Studying Time through Visual Research Methods: Development of Dialogical Photo-Interview Method

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1 Introduction

Time is an abstract theme to explore. In our project, The Power of Time in Work Organizations, we explore time norms and experiences of time in expert work and project-based industries. The broader context of our inter-disciplinary research is organizational research focusing on management studies, and communication and media studies. We wish to produce rich descriptions of the ways in which time and temporality affect ways of organizing and work practices in our target organizations. In this article, we explain how we became interested in visual research methods and experimented with using photo interviews as a data collection method when studying the complex subject of time. After the data collection process, we developed and finalized what we now call the dialogical photo-interview method.

This article focuses on a case study conducted in a small Finnish games studio. Our aim is to consider 1) what kind of data photo interviewing produced and 2) how it affected interaction in interviews. We scrutinize the diverse themes highlighted in the interviews and focus on the methodological aspects. First, we argue that when people take photos about their work, the act of photography and talking about the photographs stimulate them to give detailed descriptions about their working situation and their material and temporal contexts. Second, through photographs interviewees can capture interesting dimensions
of abstract subjects, such as temporality, but the method as such does not guarantee that they remember to take photographs during routine tasks.

The project began by considering the relevance of visual research methods for approaching notions of working time, time pressures, and various temporal dimensions that define games developers’ experiences of work. Work structures in games studios are typically arranged in team formats and the work is project based, something most games studio staff see as an advantage (Deuze, Martin & Allen 2007: 342–343). We were interested in games studio workers’ experiences of moving between projects but also other experiences of temporality relating to their work. We anticipated using semi-structured interviews and participant observation to elicit information on practices, norms and values related to time, but also some complementary methods to understand the characteristics of work and temporal experiences. Using photo interviewing illustrates how interviewees can influence the research agenda, but we could not be sure that the method would elicit people’s experiences and reflections on time. Next, we contextualize the photo-interview method and report our perceptions of collecting data in a Finnish games studio.

2 Contextualizing the Method

During the past decades there has been a growing emphasis on participants using photographs to record their experiences (e.g., Buckingham 2009: 634). In addition to this participatory approach, there has been a long tradition in ethnographic studies that researchers take photographs to chronicle phenomena in the field to aid discussion (Ray & Smith 2012: 289–290). This study uses a participant-photography approach in which participants produce photographs for research.

The photo interview or photo elicitation was introduced by John Collier Jr. in 1957 in *Photography in Anthropology: A Report on Two Experiments*. The paper reports an experiment on photography used in interviewing and highlights the specific nature of the information in photo interviews compared to that in non-photo interviews, which is described as less structured, rambling, and freer in association. Among the paper’s interesting observations, are that interaction in a photo interview is affected by the number of photographs, the speed with which they are presented, the quantity of details, the familiarity of the subject, and the photographic quality (Collier 1957: 858).

The photo interview is one elicitation technique where participants are asked to explain or describe practices or processes, as in the method of talking aloud. Such techniques employ various materials to prompt thoughts that are mainly tacit or difficult to articulate (Barton 2015: 194); however, different studies and different fields apply different conditions on the use of the photo interview. Accordingly, it is important that researchers using the method carefully describe their goals and the data collection practices employed and their perception of the role of participants in the research process. For example, if the
researchers’ starting point is to offer a creative, reflexive, or empowering activity through which participants explore and express their experiences, the data collection process requires more time compared to “talk-based” interviews that focus on interviewees’ instant reactions to researchers’ questions (see Gauntlett & Holzwarth 2006). Furthermore, studies using photo-elicitation interviews differ in terms of the kinds of data the researchers aspire to produce. According to Tinkler (2013: 149), “photo-focused” studies emphasize the written commentary and meanings participants associate with their photographs, while in “talk-focused” studies, participants’ photographs are valued as a means to generate discussion and interview data. Hence, the position of photos and talk varies in individual studies and their roles can also change during the project.

