



# Shifting Practices

Reflections on Technology, Practice, and Innovation



Giovan Francesco Lanzara

## Shifting Practices

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# **Shifting Practices**

**Reflections on Technology, Practice, and Innovation**

**Giovan Francesco Lanzara**

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To the memory of Donald Alan Schön



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This book is the outcome of multiple waves of research over the course of many years—each subsequent wave bringing up new problems and new ways of looking at those problems, different interpretations of the data, new conceptual developments, and new stages of reflection, only to be changed by the wave that would come next. Hence time has been an important contributor to this book. Materials have been incessantly reworked, over and over again, like pebbles on a shore. In a sense, there has been a great deal of waiting on my part so that this book could come to being and take the present form. Over the years, traces, or footprints, providing hints of the character and direction of my inquiries have been left in several papers delivered at conferences, workshops, and in a limited number of published articles.\* In this book the materials have been further elaborated, expanded, and organized in a new and more complete form, producing what is substantially a new piece of work. I may say now that this book offers an expanded account of the entire journey that I have made.

\* “Shifting Stories: Learning from a Reflective Experiment in a Design Process,” in *The Reflective Turn: Reflective Studies in Practice and on Practice*, ed. D. A. Schön (Teachers College Press, 1990), 285–320. “Between Transient Constructs and Persistent Structures: Designing Systems in Action,” *Journal of Strategic Information Systems* 8 (1999): 331–334. “Technology and the Courtroom: An Inquiry into Knowledge Making in Organizations,” *Journal of Management Studies* 38, no. 7 (2001): 943–971 (with Gerardo Patriotta). “Reshaping Practice across Media: Material Mediation, Medium Specificity, and Practical Knowledge in Judicial Work,” *Organization Studies* 30, no. 12 (2009): 1369–1390. “Remediation of Practices: How New Media Change the Way We See and Do Things in Practical Domains,” *First Monday* 15, nos. 6–7 (2010), <http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/3034/2565>. “How Technology Remediate Practice: Objects, Rules, and New Media,” *Materiality, Rules, and Regulation: New Challenges for Management and Organization Studies*, ed. F. de Vaujany, N. Mitev, G. F. Lanzara, and A. Mukerjee (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

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This book is dedicated to the memory of Donald Schön—teacher, colleague, and friend.

GFL

Bologna, June 16, 2015



## Prologue: On Negative Capability

In November 1966, I happened to be involved in the relief operations of the great Florence flood in Tuscany, when torrential and persistent rains caused the Arno to overflow and inundate the city. At that time I was a young student at the University of Pisa and, together with other students took part in a university rescue team that, a few days after the flood, traveled to Florence to provide whatever help was needed. When we arrived on the site, we couldn't believe our eyes. The city—cradle of the Renaissance—was hardly recognizable. A three-feet-thick layer of mud covered everything; all around, things had taken on the color of the mud. Half of the city had literally become the river bed, and, in the lower parts, the water went up to the level of five meters, reaching the first floor of the buildings. It was a scene of blight and disruption. People were shocked. Many had lost loved ones who had been drawn into the muddy streams and swept away by the force of the river. Private houses and public buildings were shattered, and people were trapped inside. Cars, bikes, public vehicles, and other things were floating everywhere, unusable. Shops and trades were ruined. Celebrated works of art were encrusted with mud. Unique manuscripts and books of high historical value were soaked in muddy waters and lost in the public libraries and cultural institutions. The life of the city was suddenly interrupted. Basic means and tools for action were unavailable. Ordinary routines could not be executed. Nothing worked, and little seemed to be recoverable. Basic utility infrastructures such as water, gas, light, and telephone service had collapsed. Everything was disconnected. A gloomy silence hung over the scene, and the mud, the somber color of the mud, gave everything a ghostly, unreal appearance.

Yet, in the middle of the disaster, though in despair and in great need, people were not completely prostrated: they were not passive at all. Struck by calamity, the citizens of Florence—known since the time of Dante for their internal divisions and endless daily quarrels occasioned by all kinds of motives, both menial and less so—soon began collectively working toward the recovery of the city, showing an unsuspected level of



solidarity and proving themselves highly capable at organizing and carrying out collaborative action. People who, in normal times, often behaved as rivalrous, quarreling individuals within highly divisive groups now took effective community action, providing mutual help to one another and working hard at quickly reestablishing the basic activities of daily life.

