelling and sharing to come up with urban interventions that address specific wants and needs to create new sensory interactions with the metropolitan fabric of Savannah.

LEARNINGS FROM WORKSHOP

Starting off with an exercise in that each participant shared their own unique sensory experiences from their home town, it was great to see how quickly people related to these experiences and how this first exercise managed to create a initial 'intimate' atmosphere among the workshop participants. It was surprising to see how enthusiastic the participants shared their own stories and then discussed the meaning and impact of these sensory experiences on our interactions with one another and our urban environment.

During the workshop participants lively discussed the impacts of technology and ubiquitous data on our notions of cities and how this impending digitization transforms our sensory notions and experiences of place-making and urban behaviors.

Collectively brainstorming, participants developed a reflective point of view around the sensory impacts of digital technology in form of urban interventions that can enhance our sensory experiences of places and cities.

In multiple conversations after the workshop the workshop seemed to be a starting point for the participants to take the insights, learnings and inspirations further in their own work or teachings to inspire others to reflectively think around the impacts of ubiquitous technology on us and our cities.

Using Models to Communicate Your Research Findings

MARTY GAGE
TAYLOR LIES
SUSANA LA LUZ-HOUCHIN
Lextant

Traditional text-based reports are overwhelming to digest and frequently end up buried on a desk. In this workshop we walked attendees through the modeling process, creating models from the raw data that comes from qualitative research. We started with example raw data or comments from users and worked from the bottom up to build a model. The workshop exposed participants to each step in this structured process. By completing the modeling process first-hand, participants will be well-equipped to return to their respective practices with new tools and techniques for rigorously synthesizing and modeling data that focuses on what's important.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

An introduction gave time for participants to share their experiences with using models to communicate research findings. We gave an overview of the activity and showed how it fits with post-data collection - analysis, synthesis, and delivery phases. We also included an explanation of key frameworks Lextant uses to make sense of data.

NORMALIZING RAW DATA UTILIZING CODES DERIVED FROM THE DATA

This step was intended to show how to move from data into finding patterns – patterns being a guide to meaningful, substantiated findings. Normalizing with codes derived from the data were explained and compared to coding from pre-established patterns. We discussed if this was a new idea to the group and the benefits it can have. Participants did not generate the codes. Coded data was shared and explained.

IDENTIFYING PATTERNS IN THE DATA

With all data coded, we showed how patterns are generated using frequency and primarily co-occurrence. Participants did not run the frequency or co-occurrence themselves. Patterns were shared and explained.

UNDERSTANDING THE HIGH-FREQUENCY PATTERNS USING THE RAW DATA TO CREATE THEMES

Here we stepped back into the raw data from the normalized codes, now having a focus from patterns. Participants were given high-frequency codes and the corresponding data. They were asked to sift though the raw data in order to define what it means through a structured, repeatable process

BUCKETING THE THEMES

With all of the high-frequency patterns defined, we compared and contrasted them. The goal was to get the whole research team aligned by discussing, comparing, and even, when necessary, referring back to the raw data. Participants had a chance to discuss with each other how they saw the data being related and what buckets they saw emerging. This not only gives them practice but mimics real-world situations in which multiple colleagues and clients would be involved.

EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE THEMES

At this point we introduced the idea of relationships between themes – hierarchy, causality, etc. – whereas in bucketing we were simply concerned with what was similar to something else. These relationships will be defined by the themes that have emerged rather than using a predetermined structure. Again, it is the data that had led us to this point. This gave participants a chance to move beyond just the themes (aka findings or insights) to reveal the overarching relationships that will help to, ultimately, create a visual model that serves as a framework for organizing insights.

Pecha Kucha – PLACE & CULTURE

MICHELE VISCIOLA, Co-Curator
Experientia

SUZANNE L. THOMAS, Co-Curator
Intel Corporation

Imagine you are on stage. Behind you 20 slides flash by, 20 seconds each. It is six minutes and forty seconds of you and your slides in glorious real-time bringing an idea, inspiration, thought or passion to life. It's Pecha Kucha.

In 2012, your EPIC compatriots walked you down the Pecha Kucha paths of a London riot, through the Occupy encampment in Washington DC, into the politics and biologies of today's families and finally to questions of domesticity and ethnographic voyeurism. We divided the Pecha Kucha presentations into two sessions this year. Session One explored renewals of place. Session Two discovered renewals of culture.

The Resilience and Adaptation of OccupyDC
ANTHONY LEONARD
Savannah College of Art and Design

During the winter of 2012 Occupy DC's McPherson Square encampment was at its zenith. The movement crossed traditional class, race and gender boundaries and coalesced around a similar thread of goals. Parallel to the political missions of the moment, the encampment organically became a thriving community with its own set of rules, social mores, multiple sub-cultures and languages. Although the encampment is now gone, the movement continues to thrive through social media and pop up demonstrations. While very adaptive, the movement's next steps are anyone's guess.

It took days of visiting the site before people shared their world with me. I gained the trust of some Occupiers, and they urged me to come back to attend

meetings and events.

OccupyDC used different hand signals as the elderly man depicted in the middle shows, and different colloquialisms meant different things, but were in place to keep communication flowing and productive.

Occupy DC was led by the General Assembly (GA). Various committees, such as Kitchens Services, and the Occupy Library were organized under the GA. Each committee would petition the GA for resources and decisions were made and communicated using Anarchist hand signals, some are described in the artifact that I collected to the left.

With OccupyDC being such an interconnected community, a strong fight was fought before OccupyDC finally left McPherson Square. Protests

were held at the height of demonstrations to raise awareness of unjust power and inequalities.

Once the U.S. Park Service and Congress honed in on OccupyDC, and after numerous complaints by citizens from all around the area of McPherson Square, the movement was ordered to leave January 30, 2012. But that did not stop this culture, so law enforcement evicted OccupyDC February 4, 2012 from McPherson Square.
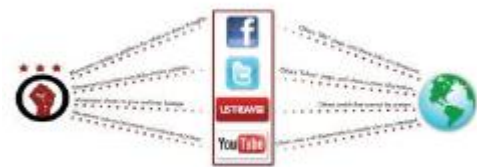
The movement primarily uses social media and video outlets such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, and Ustream to keep the movement alive, to keep followers informed of what is going on, and how to get involved. OccupyDC also has pop-up demonstrations that are orchestrated to let people know that the movement is still alive and well in the face of adversity.

Through an organic process of resilience and adaptation, Occupy DC has been able to renew itself by way of persistence and perseverance. Although OccupyDC's physical presence is now gone and the culture continues to raise many valid questions that

are still left unanswered, the movement continues to thrive through social media and pop up demonstrations. While very adaptive, OccupyDC's next steps are anyone's guess.

Fading into the Horizon: the disappearance of Appalachian hollow communities and culture

JESSICA GRENOBLE
Savannah College of Art and Design

The identity of an individual or community is highly dependent upon their cultural values and traditions. It is an industry that is causing the communities that occupy the hollows of Appalachia to lose these values and traditions. It has been found that the loss of cultural identity in Appalachian hollow communities is tied to local mountain top removal mining operations. Mountain top removal mining is the source of many jobs for these communities, but the mining process itself is causing environmental devastation and spreading disease through surrounding communities. This destruction has forced community members to choose between their health and their livelihood and is dividing the community into those who are "for" and "against" mountain top removal mining. This division of community goes against the traditions and values of the Appalachian hollow culture and is causing the eradication of communities, a lifestyle, a culture, and their identity.

Who are the people of Appalachian hollow communities? The communities in the hollows of Appalachia formed the very core of what it means to be an Appalachian. Almost all Appalachian traditions are derived from old hollow ways. Their day to day lives involve many challenges that people from outside their community might find absurd, as life would be much simpler if they just moved closer to the city. Most hollow dwellers prefer to live in their secluded valleys where a majority of community members' families have made the area their home for many generations. In order to better understand why Appalachian hollow community members are who they are a bit of history is necessary.

Appalachians were originally farmers and hunters that lived in small communities scattered throughout the mountains. Survival was difficult for them; every day was a constant battle to survive and lacking education and medical help. When coal in Appalachia was discovered the industry moved in rapidly. Coal companies promised a good life for families, with work that paid, education for their children, a town doctor, and a local store all in exchange for the family's land to mine. The Appalachian people had no idea what the coal companies had in store for them. With nowhere to go, and no way to get there the people of Appalachia became indentured servants to the coal industry. They were trapped by the power and the laws of the company community, and those who refused to conform were typically violently punished. The Appalachian people quickly became bitter to anyone that was not from within their own community; they learned to lean on one another and functioned more as a large family rather than as a community. These are traits that have been passed down for many years and still exist today.

Destroying a Culture: Coal mining had a large

part in developing the identity of Appalachian hollow community, and it is now what is destroying it. Although it has been around for many years, Mountain Top Removal mining techniques gained popularity in the 1980s due to the inexpensive nature of the process. The fight against Mountain Top Removal mining has been going on for quite some time, but little change has been made in the industry's course of action, which is to make more money.

The Environment: The list of problems created for the natural environment surrounding a Mountain Top Removal mining site is endless. It is required that mining sites be reclaimed after their use, but it has been proven by experts that the reclaimed mountain top will take hundreds of years to thrive again. The air, soil, water and ecosystem have been beyond traumatized by this quick-money process of coal production.

When "overburden" dirt is removed from the tops of the mountains to expose coal, which can be up to 400 feet beneath the surface, it is pushed into nearby valleys causing flooding through nearby hollow communities during heavy rainfall. This violent flooding has destroyed numerous homes, and killed some residents in the process.

The Health of the People: Due to the toxins that are released into the air, and the poisoning of residents' drinking water the number of cancers and other illnesses are significantly higher for those who live near mountain top removal mining operations. The number of deaths due to lung cancer is nearly double the national average. The rates for birth defects, respiratory diseases, and overall death by cancer

ratings are also significantly higher than the national average.

Poverty: The poverty rate in the state of West Virginia is twice that of the national average. Coal mining is the only major industry in the region, and because of the advancement in technology and the use of heavy machinery not as many miners are needed to operate a mine. The change in population in the area surrounding a mountain top removal mine is very significant. The national average in population change by county from 1980 to 2010 is +36.3% in counties where Mountain Top Removal mining is present it is -20%. The biggest export from the state of West Virginia, second only to coal, is its people. Because of the destruction of their home, and no way to make a living the people of Appalachia are leaving.
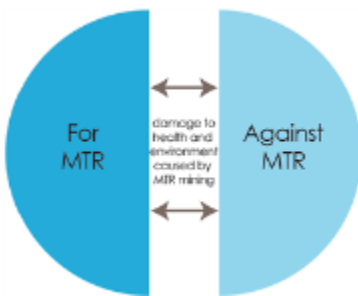
Dividing a Community: Those that remain in the hollows of Appalachia are slowly but surely departing from the ways of the traditional Appalachian people. The most important of these being the specific social structure that has been a part of the Appalachian identity for so many years. The basic concept behind this structure was "surviving as one" – your neighbor is not just a neighbor, they are your brother and one of your own. Children were raised by the village, and all took a part in helping one another get by. Now, due to the problems caused by Mountain Top Removal, the community members are forced to choose between their livelihoods and their quality of life. This has caused a divide in the community and put community members against one another. This has changed the old social structure completely and has caused other social problems such as a sharp increase in the usage of drugs and the rise of crime.

Creating a solution: Anywhere you go in coal country it is common to here the words "coal is

king". The industry has so much power in the region, and is so deeply inter-linked with the existing government, economy and people there really is no way to work against it. Which is why so many attempts at stopping the destruction of mountain top removal have failed. The only viable course of action is to create a business model that would assist companies that are mining coal for power to transition into a more renewable form of energy production. This type of plan would not only advance the industry forward in the development of renewable energy, but would create career and educational opportunities for the people of Appalachian hollow communities.

Middle Perspectives: Lessons from a walk down the High Line
ARVIND VENKATARAMANI
SonicRim

The High Line in New York city is an urban renewal project that has turned an old elevated railway line into an urban green corridor in Manhattan. I take a walk through the High Line examining the new perspectives it affords, and relates urban and environmental notions of renewal with questions of agency and appropriation. Along the way, the peculiar characteristics of the High Line highlight normally hidden features of the urban landscape; these revelations prompt questions on how the uses of the High Line might diverge from the original architectural vision, and suggest that it be also seen as a platform for renewal, and not just an outcome. A broader view invites speculations on new forms of commons. In an age where civic action is both so difficult and so necessary, a walk through the High Line suggests ways of approaching systemic change laterally.

In June of last year, I found myself in New York city, and decided to take a walk down an urban renewal experiment called the High Line. I'd gone expecting to experience something vaguely cool and hip, but the view turned to be much more interesting.

In 1999, a group of friends stumbled into what had become a natural green space in the midst of cement-heavy New York, and started a movement to save the railway that eventually ended in its conversion into a public park that opened in 2009.

The High Line runs through a variety of neighborhoods – in a sense, sampling the West side of Manhattan. The experience of the High Line, then, is partly driven by its relationship to its context.

Walking down the High Line thus gives you new views into the city, and changes the meaning of several of its spaces.

The first kind of conversion is that the back of the house becomes the front of the house. In effect, you see into the inner material lives of city dwellers in ways you would not see through the street. Unlike with operating elevated railways, you can stop, stand, stare and examine someone else's life at leisure.

As you pass, you see public spaces from views you almost never see, unless you happen to live or work in a suitably situated space. If nothing, these small glimpses of the places nobody goes to makes you rethink what you really know about a city when you inhabit or pass through it.
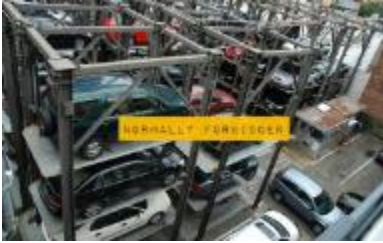
Things are seen at scales you don't normally experience, often giving a comprehension of an entirety that escapes you at street level, or that you don't pay attention to because it is merely something you use, something that passes beneath the threshold of awareness. And sometimes the operators just won't let you in, for insurance reasons.

But now, from up here, you can now see into the innards of the beast, hazard a guess as to how it works. You're not just a wanderer now, you're an explorer, a discoverer. This is a thrill of the unknown that adults have forgotten about living in a city – the feeling of crossing over a frontier into a new space.

Children don't forget though; they know this place is special. It's neither street nor sky; neither cartographic nor pedestrian. This is a place of middle perspectives.

The High Line is thus a technology we all know and use as ethnographers: making the familiar strange, but in a very particular way: the High Line creates just enough distance to everyday life for it to become visible as a larger whole, and just enough closeness.

This enables several forms of personal, commercial and cultural appropriations.

Example: this is someone taking advantage of the new visual proximity afforded by the High Line to create their own billboard for a marriage proposal, thus making an intimate, personal performance in a public space, in a rather unique way.

Note that all this work is largely visual, taking over surfaces that do not belong to the High Line and turning them into displays. What would happen if the High Line itself incorporated such spaces and performances?

The organization behind the High Line invited a few artists to create installations – these examples create awareness of the urban geography and provide insight into it.

