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ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS:  
A STUDY OF CORPORATE HEADOFFICES

by

SANJOY MAZUMDAR

B. Arch. (Hons.) Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur  
(1971)

M. Arch.A.S. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge  
(1981)

M.C.P. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge  
(1981)

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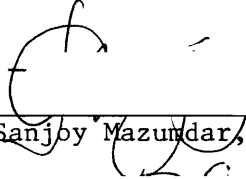
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Signature of Author

  
Sanjoy Mazumdar, School of Architecture & Planning

Certified by

Gary T. Marx Ph.D., Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by

Langley C. Keyes Ph.D., Chairman, Doctoral Program

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ABSTRACT

Not much is known about the interrelationships between organizational culture and the physical environment, and how one affects the other. Most works dealing with physical environments in organizations have, taking an instrumental view, attempted to see how the organization's functioning could be improved through manipulations of physical environmental elements. Even the view that understanding of the physical environment in organizations can lead to a better understanding of organizations and organization theory has been neglected (Pfeffer:1982; Becker:1981).

I wanted to learn about how organizational cultures develop their own views of and meanings regarding the physical environment and "idioms" regarding space use. In order to learn about these I conducted a more than twelve month long naturalistic field study in several organizations. Based on this I present three reflective interpretive essays.

The first essay is based on an extensive review of the various bodies of literature that impinge on the subject. In the second essay I describe parts of the physical environment in one organization, Norton, and describe the meanings that physical environments hold for members through descriptions of a number of phenomena, such as environmental reading, environmental embarrassment, socio-physical congregation and distancing, and environmental deprivation, which are manifestations of the meanings. In the third essay I present the norms, rules and programmatic requirements regarding physical environments, behavior in it, and affected by it.

In concluding, I present some observations regarding the symbolic importance of the physical environment to members, and some cross-cultural notes and issues. My speculation is that the focus on instrumentality and functionality may be largely rhetoric. I also comment on how my observations affect the literature and practice.

Thesis supervising committee: Professor Gary T. Marx Ph.D.  
Professor John Van Maanen Ph.D.  
Professor Leonard G. Buckle Ph.D.  
Professor Suzann Thomas-Buckle Ph.D.

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CHAPTER I

CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY AND REALITY OF CONSTRUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Consider the illustration of the Taj Mahal of Agra, India.

It is an architectural masterpiece of monumental proportions,<sup>1</sup> considered to be an engineering achievement as well.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to its architectural splendor, there are other aspects about the Taj Mahal that make it meaningful to the local people, and perhaps even to others. The Taj Mahal was constructed to symbolize and signify Shah Jehan's love for his wife.

The Taj Mahal, a splendid mausoleum built by Shah Jehan, at a cost of fifty lacs of Rupees, over the grave of his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal, is rightly regarded as one of the wonders of the world for its beauty and magnificence.

(Majumdar, Raychaudhuri & Datta:1967: 586)

Large numbers of people in India go to see the Taj Mahal.<sup>3</sup> The numbers of people visiting it during periods of full moon increases

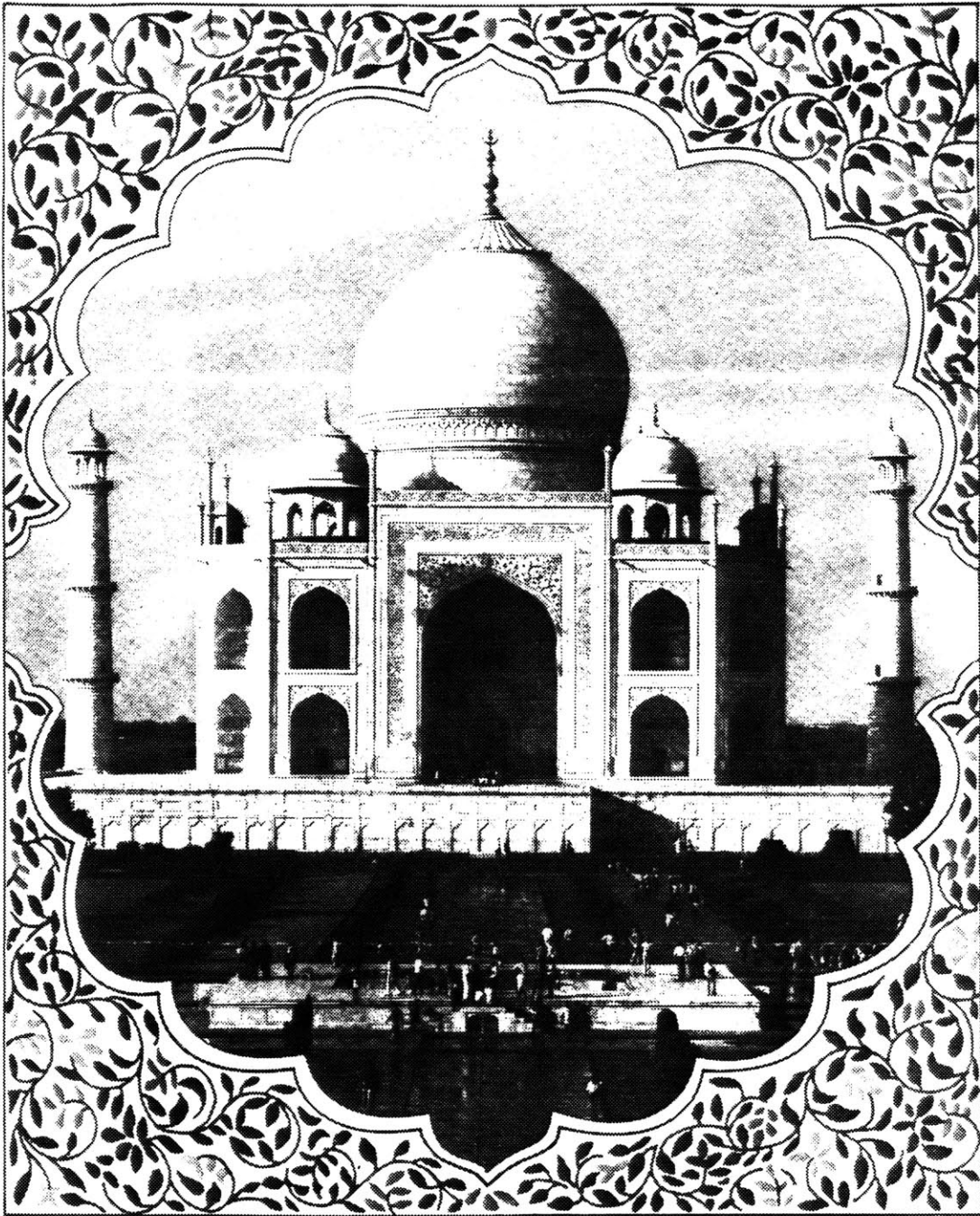


FIG. 1.1 THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA, INDIA.

greatly.<sup>4</sup> People in India speak wonderously about it.<sup>5</sup> Even in a land of numerous architectural monuments the Taj Mahal carries special meaning.

There are normative aspects associated with being at the Taj Mahal. At the Taj Mahal people are expected to take their shoes off before getting on to the main podium on which the mausoleum is located. Many actually leave their shoes behind at the front entrance darwaza. When entering the main chamber one is expected to bow one's head. Many cover their heads. The design of the physical structure helps in compliance with this norm. The entrance to the main chamber, in a building of such magnificent proportions, is so low that most people cannot enter without bowing their heads or stooping.

Monuments such as the Taj Mahal are architectural gems. Long after the people who conceived, designed and built them are gone, these structures (the ones that remain) bear witness to the abilities of these peoples."<sup>6</sup> For years they remain for us to visit, see, feel, study and wonder at.<sup>7</sup> They become permanent objects of attention, subjects of stories<sup>8</sup> and referents of cultures.<sup>9</sup>

Admittedly, the Taj Mahal was not the headquarters of Shah Jehan's organization. Nonetheless, it highlights and exemplifies some major themes this thesis is concerned with.

As with the Taj Mahal, many corporate head offices are structures of considerable architectural interest and are special in many ways. The head offices for Lever Brothers in New York City designed by Gordon Bunshaft and Skidmore Owings and Merrill has recently been designated as a landmark. Head offices of many other organizations boast the "largest colonial structure in the world," (Aetna) or "the world's first two-sided building," (Phoenix) or the tallest structure in town or some other such special status.

While not quite of the order of the Taj Mahal, often they too become highly regarded, subjects of stories and scholarly attention and perhaps even referents of their cultures.<sup>10</sup>

At a general level, my interest in this study was to examine and understand the relationships between organizational culture and the physical environments of their head office buildings. More specifically, I wanted to look at three factors.

First, I wanted to look at the architectural component. This included looking at the physical structure, the design and the layout of space, the distribution or allocation of space to sets of culture members, the allocation of furniture, its quality, quantity, and arrangement. I wanted to find out who got what environmental elements, and whether these systems of distribution, design and allocation changed over time.



Second, I wanted to understand how members of the organization viewed the head office building and its various components, what these meant to them, and how these meanings were manifest. I wanted to find out if the head office building, or parts of it, carried special meaning just as the Taj Mahal carried special meaning to the people in India. Did the members compare each other's physical environments, what kind of comparison did they engage in and what would differences, if any, mean?

What would it mean to organizational members to lose or have to give up environmental elements, such as furniture, they had. To what extent would people be affected if environmental elements were taken away -- would it not matter to them or would it embarrass them, or affect them seriously, badly and adversely.

Finally, I sought to understand the norms, conventions and rules regarding the physical environment. Being at the Taj Mahal meant following certain local norms and rules. These were enforced; people who walked onto the podium with shoes were immediately informed that that was not allowed by some who took on that responsibility. Taking this as an analogy I wanted to find out if the organization's culture had developed specific ideas about how members ought to relate to the physical environment, and whether the physical environment itself played a part in the development of behavioral codes, norms, rules etc. I wanted to find out if the culture had norms regarding the physical environment and physical

environmental elements. For example, it can be expected that most members would have a table or desk to work on, but would there be differences in the kind, quantity and quality of the desk and how would members be expected to deal with these differences. Would there be norms governing behavior in specific environments? And would the physical environment affect the norms regarding how members related to and interacted with each other. These probes I felt, would give me a reasonable understanding of the ways in which the organizational culture saw and related to the physical environment embodied in the architectural structure.

I also wanted to conduct a fairly extensive review of the various sets of literature that impacted on the understanding I was seeking. This turned out to be very revealing about a subject and substantive area that has been largely neglected.

Before proceeding to matters related to the conduct of the study I would like to provide some clarifications and definitions. Environment as a term has been used in different areas, particularly in the organizational literature, to mean a variety of things. Here I have used the term physical environment to mean the physical setting. By physical environmental elements I mean the basic things that make up the physical setting, such as walls, floors, ceilings, roofs, partitions and the like. It also generally includes the objects that go into the settings such as furniture, tables, chairs, rugs, drapes, etc. These items have generally been referred to more

specifically as environmental artifacts or objects. Organizational culture is rather an elusive "thing" to define, as many before me have explained (Kunda:1986). By organizational culture I mean the shared values, norms, ideas, world view that members of that organization hold. By head office I mean the building or set of buildings that members of the organization regard as the head office.

My intent was to carry out a naturalistic field study to learn to see the world, especially with regard to the physical environment, in the same way as the members of the organization did (Becker, H.:1963:170ff). This translated into spending a lot of time in the organization observing activities and interactions, participating in activities and interactions, and in "living in" or "using" the physical environment. I interviewed a large number of people; I conducted approximately 150 interviews out of which 135 were recorded on tape and later transcribed. I conversed with a variety of people in and outside the organization (see Appendix: Methodological Notes). Plans, including archival materials and other documents, such as photographs, reports, memos, were examined. These data along with public information about the organization and personal notes were analyzed for the essays.

In the end what I present in the form of a number of essays is a reflective interpretation. In presenting this interpretation I have drawn on the social scientific information I collected through

naturalistic field work and study of the ethnographic kind,<sup>1</sup> on the documentation I examined, on my background and training as an Architect-Planner and my years of experience in these fields (please see Appendix for more information). Like Riemer (1979) who felt it most advantageous to use his sensitivities, experience and training as an electrician in his social scientific study of construction workers, I felt I could use my training, experience and sensitivities to advantage. But before going on to the essays I would like to briefly describe the organizations and the setting.

#### THE ORGANIZATIONS

In all there were seventeen organizations I studied. Thirteen of these were located in the USA. The head offices of all of these were located in the northeastern part of the country. Eight among them had branches abroad. Four of the organizations were located in India.<sup>11</sup>

Of the thirteen organizations in the U.S.A., six were insurance companies. One was a diversified company dealing in electrical goods, communications, and had recently acquired an insurance company. There were three computer firms, one of which was a software company. There was one bank. One was an environmental clean up company. And finally, one was new-venture biochemical company.

Not all seventeen organizations could be examined with the same intensity in terms of time or detail. The level and kind of access varied (see Appendix for details). There were five organizations where I spent a great deal of time and examined fairly intensively. These I have called "in-depth study" organizations. And then there were the "quick-study"<sup>12</sup> organizations where I was not able to spend much time.<sup>13</sup> The "in-depth study" organizations were as follows.

Zeta Clean was an environmental pollution and clean up company. It was called on to clean up spills of hazardous or toxic materials. It also picked up hazardous wastes on a regular basis from a variety of organizations. Its most important customer was the state government. There were several kinds of waste it handled. The easiest for them to deal with were the ones that could be incinerated without producing toxic substances in the process of burning. There were recyclable wastes, which were more problematic to handle but more profitable, such as oil spills where they could extract lower grade oils from the material picked up. A third kind of waste was the one that had to be shipped to another place for treatment, because there were very few places in the country that had very high temperature incinerators, equipped with scrubbers or other equipment. A fourth, and the most hazardous, were those materials that could not be treated and had to be disposed of at a dump site, such as PCB's and other transformer waste. It had several branches in the same state although it had operations in

other states in the region. At the time of the study, it had outgrown its facilities and moved into a new head office building. It was a spread out two-storied building. There were six kinds of members. There was the president/owner, who was almost legendary because he owned this million dollar company but had started out as "a man with a truck." There were the "sales people" who would sell the services of the company to the government and other organizations. The "lab people" were the ones who analyzed the samples and helped salesmen determine prices to charge. There were the "office types", the ones who kept the books. And then there were the "engineers", the ones who figured out how to clean up, and the "field crew," the ones who actually donned protective gear and carried out the clean up operation.

Merit Insurance Corporation was a mutual insurance company with a national outreach. In 1851 it had begun as a life insurance company for select kinds of people. In the 1950s it began offering group insurance. Later it started reinsurance and now presents itself as a financial company offering a variety of financial services. It does not participate in the agency system, but rather prefers to train its own salesmen and prides itself in inventing several training techniques. It has been a fairly conservative company. Most insurance companies were conservative, but the mutual companies more so until very recently. The company is more than a hundred years old, but has had a relatively small number of presidents, since most presidents served for fairly long terms. It

has maintained fairly small staff and was in 1986-87 applying work measurement and efficiency techniques to increase productivity. There were several kinds of people. There were the "actuaries", perhaps the most important group. Passing the actuarial examinations were considered critical. On passing these exams, one could continue functioning as an actuary or could opt to get into management, which did not require actuarial work. Most senior executives came from actuarial group. Actuaries were the ones who worked with statistics and set the rates. They came up with the most innovations in products and the most innovative products. The underwriters were the ones who did the on site estimation of risk. The "salesmen" were trained to sell and the ones who actually attracted the "customers." And then there were the others including the clerical workers and the support services including those who managed the buildings. Head office buildings have been an important part of company lore. Company publications often did feature pieces on the buildings. The company has been proud of its head office buildings. The current building is said to have created quite a stir when constructed in 1963. The building is still extremely well maintained and still has many of the original fixtures and fittings.

Progressive Computer Corporation designs and produces mid-size computers. Its specialty is the "fail safe" computer, made for organizations which either have to rely on the information being available at all times, and those who rely on the computer's continuous non-stop operation. The company, though relatively very

young, and in an area where many other start-up companies had failed, has been very successful in creating a market niche for itself, and though only 7 years old has already begun to spread out to markets abroad. It prided itself on having found a simple but ingenious way to make computers "fail safe," and that it was manufacturing excellent machines. The engineers were the crucial link and so enjoyed a coveted position in the company. Within this group there were the "hardware types" and the "software types." While there was good cooperation between the two, and while the company's approach to making their computers "fail safe" was hardware oriented, the software engineers outnumbered the hardware types. The number of non-engineers were kept to a minimum, but included the "clerical types", the "facilities types" and the "financial types." All of these were non-engineer types. Management were almost entirely engineers, except for the financial people. There seemed to be some tension in the company that the "financial types" were on the rise and that the premier position enjoyed by the "engineer types" was facing some questions if not some challenge. The company was in the process of planning for a third building to its head office complex in a middle sized town in the northeast.

Imperial Jane Insurance Company offers multiple lines of insurance including life, property and casualty, workers compensation and fire. The legal department seemed to be the most prominent. They occupied a prestigious position on the sixth floor



of the home office building, and another floor in an adjoining building. The underwriters were another important group in this company. All clerical staff reported to the building supervisor who was also responsible for the physical facilities. The people in the administration section were seen as the "methods and rates" people and were feared by the others. This was because they saw them as people who would add work. The head office complex consisted of four buildings near the "downtown" area of a major city. A building was added in 1930 to the original head office building and in the 1970s and 1980s space was leased in two nearby buildings.

In the presentation of this thesis I have drawn on materials primarily from one company -- Norton Insurance Company. The following is a brief description of the company. Norton was established in 1853. When I began this study the company had been in existence for 133 years. During this time it had faced several financial, managerial, regulatory and competitive problems. These were surmounted in time and the company has consistently done well.

Norton opened for business in 1853 when the President and one clerk started work in a small 10 ft. by 15 ft. space. It was provided by another company in a building which was originally the residence of the then President of Norton. Soon, in 1856, there was need for additional space and so the company moved to its second headquarter building. When, about eleven years later, half of a floor became available in a newly constructed building, the company

moved to its third head office building in 1867. This space was approximately 25 feet by 125 feet long -- or 3125 sq. ft. -- was comparatively much bigger and better space, claims a company publication. Here the president's office was located in front while the secretary along with 12 to 18 clerks worked in the back. These were described as "gentlemanly clerks" working at stand up desks.

By 1888, the company had grown tremendously as indicated not only in growth in premium and assets but also by the different kinds of insurance it offered. It purchased a five-storied building and moved into its fourth home office. Initially here, there was over abundance of space, and so several floors were rented out. But the company continued to expand at a rapid pace, and the tenants had to move to make room for the expanding company. Eventually, not only was the whole building occupied, but later it was renovated and space almost doubled through the addition of four new floors on top in 1913. The building too was outgrown in time.

In 1921, the company began to purchase land for a new home office with the intention of uniting all employees, who were by then scattered in different buildings, under one roof. The dimensions of the original 16-acre site were 760 feet by 1066 feet.<sup>14</sup> Addition of later parcels brought the total up to 22 acres.<sup>15</sup>

A large building, containing six floors, with a central tower portion containing nine floors, was constructed in 1929-30. It was

660 feet long and 252 feet wide at the center, and contained 769,000 square feet including 417,000 square feet of office space.<sup>16</sup> This building was occupied in 1930.

This building, and grounds, contained a number of facilities considered quite unusual and novel for its time. There were the usual work areas and offices and related ancillary facilities, such as washrooms, stairs, fourteen elevators, etc. In addition there were eight bowling alleys in the building (used intensively in the winter), facilities for squash, handball, table tennis, shower and locker rooms, and a cafeteria seating 1000 (which served 2500 lunches daily in 1956). There was an auditorium with a seating capacity of 1000 people, used for major gatherings such as shareholders meetings, major functions by the men's and women's clubs, and women's basketball. There were rooms for clubs for men, women and officers. There was a small banking facility and a place for shoe repairs. On the grounds there were six clay tennis courts and lawns where croquet was played during lunch hour.<sup>17</sup>

This fifth head office building had large amounts of expansion space so that departments could grow without much restriction. Continuous growth led to shortage of space by 1951 and another building was purchased in the city and part of the operations consisting of 500 employees from two divisions were relocated there. Also in 1951, work was begun on an addition of a wing on the west, a building 125 feet wide and 175 feet long, six floors high,

with original plans for 132,000 sq. ft.,<sup>18</sup> but eventually built with 147,000 sq. ft. of space.

In 1960-62, an annex was built containing new cafeteria and training class rooms, which added 152,000 sq. ft. To the 1931 building another addition, of 295,000 sq. ft., was made on the east side in 1962-64. Another 730,000 sq. ft. of space was added in another building on the east side between 1967-1972. The building in its present form houses 2,093,000 sq. ft. of space and approximately 5,000 people.<sup>19</sup> There are still other sections in nearby parcels, elsewhere in the city and even out of the city. Norton has grown quite steadily in terms of numbers of people.<sup>20</sup>

In terms of services and technology this 133 year old company has gone through several eras and changes. Electricity, now ubiquitous and quite taken for granted, was installed in 1895.<sup>21</sup> There was only one telephone in the company until 1902 when a switchboard was installed in a cage. Now a large number of organizational members have telephones, and the telephone directory has to be updated three times a year.<sup>22</sup> In 1900, correspondence was in longhand since there were only two manual typewriters in the head office. Typewriters came into general use in 1910. Carbon copies were also introduced the same year, while prior to that copies were made by letter press. Now, there are electric and memory typewriters, photocopying machines, computers and laser printers. In the early days information regarding policies were recorded in

ledger books which were 5 inches thick and 26 or 28 inches square.<sup>23</sup> Between 1905 and 1915 most record keeping was converted to cards. Mechanization of the office occurred shortly and incrementally leading eventually to the use of early large computers<sup>24</sup> and then to small, connected desk top computers. This last stage is still in progress. Planning for the future includes consideration of expert systems and artificial intelligence. Muzak was installed in 1945.

The 1931 building did not have any air conditioning but had large openable windows. This was the time of the 1951 additions as well. The 1967-72 building on the east, on the other was centrally air conditioned, had escalators and except for a small interior court was almost completely closed and without windows. The exterior walls were solid with very few openings.

At Norton Insurance Company, there were three major social categories in which organizational members sorted themselves. These were known as Administrative, Technical/Professional people, and Officers. Each category had two major subcategories and 8-10 classes. These three major social categories mentioned earlier were closely aligned with the three major job classification categories<sup>25</sup> instituted by the Human Resources Personnel Office.

Norton	Officer	Senior
		Junior
	Technical	Upper
		Lower
	Administrative	Upper
		Lower

FIGURE 1.2

### The Administrative Category

The administrative category contained the eight lowest job classes at Norton. Job classes 17 to 24<sup>26</sup> were the administrative level members. In total, their numbers constituted 29 to 30% of the total membership. The 1987 classes, numbers and salaries are given in Figure 1.2.

JOB CLASS	NUMBERS	RANK	STARTING SALARY
17	1147		\$9,300
18	1222		
19	1309		
20	1400		
21	1494		
22	1600		
23	1713		
24	1836		\$23,300
TOTALS/RANGE	8	11,721	\$9,300 to \$23,300

FIGURE 1.3: ADMINISTRATIVE CATEGORY.

The administrative category included a variety of people from physical plant, maintenance, grounds, security personnel,<sup>27</sup> cafeteria workers, machine technicians, custodial crew, equipment operators.<sup>28</sup> It also included receptionists, office administrative help, purchasing technicians and secretaries.

The lower level administrative members were required to wear special uniforms consisting of blue shirts (white for those more visible to the public) and dark blue trousers. Above the right chest pocket, a white sign with red border proclaimed "Jack" as the name of the person. Also displayed on person, clipped to the cover of the right shirt pocket, was a clear plastic-coated identification badge proclaiming the name of the company in bold letters and containing a small picture of the face of the individual, and his name. These accouterments made these lower level administrative members easily identifiable and legitimized their access to places for plant operations and maintenance activities and gave them legitimacy to enforce organizational rules and procedures, check IDs, and the like.

In addition, many uniformed people were found to carry various implements, tools, and related gadgets along with them or on the uniform -- the tool box being ubiquitous. The holster with gun on the security guards uniform was one example, the hammer hanging from the side of the trouser of the maintenance man was another example.

Administrative level members received "wages" and not "salaries." Their wages were disbursed on a weekly or bi-weekly basis. Wages were paid on the basis of certain pre-agreed amount of time (number of hours), for most 8 hours per day (40 hours per week), these members worked per week for the organization. Extra time generally required specific approval or request by the supervisor but meant overtime rates they were entitled to. At the same time, clocking in significantly less than 40 hours usually meant an equivalent deduction from the standard weekly pay.

There were strict times for work. Reporting for work late and quitting early were frowned upon and repeated violation was labeled "tardiness" and was cause for disciplinary action and even dismissal. This then was a system of pay for the amount of time worked or given to the organization.

Secretaries were generally in the job class 21 to 24 range, although an occasional exception to job class 25 was made.<sup>29</sup> Secretaries often had more than one boss. This happened for two reasons. They usually had a "boss" who they reported to and who gave them work. At an AVP level, there generally was one secretary to one "boss." At lower levels, however, as depicted in the advertisement, a secretary had to work for more than one manager or supervisor. Another reason this happened was that sometimes they had a different supervisor who was actually responsible for the secretaries as a group.



	JOB CLASS	NUMBERS	RANK	SALARY IN 1987
	25			17,700
	26			19,100
	27			20,600
	28			22,100
	29			24,000
	30			25,700
	31			27,800
	32			30,100
	33			32,800
	34			36,000
TOTALS	10	17,453		\$17,700-\$58,000

FIGURE 1.4: TECHNICAL/PROFESSIONAL CATEGORY.

Technical/Professional

A conglomeration of ten job classes from 25 to 34 constituted the second set known as Technical and Professional people. In Norton parlance, they were known as "Techies."<sup>30</sup>

Job class 25, an example of which would be "Programmer/Analyst" required a college degree and had a starting salary in 1987 of \$17,700 while jobs class 34 would be an "Administrator or Senior Facility Planner" required supervision of other Techies or

Administrative people carried a starting salary of \$36,000. The Techies sorted themselves out into two subgroups: the Lower Techies and the Upper Techies. Job classes 25 to 29 comprised of Lower Techies, while job classes 30 to 34 were known as Upper Level Techies or simply Upper Techies.

To Nortonians, reaching an Upper Techie position was highly significant. Job classes 30-34<sup>31</sup> were informally known as Upper Techie, while formally they were classified as Technical II or Professional and even supervisory. In general, promotion to a level 30 meant a supervisory position.

JOB CLASS	NUMBERS APPROX.	RANK	STARTING SALARY IN 1987
78		Manager	\$ 42,000
79		Director	52,000
80		AVP	62,000
81		Vice President	77,000
82		Sr. Vice President	96,000
83		President	116,000
84		Vice Chairman	145,000
85		Chairman	175,000
TOTALS	8		\$42,000-\$381,000

FIGURE 1.5: OFFICER CATEGORY.

Officers

Officers were the third major class of organizational members. Eight job classes, 78 to 85, comprised this set. The number of officers has changed over the years, but now constitute 7-9% of the entire membership. As with the other two sets, officers were also divided into 2 sup-groups -- Junior Officers and Senior Officers. In the Junior Officer category were included job classes 78, 79, 80, with titles Manager, Director, and Assistant Vice-President. Divisional Vice-President, Divisional President, Corporate Vice-President, President and chairman or job classes 81, 82, 83, 84 and 85 constituted Senior Officers.<sup>32</sup>

These categories were important enough that they formed part of the self-identities of the organizational members, and arguably served to keep members within their social categories, preventing schemes of grand movements from one category to others.<sup>33</sup>

\* \* \*

In the following chapters I shall present three essays. Chapter Two is based on a critical review of different kinds of literature that impinge on the subject. In it I present six kinds of interrelationships between cultures and their physical environments as exemplified in the literature. Chapter Three is an essay in which I describe the physical environments of different categories of members at Norton and describe what these environments and environmental elements and artifacts mean to them by describing

a number of specific phenomena which illustrate the meanings and their manifestations. In Chapter Four I describe some norms regarding the physical environments. I also describe norms regarding behavior in physical environments and ways in which physical environments affect norms regarding behavior. Chapter Six is a conclusion where I discuss what implications these interpretations have for the literature and for practice. Methodological notes are included in an appendix.

I have chosen to present quotations of what respondents said with minimal editing. On many instances a great deal of emotion was expressed during the conversations regarding space. These were manifested often in quick bursts of thoughts including broken sentences, and sentences left incomplete. Very articulate members often stuttered, or jumped from one sentence to another when they became emotional. Tonal fluctuations and variations also occurred. I have left these as they were spoken without much editing (except for removing repetitions) to pass on to the reader some of the feelings and emotions expressed. R is used to indicate researcher, and OM organizational member, when large conversational segments are quoted.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. It took 20,000 men working incessantly 22 years (1632-1657 A.D.) to construct the Taj Mahal. Its dimensions, statistics and characteristics are also impressive.

The cenotaph chamber of the Taj Mahal is 186 feet (56.9 m) square, with chamfered corners, with the top of dome rising to a height of 267 feet. The finial on top, which originally was covered with 40,000 tolas (466.55 kgs) of gold, is 30 feet (9.30 m) tall. The facing material is white marble, embedded with several gems and semiprecious stones -- one flower on the tomb contains 64 varieties (Baum & Clements: 1987; Majumdar, Raychaudhuri & Datta:1967 and others).

2. The Taj Mahal is also considered an engineering achievement as Lall and Dube explain.

It has been calculated that the walls of the cenotaph chamber carry a massive load of 7.9 tons (8.02 metric) per square foot, while the dome, as it rests on its drum weighs 12,000 tons (12,196.56 m). (T)he construction of the Taj is clearly an engineering achievement of stupendous magnitude, even in the context of present day knowledge. (Lall & Dube:1982:126-127).

There are several other such examples. Consider the pyramids of Egypt. They too are impressive architectural, engineering and construction feats. The example of one pyramid is provided below.

(One Egyptian) pyramid covered 13 acres and measured 481 feet in height. It was constructed of about 2,300,000 stone blocks each weighing an average of 22 tons. (It) required 100,000 men working 20 years to complete. Just planning for and organizing the efforts of feeding and housing 100,000 men over a period of 20 years are monumental efforts in themselves regardless of the complex end product. (Jackson & Morgan: 1978:12).

The construction of many of these pyramids dates back to about 3000 B.C. (Lampl:1968:29).

3. There is even a special train to Agra from New Delhi called the Taj Express.
4. I say this based on personal experience, and on conversations with others with experience (such as those who have visited the Taj Mahal several times, those working for the Railways, and those living in Agra), not on actual counts.

5. This is not to say that there are no dissenting opinions. A few of the critical, Marxist, or radical bent, see the Taj Mahal as a product, if not an instrument, of domination and oppression.
6. There are other examples, such as the material remains of the physical structures of the cities of Mohanjo Daro and Harappa, which have been dated back to 3000 B.C. Mohanjo Daro was a large city with wide, straight streets having an elaborate drainage system with soak pits for sediment. The buildings were of two or more stories, with "paved floors and courtyards, doors, windows and narrow stairways," with the houses having wells, bathrooms, drains. The walls were of burnt bricks and quite thick (Majumdar, Raychaudhuri & Datta:1967:16).
7. Beholding the Taj Mahal, especially under conditions of full moon can be an experience of epiphany and people go back many times for it.
8. Myths, legends and stories abound. Here are two.

It is believed that the Egyptian pyramids did not use mortar (cement, lime or other) to seal the joints between two huge blocks of stone, that they are held together by metal chips and that the joints do not leak!

It is said regarding the Taj Mahal that the large outer dome has an inner flatter dome and the space between them is hollow. The story goes that Shah Jehan, in an effort to ensure that such a building not be repeated, called his master architect at the completion of the structure and asked if he had any last wishes before the architect's right hand was to be cut off. The architect, it is said, asked to visit the Taj Mahal alone one last time. What he did there no one knows, but since his return the Taj Mahal, it is said, leaks when it rains, one small drop at a time right from the center of the dome. No one is known to have been able to figure out how, and the space between the domes does not fill up with water! (These stories have not been corroborated by me as to factual content and are reported here only as part of lore associated with these structures.) Needless to say, lore exists with many corporate headquarter buildings as well.

9. The association of the pyramids with Egyptians and the Taj Mahal with Indians is now common place.
10. See for example writings on Levi Strauss (Ellis et al.:1980; Breckenfeld:1982), on the Radiator Building (Duvert:1981), on the AT&T headquarters (Under:1982), on Georgia Pacific's headquarters (Anon:1984), on McGraw-Hill building (Holt:1979). For historical perspectives on several buildings

see Gibbs (1976). On landmarks and notable buildings see Duncan (1980). For imagery of headquarter buildings on a lighter note see MacDonald (1986). The Architectural Record and Progressive Architecture periodically feature headquarter buildings. Major newspapers also feature major headquarter buildings.

11. The organizations in India were all in the northeastern part of the country. All were "quick-study" organizations. Qumar Enterprises was highly diversified with steel manufacturing as its major base. It also manufactured tubes, agricultural implements, and cosmetic items, such as soap, etc. It had several branches in India, in the east in or near Calcutta, and also in the west in and around Bombay. It also had branches abroad. I looked at the head office of the tube manufacturing arm. Yug Enterprises was also a large diversified company. It was producing ceramics, bricks, and light railways. It was an old British firm recently converted into completely Indian ownership with the government owning a significant percent of the shares. Yogesh Company was an engineering consulting company and was not manufacturing any goods. Pramod Limited was a new venture starting into metals. At the time of my study it was just beginning construction on the factory.
12. I did not reject the short study organizations for several reasons. During data collection phase I did not reject them because I thought some might eventually grant full access, as some eventually did, because in the early stages I felt I gained experience on field work in organizations, because at later stages I could obtain some comparative data, and also because these provided a test of the efficiency of the research endeavor itself. They also provided a change in perspective. See section on methodology for a more detailed account.
13. The quick study organization in the U.S.A. are described briefly below.

Yates Bank was a large bank for commercial and personal banking. It was growing rapidly through mergers and acquisitions. The head office building, located in the downtown area of a major city in the northeastern U.S.A., was forty stories high. Parts of the building were undergoing renovations because the organization had acquired a new president because of a merger.

Diamond Corporation was a diversified company with telecommunications, electrical goods and precision materials as it's core businesses. It had 183,000 members worldwide. Its ten-storied headquarter building was located in a medium sized city.

Technical Computer Company designed and manufactured medium sized computers had been growing quite rapidly since the 1970's. In 1986-87 it was having to face shrinking profits, and was rethinking strategy, and laying off employees. More than 1000 employees were laid off which was a major reason for my research project not advancing and eventually being truncated.

Jewel Chemical Corporation was a new start up company. Its primary aim was to research and develop new bio-chemical products which could be manufactured by others. The president and other senior officers of the company hoped that it would get bought out or acquired by another major pharmaceutical firm.

Infotech Corporation was a computer firm. It was an application software company and its main products were diskettes with software programs and relevant printed documentation. It had been very successful with its software programs and had grown rapidly to meet increased demand. It had grown to 1100 members worldwide, \$25 million in revenues for 1985, \$78 million in assets since its founding in 1982.

Ziggy Insurance Group was a large, multiline insurance company which did life and casualty insurance. It was one of the three corporations among the ones I looked at that was not located in the city. It had recently built a new building in 1984 as an addition to its headquarters complex. The earlier building was constructed in the 1960s.

Quinn Insurance Company was also a large, multiline insurance company. It provided travel insurance in addition to life, property and casualty insurance. It had also gone into real estate financing and services. It was established in 1863 and so was 123 years old. It was considered as an aggressive competitor by other similar insurance companies in the area. In 1986 it had assets of \$41.6 billion. Its head office complex included a tower 527 feet high, completed in 1919.

Kenny Bond was an insurance company run on principle of mutuality. It had been marketing life insurance and had recently turned into a financial company and branched out into real estate. This company was established in 1835, had celebrated its centennial and its 125th anniversary. Its head office building was constructed in 1941, and included a tower 275 feet tall. The home office staff in 1983 was 3233.

14. The purchase price then was approximately \$250,000. Two parcels were added later -- one purchased in 1947 for \$83,000 and the other purchased in Oct, 1949 for \$50,000.



15. In order to support the building of this building a "New Building Campaign" was started. A model of the building was sectioned into 77 parts. In order to reassemble the model each general agency was required to meet its quota of \$50,000 of new paid insurance per full-time agent in the last quarter (Oct, Nov, Dec) of 1929. Achievers (425 of them) received 4" diameter, 12 ounce bronze medallions engraved with the home office building. The goal of \$140,000,000 was not reached but only 94% of it.
16. The A level and Basement each contained 122,724 sq. ft. Second to fifth floors each contained 60,653 sq. ft. Sixth floor contained 40,463 sq. ft. One corridor in the building was 1/8 of a mile long.
17. Company publications claim that the move to the new building in 1931 created a "tremendous lift in morale".

This company advertised these facilities in order to attract good people to join them. One such is described below: titled "You too can be part of the picture". Here is what they advertised. You will be part of "one of the largest business organizations in the world!" "Every effort will be made to place you in the job that you want and for which you are best qualified." "Starting salaries for high school graduates are among the highest in the area. Salary increases are based on merit at 6 months, 1 year, and then annually. Promotions are from within." It went on to say:

"Your Business Home:

A modern, clean building with spacious grounds, two top notch cafeterias provide a variety of home cooked meals at below-cost prices. Noon hour movies in the company and music while you work. Bowling alleys and tennis courts are here for your use. Employee clubs that you may join provide many social and recreational activities during the year."

Other Benefits:

Ten days vacation with pay, paid holidays, paid day off every two months of perfect attendance. Group life, hospitalization, surgical and major medical insurance plan to which the company contributes a large part of the cost. Free parking."

Work Hours

8:15 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Monday through Friday, with 45 minutes for lunch. During summer months, the office closes half-an-hour earlier." (source: company archives)

18. Estimated cost of this expansion was \$3,500,000.
19. Further description of the building and facilities will be provided in Chapter 3, and so is avoided here.
20. Norton looked at from a human resources and financial perspective shows the following. As mentioned earlier, the company started in 1853 with the board of directors and one clerk in a small room. In those days members of the board of directors were expected to assist in the running and operations of the company, at times without any direct reimbursement.

A person who was signed on for developing agency was paid \$100 per month plus expenses. Some clerks were paid \$8 per month in 1854 at the time some banks collapsed. The first clerk hired at Norton in 1854 was paid an annual salary (usual then) of \$400. The President received in remuneration \$1,200 the first year and \$300 the second year. The actuary was also paid \$1,200 the first year. The medical examiners were paid for services, but directors were not regularly paid.

Hence not only did they have their money invested, but they also had an emotional commitment to making the company a success.

Making the company a success was not entirely an easy job even though mutual companies had developed and popularized life insurance since the 1840's. From 1850 to 1854 at least 19 such companies were founded of which 16 went out of business. From 1868 to 1870, 23 life insurance companies failed and from 1870 to 1878, 29 more failed. Yet by 1884 Norton claimed it was one of the largest insurance organizations in the world.

Whereas in 1858 there was only one full time clerk in the employment of the company, this number had grown to 18 by 1868 by which time the company had moved into its third head office. These 18 clerks in 1867 handled \$91 million worth of life insurance in force, with an annual cash premium of over \$2.5 million and a total income (including notes) of \$5.1 million. It appears that in those days there was a great deal of devotion and emotional commitment to the organization and the job.

In the 1870's the company instituted cost cutting measures, and in 1873 (a year of financial panic) the cost of operation was half of what it was in 1867 in proportion to premium income. Yet by 1879 there were 29 employees, indicating strong growth. Norton commenced expansion into other lines of business in 1891. Even so, it was reported that in 1896 Norton's expense ratio (expense divided by total

income) was smaller than that of most rivals and about half that of many competitors.

In 1891 an Accident department was begun. At this time the home office staff had grown to 50. Subsequently in 1902 liability and automobile insurance were started. Group insurance was started around 1915. The home office staff was growing steadily. In 1904 there was 206, 300 in 1907, 650 in 1913, and 1,459 in 1917. That is, the home office staff was nearly doubling every four years or so. While there was a drop to 1,264 in 1918, the number started climbing again with 1,900 in 1922, 2,457 in 1930, 2,500 in 1931, 2,350 in 1933, 2,458 in 1940, 2,506 in 1945. In the 1950's expansion in staff was slower. There were 3,666 in 1951, the year that a building was acquired and expansion of new wing begun. In 1957, there were 3,806 employees in the home office while the total had reached 10,000. By 1976 the number of home office employees had reached 9,364, crossed the 10,000 mark by 1978 and 1986 had crossed the 15,000 mark to reach 15,568. By the end of 1986 the total number of Norton employees had reached 40,356. Approximately 4 to 6% of the total staff have been officers, with Administrative and Technical level together constituting the remaining 94 to 96%. The percentage of officers is somewhat higher at the home office.

Norton has enjoyed long years of service from its staff for many years, as with several other large insurance companies. Norton members feel that they are paid well and tied to their tables with "golden handcuffs", and so they say they "can't complain". This perhaps is a reason for long years of service. But even so, some of the service records are quite remarkable. One person who joined Norton in 1892 worked for 62 years with them. And a second who joined in 1873 was there until his death in 1948 for a total of 75 years. Several others have also served fairly long periods.