At the time, I felt as if I were watching an unplanned social experiment taking place in a natural though stressed setting. The city became a sort of social laboratory, where people rediscovered the experience of what it means to both face a seemingly impossible, or even unthinkable, event and try to get things done with the few resources that were available. The question for each and everybody was: What can I do here and now? In spite of the difficulties, new forms of organizing emerged, and behaviors could be observed that are not much seen in the ordinary, nonproblematic situations of daily life. In the aftermath of the flood, the city turned into a large experimental setting where new ways of doing things were tried out in spite of the disrupted situation—or, perhaps, precisely because of it. Stories were being told, even witty ones, such as the one of the “miraculous” therapeutic properties of district- or street-specific kinds of mud for rheumatic pains and skin diseases.<sup>1</sup> The river brought destruction, but it also opened a space for innovation and opportunities for social discovery and learning. New forms of community action emerged at the street and neighborhood level: special long-term loans with low interest rates were offered by the local banks to help local businesses; new techniques were invented for the recovery and restoration of paintings, sculptures, ancient books, and antique furniture; and a deeper understanding of the flood regimen of the river Arno was developed together with the installation of an early warning system.

The Florence flood of 1966 was both an existential and an epistemic experience for me, and the two were deeply intertwined. By landing there as a sort of parachutist, I was thrown into a situation that I had never experienced before and for which I wasn't at all prepared. I was confronting a situation that demanded an engagement in action before one could even make sense of what was going on. But taking action was difficult. There was no specific “place to be” anymore. Time was reset and had to begin anew. People strove to reestablish a minimal social order at the local level. The flood was indeed a cosmological episode of the sort in which one feels suddenly lost, missing

1. In the *quartiere* of Santa Croce, a poster on the wall advertised the following: “People affected by rheumatic pains are advised to visit the Spa in Via dell’Anguillara.” Another ad offered: “For skin diseases the mud baths of Borgo de’Greci are highly recommended.”

both the meaning of the situation and the cognitive means to restore meaning (Weick 1993a). The sense of displacement was so strong that I didn't quite know what to do there at first, and for a while I let myself be absorbed in the emotional and painful sight of human suffering and material disruption. Though it is perhaps odd to say, I found some relief in such moments of suspension, as they helped me relate to the situation and begin to make sense of it. The emotional exposure to disruption moved me to action. For ten days, my fellow students and I tirelessly rescued and cleaned antique books and manuscripts soaked in mud in the basement of Florence National Library, where our rescue team had been posted.

In the following years, the event returned to my mind in flashes over and over again, often unexpectedly. It surfaced in the most disparate situations. In a way, it became part of the underlying background of my existence, of what I now consider to be my basic human experience. I have always lived with it. However, as I recalled the event in my memory, I kept questioning its significance over and over again.

The Florence flood strongly influenced my subsequent style of both thinking and doing research. It did so in ways that I could not realize at that time, but that I discovered only later in the course of my life, when I went back to those distant times in my remembrances and recurrently reflected on why that distant event was still so vivid in my memory and why it kept coming back to me as an ambivalent, elusive ghost or, perhaps, as a beacon for navigation. Retrospectively, I regard it now as a sort of imprinting, a seminal experience that contributed toward giving me a particular sensitivity and attitude toward what I perceive to be questions worth asking and researching. With all the cautions and precautions that retrospective thinking demands, I believe now that the event has played an important role in shaping my way of becoming alert to emergent contingencies, of paying attention to phenomena, and of choosing the things and problems that I perceive as interesting and worthy of being studied. Basically, the event contributed to form my gaze as an observer, teaching me to see and sense things in a particular way. It selectively shaped my way of approaching reality and my cognitive style. I developed a keen interest in studying situations of practice in which some event, change, or novelty interferes with, shakes up, or disrupts the smooth flow of action and meaning, leading to a destructuring and, eventually, to a reshaping of the situation and the practice. This sensitivity I find hard to express in words, but it will hopefully be made evident in this book.

Since the time of the flood, I have seen specific events—discontinuities, disruptions, and “accidents,” even small ones—as opportunities for change and redesign, for exploration and innovation, but also as holes for penetrating into the underlying fabric of a practice. I have come to appreciate ruptures and cracks in the texture of reality as

“picklocks” for opening up multiple interpretations and paths of action. I have cultivated an analytical passion for the ephemeral, the inconspicuous, and the disconnected, focusing on phenomena and situations characterized by instability, transiency, and restructuring, in which people coping with ambiguity, change, and loss of meaning must strive to reposition themselves in situations of action. In such situations, actors, things, and meanings must be reconnected from their state of disconnectedness. The texture of social life and material things must be rewoven. But familiar forms of action cannot be easily reinstated, and one must resort to improvisation and bricolage, relying on makeshift arrangements that just “make do.” In such situations, the observer is compelled to reposition him- or herself and to reflect on his or her own stance as an observer and actor-in-situation.