Extending this logic further, the High Line can be seen as a platform for certain kinds of public action.

The High Line creates an interesting kind of public space: one with views that induce conversation and connection. There is no reason such a space cannot become a site for dialogue; no reason why we can't use the view shifts created by the space to encourage middle perspectives on things other than the city.

Making a gratuitous bridge to last year's theme: renewal and revolutions: we think of one as gentle and harmonious and the other as violent and disruptive. Yet both are civic actions that use public space as a site and platform for change.

What I think is interesting about spaces that create middle perspectives is that they are many things to many people. When they embrace this, and are designed not just for people to use but for people to adopt and transform, they just might be enabling renewal at a scale we can't anticipate or will to happen.

Rebuilding Mumbai – Dreams and Reality
SHUBHANGI ATHALYE
Convo Research & Strategy Private Limited

Mumbai is described as the city that never sleeps. Life is about strife, change, getting ahead, adapting to the city's rhythms. People catch their daily, overcrowded trains and buses to work through the heavy downpour of the monsoon, through terrorist attacks, and taxi strikes. Amidst this is a city being rebuilt. Mumbai is one of the most expensive real-estate markets in the world. We explore different aspects of Mumbai's rebuilding through the juxtaposition of old buildings with new swanky high rises, slum relocation and subsidized homes. We examine Mumbai's underbelly - who really benefits? Is the city losing its soul?

As a Mumbaikar, I'm witnessing the change, the huge rebuilding activity that is transforming not only the skyline but dismantling and reweaving the social fabric and the community structures of the city. I invite you to engage with me and reflect on how radically our world is changing.

(A little poem about Mumbai will be read, reflecting her contrasts – glitz and glamour and privileges of the affluent on one hand and the filth, squalor and dismal living conditions on the other.)

This most populous city in India, a population that will soon equal Australia. Its significance in the success story of India is huge. It accounts for-
40% all international flights coming to India
70% capital transactions
60% India's foreign trade
33% Income tax
60% Customs duty collection

The first cotton textile mill was set up in Mumbai in 1854. Affluent families of the city struck a bargain with the government. They were given hundreds of acres of unused land at nominal rents to set up indigenous textile mills. Soon there were 64 thriving textile mills in Central Mumbai and it started to be known as Girangaon or Mill town.

This was the Industrialization of Mumbai. The mill owners needed people to work in their mills- they sent scouts to villages in the coastal region of the state (of Maharashtra) and got hordes of villagers to migrate. Hundreds of Chawls or residential tenements were built for these people to live in - communities lived together, in clusters by caste/ native regions.

The literal meaning of the word Chawl is a 'corridor'. These buildings would have rows of rooms with a long common corridor running across. Each floor has 4/5 shared toilets.

The structure of a chawl brought about a sense of shared ownership and people spilled over, lived and slept in the long corridors, the courtyards below, even the streets outside. Though there was no privacy and poor sanitation - there was a great sense of community in the corridors – women sorted grains, men played cards, festivals were celebrated, songs sung.

The native culture and social ethos was intact; there was no feeling of loneliness or urban 'rootlessness' often felt by people living in modern high rises.

The mills and the chawls were hotbeds of social, cultural, political activism. Workers unions gathered momentum as the mill owners failed to adapt to changing work & living conditions, culminating in 1982 with Datta Samant led strike where 300,000 workers staged a walkout.

Concurrently, the commercial environment was changing with liberalization and foreign investment - Mumbai increasingly becoming the financial capital. The mill owners exploited this to their advantage in cahoots with politicians and real estate barons. Most mills were closed down.

The Mill workers lives collapsed along with their livelihood and their self-respect, their social status. They had no other skills and no means to earn.

Many turned to alcohol. Some joined the mafia. The more enterprising started small food stalls. They had to sell their homes and relocate to distant suburbs. Their women went to work as maid servants, waking up at 4.30 in the morning, commuting 50 kilometers back to where they once lived, to serve some new masters in posh apartments for as little as 100 dollars a month.

Another community of early settlers - the fisher folk – Kolis. Today their fishing villages have been pushed and squeezed into small settlements near the sea. The lure and the threat of redevelopment is endangering their community. They try to preserve their Konkani dialect, cuisine and culture, but, for how long?

Along with people's dwellings, will traditional bazaars, the buzzing street markets give way to modern retail? What will happen to the fisherwoman, the vegetable seller, the flourmill, the tailors, and the corner barber's shop? Will they survive in a changing cityscape?

This used to be Phoenix Mills, a textile mill that is now High street Phoenix, a mall and bowling alley. It is a landmark - the first mill to be transformed to a mall. With the recently announced 51% multi-brand FDI in retail -with global players like Walmart and Carrefour in the fray will our unorganized retail survive?

Today .... Mumbai is one of the most expensive real estate in the world. The Ambanis have built the world's first billion dollar home – Antilia with 400,000 sq.ft of living space, 27 stories, 3 helipads, 9 elevators etc…

It's not just the most expensive property in the world, but also a symbol of the contradiction that is Mumbai. Where, on the one hand, the business community looks up to it as an edifice to capitalism and individual success, and on the other hand there is disdain among rich and poor alike, at the vulgar

display of wealth and statement that makes.

This picture was taken 2 blocks away from Antilia. The figures are horrifying - 60% of Mumbai's population lives in slums with no safe drinking water, open sewages & trash, dearth of good health care. 400,000 people live per sq. km here.

So what are the dilemmas that the emergent skyline reveals and hides away?
-The urban poor are swamped by migrants, rushing in with huge aspirations, hunger, energy, and passion to build a better life. They are the new Mumbai. They don't care for the old – they don't see it. As a result, notions of preservation, of heritage are challenged.
-The politicians want to rebuild the city as it lines their pockets, and yet they must keep their old vote banks happy. Outrage at migrants, token efforts at preserving old structures are only adding to dilemmas.
The new skyline represents the soul of the city – a city of dreams, a city on the move, a testimony to success. It is a new global culture. The towers wish that the slums vanish. The reality is that slum life and culture still exists, possibly in larger numbers than ever before, but they are pushed to the fringes and are less visible. Early settlers feel dispossessed and a frustration borne out of a sense of entitlement rooted in economic, political, religious and cultural traditions that they are beginning to realize, no longer constitutes Mumbai. Will the early settlers, rich and poor begin to feel alienated from the city? Will their cries be heard? Will they leave? In the new Mumbai, you're either looking up, or looking down. Which side you're on, might determine your future. What will Mumbai gain, and lose as a city?

Public & Collaborative: Designing Services for Housing
CHELSEA MAULDIN
Public Policy Lab

How can members of the public help create government services that are simpler and more satisfying to use? And can user-centered public services better meet public-policy goals, while saving government money or time? Those are the questions that the Public Policy Lab, a New York City non-profit, is dedicated to exploring. PPL executive director Chelsea Mauldin will describe insights and pitfalls from an ongoing project – a collaboration with the NYC Department of Housing Development & Preservation and DESIS Lab, a research group at Parsons The New School for Design – to co-design better services for housing, particularly for low- and moderate-income New Yorkers, with agency staff, housing developers, community-based organizations, and local residents in the Bronx.

Introduction to Public Policy Lab: our mission is to improve the design and delivery of public services.

Public & Collaborative is a partnership between PPL, the NYC Department of Housing Preservation & Development, and Parsons DESIS Lab.

Why should you care about public services and their design? Aren't public services inherently terrible?

The argument from compassion

The argument from mobility

The argument from efficiency

The argument from the social compact

So, if public services are valuable, why aren't there more effective attempts to improve them?

Public agencies: their strengths and opportunities
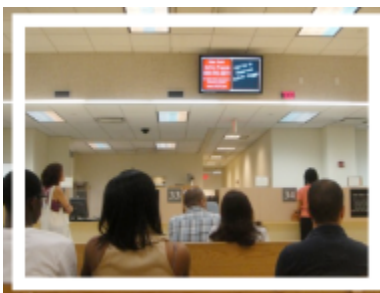
Public agencies: their weaknesses and threats

The peculiar complications facing public services in the United States

The potential of service design to provide low-cost, low-risk model for public-sector innovation, plus the five crucial qualities of a service-design approach.

How this works in practice: the Public & Collaborative project timeline

Scoping and discovery

Research and design with members of the public

Research and design with front-line service producers

Implementation practices: documentation
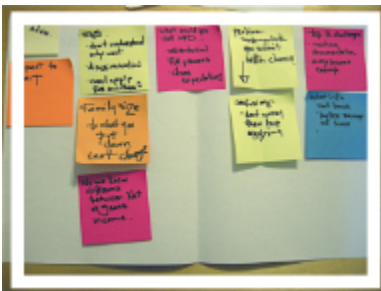
Implementation practices: piloting

Evaluating process and outcomes

Thank you!

Peckham, Poundland, Post its and the Peace Wall: Staging a Post-Riot Renewal
SIMON ROBERTS
ReD Associates

This presentation explores the response of residents in Peckham, an inner city London community, to the riots that took place in August 2011. On a boarded up shop window they created the 'Peacewall' - a mass of post-it notes declaring their relationships with Peckham. The Peacewall became a national icon of post-riot renewal. By drawing on anthropological scholarship on south Asian communal riots, and more recent writing on the use of post it notes within corporations, I provide an ethnographic account of post-riot renewal and an exploration of Post it notes as tools in the staging and articulation of ideas by those in positions of structural weakness.

Many of us use post it notes every day. They are a tool and a totem of our work – markers of the fact that we interpret and organize data and create ideas. They are symbols of a professional caste. But what happens when they turn up in a rather different setting – what uses are they put to and what sort of lives can they have?

Let's start at the beginning. August 2011. I'm at home in Peckam, south London. A helicopter hovering above the sky is not unusual in south London. A plume of smoke is more uncommon. But a moodier and darker air was hanging over London that week and I went outside to see what was happening.

That week in August a large number of areas in London and other major British cities experienced severe unrest following the death of Mark Duggan who was shot dead by the police in Tottenham, north London. Trouble broke out in Peckham and a large number of other areas in London. There was looting and arson.

Peckham is a traditional London working class community, albeit one showing signs of gentrification of which, being a resident, I guess I am evidence. It is ethnically diverse, with significant populations from Bangladesh, the Caribbean, China, India, Ireland, Nigeria, Pakistan, Eastern Europe and Vietnam. Despite the arrival of bars, bistros and bohos the geographical and social heart of Peckham is Rye Lane. It was Rye Lane where most of the looting and arson occurred and where the Peckham Peacewall, its emerged.

Members of a local theatre company who work with teenagers in Peckham headed to Rye Lane to participate in the clear up. At which point they had an idea. Seeing the boarded up window of Poundland, a discount store – a large blank space – they thought it would be a good idea to get people to express their opinions about what had happened in Peckham the day before.

The result was a very large array of post it notes – about four thousand in all - inscribed with a wide variety of messages displaying different, mainly positive feelings about Peckham. Thoughts built on thoughts, statements on statements, in a way that perhaps we're all familiar with. Certain themes and feelings predominated, often forming in clusters where groups of friends or families built on each others' post its.

So, in many respects, the post its of Peckham were similar to the post its that we are probably familiar with. They make voices and opinions tangible, they allow voices that might not be heard to be represented, they state intent.

Riots subject people to violence perpetrated not by a distant and abstract enemy but by their own community and riots challenge people's sense of understanding of their community. In this context, anthropological studies of riots, have spoken of one task confronting the impacted community as being the need to reformulate their world, by establishing a bridge between the self and the world, and of connecting a ruptured past with visions of the future.

In this context, and perhaps in the one's we're familiar with too, post it notes act to translate – literally to carry across – ideas from one realm to another. Post it notes are objects that give renewed energy to ideas. They make ideas feel new.

PECHA KUCHA

The Peacewall was quickly picked up by the national media, and emerged in other UK cities which had experienced rioting. It became something jealously protected. One man who lived in a flat above a shop opposite took it upon himself to ensure that no one damaged it. But this being Britain in the summer, rain and a strong breeze started to damage it. And when council workers came to remove it there were fears that they were going to destroy it.

And I guess that's how it is for most Post it notes. They have short and somewhat inglorious biographies. They have a brief moment of glory encapsulating a thought, an idea, or even an insight. That thought you believed you'd captured so clear today – escapes you the following today. The white heat of the moment has gone. Physically they peel, they float to the floor and the tearsheets they're attached to are rolled up and quietly forgotten. It felt like a good idea at the time. Theirs is a life of impermanence – they're merely bridge to something more lasting.

But the post it notes that were produced in Peckham's community brainstorm were destined for a different sort of life. A local artist, Chris Ratcliffe, had another idea. He was determined to ensure that voices that had found expression through the Peacewall could be heard long term. He wanted to sustain voices rarely heard.

This urge to preserve resulted in the Peckham Peacewall. Funding granted, local teenagers were recruited to trace over each and every post it note. The tracing paper was scanned. Chris had toyed with the idea of printing the content in a uniform text but instead wanted to allow people to return to the wall and easily find their own messages.

The post its were arranged in a grid and printed on a laminate material – and installed in a public space near to Peckham's pubic library on what had previously been a rotting chipboard partition. The material is guaranteed to last at least 10 years. Permanence of this sort is not something that the average post it enjoys.

But it's not a permanent sort of permanence. Chris left blank post it notes throughout the grid on which things can be written. And people are writing on them. Reaffirming their positive view of Peckham.

The Peacewall successfully manages to be both a memorial to a moment in time and a place for that memory to be continually enacted. That bridge between self and community, past and future has been maintained. Our post notes, I suggest, do similar things but we get there by going beyond the post-it. Sometimes, I hope I've demonstrated, there are reasons why sometimes making them a permanent can make sense too.

Exploring the analogue – digital legibility of our behaviors

DANIEL GODDEMEYER

UnitedSituation
School of Visual Arts

Cell phones have become ubiquitous devices that help us to navigate and interact with the city. We use them for almost everything from talking to emails to surfing the web. Through these interactions we leave behind geo-local 'data trails' that enable assumptions and observations about our behaviors with one another and our environment.

In the context of the current hype around data this session explores questions around the use of digital data as new means for behavioral user observation and the impact of these methods on the field of user observation and field studies.

One thing that drew me initially to New York City, besides it's geography and the amazing combination of vertical density and horizontal wideness was its walk-ability and the resulting everyday encounters with people wherever you go.

I got more and more curious around how we observe (in the sense of recording) and serve (in the sense of designing) behaviors and interactions and most of all, how the means of observation have changed and transformed.

In the initial stages, technology was relatively simple and observations were mostly place bound, local and characterized by a relatively small and comprehensible technological layer that curated and filtered the observations of our subjects and mediated our experience and understanding through it's technical in-between.

By using our cell phones for almost everything from talking to checking our emails to surfing the web we record and leave behind geo-local 'data trails' through these interactions that enable assumptions

and observations about our behaviors with one another and our environment.

This growing layer of recording and mediation between us and our object of interaction changes also the way we interact with each other and our surroundings in unprecedented ways and creates new behavioral rituals in an ever accelerating feedback loop of behavior observation and behavior creation.

Next to being passively tracked I can actively record, analyze, quantify, express, share myself wherever I am and with whoever I want and the mobile phone allows anyone on the other end a glimpse into my deepest inner digital soul if desired.