Over time the company has grown and undergone many changes. It still remains, what is known in common parlance, paternalistic. Yet it seems people still longed for the old days, as one author expresses.

Not all of the change from this viewpoint, they are likely to say has been good. If they (the organizational members) had their say, the glories of size and progress be damned. They would very probably vote for a return to those good old times when the family was small, and everyone knew everyone, when there was a pervading family interest, one fellow worker in another, when from president to janitor, there was an easy, casual camaraderie. Paternalism, this manner of conducting business was called, and all-in-all, it

was a very assuring and satisfying and dignifying atmosphere in which to work! (Pseudo-Sweeny, P.: 1951:10)

Norton members still consider it a very good place to work.

The company has consciously attempted to be a good employer. Approximately 15% of common stock is owned by employees. In the provision of benefits it has been a leader.

The company has had a no lay off policy in effect. The percentage of terminations, voluntary or involuntary, including long-term disability, was approximately 15.7% in 1986. Of the 6,376 terminations, 85% were voluntary, while a rather large number 73% were women. Even during the depression, it takes pride in claiming there were no layoffs, only a 10% reduction in salaries, no salary increases, no bonuses, one week vacation without pay in mid 1932, and suspension of dividend payments for 2 years.

One of the ways in which these kind of companies with "no lay off" policies get rid of individuals is through long term disability. Another way is to offer voluntary early retirement which they are strongly recommended to take. A third is by "environmental embarrassment" a phenomenon which will be explained later. And there are others. Health and fitness are considered important.

Even though we would expect that companies offering life insurance in particular, be not only health conscious, but also set an example in that area, this was not always the case. There are advice columns in company publications on a variety of subjects from diet to stress management to personal effectiveness and time management. The cafeteria menu, flashed over video monitors lists not only items, prices, and special low calorie and vegetarian items, but also calories of each item.

21. With the advent of electricity, the gas lamp - described as "picturesque but annoying" - disappeared.
22. The telephone book of August, 1912 was 3 1/4" X 6", and listed all the telephones in 24 of these small pages. The April, 1987 directory was 8 1/2" X 11", and listed 3 columns of names per page (approx. 150 names per page) and was 104 pages long - that is the list was approximately 15,600 for the home offices.
23. These ledgers and other valuable documents such as securities were stored in the huge vault at the headquarters.

24. An IBM drum computer was installed in 1955, it was expected to do in a week what 30 employees took a month to calculate in the computation of group insurance commissions, for example.
25. For a similar example in the computer industry see Kunda (1986).
26. One through 16 were not used at Norton. These numbers and titles have undergone several changes, including a couple during the course of this research.
27. For example, the functions of "Lobby Receptionist" in "Home Office Properties/Security" were listed as:

Directs and assists employees and visitors entering the Corporate Headquarters and other assigned facilities. Enforces various rules relating to processing visitors and directing both visitors and employees. Checks employee I.D. cards as part of security policy when required.

Education: High School Graduate

Characteristics: Be fluent in English language, both written and oral, courteous and neat in appearance.

Class: 23

Note: This is a 40 hour per week position.

N/Job Advertisement - posting bulletin.

In this organization, the work hours are now 38.3 hours per week.

28. For example, the job description of a "Senior Equipment Operator" read thus:  
  
Class: 22  
Job Functions: Operate a Documail Zip/Sorter and/or Posting Inserting machines and perform related support functions. Maintains various control logs. Responsible for the proper set up and maintenance of equipment.  
Education: High School Graduate or Equivalent Work Experience.  
Work Experience: Experience in operation and maintenance of mechanical equipment.  
Characteristics/Non-Technical Skills: Be able to lift 40 lbs.  
Desired Employee Specifications: Ability to work effectively in a production area with rigid time constraints.
29. An example of job description given below:

Job Title: Secretary

Class: 21-23

Job Functions: Provides secretarial support for 2 managers, senior administrator and staff. Duties include typing, copying, phone coverage, establishing and maintaining filing system, travel arrangements and other clerical duties (answering 30 button call director, word processing), scheduling appointments, delivering mail, maintaining Diary File and attendance records.

Education: High School Diploma or equivalent work experience.

Work Experience: 1-2 years secretarial experience

Technical Skills: Accurate typing skills, 55-60 w.p.m.

Characteristics/Non-Technical Skills: Excellent grammar, spelling and proofreading skills, excellent organizational skills, ability to adapt to changing priorities. Effective communication and interpersonal skills. Ability to work independently and in a team environment.

Other: Hours: 8:00-4:10

(Source: Job Posting Bulletin)

Supervisors and managers often have to share a secretary while AVP's have a secretary allotted to them.

30. By the Federal Government's classification system this act would be classified as "Exempt."

General Note: Much of this material has been obtained through analysis of corporate archival material, historical accounts put together by various people in the company and for the company and from analysis of company annual reports, publications in company newsletters, and publications about the company in newspapers and magazines. Some interview material has also been used. Most of these sources have to be camouflaged and so go unnamed. I have relied on Pseudo-Eeber, P. (1956), Pseudo-Sweeny (1951) and others.

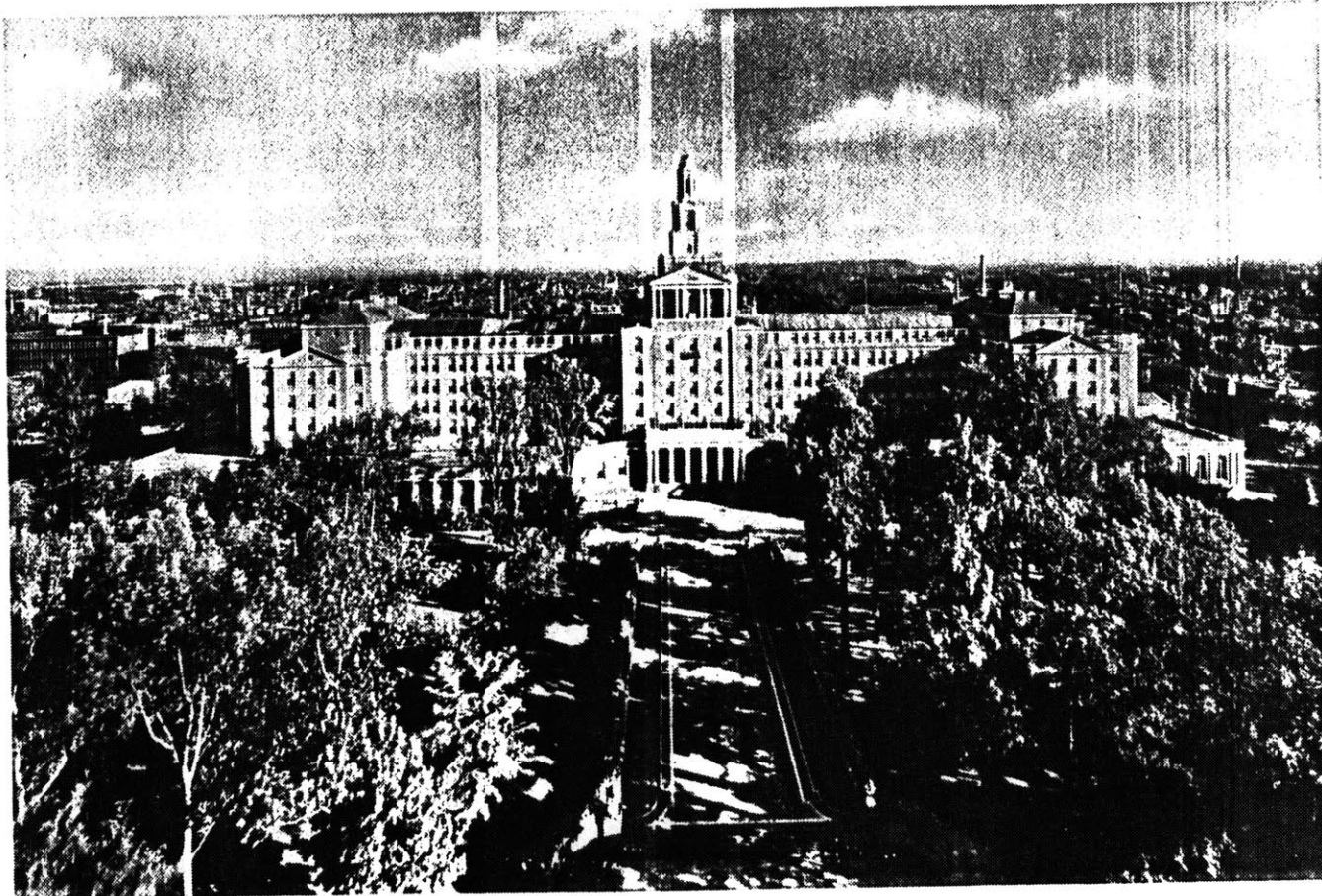
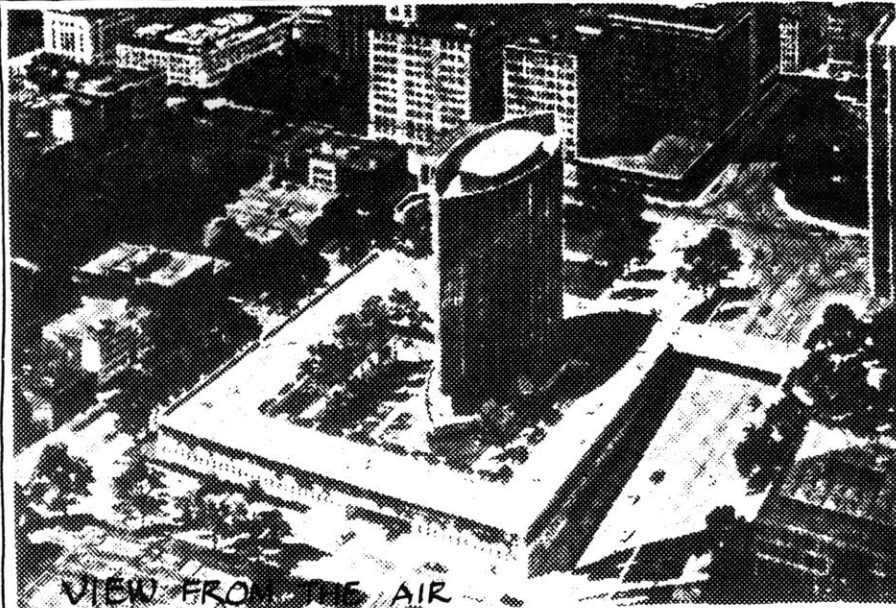
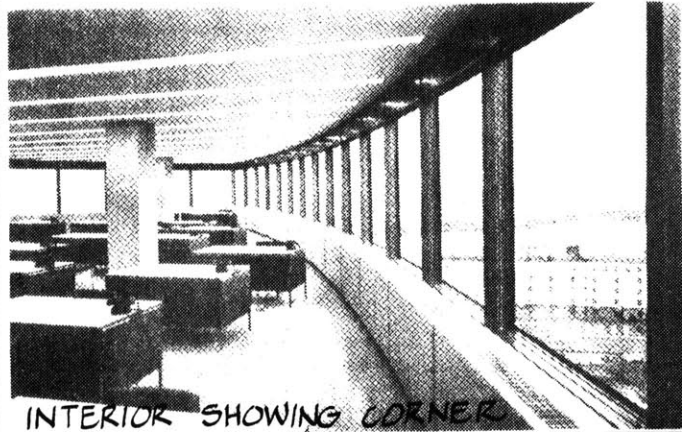


FIG. 1-6 HEADOFFICES OF AETNA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.



VIEW FROM THE AIR



INTERIOR SHOWING CORNER

Phoenix Mutual

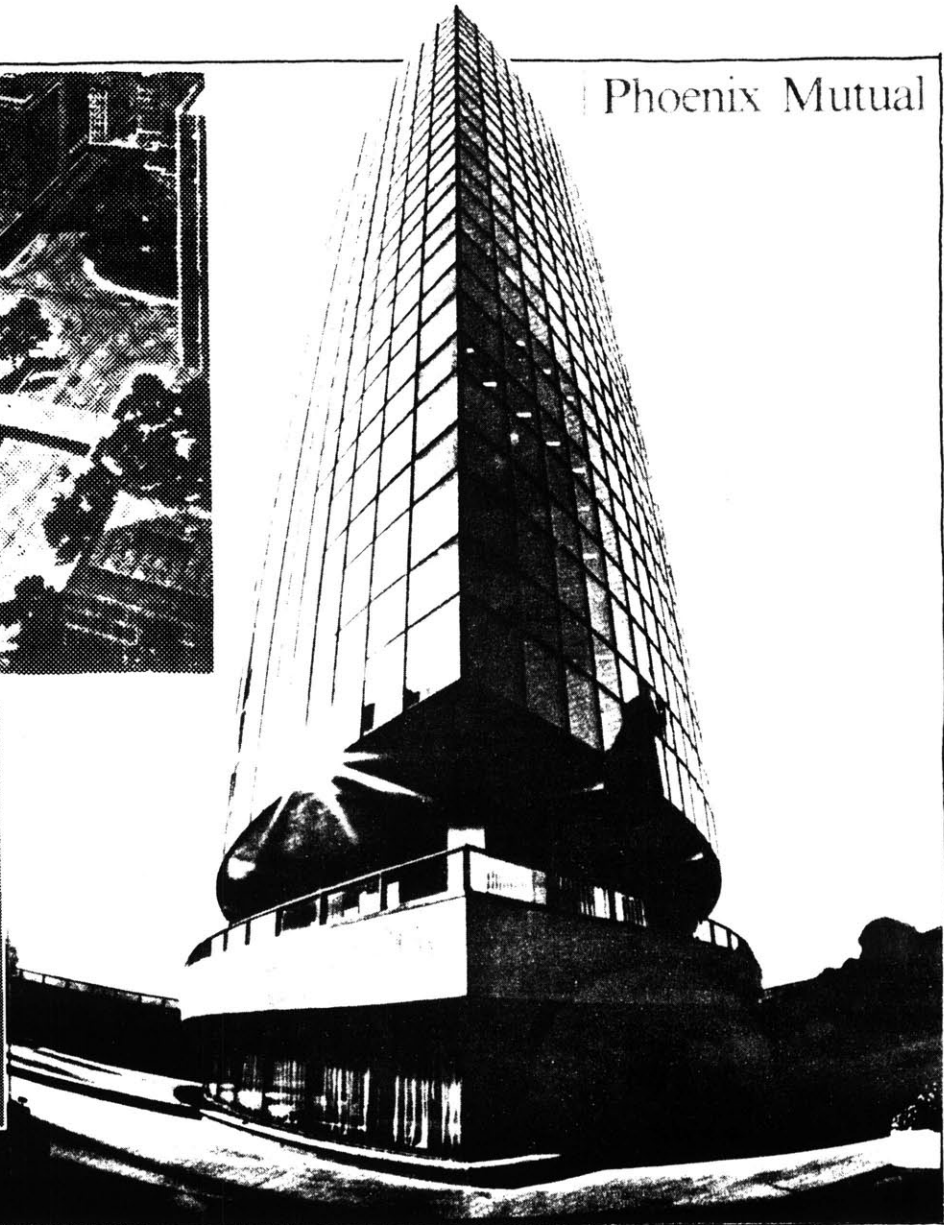


FIG. 1-7 THE PHOENIX.



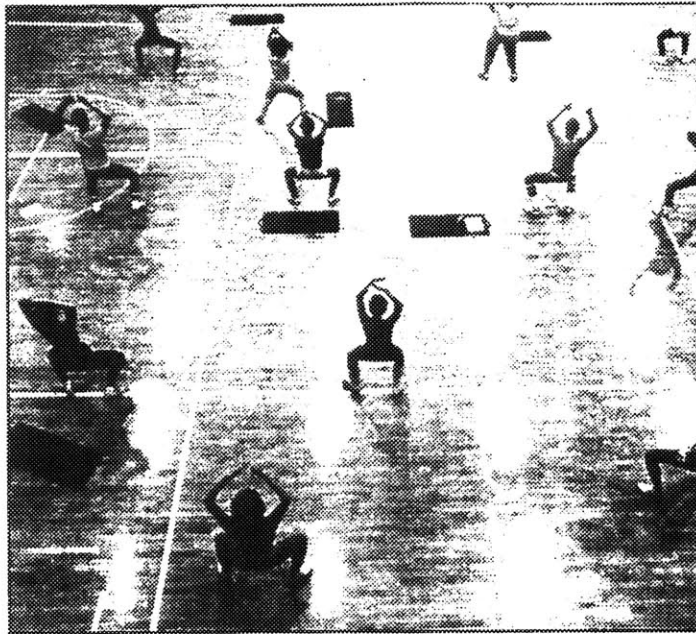


FIG. 1-8 HEADOFFICE - INDOOR FITNESS SPACE.

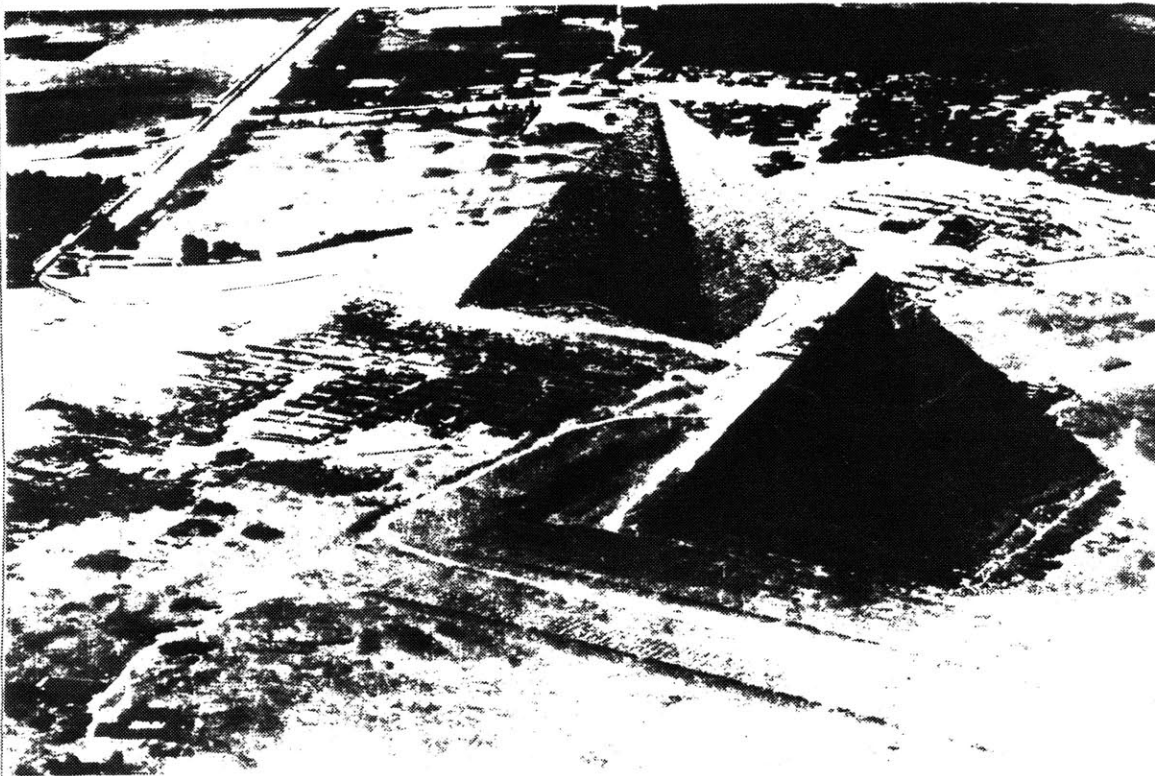


FIG. 1-9 PYRAMIDS, GIZA, EGYPT  
SOURCE: LAMPL: 1968: 80.

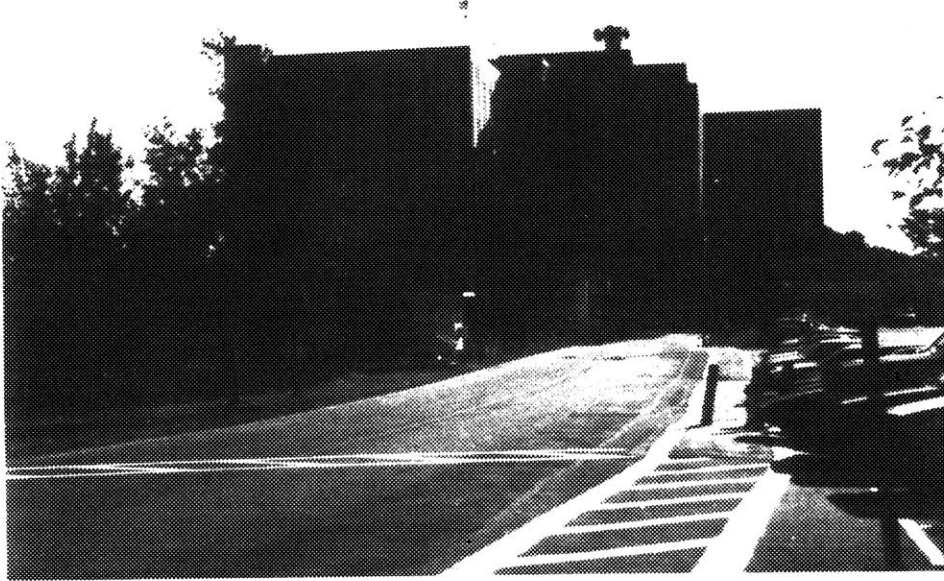


FIG. 1-10 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE VIEW 1

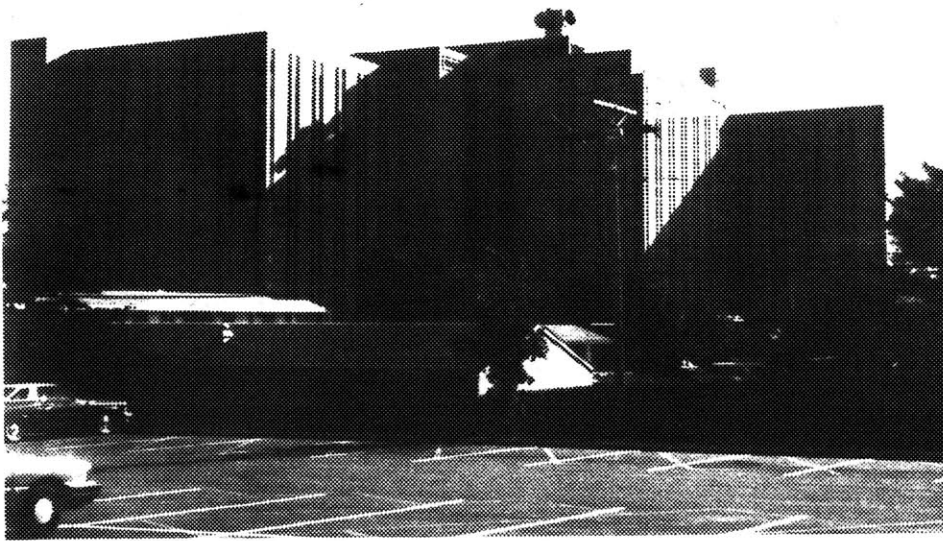


FIG. 1-11 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE VIEW 2

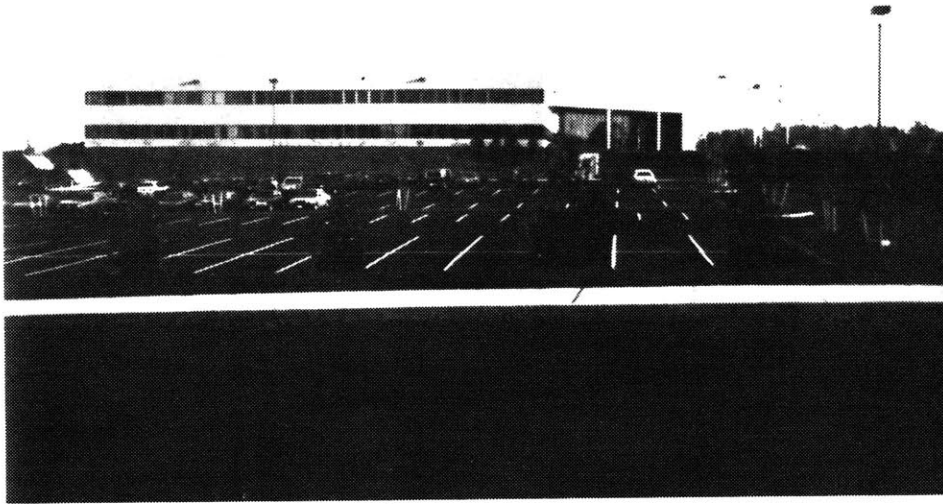


FIG. 1-12 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE VIEW 1



FIG. 1-13 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE VIEW 2

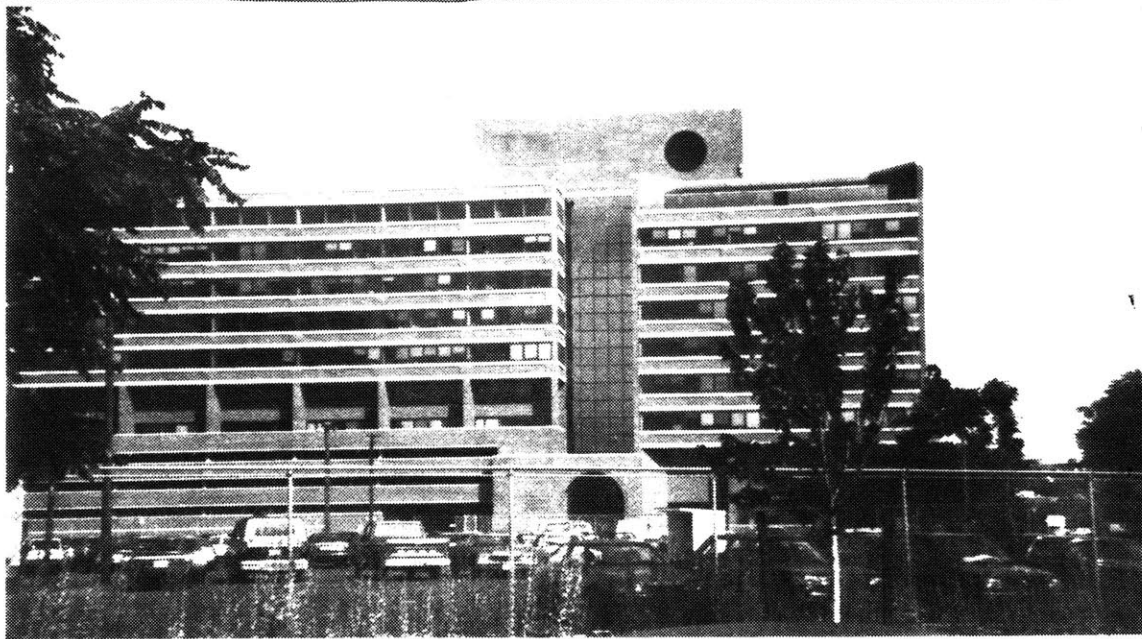


FIG. 1-14 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE VIEW 1



FIG. 1-15 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE VIEW 2



FIG. 1-16 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE

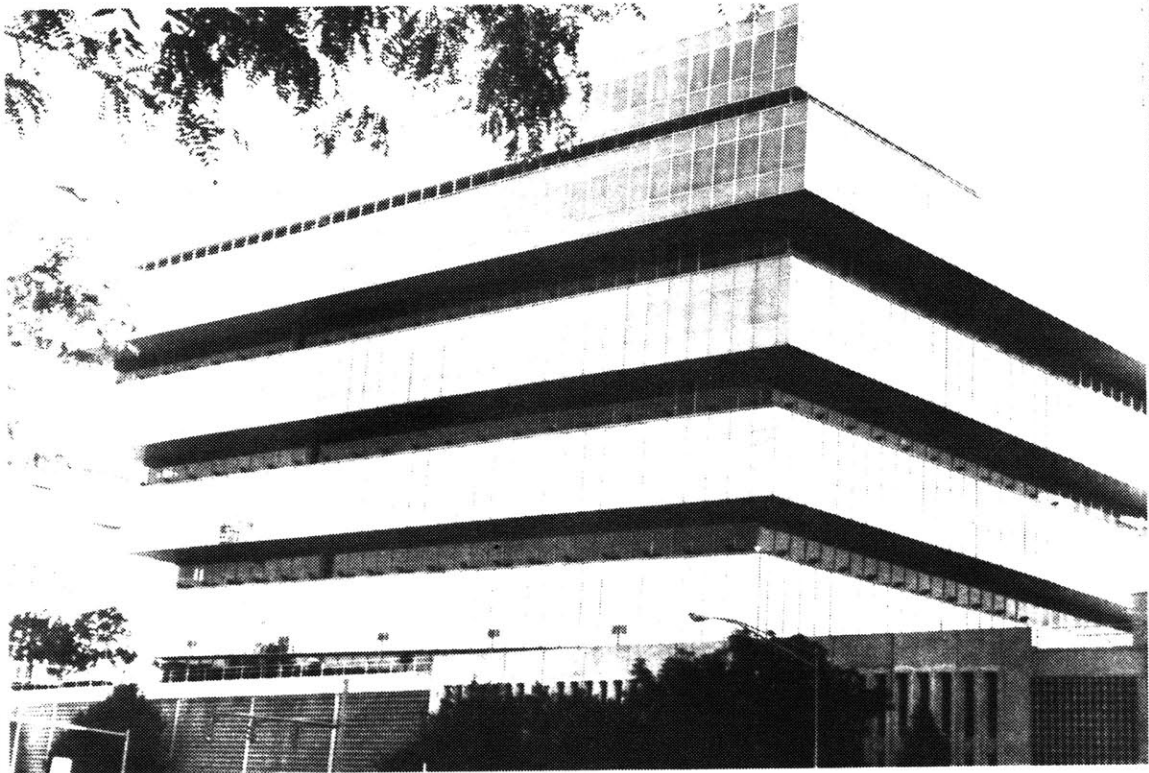
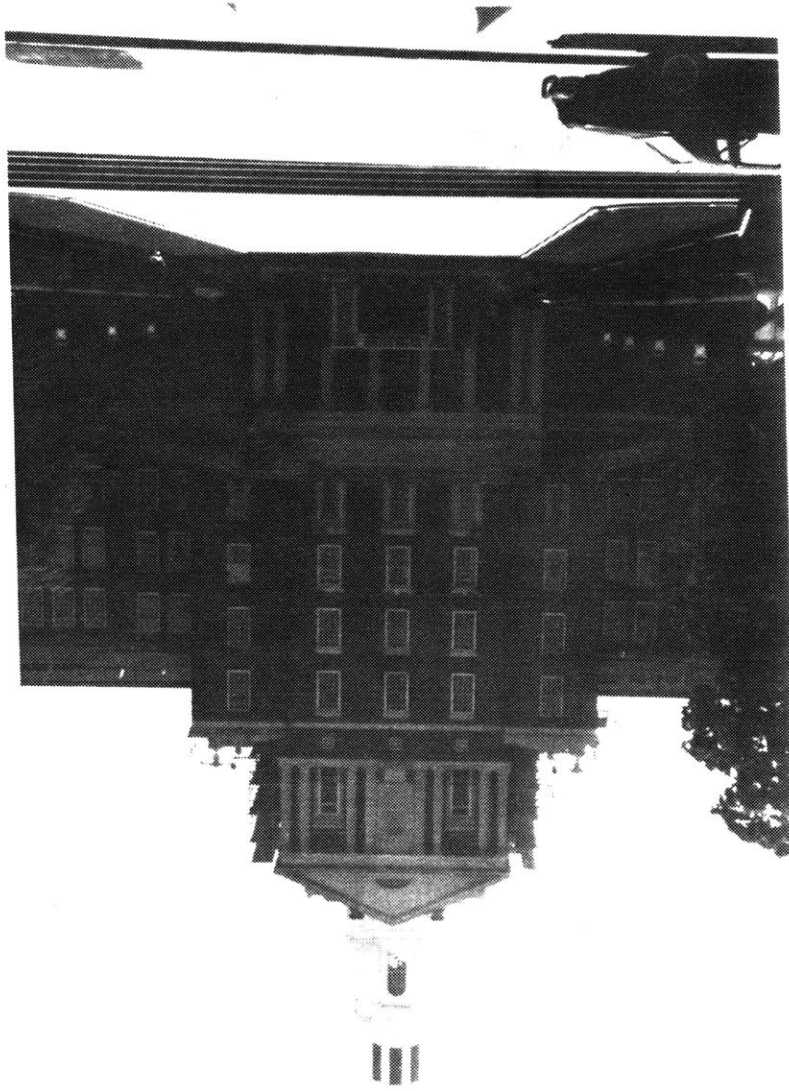


FIG. 1-17 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE

FIG. 1-18 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE: ENTRANCE



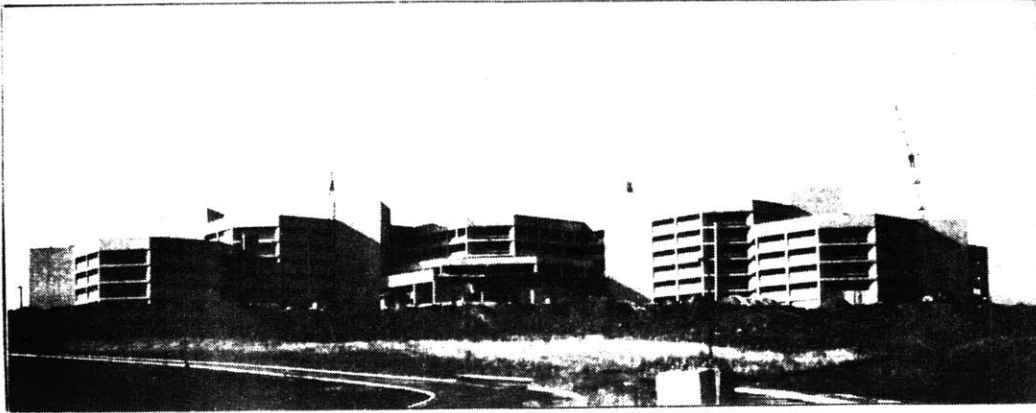


FIG. 1-19 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE VIEW 1



FIG. 1-20 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE VIEW 2 SATELLITE OFFICE

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATIONS IN SPACE AND SPACE IN ORGANIZATIONS

We treat space somewhat as we treat sex,  
it is there but we don't talk about it.  
(Hall:1959)

Human societies, including organizations, are located in space (and time) and "the world of everyday life is structured both spatially and temporally" (Berger & Luckmann:1966:26). This has been emphasized by many (see Park:1952; Hallowell:1977:131). Hallowell (1977:131) has argued that spatially coordinated patterns of behavior are absolutely fundamental to social life and relationships. All of them seem to be saying that we not only exist in a physical world as physical beings but also that the physical environment plays an important role in the lives of people. Our relationships as humans with other humans is affected by the physical world we exist in (Schiffer:1975). We relate to each other, besides the first hand actual experiences, through our senses and interactions, through objects and objectivations that we select, create, modify, use and value.<sup>1</sup> Without this physical element the



# ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE and THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

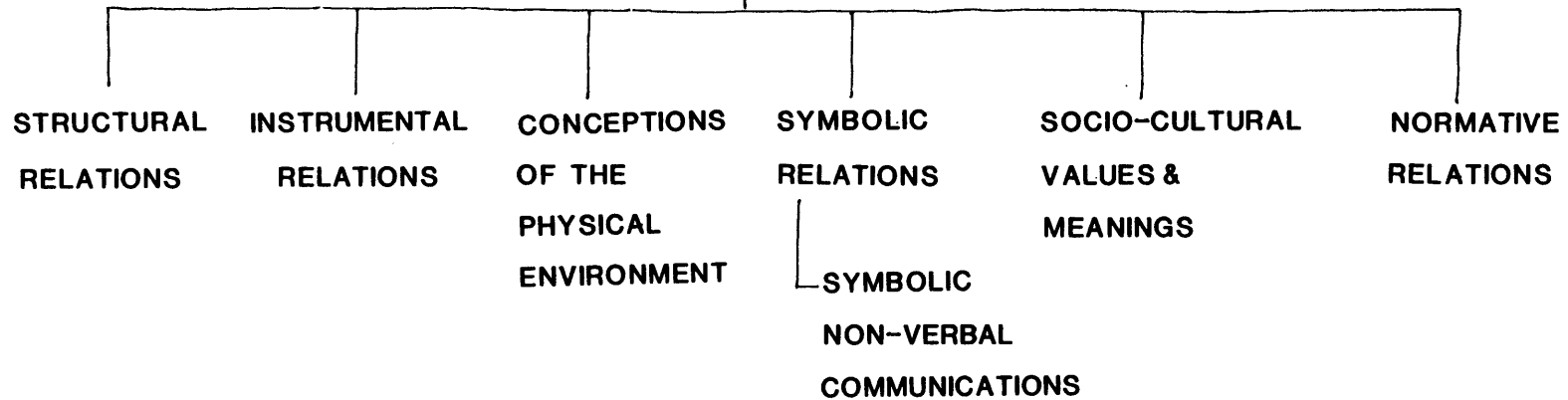


FIG. 2.1 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT IN THE LITERATURE.

world would be completely and totally a conceptual one, and perhaps our senses would not matter. If it is true that the physical environment is important then we can expect it to figure prominently in the ways people structure their existence, their lives, and their relations with others, even in organizations.

Organizations have been studied in many different ways.<sup>2</sup> One among these, that of organizational culture has received a great deal of attention from organizational researchers in recent years.<sup>3</sup> My interest in this study was to understand the relationships between organizational culture and the physical environment. In this chapter I would like to review different aspects of the relationship revealed by an extensive examination of the various bodies of literature that impinge on the subject.

The relationships between people and their physical environments that have been described and delineated in the various bodies of literature can be categorized under six major headings. These I shall describe briefly below.

### Structural Relations

This group of scholars has seen the structure of the physical environment to mirror, mimic, or somehow reflect the structure of society. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (1940) felt that the "territorial structure provides the framework for...social organization."

Similarly, Levi-Strauss (1963) claimed that spatial configurations may reflect the organization of society, even if it is an ideal or illusory one (see also Sopher:1973; Eickelman:1976; Littlejohn:1967; Hodder:1978). Steele (1973) has seen the structure of the office building of an organization mimic its organizational structure (see also Pfeffer:1981). Some (such as Duffy:1974b) have claimed that architecture reflects the organizational chart, although it is not clear what kind of organization chart the reference is to (see Petersen et al:1962). Based on a study of an organization Kanter (1977) hypothesized that the general principles of organization in the building would be the same as that of the social organization, with those higher in the social hierarchy occupying the higher floors of the physical structure (see also Rogers & Agarwala-Rogers:1976). The location of a person's place of work or office is seen as representing a person's power (Lipman et al:1978; Pfeffer:1981). And a person's office, its location, and its furnishings are seen as indicative of a person's status in the hierarchy (Duffy:1969; Konar & Sundstrom:1986).

The structure of social relationships are reflected in the selection and organization of physical environmental elements, it is claimed. Kinship and marriage relationships are reflected in the spatial set up claimed Eyde (1983a, 1936, 1984) going further to suggest that "space is a fundamental dimension of kinship relations" (Eyde:1971:1). The structure of gender, sex and age relations can be reflected in space layout and distribution (Eyde:1983a; Gossen:1972).

Socio-political relationships, such as leader-follower relations can affect the structuring of physical environments as Prussin (1969), Kuper, H. (1972), Orme (1981) and Gombo (1983) have pointed out.

### Instrumental Relations

Among the studies that have highlighted the instrumental and functional nature of the relationship between people and the physical environment are three distinct types--one set has looked at the role performance and the part the physical environment plays, a second has looked at how the physical environment could enable people to perform better and the third looked specifically at how the physical environment could affect organizational performance.

The first approach in this group is that developed by Goffman (1959) who looked at the world through the metaphor of drama with its attendant roles, performances, the stage and the audience. In social interaction, as in drama, people or actors, are thought to take on and present roles to onlookers (society). Successful accomplishment of such roles requires that the actor be aware of and manipulate the physical setting and props where the drama was enacted. It also requires that the actor be aware of a "front region" where he is on display and cannot let his guard down, and a "back region" where he can prepare away from view of the onlookers. Through the concept of regions--front and back--Goffman

added a physical and social dimension to people's management of themselves. Successful self management in everyday settings depended, to some extent, on management of the physical environment around. Birenbaum and Sagarin (1973) proposed a concept called "role-enabling," where physical environments are not only manipulated, but also rated on whether they are role-enabling or not. Gans (1968) uses the terms "potential environment" and "effective environment". While reading Goffman one is constantly and keenly aware of the physical setting, but it never receives direct attention from him for which he can be faulted.<sup>4</sup>

In the piece "Role Distance" Goffman (1973) proposed several important concepts--that of role distance, role engagement and disengagement, role embracement--based on his study of the merry-go-round. But the merry-go-round does not get any attention from Goffman. The merry-go-round, a physical object with physical environmental character and ambience is a very important element that symbolically or otherwise leads to the creation of the roles and their appropriateness in that setting. That is, if one takes away the merry-go-round from Goffman's essay that set of roles disappears and societal expectations of roles change. The merry-go-round, itself a physical object set in a physical environment creates, and is responsible for creating, or at the very least is a catalyst for certain pictures and expectations of roles and behavior for certain people that Goffman so masterfully describes. Goffman (1973:121) develops the concept of "situated activity systems"

wherein activities are understood as part of a "somewhat closed, self-compensating, self-terminating circuit of interdependent actions". These can occur any place and any time. And since the "system of reference" in role analysis is often vague and shifting, Goffman says, "I therefore limit myself to activity that occurs entirely within the walls of social establishments". The walls (a physical environmental element) then form the boundary for social activities for him. Even though the word "situated" is used metaphorically, I would have expected "situated" to include "located" in space and perhaps also in time. This is because Goffman himself states:

(T)he physical milieu itself conveys implications concerning the identity [and expected roles, attitudes and behaviors I might add] of those who are in it.

