

9. Working within a division of labour

Introduction*

It ought to come as no surprise to learn that those who work at LTC see themselves as part of an elaborated division of labour. From the way that they talk about their work, both to each other and to outsiders, it is quite clear that the notion of a working division of labour is one which they use to interrelate and explicate the things which they see going on all around them. In their daily lives, on ordinary working occasions, they encounter and depict LTC as a body of activities organised into a working division of labour.

With very little difficulty, this rationalised reconstruction which people working at LTC provide, can be seen to conform to the features of one of the global summations which, in the introduction to Part Two, we associated with Egon Bittner's (1974) analysis of the concept of 'organisation'. That is to say, we can all imagine and recall instances of how participants in an organisation such as LTC will describe their activities in terms of a formal scheme depicting a division of labour. And, just as we did with the notion of 'a management style in transition', we could seek to tease out the uses such a construct might be put to. However, we want now to take a step in a somewhat different direction. We want to move away from what has been rather abstracted analysis and towards the description and examination of the detail of actual cases. We want to move away from the consideration of actor's rational reconstructions to the exploration of how activities in a division of labour are encountered and perceived by those working within it. Here, of course, emphasis lies not on the overall character of the general framework and the location of particular instances within it (be it provided by actors' or sociologists' theorising) but on how this and that particular instance is seen, recognised, and related to. As soon as we make this turn to the

division of labour as an encountered phenomenon, what becomes prominent at the mundane level is not integration but the fragmentation of activities and task performance. That is to say, on a day to day basis, as one is immersed in it, the division of labour is experienced not as a coherent, integrated totality but as a stream of differentiated and discrete tasks-to-be-performed.

As we saw in our discussion of Bittner's work, the concept of organisation is used to provide a thematic unification for what are mutually explicating phenomena. The set of activities and the codification or structure which they are located within, gain their sense from the mutual elaboration and instantiation which they provide for one another. Exactly the same holds for the division of labour. As such, the division of labour, or any other similar organisation for example, the hierarchy of responsibility, the network of power, centrality to the organisation's charter, display a transcendental presence. Because any task can be located within the division of labour, its sense is given by and therefore contributes to the overall rationality of the structure. It is precisely because of this transcendence that Bittner was able to pick out the features of organisation as commonsense construct and describe its methodical uses.

In contrast to a concern with the worked out character of the division of labour, one can ask what the organisation of activities consists in as an environment within which tasks and activities are located, co-ordinated and implemented. From this point of view, experience of the flow of work, that is working within a division of labour, provides the transcendence with a somewhat different form. The division of labour begins to have more of a documentary character, in the sense that there is a continuous process of mutual explication of the relationship between 'anyone and their activities' and 'the overall organisation as set out in an organisational plan'. This process of explication of the structure of work tasks appears to display two separate but closely related aspects. The organisational principle seems to be what we will call one of egological determination.¹ In addition, the specific character of the division of labour within LTC, seems to be shaped for the information saturated environment in which it is located. In the normal transactions which constitute the day to day dealing which people working at LTC have with one another, both these features are made visible and oriented to.

Take for instance, the organisation of activities around the Purchase Ledger Desk (cf. figure 9.1). This organisation consists of a number of positions occupied at any one time by particular persons. The actual distribution of the positions is, of course, entirely work specific. That is, it is the sedimentation of local production practices for the work of invoice processing and cheque paying.² From the point of view of the accomplishment of such activities, the work to be carried out appears as a permanent impersonalised stream of tasks in hand, tasks completed, and tasks to be done. Within the bounds of competence and training, it is of no matter who carries out the work. Rosemary, Eileen or Amanda could just as easily as Renée fill out the journals and make out kalamazoo cheques. In that sense, the personnel are locally interchangeable, and indeed, often enough to speed things up or cope with a crisis they will "cover for each other". At other points in the division of labour, this impersonalisation of task performance may be totally absent. Lawrence gives the final authorisation to all non-food invoices, not because as owner of the Company and Chairman of the Board, this function devolves on him but because he is a unique repository of Company relevant and Company specific information. In many cases, only he knows what the agreed