Both the research work and the thinking that underlie the studies included in this book are linked to that original event (the Florence flood) and seminal experience through a subtle, often subterranean thread. In the years following the flood, as I engaged in keeping track of processes of change and innovation in a variety of organizational and institutional settings, I became gradually aware that, in my approach to the field work and the research material, I transposed my early experience of the Florence flood (as well as my experience, years later, of the 1981 Southern Italy earthquake) to the study of how practices can shift and change owing to the sudden appearance of discontinuities.<sup>2</sup> In other words, I was *seeing* the phenomena of change and innovation in a domain of practice *as* events and situations that shared many features with the more dramatic events I had been involved with.<sup>3</sup> At first, as I unreflectively carried over my previous experience (and my identity as a researcher) to the new settings, I wasn’t aware of the transposition, because the *metaphorein* was embedded in my own sensing of the situation and in the role I framed for myself in it as an observer and reflective interventionist. The connection and the bridging were a gradual discovery that unfolded as I kept reflecting on my own method of inquiry.

The questions that can be asked in the two different settings—the setting of a disaster and the research setting—are quite similar:

2. My study of the organizational response to the aftermath of the 1981 earthquake in Southern Italy is reported in Lanzara 1983.

3. For Wittgenstein (1953), *seeing as* is an act of interpretation. When I *see A as B*, I selectively transpose some features of B to A, thus associating objects or situations that might look quite dissimilar at first. In other words, selected features of B are used to structure A and to carry over forms of action across contexts and situations, eventually leading to innovation (Lanzara 1993; Schön 1979).

What happens in an established social setting when a disruptive event, such as a flood or an earthquake, breaks into the normal course of daily life? What happens in an established practice or work setting when a novel artifact or tool for doing work changes the familiar work routines?

As I further developed my ideas, it seemed to me that disasters and “accidents” in general could be taken as metaphors for situations characterized by ambiguity and uncertainty, where, perhaps less conspicuously and dramatically, an incoming event, change, or innovation brings a discontinuity into an ongoing system of activities or established practices, pushing individuals and organizations to redesign their current routines, restructure the meaning of the situation and their practical dealings, and reframe taken-for-granted assumptions and practices, thus repositioning themselves in the new situation. Such situations, I claim, are not at all rare in our daily life and in our current practices across a variety of organizational and institutional settings. We encounter problematic situations all the times, and often they demand that we reposition ourselves and reshape our action. In situations of this kind, we experience a break in the normal flow of events before we can even make sense of it: the smooth flow of nonproblematic action cannot be sustained, and we have to slow down or suspend our familiar routines, step back for a while, and think about them. Ordinariness is disrupted by the discontinuity and must be reestablished through the patient reweaving of the normal fabric of human life.

Uncertain and unfamiliar situations, in which ordinary experience and sense are disrupted, require from the actors a great deal of the quality that poet John Keats has called Negative Capability:

that is, when man is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason. (John Keats, letter to George and Thomas Keats, December 21, 1817 [Keats 1962])

According to Keats, Negative Capability is the distinctive quality that forms “a man of achievement,” one who accepts moments of indeterminacy and loss of direction and is able to capture the potentialities of understanding and acting that are revealed by such moments.<sup>4</sup> It involves the ability of being “content with half knowledge,” keeping things in a sort of suspended animation (or in active suspension). Yet the state of suspension does not necessarily lead us to inactivity, passive reception, or closure; rather,

4. Keats mentions William Shakespeare as possessing “enormous” Negative Capability and being a paramount example of a man of achievement in the domain of poetry and drama (letter, December 21, 1817, in Keats 1962).