(Goffman:1973:126)

While it can be argued that these "implications" are imputed by the larger society and its shared value systems, it nevertheless cannot diminish the role played by physical artifacts and objectivations in the lives of people and their social relations. Social relations are not solely a set of abstract interconnected ties. Many of these ties have eventually to be manifest in objectivations, physical and symbolic though these might be. Shah Jehan's love (abstract) was manifest and objectivated in the physical structure of (or artifact), the Taj Mahal. Thus it seems appropriate that we should consider the physical environment and artifacts of social interaction as an ongoing interaction between a culture and its physical environment.

Ball (1967) has shown how the physical environment and artifacts were arranged, manipulated and managed to create an atmosphere of credibility, legitimacy, and confidence in the case of an illegal abortion clinic. Holdaway's (1980) account of a police station gave the impression of a contrived, actively managed performance where the layout and quality of the physical environment played an important, indeed integral part.<sup>5</sup> Cavan (1966) described how the nature and layout of the physical environment of bars affected how people saw possible and actual interactions in, and what it meant to be in a bar. Rosengren and DeVault (1963) pointed out that in an obstetrics ward doctors encountered maximum challenge from nurses in the liminal spaces. Riemer (1979) observed how the behavior of construction workers changed and became refined as the buildings became more finished. Mintz (1956) and Maslow and Mintz (1956) showed how being in a "good" space affected the outlook and behavior of their subjects. Duffy (1974a) attempted to make connections between organizational performance and role performance, which could be aided by manipulations of physical environmental elements.

A second set of studies looking at instrumental relationships have attempted to see how the physical environment could enable the people to perform better. Studies of physical environments and physical environmental elements and artifacts have been carried out with a view to determining optimal conditions for comfort for temperature, light, humidity, noise, ventilation etc. (for overviews

see Sundstrom:1986; Parsons:1976; Canter et al:1975; Osborne & Gruneberg:1983; Manning:1965; McCullough:1969; Wells:1967).<sup>6</sup>

A third set of studies has tried to examine ways in which organizations could be made to perform better through a better understanding of organizations and physical environments. Among those that tried to understand the physical environment were Stokols et al (1987), Becker (1981), Ellis (1985), Zeisel (1986), Stokols (1986). For example, furniture arrangement in offices was seen as affecting communication (Rogers & Agarwala-Rogers:1976; Joiner:1971, 1976; Zweigenhaft:1976).

Productivity questions and economic calculations of the physical environment has been addressed by Brill (1984) who speculated that the expenses on the physical environment could be used as a powerful lever because the amount expended on a person's physical environment is about 7% of that expended on salary, which forms a major expenditure item for office based organizations. He further speculated that high returns, in terms of productivity could be obtained by better and more careful expenditure on the physical environment (see also Jenks:1981; Dolden & Ward:1985; Parsons:1976; Mogulescu:1970). Control of stress was thought to increase productivity. The environment was seen as a potential stressor. Control over environmental elements was seen to reduce stress (Evans:1982). The environment was also seen as creating arousal in humans, but that if the stimulation from the environment was too



high or too low, interest and arousal would both drop and optimal conditions would not prevail.

Among those who tried to understand the organization better, with relation to the physical environment were Roethlisberger & Dickson (1939), Homans (1950) who actually wanted to find out the effects of lighting on productivity but thought that the effect was insignificant.<sup>7</sup> Steele (1973; 1977; 1986) wanted to understand the relationship between organization design and the physical environment, and claimed that the physical environment plays an important role in the functioning of the organization and (see also Duffy:1974a; 1974b; 1969; and Duffy & Worthington: 1977; Duffy, Cave & Worthington:1976; Davis, T.:1984; etc.) Recently Pfeffer (1981 & 1982) has proposed that organizational power relations could be understood better through an examination of the physical environment, and also that organization theory could gain by an examination of the physical environment of organizations.

#### Conceptions of the Physical Environment

This set of studies has exemplified and explicated on the variation in cultures' conceptions of space and spatial ordering. Differences between generalized Western and Eastern conceptions of and approaches were presented and debated by White (1974), Moncrief (1974), and Tuan (1974). Littlejohn (1963, 1967) has described how some cultures, such as the Temne, view space as non-geometric, non-

abstract, and experiential in contrast to the western conception of space as geometric, abstract, and measurable. Hallowell (1977) explains that Native American conception of space is fluid, relative, and experiential. Through a cross-cultural study where he emphasized the different ways different cultures tackle the problem of shelter and house Rapaport (1969) demonstrated how cultural conceptions of space differ. Williams (1985) explained how, in a mixed race apartment complex, different conceptions of use of the physical environment clashed and caused class and racial problems. Black residents felt offended because their right to a clear hallway was violated when Chicanos used the halls as porches and the apartments for putting up new immigrants.

#### Symbolic Relations

There are two sets in this group. One set deals with the physical environment as symbolic representation. The second involves the symbolic viewing of the physical environment as part of communication.

That the relationship between culture and the physical environment is symbolic has been pointed out by another set of scholars. Cosmos, world view, and religion are subjects of symbolic representation in building. The house is seen as a miniature model of the cosmos or of the universe. Cunningham (1972) showed that the Atoni house was a mechanical model of the cosmos. Bourdieu (1973)

claimed that the Berber house was "a microcosm organized according to the same rules which govern all universe." And Ohnuki-Tierney (1972) felt that the Ainu house was a miniature model of the universe. The Pawnee see the circle as an essential form of the cosmos and their houses are based on the circle (Campbell:1988). Doxtater (1981) was one who saw the behavior and location of people in an office as being based on ideas of the cosmos.

Religion has been seen as having some influence on how cultures relate to the physical environment (Gossen:1972; Gilsean:1982; Mazumdar & Mazumdar:1983; White:1974; Moncrief:1974; Boyce, M:1971; etc.). Ideas about auspicious and inauspicious directions have been derived from religious beliefs and therefrom ideas about orientations to be preferred and orientations to be avoided for activities, rooms and buildings (Boyce, M:1971; Bonine:1980; Mazumdar:1981). Notions of location have similarly developed from religion.

#### Symbolic and Non Verbal Communication

In this set, physical environmental elements, objects and artifacts are seen as having important symbolic significance<sup>8</sup> and as symbolically communicating messages through non-verbal communication (Ruesch & Kees:1966; Rapoport:1976; Knapp:1980 etc.). People are seen to be communicating by the way they select, manufacture, and arrange objects and artifacts in space and by what they choose to display or not to display (see Ruesch & Kees:1966; Athos &

Coffey:1968; Coffey, Athos & Raynolds:1975; Rapoport:1976; Knapp:1980 for examples). Physical distance that people are able to maintain is seen as a major feature which communicates status (Goffman:1967). How people arrange their desks in their offices sends messages regarding how and how far a visitor to the space may approach, says Joiner (1971;1976) (see also Zweigenhaft:1976).

There are several aspects to symbolic nonverbal communication. Non verbal communication has a reading component, irrespective of whether signification was intended or not. Reading of material remains, especially of past cultures, is an example of an instance where communication may not have been intended (most archaeological works fall into this category,<sup>9</sup> see Rathje:1978; Gould:1978; Gould:1980; Gould & Schiffer:1981; for modern examples. See also Korda:1975a & b; Harragan:1977). This approach has been criticized because the theories, standards, or language one uses to decipher the message may not be appropriate for that culture and because of the errors that this leads to (Douglas:1972; Lindholm:1986). Extraction of meaning approaches (Rapoport:1982 for example) are more context related, and less universal. It is likely then, that selection and arrangement of physical environmental elements and artifacts will be "seen" or "read" by others as communicating a message about the inhabitant.

Another component of intentional non-verbal communication is one of signification.<sup>10</sup> There has to be correspondence of meaning

between the reader and the signifier, as Berger & Luckmann (1966) have pointed out, which is facilitated by shared conventions, shared view of reality and shared culture. In many instances, display of certain objects are meant as identity statements and are a reaffirmation of membership in a group or culture. Manipulation of messages conveyed by physical environmental elements and artifacts is advocated by Becker (1982), Steele (1973), McCaskey (1979) and Bralove (1982). However, communication aspects of physical environmental elements, such as lighting, furniture arrangement, their choice, and quality have not been adequately described in this literature.

#### Socio-cultural Values and Meanings

There are two sets of studies in this group -- one dealing with socio-cultural values, and the other with meanings.

In one set of studies the physical environment is seen as carrying special value to the members of a culture or group. Socio cultural values, it is felt, influence and affect choice of physical environments and environmental artifacts.

Humans are territorial, it was claimed, and marked out territory. Violation of territorial boundaries was claimed to create stress, defensive and even aggressive behavior.<sup>11</sup> People, claimed some, have a need for privacy, to be able to shut out the

rest of the world when needed (Justa & Golan:1977).<sup>12</sup> People need privacy for some activities more than for others. They want to personalize space and display individuality through signs and display of objects (Sommer:1969). It was claimed that certain densities of people were necessary for the environment to "work" well. "Undermanning" and "overmanning" were seen to create problems. Density was distinguished from crowding--a psychological condition (Stokols:1974). Crowding was claimed to create stress and aggressive or pathological behavior. These were very interesting concepts which explained how people valued their physical environments. The density studies showed that certain social mass was necessary for environments to "function" and that they do not function without the social element. These studies were done almost entirely in the West, and do not speak to the variability in the ways different cultures relate to and value space. Crowding conditions are very different in the West than they are in Hong Kong, for example. Cultural variability in these concepts are being surfaced (see Aiello & Thompson:1980).<sup>13</sup>

Some studies tried to understand why some sets of people act or react toward the physical environment in ways that seem illogical or irrational to some others. Firey (1945) for example, showed that land use patterns in Boston could not be explained simply by economic considerations but by socio-cultural values, sentiment and symbolism. Choice of a place to live by Norwegians in New York was seen as being strongly influenced by cultural habits and ways of living (Jonassen:1961).

Rosow (1974) claimed that designs based on values different from those of the people can lead to social pathologies. Cooper's (1975) study revealed how design of the physical environment affected the residents of Easter Hill Village with their own special values, preferences, and life situations.<sup>14</sup> These studies demonstrate how values differ for different cultures or groups.

Some have argued that the physical environment, or parts and aspects thereof, can carry special value, significance and meaning for the inhabitants. Home was seen as carrying "strong positive feelings," and removal from their homes was seen as causing great distress for people in the neighborhood (Fried:1972; Fried & Gleicher:1974). Gans said much the same when he described the way West Enders used the street, the common spaces, sidewalks, stoops, etc. (Gans:1962, see also the work of Rapoport:1982). Emotional attachment to and special meaning that people have for places are brought out by Buttimer (1980), and Rowles (1980), who describes how the elderly develop special attachments to places. Some of this relies on the stable, taken-for-granted nature of the physical environment, based on which people develop routines--such as "body routines" and "place ballet" that have been described by Seamon (1980) (see also Wallace:1972).

Normative Relations

In this set of studies the authors have sought to demonstrate how cultural norms, conventions and programmatic prescriptions regarding social interaction, social space and social relations have either been reflected in the physical layout of the house or have directly affected the use of physical space. Frake (1980) elaborated and highlighted the codes, norms, conventions, etiquette and programmatic behavior that members comply with in entering a Yakan house in the Philippines, and how they see this behavior as reaffirming their membership in the culture, and the consequences of violation. Gombo (1983) has described the ways in which conventions and norms about social place in the stratified society of Tibet affected use of built space and how social control mechanisms of ridicule, laughter, reprimands and gossip were used to control violators. He also points out how the physical manifestation of the social stratification system also became a yardstick by which social categories were judged. Eyde (1971) has pointed out the codes relating to kinship and marriage and space use in the Korean house. Rules separating entrances for women from that for men have been described by Bourdieu (1973). Tambiah (1972:127) explained the conventions and taboos regarding which part of the house could be entered by whom and when. And Potash has written about the rules relating to age, sex and space usage among the Luo. Wilbert (1981) and Cunningham (1972) have pointed out rules regarding building a house. Rules regarding location of people and objects have been



described by Wilbert (1981), Eyde (1969), Cunningham (1972), Gombo (1983) and others. Norms guiding the orientation of houses have been pointed out (Littlejohn:1963; Bourdieu:1973; Wilbert:1981). Even rules regarding animals with respect to the house have been described (see Tambiah:1972). Saile (1985) has described the rituals, which are mostly rule governed activities, related to the establishment of home for the Pueblo.

These studies point out various norms relating to the selection, building, and use of the physical environment of the house. None of them deal with organization or work environments.

#### Discussion

Much of what we can expect the relationships between organization culture and the physical environment to be is derived from studies in other areas, such as of home environments. The studies that looked specifically at work environments or office environments or those that tried to understand organizations did not specifically look at organizational culture and its relationships with the physical environment. This study was intended to address this gap in the literature.

Most studies on office and work environments, and those on organizations and physical environments have been transverse studies. Very few, have involved spending significant amounts of time in the organization or even in the environment. Writing about

office environments, Becker (1981), Sundstrom (1986) and others have issued a call for longer term studies of office and work environments. This study also addresses this dearth.

From the above review of the literature it appears that the study of people's relationships with the physical environment has been rather unbalanced with the study of instrumental relations receiving the most attention. In the study of organizations and their physical environments similarly study of instrumental relations predominate. Two interesting trends are evident. One is the neglect in the organizational literature of consideration of the physical environment in part due to claims that productivity was affected more by how members were treated than by qualities and characteristics of the physical environment per se. However, this view is coming under increasing scrutiny and challenge (see Davis, T:1984; Pfeffer:1982; Becker:1981; Steele:1973). A second trend is the inclusion of some of the other relations described earlier. The symbolic view, for example, was included by Sundstrom (1986); Steele (1973, 1986); Davis, T (1984), etc.

That the house and home carried a disproportionately much greater value to the residents than could be explained by simple economics or instrumental relations has been pointed out by Gans, Fried, Fried and Gleicher, and others.

Gans, in particular, pointed out that much of the way people valued their physical environments was culturally derived. If cultures develop such strong values, and meanings for their physical environments it is possible that special values and meanings would be developed by organizational cultures as well towards their physical environments. The literature is not very helpful in answering the question as to whether organizational cultures develop special values and meanings for their physical environments. Studies of organizational culture have not paid much attention to the physical environment. As a result it remains as a question to be answered empirically. This is one of the specific questions I take up in this thesis.

Frake (1980) and others have pointed to the normative aspects of culture's relations with the physical environment. Most of these writings have dealt with norm governed behavior with respect to the physical environment, and regarding locations of activities (Potash:1985), people and animals (Tambiah:1973). These writings do not address questions regarding the normative aspects of the physical environmental elements -- such as their selection, design and use. Neither have writings on organizational culture addressed normative aspects dealing with physical environments. This is another question to be addressed empirically, and one I wish to take up.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Berger and Luckmann (1966:26) seem to claim that a primary reason why space is important is because one person's "manipulatory zone" intersects with another's. Their statement omits the interactions and transactions between people's manipulatory zones. One is tempted to ask what would happen if the zones did not intersect, would the social dimension disappear? Likely not.
2. Morgan (1986) in a review of the literature points out that organizations have been looked at metaphorically as organisms, machines, instruments of domination, political systems, psychic prisons, brains and cybernetic systems, as cultures and as in constant flux or transformation (Morgan:1986). They have been likened to the military, to the theater, to prisons, games, sports, competitions, wars, and to ideologies. Analogic similarities, largely psycho-social in nature, have been drawn with exotic tribes and cultures (in contradistinction to material cultures). Here shared understandings, values, beliefs, meanings, socialization, etc. have been emphasized. Analytical "lenses" used to metonymically look at organizations have included examination of structure, goals, power, authority, hierarchy, leadership, incentives and rewards, decision making, control, language and semiotic systems, occupational groups etc. Looking at organizations metaphorically, analogically, or metonymically as physical structures has not been done, although Pfeffer (1982) has proposed such an idea.
3. The idea that organizations can be seen as cultures, if not exotic and far away, has grown in organizational studies and popular writings on organizations. Several aspects of culture and cultural relationships have been emphasized, such as leadership (Schein:1985), socialization (Van Maanen:1973, 1975, 1978; Rohlen:1974), stories (Martin et al:1983), language (Pondy et al:1983, Barley, 1983), control (Goffman:1961b) control and individualism (Kunda:1986), decision making (Pettigrew:1973), culture and the sexes (Kanter:1977), life in organizations (Kanter & Stein:1979, Terkel:1974), surprise and sense making (Louis:1980). Some are theoretical expositions or reviews or compilations (Morgan:1986; Ouchi & Wilkins:1985, Pondy et al:1983, Frost et al:1985, Schein:1985, Jelinek et al:1983) while some others are methodological (Pettigrew:1979; Van Maanen:1979, 1988 etc). Most are studies of organizations in the USA, although a few are of organizations in other countries, such as Japan (Rohlen:1974), Britain (Pettigrew: 1973). Some have compared organizations nationally (Peters & Waterman:1982) while others have done cross-national comparisons (Davis, S:1984; Deal & Kennedy:1982; Pascale & Athos:1981; Ouchi:1981). While these are informative of the cultures of organizations they do not tell us about how these cultures relate to their physical environments.

4. A number of studies have seen a specific physical environment as the setting for activities and interactions. Cahill et al (1985) studied bathroom behavior but neglected to mention if the physical properties of the setting affected behavior -- for example the presence of a mirror. Kenen (1982) described the use of a laundromat, but assumed that readers would know what a laundromat was and how it was laid out. Risman (1982) glosses over how the role expectations derived from the physical setting were sustained and continued in the face of clashing gender roles. Gottdeiner (1982) also neglects to mention the effects of the physical setting in his study of Disneyland. Most of these ethnographies do not even contain diagrammatic plans or maps, and in that sense are left unsituated.
5. On the physical separation of activities in the station house see Van Maanen (1985) as another example of the genre referred to in note #4 above.
6. Physical environmental elements have also been studied to understand and measure their effects. Thus, studies have been done of lighting, noise and acoustics, music, color, furniture and ergonomics (Sundstrom:1986; Osborne & Gruneberg:1983; McCullough:1969, Grandjean:1980). Hazards and health problems (both physiological and mental) including stress, strain and illness are being increasingly brought out (Makower:1981; on stress see Wineman:1982; Evans:1982; Saegert:1976). Effects of radiation and strain to the body and eyes from new technologies such as CRT's and copying machines are also being addressed (Rubin:1984). The effects of designs and physical layouts are being investigated along lines such as communications (Sundstrom:1986; Allen:1966; Rogers & Agarwala-Rogers:1976) power (Pfeffer:1981) privacy (Sundstrom:1986; Justa & Golan:1977) interaction (Sommer:1969).

A slightly different approach has looked at the physical environment and elements and artifacts to see what that reveals about use patterns (Wilk & Schiffer:1981; Kent:1984), preferences both individual and social, likes and dislikes, the inclusion and exclusion of elements (Allen-Wheeler:1981; Cleghorn:1981) and social position.

Environmental depositions, such as graffiti (Blake:1981) and garbage (Rathje:1978) tell some about social discontent, tensions and conflicts; and perhaps even strong attractions. And a few others have studied physical environments as grounds for everyday routine taken-for-granted activities (Seamon:1980) as sources for emotion (Rowles:1980) and as provinces of meaning (Rapoport:1982).

Another set of writings looks at how the physical environment can be designed and managed better for the

organization. These are often prescriptive in nature (see for example Robichaud:1958; Maze:1947; Hopf:1917; FMI:1986; Becker:1981; Brill:1984; Stokols:1986; 1987; Duffy, Cave and Worthington:1976; etc.).

7. The literature on organization theory and management shows an apparent change in focus from the earlier ones neglecting or hesitating to consider the effects of the physical environment because these were thought to be insignificant, to a few later ones writing about it. However, as I will show, even in the earlier works the effects of the physical environment were evident, but neglected. These I would like to cover in a brief review of some of the more significant theories and works.

The primary aim of the scientific management approach, as propounded by Taylor (1911), was to make work more efficient through programmatic instruction, design, planning and layout of work in extreme detail, and other such work simplification techniques. These were to be based on scientific study of the work process by breaking it down to its component parts and processes, and through time-motion studies, to attempt to reduce the complexities, numbers of operations etc., such that it could be repeated endlessly. These methods were applied to office work as well. This reduced the skills required from the earlier wholistic craftsman levels, made workers more interchangeable, and led to boredom, tedium and alienation (Walker & Guest:1952; Porter et al:1975), to high turnover and absenteeism (Braverman:1974:32), and to greater managerial control. Workers attempted to outwit managers, time-motion study, and "methods" and "rates" people through group as well as individual efforts including purposeful slowdowns (Whyte:1955; Roy:1960) gold bricking (Roy:1963a & b), schmoozing (Schrank:1978:232) and by increasing production when they felt it was appropriate.

But in their effort to completely predesign work, these followers of scientific management frequently designed the physical environment, and technology, for more efficient work. Although it has affected architects widely, this aspect of attention to, and design of the physical environment and machines has received little attention in management literature.

The Human Relations Movement in organization management theory developed out of a set of experiments conducted by Harvard faculty at the Hawthorne plant of Western Electric. Much has been written about it (see Roethlisberger & Dickson:1939; Mayo:1933; Homans:1950; Cass & Zimmer:1975 etc.) so that we can simply focus on the organization -- physical environment relationship. A major purpose was to test for the effects of changes in illumination (which is one aspect of the physical environment) levels had on productivity. Output

record was used as an index of productivity. The results were so perplexing and confounding that 'Hawthorne effect' has become the name for effects caused by the experiment itself. Increase in illumination led to increase in production in both experimental and control rooms, but reduction of illumination from 10 to 3 foot candles (almost moonlight conditions) also resulted in increased production in both experimental and control rooms. This led the scientists to conclude that illumination, and therefore the physical environment, had no significant effect and that the major controlling factors were social relationships, particularly informal small group ones, which, perhaps, had a major impact in dissuading other scholars from pursuing questions regarding organization -- physical environment relationships.

A closer look reveals a different picture, however. In their effort to make the experiment scientific the researchers had instituted a number of controls including having an experimental and a control group and putting the subjects in separate special rooms. As Homans explained:

The men were working in a room of a certain shape, with fixtures such as benches oriented in a certain way. They were working on certain materials with certain tools. These things formed the physical and technical environment in which the human relationships within the room developed, and they made these relationships more likely to develop in some ways than others. For instance, the geographical position of the men within the room had something to do with the organization of work and even with the appearance of cliques.  
(Homans:1950:88-89)

Thus it appears very likely that the structuring of social relationships, which the researchers claimed to be the most important factor (certainly seen as a major contribution by organizational scientists) may actually have been affected, perhaps facilitated, by the physical environment, contrary to claims otherwise.

Technical and socio-technical systems approach has seen technology singly or in combination with other factors, to affect the mode of organization (Perrow:1978:58; Woodward:1965). Through their study of the Longwall method of coal getting Trist & Bamforth (1971) found that the machines cut longer, larger areas. The teams were therefore larger, intimate group relations were missing, the nature of tasks were different and the nature of cooperative enterprise was different from the earlier method. In the earlier hand getting method teams of two to six worked together cooperatively to obtain "contracts" to extract coal from the mine. This led

Trist & Bamforth to claim that it was the socio-technical system of a new technology and consequent task structure that strongly impacted the social organization and structure at work.

A closer look reveals some interesting points. What was not emphasized was that there were important differences in the physical environments of the two systems. In the hand-getting mode the digs, and therefore the spaces were small, where only a few individuals could work and develop intimate and cooperative relationships. In the longwall mode the spaces or tunnels were much larger, more people were easily visible and accessible, and intimacy and ownership of spaces that existed in the hand getting mode did not develop. The change in technology also brought about a change in physical environment, a factor not emphasized by Trist and Bamforth. As Steele has pointed out:

The socio-technical approach has focused mostly on task and related machine structures (which often have implications for spatial features) rather than on interrelation of social systems with spatial system features. (Steele:1973:15)

There seems to be evidence that the physical environment was an important, but neglected, factor.

In his two factor Motivation-Hygiene Theory, Herzberg (1966) claimed that some features, such as achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement, lead to motivation and other features, such as company policy and administration, technical supervision, salary, interpersonal relations and physical working conditions, cause dissatisfaction and were called hygiene or maintenance factors or dissatisfiers. Herzberg, based on his survey of 200 accountants and engineers claimed that the physical environment did not lead to satisfaction but could only cause dissatisfaction due to non-performance. This theory also did its part in creating for the physical environment, a position of insignificance.

However, Herzberg (1966:80) himself reported that "there were some individuals who reported receiving job satisfaction solely from hygiene factors, that is, from some aspect of the job environment". The number is not disclosed. But Herzberg's explanation was even more illuminating.

... there may be individuals who because of their training and because of the things that have happened to them have learned to react positively to the factor associated with the context of their jobs. The hygiene seekers are primarily attracted



to things that normally serve only to prevent dissatisfaction, not to be a source of positive feelings. The hygiene seekers have not reached a stage of personality development at which self-actualizing needs are active. From this point of view they are fixated at a less mature level of personal adjustment. (Herzberg:1966:80)

There are several issues here. First, organizational members who think about the physical environment, including facilities managers, can be considered to be "less mature". It is a label which would apply to scientific management people as well. Second, there seems to be contradictory evidence from the large amount of work on environmental satisfaction (Becker:1981). Third, satisfaction and dissatisfaction has to have a datum level, which Herzberg does not explain. If something is constantly a satisfier or a dissatisfier, it is possible that the datum level or expectations may not have been appropriately set. Further, Herzberg studied professionals who, it has been found, like to exert more control over their environment, hence it is less taken-for-granted by them and more likely to be a cause for dissatisfaction. Finally, working from the phenomenological frame of reference which looks into the everyday taken-for-granted grounds of activity, researchers have recently begun to argue that the environment forms an important taken-for-granted backdrop for activities, and is therefore likely to be assumed away to be brought back into focus when it does not function or needs change. There is a good chance the physical environment at work is more important than Herzberg makes it out to be.

Organizational Communication theorists and researchers have seen the physical environment as important. They have found that communication among people reduced significantly when they were separated vertically through one or more floors, because it formed a formidable barrier to communications. It was found in their study of R&D laboratories, that communication was reduced in direct proportion to the square of the distance and that on the same floor significant communication was reduced to a minimum when two people were separated by more than 25 yards (Allen:1966).

Rogers & Agarwala - Rogers (1976:102) argue that

Usually, the physical structure (walls, corridor and floors) of an organization is established according to the organizational structure, and the physical structure in turn largely determines the communication flows.

Although not of office communications, Festinger et al.'s (1950) work has shown that physical proximity was a major

factor in friendship patterns and communications. They, however, made a distinction between "physical" or measured distance, and "functional" distance -- which is what a person would have to traverse to contact the other person (see also Barnlund & Harland:1963).

Rogers and Agarwala - Rogers (1976) also point out that the physical environment can influence communication behavior and thus organization structure. This does not appear that far fetched when one considers that new leadership in organizations often bring their cronies, who were often those located close to them in earlier positions. They also note that Burolandschaft offices were open offices planned with communication as a major objective, which affected organizational effectiveness.

Office landscaping can lead to greater organizational effectiveness. At the Chicago headquarters of the MacDonalld Corporation, staff efficiency improved 35% after Burolandschaft was introduced. The rate of turnover among the secretarial force, which averaged 100% every two years in the old offices, decreased to 25 to 30%. (Rogers & Agawala-Rogers:1976:104)

The relationship between organization development and physical environment has been explored by Steele (1973:25). He claimed that the physical environment contributed in six major ways:

1. Security and Shelter
2. Social contact
3. Symbolic identification
4. Task instrumentality
5. Pleasure
6. Growth

Steele was thus one of the very few who saw the physical environment as having some effect on the organization and its functioning.

8. Taken to the extreme much (nearly everything) could be seen as symbolic. Interaction could be seen as being through symbolic means and media (as symbolic interactionists do). Communication and representations of all kinds could be considered symbolic. Hence representation of the cosmos in the house can be considered symbolic, as could the reflection of social structure in the physical design. Gusfield & Michalowicz (1984) point out that there are two essential approaches to the study of symbolism. One called metaphysical approach attempts to delineate the character of the object and how symbols differ from non-symbols. Three kinds of signs are pointed out: Icons are signs that resemble their referents

(eg. photo or indexes are signs that point to the subject (eg. the shadow of a building indicates or points to a building) symbols are signs that have relation to the referent but relies on convention (ie. on social acceptance) (eg. the word building refers to a building). They name Firth and Leach as examples. A second approach they call contextual approach. This approach is more concerned about relations between an observer and his audience than between subject and object. Hence questions of meaning and meaning for whom become important. Here I am using symbolic when there is an expressed purpose of making one thing or object stand for something else.

9. Archaeologists have for long explored the relationships between a culture and its physical artifacts. By examining the physical remains and their patterns they have attempted to make statements about and even describe cultures and their people's life-styles. They have conceived of cultural phenomena as having 3 components (Aberk:1960). The cultural system has been defined by Binford (1964) "as a set of repetitive articulations among the social, technological, and ideological aspects of culture which represent the non-biological (cultural) mechanisms through which human populations handle their biological and desired needs. A cultural system embraces the structural elements basic to cultural adaptations, rather than emphasizing the mere aggregates of cultural traits that happen to be shared. One does not share a cultural system, one participates in it (Thomas:1979:103-104).

The shared culture are the cultural activities, beliefs, norms, and copies of additional rules and prescriptions which form the cultural whole. It is the shared modal component, which anthropologists have observed, participated in, and described.

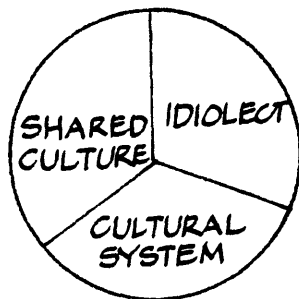


FIG. 2.2 THE MAJOR COMPONENTS OF CULTURE  
SOURCE : THOMAS : 1979 : 104.

The cultural idiolect is an individual's version of his or her culture. It is the diversified individual behavior which an anthropologist must sort through for common threads (Thomas:1979:103-104).

More recently, anthropologists have begun "excavating" modern societies to understand better the relationships between culture and material remains by looking at traces (Gould & Schiffer:1981), refuse (Rathje:1978) and current living, consumption and artifactual construction patterns (Kent:1984). Some of these people call themselves ethnoarchaeologists.

Archaeologists have been criticized first for neglecting the symbolic domain and reaching hasty and inappropriate conclusions based only on physical remains -- which may have been "tampered" with (Douglas:1972) and second, for looking simply at artifacts alone (Lindholm:1985:63-65). Taylor proposed what he called a "conjunctive approach" emphasizing the interactions of archaeological objects with their cultural contexts (Thomas:1979:47).

10. There is a fairly developed field dealing with the study of signs, known variously as semiology and semiotics, which I cannot do justice to in this brief description. I have mentioned only authors who have specifically dealt with the physical environment acting as a form of nonverbal communication. (See also Eco:1973, Barthes:1973)
11. Many of these claims had their origins in animal and biological studies, but nevertheless explain several aspects of human behavior in physical environments (see Ardery:1966).
12. Mehrabian (1976) pointed out that some people, called "screeners", are able to prioritize and screen out environmental elements, and that there are others called "non-screeners", who are unable to screen out environmental stimuli and are therefore more affected by aspects of the physical environment.
13. Many researchers working in this area were driven to find and make generalizable statements about these and other responses to and effects of environments on humans. Populations for which the findings were valid were not being specified in these studies. These generalizations were being made based on studies done almost entirely in the West. Subsequent studies have started to show cultural variations. (See Rapoport:1969; 1978; Rapoport & Watson:1972; Hall:1959; 1960; 1969; Aiello & Thompson:1980).
14. Some, such as Gutman (1972) Broady (1966) and Gans (1968) had taken on the task of social criticism of physical design.

## CHAPTER III

MEANINGS OF STRUCTURES AND STRUCTURE OF MEANINGS

In this chapter I would like to examine what the physical environment and physical environmental elements of the head office building mean to Norton members. First I would like to describe a few select architectural components of Norton's head office building. Then I would like to examine a number of phenomenon that illustrate what some of these physical environmental elements and artifacts mean, and the ways these meanings become manifest.

The physical environments of the three major categories of members at Norton were very different. In this section I will describe their workspace, the furniture and furnishings, and the common spaces such as the lobbies and washrooms.

PHYSICAL STRUCTUREWorkplace

## Administrative

Most lower level administrative<sup>1</sup> members at Norton headquarters did not have their own individual workspace. Approximately fifty percent of them did not have even a common workspace where they usually worked and would usually be found. Their jobs took them to various locations.

But there were specific physical premises as bases of operations, organized generally by trade, where all lower level administrative members were required to report periodically. Many of these bases were located in the lowest basement level.

The basement spaces were dingy and dark, with no natural light and large amounts of pipes, fans and machinery. There were long corridors with painted concrete block walls and plain cement concrete flooring. Lighting was by means of exposed, 8 feet long, and occasionally 4 feet long, fluorescent tube fixtures fixed onto the high ceiling, tied to pipes overhead or mounted on the wall. The walls were barren and without any art work or paintings. An occasional hand scrawled comment and an occasional sign decorated the bland wall. Whining and clacking noises of machinery and fans on and off was constant.

At one base of operation there was a time clock and time card holder mounted on the wall.<sup>2</sup> There were strict requirements for lower administrative members for reporting, at the beginning and at the end of the work shift, to the base of operations at the physical premises of the organization. This was ensured in part, by the use of time cards which were required to be "punched" at the time clock when the administrative person reported for work and at quitting time. Historically, they had been required to punch the card at breaks as well, such as lunch break. But that is no longer necessary in most cases. In fact, punching the time clock has been abolished for a large number of members and remained largely for physical plant and maintenance people, and for those whose work times were unusual or fragmented.<sup>3</sup> The time card has been replaced for many by an honor system where members are required to write on the card the times at which they report for work and leave. For those who work regular hours, the time card and time clock have become physical symbols of their low position in the social order of the organization.

Close to the time clock and time card holder there was a stock room and a tool room from where the workers picked up their tools and supplies. Adjacent also was a supervisor's office and a work center where they were required to report and pick up their work assignments before setting off on their rounds.

The work spaces for upper level administrative members were of two kinds. One set of upper administrative members such as purchasers, technicians, equipment operators, etc., whose work was primarily machine related, their workplace location was in very close proximity to the machines. These machines were located in the back regions<sup>4</sup> of the office building, in basements, near shipping and receiving areas, auxiliary entrances and the like. The workspace was also related to the nature of the machines and the type of operations that needed to be performed by these administrative people. In these areas, there was a lot of noise generated by the machines and when located close to entrances subject to blasts of cold air in winter.

Secretaries<sup>5</sup> constituted the second kind of upper administrative members. They were expected to attend to a variety of machines, such as call directors, other telephone equipment, dictaphones, copying machines, typewriters, computers, etc., although this was not their only activity. Typing constituted a major activity requiring a fair degree of proficiency in that skill -- 55-60 w.p.m. Secretaries were expected, judging from the advertisements, to maintain specified times and were not allowed to avail of flexitime.<sup>6</sup> They were expected to work overtime when required and received overtime pay for the additional hours (over 40 hours/week). Secretaries were an anomaly to some extent and could be considered a liminal category. They were administrative level members but could be found all over the physical premises of the



organization. Their workplace location was in very close proximity to their "bosses'" mostly at the entrance to the boss's office. The nature of their physical environment was closely linked to their boss's stratum level. Secretaries to the presidents and vice presidents were themselves located in an enclosed space with walls. The secretary to an assistant vice president (AVP) could be found in a partial enclosure or cubicle at the entrance to the AVP's office. Secretaries to directors and managers were generally located in open office halls and in corridors without any partitions around their desks. While secretaries did not have to go out to job locations and return to the base of operations on a periodic basis, they were considered by the organization and by themselves to be fairly mobile, moving either with the boss or with jobs.

Technical/Professional:

All Techies had a workspace in the organization, a place where they could sit and work. This space was relatively constant for periods of time such that it was their address in the organization. (In actuality, there was a fair amount of change involved, but more on that elsewhere.) The area thus occupied varied depending mainly on the members job class (i.e. status or rank) and consequent furniture. The area varied from 25 to 40 square feet (the numbers were larger when part of the passage was also included). The workspace area was governed by the size and layout of the furniture.

Locationally, lower techies were, with few exceptions, on the interiors of the large office halls. Only a very few were located near the external wall or adjacent to a window, and these were exceptions. Unlike administrative members, many of whom were located in the basement, techies were located on most office floors of the building, but in large measure on the lower floors of the building.

The office floors were kept clean and neatly arranged. Trash containers overflowed with discarded papers crumpled up into balls, but floors were not strewn with paper. In days of yore, desk tops were cleaned and all papers and articles were put away into drawers every night. Organizational policies required this. An occasional manual or Rolodex could be found on the table. Techies were not allowed to change the layout or orientation of their desks, all in the interests of uniformity and neatness. In 1988 while many left their papers and files on the table, some however, made it a point to clean up their desks every evening before leaving.

Upper techies were also located in large office halls. Some were located at the backs of large halls, next to walls, and occasionally one next to a window. Over the years a number of upper techies had acquired cubicles with part high partitions made of a very light weight material called day wall.<sup>7</sup> These cubicle partitions were approximately 6'-0" high. They were located mostly on the interiors of large halls. In size, upper techie work spaces

varied from 50 sq. ft. to 80 sq. ft. Location at the back of large halls adjacent to a wall gave some degree of privacy. Privacy was much greater with the part high cubicles even though these did not have any doors. The location and the presence of partitions reduced their visibility.

Officers:

In days gone by, only Senior Officers had offices or enclosed rooms. Junior Officers sat on raised platforms with a railing around it, known as the "bull-pen." The officer would be located at the end of the group and would look over his staff mostly from the back or from the side. In some instances, his desk would be turned at an oblique angle to the orthogonal layout of the others. This permitted better visibility of what the others were doing and thus better supervision.

All corporate officers were located together in the Executive area. Divisional Senior Officers and Junior Officers were located with the divisions. All Officers had individual enclosed offices; some had more than one office. These offices were enclosed on all sides and for some were closable with a door.

Junior Officers had offices smaller than those of Senior Officers, enclosed on all four sides, although not all the way to the ceiling. They were day-wall partitions approximately 6 feet

high which left approximately 6 feet to 11 feet of open space up to the ceiling. It did provide visual privacy because under normal circumstances it was not possible for people to peep over these partitions. Noises in the department permeated these cubicles, as did sounds that emanated in the cubicles onto the hall.<sup>8</sup> Size of these cubicles, also known as "offices," was dependent on the position and not on the amount and sizes of furniture as was true for the other major classes described earlier. As the job class increased, so did an officer's workspace. The area of these cubicles ranged from 80 square feet to 100 square feet to 120 square feet. Cubicles of managers and directors lacked doors.

Location of the offices was also dependent on position. Most officers occupied cubicles along window walls, with windows to the outside, although in a few instances managers' cubicles were found to be on the interior of the hall without direct access to a window, and consequently lacked nice views to the outside. As one rose up the ranks, however, one was entitled to a window, a perimeter office with a window, two windows, and eventually a corner office quite possibly with windows on two sides. Assistant Vice-Presidents thus had perimeter offices with windows, in addition to a large enclosed area of 150-200 sq. ft.

Senior Officers had offices fully enclosed with walls on all four sides. Their offices had walls, which went all the way to the ceiling, and had closable doors. These offices were larger, varying

in size from 400 square feet to 600 square feet. The sizes of these were independent of the amount or sizes of furniture.

Location of these offices was invariably along exterior window walls. Vice-President's offices were located along exterior window walls and had more window space than those of AVP's or Directors. Divisional Presidents occupied corner offices with window on two sides. One Divisional Vice-President's office I looked at was located on the sixth floor and had an impressive view of the grand entrance below. Grand views were highly coveted and desirability of location was affected, in part, by the kind of views available from one's office.

The senior executive offices were located on the eighth and ninth floors of the headquarter building, which were the top two floors of the building.<sup>9</sup> These were corporate officers, and many of them were congregated on the top two floors, an area referred to by others in the organization as the "executive row." Considering that this building was constructed in 1930 on 16 acres of land away from the city center almost in the suburbs and that the building was one-eighth of a mile long (660 ft.), these were very high floors. The view of the surrounds from these top floor offices was tremendous and gave the feeling of being "on top of the world." There was a sense of being "above it all", "on top of things" and "in control" that the nature of these offices were said to provide,<sup>10</sup> even though much taller buildings (up to 40 stories) of the city center were visible in the distance (see also DeLorean: 1979).