terms are and what appropriate prices and conditions might be. Although there is this dissimilarity in the degree of personal identification with task performance, nonetheless for both the work around the Purchase Ledger desk and that which goes across Lawrence's desk, task differentiation and task specification is seen to be in terms of 'decisions-that-I-can-make' and 'actions-that-I-can-take' and those which others deal with. It is precisely this feature which we want to capture with the notion of egological determination. From the point of view of an actor in a division of labour, working through the endless stream, getting things done, means doing-what-I-do and passing tasks on to others so they can do what they do. Such an egological description contrasts with one which might be couched in system relevant terms.

The individual within a division of labour

The central question, of course, concerns the organisation of this differentiation with respect to any individual. This organisation provides an institutionally located and thus socially available allocation of activities and tasks. As we say, from the data to hand, the major line of seems to be oriented around the centrality of the individual and is bounded by the horizons of their task performance (hence its egological character). These spheres of operation vary from those whose boundaries are permanently open, under review and hence always near to hand, to those which are at considerable remove, closed and taken for granted. This variation is experienced, made visible and recognised in innumerable ways as part of the daily praxis of working in and with the division of labour at LTC. They form known, commonly understood and taken for granted structures of relevance.³

Matters beyond enquiry.

For the accomplishment of any tasks, some aspects of what is involved in doing them will be problematic, a question of attention, effort and concern. Others will be treated as matters beyond enquiry. Howard Becker (1986) has glossed this distinction beautifully in his account of art worlds as a division of labour.⁴ For the artist to paint his picture, manufacture the sculpture or compose the symphony, a whole set of practical activities also have to be accomplished but by other people. The possibility of painting, sculpting or composing depends upon these activities being done in an unproblematically competent way. People have to make the paints, transport the marble, produce the music sheets that are required. To produce the artistic artefact, the artist need not enquire into the production processes which make this work possible. In much the same way, for Sue on the Costings Desk to be able to check the prices on invoices, does not require her to worry about the postal service which delivers the mail, the grounds on which food and non-food invoices are separated, or the Company dependent rationale which is given for that separation. Neither does she have to be concerned with what happens to them when she has "passed them on". Once she has finished with them and sent them on to Purchase Ledger, they are no longer her concern. Yet, while such matters are, for now, beyond enquiry, they can be brought under scrutiny if required by invoking a presumption of structural symmetry. From what 'anybody' knows about how LTC and similar enterprises operate, it is possible to discover the reasons why things are done and the modes of organising actions. So, when asked to "pull" an invoice which she has already passed on, from what she knows about the system and the way it works, Sue can find her way through the division of labour at the Purchase Ledger desk, and to locate

thewhereabouts of the item is in the production process and thus who has it. Alternatively, when 'chasing' an invoice back to a supplier to query some item, Sue has minimal difficulty working her way through the accounting procedures of another company to find the locale she requires and get her problem attended to. She achieves these feats by utilising a presumption of a reciprocity of locations.⁵ That is, the division of labour which she is attempting to bring under her hand is treated as a distribution of locations for the accomplishment of activities. What she has to find out, and this is what she does with ease, is where, in the set of processes for the production of financial accounts, the work she wants to query gets done. What the reciprocity of locations is built upon, then, is a presumption that some solution to the problem will have been provided, someone will do the work in more or less known ways, just who and where can be discovered if required.

What do you need to know?

