

WHAT DOES WORK-AS-IMAGINED (WAI) AND WORK-AS-DONE (WAD) MEAN?

ERIK HOLLNAGEL  
PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN DENMARK  
CHIEF CONSULTANT CENTER FOR QUALITY, RSD (DK)  
HOLLNAGEL.ERIK@GMAIL.COM

Work-as-done



... understand what happens here?



How well do these people ...



Work-as-imagined

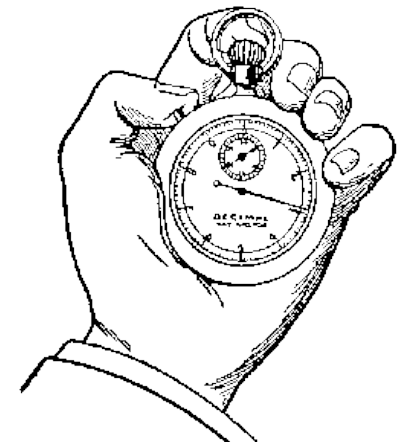
# Looking at work-as-done



Scientific management was formulated in the late 19th and early 20th in order to increase efficiency of work and decrease waste. It introduced empirical methods to study work as it actually took place (WAD) – with the intention of prescribing a “better” way of doing it (WAI).

## Principles of scientific management (1911)

- ➔ *Analyse* tasks to determine most efficient performance
- ➔ *Select* people to achieve best match between task requirements and capabilities
- ➔ *Train* people to ensure specified performance
- ➔ Insure *compliance* by economic incentives



# WAI-WAD in behavioural science

Calculus  
Ratiocinator



Homo  
Economicus

- Completely informed
- Infinite sensitivity
- Rational

Decision theory assumes all options, outcomes and preferences are known and amenable to evaluation.

Naturalistic  
decisions



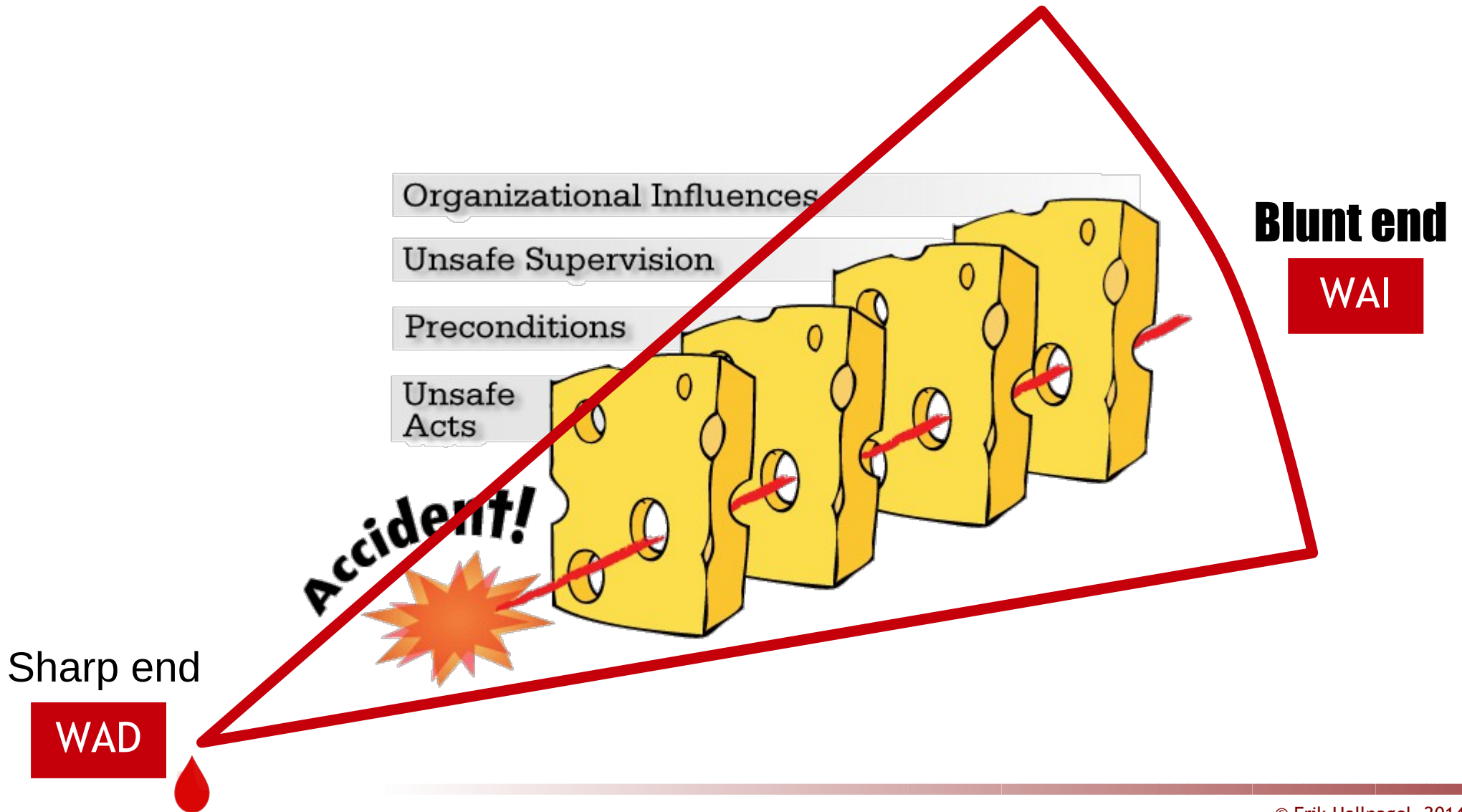
“Muddling through”

Satisficing

Naturalistic decision making

Decision theory recognises that most situations show incomplete, dynamically changing conditions and competing goal structures.