The offices of the senior officers could not be entered directly. The entrances to the President's office was oblique. One had to enter an area inhabited by a secretary before one could enter the President's Office. The secretary thus had control over who entered the President's Office and acted as a gate keeper.

The senior executives were not very visible. People had to make an effort to go up to see them. And they too had to make an effort to go down and talk to other members. The President explained that he made it a point to get out of his isolated situation and go down and talk with other members of the organization.

"I also like to (take a) walk around this building some when I have 20 minutes that I am not busy, I tend to take a walk. It kind of helps me get a sense of what the morale is around here and to show my face I think is a positive thing."

(G-5a:0900-1000/W24DEC86/N/ZE/1/1:8)

Senior executive offices had full height floor to ceiling walls. The President's office had windows on two sides and had a beautiful view of the entrance below. A Vice President's office also had windows on two sides, as did the office of the chairman. All these offices had several windows to the outside.

#### Interior Furnishings and Furniture

Lower administrative members did not have a fixed workspace and hence did not have furniture or interior furnishings.

Upper level administrative members had desks and chairs where they sat to operate machines -- such as computer, telephone or other equipment -- or do paper work.<sup>11</sup> These were small (2 ft. X 4 ft.) metal, mostly single pedestal desks with (formica) plastic laminated tops with metal edgings, grey or black in color. Chairs were often four legged metal chairs with straight backs, not swivel-tilt, with very slightly padded backs and seats covered with rexine. Metal trays for papers and forms, would be on one, mostly the far right hand, corner of the desk. The desk top would have either a large paper base, with large green or brown corners, with various phone numbers, messages, and doodles scribbled on them, cards stuffed under the corners, and papers stuffed under the paper holder. A few desk tops had glass under which were several business cards, phone numbers, photographs of family, pets or girlfriends, and an occasional picture postcard depicting scantily clothed women.

Secretaries had a single pedestal desk with a typewriter return and a swivel chair. They also had nearby several filing cabinets, a few shelves with telephone directories, and other manuals. While this was the standard furniture for all secretaries, the quality of the furniture and interior furnishings varied. A secretary to a manager or supervisor would have a metal desk with a lower side return for a typewriter, standard swivel chair and no carpet. A Vice-President's secretary would have a nicely decorated space, often with a nice chair, carpet and sometimes a wood desk. The secretary to the President had a large mahogany desk with matching

return for the typewriter. The chair was fabric upholstered and matching the general decor. The window had drapes, and the floor was polished wood.

Technical/Professional:

Furniture consisted basically of a desk with drawers, a chair and some filing cabinets and for some a side chair. Lower Techies had furniture which was finely ordered in terms of quantity, size and quality, corresponding to a member's rank. The lowest levels received the smallest desks, approximately 24" x 30", made of metal (steel) single pedestal with 2 or 3 drawers, painted steel grey, with hard easy-to-clean tops.<sup>12</sup>

The tops of these desks were all grey. This is why the office was referred to as a "sea of grey desks." Along with this came a metal straight backed unadjustable, but with swivel possibility, chair with arms with very little in the way of padding or cushioning which was covered with synthetic material (rexine for example). Lower Techies received trays for incoming and outgoing material. Since Lower Techies processed the materials from in-tray to out-tray, they were also known as "In-tray-Out tray" people. As one got promoted and rose through the ranks, the desk size increased with almost each step, to 36" x 48" and to 36" x 60." Also with promotion to a certain class came a side chair without arms, and consequent additional approximately 20 square feet in area. Thus,



the person's space consisted of the area bounded by the person's desk in front, another desk, wall (rarely) or passage on the sides, and another person's desk or a wall or passage at the back.

The desks for Lower Techies were arranged in neat orthogonal rows parallel to the long side of the ubiquitous large hall. In the early stages (c.1931) when the building was new with a great deal of built-in expansion capacity, the desks were arranged in straight - single - desk rows with wide (more than the length of the desk) passages on either side of the desk. Later, as the organization expanded, these wide passages were encroached upon, as desks were added, eventually in some cases, resulting in desks being placed one butted against another bounded by passages for circulation. Still, all desks were arranged in neat rows, all facing in the same direction, locally known as the "face-east arrangement."

Upper techies had bigger swivel tilt chairs with arms, and with cushioned backs and seats with synthetic rexine covering, and a straight backed side chair with cushioned back and seat. The side chair was without arms for lower level members, but with arms for upper level members. They had the grey topped, double pedestal, steel desks. Upper techies' desks had attachments, known locally as "wings" on either side, which added approximately twelve inches, significantly increasing the size of the desk. These desks were locally known as "flat top" or "air craft carrier."

Officers:

In the sixties, a manager had an area rug while a director and an AVP had wall-to-wall carpeting. AVPs had an area rug on top of the wall-to-wall carpet. In 1988, all junior officers had wall-to-wall carpeted offices.

Furniture and furnishings also varied with social position, "improving" in quantity, kind and quality as a person rose through the ranks. On being appointed to a junior officer level, in addition to a large desk, one received a 70" side table, a book case, filing space (free standing file cabinet with lock or built in filing space) additional chairs up to 3 or 4 in number, lockable drawers and credenza. The desk, side table, bookcase and chair were of wood although most were not recently polished, as the telltale scratches revealed.

Furniture of senior officers was invariably of wood. Desks and chairs were all polished wood. The Divisional (Vice) President's<sup>13</sup> office had a large four-seater couch, and two single couches with fabric upholstery, side table with table lamp, a glass topped coffee table, and four handcarved wood chairs with cushion seats. The work desk was of wood with brass handles on the outside giving the appearance of drawers. There were plants in the room and a variety of decorative objects -- something usually not found at levels below AVP.

The Divisional (Vice) President's office had wall-to-wall carpet and a large rug. There were drapes on the windows.

A senior executive or corporate officer could, in principle, have the office done according to his/her preference. In reality, though, the organizations culture set limits on what was acceptable. This will be discussed in a later section.

The offices of senior officers were very well decorated. In the President's office, near the entrance door was a large seating area with couches, side tables, center tables, etc. The desk was located at the far end of the long rectangular room. The desk was about five feet long, and so not very large but it was of wood, very elaborately and exquisitely carved, and had polished lacquer finish. As with the desk, the chairs were also handcarved period furniture, now considered antiques, even though some were reproductions (see figures (pictures) at end).

The floor was made of wood, random teak boards pegged together, and there was a large beautiful area rug. The walls had handcarved wood decor and a mantelpiece with fireplace. There was an antique grandfather's hall clock on one wall. There were several decorative objects such as graceful urns and vases carefully located. The windows which were almost full length had drapes on them.

## Washrooms and Graffiti

Lower level administrative members mostly used the washrooms located in the basement. The basement washrooms were specially equipped for their use. These washrooms were located close to the stockroom.

Also close by, off to one side, were the rooms with lockers, change rooms, showers, and toilets. Only a few lockers were visible from the corridor through the entry doorway. The full length metal lockers were along the walls with some wood seats in the center. On the walls were numerous pictures -- a few of local teams in football, basketball, and (ice) hockey, a few of sports and athletic heroes, but most were of women in various stages of nudity, women with big breasts and come hither look, carefully cut from calendars and magazines such as Playboy. Many of these had printed comments and a few had handwritten ones. The toilet (men's room)<sup>14</sup> inside was quite large, with several wash basins, mirrors, soap dispensers, paper towel holders, urinals and showers. There were also several WC stalls with part high metal partitions mounted about a foot off the floor. The toilet was rather untidy, with paper towels and newspapers strewn all over the floor. The WC stalls in particular had lots of newspapers lying around on the floor. One stall had feces floating with a taped message on the door "DO NOT USE." On the metal walls of the stalls were scribbled and etched several messages. Romantic messages containing declarations of love were

put down, such as "Peter loves Susan" although it was not clear who these were intended for. A comment or two on fellow workers were also available: "Al is gay." This one had given rise to comment, "F--- gays" by a different hand following it. Chains of messages and comments started by a comment, such as the one above, were also observed. Lusty limericks and rhymes, obscene messages, and single line sketches of men, phalluses, women and women's bodily parts were also frequent. It was quite unusual to find a stall without any comments. In some instances, there were telltale signs of attempts to erase or remove such messages which showed up as patches where paint had been removed. Most comments had obscene content while only a few were either witty or ruminations on life.<sup>15</sup> In the basement also could be found several vending machines dispensing food, snacks, drinks, etc.

#### Technical/Professional

Washrooms in Techie areas did not have lockers, change rooms and showers, presumably because they did not need to shower at work, since they were not involved in "dirty work."<sup>16</sup> Washrooms in or near Techie areas were generally clean, although frequently by afternoon bits and pieces of paper towels were lying around the floor. Graffiti on walls, few in number, were mostly commentaries on life and a witty remark or two.

## Officers

Washrooms in "officer areas" did not have graffiti on the walls or on stall partitions. They were very clean -- so clean that there were very few of the usual marks of use. Officers were observed to pick up paper towels if they landed on the floor and not in the receptacle. Things not working were reported quickly and received quick attention. There was a special effort on the part of the building services people to maintain them clean.

In most instances, washrooms were not designated for specific population groups except by sex. Washrooms in the basement and those alongside lockers for administrative members were used largely by administrative members. Similarly, washrooms located in areas where the population was mostly officers, such as the top two floors, were used almost entirely by officers. There were a few examples of officers having special washrooms attached to their offices, but these were rare.

The physical environments of the six sub-categories of members differed greatly. The differences were evident in the nature of their workspaces, the furniture and furnishings, and in the common spaces such as in the washrooms and graffiti in these areas. These differences were "read" by members as a short-cut way of locating members in their social categories.

ENVIRONMENTAL READING

Knowing a member's category and social position allowed people to choose an appropriate interactional and behavioral strategy. But, accomplishment of successfully locating a person in the scheme of things was made quite difficult because, unlike the military, there were few outward signs on the person announcing the person's position. The uniform of lower administrative members was an exception. In the military, since insignia denotative of a position in the social order are worn on the person on the uniform, determination of the positional order of the person can easily be accomplished. In small organizations, personal and intimate knowledge of all the members, or at least the more important ones, preempted problems of successful accomplishment of placing a person in the social order, and thereafter surmising and managing one's behavior or front accordingly. In large modern organizations, such accomplishment of successfully locating a person in the scheme of things becomes much more difficult.

The modern organization proposes to be more equalitarian. This they have done by dispensing with verbal addresses,<sup>17</sup> such as "Sir" or "Mr." for superiors, and by dispensing with uniform worn insignia.<sup>18</sup> Thus, very easily visible and audible signs which flaunted a person's position have been removed in the name of equality.

But no matter what the professed intentions, many organizations in the U.S.A. have devised inequalities by which some kind of order can conceptually be brought to bear on the large mass equal membership. And though many organizations have modeled themselves after the military with strongly hierarchically designed organizational systems they have done so without uniform worn insignia. Physical environments have emerged as primary symbolic communication devices in this regard.<sup>19</sup> As Ruesch and Kees emphasize:

Objects fulfill a highly symbolic function when people use them to announce what they are and what they do. Especially in a democracy, where people are - ideally speaking - supposed to be equals, objects have the useful function of announcing inequalities that, for reasons of taste and conformity, cannot be said in words. ... (O)bject language can operate twenty-four hours a day, is accessible to both rich and poor, literate and illiterate, and may be visible at considerable distance. Individuals may thus announce their membership in particular groups by wearing club insignia in the form of lapel buttons, rings or watch-chain keys. (Ruesch & Kees: 1966:108).

The importance of the symbolic communication aspect of the physical environment, especially regarding announcement of status is illustrated by Frances M. Unger.

... One of the things I don't have a problem with saying is that the reason those status symbols grow up is so that you could tell the pecking order of who you were visiting. Okay? And by walking into a floor-to-ceiling office you knew it was an officer and by walking in and seeing wood furniture you knew it was an officer.  
(D:2: 1330-1450/F09JAN87/N/FMU/1/1:24-25)

Descriptions of environments given earlier clearly indicate the differences between different categories.



Since all members did not have the same physical environment, the physical environment became an important indicator of the occupant's social category.<sup>20</sup> Further, the person's physical environment allowed for distinctions, between people of the same rank or level but holding different status, as for example the Vice President slated to be promoted,<sup>21</sup> or having special relationship to the division head. What these distinctions meant to members, beyond placing others, is explained by Frances M. Unger.

R: But you as a Human Resource person, how would you deal with that? This class thing, all the notion of status, that's associated with space and furniture, is not peculiar to this company.

OM: Every organization has their status symbols.

R: You would go home and say: I've got a new office, or I've got a raise, or I've been promoted, now I move into the sixth floor or whatever?

OM: Yeah, I laugh because I remember when I wrote home to my mother and said that I had become an officer. She wrote back and said "what is that?" I said "I got an office." And at the time there were no floor-to-ceiling offices with doors. She came in and said "Honey, you didn't get an office. You got a booth." Okay? And she was absolutely correct. All right? I got a booth, and nobody else had a booth. Okay? But to me it was an office. All right. I've got what they have work stations for now. I thought it was very humorous. Sometimes it takes the outside perspective to open your eyes.

(D:2: 1330-1450/F09JAN87/N/FMU/1/1:24-25)

The physical environment was important enough to Frances to write home to his mother about it. Frances also explains that he was "the only one with an office" but that it took the outsider's perspective for him to realize that what he was calling an office wasn't really one. But others expressed that the physical environment meant a great deal, since these were seen as milestones in one's career. Zany Upton gave this account:

But when you get into - what's interesting, the part I found humorous was I became accustomed to all of these things. And then they were very real milestones. If you were an administrative employee, when you got arms on your chair - God it was like "I've made it" or when you got that flat top, feeling was "I've made it." And when you were an officer you had the pen, which had the same basic trimmings that you have today.  
(F-1B: 1330-1430/T10FEB87/N/ZU/1/1:5-6)

The differences in the physical environment of different members of the organization were seen as cues which were "read" by others in an effort to judge the occupant's social category and status. Reading was based on knowledge of what was usual or standard for the categories, and also on the hierarchical ordering of the physical environment. Frances M. Unger described it this way.

Two people from the corporate office came down and they sat down and "My! My! We were in another assistant vice president's office down here a week ago, and they didn't have these (fabric) covered panels. They only had two. How did you get four?"  
(D2: 1330-1450/F09JAN87/N/FMU/1/1:27-28)

Organizational members were very quick to notice even small differences in physical environmental elements that people had. Conversation would sway to "I notice that you have an extra chair, when did you get it?" Color and nature of upholstery would also become focus of conversations. And these physical artifacts were seen as being indicative of the "pecking order."

New members noticed the environments and the differences and learned to read them. Harold Pickard's explanation:

- R: Could you tell me what the differences were, what you noticed?
- OM: Having been, its funny because I went from a very limited space environment, being in the Navy you had your bunk and your locker, that was your private living space and then you had your work space. And the workspace I was in was about the size of this room, let's say 15' x 15' and six or eight people would work in that. So you had a very tight -- there wasn't much privacy. I think going from that type of job and then into journalism -- in journalism you had wider spaces, and ordinarily all one room. I've never been in an area where I had my own office. It was always sort of one floor of a building and you could see the person. You know, say "hey you" and "where's that story" or "did you get the photo" and just more of, just more spread out, and wide open. And it was a mess.
- R: Largely desks and small partitions?
- OM: No. No partitions. Always just desks and junk. And they were always very, very messy, very cluttered, sort of noisy boisterous places. And coming here, the first thing that struck me was how quiet it was. And the fact that everyone had their own space. And it was almost like, how should I put it, the space was designed, or at least the size of the space was designed around the person's level of importance within the company. I'd seen that a little bit, but not to this degree, where there are obvious signals that a person has been here (for a certain time period) or has a certain rank in the organization. It was a little bit like the military. The way it used to be on the base where we had officers quarters and they were a little bit nicer, and they had stalls with doors on them - that sort of luxuries. But coming in at first it was hard to adjust to being set apart ... but my first reaction here was "My God, everybody has their own little cubbyhole that they go into."  
(K1: 0900-1200/W22APR87/N/HP/1/1:1-3)

Some members took the care to teach me how to read the environment. Here is what transpired with Helen Vaughn.

- R: The attorney non-officers, they don't have offices?
- OM: Oh yea.
- R: They do?
- OM: They have offices, their's are interior offices, they are all inside offices. The paralegals now have offices.

- R: They do?
- OM: Yea. When you walk by and you see a metal desk in there that's a paralegal. Attorneys, once they are attorneys, even if they are not officers get wooden desks. Another way that they are strange.
- R: Meaning if they pass the bar exam, not just graduate from law school?
- OM: Well, just graduated as well, because for the most part they pass. Usually, so long as you are an attorney you get a wooden desk, and you also get three weeks vacation, which is strange. For the most part, most people have to wait until they have been here for years, but not lawyers. That's another difference that I never could understand.
- R: Automatically?
- OM: That's right, automatically, three weeks off and you get a wooden desk (laughter).
- R: And make the world more complicated?
- OM: Right (laughter).
- R: This is great. Now, the head of the legal department, does he have a bigger office?
- OM: Oh yea. He's got a very big office. He's got a very nice office. [Gives directions to his office.] He's got the same kind of office that all the vice presidents have up and down. It's a nice office, but again he's got a wooden desk and a credenza.  
(B6: 1000-1100/T16DEC86/N/HV/1/1:27-28)

Symbolic in nature, these artifactual differences acted not only as cues to status but cues to behavior. Organizational members frequently adjusted their behavior based on such clues and cues which made for these milestones. Consider the example below.

Just as a case in point... my biggest, I think, psychological promotion was when I became a class 30 and I got an ---, my job really didn't change, it was just that it was reclassified and became a 30. And out went my 55 inch desk and in came my 60 inch desk. And people, the same people that I had dealt with treated me differently.

(A:10/1000-1030/F21NOV86/N/NR/2/2:6-7)

These people used the larger desk as a clue to her new, one-step higher position and clued their behavior differently as was expected of them by the culture. Also of interest is that Nancy Ryan considers the rise from 29 to class 30 as the "biggest psychological promotion" even though she went on to break the management barrier and become a manager. Part of this was related to the new power she had due to her new position as supervisor of a group of people. The physical artifactual clues communicated that to the others, and thereby made for "the biggest psychological promotion."<sup>22</sup>

#### ENVIRONMENTAL EMBARRASSMENT

Embarrassment that is specifically related to, affected by or triggered by the physical environment, I am calling environmental embarrassment. Environmental embarrassment could ensue from a variety of environmental sources.

#### Lack of Performance

The physical environment and environmental elements may be the source of embarrassment by failing to perform when required. A chair breaking down causing a person falling off the chair is an example of an instance that is potentially embarrassing. Lights and air-conditioning failing at important meetings are other examples. Similarly, a desk collapsing when leaned on slightly or tripping due

to unevenness in the floor also may lead to embarrassment especially when social conditions call for a blemish free performance of actions or roles. Organizations expecting blemish free performances often go through elaborate arrangements of substitute and alternate set ups, at a great deal of expense, to avoid potentially embarrassing situations. Having standby generators for the provision of lighting is one example. Frequent testing of systems and environmental elements is often done to ensure that there will not be any lack of performance. At Norton, video and teleconferencing facilities, and special conference rooms were checked before each performance. In many instances, environmental elements, such as light bulbs, are periodically changed and substituted with new ones even before their useful lives are over to avoid the possibility of a failure. Stronger and longer lasting materials are also utilized to reduce chances of failure. Greater capability is built in so that environmental elements can be made to function at and respond to varying demands. Dimmer control lighting and individually or zone switched lighting allows for fine adjustment of lighting levels, for example, to enable people to see projections and at the same time take notes.

#### Lack of Control

Inability to control who has access and when to one's environment may lead to embarrassment. This happens when one assumes that others will not have access, such as when one is in the

bathroom. Even in offices, lack of control over who has access when, can be quite embarrassing. People walking in and out during the course of a meeting is one example. In the course of my meeting with an officer, another person operated his key to the office and entered. This event led to embarrassment for both the occupant and the entrant. The occupant said "Guess lots of people have keys to this office: Let me deal with this." So saying he went out and said something to the entrant, came back, apologized for the event, and shaking his head tried to continue with the conversation.

Lack of ability to control or operate environmental artifacts may be a source of embarrassment. Inability to open a door, window, curtains, drawers, etc., can all lead to embarrassing situations. People walking away with artifacts from one's office is another instance. In the video movie "Home Office" for example, Danny DeVito goes to his office and finds that workers are carrying away his office furniture. His questions to them go unanswered. His embarrassment ensued from his inability to control what was happening to artifacts in his office, as well as his inability to control access to his office.

#### Lack of Control Over Actions Affecting the Environment

Lack of control over one's behavior or actions which affect environmental elements also lead to embarrassment. Hitting a table lamp while gesticulating, thereby dropping or breaking it is an

example. Clothes getting caught in crevices, corners or other objects rendering a person immobile, or worse causing the clothes to tear or come off, is another. One example of this kind of event was described by Gross and Stone thus:

"At a formal dinner, a speaker was discovered with his fly zipper undone. On being informed of this embarrassing oversight after he was reseated, he proceeded to make the requisite adjustment, unknowingly catching the table cloth in his trousers. When obliged to rise again at the close of the proceedings, he took the stage props with him and of course scattered the dinner tools about the setting in such a way that others were forced to doubt his control." (Gross & Stone: 1973: 112).

#### Lack of Control Over Choice of Environmental Setting

Being in spaces or environments where it is impossible to maintain requisite social distance can lead to embarrassment. Elevator is one example of such a space where it is impossible in the confines to maintain appropriate social distance (see also Goffman:1967; Potash:1985:144,147). Inability to use available alternates, such as inability to use special elevators, rooms, spaces, and inability to have alternates available are also potentially embarrassing. Also, inability to change the setting once in it, or the inability to exit the space or the situation are also likely to lead to embarrassment.

Embarrassment also ensues from being in environments felt by the occupant to be highly improper. Exceptionally rich and gaudy environments or exceptionally poor ones may be responsible. As I



have detailed elsewhere, one senior executive felt the location and size of his office to be improper. He did not want to be seen as an "ivory tower corporate type" and rather expressed a desire to be with his troops. In another instance a senior executive felt his office to be museum-like, and therefore improper. Both attempted to distance themselves from these embarrassing environments by expressing the desire to move to another space.

Being in and being seen in inappropriate settings or taboo spaces is yet another source of embarrassment. Inappropriate environmental props can lead to mistaken readings of the environment which can lead to embarrassment (Goffman:1959:13). Using workspaces of organizational members more than two steps higher in the social categories was considered inappropriate and embarrassment ensued, since this was seen as using spaces not appropriate to their social standing. Goffman explains:

The physical structure of an encounter itself is usually accorded certain symbolic implications, sometimes leading a participant against his will to project claims about himself that are false and embarrassing...In all these settings the same fundamental thing occurs: the expressive facts at hand threaten or discredit the assumptions a participant finds he has projected about his identity. Thereafter those present find they can neither do without the assumptions nor base their own responses upon them. The inhabitable reality shrinks until everyone feels "small" or out of place.  
(Goffman:1967:107-108)

At Norton these were often identity related, since the occupant could be seen as presenting false and incorrect identity claims. When I visited organizational members who were not in their own

settings they made it a point to bring to my attention that they were not in their offices or workspaces and say "this is my boss's office."

Environments are seen as clues for selection of appropriate behavior or front. Inappropriate environments can send inappropriate or wrong messages. Not presenting such disclaimers meant projecting a false identity claim. Inability to sustain the false identity claim projected usually led to embarrassment.<sup>23</sup> Lack of environmental clues and cues can lead to behavior which may be embarrassing. Many people I interviewed, especially higher level organizational members, were very concerned and careful about taking steps to avoid embarrassment. Meeting me in their offices meant there was no environment for them to read. They tried to find something in advance about me and the reason for our meeting. They wanted to find out who I was. Those who were especially concerned about putting on a proper face insisted that I send them a brief statement about who I was and a description of my purpose and project ostensibly so that they could be "ready" for the meeting with appropriate information.

On a few occasions when other intermediaries arranged for the interviews such information was not available to them. These above means failing, they asked others about me and even asked me to tell them about myself before the interview commenced. One executive who agreed to talk with me on the recommendation of an intermediary

friend of his, commenced the interview with: "I am sorry I am completely unprepared for this meeting. All I know is that Mark Gould asked me to talk with a friend of his. I do not know anything about you or who you are. So before we begin, would you mind telling me about yourself and what you are up to?" Part of the apprehensiveness was a desire to find out who I was and what we were going to talk about. But another part was an attempt to avoid embarrassment because he had almost no clues, certainly not environmental ones, to use in placing me and thereafter figuring out how to behave towards me.<sup>24</sup>

Successfully placing a member depended in part on reading environmental cues and clues. Absence of these can lead to embarrassing situations due to putting forth inappropriate behavior or not engaging in required appropriate behavior. I faced this kind of situation a number of times during the course of my research. In one instance, I was meeting a familiar Norton member for lunch at a local restaurant. His behavior was different. He seemed to carry more authority, was more decisive and talked of "having reached several decisions." My behavior towards him was on the same premises and pattern as before. Weeks later I found out from a Norton publication that he had been promoted and was in the new position when we had met. I recalled feeling some embarrassment even though the event was past and I was not an organizational member, and feeling strangely, as if I had not behaved in appropriate ways with him. Part of the problem was that I had met

him for lunch at a local restaurant, not in his new office. The environmental cues and clues were not available to me, and so I did not have any cues to clue me to his new position.

The physical environment itself can be a source of embarrassment. At the same time lack of physical environmental elements and artifacts can also lead to embarrassment, since these are commonly relied on clues to quickly accomplish the task of obtaining information on where a person was located in the social order.

Knowing or not knowing a person's position has its consequences. Inability to successfully accomplish prediction of a member's social position has its perils of putting forward inappropriate behaviors. Subsequent loss of face, embarrassment and perhaps even loss of position in the organization. Thus, successful accomplishment of gauging a person's social position becomes a crucially important activity - on which hinges avoidance of embarrassment - which people have to routinely engage in every time they are confronted with an organizational member, especially an unfamiliar one.

#### Presence in Inappropriate Spaces

Spaces can be inappropriate because they are socially meant to be used by one group and not by another. Men's rooms are meant for

men only while women's rooms are for women only. Being in inappropriate environments in that sense can lead to embarrassment. As Gross and Stone explain:

If identity locates the person in social terms, it follows that locations or spaces emerge as symbols of identity, since social relations are spatially distributed. Moreover, as Goffman (1959: 25) has remarked, there must be a certain coherence between one's personal appearance and the setting in which he appears. Otherwise embarrassment may ensue with the resulting incapacitation of role performance. Sexual identity is pervasively established by personal appearance, and a frequent source of embarrassment among our subjects was the presence of one sex in a setting reserved for the other. Both men and women reported inadvertent invasions of space set aside for the other sex with consequent embarrassment and humiliation. The implications of such inadvertent invasions is, of course, that one literally does not know where one is, that one literally has no identity in the situation, or the identity one is putting forward is so absurd as to render the proposed role performance totally irrelevant.<sup>25</sup> (Gross & Stone:1973:104)

Embarrassment is both social activity and physical environment related. Having the fly zipper open was embarrassing at the formal dinner as we have seen (Gross & Stone:1973:113). However, having a fly zipper open in a washroom for example, can be "normal" and not embarrassing at all.

Embarrassment has to do with unfulfilled expectations (but not those of the statistical kind). Given their social identities and the setting, participants will sense what sort of conduct ought to be maintained as the appropriate thing, however much they may despair of its actually occurring. (Goffman:1967:105)

The severity of the feeling of embarrassment is related to both the presence of others and the inappropriateness and unexpectedness of the event (Goffman:1967:103).<sup>26</sup>

### Avoidance of Environmental Embarrassment

Avoidance of embarrassment to oneself and others is an important concern and activity in organizations. There are several ways by which individuals, groups and organizations attempt to avoid potentially embarrassing situations.

One way is to prevent or ensure that lack of performance of environmental elements does not occur. As mentioned earlier, this is done through building in redundancy, having standby duplicates or alternatives, through frequent testing, regular maintenance, use of longer lasting and fail proof materials, and by building in greater capability.

Physical environmental means, devices and clues are also used to avoid embarrassment. Separate facilities, and special facilities are means that existed in Norton earlier in its history when there were separate entrances and facilities for women.<sup>27</sup> Goffman provides further examples and clarifications.

In many large establishments [read organizations], staggered work hours, segregated cafeterias and the like help to insure that those who are ranked and close on one set of relations will not have to find themselves in physically intimate situations where they are expected to maintain equality and distance. The democratic orientations of our newer establishments, however, tends to throw differently placed members of the same work team together at places such as the cafeteria, causing them uneasiness. There is no way for them to act that does not disturb one of the two basic sets of relations in which they stand to each other. These difficulties are especially likely to occur in elevators, for these individuals who are not quite on chatting terms must

remain for a time too close together to ignore the opportunity for informal talk - a problem solved of course, for some, by special executive elevators. Embarrassment, then, is built into the organization ecologically. (Goffman:1967:110)

A third way is to ensure that environmental elements are stable and out of range so that wayward actions will not result in the upsetting or breaking of environmental elements, objects or their order.

A fourth is to attempt to exert control over choice of environmental setting, installing additional or larger or special elevators. Behaviorally, the attempt is to not be seen in, or perhaps even not be in, environments that are likely to be socially seen as being inappropriate, and those which are likely to cause embarrassment.

A fifth and important way is to read the environment and related clues. It is also common to ask others, as the executive did. Introductions, statements and responses such as "Larry is an upper level Techie on the rise" not only locates Larry in the social order but also suggests that Larry's position is likely to change for something higher - all of which can be used as cues to appropriate conduct. The intent is to put forth appropriate behavior, and engage in actions socially considered appropriate and non-embarrassing for those environmental settings.

A way to deal with potentially embarrassing situations when environmental clues do not exist is to put on a civil appearance and behave civilly, courteously and pleasantly with all -- a behavioral strategy which has become quite common in organizations, and a behavioral trait specifically sought after by corporate recruiters, especially for most higher level officer positions (Margolis:1979). "Civil inattention" a strategy described by Goffman is also used.

#### SOCIO-PHYSICAL CONGREGATION AND DISTANCING

Socio-physical congregation was the congregation of like status members in defined physical location or geographical area. Socio-physical distancing was the distancing of some sets of members from other members in the organization. Distancing almost always included a physical component.

#### Socio-physical Congregation

The offices of the senior officers and corporate executives of Norton were all congregated together in one place. They were located on the top two floors, namely the eighth and ninth floors, of the head office building, as described earlier. The office of the Chairman of the corporation was surrounded by the offices of the Senior Vice President, the President and other corporate Vice Presidents. Names such as "executive row" or "mahogany row" were variously used locally to indicate both the congregation and the



location. Organizational members of other strata were not located in close proximity. Facilities managers' offices were not located adjacent to that of the Chairman or President, nor was the Chairman situated in a large hall in the midst of several techies or administrative staff. The lower level administrative members, on the other hand, were located in the basement, as explained earlier.

Location of same or similar strata members in physically defined areas was quite clear especially at the highest and lowest ends of the stratification system.<sup>28</sup> For the strata in the middle there were exceptions to these categorizations. The executive row, for instance, had all executives except for a few support people belonging to the Lower Technical or Administrative levels, such as secretaries and guards. Similarly, there were singular different strata members in the basement for example. And in techie areas there were administrative members such as secretaries, and officers.

But these people who were exceptions were treated differently. The techies and administrative members in the executive row were treated as identity-less persons, non-persons, as fixtures of the physical surroundings or as if they were not there. This happened especially when the executives were engaged in interaction with others.

I had just finished an interview with an executive and was about to leave when I realized that I could perhaps take some photographs. When I went back to this executive's room his secretary was with him with some papers and they were in conversation. On seeing me wait at about a third of the distance to his desk, he looked

up, and I inquired whether I could take some photographs. He responded positively, but asked the secretary to leave so that she would not be in the photographs.

Officers and techies in predominantly administrative areas such as the basement were often treated as if they were not there and usual activities such as loud talk, cursing executives and supervisors generally as well as specifically, continued unabated.

#### Socio-physical Distancing

Physical as well as psychological distancing mechanisms were employed.

The location of lower administrative members in the lower basement levels, and of senior officers on the eighth and ninth floors in the top two floors of the building itself constituted the largest possible separation through physical distance of nine to ten floors. This distance was large especially because the separation was on a vertical axis.

There was a great deal of visual separation as well. The location of the top executives on the top two floors put them at the top of the physical structure (with its attendant view of the world around). The basement floors were not even visible or only partially visible from the outside. Views of the outside world from the basement were non-existent. Visually, the differentiation

between the two sets of members was also great and made for graphic depiction of high and low.<sup>29</sup>

Psycho-physical distancing was created by these physical distances. Vertical distance had associated with it difficulty of travel since it would be through stairs or motor assisted through elevators. In either case, unlike most horizontal distance, the access roads were very limited and strategically pre-determined in terms of location, access, speed and monitoring.

The executive offices were located at the top end of the building. They were out of the way, like being at the end of a long dead-end corridor; only the corridor was a vertical one. The traffic there was sparse or minimal. It was difficult to be there by accident, without an appointment or the guard or secretary knowing about it. One could not just saunter or loiter in.

Very simply, the access route to the executive offices was the following: to go to the executive floors from outside the building, one had to go through the entrance lobby, into an elevator lobby, take an elevator up to the eighth or ninth floor, go through a small elevator, lobby, a larger waiting area and then one could walk into the president's office. For the chairman's office one had to go past a set of doors, a small lobby and then into the chairman's office. This was the physical distance and route that needed to be traversed. (See figures and pictures at end.)

Psychological and social distancing mechanisms were employed as well. Access to these top two floors was controlled and monitored extensively. The design and limitations of access made loitering into or accidentally and unwittingly arriving on executive areas, or even those floors, difficult. Access to these floors could be had only through the main entrance lobby of the building, where security guards were visible and there was a receptionist who checked ID's. Access to the building itself required one to check with the guard/receptionist at the main entrance lobby, who registered visitors and informed the appropriate office over the telephone that there was a visitor.<sup>30</sup> A person, usually the secretary to the officer, would then come down from the office to escort the visitor up. Beside the entrance was a waiting area with couches, center tables, side tables, etc. equipped with telephones where one could wait in the meantime. Access to the executive floor was by elevator. Beyond the entrance lobby was a bank of six elevators. Of these elevators the one on the far left provided access to the top two floors. This sixth elevator had a separate call button and did not respond to the common synchronized set of call buttons for the other five elevators. For this special elevator one had to press a specific call button; the other call button was for the five other synchronized elevators. Access to this elevator was from the main entrance lobby: this elevator did not go down to the basement floors.

The people seeking access to the executive offices were carefully and intensively monitored. This was done by minimizing the number of entrances. One could access this elevator primarily from the entrance lobby. Access routes were also minimized -- down to one elevator. Access was monitored by an elaborate system of guards -- at the entrance lobby, in the elevator through the video camera, and on the floors -- and through the use of video surveillance and audio technologies.

The inside of the elevator was monitored by a system of video cameras and mirrors strategically so located that it was difficult not to be in view of at least one camera, no matter where one stood in the elevator. There was also a system of microphones and speakers through which the security person could listen to and talk with people in the elevator.

Once on the eighth floor, as one stepped out of the elevator onto the small elevator lobby, one was greeted (or accosted, especially if unescorted) with the familiar "Can I help you?" from a security guard or a secretary.

The executive offices were located at the ends of large waiting rooms.<sup>31</sup> To get to the waiting room, one had to go past a secretary or a guard on that floor. The secretary then required the visitor to wait in the waiting area until she had gone in and announced the visitor's arrival to the President or other official, after which

she would return and invite the visitor to enter the President's Office. The entrance was not only indirect but well controlled visually from the guards' station as well as the secretary's workspace.

On the ninth floor, in addition to going past a secretary and waiting area, one had to go past a set of large, heavy wooden doors which shielded the offices of the Chairman. Past the doors one had to go up three steps before one could get to the offices of a Vice-President, Executive Vice-President and Chairman.

The physical set up and auxiliary social control elements made for great psychological distance as well. One had to have concertedness of purpose to pursue a plan of going up to the executive offices. There was quite some distance to be traversed before one reached the executive offices, a comparatively long distance from there to the executive himself, and there were several checks along the way.

Design and decor of the waiting areas on the Executive floors also added to the concertedness of purpose mentioned earlier. Let us look at the waiting area on the ninth floor as an example. It was a large room approximately 20' x 35' in size. It was very well and cozily<sup>32</sup> decorated. The seating area was offset from the lobby in front of the elevator by 3 steps going down. The lobby was plushly carpeted with cushioned carpet. On it were rather large Persian

area drugs. There were comfortable couches upholstered in off-white fabric, side tables with large table lamps, a center table with magazines. Through an opening in the long wall, a secretary was visible working at a modern wood desk. Lighting was incandescent (no fluorescent lamps) and primarily through the large table lamps. It was difficult for an inappropriately dressed person not to feel out of place and uncomfortable in this setting.

There was thus physical vertical separation, visual and graphic separation, buffering of executive offices through waiting rooms and other devices, location at the end, monitoring and associated psychological traversing of distance, boundaries and adversities, the mind set required of wanting to be there, and being appropriately attired. All these contributed to creating great socio-physical distance.

#### Effects of Socio-Physical Congregation and Distancing

One effect of such socio-physical congregation and distancing was that the executive row was very quiet, especially in comparison to the basement floors and even the other floors. And, when I was there, I was the only visitor. Some inhabitants of executive row complained about the quiet. A Vice President up in executive row said:

For me, it's like culture shock. I mean it's so friggin' quiet up here. When I walk downstairs (to the first floor) it's like Grand Central Station, and I walk next to the wall so I don't bump into anybody. It's

awful. Just awful, because I like, I really like mixing with a lot of people.

(A36:1030-1200/M08DEC86/N/UCP/1/1:32-33).

On the other hand, people in the basement complained about the noise. Whereas people on executive row tended to talk softly, those in the basement floor were loud, noisy, boisterous and included liberal use of profanities.

A second effect was that there was a great deal of isolation at both ends, and very little by way of visitation and interchange especially between admins<sup>33</sup> and officers. Uriel C. Picasso earlier comments refer not only to the lack of sounds, but also to the lack of people and consequent isolation:

There's 350-400 people in my department. When I get up in front of everyone at one of those meetings, I was looking at everybody's faces, and I was absolutely amazed at how many of them I had never seen before. Before this when I was in (Zygmont) for three years, we had four floors, and I had almost 900 people there. And I know everybody because I wasn't isolated like this. Everybody knew they could come in to see me.  
(A-3:1030-1200/M08DEC86/N/UCP/1/1:32-33).

He claimed he had been effective as a manager when he was at the Zygmont office and even though he had 900 people, he claimed he knew all of them. He said that they came in to see him.

And I walked around all the time. I'd wander around, I'd stop and talk to people. I'd sit down at somebody's . . . . There are a lot of data processors, I'd sit down at somebody's terminal and ask them about what they were doing. I'd ask them to show me how to do and what they were doing. Unbelievable impact that had on people.

In contrast, in his current location he felt he wasn't as effective.



DeLorean's (1979) story of the fourteenth floor of General Motors headquarters seems very similar. He describes how the executives were isolated and sequestered or cloistered on the executive floor, an isolation made worse because they had their own facilities such as a cafeteria. He also describes how he felt his power reduced because of this isolation, when he became a corporate executive from being a senior executive in the field office of a division. Goffman also makes much the same point.

Thus the higher one's place in the status pyramid, the smaller the number of persons with whom one can be familiar, the less time one spends backstage, and the more likely it is that one will be required to be polite as well as decorous. (Goffman:1959:133).

Third, the distance and distancing mechanisms became effective and fairly difficult obstacles for members to overcome when approaching congregations with territorial boundaries like the executive row. There was a great deal of fear associated with crossing the socio-physical distances. Very few lower strata people went up to the top floors, explained a Vice President of executive row.

R: I just wondered, do you have open-office hours for example?

OM: Do I?

R: Yes?

OM: Oh yea. I keep encouraging people to come up here, and I'll get as many people up here as I possibly can. And in the last four months I've had more people up here than I think have ever been up here before. But I'll tell you what. Being up here on the ninth floor, I could have open-office hours all night long, and it scares the shit out of people coming up here. People are frightened to death to come up here. Not only do they have to come up to the ninth floor,

there are two of those damn big wooden doors out there.

But there was additional trepidation associated with inability to maintain adequate distances.

And I literally had somebody say to me, "well what if I get in the elevator, it's okay to come up and see you, but what if I get in the elevator and I go down and the elevator stops at the eighth floor and (the president or the chairman) gets on. What am I going to do then?" So I said to them, "Well, why don't you just try saying hello, just for starters, because honest, they won't bite you." But that's part of the organization. They're scared to death.  
(A3:1030-1230/M08DEC86/N/UCP:32).<sup>34</sup>

Most lower strata people were intimidated by the distancing and actually scared to go up to the top floors, as Uriel C. Picasso explained. Being there made them socially and psychologically as well as in a physical environmental sense, uncomfortable and insecure.<sup>35</sup>

Distancing was a social phenomenon mutually felt by both groups, and created discomfort in both. Just as it was highly unusual and uncomfortable for lower echelon people to go up to the top floors, causing them nervousness, it was also difficult for top corporate officers to go down to the basement. It was a rare occurrence indeed to find top executives of the organization in the basement chatting with maintenance crew. For them too, the physical environment would be radically different, and even though devoid of the accoutrements that made for distance of the top, would nonetheless create some feelings of ill ease. If the visit was

planned, they would be dressed differently in more casual clothes, or would simply leave their jacket behind in the office, and even roll up their sleeves. I saw the Chairman several times on the first floor during work hours, and in almost all instances he did not have his jacket on and appeared quite informal.