Alongside the presumption of a reciprocity of location is a matching horizontal distribution of knowledge and interests. This horizontal distribution provides a working and workable basis for the termination of interest and the truncation of enquiry. This basis is rooted in the commonsense rational precept that although enquiries and investigations could, in principle, be extended infinitely, pragmatically not everything can be questioned at once and not everything needs to be questioned at any one time. Lawrence needs to check, for example, that the suppliers named on the invoices he sees are the correct ones for the provision of the non-food goods or services purchased. Sandy checks that the codes allocated by Rosemary are the appropriate ones for the budget headings from which payments will be made. Neither takes any direct interest in matching up the invoice with its appropriate delivery note or with the carrying out of the work nominated. Those are the concerns of someone elsewhere in the organisation. Unless these have been checked, they should not be doing the work they do. Again, Dawn keys the codes and values into the computer without needing to have any detailed knowledge of the routines which produce the management accounts, the computer-printed cheques and bank transfers. It is enough for her to know that somehow the work which she carries out enables these processes to happen. But it is crucial to the routine accomplishment of her weekly and fortnightly round of work that she orients to the tightly specified time-table of the accounting fortnight. By knowing what the time-table is and precisely whereabouts they are within its prescribed order, she can juggle the batches of invoices, wage sheets, stock control sheets and other inputs she makes in order to ensure that all the fortnightly routines can be run on time. Although she is not directly concerned with the organisation of work in the wages office, or the unit processors desk, a knowledge of how well they are working and where they are up to forms an enclave into her own sphere of operations.⁶ The intrusiveness of this enclave varies according to the "tightness" of the time schedule she is attempting to manipulate.

Gearing into the division of labour

The egological principle both generates and provides a solution to the problem of task co-ordination.⁷ This is because the division of labour specifies which tasks one has to embed one's activities within and which are, so to speak, institutionally taken care of. To any actor, competent task performance is the achievement of routine embedding or the successful

invocation of available institutionalised structures. This invocation takes the form of anticipations of how the institutionalised structures work. Memos can be put in people's pigeon holes in the certainty that they will eventually read and act upon them. Invoices can be left in baskets for others to pick up. If, later, they have gone from the basket, they have been collected. Such anticipation of the routine operation of the division of labour provides organisationally specific ways in which those within it can call it up, gear into it, and make it work for them. If we stay with Dawn in the computer room for a moment, we can see that she has to be obliged to check if the coversheet for each bundle of invoices has been completely and correctly filled in. She has to set the number of the invoices in the bundle right at the start so that the routine loops the appropriate number of times. If the box is empty or the count is wrong, this snarls up the way in which she works. On the other hand, should the routine's internal monitor reject an invoice for whatever reason (for instance because the totals do not cross check) she merely returns the invoice to the processors and holds the bundle until the invoice is returned. It is a feature of institutionalised character of accounting procedures that there are enquiry procedures for just this sort of contingency. She knows this. But sorting the problem out is somebody else's work. Gearing in, then, is a means of ensuring smooth performance of the flow of activities by ensuring the fit of one's task performance into that of others and by carrying out "running repairs".⁸

The ecology of activities

We have suggested that, from within, activities appear to be organised around a principle of relatedness to the individual. In addition, they appear to be zoned according to organisationally relevant dimensions of space and time. A look at a floor plan of the main office shows the accounting-relevant distribution of niches.