In the context of organizational research, the photo interview has proved a relevant and inspiring method in studies exploring, for example, knowledge sharing in organizations (Petersen & Østergaard 2004), organizational complexity (Parker 2009), organizational change and processes (Buchanan 2001), or people’s aesthetic and emotional experiences (Warren 2002). Nevertheless, researchers have expressed concerns that photographs used in organizational studies can elicit emotions perceived as not belonging to “proper” data (Petersen & Østergaard 2004: 3). In media studies, a common view is that visual research methods cannot be seen simply as a means of enabling participants to “express themselves” or to “tell their own stories” or as enabling researchers to gain access to what people “really” think or feel (Buckingham 2009: 635). The formative role of the researcher, the generic and formal characteristics of the photographs, and the participants’ understanding of the context and aims of the research itself, all affect the data. Media researchers have used the method to explore media users’ perceptions of particular dimensions of media and their relationship with media forms and media culture (Buckingham 2009: 634; Gauntlett 2005). Regardless of field, the photo-interview method has proved appropriate to study identity construction processes (e.g., Vila 2013; Gauntlett & Holzwarth 2006) and children’s and young people’s experiences (e.g., Clark-Ibáñez 2004; Croghan et al. 2015; Pyyry 2012).

The use of photographs increases reflexivity among both participants and researchers. Photos capture particulars that the researcher would not otherwise know to ask about or the participant would not think to mention (Tinkler 2013: 179). Furthermore, personal photos provide specific prompts that work better than talk-alone interviews to prompt recollection and the description of concrete qualities or feelings (ibid. 16; Samuels 2004: 1535). We wanted this project to prioritize the viewpoints of the games studio staff and to understand their work situations in which temporal experiences feature strongly. We also hoped that taking photographs would activate reflections on temporal dimensions of work that people are less aware of. We were interested in which tools, objects, and environments participants would include in the photographs they produced on the topic of time and temporality, and we also hoped to learn more of the working practices of a games
2.1 Toward a Collaborative Dialogue and Contextual Meanings of Photos

Collier (1957: 849) states that interviewees and researchers focusing on photographs relieve the strain related to being questioned directly, and other researchers note how photo interviews and photo elicitation stimulate a smoother discussion with interviewees than talk-alone interviews do (Shortt & Warren 2017: 3; Pyry 2012: 46). Photographs can also make an interview setting more comfortable (Barton 2015: 181) and empower interviewees (Parker 2009: 1119). Talking about photographs often prompts a collaborative dialogue, including negotiated interpretations and moments of mutual understanding (Harper 2002: 20, 23; Lapenta 2011: 202).

Prior research suggested that using participant-generated photos should enrich the dialogue with our respondents, prompt discussion, and offer visual cues to facilitate describing the work practices involved in games design. During the interviews, the participants related their thoughts both as they took the photographs and those they had during the interview (cf. Tinkler 2013: 190). In many cases those thoughts were coherent but the interview setting also produced new interpretations and reflections on time and temporality.

The choice of the photo interviewing method was inspired by Shortt and Warren’s (2017) grounded visual pattern analysis (GVPA), which highlights both the meanings that participants ascribe to photos in interviews and the analysis of photo data as image sets. The goal is to elicit discursive and contextual meanings of individual photos and of the visual patterns and social meanings in multiple still images (Shortt & Warren 2017: 3–4), for example, the photographs might be organized as sets based on their similar subjects.

This study uses two tentative main themes to organize the photo data as image sets: the role of waiting in stages of work and business travel. Some participants took more photographs when they were traveling on business to/in other cities than in their office, while some other participants highlighted how they particularly noticed time when they had to wait for input from colleagues or the computer program to complete a time-consuming activity. However, in this article, we focus on methodological aspects of the photo interview and raise only a few examples of temporality in the material to illustrate the nature of the data the method can produce.

2.2 Visualizing and Reconstructing Temporal Experiences

The exploration of time in organizational contexts requires careful reflection on the research design, also the relation between theory, the goals of the study, and participants’
and researchers’ positions in the production of the data. In participatory research methods, instructions and information given to participants prior to data gathering necessarily affect the data, which is not problematic if researchers acknowledge the context of data collection and their position as co-producers of the material. It is also important to be aware that the method could be refined in different organizational contexts and as a consequence of participants’ interpretations of the instructions and events happening in the field (cf. Warren 2002: 230).