The apprehension, discomfort, nervousness and fear associated with, and the concertedness of purpose, a reason, and to some extent determination and grit required to cross the distance and approach the congregation of executive row led many organizational members, especially lower level ones, to simply never go up there, even though some of them had been with the organization for long periods of time. Many did not know what the environment up there was like, what the people there were like, and what it was like being there. Most knowledge was in the form of stories traded when someone they knew made the trip. At Norton, after my visit to the executive row several members wanted to hear from me about the environment, the people, and what it felt like to traverse that distance and cross those barriers.<sup>36</sup> At Imperial Jane, Peter Voight, who had been with the company for twenty years, had never been to the executive offices. He wanted to, and did come along with me when I took a tour of the executive offices.<sup>37</sup>

Some in executive row claimed that they did not like this arrangement. For Uriel C. Picasso it was "so friggin' quiet up here" and the contrast with "Grand Central Station" downstairs was

just too great. He clearly stated that he did not like the arrangement.

I don't want to be up here, [the Chairman] wants me here. I don't want to be here. And the reason I don't want to be here is because I want to be more accessible. (A-3b:1030-1200/MO9DEC86/N/UCP/1/1:33).

He said that he would rather be with his troops for greater effectiveness. He claimed he did not want to be in his present office and was there only because the Chairman wanted him there.

He did not like the present arrangement and yet was not making a concerted attempt to change it. While he was better known and also more powerful as a senior executive of a division, the status of having an office with and being one of the congregated top executives was a sign of significant achievement, a symbol too desirable to give up. Additionally, changing the existing set up and system would mean violating unwritten norms of being one of the inner group. The executive made no effort to change and did not publicize his discontent. By thus not challenging existing mores he affirmed them and thereby demonstrated that he was a loyal member of the group.<sup>38</sup> Of interest here also is the nature and strength of the cultural norms and rules which inhibited this executive from making changes to the existing cultural mode of differentiation.

A new chairman to this organization had created quite a stir by his expressing his interest that he did not want to be in his top floor office, but wanted to move his office to the ground level so that he could be in the center of the action.<sup>39</sup> He was eventually

convinced by the Physical Environment Managers, that the ground floor would be inappropriate for him for security reasons and talked him out of moving. Even a chairman was thus unable to have his way. The cultural norms for such stratification, congregation clustering and distancing were very strong indeed.<sup>40</sup>

#### ENVIRONMENTAL DEPRIVATION

Environmental Deprivation is the name I have given to the phenomenon by which physical environmental elements were taken away or not given to organizational members, including instances when environmental elements were substituted with items that were socially considered inferior. There are at least three major conditions when environmental deprivation conditions occur. Environmental deprivation conditions occur when physical environmental elements are taken away. Instances when environmental elements are simply taken away are rare. At Norton, the taking away of an AVP's radiator cover cited earlier, was an example of an environmental take away. Another example was when a manager's carpet was taken away because he was not entitled to wall-to-wall carpeting.<sup>41</sup>

More frequently, environmental take aways involve substitution with items that are socially or personally considered inferior. The removal of a director level person to a smaller office in a more remote location was an example of an environmental take away.

Another example was the taking away of larger work stations and substitutions with slightly smaller work stations for a number of supervisors (an example which will be described in greater detail a little later).

A second kind of environmental deprivation condition is the non-delivery of environmental elements that were either promised, explicitly or implicitly, or reasonably expected. In the example below, Mervin Drake, an AVP, describes how he faced conditions of environmental deprivation due to non-delivery of furniture, and delayed delivery of wrong furniture, and some of his frustrations and despair:

OM: Classic example. I may have told you this before. I am sitting there before I got this array of computing equipment and what I got is this desk and a table, like this wide (gestures with hands about 2 1/2 feet) and I have this table pushed up against the wall and I have all the computing equipment on it, and the keyboard's too high to type and all that.

Take a look at this furniture (gesturing). No drawers. Blows my mind. What are all these wires, for Christ's sake? I complained about my furniture in here. I have one file drawer, it was wood on wood, I couldn't even pull the thing out, for Christ's sake. One day I get totally angry and I said to Chris, "Will somebody get me some damn furniture the works." I don't care if it's wood, just something I can live at. And so she goes off and she talks to the people. So I asked space planning if they could get me some other furniture with more file space. They come back saying "Boy have we got a deal for you. We've just done this study of furniture for furniture standards for the company and we have the mockups and they are available. If you would like one of the mockups you can have it." I said "Great." This is February, last year.

"When can I have it? Well, not until April, maybe even May. Okay I'll take it. I'll wait three months for a good deal like that. In May, I start asking, "where is it?" Doesn't come until August they say. To make a long story short, it finally showed up in August. When it shows up it's got no drawers, for crying out loud. I mean it's so absurd. None of it is hooked up, the lights aren't hooked up and so forth. And they delivered, instead of a desk they delivered a table. So, while I had achieved some countertop space and while it was better than what I had before, and while I had improved file drawer space--all of the little drawers in the desk, there weren't any.

So now I had a whole desk full of paper clips, pad of paper, rulers, kleenex boxes, standard junk that people have in desks, there's absolutely no place for it to go because they've delivered a table. So I ask them for the desk. This is in August, I say "can't you get me a desk instead?" They say "Oh yea, sure. We'll get you a desk." I wait August, September. In October I ask "Am I ever going to get a desk?" They say "Oh, no. We can't order you that yet," for some strange reason.  
 (A-2b:0800-1030/M08DEC1986/N/JA/1/1:41-42)  
 (C-5a:1000-1300/M12JAN87/N/JA/2/1:20-21)

A third kind of environmental deprivation condition is the temporary relocation to another environment. This is especially true when the relocation is to an environment socially considered inferior. On rare instances the temporary relocation is to an environment socially considered superior and then relocation to a more permanent space which is considered not as desirable as the temporary space. In this kind of event the deprivation occurs with the latter move, but is not usually as severe, because it was known that the temporary environment was to be temporary. Nancy Ryan, a physical environment manager, describes an example of environmental

deprivation due to temporary relocation to a basement space so that renovation could proceed on the floor they were on.

OM: To give you another example we were moving our marketing department in one of our insurance divisions down to the (second basement) B Floor. I mean that's like you know, an instance worse than death because you are moving here a very, very class function, I mean these are class people that market the product. And you're moving them to the B Floor which is perceived as the basement. Only grunt people go on the B Floor. And they did not like it. I mean this was not a permanent move. This was a temporary move, and to swing space [a space designed for people to move into temporarily so that their activities can continue while their space is renovated] to vacate an area to build our mock up, and all kinds of problems with that. Plus they walked down to the B Floor and the carpet was really ratty. It was an area where there had been a heavy amount of greasy equipment. The walls needed to be painted, and they were saying "You're going to move us into this!? Well, we are not going to go. And we are not going to entertain clients in this space!"  
(A9:0830-1020/F21NOV86/NR/2/1:24-25)

Conditions of environmental deprivation can be faced by organizations, such as divisions or departments. The temporary relocation of the marketing department was an example of environmental deprivation faced by a department.

Sets or groups of people can also be faced with environmental deprivation conditions. A set of supervisors at the Zygmunt branch of Norton were faced with an environmental take away situation. Uriel C. Picasso, a Vice President, attempted to standardize the size of the work stations of these supervisors.



OM: ...In Zygmunt, everybody had a work station, some of them were a little bigger, which I made smaller so it was a take away.  
(A-3:1030-1200/M08DEC86/N/UCP/1/1:30)

OM: I decided to go with one (size) work station.  
(A3:1030-1200/M08DEC86/N/UCP/1/1:19-20)

Technology and product changes are the most frequent reasons for some groups declining and others emerging. Downs (1958) provides an example of how a group faced environmental deprivation conditions when the space allotted to them was reduced to make space for flight operation on the ship.

Individuals, too experience environmental deprivation, perhaps more acutely. An instance I encountered in my research was the move of a supervisor, Daniel, to a space socially considered less desirable, due to its location in an out of the way corner, and due to it not having some of the elements that the earlier space had.

#### Effects of Environmental Deprivation

Members faced with environmental deprivation conditions experience loss of face and poise, and loss of position, embarrassment and shame. They feel deprived and not in control, which results in stress, anxiety and sometimes panic.

Take the example of Daniel, the supervisor of a group, who faced environmental deprivation. Before the event, when I had met him, he had given me his business card with telephone numbers so

that I could call to make an appointment and had actually invited me to come and study his group's space and talk to the members of his group. Shortly thereafter there was a "reorganization" (re-shuffling) of his department. He had been moved to another less visible lower category office. From that point on he was barely visible to me or others. He would not answer my phone calls and messages. Later someone informed me that he had been moved to a different lower category office. I was also told by this person that I should not be surprised if Daniel left the company even though he thought Daniel was tied with "golden handcuffs." Daniel apparently was quite upset with the situation he was in and was ashamed of meeting anyone. Clearly now he had less of an office to "show" me.<sup>42</sup>

Loss of prestige is another major effect of environmental deprivation, especially when there is loss of environmental elements. Shoshkes provides an example:

The deep-rooted need for the private office in executive territory is a hard won symbol that can be very threatening to have removed. When AT&T was planning to move its new facilities to Basking Ridge, New Jersey, open planning was considered for executives in the early stages of the design. When the people who were actually going to use these spaces realized what was planned for them they refused to be deprived of their walls. They came from companies where many of them had been supervising five hundred to seven hundred people with a nice private office. When a man has worked fifteen to twenty years of his life for a company, he does not want to give up any of the prestige items. AT&T values its executives and their needs and the plan was changed to suit them. (Shoshkes:1976:24)

## Responses to Conditions of Environmental Deprivation

There were several ways in which people attempted to deal with conditions of environmental deprivation. The primary ones are described below:

One response was to distance oneself from other members who either knew of the situation or were able to observe the condition. Daniel, for example, attempted to create some distance by "hiding" away, not being easily visible, not returning phone calls, not keeping in touch with other members. The response to loss of face and poise chosen by Daniel was to hide face.

A second kind of response was to groan and complain about it and thereby reduce anxiety. Uriel explained what happened when he took away the larger work stations of a number of supervisors.

OM: It was like I took away somebody's favorite toy for some of the supervisors because they had gotten used to not only having their own work station but having a work station that was a little bigger than everyone else's.  
(A-3: 1030-1200/M08DEC86/N/UCP/1/1:19-20)

OM: They moaned and bitched about it for about a month. And then they just realized that there wasn't any sense talking about it anymore and they stopped. It does not mean they feel good about it, it just means they stopped talking about it...  
(A-3: 1030-1200/M08DEC86/N/UCP/1/1:30)

Picasso's action affected all supervisors in that unit because they had to move from a large work station to one that was not only

smaller than the one they had, but the new work station was the same size as those of the people they were supervising and thus lower in the organizational hierarchy.

A third kind of response was to plead with those responsible or those in charge so that the take away could be avoided or diverted. One Vice President in Imperial Jane Corporation recounted the story of his visit to a field office where the existing environment was being replaced by systems furniture with standard low partitions. As a result a few people were about to lose their cubicles with 6 feet high partitions. During the tour the Vice President did not receive any negative comments about the new proposal and so he was happily on the way to his car when one of those affected came running up to him and pleaded "Sir, please do not take away my cubicle. I have worked 10 years to achieve this status. Please do not take it away from me now."

A fourth kind of response to environmental deprivation condition was to cling to and fight for some of the symbolic aspects of the environment. Downs (1958) described how this group fought hard to maintain their position on food (chow) line, early liberty and more comfortable sleeping place.

Old rating groups found their importance waning before specialists in new techniques and they fought hard to retain the prestige symbols which had represented their status in the past. The new rating groups, sensing their own importance attempted to obtain the symbols which would reflect this importance. (Downs:1958:18)

A fifth kind of response was to exit or quit the organization and thereby change the setting and avoid the daily embarrassment.

Steele presents this example:

"I'm one of a large group of young lawyers who came into the firm at about the same time. A few weeks ago I was told by the director to move to another office. It was purely because I need to be near another man for a long-term project we are developing, but nobody believed that. We get practically no information on how we're doing in the firm, so all the other guys at my level were trying to figure out what the move meant for them, and whether they should start looking for another job because I now have the "inside track." (Steele:1973:53)

Downs mentions that several members of the group exited or changed to other areas. This seems to be a fairly common response judging from comments by people who informed me that "this person is on the way out."

Sometimes transfer to other branches is opted for as a face-saving measure. This seems to be a reasonable way to save face and start over again in a new setting in a new organization.

Finally, a sixth kind of response was to file a lawsuit in a court of law and claim either reinstatement or damages from the corporation. Kanter and Stein provide the following example.

Richard E. Mathews, a Ford employee for 38 years, was a supervisor with 22 engineers and technicians under him. In 1972 he was asked to take a lateral transfer and become supervisor of another department's Latin American section. Two years later, in 1974, the department was eliminated and Mathews, then 53, was demoted and transferred back to his old department, as an engineer. Mathews complained and then sued. Although his salary wasn't cut he says he "lost prestige, (and) a private office..." (Kanter & Stein:1979:132).<sup>43</sup>

In sum, environmental deprivation's effects can be quite widespread and quite severe. One major reason this happens is because of the symbolic and prestige value accorded to space. Downs explains:

Because space has always been a prime design factor, the amount allocated to any working group became a subtle symbol of that group's importance and prestige. The demands of flight operations forced naval architecture to reduce drastically the space allotted to certain working groups. This not only created distinct practical problems of working in reduced space, but threatened the groups affected with a loss of an unrecognized, but important prestige symbol (Downs:1958:16).

Downs refers only to the amount of space in the above example. In general, according to social values regarding space, this happens to be a move from a higher order space. What Downs describes is a classic case of environmental deprivation.

Movement to space that is socially seen as being appropriate only to a lower category is particularly traumatic for the member who has to make the change, especially if the member is the only one so affected. In Uriel C. Picasso's example, several supervisors were simultaneously and equally affected. As a result it was less likely to be seen as an individual affront, although it may be read as decategorization and loss of authority for supervisors as a group.

Environmental deprivation conditions and related anxiety can be felt when members see or sense it as environmental deprivation even

though there may, in actuality, be no take away, non-delivery or relocation. For example, had Uriel C. Picasso chosen to upgrade all the smaller work stations to one equisized one with the supervisors, this move would have been seen by the supervisors as environmental deprivation, though perhaps not of the same magnitude. There still would have been social connotations of relative environmental deprivation and loss of prestige for the supervisors.

One of the most devastating things that can happen to a member of an organization is to be deprived of a due place and a due setting.<sup>44</sup> Environmental deprivation take aways of the kind described above are seen by members to symbolically communicate messages that the member at best is less smart, less effective, socially backward and at worst is no longer useful, not required and on the way out.<sup>45</sup> Such visible physical signs become evident for all to see and read, and makes it extremely difficult for the person to save face among colleagues and exit soon seems to be the only recourse. It is in this context that loss of appropriate environments led to tremendous loss of face and prestige and caused grave embarrassment. This phenomenon, which I have called environmental deprivation, is viewed with great alarm and trepidation by members.<sup>46</sup>

## DISCUSSION

For this Chapter I wanted to look at some selected illustrative architectural components of Norton's head office building and what

some of these meant to organizational members. I would like to conclude this Chapter with a brief summary and discussion of the observations I think are important.

The physical environments of different categories of members was different. That the differences could be expected was indicated in the literature by Steele (1973), Kanter (1977), Sundstrom (1986), Fussell (1983).

Members in higher social categories tended to be located on higher floors, supporting Steele's (1973), and Kanter's (1977) hypotheses.<sup>47</sup> This was true only when executive officers were considered. Divisional officers were not all located in their highest floors. For example the Vice President for legal affairs was located on the sixth floor, and another divisional senior Vice President was located on the third floor.

Members in higher social categories tended to have larger offices. They also tended to have greater amounts of window space, including corner offices. Their work spaces tended to have more expensive interior furnishings and furnitures. The environments of the lower administrative members tended to be less finished and much less expensively furnished, as the descriptions of the finishes, and budgeted figures indicated. These were not directly mentioned in the literature, but perhaps could be imputed or interpreted (Fussell: 1983; Harragan: 1977; Korda: 1977a&b).



The literature, however, did not lead to the expectation that washrooms and washroom behavior would vary by category and floor.

Graffiti in washrooms varied by floor height. Graffiti in the basement floors was more in quantity and had sex as the subject matter much more than on other floors. Sketches of male and female genitalia and other body parts was more common in the basement. The amount of graffiti seemed to reduce as floor height increased. Messages turned to wit, commentaries and ruminations on life in the organization or in general, in the middle floors. The upper floors had very little to no graffiti. Explanations by Blake (1981) and Cahill et al. (1985) that washrooms are liminal spaces does not explain why graffiti would vary in quantity, subject matter or kind. One can speculate that the variation in washroom behavior may be due to the quality of the environment, since that varied with the floors. If this is true, then claims by Riemer (1979), Maslow (1956) and Maslow and Mintz (1956) that behavior in lower quality, crude and unfinished environments tend to be more rough and crude than in more finished and "better" environments take on much more significance than previously credited with.<sup>48</sup>

The literature also did not lead to the expectation that physical environmental components would carry a great deal of meaning to the organizational members. As I indicated in Chapter 2, neighborhood and housing studies had claimed that neighborhood and house may carry deep meaning to inhabitants. However, there was no

indication that physical environments in organizations would carry meaning to organizational members. At Norton, not only did the physical environment and its elements carry meaning but the differences in physical environments were also very meaningful to members. These meanings I have described through descriptions of a number of phenomena which were manifestations of those meanings.

First, a phenomenon described earlier, was that the physical environments of the six sub-categories of members were not the same or even similar but rather clearly very different.

Not only were there these gross differences between the highest and lowest social categories, there were fine distinctions between job classes in the same category.

Many of the differences were created when the building was designed and built, as indicated by the use of handmade furniture, imported wood floors and the use of antiques for the offices of senior officers and the use of plain cement concrete floors and metal furniture for the lower administrative members. Subsequent renovations made no effort to change this. That is, no attempt was made at equalizing these differences. This was true even for the latest 1985 renovations, as I shall describe later.

But more importantly, members saw such inequalities not only as acceptable but desirable. It was all right, even desirable for the

President to have an office in size alone, but in cost as well, the equivalent of that of eight or ten Techies.<sup>49</sup>

The physical environment and the socio-cultural system at Norton Corporation are deeply linked and intertwined in terms of social significance. Physical differentiation has become linked with social stratification wherein the ordering of the physical environmental elements and ordering of members in the social system seem to be directly related. Statements by Frances M. Unger and Nancy Ryan demonstrate the depth of meaning the physical environment carries.

Second, members engaged in the "reading" of the physical environment -- a phenomenon I have called environmental reading.

The physical environment was seen as particularly meaningful in the relationship of members with the organization and with others in the organization. Physical elements and settings were used in symbolically identifying people in the organization, their position, status, rank, kind of work they did, their usefulness to the organization and their power. These readings were based on social comparison. Even fine distinctions and differences were read and noted.

Reading a person's status was a crucially important activity, on the successful accomplishment of which depended avoidance of

embarrassment. Embarrassment could be avoided, not only by 'reading' the environment and successfully judging a person's position, but also by managing the physical environmental elements well.

Third, there was socio-physical congregation and distancing. Members of one category attempted to congregate together and distance themselves from members of vastly different categories. Thus, members of the executive category were on the top floors while those of the administrative category were in the basement. Architectural design features effectively increased the effect of congregation and distance and made for large psycho-social barriers. Such congregation and distancing led to isolation of one set of members from others. Some did not like this arrangement, felt that it reduced their effectiveness and possibly also hurt the organization's functioning (see also DeLorean:1979). Yet, most did not make any major changes or even make concerted attempts to change. This was perhaps due to the meaning this held for culture members. Further, it is possible that the company of, and being surrounded by, members of similar if not same categories provided a measure of comfort. The discomfort associated with going downstairs was explained by one executive. This discomfort may be related to the inability to maintain requisite social and physical distance, especially if distancing mechanisms are removed, as Goffman (1973) has pointed out. Removal of physical distancing mechanisms, such as abolition of separate cafeterias, elevators, etc. for executives or

for administrative members, may be one reason. In Merit Insurance Company, which prided itself on having only one cafeteria, officers would most frequently choose a bunch of seats on the south side, the administrative, especially lower administrative, members occupied seats at the northwestern edge, and intermediate areas were taken up by the technical/professional members. It was as though there were invisible culturally accepted boundaries dividing the cafeteria into three distinct zones each to be used by one category of members. This is not to say that there are no variations. Variations were rather few and far between. At a Norton cafeteria, too, a similar phenomenon was noticed. But at Norton the cafeteria was much larger, and the boundaries seemed more flexible and fluid.

Social distancing and social location has received some attention in the literature (Goffman:1973; Potash:1985; Gombo:1983; Hall:1969 etc.). The physical nature of social distancing has also been mentioned by these authors, particularly Hall (1969). Potash has proposed that feelings of being crowded may be due to inability to maintain appropriate distances while Hall (1969) thinks that 'contact' and 'non-contact' cultures view distancing differently.

Fourth, the physical environment and artifacts could be a source of embarrassment to organization members in several ways as I have described. It was important and meaningful to members to have physical environments and artifacts that were not likely to cause embarrassment. Environmental embarrassment occurred because the

physical environment was important to organizational members. This was because the physical environment formed part of the self-identity of the organizational member. It located the member in the organization, and in an organization category. It was also critical in the organizational member's performance of task and role, and presentation of (an organizational) self. It was critical that the physical environment perform when required and project the ambiance desired. This was a major reason, and justification offered, for elaborate arrangements that existed on the top floors for senior executives. The projection and sustenance of an appropriate front, and of a flawless performance was crucial to their credibility and success, and to that of the organization as well whose spokesmen and representatives they were. This was in part the reason why marketing and sales are very conscious of and take care in setting up elaborate backdrops or sets for their performances on which sales depend. Avoidance of environmental embarrassment became an important activity, and fairly elaborate schemes were devised for avoiding embarrassment.

And fifth, there was a phenomenon I have called environmental deprivation. Environmental deprivation caused great trepidation, and anguish as I have explained. Members were willing to even terminate their relationships with the organization and quit when faced with certain forms of environmental deprivation. That the physical environment could be a source of such deep feelings and emotions has not been pointed out in the literature. But it is

illustrative of the importance and meaning attached to the physical environment in organizations. Deep emotions were expressed when members faced environmental deprivation conditions.

This study of architectural components and their meanings to organizational members also points out the symbolic value accorded to the physical environment. The physical environment was an important agent in symbolic non-verbal communication. It was a prime signifier of a member's social position. The physical environment also tended to give clues about differential status of equal ranked members. As Ruesch and Kees have suggested, such physical symbols transcend literate -- illiterate issues, issues of inaudibility due to distance and are there for all to see, even from a distance.

That the physical environment can be seen as symbolic, communicating messages non-verbally has been pointed out before by Rapoport (1982), Hall (1959), Ruesch & Rees (1966), Knapp (1980). Most of these studies were based in homes, not organizations. Very few studies of office settings and non-verbal communication have been done (see Joiner:1971; 1976; McCaskey:1979; Zweigenhaft:1976).<sup>50</sup> These dealt with what messages were read by visitors from the furniture arrangements they saw. Not much was known about the extent to which the physical environment was seen as non-verbal communication by organizational members.

While some (such as Becker:1981) have contended, and many would believe, that the physical environment is, and perhaps should be, primarily and solely instrumental, serving functional purposes relating to work that members do in the organization, it appears that from a social systemic perspective it is more symbolic than instrumental. As George Vance commented, when a person reaches an upper Techie position (class 30) he/she gets a larger desk because "theoretically by that time you have more junk to put on top of the desk."



NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Administrative members were known as "Admins" and technical level members were known as "Techies" at Norton.
2. In the first decade of the twentieth century, time clocks had been introduced for clerical workers as well, much like factory and manual workers. For an advertisement of time clocks as being able to identify tardy workers see Forty (1986:122). Also see Braverman (1974:ch:15).
3. In some organizations such as Mars (Candy), the time card has been eliminated altogether for all classes of members.
4. "Back region" is used here in the sense proposed by Goffman (1959).
5. Secretaries were not easy to categories, especially in terms of location.
6. Flexitime was a system where members could choose the hours to work. There were certain pre-set limits -- starting work between 7 a.m. and 9 a.m. While members of some categories could vary their starting times on a daily basis, others had to select a specific set of times from a number of options.
7. "Day wall" was a wall of extremely lightweight construction. It had two layers of cardboard like material, with edging of metal. They were not sound absorbent.
8. Aural distractions were quite high leading to problems in conversations during the interviews I conducted, which got picked up very clearly by my percussion sensitive tape recorder. This made tape transcription particularly difficult particularly in instances when such background noise was especially high. Needless to say, disruption to the work at hand was also quite high requiring concerted attempt, repetition and picking up on broken themes, etc.
9. Preference for highest floors by the highest executives of the organization for their executive office seems to be quite prevalent in the U.S.A. Besides the Norton Corporation, this was true for several other corporations I looked at. In Quinn Corporation, I found that the Executive offices were located on the 19th floor of the tower beyond which there were only executive conference and dining, no more office or work spaces. In Imperial Jane Company, the Executive offices could be found on the top most floor or 10th floor. In Progressive Computer Company, the Executive offices were on the 3rd floor of a three-stored building. The executive offices at Merit Insurance Company were on the 11th floor. In Jewel Chemical Corporation, the Executive offices were on the second floor of

a two-storied building. Further examples of such a phenomenon are provided in Steele (1973), Pfeffer (1981), Kanter (1977). Thus for organizations in the U.S.A., there seemed to be a correspondence between height of the office and rank of the occupant in the organizations hierarchy. This data provides support for similar propositions put forth by Steele (1973) and Kanter (1977). Contradictory evidence was also found but from another culture.

Executive offices of the organization in India I looked at were generally located on ground through sixth floors. Although, higher floors afforded more expansive views along with the feeling of metaphorically being on top of it all, floors higher than fifth and sixth floors were not coveted floors. Inconsistency of electrical energy supply with frequent blackouts and brown outs, made lift (elevator) travel unpredictable and risky. It was considered better to be on floors which were easily accessible by foot.

10. Executive offices were located on a side of the building from where the views were unusual, interesting, panoramic -- such as the city in the distance (Norton) top of the city center area (Quinn and Merit Insurance), grand views of entrance (Norton and Jewel Chemical), overlooking a lake and wooded area (Progressive Computer), etc.
11. See Chapter I., esp. footnote #28.
12. The furniture was made by General Fireproofing Company.
13. Divisional President was a new title. Previously, these were known as Vice-President and one then became Vice-President at Corporate level. The next step would be that of President. Such changes may give rise to some confusion in this account. Corporate level positions were periodically renamed. An instance of this occurred while my research was in progress. The names thus get confusing at times. In a recent change of titles, Divisional Vice Presidents were named Presidents of their Divisions.
14. These were men's washrooms. These positions were almost 100% male.
15. Blake (1981:87-99) has done research on graffiti in Hawaiian washrooms, which he calls liminal spaces where roles are unclear or even reversed and antithetical behavior ensues. See Cahill et. al. (1985), Kira (1966), Humphreys (1970) for studies of bathroom and bathroom behavior. While "toilet" is used in England to indicate the entire area, in the U.S.A. it is usually applied to W.C. stalls or john (England). Americans usually say men's room, washroom and bathroom to refer to the entire area even though there may not be any bath in there.

16. See Hughes (1971), Gold (1973).
17. See Business Etiquette Handbook (1965).
18. For embarrassments relating to address see Sagarin in Birenbaum and Sagarin (1973).
19. Some have claimed that in organizations such as the Civil Services and CBS, "workspaces can be read as literally as military insignia" (Sundstrom: 1986: 251). A distinction can be made between insiders being able to read versus outsiders, unfamiliar with the organization, being able to similarly read those symbols.

It is also interesting to note that a large number of physical resource managers in several organizations are ex-military persons attempting ostensibly to provide needed physical environments. Why are ex-military persons considered more appropriate? That is a good question that needs exploration.

20. Organizations which have experimented with equalizing physical environmental elements would make for interesting cases to study. Examples: McDonalds, Humana, Etc. What happens to such indicators and how long such equality is maintained become important questions. At Norton, white marker boards became a symbol of inequality in an otherwise equal environment of modern equisized (1980's) work stations in open office layout.
21. As with any human system one cannot rely solely on one indicator, neither can a signification system be considered inviolable law. It is more appropriate to see them as general statements which need to be corroborated with other kinds of evidence, and to see the possibility that there are likely to be several exceptions.
22. Kanter (1977) has explained some of the ways in which some organizational members had difficulty in relating to others who had risen through the ranks but whom they had seen and known in lower status positions in physical surroundings appropriate for that grade. This is perhaps why an 'expert' is often from afar or the outside.
23. A statement by Goffman is pertinent here.

Society is organized on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in an appropriate way. Connected with this principle is a second, namely that an individual who implicitly or explicitly signifies that he has certain social

characteristics ought in fact to be what he claims he is. In consequence, when an individual projects a definition of the situation and thereby makes an implicit or explicit claim to be a person of a particular kind, he automatically exerts a moral demand upon the others, obliging them to value and treat him in the manner that persons of his kind have a right to expect. (Goffman:1959:13)

24. For works on how people cue their approach and behavior towards others see works by Goffman, particularly Goffman (1959, 1967). For work on embarrassment see Gross and Stone (1973).
25. How settings get "reserved" for a sex is of course an interesting question not addressed by the authors. Are labels alone adequate (such as Men, Women), or do physical environmental elements such as urinals, full-length mirrors, rest areas, or lack thereof, proclaim the "sex" of the washroom. Steele (1973) provides an example where at an offsite conference, simply putting different signs on the two doors to the same washroom was itself enough as people got over their initial embarrassments. This is a culturally mediated phenomenon, it must be emphasized. Not all cultures distinguish between men and women for washrooms. In the U.S.A., handicapped toilets are often unisex, thus confounding sex categories; but then perhaps handicapped people are treated as unimportant, insignificant numerically, identity-less persons, or even non-persons. In Iranian movie theaters it was quite common for both sexes to use the same rest rooms (although not the same stalls) simultaneously.
26. Goffman (1967:103) informs us that in embarrassment "the moment of crisis is of course socially determined; the individual's breaking point is that of the group to whose affective standards he adheres."
27. This will be elaborated on in another chapter.
28. Generally entire floors or physically defined parts of floors marked with entrances or doors were devoted to specific strata. With the development and growth of middle management and of a professional cadre such congregation is not as obvious at the middle levels. Even so some differentiation exists. At the executive levels, it was usual for some officers to have an office in the executive area and another office with the division they headed. For example, in the newly renovated areas the distribution is of the following nature.
29. Steele (1973:50) gives a photograph of a stepped office building of an insurance company in Germany where the depiction of strata are most graphically and physically displayed. See figures and pictures at end.

30. Organizational members were not required to sign in, however.
31. In offices in Japan, senior executives sat at the end of the hall farthest from the entrance. Also, in Japan, in conference rooms, the person with the highest status was expected to sit the farthest away from the door and facing the door, as shown in the Figure (Seymour: 1988). Korda (1975a&b) also claims that the farther a person is located from the entrance, the more powerful he/she is.
32. At Norton, much of the antique furniture were taken or copied from notable homes. The fireplace, couches, side tables, table lamps, soft lighting, wood framing, rugs, all added to the homeliness of the area, although the antiques gave it a museum-like quality. Kwolek-Foland (1987) contends that executive offices tend to look more like homes.
33. See note #1.
34. Once again Steele's example, mentioned earlier, is poignant here.
35. Part of the discomfort with the elevator scene as described may be due to the inability to maintain appropriate social distance in the small confines of the closed elevator (Potash:1985, Goffman:1967) and part could be due to role conflict as described by Goffman (1967:110). Nonetheless, the fear and psychological trepidation is very real and should not be overlooked.
36. It was easier for many to carry mythical notions of top executives than to muster up the social courage to challenge existing social notions and go actually check things out for themselves. They would rather accept their position in the social order. Only would think of breaking out. Out of these some would be considered aggressive, having the business acumen, and being one of their type, others would be considered mentally off balance and perhaps even be removed from the premise, especially if they violated social conventions and such as those of attire, manners, deference to authority.
37. There were many like him who were curious about the other physical regions of the organization but were kept away by the great socio-physical distance.
38. Cultural norms are operative here. More will be said in the next chapter.
39. The physical resource managers thus had a hot potato in their hands.

- 40. "Perception of crowding may relate less to the sheer numbers of people involved than to concerns over the ability to maintain appropriate social distance" (Potash:1985:147).
- 41. Other examples are provided later, also in Chapter IV.
- 42. Not having the environmental elements, even if only symbolic, affect effectiveness and performance on the job.

The predicament of a man, Bill Halloway, who was appointed general manager of audio-division, without a desk and his inability to carry out his functions is pointed out in a case by that name see Coffey et al (1975:446)

- 43. Other responses are likely to develop, such as grievance filing and action through unions. These have not developed probably because those who unionize do not have much of a physical environment now.
- 44. Athos provides a similar example:  
 I recall a distinguished senior professor returning to a school after a long and nearly fatal illness. He was being moved from his old office to a new one in an air conditioned wing of the building, largely because the dean of his school believed that air conditioning would be of help to him. The professor may have thought he "heard" something else, for as I passed his office one day, I found him on his hands and knees, measuring the width and length of his new office with a twelve inch ruler. It was a good deal smaller than his prior office, and I think he was "learning" that his illness had diminished his importance to the school so that he was reduced to a smaller office. It would be amusing if it were not so painful. (Athos:1968:75)

- 45. An example:

The story is told that a very well known professor was informed symbolically by his Department that he was no longer needed when his office was shifted to the "boondocks" where environmental supports such as heating, air conditioning and telephone would mysteriously stop working and take long time repair.

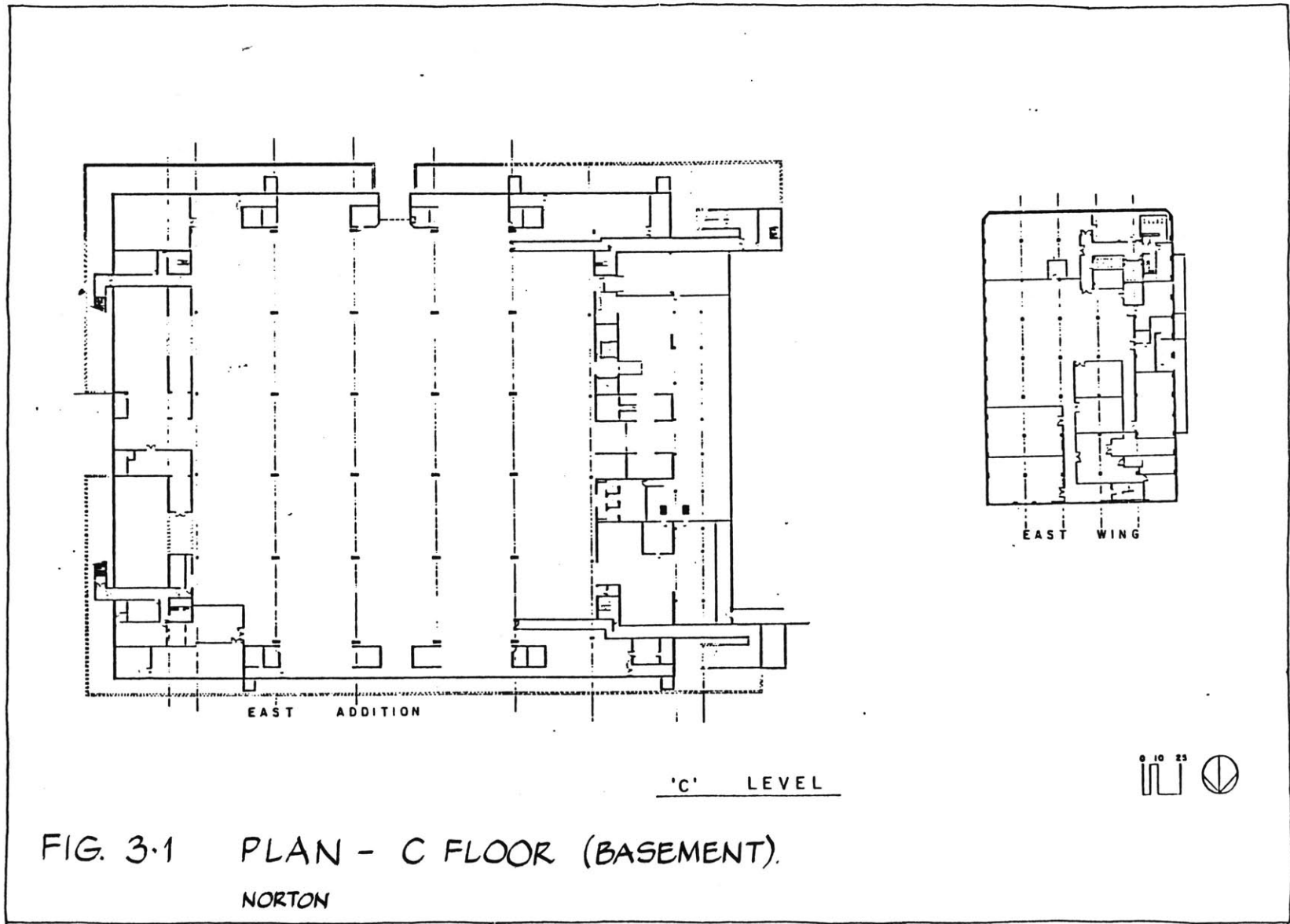
A second example:

In one instance, I recall I was talking with a professor regarding why social scientists have so frequently neglected consideration of the physical

environment. He claimed that the physical environment does not carry meaning in and of itself, that humans attribute meaning to it, that the physical environment was unimportant and inconsequential. Hence it is more fruitful to study human societies cultures etc. rather than bother with the physical environment.

In response I asked if he would mind if the department head moved him from his office with large windows overlooking the river to the office in front of the elevator next to the men's room. He said that that would be a message to him that the next move will be out and he would make preparations to quit before the next move came, but that he understood what my point was. See also Baldassare (1978:38).

46. It is surprising that most organizational theories have not paid much attention to this important aspect.
47. As with most rules regarding society this was not all pervasive. For example, there were secretaries and other administrative members on the top floors and there were supervisors and an occasional manager or even director in the basement. But, as I have described these few "anomalous" "service people were often treated as non-persons" as if they were not there.
48. The experiment with changing a traditional "back region" activity such as the mail room into a "front region" activity along with change in architectural quality and the consequent behavioral change may be another example.
49. In a society, strongly committed to the market idea, it was surprising that members did not have anyway of "buying" or bidding for, environments of their choice. Rather, the environment was seen as an additional set of chips which the organization could use to attract and hold desired people. The physical environment in the sense was seen as a common organizational good, and not a privately available commodity, but which could be obtained through sustained symbolic depiction of being a committed organizational member - a team player whose values matched those of the organization. Projected cost of the 1985 renovations are given in Chapter IV.
50. See also the works of popular writers such as Fussell (1983); Korda (1977a&b); Hamagan (1977); Bralove (1982).