# Blunt end and sharp end



# The need to “imagine” how others work

Design (tools, roles, environment)



Work-As-Imagined

Work & production planning (“lean” - optimisation)

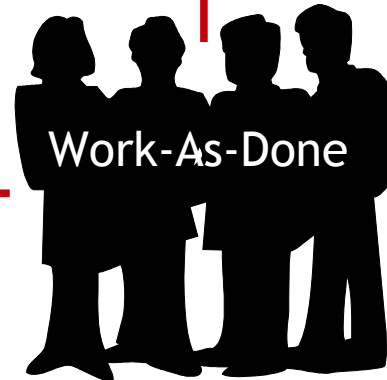


Work-As-Imagined

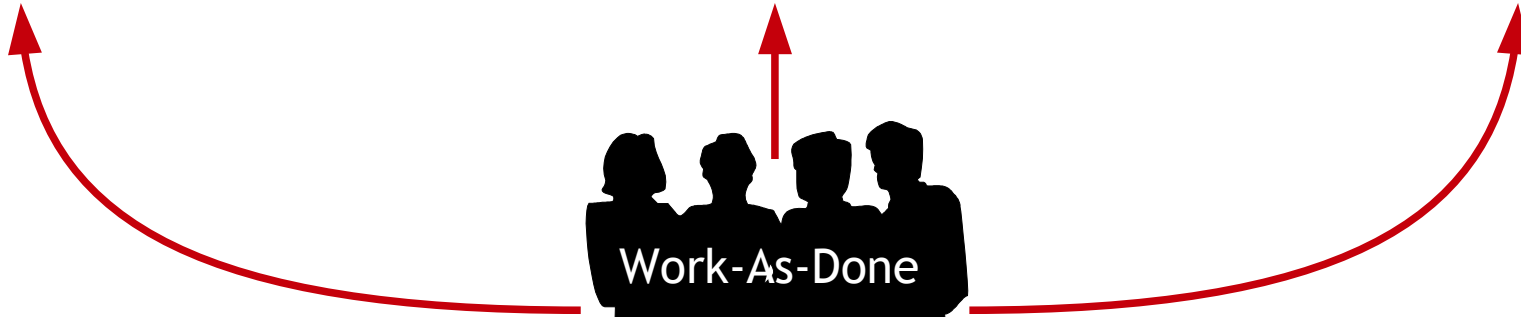
Safety management, investigations & auditing



Work-As-Imagined



Work-As-Done



# Work as imagined – work as done

Work-as-imagined (WAI) is what designers, managers, and authorities believe happens or should happen.



Work-as-imagined (WAI) is the basis for design, training, and planning (safety and production).

Work-as-done (WAD) is what actually happens.



Work-as-done (WAD) is what people have to do to cope with the complexity of the actual work environment.

# Designing for work-as-imagined



Designer(s)

What tools do the operators need?

**What have they been thinking of?**

How should it be provided?

**What is this supposed to do?**

How will it fit existing ways of working?

**Why does it not fit the way we work?**

How should it be used correctly?

**How can we get it to work?**



End users  
(ATCOs)



# Managing work-as-imagined

---

## Procedures

“Runway incursions will be substantially reduced and aviation safety improved through the use of clear, unambiguous phraseologies related to surface operations.”

During a normal work, on different sectors and different positions. a controller has to consider around about 70 – 100 restrictions – although NOT all at the same time .