it is open to letting events follow their course and letting us be seized by the world as it comes to us, being in a state of watchful alertness, but with no pretension or impatience to fix an event's direction, rhythm, and final ending. The idea of Negative Capability has some kinship with the existential attitude Martin Heidegger has called *Gelassenheit*, the spirit of *disponibilité* before What-is (Heidegger [1927] 1962). People endowed with Negative Capability are capable of being receptive to the world, penetrating into situations, objects, and living beings and, in turn, letting themselves be penetrated by them.<sup>5</sup> They are gifted with a particular sensitivity that enables them to trace the erratic whirls of a leaf in the wind and make sense of them; to watch the recurrent, endless movement of the waves of the sea and appreciate how each of them is similar to and, at the same time, different from the next one, and yet is unique; or, to steal an image used by Keats, that helps them to understand the sparrow "picking about the gravel."<sup>6</sup> We come to grasp these phenomena by sensing rather than knowing; in a way, we resonate with the phenomena before we actually know them.<sup>7</sup> However, this *disponibilité* and existential openness to experiencing the uncertainty of the world also brings with it a cognitive disposition: the indeterminacy enables us to pay attention to things and features that in normal situations would go unnoticed and therefore be considered unimportant. We come to see and appreciate things that cannot be seen when we are involved in the nonproblematic execution of daily routines. We are pulled to explore possibilities for sense-making and acting that would not easily come to mind in ordinary situations. Discontinuities and fluctuations hide a potential

5. In another letter to J. H. Reynolds (Letter 62), Keats (1962) calls this attitude "diligent indolence," stating that he would rather be a flower than a bee: a flower opens the petals to receive, whereas a bee goes buzzing around hunting for nectar, that is, with a purpose.

6. "If a sparrow comes before my window, I take part in its existence and pick about the gravel" (John Keats, letter to Benjamin Bailey, November 22, 1817, in Keats 1962). Such taking part requires being gifted with a capacity to feel rather than to reason.

7. In situations of this kind, sensing comes before understanding. Interestingly, similar ideas are expressed, in a distant domain of human inquiry, by Francisco Varela, the late Chilean neurobiologist and systems theorist, who found evidence that some insects respond to specific variations in their surrounding environment by "resonating" or "buzzing" with appropriate frequencies, which record their sensing of the variation and their coping with it. Based on his studies of the human brain and taking inspiration from Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception, Varela argues that cognitive activity originally manifests itself through such sensing and that more structured forms of knowledge result from successful coping and from ongoing interaction with the medium (Varela 1994; this approach is more fully articulated in Varela, Thompson, and Rosch 1991).

for innovation for those who have tolerance for the uncertainty and ambiguity associated with the loss of sense and structure. These possibilities remain precluded to people who do not possess the existential capability to experience a phenomenon free from epistemological bounds.

Actors endowed with Negative Capability are able to maintain an existence, a “being” in troublesome situations where any possibility of being and acting seems to be denied or is hard to sustain. They accept their state of vulnerability and leverage it into a means for acting and sense-making. Even in the midst of radical uncertainty and in spite of the discontinuity that affects their normal course of life, they are able to design and experiment with new routines and forms of action. Negative Capability is the source of a particular mode of action: an action that surges from the void, from the loss of sense and order, but is open to the enactment of possible worlds.

In this perspective, Negative Capability supports thinking and acting across contexts. Work is done not just *within*, but *with* or *through* the constraints of a given context in order to reshape it and generate new forms of action. To produce innovation, action needs not be radically new or revolutionary in the common sense of the term. It need not set itself Faustian goals. Even simple, apparently inconspicuous actions that trespass an accepted boundary and question what we take for granted, or actions that establish new linkages and throw bridges across traditionally separate domains, can be highly innovative, leading to seeing and doing familiar things in unprecedented ways. In this connection, Roberto Mangabeira Unger (1987) has transposed the idea of Negative Capability to the domain of social and political reform, arguing that it is a quality very much in demand when social actors set out to deny the “false necessity” of the actual social and political order and strive to reinvent it by going beyond the constraints and entrapments of the actual context. Revising and reframing established institutional arrangements and the underlying cognitive imageries requires being able to work through the discontinuity between the previous and the emerging arrangements, suspended in a sort of nowhere land where the previous order has been relinquished but the future one has not yet begun. In such an ambiguous state, action is not (or cannot be) performative in the sense of reaching out for clear goals, but is rather directed at exploring possibilities and experimenting with patched-up, makeshift arrangements. As is the case of the immediate aftermath of a natural disaster, one is caught in the contrasting pressures and the dilemmas engendered by the discontinuity: some sense and order must be reestablished, but the stable and solid ground on which we used to stand has collapsed, and we are left groping in muddy waters. The rising anxiety collides with patience: anxiety pushes us to search

for quick fixes, while patience demands high tolerance for ambiguity and time for learning.