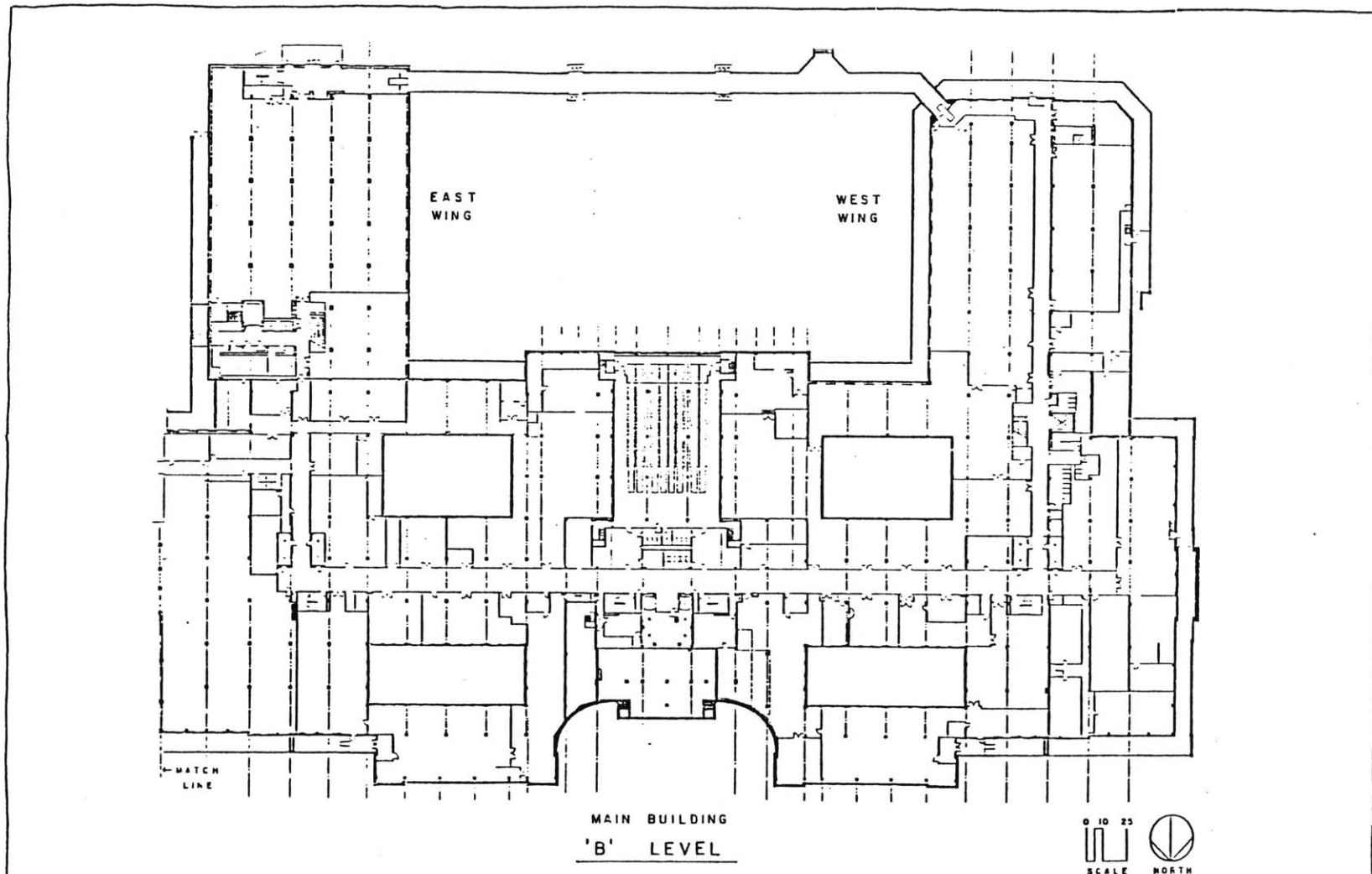
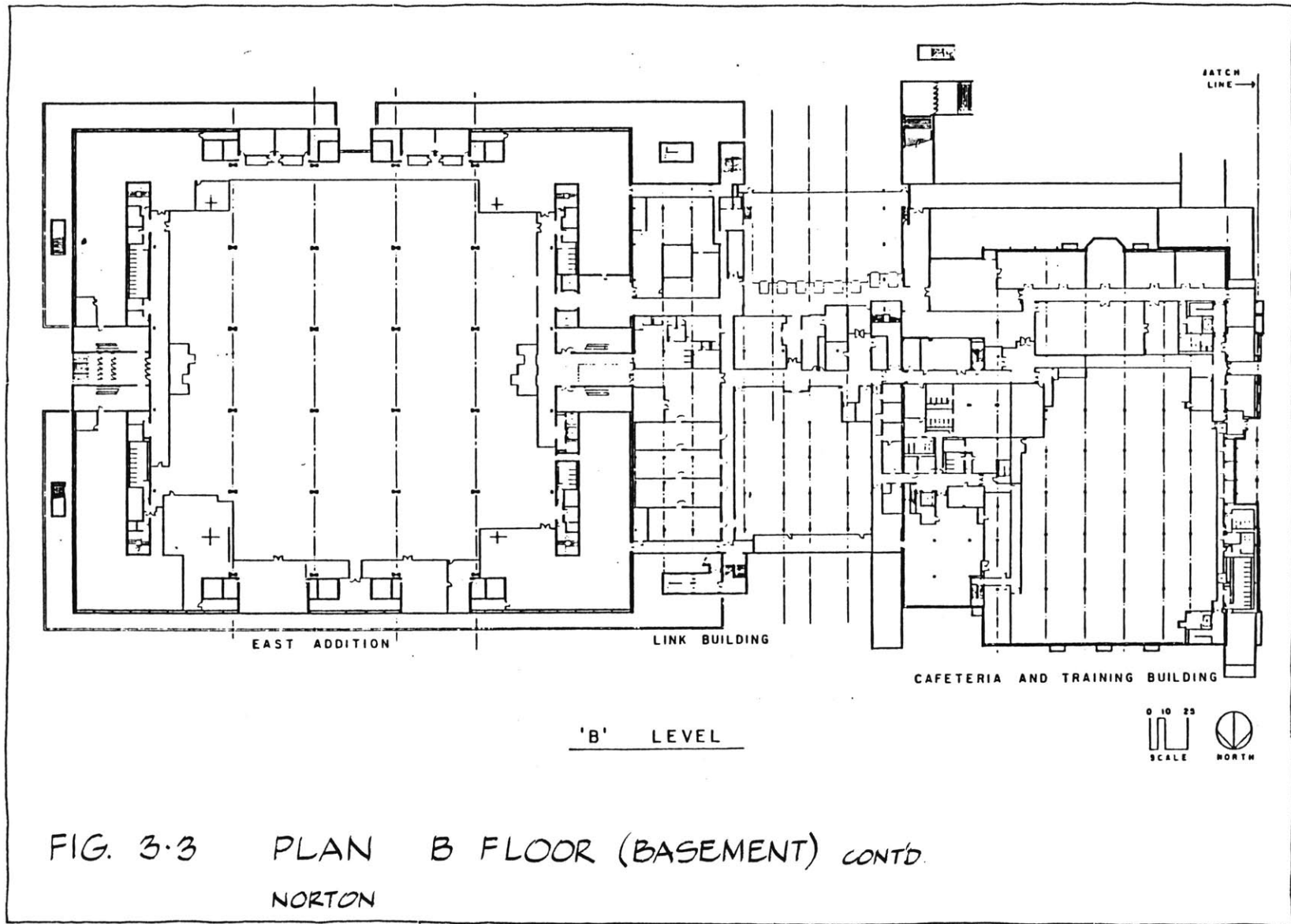


FIG. 3-2 PLAN B FLOOR (BASEMENT)  
NORTON



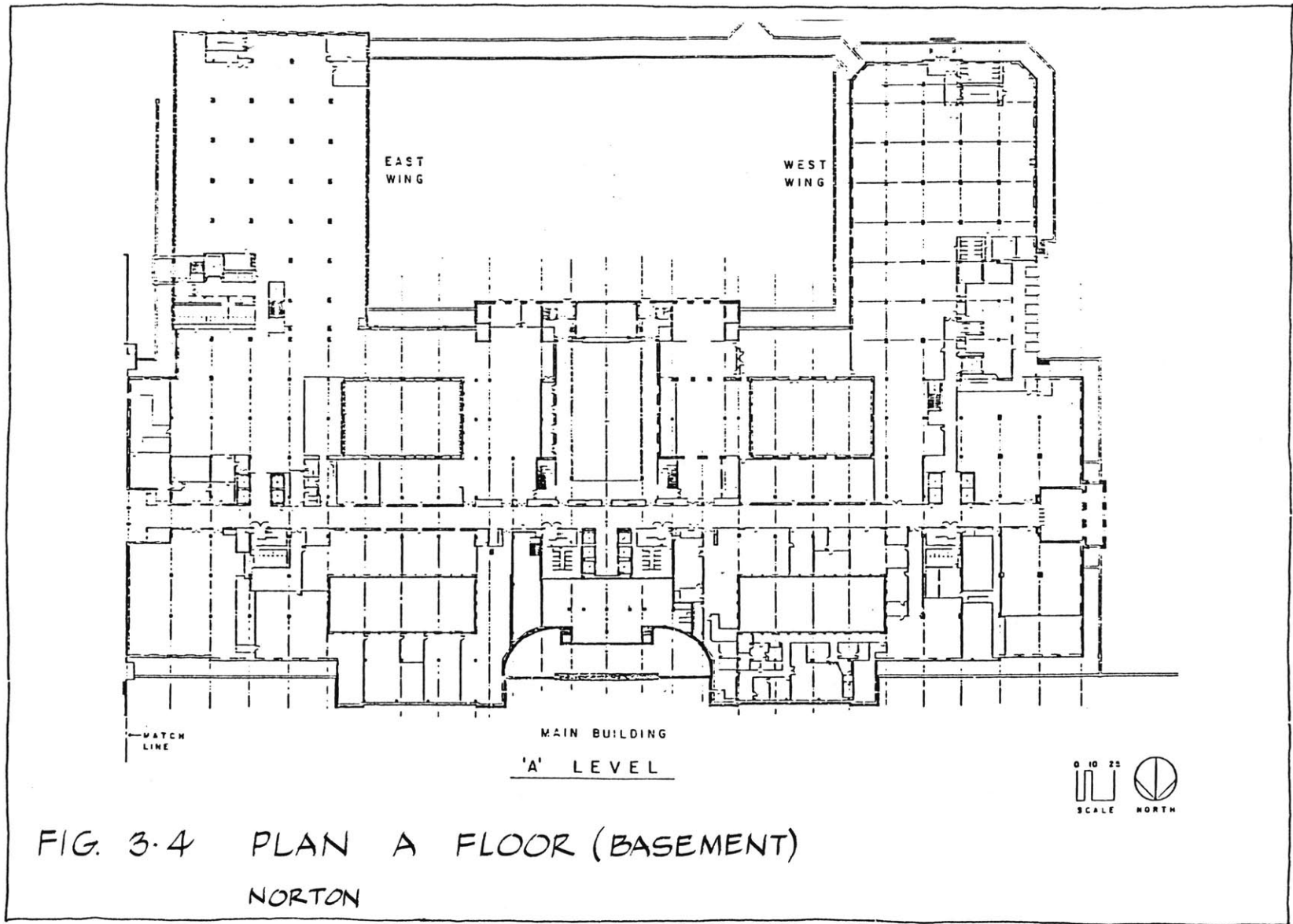


FIG. 3-4 PLAN A FLOOR (BASEMENT)  
NORTON

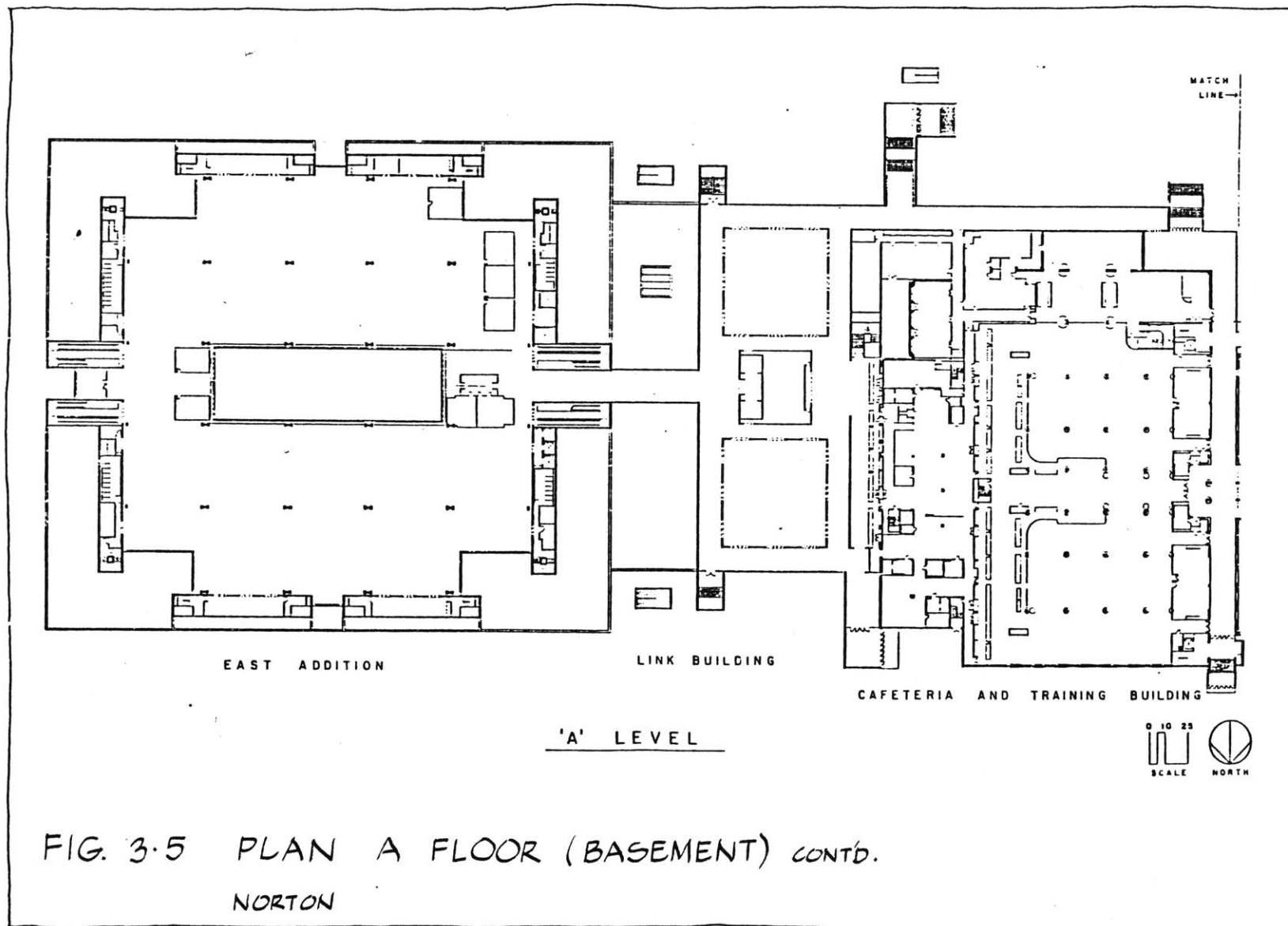


FIG. 3.5 PLAN A FLOOR (BASEMENT) CONT'D.  
NORTON

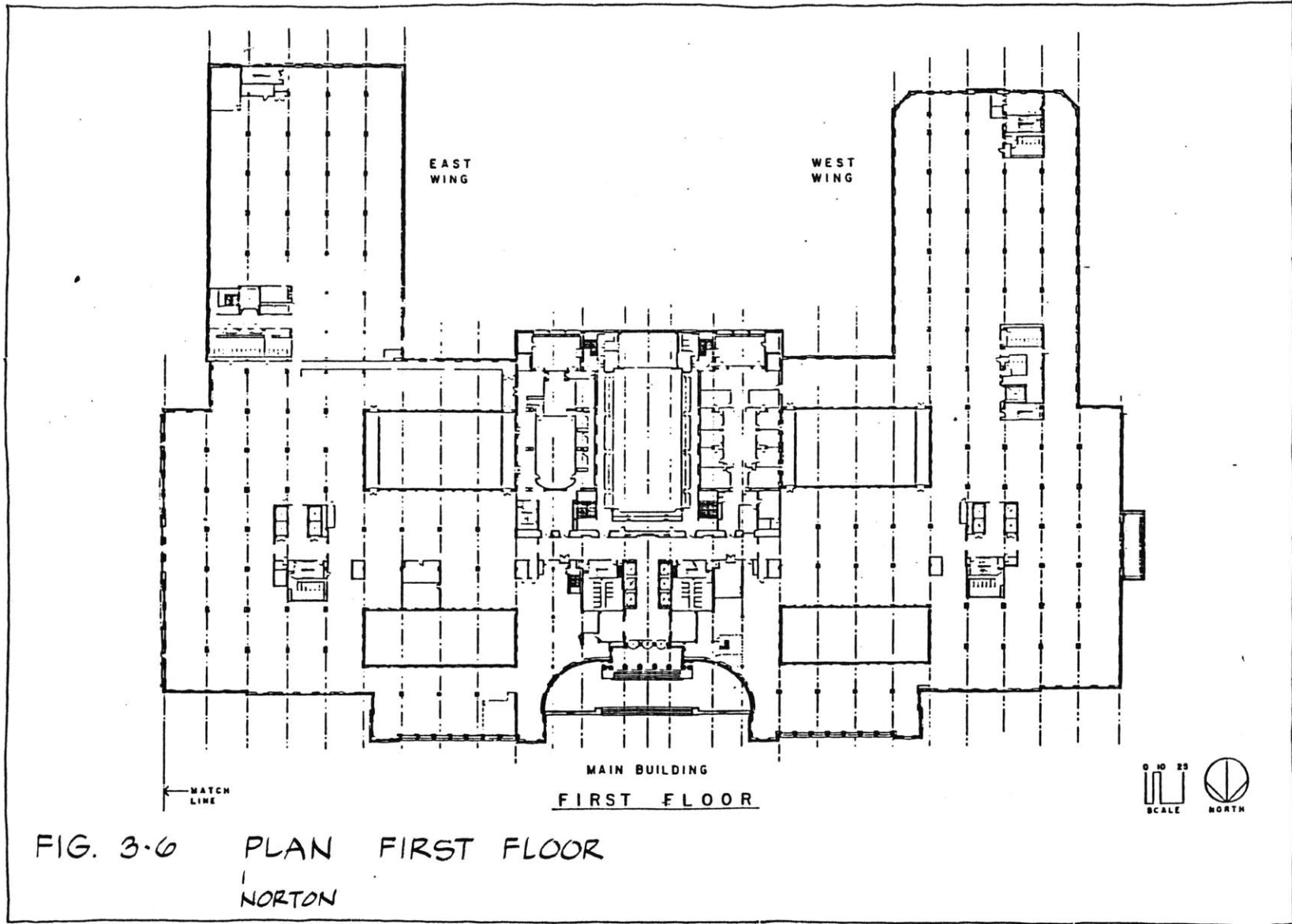


FIG. 3-6 PLAN FIRST FLOOR  
NORTON

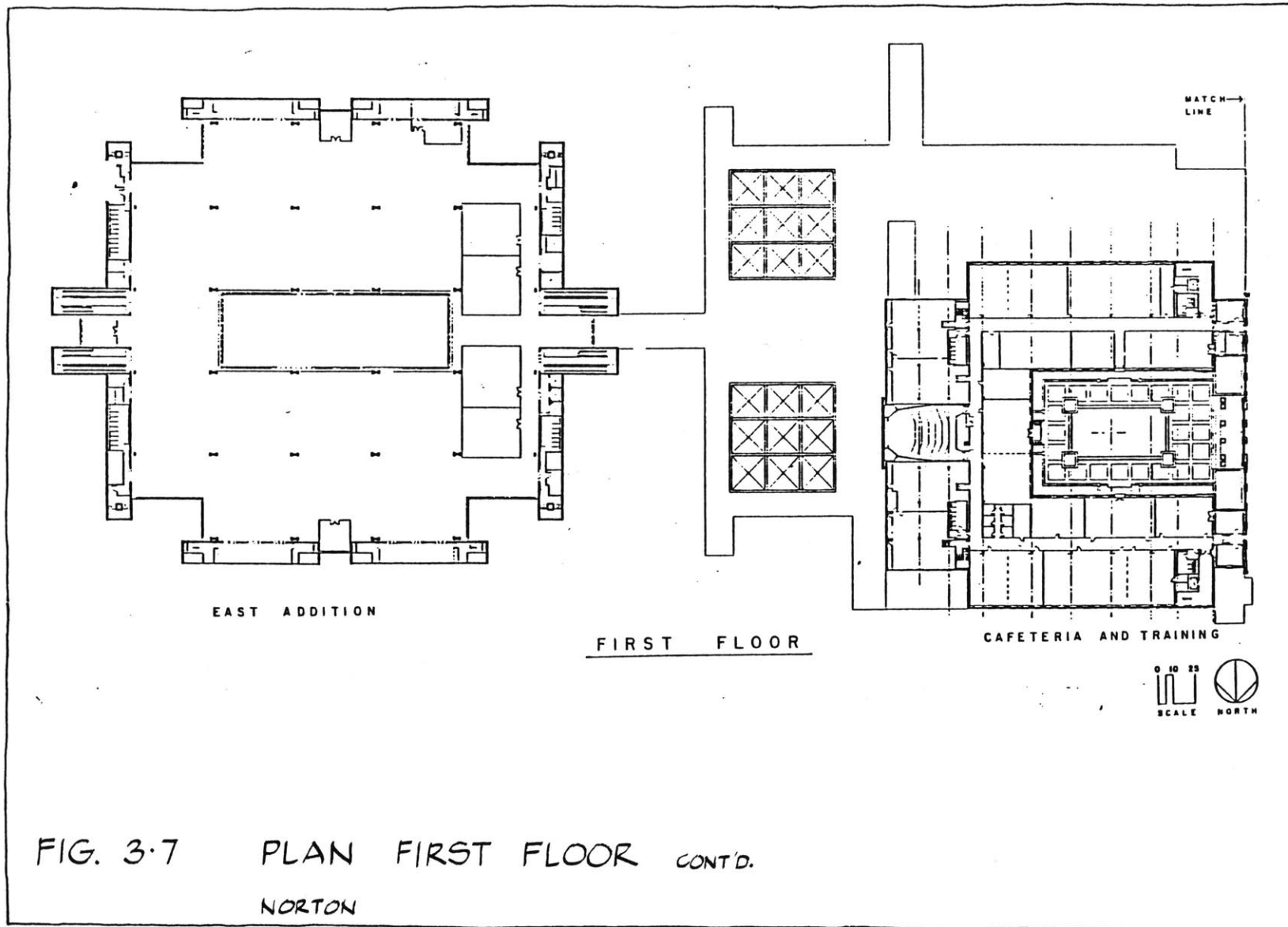


FIG. 3.7 PLAN FIRST FLOOR CONT'D.  
NORTON

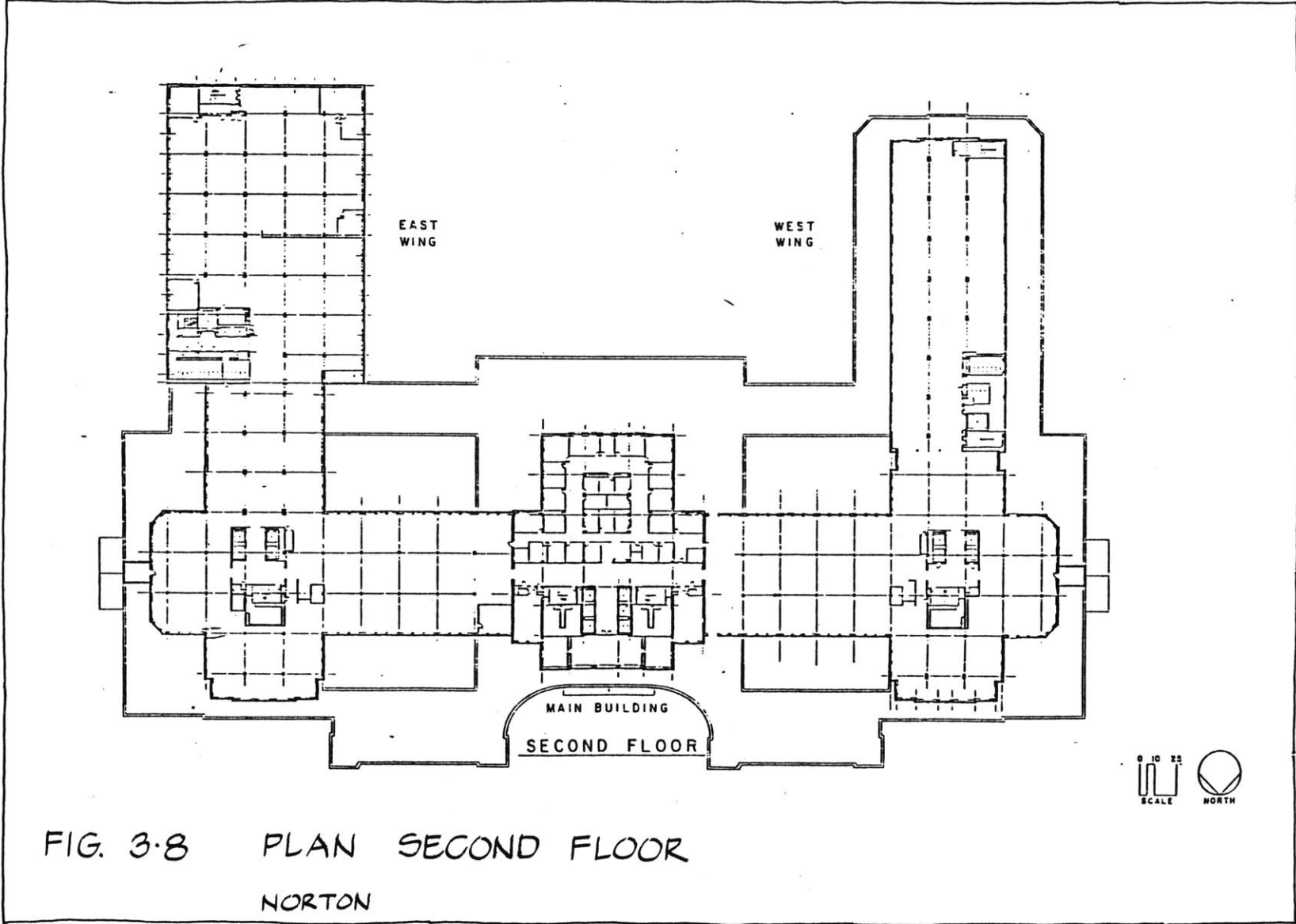


FIG. 3-8 PLAN SECOND FLOOR  
NORTON

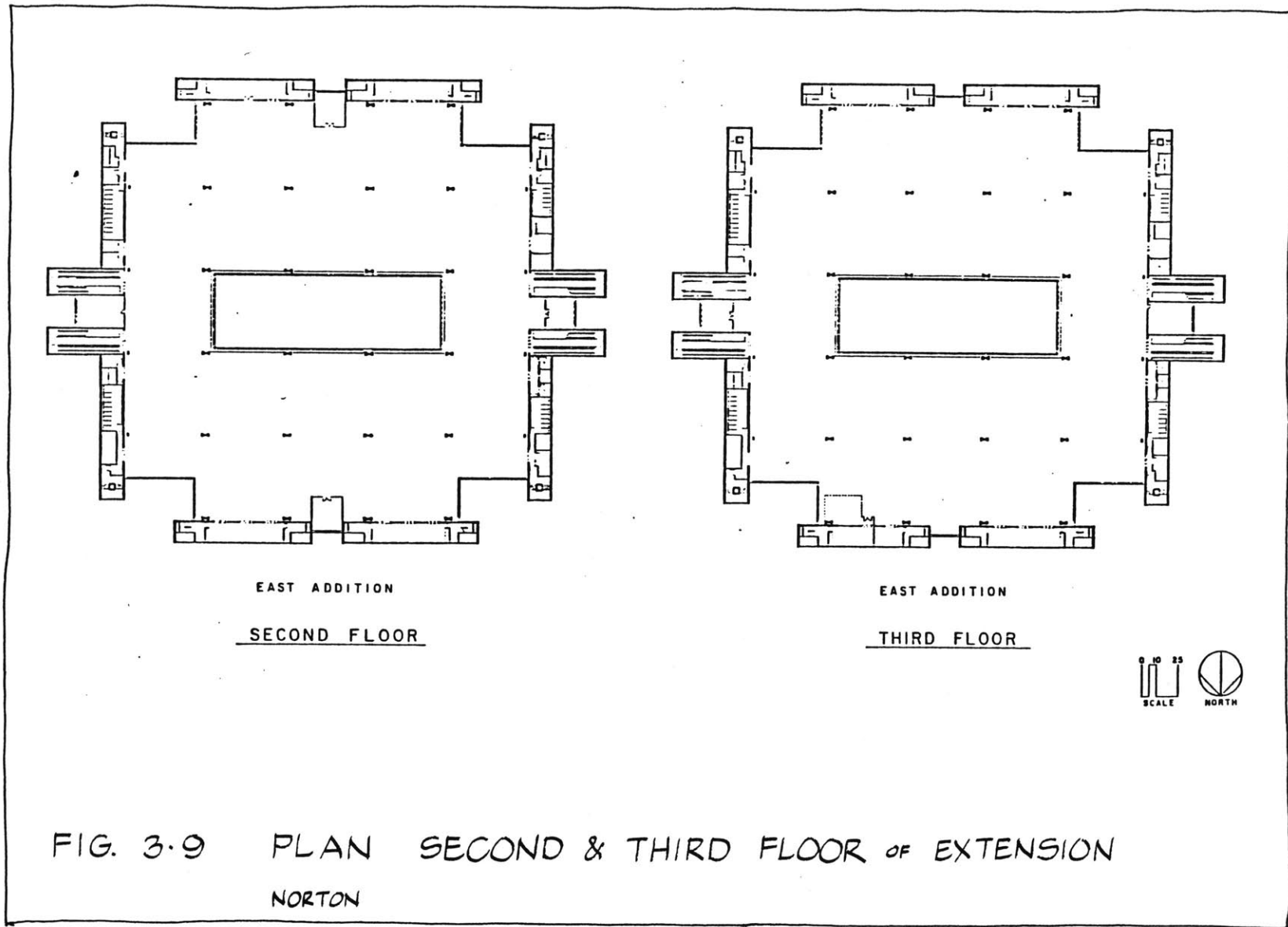


FIG. 3.9 PLAN SECOND & THIRD FLOOR OF EXTENSION  
NORTON



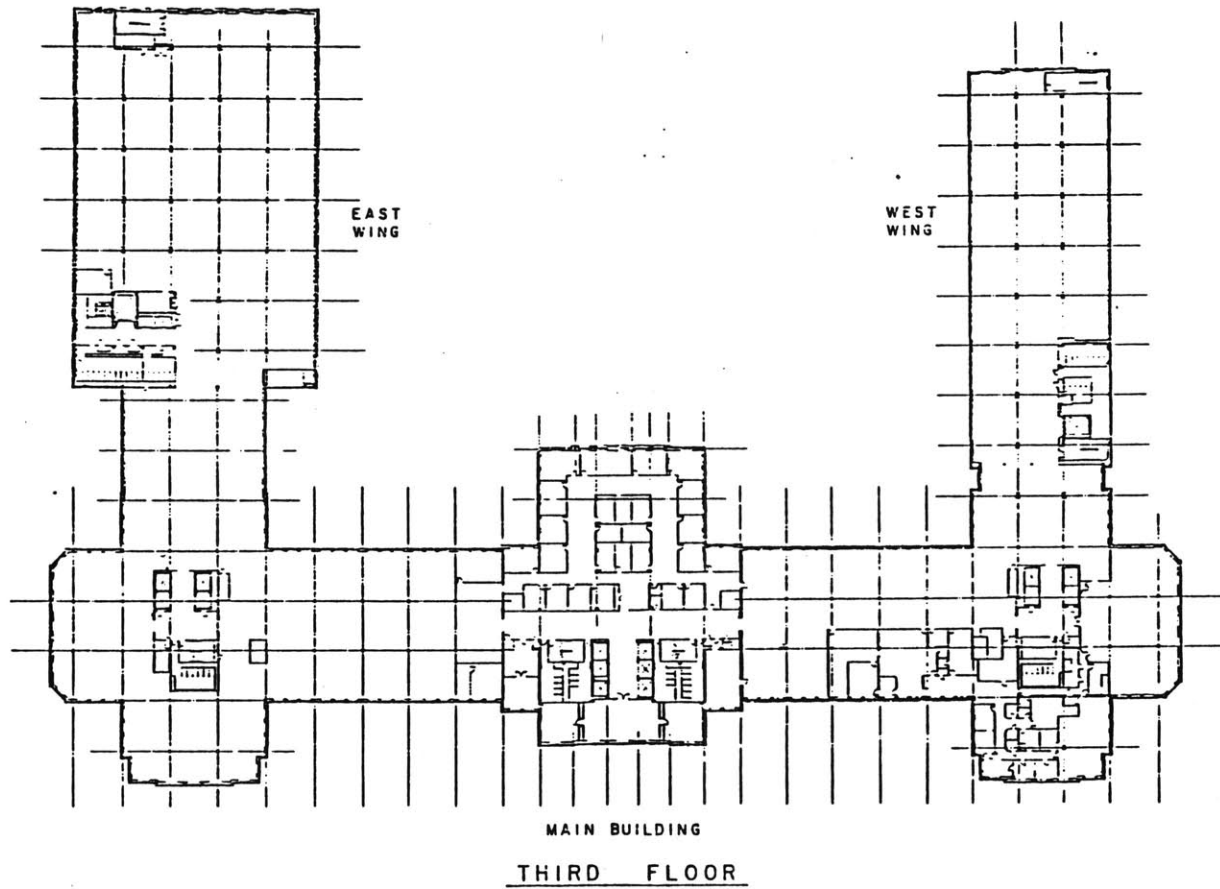


FIG. 3.10 PLAN THIRD FLOOR OF MAIN BUILDING  
NORTON

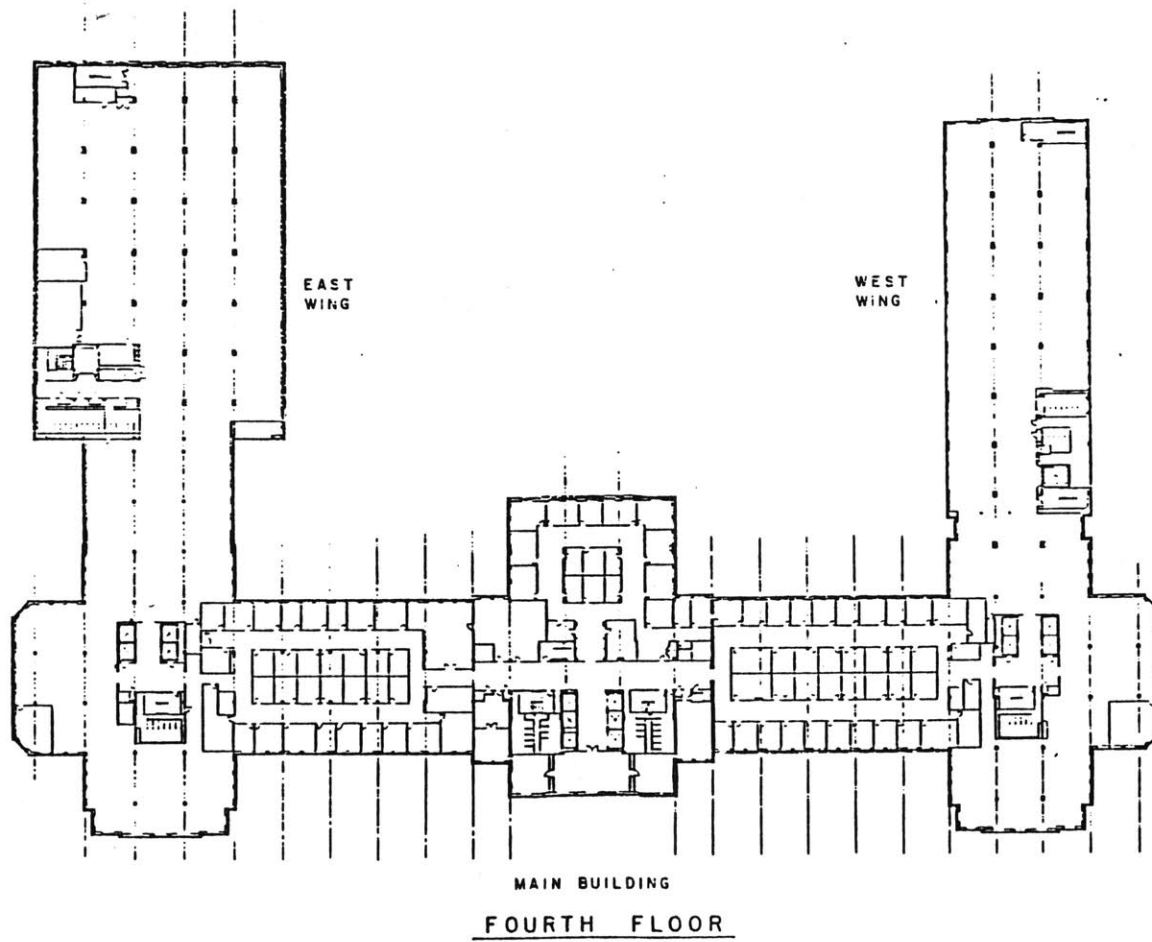
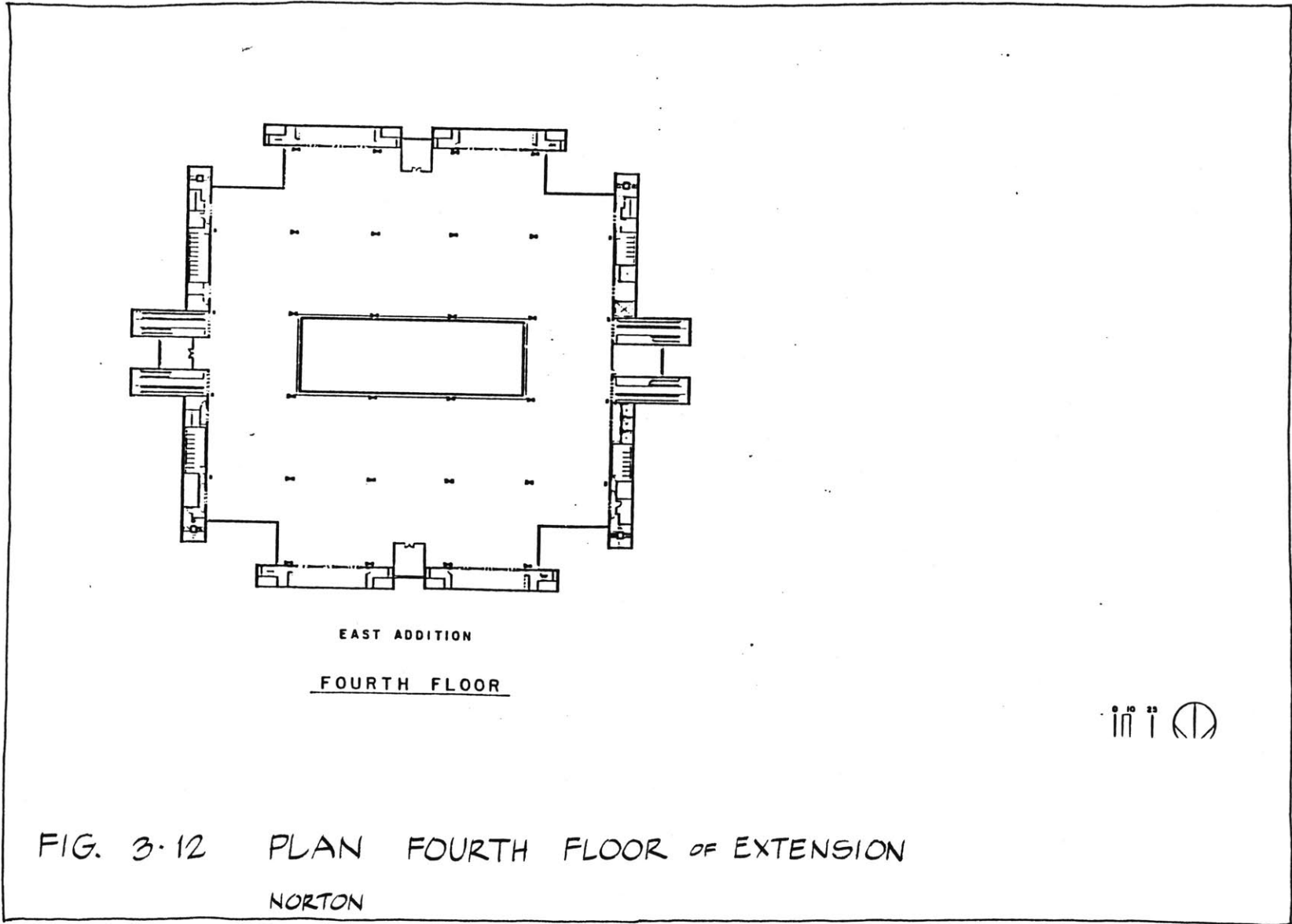
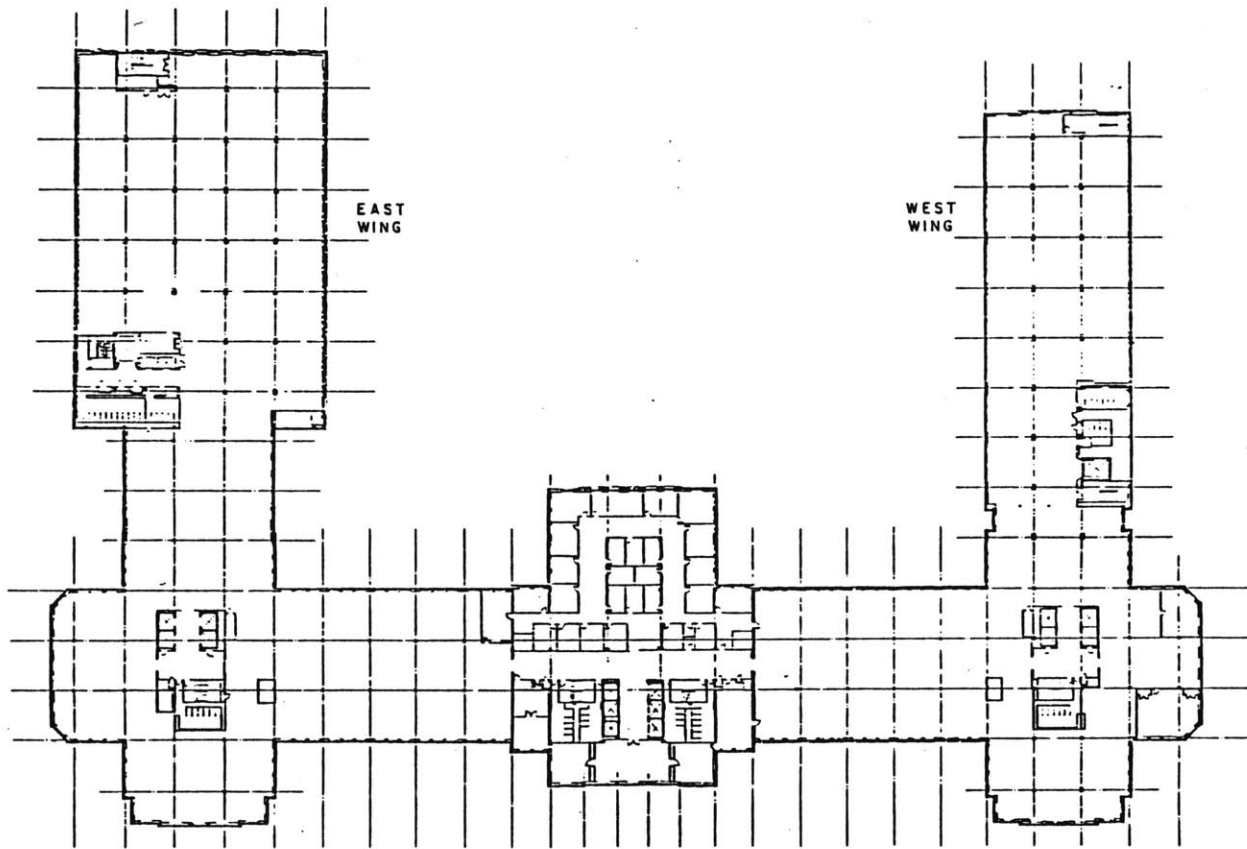


