

# Making a place for programmers

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**Abstract.** In 1945 John von Neumann imagined the computer as a scientific instrument which would be used by “trained mathematicians”. In this talk, I will describe the model of machine, code, and programming process that this vision led to, and argue that von Neumann’s experience led him to identify a new kind of symbolic work and a social space within which this work could be carried out.

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