Besides obvious benefits such as enabling more accurate insights around user behavior in public space for e.g. urban planning and public transport the question arises where does looking at 'big data' and it's eye-candy final data visualization products can become misleading by its sheer scale, level of abstraction and actual distance from real people.

Questions around who recorded the data, what were their objectives and most of all, what kind of algorithmic curation and filtering has been applied that serves us the insights of this data have risen up and will have to be addressed. How can or should data still allow us to interpret the subtle nuances and read between the lines? If everything becomes track-able and traceable and our behaviors become increasingly digitized, what new combinations of field user observation and data analysis do we have to think around and consider for the future?

I'm neither a trained ethnographer nor a trained computer scientist but my work of data-driven innovation touches and needs both.

I am passionate about the possibilities data but also the faces and human stories behind the data and strive to find and experiment with that balance and methodology that combines and utilizes both in the

most meaningful way for my work to move forward.

5 Facts, 3 Lessons, and 2 Rules *that doing ethnography of ICT in rural China taught me*

ELISA OREGLIA
UC Berkeley School of Information

In a year-long ethnography of mobile phones and computer use in the Chinese countryside I saw unexpected uses and unexpected users of technology, I learned valuable lessons on conducting research in alien yet familiar environments, and I realized what are the two most important rules of fieldwork. In this talk, I summarize the facts (ICT devices are often gifted, not bought; ICT is for entertainment, and that's a good thing; people go online without knowing it; farmers enjoy playing Farmville; old people know a lot about the Internet even if they never used it), share the lessons (trust grandmothers, enjoy discrepant versions people give of the same facts, and do manual labor), and propose the rules (stay still, but never procrastinate interviews) from my rural Chinese year.

My dissertation fieldwork was about the circulation and use of mobile phones and computers in Northern rural China. I spent a lot of time in three villages, and discovered a few facts, learned a few lessons, established two rules that all seasoned ethnographers know, but that always have to be learned first-hand. So here we go:

First fact: gifts are often disappointing. Many older and younger rural residents have mobile phones that were a gift from family members. Receiving a mobile phone is like receiving a sweater for Christmas: you might have wanted a sweater, but it sure wasn't that red and green one that your aunt gave you. So why does your daughter insists on giving you smart phones that you can't unlock and that don't have a radio, the only useful function when working in the fields?

Second fact: forget business, welcome entertainment!

That radio function I was just talking about? It's the most wanted feature among farmers, just as games and movie-watching online or from torrents are the most common activities for all the other rural residents. Big surprise, you might say, but I really was not expecting to find 60-year-old semi-literate grandmothers play an online game of cards with strangers, or collecting friends on social networks.

Third fact: what's the Internet again? Most of my interviewees were adamant that they couldn't go online with their mobile phones nor computers. And yet many did, but in a way that was not recognized as 'using the Internet': on the phone, because they thought of instant messaging as a fancy kind of SMS; on the computer, because they were just watching tv, not a torrent file; on the computer and on the phone, because someone else downloaded content for them, so how would they know it came from the Internet?

Fourth fact: farmer by day, Farmviller by night. Young farmers work in the fields of the Chinese countryside during the day, and work in the fields of Farmville at night. A farmer's work is never done!

Fifth fact: Can I get a date? In a village, everybody knows everything about everybody else. The corollary is that even the 80-year-old woman who really had never used a computer nor seen how the Internet looks, knew that a neighbor's son had found his most recent girlfriend on the Internet, on those sites where people nowadays find girlfriends and boyfriends. And she didn't rule out signing up herself in the future...

Facts come and go, but lessons stay. So if you ever find yourself doing fieldwork in a village, remember that:

When in doubt, ask grandmother. See fact five: the most informed people are those who have time to sit outside and watch the village go by. Grandmothers will share a lot of village gossip, but cross them, and you'll find your research stalled.

Embrace Rashomon, don't fight it! Everybody has their versions of specific episodes, and at first I tried to reconcile them and get to the truth of what happened. Then I learned that the truth is usually not as interesting as understanding why there are different versions.

When in the field, do fieldwork: till the land, pull the weeds, harvest crops. Remember the 'radio as the only useful function of a mobile' that I mentioned earlier? When I joined the farmers in the field to do some real fieldwork trying to tell weeds apart from edible plants, I immediately understood why you want a radio on your mobile. And if you still don't believe it, then there are plenty of fields awaiting your work.

Work and the Future

MELISSA CEFKIN
IBM Research

New configurations of work are emerging. Advanced through dynamics of componentization and disintermediation, these developments promise great hope and great risk for society. In sites such as Innocentive people can self-organize to solve vexing scientific challenges. Large-scale work production can be managed rapidly through micro-task labor at sites such as Mechanical Turk. These developments have the potential to liberate people from limiting and hard to secure organizational bounds while threatening to prompt de-skilling and hamper organizations' abilities to sustain innovative practice. Work has the potential to be both more widely assessable and creative, and more fragmented and cheapened. Ethnographers are especially well positioned to perceive the changing nature of work and its societal impact.

These days, instead of calling up a Hilton or Novotel directly to book a hotel room, or searching for a youth hostel, or even going to hotels.com, you can rent a room or an apartment directly from others at sites like AirBNB.com or couchsurfer.com.

So where do you go for work? Where do you go to find work or to find those who get work done? For decades the traditional norm for going to work was about going to a job, whether as employee or contractor, typically in an organization such as a university or a company or a firm. Going to work has been largely synonymous with going to an organization.

Work is changing. Both the nature of waged labor, and the phenomenological aspects of what we experience, what we do when we work. New configurations are emerging. Especially interesting are new marketplaces of work. new sites for the exchange, the buying and selling of work.

Through these mechanisms work has the potential to become both more entrepreneurial, more widely assessable *and* more fragmented and cheapened. These mechanisms, these social, legal, technical mechanisms, portend lofty goals supported by dangerous contexts. Great risks and great hopes.

Compentization points to the way that the design of work itself is changing. Work of all kinds is being broken down to defined parts.

While componentization points to the design of the work, disintermediation points to a potential implication to the form of the organization. People can increasingly get things done without being beholden to organization structures. People can access others capabilities directly. People can self-select into work. And even get it funded.

It is easy to see the way new technologies are helping spur these changes, but what is especially interesting

are the social reconfigurations. By dint of our trade in ethnographic praxis, we have the potential to be close to these transformations. We must pay attention, for we are entering into the dynamics whether intended or not.

A Call to Action Regarding the Patient Experience

RICHARD I. ANDERSON

Our broken healthcare system badly needs the attention of the (UX) design (research) communities. But for these communities to have an impact, they must become better aware of: what about their typical work limits what they can achieve in fixing healthcare; the socio-cultural characteristics that offer substantive resistance to healthcare system change; what is happening in healthcare that might go part way to achieve the change needed; and what they can do differently to prepare themselves to have a substantive impact. This presentation will elaborate, referencing select examples of what these communities have done to date.

User experience, experience design, human-centered design, & design research across multiple domains have been my fields of work for many, many years, but something most unexpected happened to me starting in 2009 that prompted me to focus much of my attention, professional and personal, on one particular domain.

What happened to me was related to what happened to Brenda Laurel, someone many of you might know or know of. I'm specifically referencing the first sentence of her tweet, though my experience did not take place at Stanford. (Plus my experience included little good luck.)

As I've learned since, patient experiences worse than those Brenda and I can puke are sadly far from uncommon. … Customers of the medical industry should not feel like victims after using it's services.

Indeed, in an astonishing number of cases, things go terribly and unnecessarily wrong. As a growing number of prominent physicians and many others proclaim, the U.S. healthcare system is seriously broken.

As rebel doctor Jay Parkinson has proclaimed, "the dominant experience for most people is unsafe and inhumane." And as you can see on the screen, he also argues that that dominant experience needs to be the target of radical innovation.

Though most experience designers & researchers long to do strategic and socially impactful work, their usual focus and comfort zone is technology and digital user interfaces, a focus and comfort zone that greatly limits the impact they can have.

Indeed, Don Norman & Roberto Verganti argue that even those who use the methods of human-centered design can only hope to achieve incremental innovation -- that typical design research rarely identifies the dynamics of the socio-cultural models at play – the models that need to be disrupted, as represented by the arrow moving from left to right in this diagram's center.

One of the great existing sources of information about existing U.S. healthcare socio-cultural models are TED talks, many of which focus on the severely broken relationship between doctors and patients. Abraham Verghese described this broken relationship in thoughtul detail, including this reference to what doctor-patient communication is usually like.

Some, including one of the reviewers of my presentation proposal, claim the underlying problem is a broken incentive system. Without question, the incentive system is broken and badly needs to be changed, but there are other things going on which, while not unrelated to incentives, need to be addressed directly...

…things including those reflected in these two quotes from two additional TED talks.

Here are some related words from yet another TED talk. As Dr. Goldman argues, doctors cannot learn from their mistakes if they refuse to acknowledge them.

Jay Parkinson provides some insight into why this has come to be...

It is also important to be aware of the rapidly growing number of victims of the healthcare system who are speaking out and are taking matters into their own hands: founding a participatory medicine society, designing & implementing peer-to-peer healthcare services, and much, much more. This is quickly becoming a movement, not just the solitary voice of e-Patient Dave.

Britt Johnson's appeal to doctors is to be bold, but the socio-cultural models at play in medicine are very strong forces of resistance as reflected in these tweets of another patient advocate. Oddly, some design researchers have dismissed the significance of the e-patient movement as well.

Some argue the solution lies in empathy training for doctors. However, others, including myself, think a single course is far from enough.

Ethnographer Sam Ladner wonders whether ethnography training, positioned before medical training, is the answer. I'm not sure whether she was serious, but I consider that to be a clever idea, though I think ethnography needs to play an additional role.

We need more researchers and designers like Hugh Dubberly and his colleagues to dive deep and to develop models of what is and of what might be in order to guide others seeking needed healthcare system renewal or transformation.

Here is a part of my call to action to those who work in experience design and research. … In short, my appeal to you is to "Be bold," because…

…terrible personal experiences with the healthcare system should not be a prerequisite to working to achieve radical change. But my horrific experiences, which cost me my dignity and almost my freedom and my life will keep me focused on this quest. Help me; advise me; join me.

Open Source Family: Implications for remaking and renewing notions of family

ROBIN BEERS
Business is Human

JAN YEAGER
Added Value Cheskin

Family, as a foundational structural unit of society, is undergoing a morphological shift enabled by scientific and technological advances that have expanded methods and pathways for reproductive success and are consequently pushing the boundaries of traditional forms. Single women and men, as well as gay and lesbian couples, are building families with the help of donor sperm, eggs, and surrogates and this "open source" approach to reproduction is creating new types of families and new types of family constructs. We highlight some of the factors surrounding this trend, including emergent product, service, and civic needs and the implications for ethnographers in industry to illuminate the stories and synthesize the trends surrounding these changes

This rather iconic image expresses the structure of family as we know it in our society. This archetypal representation of family operates as a "closed system" that is, the pieces to create and sustain it are presumed to reside within it.

But technological advances are driving a trend in family making, that may or may not involve a biological connection, and that includes a greater array of living arrangements and combinations of people who call themselves a family. We call this emerging trend "Open Source Family"

Access, sharing and transparency are core to the notion of Open Source. We see these same principles operating in modern family making.

Along with advances in reproductive technology, ubiquitous access to information plays a huge role in the

deconstruction of the baby-making process and enabling access to reproductive components.

Services like the California Cryobank make searching for donors and buying sperm a hybrid experience between online dating and online shopping.

The internet era has also opened up a whole social dimension to making a baby. There are numerous forums for openly discussing a topic that has traditionally been a very intimate and private one.

A 2010 Pew Research study confirms that definitions of family are broadening. 60% of Americans said that if you considered yourself to be a family then you were one.

When my son, Dexter, was born in 2009, via donor sperm, I firmly placed myself within the 60% of Americans that said family consisted of whomever I chose. And the family I chose included my friends Ken and Eugene, a legally married gay couple and, of course, Dexter.

The emotional tenor of our family-making endeavor changed when we bumped into legal obstacles around custody and adoption. The legal tool we tried to use was designed for families breaking up, not coming together. It's imbued with closed system assumptions and made the process feel adversarial instead of co-creative and cooperative.

And new family structures are emerging as Open Source baby-making become more prevalent. For example the children here represent a new kind of family—these are children from a single donor and are half-siblings.

In 2010, I created Baby Mamas, a private Facebook group as a way for the mothers of my son's half siblings, which I

discovered in a rather serendipitous
fashion, to connect.

In the social networking era, I realized it's ridiculously easy to find one another. And the bite-sized updates invite glimpses into one another's lives across geographic boundaries. We 18 Baby Mamas are now in each other's virtual lives every day – sharing, commenting, and connecting.

We can look over the trajectory of going from absolute strangers, to Facebook friends who comment only in our private group, to becoming braver and commenting in the site anywhere we please, to setting up in-person meetings. As an Open Source family, it's continually evolving.

Family is changing faster than our cultural and institutional systems. The 2010 Census shows for the first time since data collection began in 1940, fewer than half (48.4%) of all households were comprised of a husband and a wife. As ethnographers, we should not only have our pulse on these cultural shifts but, also, a point of view on how these shifts will impact the broader systems designed – or not designed – to include and support them.

We need to be aware that the Open Source Family trend is becoming mainstream and we need to help organizations embrace new family definitions to offer inclusive, relevant products and services.

Don't Clean Up And Lie Down: Ethnography and Conceptual Art
CARRIE YURY
Independent Consultant, Artist

I'm a conceptual artist and an ethnographer. Since 2006 I've been creating ethnographically inspired conceptual photographic series. Focusing on three photographic series, I discuss my research interests and how my ethnographic training and mindset have shaped my approach to making art.

At last year's EPIC conference, one of my friends said, "What are you doing here? I thought you were an artist!" The fact is, I'm both an artist and an ethnographic research consultant, but her question made me realize that it would be a good idea to talk about my art work to this audience, particularly with respect to the ways in which my background as an ethnographer has influenced my art.

Room
Incorporating my ethnographic mindset into my art has profoundly influenced my conceptual photographic practice. My first ethnographically inspired work was my Room series, which is my most well known work. The diptychs in the "Room" series are composed of women's bodies twisted and split between panels, and then reassembled in impossible ways, displaying and disrupting the classic ideal of the female nude. Unlike most nudes, the diptychs in "Room" are contextual portraits. Part ethnography, part boudoir photography, each diptych is as much about the personal space of the domestic environment as it is about the body.
I worked on "Room" for three years culminating in a 2009 solo show at Sam Lee Gallery in Los Angeles. After that, I moved on to other projects, including photo/drawings of first ladies, and giant sculptures of hair, thinking that I was done with ethnography in my art practice. But ethnography is not done with me.

Reality TV

Sometimes it seems like I have a compulsion to look at other people's lives. I realized that I was not alone in this. Even people who have no concept of ethnography are fascinated by other people's lives; that's what the whole Reality TV phenomenon is about. So I decided to look at people who let us look: Reality TV stars.