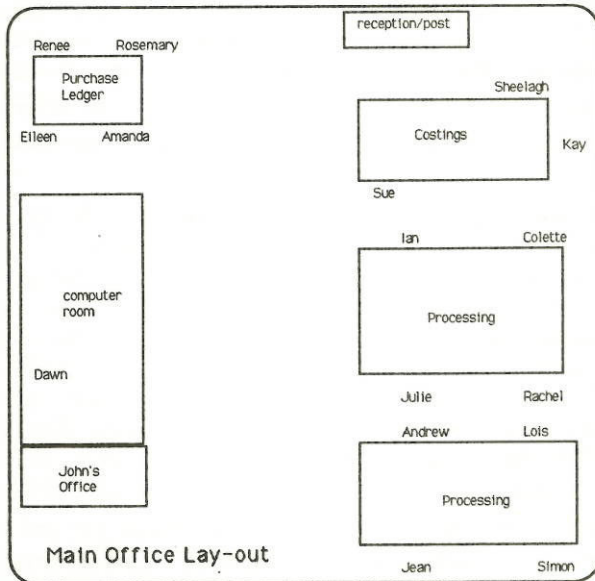


Figure 9.1 The main office plan

The major Company relevant distinctions between types of outlets as marked by the Divisional structure are not visible here. Instead, work is clustered around types of audit check. The distinctions between AIRPORTS, COUNTRY KITCHENS, and CONCESSIONS are of interest to Sue, Amanda Rosemary and so on, only in so far as they bear upon the performance of their tasks. What we can see, then, is an environment of paper processing. To those who know the office and its work, the layout recapitulates the division of labour in that the sequencing of activities can be reconstructed from the mapping of who is where. To see this, all that has to be done is track the movement of an invoice through a flow diagram of the system and around the floor of the office. Thus, when seeking to locate where a particular item might be, or some action take place, a glance around the office suffices as re-constitution of the organisational plan.

As we saw in detail in Chapter 7, accounting work as it is carried out by processors or at the Purchase Ledger desk is also tied to the technology available. This technology consists in a filing system which utilises box files and print-outs, and manually operated desk calculators. Thus what any person can do at any one time is constrained by what they can get on their desk, who has the files out and where, what can be photocopied, what can be written alongside what whereabouts the information is stored and how troublesome it would be to get it. On the other hand, given the availability of fax machines and telephones, the importance of sheer proximity is much reduced. Now reliance is not totally placed upon the postal system, for operational purposes of account production, Kirkwall Airport in the Orkneys is only marginally less close to hand than the Telford Leisure Centre.⁹ Janice can just as easily get in contact with the manager of either should she need to. In that sense, the work carried out is both constrained by and freed by the technology in use. This is, perhaps, most pointedly the case with Dawn. As we mentioned earlier, the routines she follows are fixed by the requirements of the accounting fortnight and the information processing routines of the computer. When she is inputting data, she clocks through the windows which the routine provides whether or not they required for a particular invoice. Her work is fixed by the features of those routines. She can only move backwards and forwards within windows in certain ways and can only call up windows in a particular order.¹⁰ However, she can call routines up and juggle with the types of in-puts she makes in whatever ways she needs to keep the work flowing

The standard conception of the division of labour in both Sociology and Economics is of a procedure or device for increasing the rationality, effectiveness, or efficiency of some organisation of activities in a production process. We saw that this global summary of the division of labour is akin to the way that it may be described by those who work within it. Indeed, we would go so far as to say that such kinship is not accidental. The social scientific evaluative use of the notion of a division of labour depends upon that which is in currency in the ordinary talk of commonsense management. It is from such talk that social science derives its phenomenon. If we turn away from depictions of the division of labour, though, a different sense of the nature of the division of labour begins to emerge. From the point of view of anyone immersed in a working division of labour, its organisation takes on the appearance of a free flowing gestalt contexture.¹¹ Activities move through fore and background according to the principles of egological determination and structures of relevance we have just outlined. The organisation of activities is not a fixed, given, system-specified phenome-

non but an outcome of the routine co-ordinating work which those working within the division of labour perform. In that such co-ordination is routinised, taken care of as a day's work, working in the division of labour renders the co-ordination of activities unproblematic and invisible as part and parcel of achieving its goals or accomplishing its tasks. It is because the production process "works" that the problem of co-ordination of activities disappears.

However, as we can see from the account just given, if we take an interest in the mundane character of the division of labour, we bring that achievement into focus and make it the topic of empirical enquiry and theoretical reflection. To put it phenomenologically, by adopting this attitude we allow the achievement of co-ordination to "break through". This "breaking through" is not exclusive to Social Science reflection and enquiry. On occasions, the achievement of co-ordination as a methodological solution to the problem of effective action is itself a topic commonsense enquiry. When this happens, Social Science enquiry can take actors' enquiries as its departure point and for its phenomenon. To put it another way, when those involved in working within a division of labour investigate its character, the interactional construction of a division of labour becomes available for social scientific reflection and analysis.