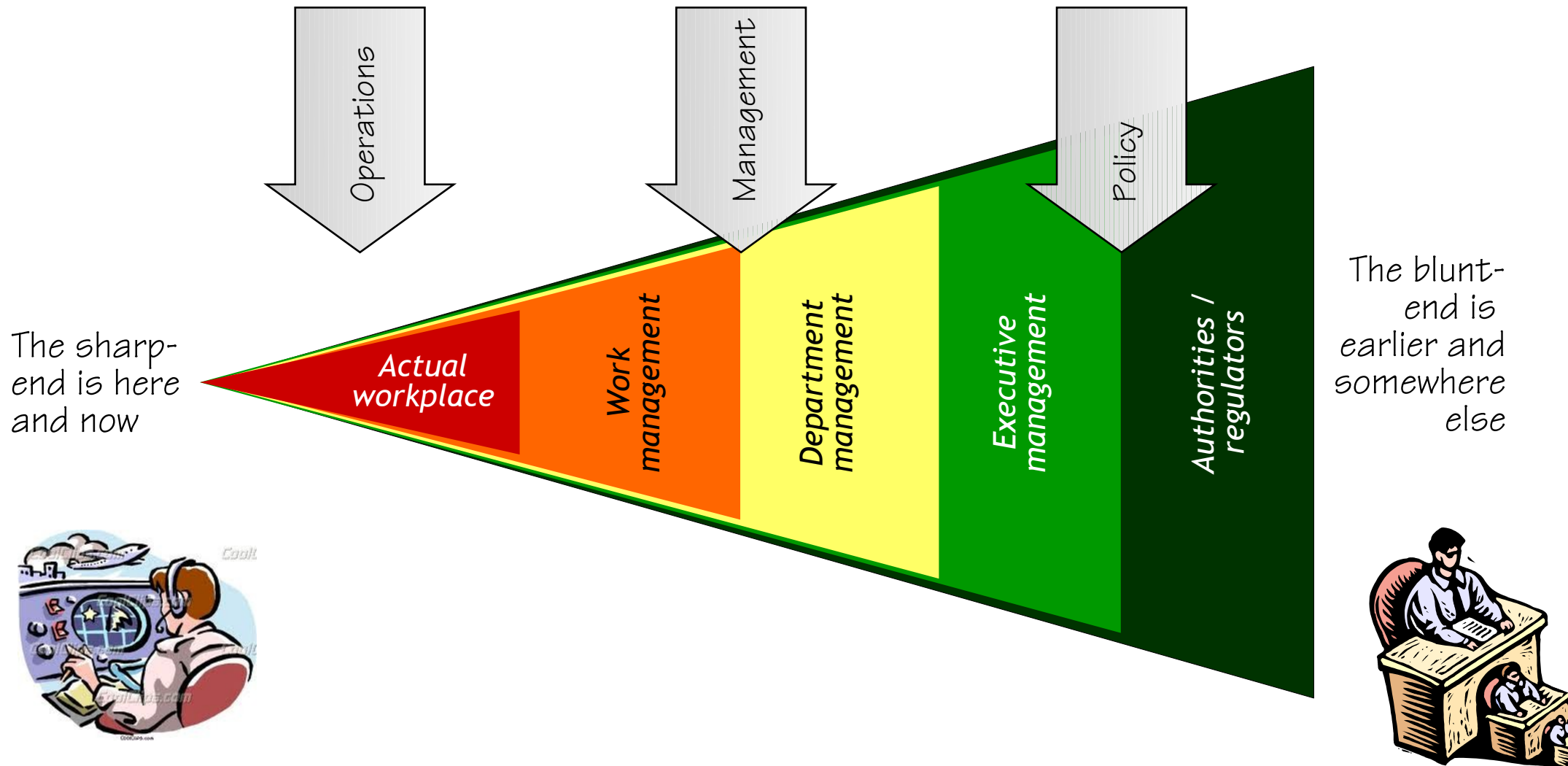
## Audits

To ensure that safety in the provision of ATS is maintained, the ATS authority has to implement formal and systematic safety management programmes for ATS under its jurisdiction. Furthermore, one of ICAO's requirements is the regular conduct of safety audits of ATS by trained, experienced and qualified personnel.

## Performance targets (SESAR goals for 2020)

enable threefold increase in capacity  
improve safety by a factor of 10  
cut ATM costs by half  
reduce environmental impact by 10%

# The sharp end and the blunt end



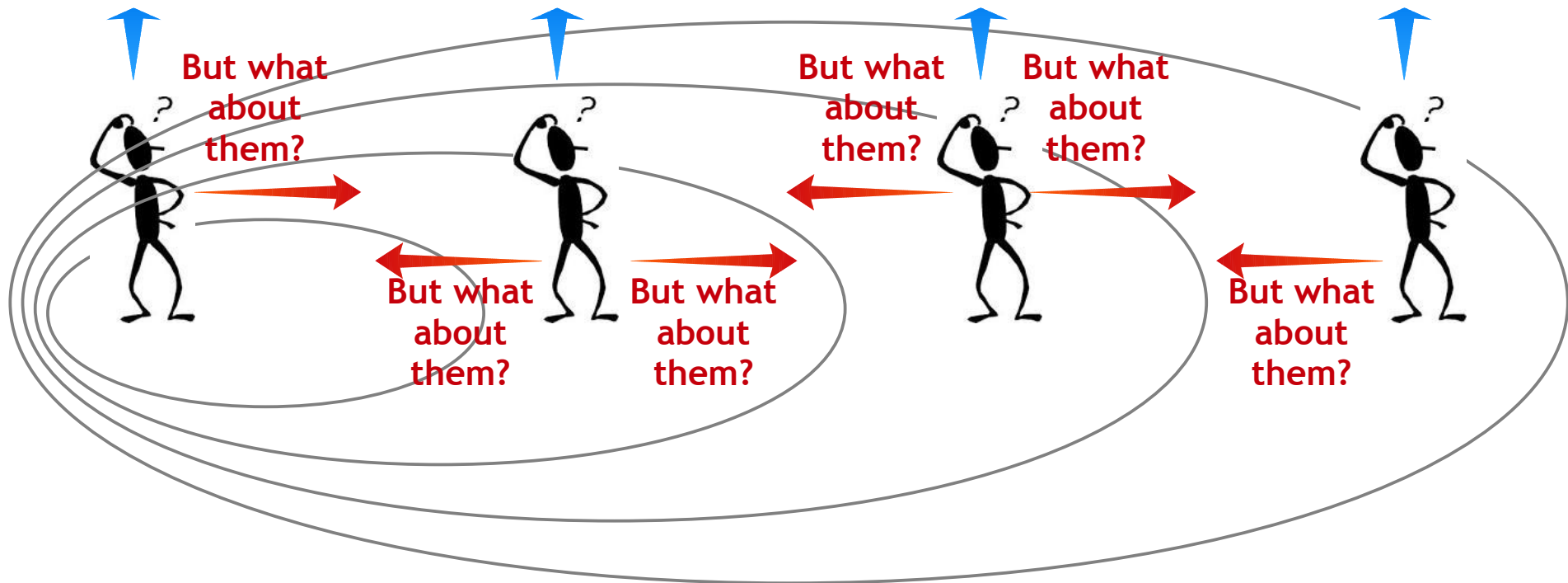
# “Us” and “Them”

I know what  
I am doing.

I know what  
I am doing.

I know what  
I am doing.

I know what  
I am doing.