Shot in the actors' homes, the triptychs investigate versions of the self, depicting the "real" selves of people who are attempting to develop show business careers by appearing on reality TV series. These actors have willingly placed themselves in revealing, outrageous, or humiliating situations on national television, exposing their compulsions, addictions, failings, and inadequacies all in the pursuit of fame. Yet in the portraits, the men and women come across as dignified, serious people who are both hopeful and earnest about their acting careers. The triptychs explore the tensions between vulnerability, dignity, connection, and authenticity.

Men

Ethnographically inspired photographic series are now a dominant part of my art practice. I'm currently working on a series called "Men." The photographs play with lyricism and violence, torture and ecstasy, training the gaze on masculinity.

As in "Room," these images explore the stripped down figure in the domestic environment, letting you see the body and the intimate space of the home, but not allowing you to see the participant's face. The images reject portraiture conventions that privilege the face, instead painting a picture of the person by way of their room.

Contextual photographs are so much more interesting when the room is a mess, when personal detritus is on display. Just like when I'm doing an in-home ethnography, before I come over I tell the participants not to clean up. And just like in my consulting work, the data is translated, a curated

representation of the angles, artifacts, and relationships that I think mean something about the person whose room I'm shooting.

My images don't pretend documentary objectivity. My point of view is literally inscribed on the bodies. The diptych or triptych form highlights the fact that the images are highly mediated, calling out the instability of perspective and the passage of time.

Ethnography and Conceptual Art

Crossing the boundaries and mixing the lines between conceptual art and ethnography has renewed my interest and commitment to both disciplines. My art and ethnographic activities have significant commonalities. In both, I'm using the raw stuff of people's lives to create something new. In both, there is an element of exchange between the participants and myself: something between voyeurism and intimacy. And in both, I am a spy, going into strange territories in order to read the signs, decode the messages, and unearth meanings in the environments, activities, and bodies I encounter therein.

The two practices are, of course different. In consulting, I'm making a point, leading to an opportunity, trying to sift through and shape the data into something that helps my clients make sense of and connect with their customers. But in art I'm opening things up, raising questions without answering them.

Neither photography nor ethnography is ever completely an objective recording of facts. They shouldn't be. The art is in the act of translation. The ethnographer's and artist's greatest contribution is making sense of or making something new out of the exuberant chaos of everyday life.

ARTIFACTS

ARTIFACTS: Direct from the Pressroom: Delivering Future Scenarios and Strategy to Users

ALICIA DORNADIC

HEINRICH SCHWARZ, Co-Curators

Artifacts are the physical, material, and increasingly digital things that we make and use as ethnographers. They can be anything from research and design tools, to new methodologies and forums for collaboration, to data visualizations, to finished designs. Presenters share their work at the conference in a less theoretical, more tangible and engaging way. Artifacts do not simply describe what we do, but they stand on their own, and provide an opportunity for questioning, interacting, and discussing. Presenters are creative with format and medium: artifacts can be a short film, conceptual object, design sketchbook, poster visualizing an organizational process, service design, advertisement, or something else entirely.

This year we have a fascinating collection of research and design tools and displays of project results, plus a couple of experiential artifacts that were built to "come to life" during the conference, reporting and reflecting on EPIC itself. All of them embody or touch upon the conference theme of renewal in some interesting way, from a display of rebuilding efforts of a Japanese village post-tsunami and an innovative scenario presentation format for Savannah's renewal, to mobile research tools with the potential to transform how research is done.

Co-renewal of a village with local residents: A case study of a fisherman's village

TAKANORI UGAI
Fujitsu Laboratories Limited

After one year from huge earthquakes and tsunami a small village remains to be covered with the rubble. There is no indication of re-development of the village. In this artifact, certain steps with some drawings are displayed and new-born products are displayed to touch. The drawings are used to share ideas for their new village within the residents and to share with the local government.

Outline of the field: A small village in Ishinomaki

The field of the research is a small fishing village in Ishinomaki Miyagi Japan. Approximately one hundred and fifty people lived there before huge earthquakes and tsunamis on 11th March 2011 and most of them survived. After one and a half year from the event the village remains to be covered with the rubble. There is almost no indication of re-development of the village (Fig.1). Only fifty people express their desire to come back and to live the village and others wants to stay where they live now or to move another place. Some people have started fishing and working in the village. They commute from the temporal houses out of the village. A new product has been born there. The product is pendant which is made by a rock which was a part of the roof of a house.

Figure1: The scenery of the village: no indication of rebuilding

Research Method

1) Ethnographic interview: Interviews to thirty eight people were conducted. Interviewees include local resident, some of who wants to come back and some don't, local government officials, and volunteers. Most of interviews were led by volunteers who have supported the area for a long time. This helps interviewee to be relaxed to talk.

2) Analysis workshop: Ten members who attended the interview shared the interview logs and built an ideal village from the quotes (Fig.2). And some stories of their life of the ten year after are made.
3) Feedback interview: Three interviews were conducted. One is to share and propose the ideas with the local government and other two is to share the ideas with residents and to get their feedback.
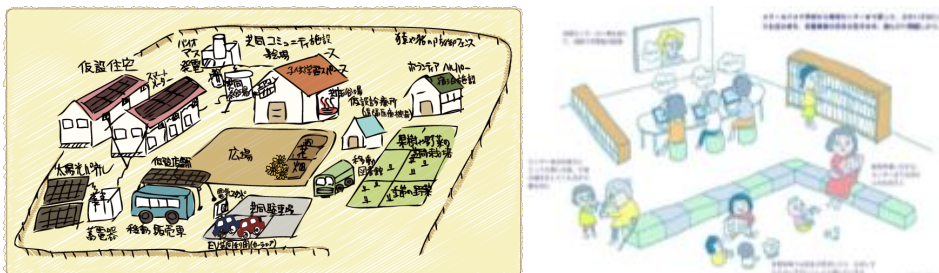4) Next step: Making the idea to be real is the next step.

Figure 2: An ideal village made by the interviews' quotes

Artifacts to display

Some pictures and a video of the village will be displayed and new-born products are displayed on the table to touch. And some drawings are displayed. The drawings ware used to share ideas for their new village within residents and to share with the local government. The drawings are filled with the hope of the residents. Ethnographic research helped to add subjective values in an objective manner to the drawings. A different role of business ethnographer from designers and architects to help local residents is supposed to be shared with EPIC participants.

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ARTIFACTS

dScout

Michael Winnick
dScout, Inc.

Camera studies have long been a part of ethnographic praxis. Researchers have used them as a way to expand the aperture of ethnographic research, allowing participants to document their experiences. dScout is a software service that builds on the tradition of camera studies, extending it into the digital and mobile sphere.

While a great deal of progress has been made in bridging the gap between business exigencies and user research practice, the fact is that ethnography's traditional form can limit the scope of it's potential impact. The time frames, costs, sample size and, on occasion, the basic values of ethnography often seem at odds with the demands of many corporations. Put plainly, there are many things organizations want to understand that ethnography could shed light on, but due to various constraints of ethnography and of corporations, it doesn't.

By harnessing web and mobile technology, dScout expands the purview of the skilled ethnographic researcher. Ethnographers have always been fast adopt new technologies into practice. Audio recording, video recording, disposable cameras, even beepers have all played a part in shaping aspects of research. Smart phones represent a powerful new technology that ethnographers can leverage in the quest to document and understand. The advantages of smart phones are evident: They are owned by millions of Americans who carry them everywhere and use them almost constantly. They include the ability to capture rich information - photos, other media, precise geospatial information and more.

In our work at dScout, we have just begun to tap into the potential of smart phones for ethnographic research. We have seen some of the most interesting applications beyond the traditional realm of ethnographic research, especially as an alternative to quantitative research and prototype testing. We have fielded studies with hundreds of participants across the United States in less than a week. We have built tools to help analyze the resulting data in a rigorous way without losing the emotional connection and stories so key to ethnographies success. These studies marry the power of contextual research with speed, scale and efficiency. Renewal indeed.

dScout doesn't replace traditional ethnographic fieldwork, it complements it. It doesn't devalue your skill as a researcher, it demands it. dScout doesn't denigrate ethnographic praxis, it renews it.

Drivers, Behaviors, and Scenarios: A Card Game for Concept Development

J. ALEXA CURTIS
JOHN PAYNE
Moment

A set of cards created to embody key findings from fieldwork. The set includes three decks that can be explored individually, or used together as a game.

ARTIFACT

Successfully engaging clients and team members with findings from the field is challenging. Without the richness of actually being in the field, it's difficult to get people engaged with the findings in an ongoing manner. While video and other media can help immerse the team, these capture methods can be intrusive and may require substantial editing to effectively communicate the highlights. As an alternate method for increased immersion, we created a set of cards that embody key findings from our research program; several short ten minute intercept interviews during breakfast and lunch rush hours at selected restaurants in New York City, a week long online journaling study, and several in-depth phone interviews. The goal of our study was to understand what factors affected decision-making about getting food in the city during the workweek.

FIGURE 1. A set of cards created to embody key findings from fieldwork. The set includes three decks that can be explored individually, or used together as a game. *Photo Credit Alexa Curtis.*

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We chose to package our findings in the form of cards. This was an interactive and fun way to browse the findings and helped the client team to understand the salient points that affected decision-making for their target audience. We used the cards to present the findings to our clients and followed up with a "card game" to generate product concepts. This enabled our clients to more fully engage with the research and inspired dozens of actionable product ideas. Following the workshop, our team had a common language to use with our clients to discuss their target audience's needs and behaviors.

The artifact includes three decks that can be explored individually, or used together as a game. The three decks each have a different focus:
1. A behaviors deck embodies research findings about key user motivations and their social context. These are similar to personas.
2. A drivers deck embodies the more impulsive factors that guide individual decision-making.
3. A scenarios deck embodies research findings around external factors and typical workday scenarios that may constrain decision-making

The form factor of a two-sided card allowed us to represent the duality that frequently accompanies decision-making factors. For example, the duality of the behavior cards is related to whether the persona was acting alone, or in a group. For drivers and scenarios, there were a variety of opposing situations captured; are they very hungry because they skipped breakfast, or are they looking for something smaller because they have been snacking all day? Is it raining and cold, or is it a beautiful day for a walk?

As a communication method, the cards are much quicker to create than a highlight reel, and they are tangible such that they can remain available in team rooms and one's desk for easy access to inspiration. As a modular system, the format also helped the team to add findings as new decision-making insights were discovered.

Shadowbox Prototyping: A Method for Live Interface Enactments

SEUNG CHONG
MATT MOROSKY
JOHN PAYNE
LEAH SHEA
KAORU KUMATANI
Moment

Working with a remote client to develop interaction design concepts, we found ourselves in need of a quick-and-dirty way to share half-formed design ideas. Using a document camera, a telepresence application capable of sharing images and audio, and a reconfigurable paper prototype, we devised a method we called "shadowbox prototyping" to approximate an interactive onscreen experience with a remote collaborator, while allowing us to quickly iterate through interface ideas in real-time.

Remote clients over the phone could not participate or provide feedback on quick paper prototyping sessions. We used shadowbox prototyping to display in real-time ideas that are "in a state of flux". This method:

• "Stages" sketched interaction concepts on screen to elicit more realistic reactions

• "Performs" quick user scenarios for evaluation by ourselves and our remote collaborators' interaction concepts

• "Improvises" real-time changes by adding new sketches or drawing directly on our paper prototype to address feedback
• "Records and plays back" final screen flows to our remote client prior to detailed interface design

Clients could immediately engage in exploring the ideas and get instant visual representation of their changing concepts. On the spot decisions could be made without prepping and delivering updated designs over emails and waiting for confirmations.

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Fig. 1 Document Camera

Fig. 2 Collaborating with the remote user using a document camera, a telepresence application capable of sharing images and audio, and a reconfigurable paper prototype.

Direct from the Pressroom: Delivering Future Scenarios and Strategy to Users

GISELLE RAHN
Savannah College of Art and Design

*A set of four newspapers developed as interactive conversation starters to support discussion with user audiences push the envelope of reality in order to increase scale of impact. The artifacts are scenario concept tools to present research while identifying drivers and early signals of change. This business strategy is designed to enable individuals or organizations to respond **with** – rather than **to** – change. This research product would be complimented by ethnographic research.*

This set of fictional newspapers give a glimpse into four possible futures of Savannah, Georgia. Front page headlines and news articles are followed by supporting pages that identify the drivers and weak early signals of change for each article. Interactive digital versions of these newspapers include video news. The newspapers were produced by a team conducting future scenario planning on the city of Savannah through the lens of an anticipated and highly controversial harbor expansion project.

FIGURE 1. *The set of printed newspapers was most engaging as black and white newsprints, mimicking small daily papers. Photo Credit Giselle Rahn.*

These artifacts appear to be regular newspapers that could be easily consumed by bystanders, but upon closer inspection the reader realizes that the printed stories are not reality, or even from this decade. The papers are set in the future, though the topics are linked to current trends they have not

yet occurred. Some items seem likely, while others are just inside the realm of possibility or pushing the envelope.

Each of the four newspapers has a distinct masthead hinting at the tone of that newspaper. For example, the *Savannah Sun* represents the blue sky vision of the future, while the *Savannah Sentinel* reflects a more wary view of what the future might bring. The *Savannah Morning News* and the *Savannah Weekly News* represent a status quo and a decline in the city status respectively.

This project and the general design research process are closely related to the idea of renewal. The project explores how a community or business can remain renewed by anticipating and responding to change. These artifacts are examples of tools that enable people and businesses to respond **with** rather than **to** change. Deeper understanding and timely responses ultimately produce more sound business strategies and decisions.

The scenario process is conducive to understanding renewal. The tool is based in a rigorous design process that both compliments and would be complimented by ethnographic research because of its possibility to lower barriers for discussion and encourage action rather than reaction in a receiving audience or user no matter the degree of change. Change occurs along a spectrum, at first too subtle to manage without close examination or perhaps so revolutionary that it paralyzes an organization or business. The scenario process is one way to reveal and manage changing social, technical, economic, environmental and political landscapes.

At the conference it is likely to be interesting to observe non-Savannahians interact with the newspaper because visiting attendees may take longer to realize the documents are a version of the future rather than a report on the present. This would allow for a discussion among attendees starting with Savannah but extending to how this method could be employed in communities and businesses. Multiple sets of the four black and white newsprint articles will be the primary display, and available as take-aways. The sets will rest on top of the design process map (documented at https://www.cargocollective.com/futuresofsavannah) to provide a guide for the viewer to follow the future scenario process. The interactive PDFs will be available on a laptop, as supporting secondary material and show the videos.

NOTES

Colleen Heine, Allycia Jones, Elisa Jara and Tania Barot collaborated with the author on this project at the Savannah College of Art and Design with Professor Robert Fee.

Web resources

http://www.cargocollective.com/futuresofsavannah, accessed 12 September 2012.

TOUCH: Provoking new dialogues through fresh perspectives

MARY KATICA
LAURA JANISSE
Innovation Consultancy, Kaiser Permanente

Featured from the Kaiser Permanente Workplace Safety Exploratorium, TOUCH artifacts were designed to communicate insights around the cultural challenges of workplace safety and to inspire deep conversation within our organization. The interactive artifacts encouraged frontline staff, clinicians, management, and leadership to safely congregate and playfully interact with the sensitive and sometimes controversial insights.