What is a discontinuity, then? And what constitutes a discontinuity empirically? Ambiguously, a discontinuity is a perceived gap that should be “filled” so that the normal flow of action or the fabric of a situation can be restored, and, simultaneously, it is a time and a place where something ends and something else begins. A discontinuity marks both an ending and a new beginning. As an ending, it may produce displacement and loss of meaning; as a beginning, it can be an entry point to a new situation or state of affairs, where familiar objects and relations change and rules other than the usual ones must be created, a place where the world as experienced so far no longer holds up and things once familiar look suddenly unfamiliar. I like to think that a discontinuity can be a sort of gateway, a “stargate” connecting us to different worlds and dimensions of reality.

It is useful to dwell a bit on our ways of conceptualizing a discontinuity. Let us focus on discontinuity in time, which is what mostly interests us here. We tend to conceptualize it as a spot-like event, drawing a clear-cut separation between before and after, or between two sides of a well-defined ridge. But it need not be so. The line of separation is often more blurred and shifting than our concept suggests. In other words, a discontinuity may have a temporal span: it can last for a while, sometimes even for quite a long time, and might not even be perceived as such by the people who live through it. A historical discontinuity, for example, can take the form of a smooth transformation to a different arrangement. One may thus travel through a discontinuity, and perhaps even thrive in it, without even realizing that one is caught in it. A discontinuity, and the sense of it, is often a retrospective reconstruction. But empirically what we call a discontinuity is characterized by entangled processes, where things past never come to a complete annihilation and things future never come to a complete unfolding and fulfillment. In discontinuities, there is always transformation, recombination, and reshuffling of elements.

Making sense of a discontinuity is not a trivial matter. On the one hand, *before* the discontinuity, new features and odd things might emerge that we don't perceive as such or are not even able to see, but which we learn to see only after the discontinuity. On the other hand, *in the aftermath* of the discontinuity, we may find many things and features from before the discontinuity that are carried over across the discontinuity and stay with us, though in a mutated semblance.

Owing to its peculiar features, a discontinuity can be turned into an epistemic tool, becoming an opportunity for reframing knowledge. Pragmatic actors can use it to

reshape the practice, and analysts can turn a discontinuity into a methodological picklock. A discontinuity can be intelligently exploited to provide access to situations of action. For example, one can treat dramatic events, such as the Florence flood or a major earthquake, as large-scale social experiments (although that may sound a bit cynical). But that can be done as well with smaller-scale and definitely less disruptive happenings—for example, the introduction of an innovation, such as the appearance of a new work tool or method in the workplace. Thus, events become opportunities to conduct natural experiments in noncontrived settings and to set up laboratories for testing theories and producing change (Lanzara 1983). Alternatively, discontinuities can be deliberately produced by the observer-interventionist in order to carry out a practical experiment in a situation of practice. Deliberately induced discontinuities can be real or simply imaginary figments of the observer's imagination. For the purpose of observation and knowledge-making, the observer may, for example, deliberately stretch out the situation observed by amplifying or distorting selected features in order to bring to the surface phenomena that look inconspicuous or lie hidden behind the veils of the ordinary. This, in other words, is a noncanonical, almost irreverent way of using selective bias as an epistemic technique. By doing that, a microevent, apparently inconspicuous and uninteresting, is turned into a "macrocosm of meaning."<sup>8</sup> The purpose, and the perspective, of the observer is not so much to strike a faithful representation of the situation observed and achieve a presumably "objective" truth; rather, the observer strives to dig up and reveal aspects that lie buried under the surface of reality and, being perceived as ordinary, go unnoticed. This methodological procedure is based on an iconic transformation of the real.

To study innovation as a phenomenon, then, one must search for situations of discontinuity and rupture and explore them in depth, because it is in the occurrence of such situations, minimal and transient as they may be, that a possibility for understanding change and for intervention arises. In many instances, it is necessary to be able to observe phenomena that are lurking under the surface or in the interstices of what we consider obvious or ordinary (that is, what makes reality for us) and are not immediately remarkable. This requires a particular treatment of the materials similar to a fictional technique. It consists of an iconic transformation of the real enacted through

8. This expression is used by Clifford Geertz to describe the world that the interpretive anthropologist generates when he digs deeply into a specific social event or the detailed aspects of a culture and unearths its unsuspected complexity. See, e.g., Geertz's essay on the Bali cockfight, "Deep Play" (Geertz 1983).