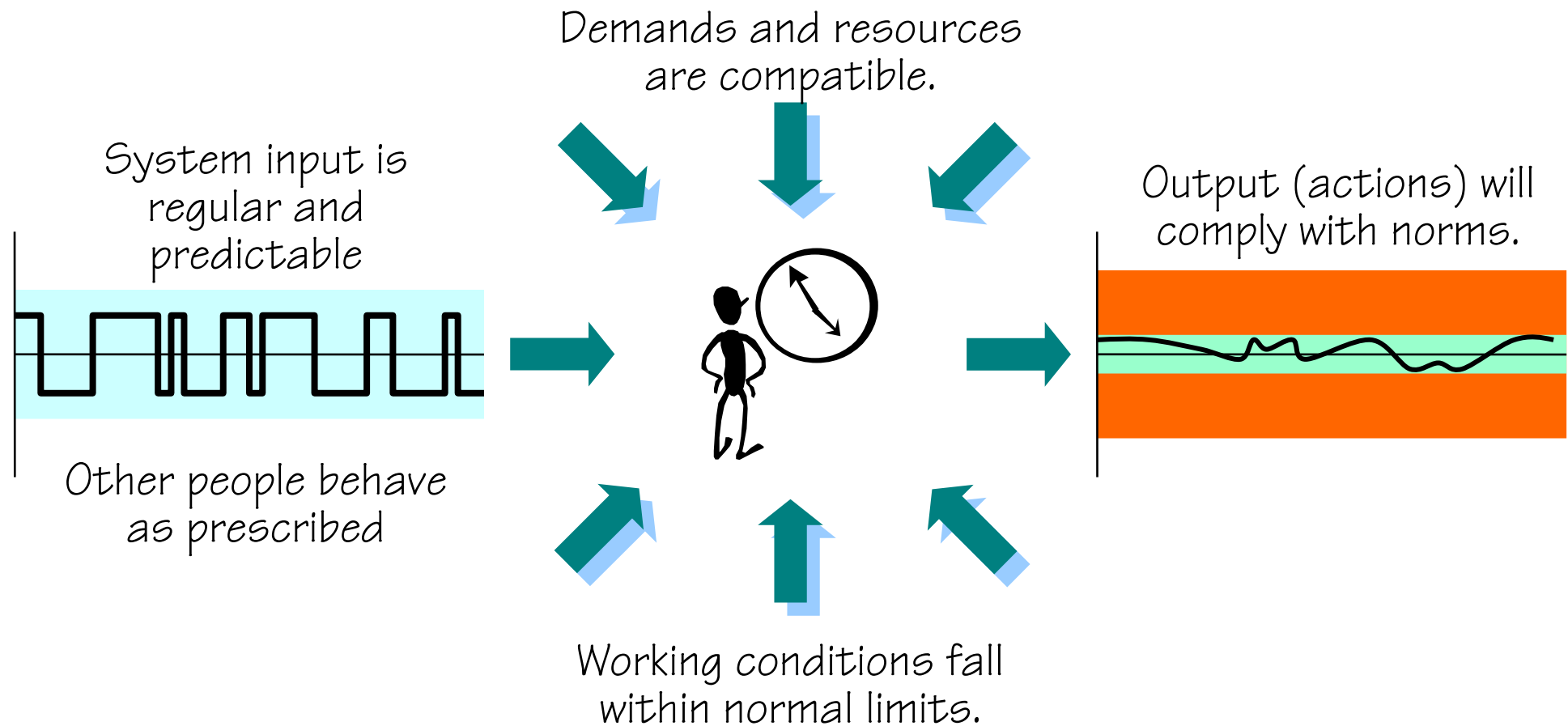


And now over to Thomas ...

---

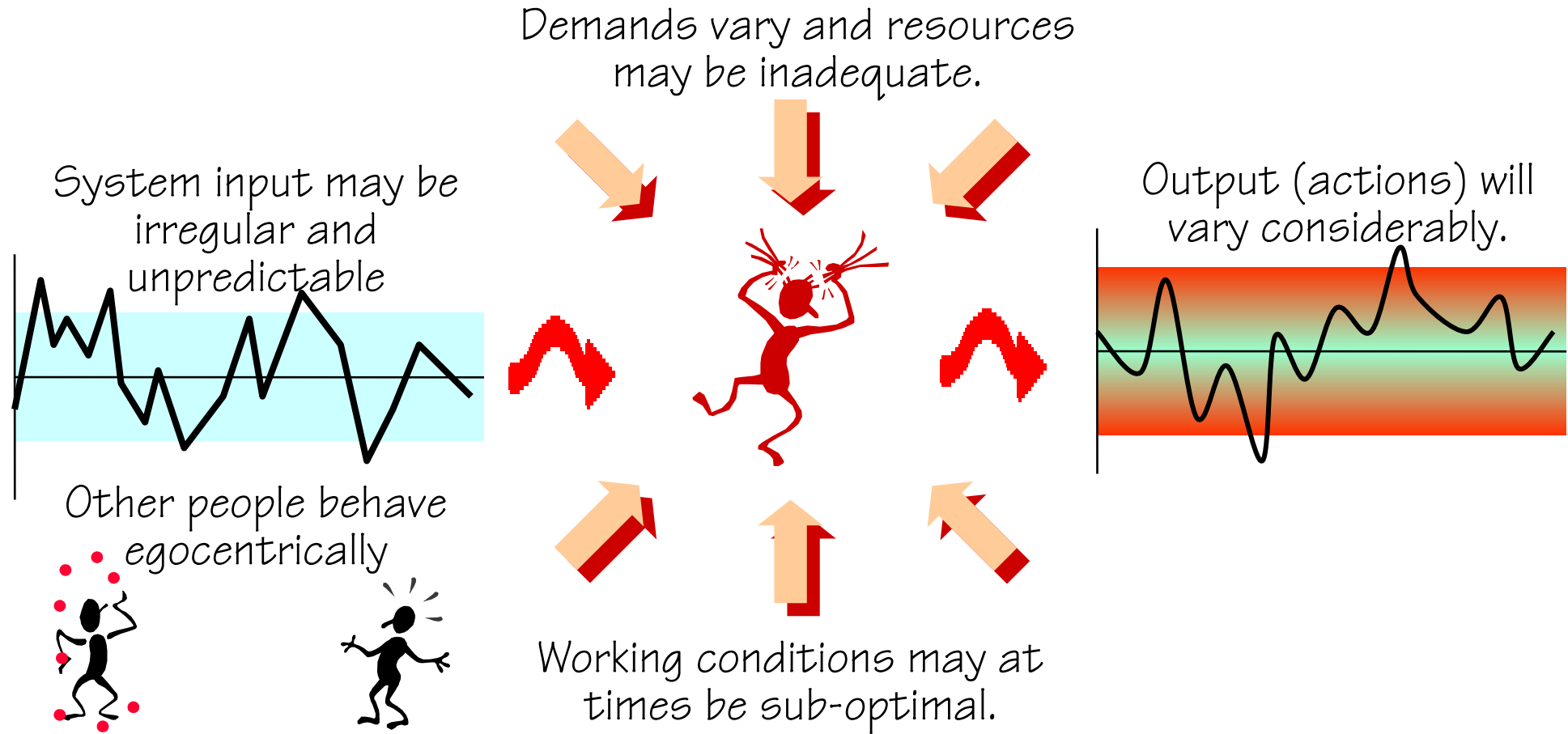


# Work as imagined - design assumptions



*... no need to make adjustments*

# Work as done



... necessary to make local adjustments  
Efficiency-Thoroughness Trade-Off (ETTO)

# Performance adjustments are necessary



Availability of resources (time, manpower, materials, information, etc.) may be limited and uncertain.



↓  
People adjust what they do to match the situation.

Performance variability is inevitable, ubiquitous, and necessary.

↓  
Because of resource limitations, performance adjustments will always be *approximate*.

↙  
Performance variability is the reason why everyday work is safe and effective.