Kaiser Permanente's internal design group, the Innovation Consultancy, partnered with Kaiser Permanente's Vice President of Employee Safety Health and Wellness and their National Director, Occupational Safety and Health on a 6 month Workplace Safety Insights Project. The purpose of the project was to provide deep insight, based off of qualitative research, into the cultural challenges of workplace safety and to inspire deep conversion in our organization.

To communicate the insights, the team designed and built an interactive Exploratorium and a printed insight document / booklet that would be used to share out the insights to the organization. The Exploratorium was designed as a set of exhibits designed for frontline staff, clinicians, management, and leadership to safely congregate and playfully interact with the sensitive and sometimes controversial Workplace Safety insights. The insights were communicated through physical and digital prototypes that allowed the audience to engage and interact.

The design team identified key principles to drive the design. These principles were anchored in the experiential needs of the Exploratorium. Some of the design principles included: invite interaction, encourage connection, inspire exploration, celebrate culture, and provide empowerment. These principles influenced the choices that were made around the materials, graphic elements (colors, fonts, images), and layout of the space.

In total, the finished Workplace Safety Exploratorium had 13 physical and digital interactive exhibits, analogously or directly linked with the insights. Three of these interactive insights artifacts were showcased at EPIC 2012 Conference:

> **How Safety Feels** invites the audience to interact with music tracks (selected by participants during research) that analogously represent participants' feelings towards WPS.
>
> **Pull a Block**: encourages the audience to explore their level of comfort by pulling a block from a tower of blocks. Participants' feelings when interacting with the insight analogously represent the feelings staff have around WPS.

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Push my Buttons: invites the audience to play with and experience the various safety messages staff receive.

The artifacts ultimately represent a culture in flux; a culture that's questioning and challenging current views and approaches to Workplace Safety, deeply reflecting what has been and what could be. The ideas and insights embodied in the artifacts reveal current emotional states associated to Workplace Safety, triggering new conversations around potential future states. Considering, the Exploratorium artifacts related nicely to the EPIC 2012 theme of Renewal. The artifacts offered the EPIC community a new way of experiencing and engaging with data and tools of understanding. They encouraged researchers to think about new, non-traditional ways of sharing their work and engaging with audiences in the future.

At EPIC the artifacts were positioned on a display table with enough space around each artifact to allow for 3-4 people to experience it together or individually. The goal was to create an interaction and experience that provokes conversation amongst audience members. The artifacts were designed to live on their own, with instructions placed next to each artifact, allowing the audience to interact with them freely and without facilitation. A poster accompanied the display table to provide audience members with background information on the project and insight into how the artifacts were used in the original Exploratorium.

ALL IMAGES: *Innovation Consultancy*

1. HOW SAFETY FEELS   *2.* **PULL A BLOCK**   **3. PUSH MY BUTTONS**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

VIDEO CONFESSION BOOTH

SUSAN FAULKNER
LUCAS AINSWORTH
Intel Corporation

The Video Confession Booth is an ephemeral artifact created at EPIC to help conference-goers share their thoughts and unload their burdens. Made of PVC pipe walls and thick curtains, the booth contains a webcam, a touch-screen laptop and a microphone. Instructions walk the penitent through the process of creating a confession, and provocative questions prompt participation and storytelling.

The Video Confession Booth is a recurring artifact created at EPIC to help conference-goers share their thoughts and unload their burdens. The booth is a private, quiet space with instructions posted to walk the penitent through the process of confessing. Provocative questions encourage participation and storytelling. Prompts include: forgive me EPIC for I have…; I feel a sense of renewal when I…; the current social, political and economic turmoil has made me…; my funniest EPIC moment was when… In 2012 EPIC confessors are able to view past confessions and create new ones. An edited compilation video will be shown on the last day of the conference.

At the 2011 conference, attendees were more reluctant to participate than anticipated, but still produced a larger number of confessions than the team had time to include in the final edited video. Confessions ranged from playful, "Forgive me EPIC for I have spawned," to a heartfelt confession of guilt about being away from home to attend a conference in beautiful Boulder, Colorado. Several confessions related to work practice and the confessor's conflicted feelings, "I'm tired of talking to people for a living," "I have occasionally told clients they don't need ethnographic research," and "I need to develop more empathy for my co-workers, not just my customers." One participant confessed to speaking ill of the conference in the past, and another admitted to being exhausted and on her way out of the conference to get a massage. An edited compilation video delighted the EPIC audience on the final morning with true confessions from EPIC organizers, former Catholics, lapsed ethnographers and attendees of all ages.

Subsequent showings to a limited number of Intel work group colleagues who were not able to attend the conference have shown the confessions to be truly *inside*. Even fellow ethnographers who know people highlighted in the video are much less affected by the footage than the conference-going crowd was in Boulder. Confessions that cracked-up the EPIC audience fall flat when shown outside the conference, (the line that got the biggest laugh – occasionally telling clients they don't need ethnography – is seen as good common sense outside EPIC). Despite the Twitter feeds, Facebook postings, and, in this case, video documentation, there is no substitute for the power of *liveness*. The video confessions resonated deeply with the EPIC crowd because we were there together in the throes of a shared, deeply felt, experience.

ARTIFACTS

Photo Credit Susan Faulkner
FIGURE 1: The Video Confession Booth at EPIC 2011.

FIGURE 2: Inside the Video Confession Booth at EPIC 2011

Photo Credit Maria Bezaitis

FIGURE 3: The touchscreen recording interface of the Video Confession Booth at EPIC 2011

Design Research for Website Visual Branding

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SHU-JU YANG
Razorfish

Our artifact illustrates a method that captures the impact of visual designs on consumers and provides insights for website visual branding. This method divorces visual content from text and brand so that pure impact of the visual design can be obtained. The research provides direction on which visual collateral is best aligned to specific brand strategy, balancing brand consistency and brand renewal.

Research Challenge

Consumers often draw quick conclusions about brands from just a glimpse of their websites. Given that this process often happens subconsciously, consumers generally have difficulty verbalizing their impressions. Moreover, when a participant sees a particular brand logo or content indicating a specific industry category, their prior conceptions of the brand or category can bias their responses toward the visual experiences we develop.

These issues present a two-part challenge for our website design efforts: how should we create a visual experience that is aligned to a specific branding strategy that balances brand consistency and renewal? Also, how do we ensure that our testing approach elicits participant responses specific to the visual collateral without interference from existing brand or industry perceptions?

Research Approach

To elicit participants' reactions to our visual design, we use a warm-up activity to get participants comfortable with commenting on a visual layout or design. Participants are first presented with a stack of visual stimuli cards (included in the artifact presentation) and asked to provide their thoughts on the mood each card elicits. The cards are arranged in an order such that concrete stimuli that trigger emotions easily are followed by stimuli that get more and more abstract. Specifically, participants first see pictures of people that elicit feelings easily. They then provide comments on visual stimuli that get increasingly abstract – pictures of houses, color palettes, fonts, and lastly icons. In the process, participants get more comfortable with forming opinions of various visual stimuli, and their responses are recorded on post-it notes and attached to the associated cards. After participants finish providing feedback on all the cards, they arrange the cards into groups that conjure up a similar mood. This second exercise that mixes visual elements based on moods or themes is similar to how designers create website visual concepts. After the exercise, participants are ready to evaluate our website designs. We then present participants with the renewed website designs. To ensure that pre-existing associations to the brand or category do not bias participants' thinking, all English text is removed. This eliminates all content-based clues about what brand and industry the website serves and thus prevents interference from any preconceived notions. The responses and the reactions we gather would accurately reflect the visual message conveyed through the website design itself.
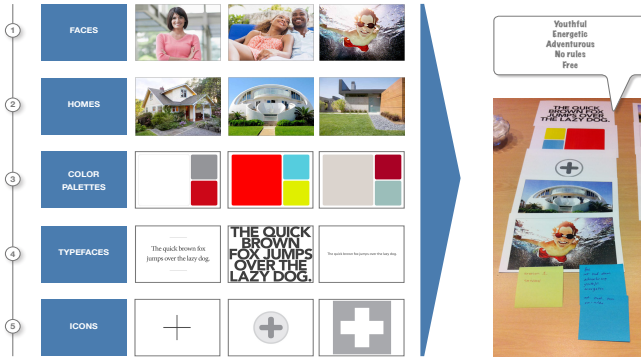
Figure 1. On the left are *visual stimuli used in the warm-up exercise in the order of presentation (from concrete to abstract). After commenting on each visual element, participants arrange the visual elements into groups of similar moods or themes as shown on the right.*

FIGURE 2. *An example of a website design concept shown to research participants; the word cloud represents the responses elicited.*

For the website design to strike a balance between brand consistency and renewal, a separate line of research investigates existing brand perception for our client. In this separate line of research,

participants are presented with a landscape of brands not tied to the same vertical, and asked to describe each brand as if it were a person they knew. Using a similar warm-up approach, participants are first asked to describe brands that they can easily speak about such as Apple, Harley, etc., and then, after they get comfortable personifying brands, they are asked about the brand in question that is oftentimes not top of mind. This approach elicits broad attributes from experiences not confined to a specific category. Importantly, it is applicable to beloved brands as well as brands with negative associations.

Finally, data from both the visual design research and the brand research are compared and analyzed to align and finalize the brand strategy and the visual design.

Our artifact includes the set of visual stimuli we used to prepare participants to respond to website visual designs as well as a poster that outlines our research process and outcome. EPIC attendees are invited to play with and react to the visual stimuli, experiencing the research process as participants.

Green Building Renovation: Renewal of Hardware, Software, Human Behavior and Design Process

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In going green, it is important not only to introduce environmentally friendly hardware or software, but also to improve people's environmental consciousness and behavior. Tenant behavior, activity, culture, and communication were investigated to implement green building solutions through interactive workshops with engineers, ethnographers and tenants. The main solution is the Building Energy & Interactive Communication System, which was designed with the service blueprint method to encourage interactive green communication between tenants and superintendent.

Reduction of CO_2 is crucial issue all over the world. It is becoming difficult to achieve further reduction through renovation using only a hardware approach, such as installing energy-efficient equipment. This paper describes a new design process of building renovation with ethnographic research. The behavior, activity, culture and communication of tenants in a building were investigated to implement green building renovation.

As the first step, tenants were observed and interviewed in order to determine the barriers to energy efficiency at the Hokubu Office Building in Japan. It was discovered that the barriers resulted

ARTIFACTS

from 1) lack of communication between building superintendent and tenants and 2) lack of interest in energy efficiency. On the basis of these findings, solutions and plans were discussed through several interactive workshops among a new community consisting of engineers, ethnographers and tenants. Some of the solutions were as follows: 1) Installation of movement sensors that detect people in a room using an IP phone network, and adjust air conditioning accordingly; 2) Improvement of communication between tenants and superintendent, such as offering tenants opportunities to vote for temperature setting and advice on energy efficiency with renewal from an existing Building and Energy Management System (BEMS) to the "Building Energy &Interactive Communication System (BEICS)." The BEICS was particularly designed in terms of service creation with the service blue print method, which allowed the creation of services at both onstage and backstage sites (Shostack 1984), achieving interactive communications and services not only for tenants, but also for superintendents. We are now developing these systems and around July 2012 will finish construction and verification of these effects, incorporating feedback from the Hokubu community.

By sharing the project approach with posters and a web-based BEICS system for tenants and superintendents, we would like to encourage open discussions with EPIC attendees regarding:
- How the community-based design process could be or should be
- What are the activities of the participatory community or solutions for promoting people's awareness and behavior regarding energy conservation? Are there any ideas about continuous use of the BEMS?

We believe it would be a great opportunity for EPIC attendees and anyone interested in service design and community-based design to share our practice and process.

FIGURE 1. *Front page of BEICS system*

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Crafting local pursuits for EPIC Conference; contextual research methods

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This artifact is a book based on the research work of twelve young designers at the SCAD, School of Design that aided in setting the foundation for EPIC's "local pursuits", previously known as "reflectivities". This is the story of the research team's journey of getting to know Savannah in the context of its past and present and to see the city in the light of renewal. Savannah provides a rich array of opportunities to explore metaphors, principles and the dynamics surrounding the theme of Renewal by remaining immersed in local experiences of past, present, and possible futures. The goal of crafting "Local pursuits" was to create a diverse set of opportunities for the Epic attendees to interact with the community of Savannah and visit the haunts to understand the culture of the city.

Research scope
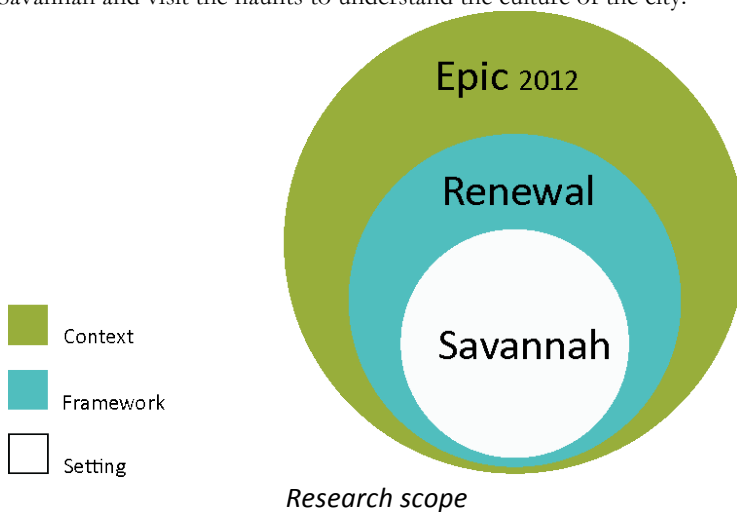
Research focus statement: To craft immersive experiences, "Local Pursuits" for the Epic 2012 attendees by conducting ethnographic research of Savannah through frame work of renewal.

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Methodology: The research began with the approach that cities are like brands. Hence brand research methodology that defines experiences in terms of sight, sound, smell, taste and tactility was applied to give a holistic picture of the city. Research relating to the engagement of the five senses enabled the accumulation of robust data on the distinct cultures, foods, music, artifacts, and activities of Savannah. The goal was to be comprehensive and reframe the scope of research to help arrive at a set of activities that facilitate the discovery of renewal within Savannah.

The process of data collection was iterative and involved switching back and forth between primary and secondary research methods. To record and analyse the experience of Savannah the tools used for data collection involved demographic surveys, location mapping, photographs, observations, participation, contextual interviews, conversations, elicitation tools, recordings and field notes.

Synthesis Phase

Analysis and Synthesis: The collected qualitative and quantitative data was updated on a "live war wall" for the team to reflect and analyze, which grew organically over the period of 8 weeks. The data was plotted in forms of nodes and clusters and each cluster represented an overarching theme. The themes were found to be strongly interconnected, these connections were represented by threads that linked the clusters and framed new insights. EPIC local committee members were involved in this process through workshops. These linked clusters led to the identification of the concepts. This formed the basis for the creation of the final pursuits which were later re-categorized based on their degree of intensity and engagement.