the deliberate amplification or distortion of events and situations in order to reveal hidden, inconspicuous, or peripheral aspects of them—aspects that do not lend themselves to straightforward observation. In iconic transformation, there is not just selection, nor is there free invention of new traits independent of the situation; rather, there is a purposeful accentuation of traits.<sup>9</sup> By virtue of such an operation of stretching, a spot-like action, a mundane object, an inconspicuous event, or a microsituation can be “blown up” into a macrocosm of meaning, giving rise to multiple worlds, structures, and representations. It is as if one used a magnifying lens to gain selective access to phenomena that the naked eye would not be able to observe.<sup>10</sup> Such a procedure essentially amounts to creating an active icon. It is not much different from the symbolic operation of creating a brand for a product or a company for marketing and advertising purposes. However, although in the business world the purpose is to enhance the product’s desirability and demand in the market, here the strategy is oriented toward achieving the maximum effect in terms of meaning and theory making. These aspects of the transformation make it similar to what artists do. Indeed, the transformation of reality has always been the essence of art, where the fiction enables the capturing of the essence of an object, the appreciation of a situation, or the representation of a value. Novelists and figurative artists often use such techniques of transfiguration of the real to produce unrealistic, hyperrealistic, or paradoxical effects, or strange worlds of all kinds, fantasies that in their exaggerated form may reveal unexpected and surprising features. In painting, for example, cubism has decomposed space and the human figure by introducing multiple and simultaneous points of view in the same picture; surrealist painting has exposed us to the sight of things that look more real than real objects, to the point of looking strangely unreal. On their part, playwrights create characters by accentuating psychological or moral traits so as to make iconic exemplars of human types. Similarly, the novelist Italo Calvino, a literary scientist and experimenter in his own right, has used descriptive and narrative techniques that zoom in on the object of

9. It is very close to the effect produced by a caricature that helps us capture specific traits or the character of a person.

10. In the study of practices, a strategy of observation that has some affinity with the iconic transformation of the real has been used by Davide Nicolini (2009). The strategy is based on the metaphorical movement of “zooming in and zooming out” of practice. The zooming in and out is obtained through switching theoretical lenses and repositioning in the field, so that certain aspects of the practice are foregrounded while others are bracketed (Nicolini 2009). I should say that zooming in and out usually entails size reduction and enlargement, not necessarily stretching or deformation of features—but bracketing and foregrounding, taken to the extreme, may lead to iconic transformation.

description to the point of transfiguring it, as in the close observation of the gecko lizard in *Palomar*. And in another work, the novel *If on a Winter's Night a Traveler*, he explores the elusive relationships between reality, fiction, and fakery by taking different points of view to look at the same events and producing different versions of the same story. In doing so, Calvino questions his own motives in the writing process, and he explores the meaning of objectivity by bringing narrative technique to a sort of metafiction. The reader is dragged into a labyrinth in which she or he becomes aware that reality, or what she or he thinks reality is, is always at stake.

Even if this prologue comes several years after I worked on the two large studies that make up the bulk of this book, it has been written to give the reader a sense of the spirit that has animated my work throughout the years. I hope it will give the reader an understanding of the kind of sensitivity that has guided my inquiries into processes of design and change in practice settings. It is a sensitivity that perhaps existed only as a dormant potential when I first engaged in this kind of inquiry; it needed only to be aroused, and it was developed and refined over time through my very same research experiences. As I understand it now, behind such sensitivity lies primarily a way of interacting with things and humans, rather than, and before, a way of knowing. Particularly, I have tried to study the details of phenomena in a way that makes visible the intimate relationship that exists between the observer's theories and methods and the practitioners' theories and practices. In this sense, theorizing, as I have tried to practice it, is always grounded in some form of involvement with the research setting. The reader will judge whether this way of interacting, or sensing, brings a valuable contribution to understanding and knowledge-building.

The book is organized in four parts. In the first part, I discuss methodological themes encountered in my studies and problems of the research design. In the second and third parts, two extended, in-depth studies are presented, focusing on processes of design and innovation in two practice settings—music education and criminal justice. Technology adoption and reconfiguration of the practice take place in two institutional settings—the music school of a leading academic and research institution in the United States and the criminal courts of Italy. The fourth and final part articulates further inquiries into theoretical issues emerging from the two studies and explores selected aspects of the practice of innovation. An epilogue, with reflections on the work done and the researcher's role, seals the book.



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