↘  
Performance variability is the reason why things sometimes go wrong.

# Efficiency-Thoroughness Trade-Off

## Thoroughness: Time to think

Recognising situation.  
Choosing and planning.

If thoroughness dominates,  
there may be too little time  
to carry out the actions.

Neglect pending actions  
Miss new events



## Efficiency: Time to do

Implementing plans.  
Executing actions.

If efficiency dominates,  
actions may be badly  
prepared or wrong

Miss pre-conditions  
Look for expected results





# Focused and scattered work



*Work at the sharp end is usually focused:*

Activities are joined (are a whole).

Activities have a clear beginning and end.

Dependence on others – outside team – is limited.

Work environment is designed with specialised support (tools, training, etc.)

Information is concentrated.

*Work at the blunt end is often scattered:*

Activities are isolated, only loosely connected to what went before or what comes after.

Dependence on others often considerable.

Work environment is generic.

Information is dispersed.



# ETTOing at the sharp end

Limitations	Part of work, but not always easy to see.
Resources, means	Many, specific, due to system design.
Decision space	Limited (local).
Detection, correction	Good possibilities (part of system design).
Predictability	Reasonable in most cases.
Time frame	Decisions: short Consequences: short



AVOID

anything that may have negative consequences for yourself, your group, or organisation

COMPENSATE FOR

conditions that makes work difficult or impossible.

CREATE/MAINTAIN

conditions that are necessary to carry out the work.

# ETTOing at the blunt end



Limitations	Vague, uncertain, usually time and money
Resources, means	Limited, general
Decision space	Large, extensive (global)
Detection, correction	Few possibilities (delays).
Predictability	Low, due to complexity and delays
Time frame	Decisions: short Consequences: long

**AVOID**

anything that may have negative consequences for yourself, your group, or organisation

**COMPENSATE FOR**

conditions that makes work difficult or impossible.

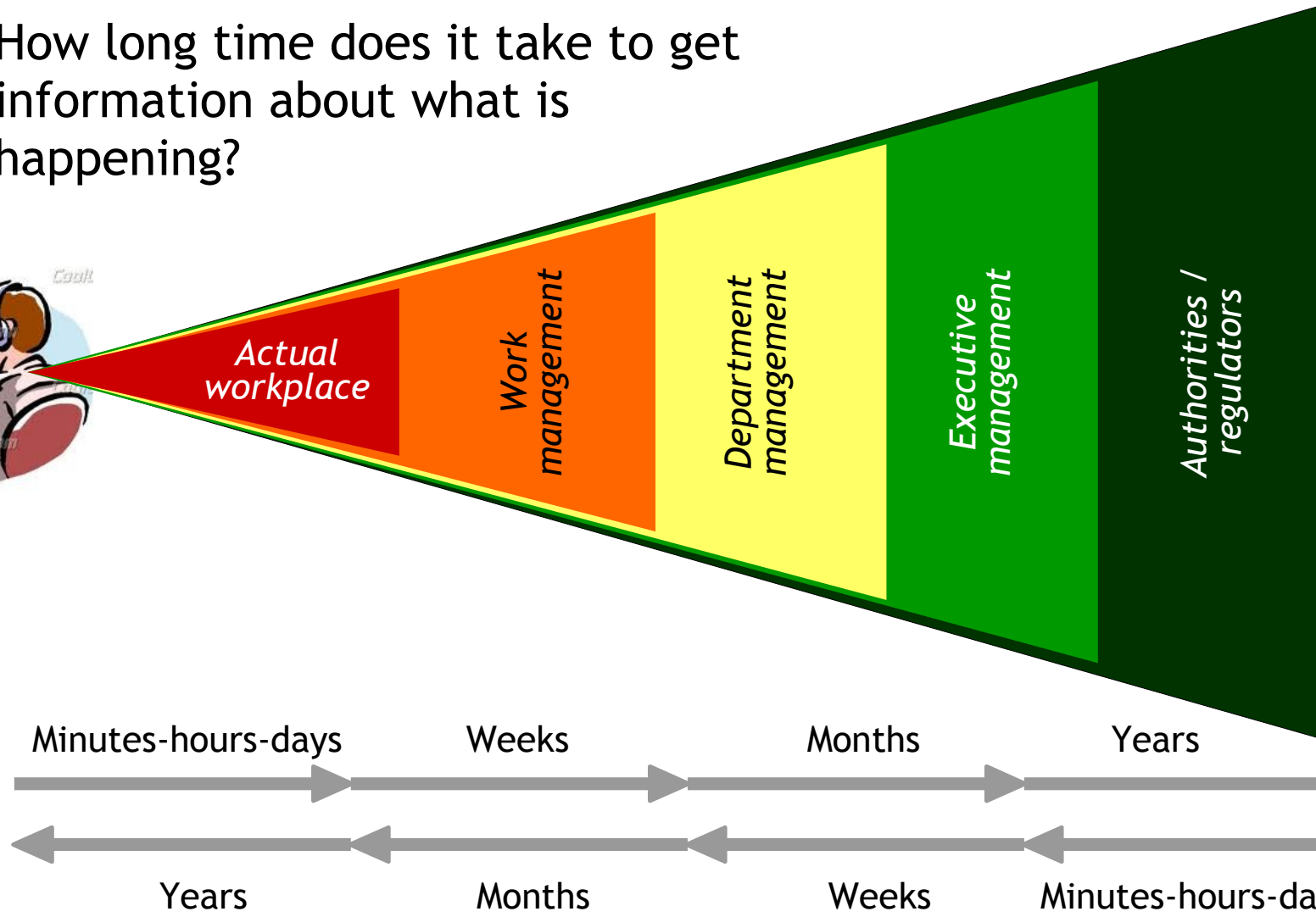
**CREATE/MAINTAIN**

conditions that are necessary to carry out the work.