Further evaluation of the pursuits was done using the Key elements matrix, where the connected and linked themes emerged as clusters reasserting the validity of some pursuits. A criteria matrix was then used to filter the pursuits. This evaluation phase helped in sifting out redundant or the more logistically challenging pursuits. Key criteria used include adherence to the theme of renewal, elements that intrinsically represent Savannah, interactivity, ethnography and its practice.

Proposals: The culmination of this process is a set of proposals. Varying in range from tours such as Stories and History, Dark Side of the South, Food Deserts with Local Food, Tea at Davenport House, Bike Ride Savannah, discussions oriented pursuits as in World Cafe Savannah, Connecting and Art and Politics to immersive experiences, Poverty Simulation; rebuilding community,, Global and Local Savannah, Savannah Harbor Expansion Project and its Implications and Taste of Gullah. This artifact enables the Epic audience to know the research and context behind the local pursuits which some of them would have taken part in.

Diabetes Ecosystem: A tablet-based platform for self-navigated rich storytelling about living with type 2 diabetes

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Diabetes Ecosystem is the outcome of a research investigation for Novo Nordisk, a Danish global leader in diabetes care and innovation. The research is visualized in a tablet-based platform for self-navigated rich storytelling that takes the viewer through a deep dive into the everyday lives of individuals with type 2 diabetes and their personal care networks. We offer a comprehensive look into patient's lives and restore the value of user presence in executive thinking.

Diabetes Ecosystem is the outcome of a 5 month research investigation for Novo Nordisk that is visualized in a tablet-based platform for self-navigated rich storytelling about the lives of patients with type 2 diabetes and their personal networks of care. CIID Consulting took a refreshed approach to the research by looking at the condition on a systemic level and studying a patient's network of support rather than the individuals in isolation. The result is a rich and emotional view into the complex interactions and relationships encompassing a patient's journey with the condition.

The project program aimed to push the norms and extend the boundaries of our role as researchers and our relationships to the respondents. The team had the opportunity to both experiment with methods and the overall research approach as well as envision and execute new storytelling methods to captivate the audience and allow the personal stories of the participants to live on within the client's organization. As practitioners, we often feel the pressure to reduce rich research content down to the essential elements in the interest of time constraints or executive level interest.

ARTIFACTS

For this project, CIID Consulting chose to refresh this approach, and embrace the true richness of our conversations, insights and findings.

Diabetes Ecosystem is designed for internal distribution within Novo Nordisk as a means to share insights, stories and inspiration throughout the organization in a personal and self-guided manner. The refreshed approach to research generated an abundance of rich media in the form of images, video, audio and text-based stories and led the team to design a new approach to the delivery of the research content. In order to deliver the material to Novo Nordisk in a way that would create awareness around the true customer and evoke new thinking about diabetes management, CIID Consulting stepped away from the traditional and designed an approach to research delivery that is interactive, provides an immersive experience, is long-lasting and updatable and is well-suited for both personal reading and public presentations.

FIGURE 1. *Primary navigation page of the Diabetes Ecosystem application. The content is viewable in a curated manor based on varied degrees of depth as desired by the viewer.*

FIGURE 2. *Dynamic and interactive visualization of the research data that has the potential to grow and evolve over time with further data input.*

Though the traditional means of sharing a body of research is sufficient during a curated presentation, it was our aim to keep the richness of the media alive beyond the context of a formal presentation and to deliver a dynamic an expandable visualization of the research results. The application contains content to be explored and experienced in a variety of ways depending on the interests, time constraints, physical whereabouts and preferences of the viewer. It gives the busy executive the opportunity to immerse him or herself in the content at his or her leisure while in transit, a marketing employee the means to share an inspirational personal story during a future vision meeting, and the new hire the chance to take a deep dive into the daily lives of the customer

In the Diabetes Ecosystem application we offer a comprehensive look into the patients' lives and heighten their presence in the eyes of the client or any viewer of the content. By providing extensive and curated content, viewable during personal down-time moments we're restoring the value of user presence in executive thinking and allowing the true stories to resonate. Why do we minimize the juicy content? Everyone loves a beautiful and meaningful story.

Diabetes Ecosystem is currently a stand-alone application for internal distribution within Novo Nordisk. On display for first-hand exploration and demonstration at EPIC is a comprehensive version of the application that has been censored of all patient-sensitive data, while maintaining the true integrity of the true stories and discovery from the research.

Cracking the Marketplace of Ideas

PHILIP DELVES BROUGHTON

Philip Delves Broughton is a journalist, management writer, and best-selling author of two books. Philip was a journalist with The Daily Telegraph *for ten years, latterly as Paris Bureau Chief (2002-04) before he took an MBA at Harvard, which became the subject of his first book, the best-selling* What They Teach You at Harvard Business School. *Philip writes regularly for* The Financial Times, The Wall Street Journal *and* The Spectator. *From 2009-2010, he spent several months at Apple writing case studies for Apple University, its internal management program, and now works with The Kauffman Foundation for Entrepreneurship and Education. His most recent book* The Art of the Sale: Learning from the Masters about the Business of Life *is an 'insightful scholarly treatise on sales' with a global perspective on this critical business function.*

INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much. I am showing you these two book cover images not just to show the different title. People always think that British publishing must be this incredibly classy business. The American publishers came up with this rather nice wooden thing — art of the sale, subtle, discreet. (The other image) was what the Brits came up with, because they thought that it needs to really shout out from the airport bookstores. It needs to be bright orange.

I thought that I'd start by telling you a little bit about myself, and then we'll get on to this man (Donald Trump). As Simon kindly said, I was a journalist for ten years — the first ten years of my career. Further back, I was born in England. My dad was a vicar — clergyman, pastor, whatever you want to call it — who believed that money was the root of all evil. My mother bought houses, rented them out and flipped them. She was highly commercial, so I was sort tortured even growing up. "What am I to make of all of this?"

I became a journalist, and was a foreign correspondent. Then at the age of 32, I was married with a child and living in Paris — a very enviable life in many ways. But I would be staring at the ceiling night after night thinking that the newspaper business is finished — the newspaper business is finished — and I've got to get out before it crashes around me.

I didn't really want to be a businessperson. What I wanted to do was to do what I wanted to do and not go broke doing it. I wanted to figure out business and finance and all of this stuff sufficiently so that I could continue to be a writer and do interesting things — kind of fund my interesting life — the life that I had as a foreign correspondent, and to do so in a sustainable way and satisfy all of my middle class aspirations.

Off I went to Harvard Business School. I spent two years there, and to the dismay of my family and friends, I came out of it realizing that I didn't really want to be in business. I had a large bill, a degree, but no job at McKinsey or a hedge fund or any of these other things you're meant to do.

I wrote a book about it all, which did rather well, and then I was thinking to myself, "What was missing from that whole experience?" I learned a lot. I learned how to build a spreadsheet. I learned how to build a strategic presentation. I learned the importance of alumni networks and all of this kind of stuff, but one thing that they didn't teach was selling.

In my experience, there were a lot of clever people I knew who could do everything else in business. They could make your spreadsheets dance, and they could do these beautiful presentations and they could have brilliant ideas. But if you ask them to sell, you'd hear a whoosh of air and they'd have disappeared from the room. They didn't want to pick up the phone and cold-call people, and they didn't want to expose themselves to the rejection and the thought of people actually saying no to them. They were really terribly scared of selling — and at Harvard Business School they didn't even teach it.

The reasons for this are many. One is that business schools are essentially very insecure institutions. For many years, they felt very insecure within academia. Then, in about 1950, they tried to make the subject of business very scientific. They broke things down into finance and accounting and strategy — the more quantitative it sounded, the better. Sales got shunted aside. It's never really made its way back in.

If you want to be a professor at a business school, you have to be published in certain journals, like Journal of Marketing and The Journal of Finance. There are journals of selling, but they're considered the academic equivalent of the "journal of bass fishing". No one really wants to be published in them, if they seriously want a career in business academia.

I remember asking professor at Harvard, "Why don't you teach sales? It's so basic and so fundamental." He said, "If you want to learn this, go to a two-week course at Dale Carnegie or something."

So I started to look around and I thought to myself this is fascinating. You go anywhere in the world — you go to a French medieval town, or you go to Athens you see the Agora, or you go to Rome and you see the Forum. At the center of all of these places are marketplaces, places where people go and buy and sell.

Long before there were strategic planners there were merchants buying and selling; yet, when I went around and looked at all of the literature, academics didn't really study it. It was basic psychology and when you looked at bookshops this is what you found — (Donald Trump's) Think BIG and Kick Ass. You found a lot of books with ten tips of how to sell, which are kind of cheesy. They suggest that the main thing is to have a cute business card and to show up to meetings on time — to tell jokes and to offer a firm handshake — but it was nothing very revealing.

What I wanted to try and do was to get out into the world and really understand what salesmen actually did, because I found that there was no one really telling me. I would just be getting either these hideous clichés or this very aggressive — frankly depressing view. I knew that I needed to sell, but I couldn't really find anyone who would tell me how I was actually going to do this in a way that made sense to me.

My approach, and you're all anthropologists and ethnographers, but I was a journalist and so I did a bit of journalism. I was sort of journalistic in my approach. I majored in Classics at university and I had a wonderful professor there who said that the only way to write these kinds of books is outlined in the first paragraph of Herodotus' Histories. He said to write about things that are "megala te kai thômasta" — great and wonderful, or big and amazing.

CLOSING KEYNOTE ADDRESS

That's all that my criteria really were, which was to go out into the world; be a journalist about things and to go and find people who seemed to me amazing in terms of how they sold.

THE TAKE ON SALESPEOPLE

When you start looking at selling — particularly in this country — the first thing that you come across if you're a literary type is this incredibly negative view of the salesman. This is a quote from Glengarry Glen Ross by David Mamet: in a scene where one of the salesmen is talking about customers. "They're sitting out there waiting to give you their money. Are you going to take it? Are you man enough to take it?"

Glengarry Glen Ross is an incredibly depressing film / play and (in the film version) all of these terrifying salesmen being bullied by the Alec Baldwin character. It depicts sales as this awful test of manhood. If you fail you've failed entirely as a human being.

Next is a quote from Death of a Salesman, by Arthur Miller. "You can't eat the orange and throw the peel away. A man is not a piece of fruit. After all of the highways and the trains and the appointments and the years — you end up worth more dead than alive." Miller's play - I recently saw a revival of it on Broadway with Philip Seymour Hoffman directed by Mike Nichols - It's just so painful to watch still, sixty years after it was written.

Everything now, in all of the discussions we've had for the last five years about the corrosive effect of capitalism on the human soul, is laid out in this play through the personality of the salesman. I think that why playwrights and writers and poets always write so much about salesmen — and not so much about accountants though they write quite a lot about lawyers — is because these are the people that they come into contact with. These are the businesspeople that they see on a daily basis. They don't see all of the people behind-the-scenes but they really see the salespeople, and so you get this very depressing view.

In this quote from David Ogilvy, the great advertising executive and founder of Ogilvy & Mather, he put this very bluntly when he said, "We sell or else." Peter Drucker, the great management writer said, "Business basically comes down to two things: innovation and sales, and all of the rest is detail." Someone has to come up with something — a product or a service being the innovator — and then someone has to go out and sell it. Everything else is parasitical on these two functions. All of the lawyers and accountants and strategists and everyone else is just feeding off the host of the inventors and the salespeople. It's vital in its function, and it's important.

Again, in the U.S., and in the American tradition you have the Horatio Alger myths, the Log Cabin to White House stories. They're these amazing stories of selling and how if you can sell you can move like a hot-knife through the butter of society. If you can sell , it doesn't matter where you came from but you can rise to the top. So you have in sales the very negative and the very positive — this is absolutely terrific if you're a writer.

And then this quote, which of course I hope is haunting to everyone in this room, and it was certainly haunting to me — Walker Percy, the great novelist, "You can get all A's and still flunk life." People with tremendous educations would come out of these business schools and come out of great universities —spun out into the world with all of these wonderful qualifications — and suddenly the real world hit them in the face and it was a disaster. What was going on?

It seemed to me that sales was one of these areas which people constantly underestimated. They thought that if they could do everything else, everything would fall into place. But if they weren't

selling well, things weren't going the way that they wanted It's terrible and it's grim — it's uplifting, and it's fantastic material.

I started traveling around and one of the first men I met was this guy called Tony Sullivan. He's a Brit and I'm very proud of him. He lives in Tampa and is America's most successful infomercial pitchman. He grew up in Devon, the west of England. His dad used to rent slot machines, one-armed bandits to pubs. He said that the first sale he ever made was when he was nine years old and he sold his parents' house for them. The story he tells is that the realtor came around with a couple, and Tony's parents weren't there. He started taking them around the house. He said, "This is the attic. I love coming up here and playing with my train set." He took them out to see the tree house and the garden. He said, "I love riding my bike." The point was — he didn't know this, but the couple had a child that was six or seven years younger. The enthusiasm of the young Anthony for his parents' house persuaded this couple that this was the house that they wanted to raise their family in.

He said that one of the other big lessons he learned was from his father's secretary, Angie. She used to send him out on collection calls when he was about sixteen. He said that it was quite terrifying. You would go to these pubs and publicans tend to be these larger-than-life characters — bar owners. You'd often interrupt them sort of in the backroom with someone that they shouldn't be with, and they'd shout at you and they'd scream at you. Angie taught him, she said, "You must never ever be afraid of asking for money. If someone owes you money, just go out and get it."

He came to the United States and started selling in marketplaces and is now this extraordinarily successful man. He told me the story about how he really figured out his particular mode of selling. He was standing in a market in Devon when he was 20 or 21. His first sales job was selling t-shirts. He would stand behind a table of t-shirts stacked up and would wait for people to come and say, "I would like one of your t-shirts." He said that he would stand there and he would sell five or six t-shirts.

Then one day came this guy who was selling something called the Amazing Washmatic, which is a device for cleaning your car. "The faster you go, the faster it flows. When you stop, it stops." He had this whole patter that he can still recite. He said that he realized that this guy was actually pitching. He wasn't standing there with his stack of goods waiting. He was drawing in an audience with his story, which he kept repeating. It was just a rote story, a rote display.

Tony went home and about three weeks later got the pitch from the guy who did this. He learned it and would stand in front of the windows of his house and practice this thing until he had it absolutely down cold.

All of his life he has been doing the same thing. He's this wonderful pitchman. He lives in Tampa, as I said, and he lives ten doors down from Derek Jeter, the Yankees shortstop, who has a $30-million dollar house. Tony's house is pretty big. He's got two Range Rovers and a large speedboat. He has no formal education but has an acute understanding of people and selling.

A depressing thing that he told me, he said that he doesn't think that sales can be taught — either you've got it or you haven't. He said, "I know people in my office who know everything that there is to know about sales; yet, there are kids on YouTube who are thirteen years old who are getting millions and millions of hits." He said, "The truth is once you get past a certain age, there is nothing you can teach. Ultimately, you're always being pushed back into a kind of fight-or-flight scenario in selling, and your natural instincts come out." He said, "What are you going to do in a fist fight? It's those instincts that are inculcated very early on that matter. You can't really teach it."