The inter-actional construction of a division of labour

In this next section we will look at an instance when a division of labour became a members' methodological trouble¹² and in the ways in which a working division of labour was constructed in flight.¹³ In both instances, for those taking part, the point of determining a division of labour was a matter of working within a context of justification. That is to say, the efficiency, effectiveness or rationality of a given organisation was a matter of determining the appropriate criteria for measurement by reference to the division of labour itself. Such criteria were inextricably tied to the context in which the division of labour was being constructed. They were not 'free floating', 'context free', or independent. They were, like the division of labour itself, "locally produced".

In making the division of labour itself a topic for enquiry, members in the setting rendered it visible. This is in direct contrast to those occasions where accomplishment of their working tasks in routine, unproblematic ways actually makes the division of labour invisible. As a solution to the problem of co-ordination of tasks, it is transparent. It is only when one steps back from the production process which the division of labour has been constructed to fulfill and asks about "division of labour objects" and their construction that this sort of organisation can become itself a topic for analysis. This is, of course, precisely what Adam Smith (1970) managed in the classical characterisation of division of labour in pin manufacture. That actors involved in a division of labour can theorise its character is plain. However, to pick up our familiar theme, when looked at from within a production process, a division of labour, and particularly when looked at in terms of how the features of the objects it produces are recognised and deployed in the taken for granted way that they must be, an object passing through the division of labour is seen and treated as a stratified record of the work of producing it.¹⁴ It displays the locally organised construction of the division of labour for all who know how to see it. Since, at LTC the production process is one which handles what we will later call "accountants objects", it is essentially a division of paperwork labour. We will

now see how paperwork, and in particular the invoice, can be seen as displays of the work that goes into producing it.

The invoice as a stratified record of work

Before we start, here are some organisationally relevant facts which inform the process.

- [a] The company receives invoices in a constant flow, but pays them only fortnightly when a series of computerised cheques are run off.
- [b] As far as the processing is concerned, there are two forms of invoice, Food and Non food. Non food invoices are treated in an entirely different way to food invoices.
- [c] Part of the reason for separating out food invoices is managerial; other reasons are financial and organisational. Given the nature of the business, the vast proportion of invoices are for food (and drink) items. One person can deal with these efficiently if they specialise in them. Given that food purchases are centralised through main suppliers, the supervisory role can be carried out by this person. She can also check that the appropriate negotiated prices are charged. A cross check of food purchases is also obtained through the unit's fortnightly returns on which usage, food, liquor and labour costs are calculated. For non food items, no such cross checks occur, there is no central purchasing policy (by and large) and knowledge of what the appropriate prices are is dispersed among the management. Circulation of the invoices is required for checking purposes alone. However, such circulation also allows supervision of spending at the units - a means by which Director level managers can keep their fingers on what is going on.
- [d] Any invoice, food or non-food, has a circulation life within the Company i.e. a length of time it takes to process and pay it. The shortest this is likely to be is a week; the longest 6 or 8 weeks. During this life time, it passes through a number of hands and across a number of desks. The invoice contains a record of its own passage displayed as the information contained in the date stamp. (Cf below). Invoices circulate in bundles which start life as "what was in the post" and accumulate into "a day's worth" after coding by Purchase Ledger. From there on, they can accrete into large sized bundles or heaps, depending on how quickly they are processed in the later stages. The most likely place for this accretion to occur, in the case of non-food invoices at any rate, is in Lawrence's office, where they can sit for up to a week.
- [e] Each stage in the process is dependent on the completion of prior stages for its own completion. It is also scheduled to fit around the "fixed points" of computer input, the weekly wage payments and the fortnightly stocksheets runs. This means that invoice processing is a continuous, fitted-in-where-it-can-be matter for Dawn in the computer room. There is a constant backlog of processed invoices to be typed in.
- [f] The rationale for having a separate invoice processing function is, of course, two fold. It gives a fair degree of financial control and also allows efficiency of effort