# Delay in getting information

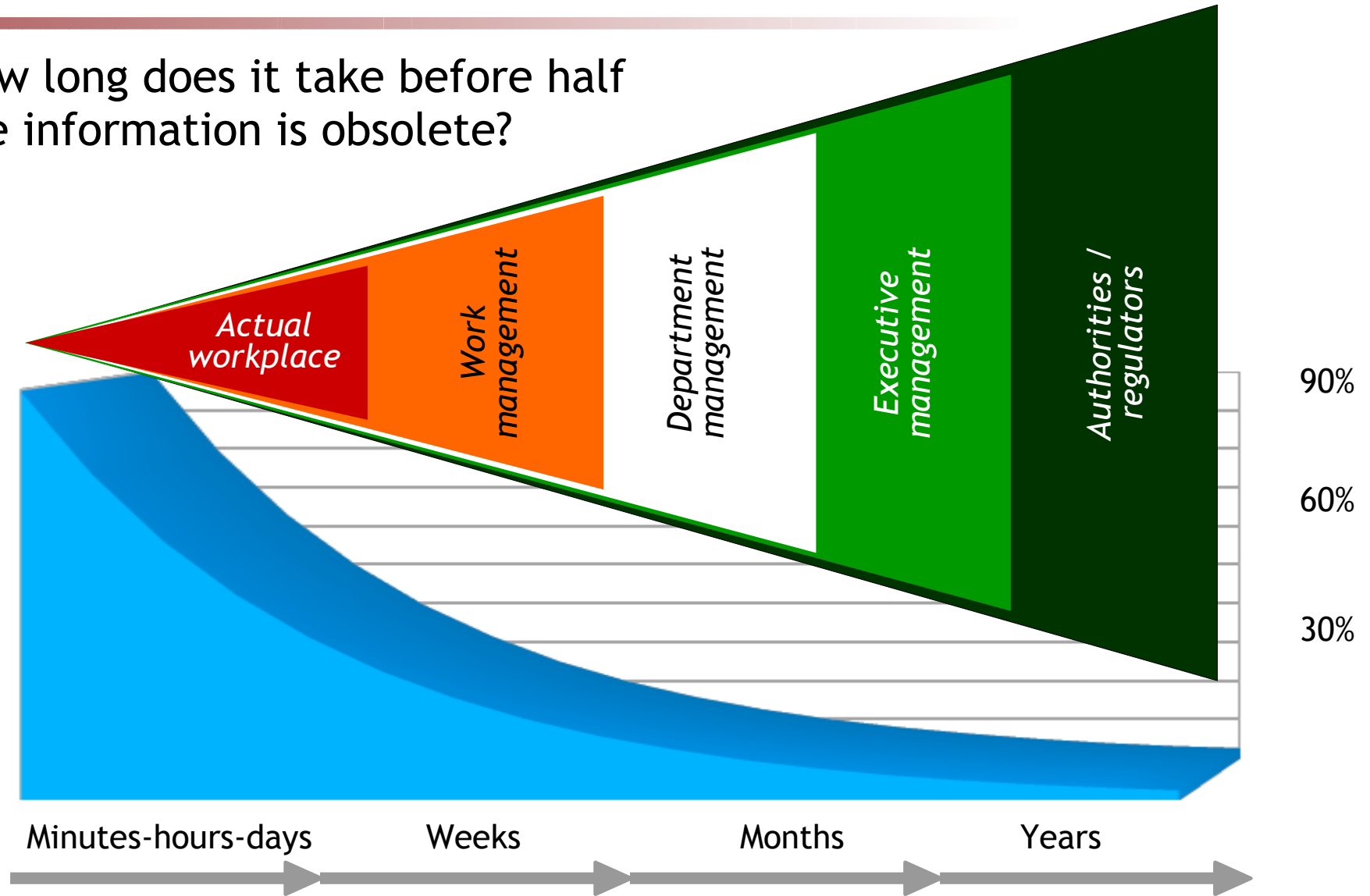
$\Delta T$

How long time does it take to get information about what is happening?



# Decay of information

$T_{1/2}$  How long does it take before half the information is obsolete?



And now again over to Thomas ...

---



# Different roles of the blunt end



Work management  
(schedules - norms)  
BE prescribes and prepares work for the SE;  
BE manages how SE do their work (quality,  
productivity)



Production planning  
("lean" - optimisation)

BE – as the monitor or manager of actions  
(sampling rate, level of detail, ETTTO organisational)



Investigations & auditing  
(errors - compliance)