CLOSING KEYNOTE ADDRESS

What's to be done? The idea is that none of us here, if you can't sell now you're done for — which of course is very, very depressing.

THREE ASPECTS TO A SALE

What I've tried to do was to try to break this whole subject down in a way that I could understand it. This is one way. This is just one starting point. There are three aspects to a sale. One is the economic piece, which is how much something is worth.   The second is structural and what's the process that we're going to go through in order to sell this. This applies to products. It applies to ideas. It applies to what you do, and it applies to everything from cars to books. It's the structure. What's the process? How long is this going to take? Whom am I going to have to meet?

Then there is the psychological piece and the battle of wits that goes on in coping with rejection and putting yourself out there. The people not taking your calls and not returning your calls, and there are the political battles you'll fight in an institution.

Now, with the first two, you can go buy books and read about them. You can study it in the same way that you study accounting. It's the third piece that I think is really hard and people really avoid — whenever they can.

One of the articles that I came across is this piece by a guy called Robert N. McMurry who was an industrial psychologist. The article is called "The Mystique of Super-Salesmanship," which he wrote in the 1960s.

I think that it's still the best article written about salesmanship.

He said that there were these traits of the perfect salesman. The first is this thing called the "wooing instinct." Here's what he wrote. He said, "The wooer salesman is an individual who has a compulsive need to win and hold the affection of others." The trait is the product of their early environment. The woo is characterized by the conviction that he's really unloved and unwanted, and so he must use every means at his disposal — charm, flattery, even deception — to win others over. He has a high degree of empathy, which makes him compatible with whomever he's selling to, but there is an underlying hostility to everything that he does. He uses people and ends up despising those who fall for his tricks.

Wooing in a sales context is as difficult to teach as wooing in a boudoir. His ideas ois that salesmen are basically these very dangerous cads, and you can't teach sales any more than you can teach how to win over people of the other sex. By the time you've bought the book on how to date, it's too late, is the idea. You'll never learn.

The second piece is boundless energy and optimism. There is a professor at the University of Philadelphia called Martin Seligman.   He's best known these days for his writing about happiness and optimism, but he made his name studying learned helplessness and depressives. He has done all of this research where he says that optimism isn't just this kind of happy talk quality in salespeople, walking across fire at Tony Robbins' conventions. It really matters in how you succeed as a salesman.

He did all of these studies with Metropolitan Life Insurance salespeople in which he tested for their explanatory style — you know much more about this than I do. It's this idea of how you explain the events that happen to you. Do you immediately spiral into this vortex of self-pity and despair, or do you just put things in their right perspective and carry on? That's how you measure pessimists and optimists.

People who came into sales with an optimistic attitude about everything in their lives tended to do not just a bit better, but a lot better. And they tended to get a lot better while they were in sales, clearly reinforced by the work.

A chronic hunger for money. I remember talking to the head of a bond sales team at a big bank in New York. He said to me that whenever he's hiring salespeople, he always asks them the same question which is if I were to give you $100,000 today, what would you do with it? The wrong answer is that well, I would use half to pay down my mortgage and half I'd put in a 401(k) and a money market fund. The right answer is, "I would go and buy a Porsche, sir." What he wants is people who the moment they're given money, they go spend it and they immediately want more.

There's another group of salespeople and you see this in companies — I guess kind of like Zappos. They really like single mothers with children. It's the same idea where the salespeople really need to make the cash, you know? You can apply pressure in all kinds of ways that you can't with someone who's sort of complacent — some sort of generation Y-er who's trying to find himself and who is going to have a very different attitude to sales to a single woman in her forties with a couple of kids.

Self-discipline and the capacity of hard work I'm going to come back to later. Again, the idea is that often what you learn in sales is very simple stuff. It's to show up on time and make calls and to do all of this kind of stuff. It seems very simple, but most people don't do it.

I remember talking to a Japanese insurance salesman who works at Prudential. He said to me that one of the questions he got asked at Prudential as they were interviewing was "has there ever been a time in your life when you felt that you were going at full tilt?" That's the question that they had asked. The idea is that if you can't immediately find that answer, you're never going to work in sales — and do well.

It could be anything. It could have been that you played on a sports team at school and you competed in a championship. You just felt that sort of sense that you had given your all. It could have been a paper that you had written at college or whatever it happened to be, but some sense that you had given your all in a situation. If you had never felt it, you were never going to feel it. You were kind of done.

And then this final thing of seeing obstacles or rejection as a challenge, that is absolutely vital. There is a man whom I believe maybe some of you have come across — called Clotilde Rapaille, whom I believe is famous for changing the way that coffee is sold in this country. It used to be sold on taste and jolting people out of bed in the morning. Then Rapaille obseverved that really what people concentrate on is the smell of coffee. So every coffee ad since then has shown these kind of wisps of aroma floating up from the kitchen up to people's bedrooms.

He has written that salespeople are basically happy losers. They crave rejection. If you don't offer them rejection and if you don't offer them endless obstacles — if you don't offer them the chance to see their life as this heroic journey — they will tune out. The job of a sales manager is not to remove all of the obstacles of salesmen, but it's to put more in their way because they love overcoming them. It's what gives them real satisfaction in their life.

Another Theory: Ego and Empathy

This was another theory in that the best salesperson has this balance between ego and empathy. The way to think about this is that a lot of sales teaches us to listen. We should be listening to what

the customer wants, you know? What are their real needs that I can satisfy? But at some point you've got to reach into their pocket and grab their wallet. You've got to close this thing. This is quite a hard combination to find, because a lot of us tend to be on one side or the other. We tend to be very good at empathy or kind of bullies. To find a person who has that match is really, really rare.

And this is what happens when you don't get it — you get this psychopath (the actor Anthony Hopkins in the role of Hannibal Lecter from *The Silence of the Lambs*). I think that many of us when we think of salespeople think of this. When we think of companies, the economic imperative to sell creates really strange behaviors in people. Similarly, there is the definition of the psychopath as someone who is highly intelligent and highly sensitive to other people. They can read you. He (Lecter) can read Clarice Starling and smell the lambs on her and hear them bleating and all of this kind of stuff — and then he's ruthless about exploiting it. Most of us are too nice. We put our arm on the shoulder and say that it's all right and don't worry. It will all be okay. A lot of salespeople don't. They see that weakness and they go for it. It makes them very unsettling. I think that a lot of companies have this tendency as well, which is a whole other discussion.

Think about what you do, because this is another useful way to think about selling and trying to break it down. It's not to generalize about selling, but to really think about all of the different kinds of selling. This is one model for looking at it.

At the bottom you have delivery. This is a postman and all they have to do is come to you and put your letters in the mailbox, and hopefully not look too angrily at you.   There are the order-takers who just again, it's a simple process. As you work up, you get into selling intangibles which is what CEOs and investment bankers do — the heads of advertising agencies — and which I guess all of you do. This is in fact the hardest kinds of sales there is. It's much easier when you have a product to show and when you can say, "Here is the Prius and it only uses this much gas. It goes this mileage and has seats and all the rest of it."

When you don't have anything to sell, you have to conjure up an idea in people's minds. That takes real skill. In most professions that's where you get really paid the most. It's the senior partners at consulting firms who are out there pitching these ideas. Here's what you should do with your company, or it's the banks proposing a merger and acquisition that hasn't happened yet. That's what you get paid a lot for. That's where there is a lot of uncertainty and that's where there is a lot of skill.

One way is again, we're trying to normalize selling.   We've all got to do it, and yet we don't want to be Hannibal Lecter and we don't want to be Glengarry Glen Ross — and we don't want to be Willy Loman (from Death of a Salesman). How can we find ways to think about selling in sort of positive ways?

These two guys (images of the Dalai Lama and Nelson Mandela) I love because they're both brilliant salespeople, but we don't conventionally think of them as such. When the Dalai Lama came out of Tibet in the 50s, he was very monkish. He spoke in this Himalayan equivalent of Latin. People didn't really understand what he was saying. He was very ascetic and austere. Yet, we see each day this figure who appears on stage at Rockefeller Center grinning. He's the guru of joy and happiness. He writes these books about it, you know, and celebrities want to be around him.

There is a wonderful book by Pico Iyer about him — a biography of him — which describes the process that he went through to become the Dalai Lama that we see today. He realized that no one was going to listen to him when he was speaking the Himalayan version of Latin, and just sitting up a mountaintop. He had to come down. He had to take certain aspects of Buddhism and make them

palatable. He had a mission which was to help the people of Tibet, and he had to go out and sell this thing.

Mandela, there is again a wonderful book by author John Carlin called Playing the Enemy. It was made into a film with Matt Damon called Invictus which is about the 1996 World (Rugby) Cup in South Africa. It describes Mandela's process in prison.

There he was; he went in as the face of violent resistance. At some point, when he was in jail he came to the realization that the whites knew the gig was up. They were now in this period where they were sort of holding on, because they feared that the only way this would end was with everyone being dead in their beds. He realized that what he needed to be was the bridge. "I need to be the peaceful bridge between apartheid and post-apartheid to ensure that this can be done peacefully." He figured this out. He said, "Well, how do I convince the South African whites that I am no longer the person that they think I am — the person that they sent to jail?"

He started learning more Afrikaans, and he started learning Afrikaner poetry. He started learning about rugby which was not a black sport, or it certainly wasn't then so that he could talk to his guards — talk to the foreign minister and talk to all of the politicians who came to see him — and actually develop a dialogue that was meaningful to both and to develop trust.

Now, if someone did this in order to sell you a car you might feel a little funny about it, but they did all of this for the right reasons. The reasons really matter. They adopted very conventional sales techniques and sales tactics of listening and empathizing and understanding — really trying to get into the minds of their customer in order to do things that we all agree are highly worth doing.

Again, it's getting the perspective on what is it that you're really trying to do. If it's worthwhile, then sales techniques aren't all Hannibal Lecter and grimness. They can be very, very positive.

(New images) This is Leo Castelli, the great art dealer up there and there is Jasper Johns, the painter. The story is that Castelli was sort of a dilettante who came from Europe. At age 50 he found himself in New York and thought oh, I'll be an art dealer. It was a very sort of casual decision, but I talk about him because I think that people like him — art dealers, film producers, publishers and whoever they are — they are the people who make culture happen.

So the story goes, he went to see Robert Rauschenberg. He had met Rauschenberg at a gallery opening and one Sunday afternoon he thought to himself, "Well, I'll go and have a drink with Rauschenberg." He goes to Rauschenberg's gallery and they're sitting there. Rauschenberg says, "Would you like a drink?" He said, "Yes." Rauschenberg says, "Would you like some ice?" Castelli says, "Yes, please." He said, "Well, but I have to go next door, because my roommate over there has the fridge." Castelli says, "Oh, I'll come with you." He comes in and there he sees this painting. He sees the flags, and he's absolutely captivated by Jasper Johns. Johns is only 27 or 28 — grew up not far from here (in southern Georgia).

He decides to have a show in his gallery, or in his apartment because he doesn't have a gallery yet. He moves aside the sofas and invites everyone he knows, one of whom happens to be the head of the Museum of Modern Art, a guy called Alfred Barr who ends up buying three or four paintings. Thus, Jasper Johns is born.

It took Castelli to get in there and find Johns; to go and get the ice; to see his paintings; to push the sofas aside in his gallery and to invite everyone. Thus we have Jasper Johns, and so I think it's very important to recognize the role of the salesperson in this. Artists are very grateful for the likes of Castelli. Castelli interestingly was one of the first to put artists on a stipend, because he realized that their earnings were like this. He wanted to flatten them out to make their lives more normal.

CLOSING KEYNOTE ADDRESS

ROLE PERCEPTION

Another famous paper on sales was a meta-analysis of all of the sales literature that was published in the '80s, all of the sales literature of the '20s. It tried to look at all of these different kinds of selling and tried to find what it is that really counted.

What they found was that it was just a mess. What they found was that different kinds of attributes, the different talents and different skills applied very differently across different kinds of sales. If you were selling real estate, it took a very different kind of person than if you were selling, you know, road materials. If you were selling a movie, it was a very different kind of pitch to selling golf clubs. Different kinds of people thrived in very different environments.

The one thing that they said actually carried across every single kind of selling was this: role perception. It's a simple idea which is that sales is such an emotional journey of highs and lows. You're being constantly buffeted, and your entire self is kind of under siege all the time.

If you don't feel comfortable about what you're doing while you're doing it and how you're doing it — if you haven't drawn clear lines between your personal and professional friendships and if you don't know what you're willing to do for a buck — your life will be a total mess as a salesperson.

But if you've figured this stuff out early on — what are you willing to do, why am I doing this, what are the techniques I need to employ and what are the goals I'm trying to pursue — you will actually succeed in almost any kind of selling. If you can get this role perception right, you have a good chance of doing pretty well as a salesperson.

One of the men that I interviewed was Martin Shanker, who trained salespeople across a range of U.S. retailing from Harry Winston at the top down to JCPenney. He said to me that the challenge with training salespeople on the floor at JCPenney is that not one of them really wants to be there as a salesperson. They're not there because they love folding sweaters and jeans, and because they love that fuggy atmosphere in a department store on a Saturday afternoon. That's not why they're there. They're there because for many of them, it's the best job that they can get. It pays their health insurance, and it's decent and safe.

So when you're trying to get them to sell better, that's what you need to get to. You need to get to that reason that they're there. You can't tell them, "Oh, you've got to be passionate about your product" and all the kind of nonsense that you hear in these sales talks where you've got to be full of pep and energy. It just goes down completely flat. But if you get into that story that's going through their head that the reason I show up here is because my kids get fed and my health insurance gets paid — they will do whatever you want. Again, it's all around role perception.

Three steps of a sale. Again, we're trying to break it down to seduction, rationalize and closing. You'll see this a lot in the most basic sales training. My hunch is you lot are probably very good at the middle one ("rationalize"). On either side of this is seduction and closing, but all three matter.

The truth is that not everyone can be good at all three. Sometimes you get people who are terrific at going out and just seducing the world with your ideas and saying that this is all brilliant, and then someone else has to come in and say, "Well, here is how it actually has to happen." Then someone else has to come in and reach in the pocket and get the money — and make sure that this actually happens.

Again, thinking about where in this are you? Where do your skills particularly lie? Where do you need to develop around those two — or hire, find someone else in your organization who can do the other two?   You don't need to be all three, but all three do need to happen in order to make a sale.

The other way to think about it is that there are three kinds of a sale. Again, it's more like three kinds of a buyer. One will be sitting there thinking that I need something very particular done for me. Either you are the person to get it done for me or you are not. I need a car with airbags that can carry my kids and that goes 35 MPG. "Here sir is the Honda Accord." Done. It's a very sort of simple and transactional price, product, function and sale.

There is the self-oriented buyer. You see this a lot in commodity businesses and so bond salesmen, for example, in which basically everyone is selling the same thing. The edge goes to the person who can give them the Yankees tickets or the steak dinner — something extra — because the products are all the same.

