

COMPUTERIZATION, PRODUCTIVITY, AND QUALITY OF WORK-LIFE

The impact of a computerized record system on the work lives of customer service representatives in a large utility company is examined. The results suggest alternate methods for thinking about and measuring technological impact.

ROBERT KRAUT, SUSAN DUMAIS, and SUSAN KOCH

The rapid spread of computer and telecommunication technologies throughout white-collar work has forced social scientists to consider the impact of these technologies on the people who use them directly and on the work force and economy as a whole. Questions about the effects of these technologies on employment levels and organizational efficiency arose in earlier discussions of the impact of automation [52]. Now researchers are also asking about the effects of information technology on the social experience of individuals who use it, i.e., the nature of their jobs and the quality of their working lives. But the answers to these questions are not straightforward. As Aitewell and Rule note, the "research literature on the impact of new information technologies on job content and job satisfaction provides a mass of contradictory findings [5, p. 1185]."

Both economic and social theory as well as a rich case study literature suggest that while information technology may increase productivity it can degrade the work lives of those who use it. One way for employers to cut labor costs is to substitute less experienced, educated, and skilled employees for more skilled employees by using technology. Information technology can aid this process in at least two ways. First, it can incorporate some skills and knowledge directly, requiring the user to have less. Much special purpose expert system software avowedly has this aim [2]. More generally available technology on both the shop floor and in the office, including numerically controlled machine tools, spelling checkers, and syntax-directed programming editors, can also be used in this way. Second, information technology can complement Taylorism—

the fragmentation of an integrated job into relatively autonomous components, with different laborers performing different components—by aiding in the reassembling of information that is generated by separate individuals. Case studies and analyses by Glenn and Feldberg [23], Gregory and Nussbaum [25], and Murphree [43] document occasions in which information technology has been used to incorporate workers' skills and to reintegrate information produced through fragmented jobs.

On the other hand, some researchers and analysts have argued that computerized work is manifestly more fulfilling than conventional work [22, 30]. According to this position, the most routinized work is most likely to be automated, eliminating jobs requiring low skill and eliminating the most boring and repetitive tasks within more skilled jobs [1]. Poppel's analysis of the benefits of office automation for sales and information workers is typical [48]. After studying 15 large U.S. organizations, he concluded that a salesperson's time is wasted on travel, missing contacts, finding out information, and filling out forms, while the time of many managers and professionals is similarly wasted on meetings and clerical work. According to his analysis, office automation technology can rescue some of that wasted time and make jobs more rewarding. In a more sophisticated and balanced analysis, Aitewell [4] has shown how computerization has eliminated some of the routine work of insurance examiners, such as calculating deductibles or identifying of potential duplicate payments, while at the same time leaving examiners more time to make decisions about dubious claims. Zuboff [53] has argued that computerization has added intellectual content to work by making activities

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