From the constructivist viewpoint, research participants do not merely take photos for the study, they make photos through many choices related to objects, angle of views, cropping etc. Warren (2002: 233) cautions that the presumed relationship between the photograph and reality is so strong that participants typically over-emphasize the visible, observable features of photographs; however, photographs also have the capacity to help communicate the invisible, such as emotional experiences (ibid. 233–235). When participants make photos, they spend creative time thinking about the research topic and their perceptions and feelings of it. This reflective process can lead to a set of responses which are quite different to what their initial and spontaneous responses may have been (Gauntlett 2005: 3). We wanted to explore how producing photographs could help participants to, first, draw attention to time when thinking about what and when to photograph, and second, to verbalize and interpret their intangible experiences relating to working hours and temporality. Moreover, we expected that the photo-interview method could help us understand processes of time management in the games studio.

Photographs as a form of representation have a complex relation to the past and present. They can offer an idea of one’s feelings at the moment of taking a photograph and offer reminders of the events depicted. They can also encourage the participants to reconstruct the context of the photograph and fill in gaps in initial recollections (see Parker 2009: 1120). Tinkler (2013: 12) states that people try to capture the present through photos to revisit it in the future. Although the photographs in our photo interviews were representations of experiences from the immediate past (e.g., couple of days, a week, or a month previously), participants were prone to perceive the photographs as records or accounts of their present action or at least recent moments. Looking at photos and discussing them created a collaborative dialogue reconstructing moments from the immediate past by pointing out details of the images and requesting and supplying information that was not explicit in the representations.

3 Data Collection in the Games Studio

We negotiated with the staff in the games company about the three data collection methods: photo interview, participant observation and shadowing. In addition to the photo interview, they accepted participant observation conducted in meetings. However, the research team’s suggestion of shadowing individual employees was unacceptable to them.
The staff were informed of the goals of the project and offered basic guidance on taking photographs over two or three working days that would reflect situations when they were aware of the use of time, passing of time, negotiations over time, time pressures, or forgetting clock time.

Four employees, one woman and three men, used their mobile phones to take photographs and participated in the photo interview. The participants in the photo interview were the COO, Art Director (AD), and two programmers who were aged between 24 and 43, with the average being 34. One person captioned the photographs taken. The researcher conducting the introductory session had explained that participation was voluntary and half of the staff had declined to take part. We were prepared for this because prior research notes a limitation of the photo-elicitation method is that some respondents feel it is inconvenient to take photographs (e.g. Felstead et al. 2004: 112).

The photo interviews were conducted with individual staff members in the games studio’s meeting room in December 2017 and January 2018. The interviews lasted between 42 minutes and one hour twenty minutes. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. We included the photos in the transcripts, which we call photo-scripts as did Felstead et al. (2004: 114). This offered a useful starting point for exploring the pictures and the written interview dialogue together. Although photographs were primarily a means to produce dialogical and reflexive interview discussions, their function in the transcripts is essential for understanding notions of the participants and the connection of written talk with photographic representations.

Two of the participants took just one photograph. One of them stated that he forgot to take more photos, and another explained that she really reflected on time just once during her photography day. In both cases, they had taken a photograph of their computer screen in the situations in which they waited for either some elements to be included in the code they were working on or for the computer program to complete a task. During these moments, they became very aware of temporality because their work progress was halted for an indeterminate period. The participant in question felt part of the games production process known as rendering that follows animation was emotionally charged because its results are uncertain. His photo interview confirmed Warren’s (2002) argument that the method is well suited for capturing and communicating aesthetic experiences involving sensory perceptions and emotional responses. For that participant, the gradual advance of the rendering is a landmark and he anticipates the result, which is often a joyful experience but can also prompt feelings of frustration.

During the photo interview, the participant and the researcher looked at the photos on the researcher’s laptop. The photos provided both parties with something to focus on and therefore mitigated awkwardness in the interview and changed the dynamics from those of talk-alone interviews (see also Clark-Ibáñez 2004: 1512).
had been discussed, the interview continued fluently as a conventional semi-structured interview focusing on norms and values relating to working time and work practices. The researchers subsequently noted that the data collection process was enhanced by combining the semi-structured interview with the photo interview in that it gave the researchers confidence and brought some new knowledge. However, the most relevant experiences associated with time and temporality came up when discussing the photos.

**4 Photos Affecting the Dynamics of Conversation**

Bringing photographs to research interviews modifies the discourse structure of the conversations. The verbal semi-structured interview is based on an unbalanced question and answer process that can often create or reinforce the asymmetry between the researcher and the participant (Lapenta 2011: 210–211). A participant-generated photo reduces the researcher’s authority to direct the discussion but it does not negate the unequal power relations of the research interview. Even if the researcher provides no explicit input into the interpretation of the photographs, their display alongside whatever is said about them structures meanings afforded in the analysis process (Radley 2010: 268).