The relationship-oriented sale is in the sort of difficult products where a lot of trust is needed. The buyer actually wants to know a lot about you, because you're delivering something that is highly intangible. It's not a commodity. It's not a bond. It's not something that's necessarily going to fix their problem. They kind of hope that it does, but they don't know at this point. They really want to start a relationship with you, and you have to be sort of open to that happening. It's just another way of thinking about it. There are many different kinds of ways of thinking about it, but I find this useful.

This man is called Abdelmajid Rais El Fenni. Majid for short. I went to see him in my sort of Herodotus mode. He lives in Tangier, in a souk in Tangier. Again, how did I find these people? I would ask people, "Tell me a good salesperson, and tell me a good salesperson you've met." One of the first things that people say is, "Well, you've got to go to the Moroccan souk. It's absolutely unbelievable the way that they sell stuff there."

Of course, anyone who has been to Morocco or Turkey or Cairo — anywhere in the Middle East where there are these souk environments, where essentially everyone is selling the same stuff — when you go in, they're tugging at your sleeve and really hassling you and pushing you to buy.

I wanted to find someone who could explain that to me, first and foremost, and also whatever else I could learn. Masjid's story is that he's a son and grandson and great-grandson of traders in Morocco. At age sixteen, he started selling sheepskin rugs to hippies in Fez. Then he was a classic souk salesman. He sold little straw camels and ashtrays and rugs that were all identical.

Now, at some point in his life without having spent far too much money on a Harvard MBA, he realized that he really needed to differentiate. He needed to get away from this commodity souk in which the only advantage went to the most aggressive salesperson.

He told me all of these tricks that they used — whether it's bribing the tour guides as people come off of the cruise ships, and he told me about these code words that they have. When the guide comes into the shop and he sees the salesmen, he will say something like the word plastic in Arabic, which means Americans because they're always trying to pay with credit cards. He used the phrase in and out, if they're in and out very quickly so won't be able to compare prices. They used the word dahanzi [phonetic] which means minaret if it's a group of Jewish people, a reference to the practice of male circumcision. The shop-owners want to know this because it affects how they will sell.

There are all of these rapid fire code words that get exchanged in the first 15 seconds, and then the buyers come in and the sale proceeds.

Majid decided that he needed to sell better stuff so he went and learned about antiques. He went to Mauritania and met these great caravans going across and bought amber. He was buying amber and

polishing it up and making very beautiful jewelry. He now runs this store that's very elegant and very chic. He has a book in the back signed by Mick Jagger and Catherine Deneuve and French presidents and all of these fancy people. If you ever go to a smart hotel or restaurant where there is a Moroccan theme, chances are that the stuff has come from Majid's shop.

Anyway, I'm sitting there with him and this tourist comes in. Majid goes and turns on the lights. The man looks at him dismissively. Yeah, okay — Majid turns on another light. Then Majid says, "May I help you with anything?" The man says, "No, no," then turns and walks out the door.

I'm sitting in the back, and I say that this to me is the great challenge in sales. Here you are a successful man and you've built this wonderful business. You know all of these wonderful things, and yet you have to deal with people basically treating you like a cheap peddler all day long. How do you do it? He flicked at his waistcoat and he said, "You need loose robes." He said, "It has to kind of flow off you. You have to get into this mindset where this just doesn't matter to you."

He told me a story about an American man who once came into his shop and started picking up things. He picked up a piece of metalware —a silver cup. He said, "What's this?" Majid said, "It's silver." The guy goes, "Yeah, yeah, Moroccan silver. Yeah, it's just a blend of junk." He picks up an antique and says to Majid, "What's this?" He said, "Well, it's a beautiful Moroccan antique." He said, "Yeah, yeah, you made it in your backyard." He picks up this ball of amber and says, "Well what's this?" It's amber. The man says, "Yeah, made in Hong Kong — plastic." Majid is getting ticked off by this. Then the man picks up this beautiful ivory bowl and starts shaking it. Majid says that he gripped him by the wrist and said, "You don't know what you're doing. That's been carved over three generations. It's a beautiful, beautiful antique. You need to put that down right now." The man went out rather chastened.

Apparently, that evening, he went out for dinner with some friends in Tangier — as Majid tells it. They told him, "You did what to Majid? You don't realize that he's the only good man in the souk." The next day the man comes in chastened, guilty and apologetic. Majid said, "I had him right there." I just started selling stuff to him and he wouldn't stop buying. He said that it's like when you put the rod out there and the fish takes it, and you let it out and reel it in. He said that the day before the customer had come in like a wild horse. And then he sat down like he was sitting on a saddle and said, "Today, I just rode him in." This was his sort of attitude to selling.

I went to Japan and met a life insurance saleswoman. There is this extraordinary group of saleswomen which is a relic of the Second World War. Japan was wondering what to do with all of these war widows. One of the jobs that they gave them was selling insurance door-to-door. It has long been a way for women to find a way into the otherwise very male world of Japanese business.

I met this woman called Mrs. Shibata. She's the top saleswoman at Daichi Life. She told me this about the rejection in her life. She said, "I often thought that couldn't make it. There were times when I couldn't get a contract, and I wept in front of a prospective client. But if you're rejected three times, you have to go back and figure out what you're doing wrong — even when you're in a devastated situation, it's a step forward to what has to be a better time. I came to learn to have an objective view of my own performance, to enjoy the hard situations. Later on, when I was trying to cold-call banks, I was rejected 98 times in a row. I just wasn't getting it. When your motivation is down, that's just another excuse. I kept coming to work because the passion was in me. This is how I contribute to society."

It goes back to this idea of finding ways to cope with rejection that is just essential to the salesperson's job. There is no way around it. There is only a way through it.

A FUSION OF DESIGN AND SALES

(Image of Steve Jobs) I know that this man causes for a lot of you an existential crisis because it's been this bull market in Apple for ten years without a single ethnographer on staff. It's very hard but anyway — and I'm not an Apple fan boy or anything so don't worry about that.

The point I'm going to make about him is an observation shared with me by a man called Howard Anderson who is a professor at MIT and was a salesman in his day. He teaches all of these engineers at MIT. He teaches at the Sloan School, all the engineers. He says, "It's fantastic teaching engineers because they're so brilliant, but they know nothing about selling and so they're just hungry for anything." He said to me that "Often when people start up companies and a lot of these students, that's what they're trying to do, they think that they have to go out and hire a salesperson." I often tell them that that's not what you have to do. What you have to do is you have to become the salesperson. You, the engineer who can barely get your tongue out of your mouth, has to become the salesperson.

When you take the education of a salesperson and the education of an engineer and you put them together, what you get is a far stronger strain of businessperson than if you put an engineer and a salesperson — two separate people - together.

I think that one of the things that allowed Jobs to do what he did was again this sort of fusion. He brought so much together and so much of the business into himself, and he became a much more powerful salesperson as a result.

THE ZEN OF SALES

One of the salesmen I met was a man called Augie Turak. I met him in New York at Columbus Circle. I went and had breakfast with him. He arrived and he was this sort of shambly-looking man who had yellow teeth and was smoking — had on a baseball cap. He looked like someone's sort of abandoned grandfather.

He used to run sales at MTV in the 80s selling to cable companies. He now goes around talking about this thing, the Zen of Sales. He actually learned Zen in his twenties. He's a very interesting man. He went to the University of Pittsburgh and dropped out because he really wanted to be a salesman — it was crazy — and went and sold carpets.

He moved to a town where he knew nobody. It was almost like a sort of self-hazing. He went to a town and went through the Yellow Pages until he found a company that would employ him, and then he was a carpet salesman for about a year or so.

He has this very powerful sense of the hero's journey. I remember asking him, I said, "Why on earth do you do this to yourself? You don't need to. You come from a nice family and you've had a great education." He said, "Luke Skywalker doesn't need to be a Jedi, but we pay $16 to sit on the edge of our seat and watch him become one."

He wanted the journey that sales allowed him to pursue.

Anyway, he said that the Zen of Sales comes down to this idea that he gives these endless talks saying, "listen, listen, listen", and telling his audience that that's all they need to do as salespeople. And yet the moment he stops talking he knows his audience is thinking, we get all of this about listening. But what's in it for me? The message of listening is immediately contaminated by self-interest. The Zen salesman can focus on listening without self-interest.

CLOSING KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Unlike so much in business, sales is almost completely transparent. It's not swathed in all the kind of mystery that other aspects of business are, which I think is why a lot of people avoid it. It's too clear. Augie Turak says that it's the best laboratory there is for understanding human nature, because it's all of these questions of what are your friendships really worth? What are you willing to do for money? What are you willing to do to the guy over there who's going to hit commission before you? You've got a great product. What kind of small lies might you be willing to tell to sell it? To what extent are you willing to get rejected? How much are you willing to go out there and put yourself out there? All of these things get thrown up in sales that I think get airbrushed in the rest of business.

With ideas, talking to people here I know that one of the big challenges is this obligation to be simple in how you communicate and to kind of take all of this work you've done — and it's so complex and brilliant. And then the market seems to demand that you turn it into this kind of idiot statement so that you can get it through into the marketplace of ideas so that people will listen to you.

Again, I've heard people say that the reason I don't like selling is I don't like asking for money. I've heard people at this conference say that. The truth is that if you don't ask for money, you're just bad at sales. It's not a virtue to be afraid of asking for money. It's not a virtue to present people with complex ideas rather than simple ones because you're so smart.

The virtue is in having this brilliant idea and actually bringing it to fruition — mastering this sales cycle in the way that the Dalai Lama and the way that Nelson Mandela did — to get what you want done done.

Sales often seems so simple and idiotic. I went to the head of the Dale Carnegie Corporation, which still operates in 130 countries in the world. You read How to Win Friends and Influence People, which is the second or third best-selling book of the 20th century and it's all this stuff you'd tell a kid. Show up on time, shake hands, write thank-you letters and smile and be nice. I said to him, "How come you've got a business doing this?" He said, "Common sense, not common practice. People ignore this stuff. They think that they do it naturally. They think that it comes naturally."

I don't think that it does. I think that it's constantly **underestimated, and I think that's why people find** it much harder than it should be. It forces them back. It forces them to look at themselves.

"How did you present over the last two or three days?" A salesperson would take a video and go back to their hotel room and look at it repeatedly, which is agony. It's really painful. But they do it because that's the way that they get better at it. Confronting who you are and confronting the transparency of your message is the toughest thing about sales.

This was the Zen of Sales, that you must study hard and never slack in your efforts. If you do, then you'll be nothing but an ordinary person. Augie Turak used to place this on every fridge in every apartment that he's ever been in, because he felt that that was the trick about sales. It's not complicated, but it's just relentless practice.

I went around Savannah yesterday afternoon looking for lunch. I was walking down the street — I had never heard of this place. The reason I went there was because of the line. It's very simple. People have a way of complicating selling, but this was the sales pitch for Zunzi's, which I now understand is Savannah's top sandwich — possibly America's. It was the line that did it. You realize that so much is done, so much marketing and all of this effort is expended to essentially achieve what Zunzi's has which is a line coming out of the door. It's why we go into Apple stores, because we want to be a part of this group. "It must be good if all of these people are in there!"

Cracking the Marketplace of Ideas – Delves Broughton

(Image of man holding a religious sign) I saw this man down on the Square. I wish that I had a proper photo of him. He looked something out of a Grant Wood painting. He was very sort of grim-looking — despite having this amazing news.

(Image of two painted figures in a shop window) One place that I saw was this, and I'm going to end on this. This I found very inspiring. It was shopSCAD. Again, I have no idea what the reputation of this place is, and I'm sure that you're all very tortured by it.

I'll tell you why I liked it, which again comes back to my effort to normalize sales — thinking of a way to make sales understandable and comprehensive and doable to someone like me who didn't want to Think BIG and Kick As. I went and read some of the stuff written by the craft movement at the end of the 19th century, William Morris and people like that. They described schools and their vision for what schools should be. They said that schools should not only be teaching reading and writing and all the rest, but that they should be teaching practical skills — carpentry, gardening, flower arranging, wallpaper design and other kinds of things.

They didn't stop there. They said that there also had to be a shop at the front of each school. The reason was that children needed to learn the idea that they weren't just doing these practical activities in the abstract. They needed to take whatever it was they'd made and sit in front of the school and sell it, because they needed to understand the mechanism by which whatever they did was turned into value for others. That was the way that they understood their worth as human beings.

I remember reading this and I said, "This is it! This is why my sons do a lemonade stand every summer." I'm not trying to turn them into the next winners of The Apprentice, but I do want them to understand that their time and their effort and their work is worth something. I want them to be capable of mastering the mechanism by which they actually extract their value, by which they turn their hard work into a livelihood. It doesn't happen by magic; otherwise, you're just Tony Sullivan standing there with a stack of t-shirts and no one is really coming up to you — no matter how nice your t-shirts are. Meanwhile, the other guy with the Amazing Washmatic pitch is selling of product.

That's the message that I have for you — and shopSCAD is also wonderful. Again, think of sales as the mechanism by which you turn all of this wonderful work into worth and your worth as a human being. Your financial worth is an expression of that, and to think about sales like that — that's what I have to say. Thank you very much.

CONTRIBUTORS

Contributors

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Eric Arnould [Curator, Paper Session] (*eric@sam.sdu.dk*) received his PhD from the University of Arizona in cultural anthropology in 1982. He is Professor of Consumer Marketing at University of Bath. His practice covers consumer culture in Euro-American contexts and rural development in Africa. He has worked on many public and private consultancies, and has been employed in business schools at universities in North America and Europe. His current research interests cover agriculture, alternative market channels, energy, and narrative.

Shubhangi Athalye [Pecha Kucha] has a masters degree in psychology. She works as a qualitative market researcher and applied ethnographer in India and has over a decade of experience across a variety of studies from social research to innovation. Being a hobbyist photographer she finds visual ethnographies fascinating. Enjoys using the visual medium to capture the context lucidly, the symbols, rituals, behaviour patterns..sometime from the outside and sometimes actively seeking the 'why's & how's'.

Christopher Avery [paper] (*Chris@sonicrim.com*) is a design anthropologist at SonicRim. He brings a diverse skill set together with a deep historical perspective on technology and society to help his clients translate cultural insights into insightful actions.

Robin Beers [Pecha Kucha] (*robin@biz-as-human.com*) is creating an Open Source family as a result of having her adorable son, Dexter, in 2009 via donor sperm. Her family includes two, loving God Fathers, 16 d-sibs (donor siblings), and 18 moms.

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Erik Vinkhuyzen [paper] (*erik.vinkhuyzen@parc.com*) is a senior researcher at the PARC and specializes in video-ethnography of work to study how people organize their work and workplace, how they coordinate their work by means of formal and informal communication, the effects of the physical environment on work, the role of technology in the accomplishment of work, and how an organization's (sub)culture affects people's work. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Zurich in Switzerland.

Michele Visciola [Curator, Pecha Kucha] (*Michele.visciola@experientia.com*) is President and one fo the founding partners of Experientia. Michele is an international expert in usability engineering, human computer interaction and user-centered innovation. He has specific interests in new interfaces, notification systems, scenario design and the usability-aesthetics relationship. His lengthy professional experience includes consultancies for companies such as Nokia Denmark, Research in Motion, Samsung, and Condé Nast.

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