FIG. 3.11 PLAN FOURTH FLOOR OF MAIN BUILDING  
NORTON





MAIN BUILDING  
FIFTH FLOOR



FIG. 3-13 PLAN FIFTH FLOOR OF MAIN BUILDING  
NORTON

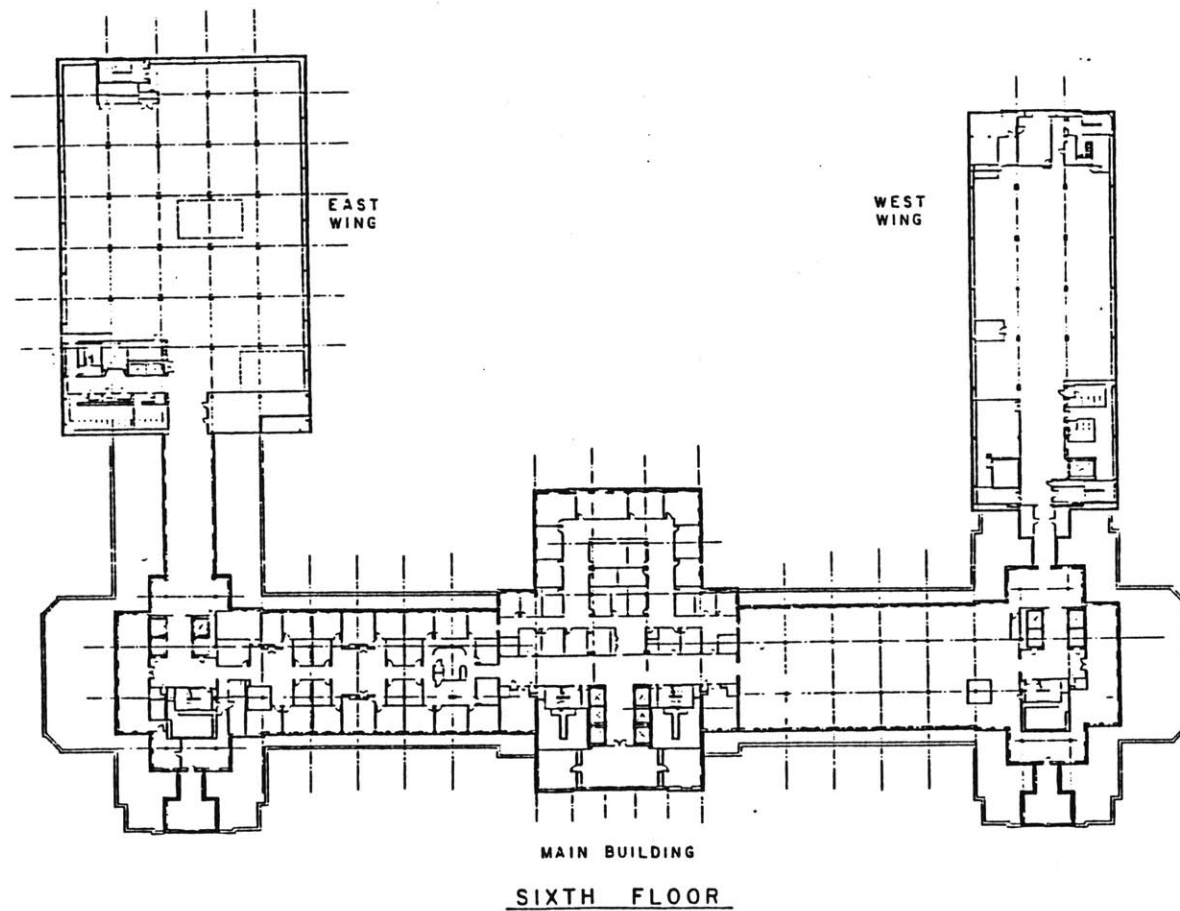


FIG. 3.14 PLAN SIXTH FLOOR OF MAIN BUILDING  
NORTON

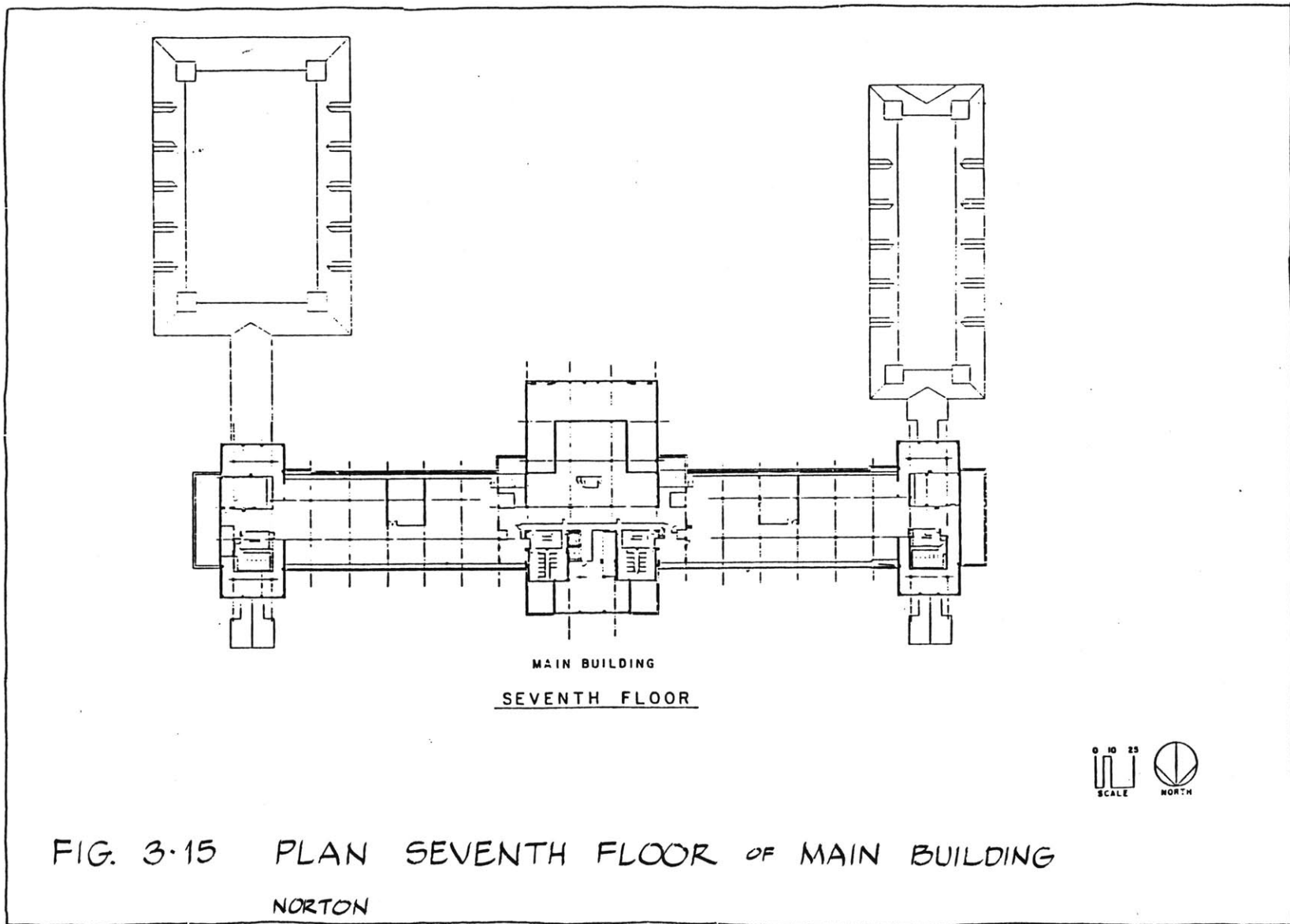


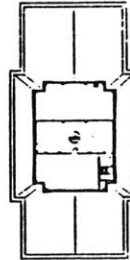
FIG. 3-15 PLAN SEVENTH FLOOR OF MAIN BUILDING  
NORTON



8th FLOOR



9th FLOOR



10th FLOOR



13th FLOOR



12th FLOOR



11th FLOOR



FIG. 3-10 PLAN EIGHTH, NINTH FLOORS OF MAIN BUILDING  
NORTON

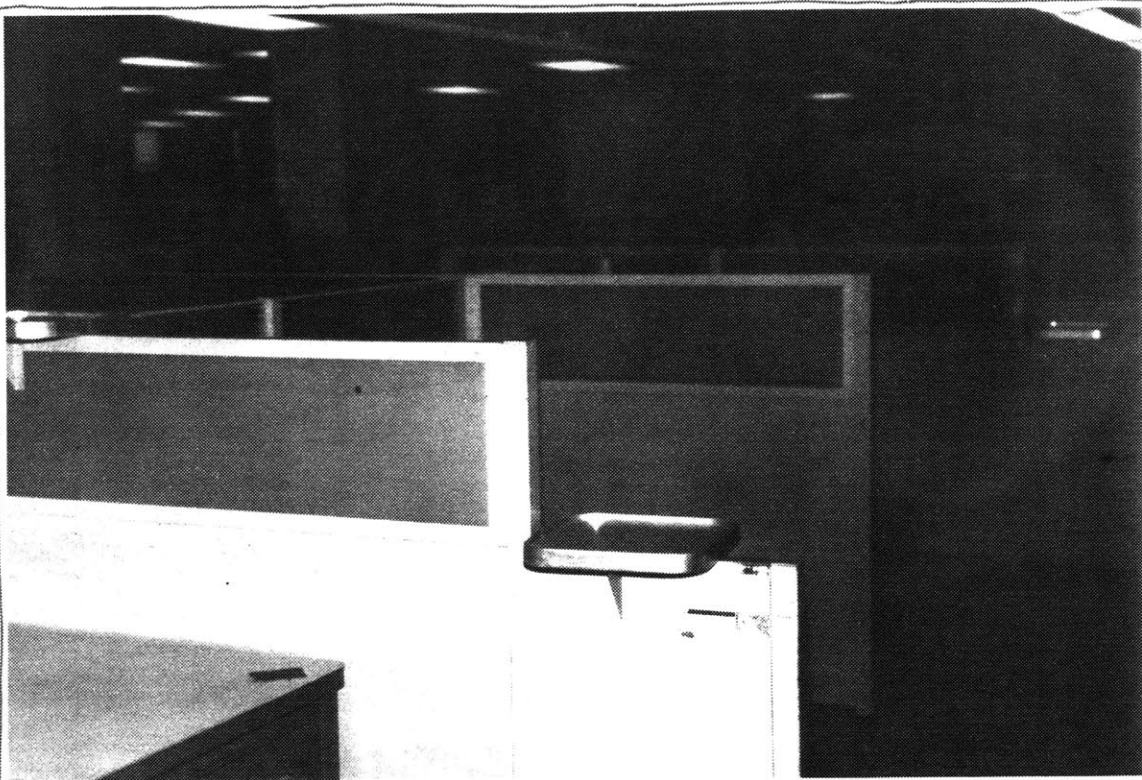


FIG. 3-17 OLD PARTITIONS & FURNITURE

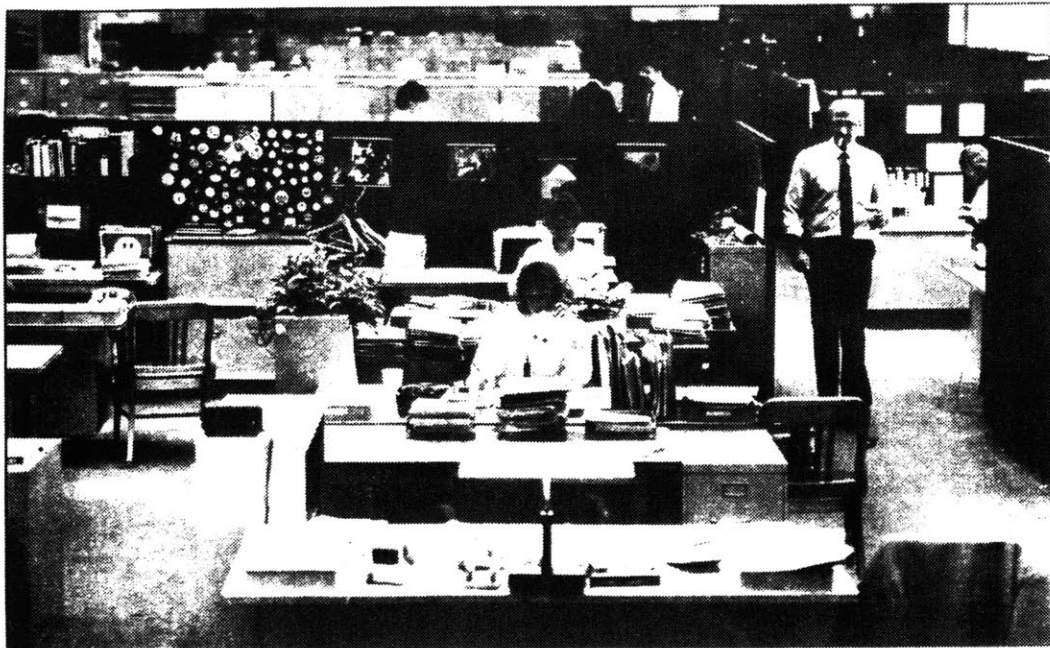


FIG. 3-18 OLD INTERIOR FURNISHINGS





FIG. 3-19 INTERIOR FURNITURE & FURNISHINGS c. 1955. NOTE: ARRANGEMENT OF DESKS  
SOURCE: COMPANY ARCHIVES, NORTON.

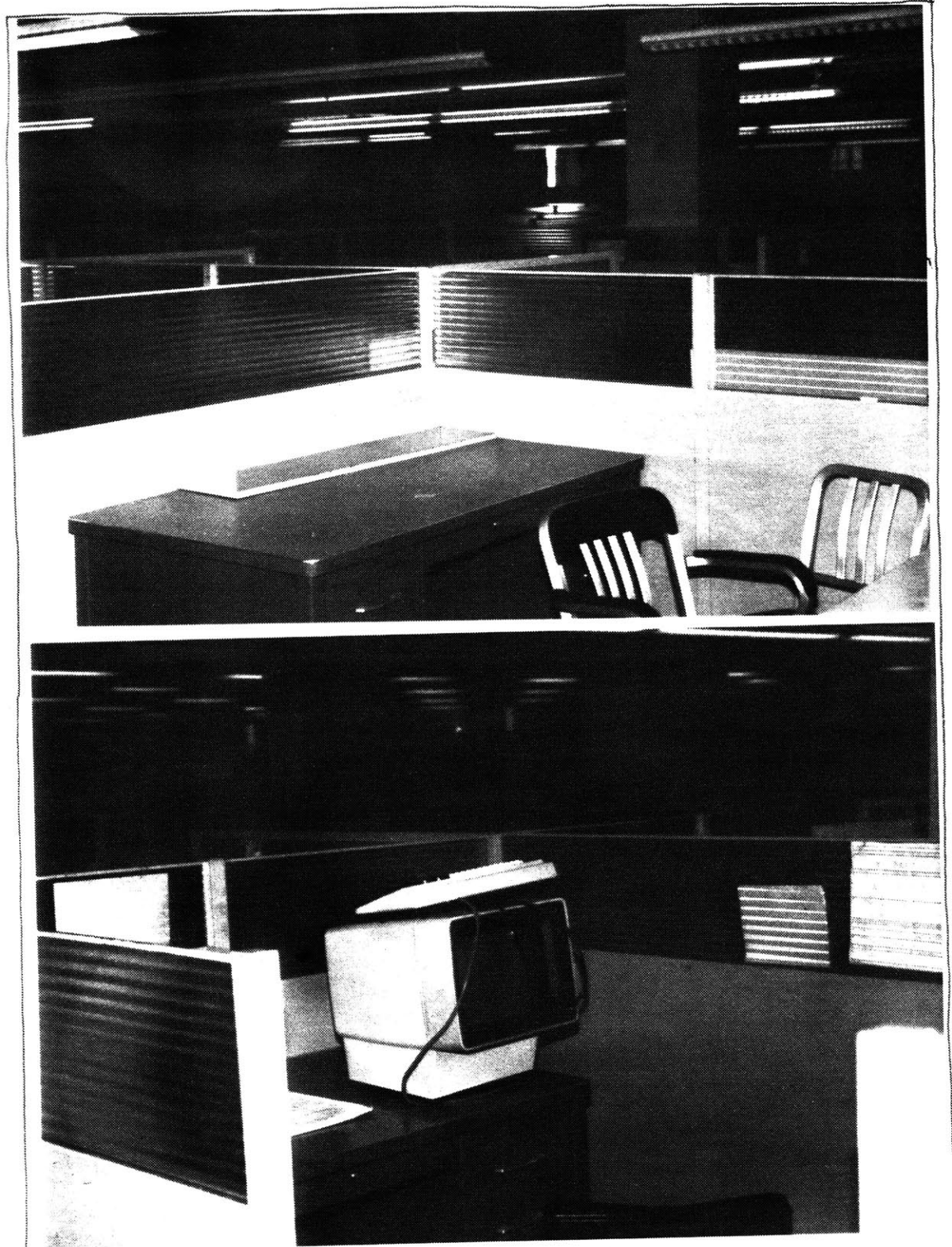


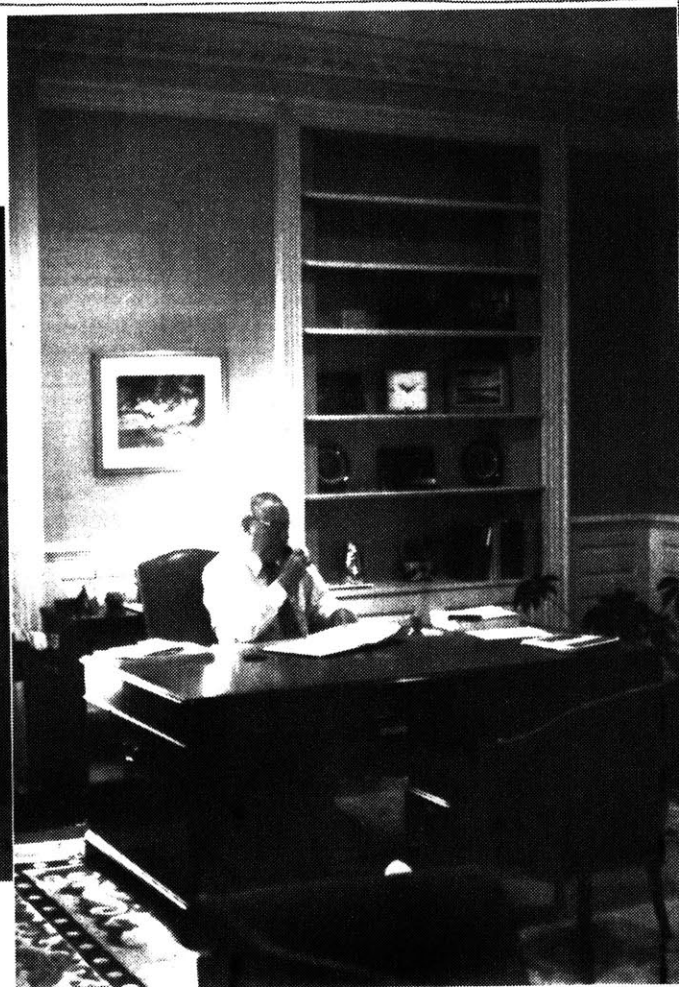
FIG. 3-20 & 3-21 INTERIOR FURNITURE - OLD



FIG. 3-22 PRESIDENT'S OFFICE : NORTON PRE-1950'S  
SOURCE: COMPANY ARCHIVES, NORTON



NOTE: WINDOW, WOOD FLOOR, PLANT, TABLE LAMP, DISPLAY



NOTE: RUG, FURNITURE, CEILING MOLDING.

FIG. 3-23 PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

NORTON

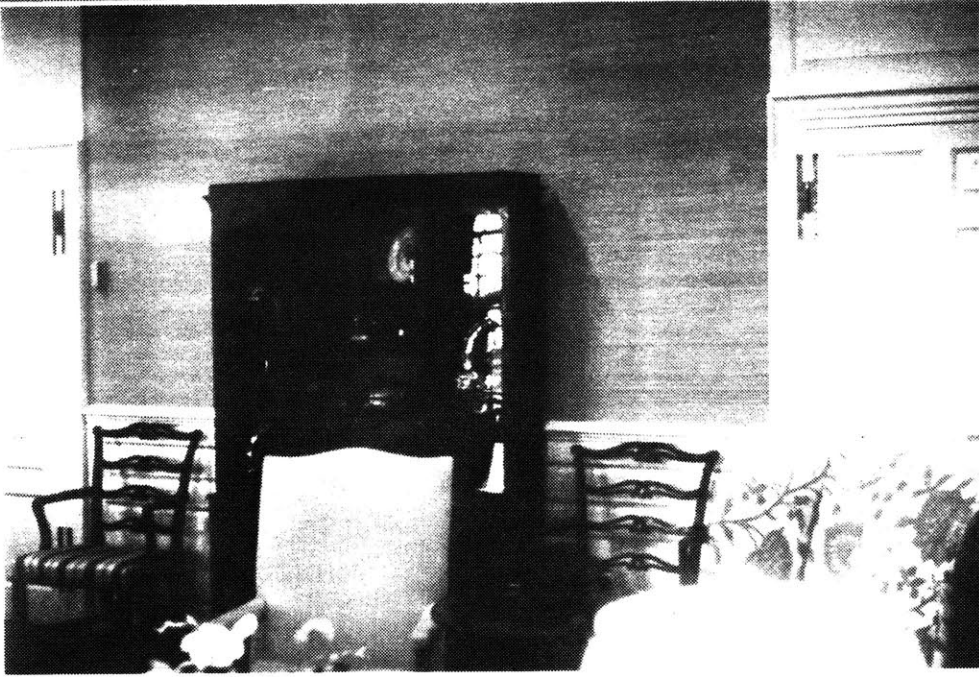


FIG. 3-24 PRESIDENT'S OFFICE  
NORTON.



FIG. 3-25 PRESIDENT'S OFFICE  
NORTON



FIG. 3-26 PRESIDENT'S OFFICE SEATING AREA



NOTE: RUG. LIGHTS. GAURD. CHAIRS, FRESH FLOWERS

FIG. 3-27 LOBBY EIGHTH FLOOR



FIG. 3-28 LONG CORRIDOR "LIKE GRAND CENTRAL STATION" DURING LUNCH HOUR.



FIG. 3.29 CORPORATE HEADOFFICE

ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURE REFLECTING SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

CONFERENCE ROOM  
SEATING PREFERENCES  
ARE INDICATED BY  
NUMBERS. 1 BEING THE  
HIGHEST OR MOST PREFERRED  
AND TAKEN BY HIGHEST STATUS  
PERSON. (SEE P. 148) (SEYMOUR: 1988).

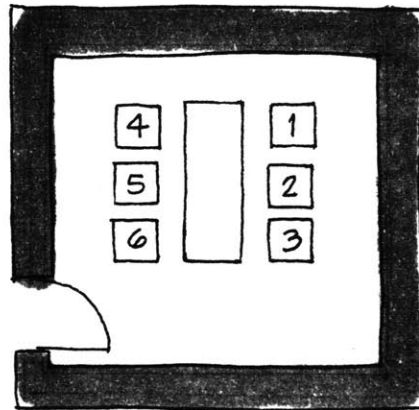


FIG. 3.30 PREFERRED CONFERENCE SEATING



CHAPTER IV

NORMATIVE ENVIRONMENTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL NORMS

Between the physical environment and empirically observed human behavior, there exists a social system and a set of cultural norms which define and evaluate portions of the physical environment relevant to the lives of people involved and structure the way people will use (and react to) this environment in their daily lives.

(Gans: 1968:5)

What we have to seek in the study of a system are the norms. From members of the society we can obtain statements as to how two persons in a certain relationship ought to behave towards one another, a sufficient number of such statements will enable us to define the ideal expected conduct.

Actual observations of the (ways) persons do behave will enable us to discover the extent to which they conform to the rules and the kinds and amount of deviant behavior. (Silverman, G. in Kimball & Watson:1972:224)

The organizational headoffices we see have usually involved numerous decisions and choices. There were choices regarding physical environmental elements and artifacts, particularly with

regard to their appearance, appropriateness, quality, quantity and nature. There were also choices regarding how the physical environment was to be arranged and how a member was to behave in it. In this chapter, I wish to explore the ways in which culture mediated these choices through programmatic instructions, norms, rules and conventions. I wish to look at the choices and behavior that were expected and those that were clearly disallowed, those that were considered appropriate and those considered inappropriate. This would give us a sense of the ways in which the culture affected the physical environment and behavior in it. Further, I would also like to explore some of the ways in which the nature of the environment itself affected norms and their development, and how norms compensated for physical environmental problems and inadequacies.

ENVIRONMENTAL NORMS: SOCIAL NORMS REGARDING THE PHYSICAL  
ENVIRONMENT

In Chapter 3, I described the structuring of the physical environment. The physical environments of all the members were not all equal or equivalent but included a lot of variations and differences. These differences and distinctions in the physical structure were important and meaningful to members, and were therefore maintained, rather than abolished or changed. In this section I would like to explore how these were maintained. What guided members into following these relationships and what prevented

members from breaking this structural relationship and obtaining physical environments that would not fit into the scheme described.

Specifically, I would like to examine the ways in which organizational culture mediates these relationships through rules, norms and conventions. In doing so I would like to look at how choices are constrained and limited. The environmental norms I shall describe are Appearance, Maintenance and Upkeep Norms, Allocational Norms, and Appropriateness Norms.

#### APPEARANCE, MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP NORMS

Here I would like to examine the nature of the appearance and upkeep of the physical environment to see what governed these aspects of the physical environment. First let us look at the appearance of the main lobby.

##### Appearance: The Entrance Lobby

As I described earlier, the headoffice building of Norton was a grand building when constructed in 1930, and still is, and so was the main lobby. From the outside, like the Taj, the entrance is climaxed and highlighted by a deep set back from the street, a wide paved promenade lined with trees, stepping up to the great white columns and inset entrance. A tower with a dome helps draw attention to it. Inside a large T-shaped hall forms the entrance

lobby. There were large chandeliers hanging from a sculptured plastered ceiling with decorative mouldings. The walls had pictures in sculpted wide wood frames, and marble wainscoting. The floor was of marble. There was period furniture in the seating area. There were six elevator doors all in sculpted brass. In the 1930's when the building was constructed it was felt that this was an appropriate lobby for this organization. Clearly there was a display of exuberance and a show of wealth -- this company was doing well financially. Energy was expended in keeping the brass polished and the place clean.<sup>1</sup>

Changes occurred, however. That which was considered appropriate was no longer appropriate, and was even considered inappropriate, to be covered up, and changed. Sometime in the late 1950's and 1960's the organization considered this kind of appearance and decor inappropriate.<sup>2</sup> The appearance and decor of the lobby was thought to be too opulent, and too decorative. It was felt that the organization could present a more streamlined look, one which would be considered modern and in keeping with the times. The organization invested time and money in having a plain suspended ceiling put in, removed the chandeliers, covered the molded-plaster-decorated walls with plain gypsum plaster board, covered the decorative elevator doors so they had a plain effect, covered the marble floor with wall-to-wall carpet. The redone lobby was thought to be "streamlined" and was supposed to be "modern" in

keeping with general architectural tastes in society at large during that period, and more acceptable to the public.<sup>3</sup>

By 1986 changes had occurred again. The covering material that was put up in the 1950's - 1960's was removed. This included removal of the suspended ceiling, the coverings and walls and elevator doors, and removal of the carpet. The chandeliers were reinstalled, and the marble floor and elevator doors were polished. The ceiling of the lobby was painted in two colors which by contrast offset and emphasized the decorative plaster molding from the plain surfaces. In art-deco style they highlighted much of the earlier decorations. Thus they tried to restore the lobby to its original condition, while adding a few touches of their own.

Reactions of members were largely ones of pride. Zachary Eaton, the President, said excitedly:

OM: Interestingly, those beautiful elevator doors, you know, have been covered for some time. And we had carpet on the front entry way. Somebody had the good wisdom not to throw those chandeliers away when we replaced them but to preserve them. The excitement around this building of how beautiful those doors are now is very symbolic it seems to me. You just, you can't go any place and kind of mention the front without people saying how lovely it is.

R: And there is a message in it too?

OM: There's a message there. We've kind of come back to where it was. We went through all the phases of cruddying up this building with modern partitions and efficient kinds of things. And all of a sudden now that the entry lobby is restored to its

original beauty. Its like rebirth! We're very excited about it.

(G.5a:0900-1000/W24DEC86/N/ZE/1/1:6-7)

And another informed me:

OM: Do you know that there was this elaborately decorative wonderful lobby discovered when we removed the carpet, the gypsum board covering and the false (suspended) ceiling. Thank God, someone had the sense to store the chandeliers somewhere in the basement. Now we have restored the lobby more-or-less to its original condition, and it looks great.

Restoration and refurbishing seemed to be the preference of the 1980's, and things that were being covered up in the 1960's were being not only exposed but proudly displayed in the 1980's. The starkness of the international style of architecture had been replaced by post-modernism and art-deco architecture, wherein it was acceptable to opt for more elaborately detailed carvings and decor, pastel colors, and made it more acceptable to have offices in pastel mauve, pink, red, blue instead of the institutional white and gray.

The appearance of the physical environment and its parts were thus affected by what (at least some) organizational members thought were appropriate. These, as we have seen, have changed over time. In the case of the Norton entrance lobby built in 1930 changes occurred in the 1960's and late 1980's. If another similar change were to occur around 2020 that would indicate the beginnings of a temporal pattern of change every 30 years or so. The organization, a profit driven entity, considered it defensible and acceptable to expend money and time to have the lobby designed and built in that

manner, and later to have it covered up, and then again to have it refurbished. In fact at this latest change many organizational members were glad that someone had the sense to carefully store the chandeliers and did not dispose of them. The paramount driving factor behind these changes was not wear, lack of functioning, or change in needs but the notion of appropriate physical environment for the organization, its members, and its public.

#### Maintenance and Upkeep

When the building was constructed in 1930's the intent was to maintain the premises in a clean and orderly manner. One way this was done was through the selection of architectural designs and materials that were easy to clean. Most of the surfaces were easy-to-clean hard surfaces. The lobby floor was of marble. Office areas had hard resilient tile flooring. Skirting, dado and wainscoting was of marble or terrazzo.

A second way was to have furniture arranged in neat rows -- a condition that existed in field offices until very recently. Uriel C. Picasso said:

If you could have seen some of our field offices even five years ago, you would have thought that somebody had taken you back to the 1920's and placed you in a 1920's environment where they had all the chairs and all the desks lined up in rows. And the supervisor sat behind all the people so he or she could watch them and make sure they weren't doing anything funny. And all that existed.....  
(A-3: 1030-1200/M08DEC86/N/UCP/1/1:14)

In the 1930's and through the 1960's not only did desks have to be laid out in perfect orthogonal rows but chairs -- a more moveable piece of furniture -- had to be lined up as well.<sup>4</sup> These desks were laid out with five to six feet distance separating each row. There was no sense of crowdedness and there was ample space to walk and clean around.

A third way was to disallow things that were likely to contribute to maintenance and upkeep problems. George Vance recalled:

There were no vending machines in the building at that time, no coffee available during the day, or other beverages. And they were very strict about maintaining a fairly spartan decor. You couldn't put a picture up on the wall. First of all, we had none of these nice little walls to work with, but they were very tough about keeping the work place looking very sterile.

(A-5:0300-0500/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2:17)

A fourth way to help maintain the premises clean was through normative behavioral efforts. As explained by George Vance above, members were not allowed to put up pictures on the wall. They were also not allowed to have beverages, such as coffee, at their desks. Members were required to clean up their desks every evening.<sup>5</sup>

It was felt that these measures, along with the requirement to clean up one's desk at the end of the work day imparted a quality of neatness and cleanliness to the environment. The organization considered it important, at that time, that the workplace be kept



very clean and even spartan and sterile. These conditions continued into the sixties (and in a few instance into the seventies) as Uriel explained.

These notions about the appearance and upkeep of the physical environment changed, and were quite different in the 1970's. The five to six feet distance separating each row was encroached on in the 1970's and desks were butted up against each other with a passage on either side of the five. The office halls seemed much more dense and crowded.<sup>6</sup> Along with these changes in the physical environment norms of appropriate appearance for the physical environment also changed. It was no longer considered inappropriate to put up stickers, posters and other objects and thus modify its appearance. Helen Vaughn described a situation:

I was at the end of one of the rows, and it was during the McGovern campaign, so I had a McGovern bumper sticker on the back of my chair.  
(B-6 1000-1100/T16DEC86/N/HV/1/1:17)

Times had changed from the time that people had to clean up their desks every evening, to a time when a person considered it all right to affect the appearance of the physical environment by pasting an election bumper sticker on the back of her chair! But Helen Vaughn's account reveals more. Not only were they willing to thus "pollute" the environment they could be defiant about it without any major repercussions because people did not care as much about maintaining the environment clean, as they had in the earlier era.

OM: And the men who were visiting the vice president had to go to the men's room--the men's room was right behind me. So after the election was over, I

kept that (sticker) on for a few -- (months), because I felt it was over, it was terrible, and I was going to take it down, you know, until I heard third hand that the vice president was really embarrassed by it and wanted it to come down. So I refused to take it off. Like, I'm going to show him and I kept it on, in fact, until I left the following February... that was strange. But for the most part, I mean, they put up with that with fairly decent humor, you know.  
(B-6:1000-1100/T16DEC86/N/HV/1/1:17)

During the 1970's, in contrast to the 1960's, food and drink vending machines were installed in various locations in the building. A person would come by with a 'coffee cart' so that members could purchase breakfast foods, such as donuts, muffins, coffee and tea without having to walk long distances to the cafeteria or go outside to outside vendors, and take this food back to their desks and have it there. Certainly there was spillage and consequent marks, as the tell-tale stains on the carpet indicated. But that clearly was not the major concern; work and convenience were.

Maintenance of the building in the 1970's was not of the same order as before as George Vance described.

And in more recent years the maintenance on the building has gone down considerably, so that if you look over your right shoulder you see paint peeling off the wall up here, and nobody seems to worry much about that.  
(A-5:0300-0500/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2:17)

While the peeling paint, as George complains, was not being repaired, how the paint came to be peeling is also illuminating. To continue with George Vance's account:

OM: Because they are in the process of renovating the building anyway, I guess they will get to it (the peeling off paint) sooner or later.

R: That's from banging your head against the wall?

OM: That was from using tape to stick up some posters and then taking them down. That's what that was. But, they used to be very careful about it. But I don't know whether that's what the dynamics of that are, why --, or all of the reasons why. But its clear to any of us who were here twenty years ago, the building has been brutalized a good bit. (Of course, I don't look as good as I did twenty years ago either.)

(A-5:0300-0500/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2:17)

While pictures were not allowed in the earlier period, they obviously were allowed during this time period (1970's) George is talking about.

Through the 1970's up into the 1980's, maintenance and upkeep of the same building were not considered high priority. Conditions in the building were allowed to deteriorate. The carpet had worn out and had holes in many places where carpet had been installed. The furniture was old and not very conducive for the introduction of computers. Wall paint was peeling off in many areas. There were leaks in the roof, due to lack of maintenance of that era. Mervin Drake expressed similar sentiments.

The tendency is short term perspective, you know, the one year budget cycle. If you can't justify the expense within the constraint of a one year budget it tends not to get done. If the project doesn't immediately provide benefit it's very often pushed off. You can see this yourself in terms of building refurbishment. I mean we had to wait until the facade was literally falling off (the main building) before we did what was obviously necessary for ten years. I mean we're building new buildings all around the place. It was clear that our use and configuration, quality of space and so forth in the home office was horrible. They didn't do anything about it for a long time. So I think as a corporation somewhere in the middle seventies we lost that aggressive approach.

(A-2a:0800-1030/M08DEC86/N/MD/1/1:7)

In 1985 these conditions, which had been allowed to continue right through the 1970's, were found to be deplorable, and a renovation project was begun to change these conditions. As part of this renovation project, the lobby was restored to its original conditions. Once again the organization had made the decision to invest a major sum of money (\$159 million) to renovate the building and bear with the problems of dust, noise and disruption<sup>7</sup> for nearly five years of construction, to bring the building up to current notions of what the building ought to be like and what was appropriate. There were normative underpinnings to these actions, as I have described.

To sum up then, in the 1960's a good deal of attention was devoted to the building and maintaining of an attractive front. This was done not only through a careful selection of building materials but also with the assistance of norms and rules, strictly enforced, regarding member's interactions with the building. These

produced a constrained and somewhat restricted life for members. In the 1970's less attention was paid to the building and to carefully sculpting a front, or to the development of a particular look. For the members this entailed fewer constraints and more freedom, as evidenced by the convenience of having coffee and donuts at the desk, conveniently and closely located vending machines, freedom to put pictures up on the wall, and bumper stickers on back of chairs.

While carefully crafted looks and freedom for individual members to influence their immediate physical surroundings need not necessarily be related in the ways described above, they often were<sup>8</sup>. Many have advocated a great deal more freedom (Sommer:1969) or participation (Lynch, K:1981). Others, on the other hand, fear that this kind of freedom will affect the looks and appearance of the physical environment and the presentation of a carefully sculpted front<sup>9</sup>. Thus, the physical environment in this sense becomes somewhat of a paradox<sup>10</sup>.

This paradox seems to be hounding the 1985 renovations. A newly designed, carefully color coordinated neat environment was being installed. There was a good deal of interest on the part of the custodians of the norms, the Physical Environment Managers, that this pristine quality of the environment be preserved for at least some time, and an attempt was made to carefully manage the impression given by the physical environment of the renovated areas. On the one hand the design itself was done consciously to

accommodate several of the usual marks that come from use. Fabric panels on partitions were selected to be easily interchangeable, as were carpet tiles<sup>11</sup> on the floor. The work or table top surface could be easily cleaned and was not likely to harbor stains. These efforts at the planning stages allowed for careful selection of materials and designs and focused attention on easily dealing with the consequences of average use of the environment and its elements rather than on controlling behavior. On the other hand there was some effort to control behavioral freedom, if not to delay its effects and markings on the environment. For example, requests for blinds and curtains on fully glazed walls of interior offices was initially denied, and later postponed for a period of six months, when the situation was to be studied<sup>12</sup>. But there was not a slide back to the older days of severe behavioral restrictions, as described earlier. And so while the paradox still continued in some ways, the new renovation had taken advantage of best<sup>13</sup> of both the old and the new.

#### ALLOCATIONAL NORMS AND CODIFIED STANDARDS.

In Chapter 3, I described the physical structure and how it was related to the social structure. Differences and distinctions in physical structures or environments were to be meaningful to members, it appeared. And such differences and distinctions were maintained for this reason. One way they were maintained was through norms, rules and conventions. In this section, I would like

to present a codified version of such norms, rules and conventions to see how the norms worked.

For the 1985 renovations<sup>14</sup> allocation of space and physical environmental elements was codified and written down. The written documentation allows us to examine more closely the normative stance taken,<sup>15</sup> in a modern and very recent document.

Certainly, rethinking the norms for allocation of space and physical environmental elements in 1985 presented the opportunity for thinking afresh and for change. Attempts were made to systematize the allocation system. And, the reports on renovations claimed, the new system would be based on functional needs of members in performing their jobs or tasks, and not on considerations extraneous to that aim. Several fairly sophisticated in-house studies<sup>16</sup> were conducted, and opinions sought from well known consultants. Examination of the codified standards will provide some sense of the extent these new standards were affected by these considerations and the extent they were affected by normative ideas. Analysis of the new standards reveals that in the standards the distinction between officers and non-officers was made primary. Further, they reveal the following.