The researcher can maintain an interview agenda during the photo interview, but participants prioritize which topics are discussed through their photographic material. Hence, the method provides more opportunities for participants to express themselves and to have influence on framing of questions during interview (cf. Gauntlett 2005). The photographs always have polysemic qualities but in the photo interview, they have a special function. Radley conducted photo interviewing with homeless people and hospital patients, and suggests that what is picked out in the photographs defines boundaries, transitions, and preferred and disliked orderings of the photographer. In the act of photography, people separate themselves from their surroundings and objectify the relationships they have been living out (Radley 2010: 270). They do not merely point out some elements of their everyday life, but through the photographs, illustrate their relationship to the objects portrayed (Pyyry 2012: 45). For example, taking a photo at work involves momentarily detaching oneself from the current working environment and objectifying taken-for-granted aspects of work. This can highlight some characteristics of work that the participant has never previously processed actively.

Photographs can include some unintended aspects that participants did not notice when taking the photos. Radley (2010) demonstrates that instead of providing a visual documentation of one’s surroundings, participant-generated photos and their explanations show the experiences the participants have had and the person they feel they are or would like to be. What pictures portray and what stories narrate are versions of the participants’ experience of the world and ways of making sense of their world to the researcher (Radley 2010: 278–279). Furthermore, through their questions and reactions, researchers participate actively in the sense-making process.
In this study, researchers simply asked participants to speak about their photos or the situation portrayed. After the participant described some aspects related to the photo, the researcher asked some clarifying questions. Those questions and comments were not scripted in advance. The participants who had taken several photos quickly learned to talk about each new photograph as they presented it before the researcher requested them to.

Two of the participants had taken their single photo just a couple of days before the interview while two others had taken their photos 4–6 weeks beforehand. The former participants talked about the photos using mainly the present tense whereas the latter participants used the past tense. This indicates that when planning the implementation of the photo interview one should take into consideration that the point of time of photography and the interview have some influence on the information gathered. Next, we illustrate our methodological observations and findings on the photo interviews through an excerpt of one interview in which the participant used the past tense when processing temporal experiences.

5 Remembering with Photographs

Photos have a specific relationship to memory and often prompt an active engagement with the past. Photos can be tools for the retention of past events but they can also in a way obstruct personal memories because they provide easily recalled visual versions of the past that substitute for memories of what happened (Barthes 2000: 91; Tinkler 2013: 186). This “blocking memory” effect is supposedly more pronounced when photos are old or taken from personal photo collections.

Tinkler (2013: 186–187) argues that when people try to remember with the aid of photos, two interwoven stages are involved: the memory response and the processing of the recalled matter. The memory response can be a reaction that arouses a vivid recollection of sounds, sights, smells and touch. However, more often the memory response emerges gradually as people explore the photo and search for their recollections of the event, people, places, and experiences involved. In the second stage of the encounter, memory fragments, facts, and meanings are interpreted, synthetized and arranged into a coherent account, which is articulated to the self and others. The process is shaped by dominant discourses, collective memories, the dynamics of the interview, the interviewees’ interests, and their perception of the interviewer’s interests (Tinkler 2013: 186–187).

The participants’ memory responses in the photo interviews consisted predominantly of searching for thoughts and feelings at the moment the photograph was taken. We expect that the vivid and sense-oriented recollections of photographs could be more common when dealing with participants’ personal photographs, which are not produced specifically to aid research. The processing of the recalled matter was strongly present in one interview, when the participant spontaneously opened time tracking software when the
photo interview started. He had taken ten photos, and he repeatedly checked his duties on the days the photos were taken. His way of talking about the photos involved searching his memories about the event, the project in question, and the course of his own thoughts at the time of taking the photo. His recollection and reflection and way of using them as an aide-memoire could be characterized as remembering with photos and the time tracking software. During the interview, the participant created narrative fragments of his working days, which were contextualized through the projects he was involved in. He remarked that he preferred to work on the different projects.

Photo 1. An example of a participant-generated photograph

In the extract below, the same interviewee described the photo showing a city view taken through the bus window (see Photo 1).