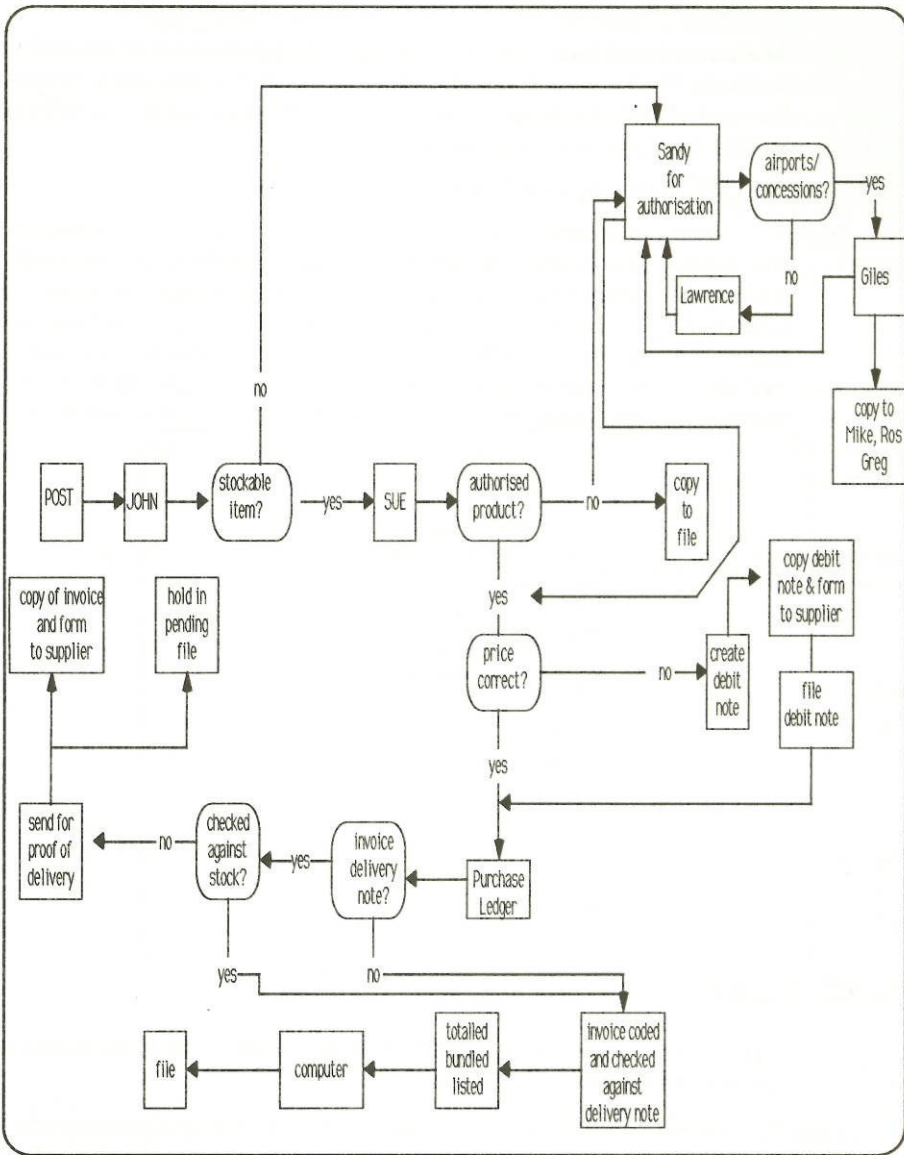


Figure 9.2 A flow diagram for non-food invoices.

by freeing management from the task of checking bills and so forth.

- [g] As a succession of tasks to be done in a series, the processing of an invoice has itself to be fitted into the daily and weekly routines of those that deal with them. No-one deals just with invoices. Sue, for instance, has other functions to perform. So have the members of Purchase Ledger.

Let's now have a look at the stages through which an invoice passes.