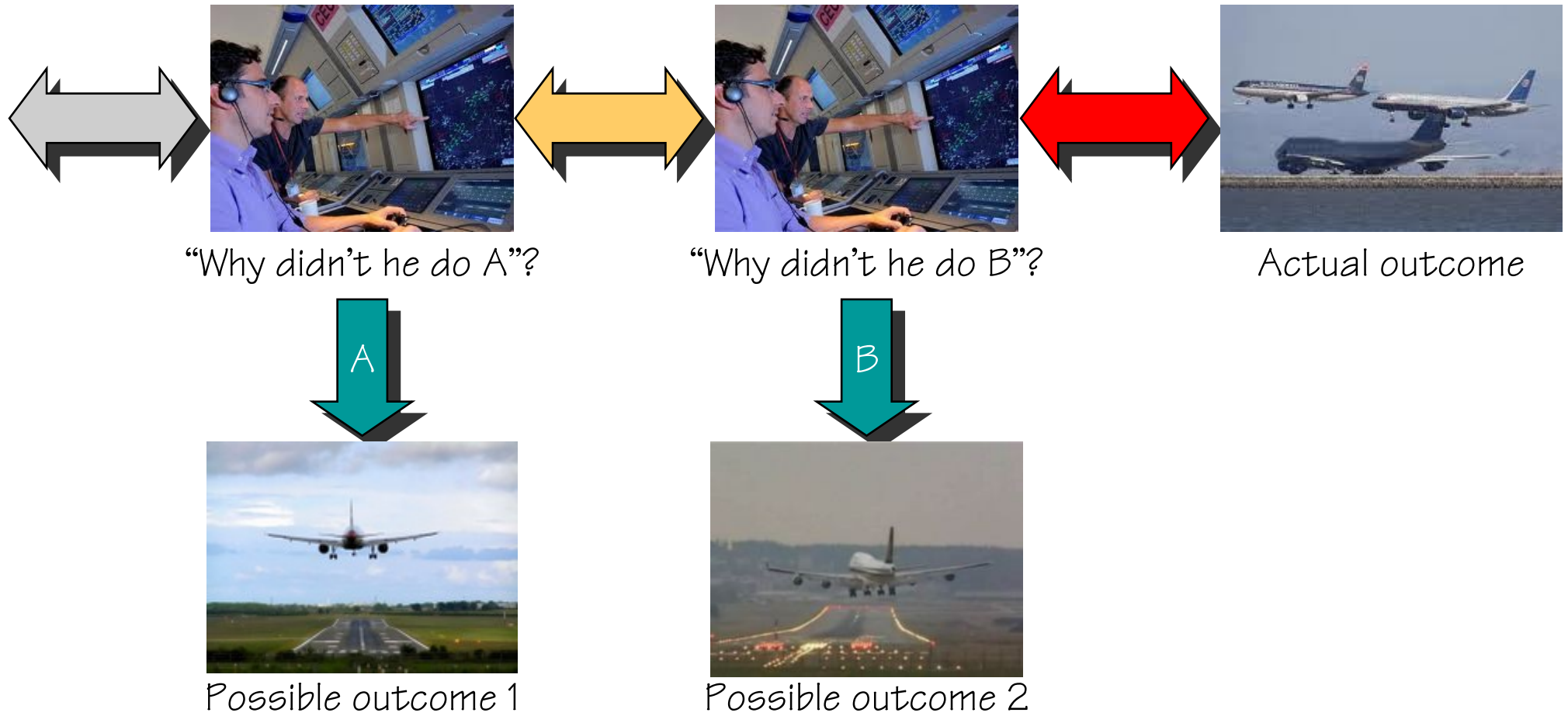


BE – as regulator and arbiter, right or wrong.  
Limited time to do their work

# Contrafactual reasoning



Going back through a sequence, investigators often wonder why opportunities to avoid bad outcomes were missed. This, however, does not explain the failure





# The 90% solution

When something goes wrong,  
e.g., 1 event out of 10.000  
( $10E-4$ ), humans are assumed  
to be responsible in 80-90% of  
the cases.



When something goes right,  
e.g., 9.999 events out of  
10.000, are humans also  
responsible in 80-90% of  
the cases?



Who or what are responsible  
for the remaining 10-20%?

Investigation of failures is  
accepted as important.



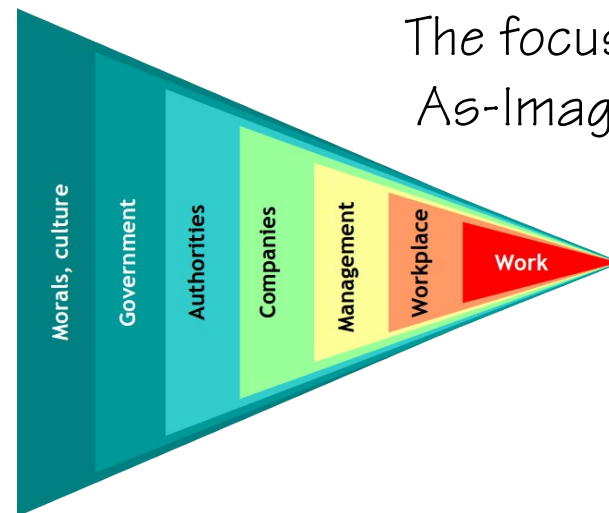
Who or what are  
responsible for the  
remaining 10-20%?

Investigation of successes  
is rarely undertaken.

# Problems with safety as risk reduction

The causality credo lead to explanations in terms of simple causes and effects. The 90% solution: “human error” - humans in wilful disregard of critical cues or factors.

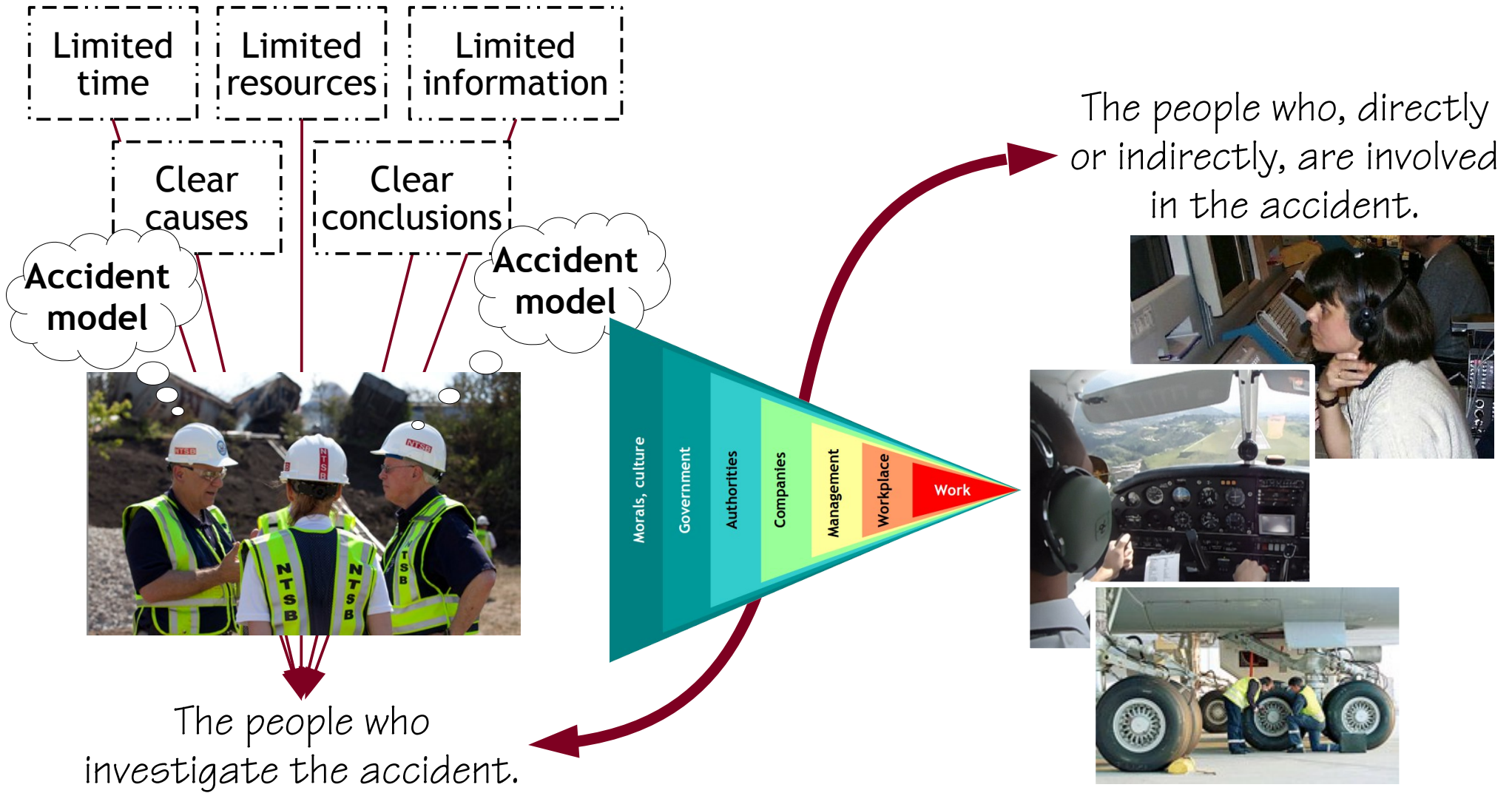
Explanations are incomplete and misleading, hence an ineffective basis for changes. Investigations are concluded a “culprit” has been found. This severely limits learning.