Interviewee: In that [photo] I’m waiting for the bus at eight o’clock in the evening, or at seven o’clock, yes, it’s at seven.
Researcher: Yeah.
I: Actually, I’m inside the bus waiting for it to pull away.
R: Right.
I: The day when, as I recall, I did… I could look it up in those [working] times.
R: So, you are going home.
I: I’m going home, yes.
R: Is this your typical working day and the time to go home?
I: Yes, quite often, even if I come early in the morning I’m usually back home around seven.
R: Yeah.
I: Actually, this was not a very long day but if felt like a fairly long day, it was seven point six hours. In other words, when taking away the lunchbreak it was a little bit over eight hours.
R: Okay, well, why did it feel so long?
I: I don’t, I was making a ground structure which is almost always the same, but you can’t copy it anyway.
R: Hm, okay.
I: But then it is totally mechanical reuse of the code.
R: Yeah.
I: There is nothing challenging or anything, you just have to do it in a way that here you should have these elements and here you should have those elements.
R: Okay, would you say that your job was fairly monotonous that day?
I: Yeah.
R: Or doing the same thing all the time.
I: Or things that I have done 50 times before.

The participant recollected his feelings when taking the picture but had to search for an explanation of his experience of the long day through the recorded duties. The researcher directs the discussion toward typical working hours and the participant confirms that the length of the working day when the photo was taken represents his typical working day. He forms his memory response by checking the entries on a timesheet and looking at the photo. The participant’s feelings also relate to his preference for working on different projects during the day because coding just for one project does not offer the variety that makes time pass quickly.

The data extract demonstrates how the photo serves to focus on the participant’s experience of the mechanical phase of programming and its influence on the passing of time. This dimension would not have emerged without the photo interview method. Researchers might have asked about the typical length of the working day in a talk-alone interview but the discussion is facilitated by the participant using a photograph to illustrate the moment of going home after work. It is interesting that he did not take the photo during the working day when time dragged, but when he had left the office and was on the bus home. We suggest the choice speaks of the challenge to reflect on experiences of temporality during routine tasks.

The way the participant processes his recollection implies that routine and more challenging work differ as temporal experiences. For him, coding a basic structure slows time and leads to the perception of a long day. It became apparent that he liked the problem-solving aspect of his work and relished the different challenges arising when moving between projects. According to Asimakou (2017: 122) creative and routine work may be associated with different notions of time or temporal schemes. For example, work that motivates or requires problem solving can produce an experience of time flying. On the other hand, it is often difficult to discern routine work and creative work in practice because creative work can include routine parts and vice versa.

6 Temporal Structuring with Photographs

We recognize the multi-dimensionality of time and its influence on social life at many levels (Adam 2000: 135) but for analytical purposes, we apply categories of time that
seem to be useful in the analysis of photo-interview material. Cyclical, linear, and spiral metaphors of time dominate academic research on organizations. According to Asimakou (2017), cyclical time highlights that time is in the events that people find meaningful and adopt as temporal references. It is based on the notion that past events are repeated periodically. Linear time assumes that time is external to events and can be measured and controlled with technological devices (Asimakou 2017: 116). The linear metaphor of time is a part of the widespread Western business discourse, which perceives time as a resource that can be measured, standardized, and priced (Ancona et al. 2001: 515; Asimakou 2107: 116). The linear metaphor of time implies that every moment includes multiple actions that could be taken, and that the chosen actions could result in several possible realities (Asimakou 2017: 117–118).

The analysis of the above data excerpt indicates that the metaphors of linear and cyclical time are used as temporal references whereas the metaphor of spiral time is absent. The participant said the photograph from the bus mentioned above (see Photo 1) was prompted by a feeling that the working day felt longer than he had thought on the morning in question; a statement that reflects an anticipation of the length of the working day based on the tasks required during working hours. The act of photography is traceable to the morning of the particular workday when the participant anticipated the time needed to complete the coding task. Hence, the meaning of the photograph is related to feelings before and after the working day.

The participant described the photo by equating the mechanical coding with many previous similar coding sessions. This implies time is a cyclical entity in which some things happen repeatedly, and where time is perceived through particular events. Moreover, the topic of the photograph, traveling home after work, can be also approached through the notion of cyclical time because it highlights the transition between home and work that usually happens every weekday.