Stage 1. Most invoices arrive in the post at Head Office. Some are sent on from the units but this is not encouraged. When an invoice is sent direct to a unit, a letter is sent to the supplier concerned telling them to bill Telford. Sending the invoice to the unit makes two things possible. First, the unit manager could alter the figures. Second, much more likely, the manager will probably hold the invoice until the next lot of unit post is due - which means it may not go until the weekly time sheets or the stocksheets are sent. Given the length of time it takes anyway

The diagram shows a rectangular stamp form titled "S.L.F. CO No.3". The form is divided into several rows and columns. Labels with arrows point to specific fields:

- "code for suppliers account" points to the "SUPP. No" field.
- "unit code" points to the "UNIT" field.
- "invoice type" points to the "INV TOTAL" field.
- "unit number" points to the "COST" field.
- "initials of directors" points to the "AUTHORISED FOR PAYMENT" field.
- "food, liquor, cleaning" points to the "EXP" field.

The form fields are as follows:

S.L.F. CO No.3			
SUPP. No			
UNIT			
INV DATE	/	/	/
INV TOTAL			
INV No			
NET			
VAT			
COST	EXP		
AUTHORISED FOR PAYMENT			

Fig. 9.3. The date stamp

to process an invoice, this just adds to the delay. When it arrives, the invoice is stamped and passed on to Deborah.

stage 2. Deborah separates the food and non-food invoices and pulls out any which she feels Sandy might want to see. The food invoices are sent to Sue for coding. Non-food invoices go to Rosemary. The coding procedure is as follows. The stamp provides a number of boxes to be filled in.

Rosemary fills in the various boxes with codes. These codes file the information on the invoice in the computer.

SUPP NO is supplier number as specified in the computer's list of authorised suppliers. Thus ASB 001 will mean the main account with Associated Biscuits. The Unit gives a designation for the division against which the invoice will be

charged: 1000 = concessions; 1100 = airports; 2000 = Farmhouse; 3000 = head office; 4000 = hotels and Carlisle. The logic of this system has since collapsed. Invoice Total is used to indicate whether an invoice (A) or a credit note (C). EXP is the expenditure code (eg food, liquor, cleaning, etc) against which the item is to be charged. This is the difficult item. If Rosemary cannot see, or does not know, she will ask for a coding from Sandy. The AUTHORISED FOR PAYMENT is where Lawrence and the appropriate Director sign their initials. Without initials it won't be processed. {Sandy occasionally pushes an invoice through before Lawrence sees it and holds it for payment (ie holds the cheque ready made out) until he has signed the invoice. Electricity and other utilities are the most common cases.

Rosemary also checks the totals are correct.

stage 3 Once it has been coded, the non food invoice goes to the Divisional director for authorising. Here different strategies are adopted. However, all involve checking that the expenditure was authorised by the manager (in the case of repairs etc), that the work was done satisfactorily. For expense claims, these are processed by the director himself.

stage 4. The authorised invoices are returned to Sandy who passes them on to Lawrence. He signs them (or queries them) and passes them back. He generally goes through the invoices once or twice a week, when he has time or can't find anything better to occupy himself with.

stage 5. The invoices are returned to Purchase ledger where they are bundled with a cover sheet into 70's and sent to the computer room. The cover sheet gives the date and the codes of the invoices in the bundle. After being typed into the computer they are filed.

The only differences to this occur when the invoice is urgent. Should this be the case then a manual kalamazoo cheque will be made out. This requires Rene to make a cash book entry, a journal amendment entry for the computer and to process the cheque and get Sandy to sign it. Generally, all electricity and Gas bills are paid this way and it involves a lot of extra work.¹⁵

As it moves on its journey around the paperwork socio-technical system,¹⁶ the invoice is a record of the work that has been done upon it. From the moment it first arrives and is date stamped, all production work leaves its mark upon it, either in the spaces provided within the date stamp or as appended comments, memos, queries, questions stapled to it or stuck on it. In that sense, the orderliness of this record upon the invoice is a representation of the orderliness of the work tasks being performed. This representation or record appears as the ticks beside items whose prices have been checked; question marks against those which are unknown; the initials in the various boxes on the date stamp; and so on. To anyone coming to an invoice at any moment of its path through the accounting system, the recording on the invoice of what has and what has not been done, builds up a stratified representation of the sequence of stages it has passed through and the actions taken with regard to it. Since this sequence and these activities are standardised, a glance at the stratified record is enough to be able to tell what has happened, where things are up to and what the possible problems might be. Knowledge of the accounting practices in general and any particular realisation of them

are mutually explicative. One cannot understand either in isolation.