Incidents are described by after-the-fact stories. In hindsight they seem to be easily preventable by relatively simple measures, such as new policies and procedures or calls to increase vigilance or compliance of operators.

The focus on failures juxtaposes Work-As-Imagined and Work-As-Done – and assume the former is correct (blunt-end or management perspective).

# WAD ≠ WAI – seen from the blunt end



# WYLFIWYF

Accident investigation follow a What-You-Look-For-Is-What-You-Find (WYLFIWYF) principle.

Accident investigations that look for causes, find causes. The assumptions about the nature of accidents (causality credo) constrain the analysis.



Human error  
Technical malfunction  
Organisational failure  
Incorrect design



We can be safe – with a little more effort, a few more resources, a more refined set of recommendations from a knowledgeable inquiry, some new tools, an updated IT system, a better policy, and an improved safety culture. In other words, WAD should be made more like WAI.

Bad maintenance  
Safety culture  
Latent conditions  
Violation, non-compliance

# Work-as-done: The non-compliance view

---

## Unintentional

Unintentional Understanding failure – when people have a different understanding of what the procedure is and what they have to do.

Unintentional Awareness failure – when people are not aware of the existence of a rule or procedure and therefore operate with any reference to it.

## Intentional

Situational non-compliance – when the situation makes it impossible to do the job and be compliant, e.g., because of insufficient time or resources.

Optimizing non-compliance for company benefit – individuals take short-cuts believing that this will achieve what they believe the company, and their superiors, really want;

Optimizing non-compliance for personal benefit – short-cuts taken to achieve purely personal goals;

Exceptional non-compliance – deviations from the official procedures that may be difficult to follow under specific, and usually novel, circumstances.

# WYLFIWYF

Looking at work-as-done also follows a What-You-Look-For-Is-What-You-Find (WYLFIWYF) principle.

Work studies should focus on how things normally work and why that succeeds. Something that goes wrong, has usually gone right many times before.



“Safe” and “unsafe” behaviours  
Happen in the same way  
Adjustments / improvisation can be useful  
People successfully balance competing goals



We can only be safe if we understand how work is done.  
Neither WAI nor WAD are absolute references, but both serve useful purposes.

There are no ‘silver bullets’ - no simple solutions.

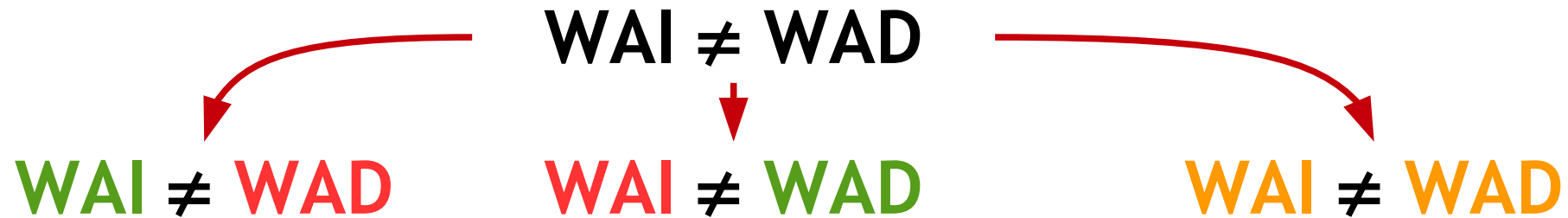
We must learn how continuously to realign WAI with WAD.

Best practice  
Culture of resilience  
Learning from experience  
Coping with complexity

# Work-as-done: The ETTO view

Aspect	Avoid	Maintain/establish	Compensate for
Time	Waste of time	Time buffer	Inadequate timing
Human effort	Waste of effort	Spare effort / work capacity	Manpower shortage
Workplace (HF)	Inadequate work conditions	Workable conditions	HMS deficiencies
Workload /stress	Work overload	Manageable workload	Overload (underload)
Materials / resources	Waste of material & resources	Buffer of material / resources	Unavailability / inaccessibility
Equipment / tools	Improper use	Workable equipment / tools	Unavailability of tools
Finance (cost)	Waste of money	Financial buffer	Excessive cost
Data	Data overload	Data buffer	Missing data

# When worlds collide ...



Solution: Make sure that WAD is more like WAI.

Solution: Adjust WAI to be more like WAD.

Solution: Realign WAI and WAD.

*Tempting because WAI seems to be clear and well-defined, and it is easier to prescribe that WAD should be changed than to change WAI.*

*Difficult because WAD appears to be unclear and difficult to grasp, because WAD is forever changing, and because it will threaten those in charge.*

*To change WAI:  
Get information about WAD faster.  
Improve quality of information about WAD (Safety-II).*

*To change WAD:  
Encourage mindfulness.  
Make informal communication easier.*