Orlikowski and Yates (2002) offer a practice-based view of time highlighting that temporality is produced in situated practices and reproduced through the influence of organizational norms. Time is thus realized in organizational life through a process of \textit{temporal structuring}, where people (re)produce multiple temporal structures to orient their ongoing activities. People experience time through shared temporal structures generated and used to give rhythm and form to their practices (Orlikowski & Yates 2002: 685). For example, weekly meetings, financial reporting periods, and project deadlines form temporal structures defining boundaries of employees’ conduct but are also modified by the actions they inform.

People can consider time as objective by objectifying and reifying temporal structures through treating clocks, schedules, and milestones as if they were independent of human
action. Similarly, people may produce temporal structures when they reflexively monitor their action and address schedules and deadlines as relative, provisory, or alterable (Orlikowski & Yates 2002: 689). For example, the participant who used the time tracking software in the photo interview perceived time objectively as a fact involved in the software and external to events (cf. Adam 2000: 132). The aim was to produce a more accurate recollection of the photographed moments through using the software. The action also illustrated that temporal experiences are closely related to the content and intensity of work.

7 Conclusions

This study indicates that taking photographs stimulates research participants to describe and reflect on the personal significance and meanings attached to the objects, surroundings, and activities portrayed in the pictures. Looking at photographs also contributes to the dynamics of an interview conversation, co-production of meanings and the detailed recollection of recent work situations. Moreover, the photographs made the ways games studio staff structure time more visible and concrete while illustrating that the metaphors of linear and cyclical time are typically used as temporal references when describing working time.

Although participant-generated photographs can capture elements of intangible and abstract subjects, such as temporality, the method per se does not guarantee that participants remember to take photographs during a routine working day, and moreover, they might take some photos that do not pertain to the chosen research topic (cf. Felstead et al. 2004: 112; Ray & Smith 2012). Hence, the instructions for photography must be detailed because participants are prone to prioritize events that break their work routines. Alternatively, a researcher can take photographs of routine work to facilitate reflection and generate information about taken-for-granted aspects of work. It is also possible to use both participant-generated and researcher-generated pictures in the same interview, which would highlight the active collaboration in the generation of data.

When assessing our goals for data collection, the photo interview worked well to explore dimensions of time from the perspective of individual games studio staff. Photographs strengthened participants’ positions in the interviews because they influenced the themes discussed. Discussing the photographs facilitated a more free-flowing informal dialogue between the participant and the researcher than would arise from talk-alone interviews. Overall, the dialogical photo-interview method enabled a collaborative production and creation process in which participants chose the photographed moments they wanted to discuss with the researcher.
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Works Cited


Appendix 1. An original excerpt of the photo interview in Finnish

H = haastatettava
T = tutkija

H: Toi on venaamassa bussia muistaakseni iltakaheksan aikaan, ää seittemän aikoihin, joo seittemältä.
T: Joo.
H: Tai siis bussin kyydissä venaamassa että bussi lähtee liikkeelle.
T: Aivan.
H: Päivä millon muistaakseni tein, vois kattoo noista ajoista.
T: Siis säät oot lähössä kotiin.
H: Oon lähössä kotiin joo.
T: Onks tää tyypillinen sun työpäivänä että lähet tohon aikaan?
H: Joo aika usein, vaikka tulisin kuinka aikasin niin se on yleensä siinä seittemän aikaan kun oon kotona.
T: Joo.
H: Ei tää ollukaa niin hirvenä pitkä päivä mut se tuntu aika pitkältä päivältä, se oli seittemän piste kuus tuntia eli lounaan kun poistaa siitä niin vähän päälle kaheksan tuntia oli.
T: Joo, no mikse sitte tuntu pitkältä?
H: En, peruspohjarakennetta mikä on melkeen aina kaikille sama mutta ei kuiteskaan voi kopioida.
T: Hmm, okei.
H: Mut siis täysin mekaanista koodin kierrättämistä vaan.
T: Joo.
H: Ei oo mitään missä ois mitään haastavaa tai muutakaan vaan pitää vaan tehä sielleen et tohon tulee nää elementit ja tohon tulee nää elementit.
T: Aivan, eli tuota olisko siten että työnkuva oli aika yrkökkönä sinä päivänä?
H: Joo.
T: Tai samaa asiaa koko ajan.
H: Tai siis sellasta mitä mäö oon tehny viiskytä kertaa aikasemminkin niin.