For those engaged in those the production of "accountant's objects", the orderliness of the record is the the orderliness of the tasks. The orderliness of the the organisation of one goes proxy for the orderliness of the organisation of the other. As the boxes are filled in, as the correct codes are written in, the amounts checked and the authorisations given, the normal unproblematic routine working of the system reproduces itself. Work upon the invoice is, therefore, a distinct sphere of operations for those whose tasks it is to ensure the paperwork is completed "properly". Its horizons, its internal organisation, and its structures are given to them as local and contextual knowledge about how things are done at LTC and what from the invoice one can say about what has been done and what yet needs to be done. Learning to read an invoice as a record of its production work is learning the paperwork division of labour.

Conclusion

The materials we have examined in this Chapter, provide an initial indication of the complexity and richness made available to those treating the division of labour as an interactional phenomenon. As with the materials discussed in the other chapters in this Part, they demonstrate how the detailed organisation of economic and business activities can be explored from within. Our analysis has been directed to showing that it is possible to conceive and investigate the division of labour as an egological organisation of thematic relevances and structures of knowledge. This egological organisation allows for task co-ordination which, of course, it is the point of the division of labour to achieve. Knowing what is relevant, knowing what has to be done and where is gearing into the division of labour.

NOTES

- * A version of part of this chapter was presented at a conference entitled "Action Analysis-Conversation Analysis" held in the Maison de Sciences de L'Homme, Paris, September 1987.

- [1] The egological character of experience within social life is laid out in M. Natanson (1986).
- [2] Local production practices are explored in work by Garfinkel (1986), Lynch (1984), Livingston (1987).
- [3] The centrality of structures of relevance for the interpretation and hence organisation of social action is discussed at length by Schutz (1970). It is also examined, but in a different way, by Gurswitch (1964).
- [4] H. Becker (1986). R. Dingwall et al. (1983) study much the same phenomenon but without Becker's style or panache.
- [5] This idea is a correlate of Schutz and Luckman's (1974) "reciprocity of perspectives".

- [6] For an analysis of 'enclaves' cf. Schutz (1970).
- [7] "Gearing into a situation" is one of the modes of acting in the world examined by Gurwitsch (1979).
- [8] There are strong affinities between this use of 'repair' and that associated with Conversation Analysis. Cf. Schegloff et al. (1977)
- [9] Again Schutz is a repository of insights on the organisation the world into that part within reach, that within restorable reach, and so on. Cf. Schutz and Luckman (1974)
- [10] There are two point here, one major and one minor. The firm's system was bought in from NDS as a job lot when NDS upgraded. It is therefore poorly designed for LTC's needs. Second, the windows are actually "pages" which must be run through in a serial order. To get from P3 to P1, pages 4 and 5 have to be rolled through.
- [11] This term is Gurwitsch's. Cf. Gurwitsch (1964).
- [12] C.f. Garfinkel's (1967) discussion of "the Coroner's problem" as a member's methodological trouble.
- [13] 'Construction in flight' comes from an aside in A. Strauss et al (1981).
- [14] Produced objects as stratified records are discussed in Garfinkel (1967) on Clinic Records, Raffel (1979), and Lynch's (1985).
- [15] These hand written cheques are the Kalamazoo cheques mentioned earlier.
- [16] In the sense in which we are using the term, "socio-technical system" is a somewhat broader conception than the network of social and work relations associated with analyses such as those of Trist and his associates (Trist 1971). Indeed this whole volume is an exploration in what LTC as a socio-technical system might be said to be.