In this new scheme, a Divisional Vice President was to receive a corner office of 400 sq.ft. area, which would carry a rental cost (at \$30/sq.ft./year) of \$12,000. Three furniture styles--

ITEM	OPTION
#	400 sq. ft.
1	Desk
2	Desk Chair
3	Side Chairs (2)
4	Credenza
5	Book Case
6	Computer Terminal Stand
7	Meeting Table 48" Dia.
8	Meeting Chairs (4)
9	Coffee Table
10	Corner Table
11	Club Chair
12	3-Seat Sofa

FIGURE 4.1: PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS FOR VICE PRESIDENTS.



traditional, transitional and modern--in a range of colors and fabrics were made available to him or her to select from. Their furniture was to be of wood. The budgeted amount for furniture was an average of \$34,400 in 1987. The kinds and amounts of furniture vice presidents were to receive are listed in the Figure 4.1. They had a choice as to layout of this furniture in the 400 sq.ft. of space in the enclosed office. Corner office entailed windows directly to the outside and buffering of entry by the location of a secretary close to the entrance to the office.

An Assistant Vice President was to receive wood furniture of the modular component kind. The upholstery of the chairs was to be in fabric of colors matching with the carpet colors used overall. There were two desk layouts possible and four possible combinations of options. These are explained in Figure 4.2, which also lists the kinds and numbers of furniture they were to receive. AVP offices were to be located in the central bay of the large office hall, which would in effect divide the hall into two parts. Three of the walls of the enclosed office were to be solid floor-to-ceiling opaque walls, and the fourth was to be fully glazed. The area of the office was to be 225 sq.ft., with a rental cost (at \$30/sq.ft./year) of \$6,750. The furniture budget for 1987 was an average of \$10,675.

Directors and managers were to receive the same physical environments and elements. Their offices were to be 150 sq.ft. in

ITEM	OPTION 1	OPTION 2	OPTION 3	OPTION 4
	225 sq. ft.	225 sq. ft.	225 sq. ft.	225 sq. ft.
1	Desk Table 30"x66"	Desk Table 30"x66"	Desk Double Pedestal 30"x66"	Desk Double Pedestal 30"x66"
2	Desk Chair	Desk Chair	Desk Chair	Desk Chair
3	Side Chairs (2)	Side Chairs (2)	Side Chairs (2)	Side Chairs (2)
4	Credenza 20"x66" 3 File drawers 2 box drawers	Credenza 20"x66" 3 File drawers 2 Box drawers	Credenza 20"x66" 4 File drawers Computer terminal shelf	Credenza 20"x66" 4 File drawers Computer terminal shelf
5	Book case 20"x33" 2 door adjustable shelf	Book case 20"x33" 2 door adjustable shelf	Book case 20"x33" 2 door adjustable shelf	Book case 20"x33" 2 door adjustable shelf
6	Bridge 20"x42" with computer terminal shelf	Bridge 20"x42" with computer terminal shelf		
7	Meeting table 42" (diameter)		Meeting table 42" (diameter)	
8	Meeting Chairs (4)		Meeting Chairs (4)	
9		Coffee table		Coffee Table
10		Corner Table		Corner Table
11		Club chair		Club chair
12		3 Seat sofa		3 Seat sofa

FIGURE 4.2: PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS FOR ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENTS.

	OPTION 1	OPTION 2	OPTION 3	OPTION 4	OPTION 5	
	150 sq. ft.	150 sq. ft.	150 sq. ft.	150 sq. ft.	150 sq. ft.	
1	Desk chair	Desk chair	Desk chair	Desk chair	Desk chair	
2	2 Side chairs	2 Side chairs	2 Side chairs	2 Side chairs	2 Side chairs	
3	20"x66" Credenza with 2 box drawers and 3 file drawers	20"x66" Credenza with 8 file drawers	20"x66" Credenza with 4 file drawers with bookcase with adjustable shelf & 2 doors	20"x66" Credenza with 4 file drawers with computer terminal shelf	20"x66" Credenza with 4 file drawers with computer terminal shelf	
4	20"x42" Bridge with computer terminal shelf	X		20"x33" Bookcase with adjustable shelf & 2 doors	20"x33" Bookcase with adjustable shelf & 2 doors	20"x33" Bookcase with adjustable shelf & 2 doors
5	20"x33" Bookcase with adjustable shelf & 2 doors	20"x33" Bookshelf with adjustable shelf & 2 doors			20"x33" Bookcase with adjustable shelf & 2 doors	20"x33" Bookcase with adjustable shelf & 2 doors
6	30"x66" Table (desk)	30"x66" Table (meeting)	30"x66" Table (meeting)	X	30"x66" Table (meeting)	
7	X	X	20"x33" Credenza with computer terminal shelf	X	X	
8	X	30"x66" Double pedestal desk	30"x66" Double pedestal desk	30"x66" Double pedestal desk	30"x66" Double pedestal desk	

FIGURE 4.3: PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS FOR DIRECTORS AND MANAGERS.

area and located on the interior, similar to those of assistant vice presidents, with three floor-to-ceiling opaque walls and the fourth fully glazed looking out on the working spaces in the hall. They were to receive wood furniture of the modular system kind, and the side chairs were to be upholstered in multicolored fabric which would be compatible with the colors of the carpet. There were five options of combinations of furniture items and layouts to select from. These and the kinds and numbers of furniture are listed in Figure 4.3. The rental cost of offices for directors and managers was (at \$30/sq.ft./year) \$4,500. In 1987, the furniture budget was \$7,053.

All ten technical-level members and all administrative level members who had desk type jobs in office spaces were to receive one standard 'work station'. These were to have part high partitions ranging from 42 inches high partition which would act as space demarcators or dividers, a 53 inches high partition which was to provide some visual privacy while the member was seated at the work station, to a 61 inches high partition which was to provide privacy from standing persons<sup>17</sup>. These part high partitions were either to be coated with sound absorbent fabric, or have glass for visibility or have open panels to enable communication, exchange, and sharing of computer terminals or other things. The part high partitions generally occurred in front, with small extensions on the sides of a person seated at work; part of the sides and the back of a person would be open. The area considered devoted to each person was 58

	OPTION 1	OPTION 2	OPTION 3	OPTION 4	OPTION 5	OPTION 6
	58 sq. ft.	58 sq. ft.	58 sq. ft.	58 sq. ft.	58 sq. ft.	58 sq. ft.
1	Desk 30"x60" pedestal with 2 box drawers 1 file drawer	Desk 30"x60" pedestal with 2 box drawers 1 file drawer	Desk 30"x60" pedestal with 2 box drawers 1 file drawer	Desk 30"x60" pedestal with 2 box drawers 1 file drawer	Desk 30"x60" pedestal with 2 box drawers 1 file drawer	Desk 30"x60" pedestal with 2 box drawers 1 file drawer
2	Desk chair	Desk chair	Desk chair	Desk chair	Desk chair	Desk chair
3	Side chair (1)	Side chair (1)	Side chair (1)	Side chair (1)	Side chair (1)	Side chair (1)
4	Return 25"x70" pedestal with 2 file drawers	Return 25"x70" pedestal with 2 file drawers	Return 25"x70" pedestal with 2 file drawers	Return 25"x70"	Return 25"x70"	Return 25"x70" pedestal with 2 file drawers
5	Shelf 25" half height	Shelf 25" half height	Shelf 25" half height	Shelf 25" half height	Shelf 25" half height	Shelf 25" half height
6				Keyboard under return		
7					Carousel and keyboard shelf	
8						Shelf 45" half height
9			Open panel at return		Open panel at return	
10	Side 61" Front 53"	Side 61" Front 42"	Side 61" OP Front 53"	Side 61" Front 53"	Side 61" OP Front 53"	Side 61" Front 53"

FIGURE 4.4: PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS FOR WORKSTATIONS.

sq.ft. The kinds and items of furniture and furnishings a member at a work station was to receive are listed in Figure 4.4 which also indicates the six options available. The rental (at \$30/sq.ft./year) cost for the space was \$1,740. The average furniture budget for 1987 was \$4,105.

There were two sets of people the standards did not cover. There were no standards, even simply descriptive ones, for members at senior management levels. Also, there were no standards for the lowest level administrative members. This latter group were not to have any fixed space at all, and therefore no space to call their own, and consequently no address.

These new space standards thus reduced the variations in physical environments and physical environmental elements previously associated with different job classes. In that sense some standardization was done with respect to the physical environment.

But it is interesting to see the way in which standardization was done. The major brunt of the standardization was aimed at a large chunk of the eight administrative levels and ten technical levels, all of which were now to be serviced by a basic work station made up of systems furniture. The lowest level administrative members still remain without space, as before.

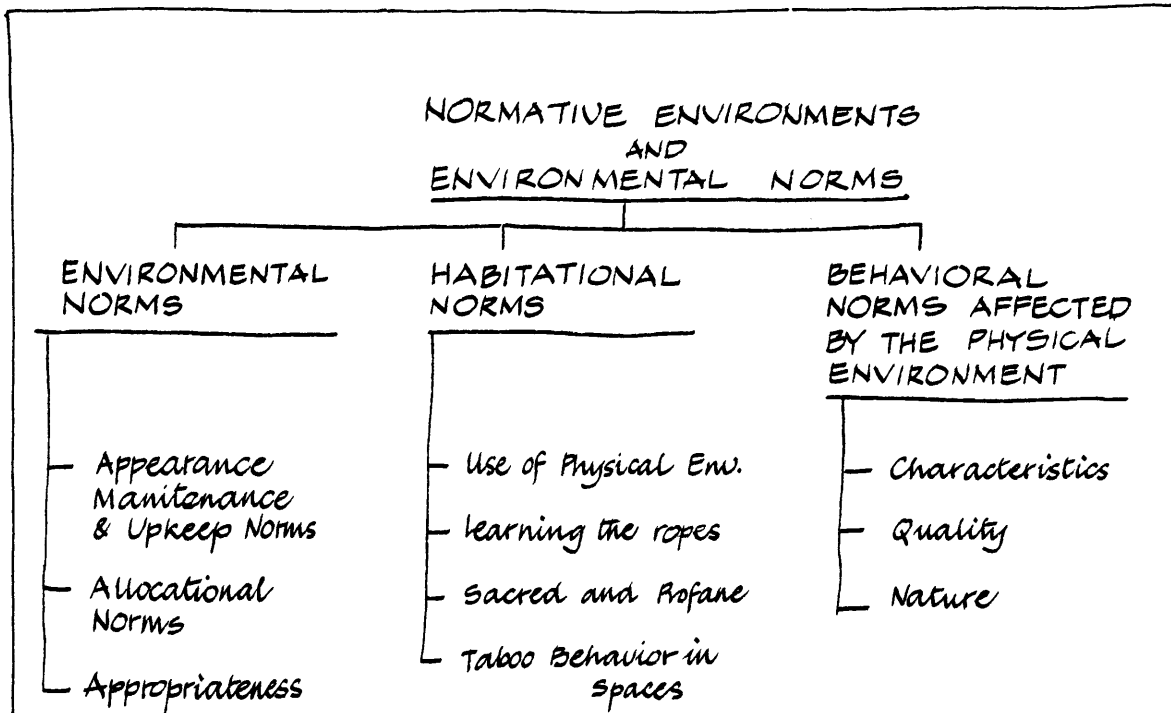


FIG. 4.5 NORMATIVE ENVIRONMENTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL NORMS

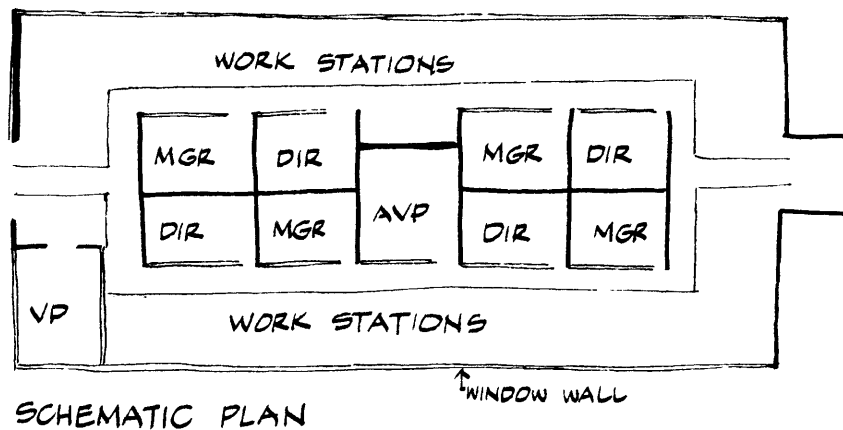


FIG. 4.6 DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE AND SPACE

By the new standards, the workspace for many technical and administrative level people were reduced, and those for officers were increased. The areas of the offices for AVP, directors and managers was increased by 50%. This was done to entice them to accept interior offices (see Fig. 4.6). Work spaces of managers and directors were now to be serviced by one standard. While it appears from the figures that managers and directors have greater freedom of choice because there are more options, in actuality VP's and AVP's have more freedom in layout, quantity, quality, style and color of furniture and furnishing. It was expected that VP's would select their own layout and styles, colors etc. and therefore have more freedom and flexibility than indicated by the single scheme in the figure. Senior officers, not covered in the standards, have maximum freedom to select how their spaces will be done and what will be put in it.

It seems then that the standards have essentially continued much of the normative distinctions, differences and relationships that existed in the past. Norms regarding the physical environment certainly seemed to manifest themselves in the latest standards as well. Norms are rather more pervasive and resilient than given credit for.

In the past, requests by an organizational member for elements beyond the person's position in the social order would not only raise eyebrows but receive responses like "that's for managerial



ranks only, you'll have to be a manager before you get one of those." Now, with the codified standards, a member could be referred to the written standards to be informed about what he or she could receive. Thus, one's physical environment in the organization was not a matter of free personal choice, it was largely regulated by cultural norms of appropriate physical environments.

#### APPROPRIATENESS NORMS

Physical environments that Norton members had were closely linked, as I have described earlier, to their social positions in the organization. Members participated in environmental reading based on stability of this relationship. In this section I would like to examine what sustained these linkages and relationships and the mechanisms by which this was done.

The reactions of members when found in spaces not their own was indicative of what sustained the relationships mentioned above. When members met me in other's offices or when I found people in other's spaces they invariably made it a point to emphasize that they were not in their space with statements such as

"This is not my office. My office is over there."

"I work in the open area over there, but my boss is not here today, so we can use her office."

It was also quite common for people to point out that they were in surroundings that were temporary:

"This is my temporary office while my own office is being renovated.

"I am using this space temporarily while they figure out a space for me."

Members thus, seemed to be concerned to ensure that they were found in their appropriate place, and if that did not happen, made it a point to emphasize that they were not in their place. In doing so they also ensured that they did not convey inappropriate messages<sup>18</sup>. This obsession is understandable given the importance they put on placing others, and on environmental reading. They did not want to be seen in highly inappropriate settings. I never found members using spaces or environments associated with positions more than two levels higher or lower. Use of environments of significantly higher level positions was considered particularly inappropriate<sup>19</sup>. Use of environments associated with significantly lower positions was also considered inappropriate, although somewhat more common, such as the use of a secretary's environment by a manager to use the telephone, typewriter, stapler or other things.

Members also pointed out furniture, furnishings and other environmental elements and artifacts that they had but were not entitled to due to their position in the organization.

Organizational members noticed the differences, which might be a reason why members took special care to point them out. As Frances M. Unger mentioned:

OM: Two people from the corporate office came down and they sat down and said "My! My! We were in another assistant vice president's office down here a week ago, and they didn't have these (fabric) covered panels, they only had two. How did you get four?"

Okay. Now, if you look, I do have four. I am the only assistant vice president that has four (fabric) covered (wall) panels. I am the only assistant vice president that has a green couch and green chairs. Okay? Everybody else has the left over brown stuff from up there. Now ask me why?

R: Why?

OM: I am the only assistant vice president who reports to the division head. So I have a little extra status. So I get a little extra.  
(D2: 1330-1450/F09JAN 87/N/FMU/1/1:27-28)<sup>20</sup>

In the conversational segment quoted above, as with many such others, the speaker mentions or describes, a number of phenomena of interest.

Frances M. Unger makes it a point to emphasize that he had a larger number of environmental artifacts, such as four fabric covered wall panels instead of the two that he was entitled to by his rank and other AVPs usually got. He also points out that while other AVPs had the older left over brown chairs, he had the newer and different green couch and chairs. Organizational members noted these differences as he points out.

He also points out that he had a special, direct reporting relationship with the divisional head. This gave him status more than his rank. This special relationship enabled him to obtain the extras. And so perhaps it was appropriate for him to have those extras, as they appropriately conveyed his 'special' status. There

is an interesting interplay of appropriate and inappropriate physical environments demonstrated here.

His emphasizing that he was the only AVP to have the extras, and the only AVP to have a special relationship with the divisional head, points to a social comparison phenomenon that he is engaging in here. The visitors to his office also engaged in social comparison as they clearly point out. Appropriateness norms seem to be resting, in part, on social comparison.

That the members of these organizations not only noticed the differences but made it a point to query him about the unusual environmental elements and objects he had obtained were indicative of a social policing phenomenon. They made it known that unusual activity was being noted. Such questions were bound to create some reactions, perhaps discomfort, in those who were in inappropriate settings or had inappropriately obtained extras beyond the norm. This was in part how norms were policed and enforced.

In a separate event a high ranking official voluntarily surrendered his office. In a restructuring of one unit of the organization a person from one of the divisions was being brought into that unit in a fairly high level position, let us say at a VP level. Space in that unit was all allocated except a comparatively small anteroom. An AVP in the unit had a large office, largely a creature of the physical structure of the building. He had been in

this office a while, and I had met him there a few times. In the discussion regarding which office the new VP should occupy, and where he should be located the junior AVP offered his office for the new VP, and offered to move into the smaller ante room. Here is a segment of a conversation the AVP recounted to me:

Max Oakley, the last thing I've got to talk about is the (new senior VP's) space. And he says to me, he leaned up like this, he says "do I understand that you volunteered your office for him?" And I said "Yea, I did". He said "You can't do that." So I said "Why not?" He says "People around here don't do things like that." And I said "Yea, I know. But I do." That's what I said to him. I said "What I do is not important to me." I said "I'd move down to the other one. It doesn't bother me at all." He says "Fine, if that's what you want to do."

(B-9:0100-0230/T23DEC86/N/UCP/2/1:35)

Consider what happened here, and what would have happened had the AVP not offered to move. Since space in that unit was quite limited, the organization would have to go through a major renovation of the unit, or find space elsewhere, or would have to place the senior VP in the small ante room (which would be most expedient and the least disruptive and least expensive) had the junior AVP not offered to move. The anteroom was more than 250 sq. ft. in size and the decor in that space was quite in keeping with the other adjacent offices, and so would function adequately for the V.P. But this room was much smaller than the other adjacent offices and about half the size of the office of the AVP if he were to remain in his office. If the junior AVP stayed on in the larger office and the senior VP were moved into the smaller office questions of appropriateness would emerge. His moving into the

smaller office would be seen as highly inappropriate. And chances are that the finger would be pointed not so much at the senior VP for not exerting his position, but at the junior AVP who would be seen as occupying an inappropriate space. Normative behavioral expectations by other members would be for him to move.<sup>21</sup> In fact, the AVP "volunteered" to move (although some might say he did not have any choice).

By offering to move into a space more appropriate for his position once the senior VP arrived, the AVP affirmed his position and membership in the organization and showed himself to be a "team player" willing to make sacrifices for the organization's stability. He also thus subscribed to the appropriateness norms and helped sustain them (partly by not challenging them). Hence, it seems that another way appropriateness norms are implemented is through voluntary effort by an organizational member to surrender or change.

In other instances members inadvertently chanced into or calculatedly obtained physical environments inappropriate for them. Here is an example.

If you were a manager you had a carpet but it was an area carpet, not a full carpet. And if you were a director you got a wall to wall carpet. There's a marvelous story about the fellow who was a director who moved, who left the area, went somewhere else. And his replacement was brought in as a manager and he was initially put at the same desk the other fellow had been at. And after several days the carpet people came and they cut away with their scissors enough of the carpet so

that he only had an area rug and not wall to wall carpet. I believe the story is true. I didn't actually see it but I believe the story is true.  
(A 56: 0300-0500/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2:16)

The carpet was removed, cut and taken away to leave only that much which was appropriate to this manager's position. This was a situation where appropriateness norms were coercively enforced.

Another example has provided by Zany Upton.

And when you were an officer, you had a pen which had all the same basic trimmings that you have today. But the one that always struck me kind of humorously, I ran into it with one of my bosses, was, if you were an AVP, you were entitled to a closed-in office. You were not entitled to draperies, nor were you entitled to have a radiator cover over your radiator. So my boss, who was an AVP, they built him his new office and he went in there and complained because there was no curtains and there were holes in the wall. The reason there was holes in the wall, they explained, had taken the radiator cover out, because he was not entitled to one. I had never seen anybody so mad in my entire life. Well he went calling up get somebody up here to fill those god damned holes in. You want to play this penny-annie bull-shit!  
(F-1b: 1330-1430/T10FEB87/N/ZU/1/1:1621)<sup>22</sup>

Here too the extra physical environmental elements that existed in the space were removed, rather crudely, to make the space appropriate for the subsequent occupant, an AVP. The organization, thus, considered it an important enough phenomenon to take measures as drastic as these, and ones which could be interpreted as being obsessive, compulsive, or to some extent absurd.<sup>23</sup>

In a situation in another organization, organization members were given the choice of selecting environmental elements from several options. Here is an account of what happened.

An aircraft hangar was borrowed (no problem for the FAA), and there a series of work spaces were mocked up to display different furnishings. Among other options presented were some ten desks, a variety of desk tops of different materials, fifteen different chairs, a selection of chair fabrics, and telephones in different colors. Each person got an order blank and was able to order the furniture of his or her choice after testing out the various chairs and desks. While most picked equipment that was close to what they would have been given in a traditional situation, with secretaries tending to take secretarial desks and managers picking larger "status" desks, the choices were entirely free. (Dickson:1975:301-302)

This was not a situation where the corporation was designating rank. In fact, quite the contrary, the organization built mock ups to enable members to see how things looked and worked in real life. Even in this situation where there seemed to be free choice and members were coaxed to make their own selections they opted to follow organizational appropriateness norms. By doing so they were reaffirming membership in the organization's culture and helping sustain its values and norms.

#### HABITATIONAL NORMS: NORMS REGARDING BEHAVIOR IN PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS

The norms that organizational members had developed regarding use of the physical environment and proper conduct when in certain physical settings form the subject matter for this section. I wish



to examine appropriate and inappropriate behavior, desirable and undesirable behavior, sacred and profane, and taboo behavior and spaces.

#### Use Of The Physical Environment

Office buildings are created ostensibly for organizational members to work in. In the 1980's it is expected that members can go into the building at most anytime and be able to work.<sup>24</sup> There are few times when the building is unfunctional or unusable. Such however was not the case historically.

There were specific rules relating to use of buildings. The building's ability to control climatic swings affected work rules and behavior.

Back when this building was first built (1930) it was built without any air conditioning, which of course was not a common thing in buildings built back then in the 30's. There wasn't any central air conditioning, and back in those days the air conditioning system was a matter of opening windows.

And I think they had a rule back in those days, and I am not precisely sure, but if it got to be 85°(F) or something in the building they would close up and go home in the summer time. They closed the shop down for the day and sent everybody home.  
(A-5a:1300-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2:7)

Work times in those days varied with the seasons. In 1902 during the summer months of June, July and August, the organization was closed on Saturday afternoons instead of regular six day full work week.<sup>25</sup>

But in 1908 daily closing time was made earlier at 4:00 pm during summer months. In those days lunch break was 1 1/4 hours since people went home for lunch. In 1987, the organization had flexitime and a normal work week was 38.3 hours.<sup>26</sup> Norms and attitudes regarding use of the building have changed, as Geroge Vance points out.

Now if it gets to be 85° (F) in the building they send a repairman up who will tell you that this building was not designed very well for air conditioning and that they cannot make it work right.

(A-5a:1300-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2/7)

That is, today the organization would rather make excuses for the building not working right than close down or rectify the problem.<sup>27</sup>

In earlier years work rules were also tied to other physical elements such as bells to announce times to begin and stop work.

In those days they rang a bell at 8 o'clock and if you were late you had to sign in and you lost your earned day. They had what they called earned day system. If you went two consecutive months without being tardy or absent without leave or out sick, you got an extra vacation day for it. But if you were late, you had to sign in and you lost your earned day.

(A-52:1300-1700/T09DEC6/N/GV/1/2:7)

Today there are no bells that are rung at specific times, and time clocks are on the way out.

## APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR

When in certain environments certain behavior was considered appropriate and others were considered inappropriate. Norms programmed what kind of conduct and behavior were expected. For example, there were notions of appropriate dress. Speaking about workspace norms, George Vance says:

OM: "My first boss (c 1966) that I worked for would not allow people to wear short sleeve shirts."  
(A56:1300-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2:14)

And what was the reason for this?

R: Was that Jack Nolan?

OM: No, not Jack Nolan It was the guy, the department head we were both working for at that time. But he would not allow----. The joke was that he had a tattoo and he did not want people baring their arms because we would all see the tattoo that he had. I knew the man very well. He didn't have a tattoo. But at one time people were expected to wear coats.  
(A56:1300-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2:14-15)

These strict rules gave rise to humor, joking behavior stories and intrigue. Stories about the boss having a tattoo circulated even though some members such as George Vance, knew they were false (see also Roy:1963b)

Learning The Ropes: Playing The Corporate Game

People found out, learned and internalized these rules regarding how they ought to behave in a variety of ways.<sup>28</sup> One way was to observe what others like him did and what they did not do, and act similarly.

Well, I know the first day that I was in the building I took off my coat. I looked around first to see if anybody had their coats off. Some had their coats off and some of them on. Then I realized it was OK to hang up my coat because a few of them were working with coats off. So I hung up my coat, and then I started rolling up my sleeves almost absent-mindedly. Jack Nolan (his friend) came running over. "No!" "No what?" "Don't roll up your sleeves." This really gets to me but that's the way.

(A56:1500-1700/709DEC86/N/GV/1/2:18-19)

Another way was to find out from others in responsible positions by asking questions

As a matter of fact, when I went to work at Quinn (another Insurance Company) but the cultures there were very similar, the fellow who was in personnel was hiring and he said 'when you go up to your department they'll explain to you what all the rules are.

(A6a:1300-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/3:13)

Conduct and behavioral expectations were not necessarily uniform for everyone. When one was different from the mainstream, things were somewhat different and more difficult.

But when they get somebody who does something they don't fully understand that is non-insurance, they always have trouble dealing with those departments. And the promotional department, of course--. First of all they are filled with--, if the people are creative, if they are creative people, they are going to act a little strange by practically anybody's standards anyway. By insurance (company's) standards that's especially peculiar and so they are never quite, you know, they'd kind of come by and shake their heads. That's good and bad. It's good because our department tends to take on a culture that's a little bit different from the rest of the corporation. But by the same token, that is also very difficult for us because if they are considering the possibility of moving someone into a more responsible position, they don't think about those nuts down in the promotional departments, you know, an actuary or somebody who acts sane the way they do. And that can be a down side to being, y'know kind of an off-beat department in a large corporation.

(A6a:1500-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/3:1-2)

There were lessons to be learnt about desired behavior:

The story was told of a young new employee and his senior fellow worker in the good old days of Norton. The new person wanted to fit in and be a member of the group. He also admired the senior based on stories he heard in the first few days at Norton, and decided to follow in his footsteps, doing pretty much the same things the older fellow did. He had heard a lot about the folks going over to a nearby pub. So one day he went out with him during lunch break to that nearby pub and downed several drinks just like the older fellow. They then went back to work at the office.

After a while the new person started having difficulty staying alert and felt increasingly inebriated. Meanwhile, whenever he looked at the old fellow he was amazed to see the old fellow energetically working away. So he tried to work just like the old fellow. But then he started having difficulty keeping his head up. So he decided that he wasn't sober enough to continue work and that he would go to the Medical Department and take a rest (nap).

So he went to inform the old fellow that he was going to Medical. When he approached the old fellow's desk he found that the inebriated old fellow kept on hitting the same typewriter keys producing a jumble of letters and barely aware of the world around him.

When the young one queried him on this the old fellow replied that was what enabled him to 'work' for the company and get through the day. (FN)

Appearing busy was one desired behavior but there were also lessons to be learnt about playing the corporate game and other desired behaviors.

OM: If I had to do it over again, I might play the corporate game a little more than I did when I first came in here 20 years ago, although I have done relatively well. I can't complain and I am not sure it would have gotten me any further in the long run, it might have just got me there faster.

R: What would be the corporate game?

OM: Corporate game, look worried, act serious, don't smile too much, don't say the wrong thing, don't tell then "no"! don't say "no"! It took me a long time to catch on to that. Always say "yes." You can get to no eventually, but always say "yes." If the boss has a brilliant idea, don't tell him it sucks pond water! Tell him "yea," that's a great idea! Then you start talking to him about the details of it and after a while he'll find out his idea is lousy, and it can't be done, and then it will be his idea not to do it. But I've stayed alive for 21 years in here and have thrived on it pretty well, so I can't complain. The place is better than it was.  
(A-6a:1500-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/3:1-2)

### Sacred and Profane

Criteria for getting ahead or "making it" in organizations were, being able and willing to play the corporate game, "fitting in" and conveying the feeling of being good executive material. These criteria effectively excluded other races and the other sex in part because of the perception of them not being good executive material, not fitting in quite so well and lacking the ability to play the corporate game very well.

The position of women in Norton over time is worth exploring to see whether there were normative behavioral underpinnings.

From the time of it's inception and formation in 1853 until 1908, women had not been part of Norton Company; it consisted only of men<sup>29</sup>. The first few women hired were to operate telephone equipment. Until 1902 there was only one telephone in the

company. In 1902 a switchboard was installed. The first telephone operator however, was a man. But it was felt that he was in an inappropriate position. As one account reported, "he was an operator for a few months only, and then went on to Company duties more in keeping with the male species" (Pseudo-Sweeny:1951:XXI:13).<sup>30</sup> The first woman hired by Norton, was hired to replace him, in March 1908. The telephone switchboard and the operator were located in a cage of wire mesh, and thus isolated from the rest of the members, the men. The first woman got married<sup>31</sup> through a romance which developed inspite of the cage. When this happened, "a new operator had to be secured" (Pseudo-Sweeny:1957:XXI:13). In 1910, the first group of 35 "girls" were hired on a trial basis with the warning that employment was definitely temporary<sup>32</sup> and not full long term employment.<sup>33</sup>

One male organizational member described the situation regarding women:

OM: "As a matter of fact, if you want to go way back in the organization, at one time they didn't hire women at all.

R: Why?

OM: Well, that's in fact before the turn of the century. Then they began hiring women because they had typewriters come along, and that was of course the day when all male secretaries end. Then when typewriters come along, women were much more able with typewriters, that sort of thing. But they would only hire single women. And they could not use the front door of the building. They had to come through a side entrance then. That sounds rather gothic doesn't it?

R: Why was that?

OM: It was the prevailing business attitude about the women's place being in the home. Don't ask me the rationale. But this is true. This is gospel.

R: What I'm asking is were there any stories about why that happened?

OM: No, just that that's the way. That was the rules and they, many women who married, who didn't want to lose their jobs would keep their marriage a secret, take off the ring when they got on the bus in the morning and not put it back on until they were leaving. And even to the point of hiding a pregnancy as long as they could, until they finally had to admit the horrible truth that they'd been married for three years. Led to a certain amount of shame."

(A-5b:1500-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2b:15-16)

All the women hired worked on the top (sixth) floor of the building that was the head/office of the company then.<sup>34</sup> One company report explained that it was this way "since (the then) President wished not to be affronted with the sight of women in the company's offices, and going to and from it "(Pseudo-Sweeny:1951:XX1:16,19). Women were required to use the side entrance, not the front entrance,<sup>35</sup> and were required to use the back elevators,<sup>36</sup> not the front ones. It is reported that this was done so that the President would not suddenly confront them. Women were also required to be unmarried.<sup>37</sup> They were to be terminated or replaced when they got married, as happened with the first telephone switch board operator.<sup>38</sup> And as George Vance has described, while women could keep marriage a secret from the organization, once they got pregnant eventually they had to leave. Some, however, tried to hide their pregnancy as long as possible. Even as insurance clients the company thought women to be



undesirable and shunned them. Later, however, around the turn of the century, the company was a pioneer in insuring women, claimed a company report (Pseudo-Eener, P:1956). Women were not allowed to have their own club for a long time, even though men had their own club to which women did not have access.

Conditions changed slowly over time for women. With large numbers of men leaving for the wars, employment of women increased and became more normal. At one point even special housing -- actually more like a dormitory or hostel -- was set up for women so that they could have a safe environment.<sup>39</sup> Women eventually went on to form their own women's club, and arrange for their own recreational activities. This club, however, was not recognized by the company for several years, but now admits both women and men as does the men's club. In 1951 the organization officially declared that married women as well could work in the organization. Segregationist restrictions were also abandoned, although it is not clear from the records when. It is likely that these disappeared slowly when very large numbers of women joined the organization around World War II, which was the time when numbers of men reduced significantly and women were hired to do the work. By June 1955, 2273 out of a total home office clerical staff of 3427 (i.e. 66%) were women. In terms of holding officerships of significant responsibility the record is mixed: by 1926 one woman had been appointed an officer, and by 1955 a second had become an officer. In 1988, several women had broken the management barrier, and had

been appointed at the vice president level. High level executive positions were all held by males in 1987-88.<sup>40</sup>

It seems then, that the position and treatment of women is reminiscent of notions of sacred and profane that social scientists have used to explain how various cultures have conceived, built, allocated and used space.<sup>41</sup> Women were seen as profane and having polluting power. It was felt that entry of women into the organization would disturb and distract from, if not vilify, the devotion and pristine work habits of men. It was felt that the less contact men could have with women the better. As a result women needed to be segregated and carefully controlled. They were thus to be segregated so that the polluting effects of the profane on the mainstream, or the sacred regions of the company, could be minimized. This was achieved in part through physical segregation-- separate side entrances, separate back elevators, separate (top or sixth) floor, and special restrictions such as the cage. The minimization of contact was partly through physical distancing. The leader of the organization, the then president, did not want for himself and others, to suddenly confront women to avoid being embarrassed and to keep the social distance necessary to avoid being polluted or contaminated.<sup>42</sup> Sharing of elevators would have been really problematic (see Goffman:1967) as maintenance of socio-physical distance would not be possible.

Taboo behavior in Spaces

Certain behaviors were taboo in certain spaces. Loud, argumentative, aggressive behavior was considered inappropriate in places which were public in the organization. Such behaviors were considered appropriate (although shouting in a rage was always frowned upon) in places which were liminal<sup>43</sup> or where authority lines and signs were unclear. In the large halls where most administrative and technical people worked, it was inappropriate for them to criticize superiors loudly.<sup>44</sup> Other behaviors considered inappropriate in the office building were "masturbating at the desk,"<sup>45</sup> "slugg(ing) a man in the cafeteria," "kick(ing) a man in the testicles,"<sup>46</sup> ogling at women,<sup>47</sup> bowel movements in the office, and slapping a boss in the office. While some of these were due to illness they were nonetheless considered inappropriate behavior.<sup>48</sup> And always the attempt was to remove the norm violator from the building. This amounted to changing the setting, removing the activity from one setting where it may be considered inappropriate to another where it may be tolerable.<sup>49</sup>

## BEHAVIORAL NORMS AFFECTED BY THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

In this section I would like to deal with behavioral norms that were affected by the physical environment. That behavior is affected by the nature of the physical environment has been the contention of psychologists, such as Maslow & Mintz (1956) and Mintz

(1956) as well as of sociologists (Riemer:1979). My concern here is not with how individual or group behavior per se was affected, but rather to see how norms regulating behavior were shaped, modified and influenced by physical environmental elements.

Behavioral Norms Affected by Characteristics of the Physical Environment

In an earlier section I described the physical environment of the technical level people at Norton. There were rows and rows of desks in linear arrangement. Lately, these were being replaced with "work stations". These were part of a new breed of furniture known as "systems furniture" which could provide an array of alternatives from which selections could be made to provide for different kinds of environments.<sup>50</sup> Work stations were commonly located in large open halls. They had part high partitions either 42" high which acted as separators between desks, 52" high which provided privacy while seated, and 61" high which provided privacy from people standing. These partitions did not commonly go to the ceiling which provided for the possibility that people-- tall ones in particular, could peer over these partitions. The partitions did not enclose work stations completely. Mostly the enclosure was on the front with part or partial enclosure along the sides or slight variations of these. They were almost never enclosed on all four sides and almost never had closable doors.

The nature and design of the work stations presented some problems. Unlike the completely open layout where being in the open a person was much more aware of others approaching, the work station with its partitions effectively shielded the person. Thus, a person working at a work station could be unaware of someone approaching from the back.<sup>51</sup> And especially when a person was deeply involved with the work, approach by a person could cause the member to get startled or alarmed, leading the person to jump or scream or both.<sup>52</sup>

These characteristics of the environment had affected norms relating to privacy at Norton. Visitors to these part high partitioned work stations were found to announce their arrival in various ways. When approaching a person's work station, visitors would proclaim a loud verbal "knock-knock" even though the workstation had no door and partition surfaces were of soft sound absorbent material. Announcing the name of the person such as "Hey, Vira" or accompanied with a salutary greeting such as "good morning, John" was also common. A third form was to attract attention by making noise with papers, or with ones shoes on the floor (when the floor surface was hard and not carpeted). In all instances, the announcement was an aural verbal one, as opposed to a visual one. The announcement was made before the visitor reached the area of the work station mostly approximately 3 feet away. The work station thus seemed to have unseen but culturally accepted boundaries even though not completely enclosed by partitions or walls and being without doors.

Visitors, according to the norms, were expected to announce themselves in that way. Going up to the partition without any aural announcement and knocking on the metal portion of the partition while acceptable was not considered to be very good. Entering the invisible boundary was considered a violation. Violation of the norm was considered a serious enough breach to give cause to complain to the visitor "why didn't you tell me you were coming" and with repeat offenders a complaint would be registered with the supervisor.

An interesting contrast was presented by the situation in private offices. Offices were enclosed on all four sides, and had closable doors. These offices with doors closed were routinely entered without knocking. It was in fact expected that visitors enter without knocking. Knocking was expected when the door to the office was open. An officer explained it this way:

OM: I know, I find myself that I close my door very regularly.

R: Regularly or irregularly?

OM: Regular, I always have my door closed. 90% of the time my door is closed. I work better without any noise and when I got something that I want to do. But I've noticed that people who should be just popping in and talking to me, are not doing it. So, I've taken the approach of saying "if the door is closed, don't worry about it. Just come right in. Don't knock, just come right in." The people that need to know that I'm in an important meeting, know it. And actually when I am in a meeting, I'll only have my door open, unless it's a real confidential type of thing. So I am more apt to have my door open so that they can see when I don't want to (be disturbed). Notice that when we are talking three or four people came popping their

head in, but see immediately, visually, that this is not a good time. When my door is closed, they pretty much know that they can just barge right in. (I use it just the opposite because I'm very sensitive to noise.)

R: Yea, that's-- . Yea the noise is a factor and I think more and more professionals want the flexibility of being able to work in a quiet environment, at the same time be accessible to other people and have access to other people.

OM: That's the problem. I am in an area where first of all most everybody in here outclasses me and they all come barging in my door in any event. But a lot of people are afraid to just come in, and that does impair communications. Among other things here I am the office manager, so that it is important that I know what's going on here and that people be communicating. And sometimes that door has been a barrier to them. Now I've gotten around it by talking to them, making them feel comfortable to just come barging in. That's not invading my privacy. When my door is open they might have a better chance of invading my privacy."  
(F1b:1330-1430/T10FEB87/N/ZV/1/1:15-16)

The characteristics of the physical environment, whether it was an open work station or a fully enclosed office with a door gave rise to norms regarding behavior. The closed office door was to be entered without knocking, the open office door was not to be entered or entered after knocking, and the work station with a door could be approached at close range only after a verbal announcement.

Some liked the fact that there were no doors to their work space.

R: But your office doesn't have a door, does it?

OM: No it doesn't. I am glad it doesn't. I'm glad it doesn't because a door to me-- . A person can enter your office without acting and they can sort of

peek in and see if you're busy A door is like,  
it's just such a stony barrier to me."  
(K1a:0900-1200/W22APR/N/HP/1/1:3-4)

A special characteristic of the cubicle was that the partitions were about 6'-0" high and were made of day wall with metal edging. Another characteristic was that the partitions were extremely light weight, and a third was that they were not good sound absorbers. For cubicles, the partition wrapped around three sides, and had left a door-width opening in the middle of the fourth side.

Sounds and conversations carried and were not confined to the cubicle. This led to aural privacy problems.<sup>53</sup>

But in most cases you have eavesdropping. I think over the cubicles. If you're talking to somebody and you tell a joke, somebody will laugh. If they are listening, they will pick up. But there is definitely a correlation between the sound level of a conversation and the secrecy of a conversation. If you hear people talk in low tones, then you say "I wonder what they are talking about." But if they are talking like we are talking now, then it's well, public access sort of. That sort of thing. So you learn to deal with that. You have visual privacy but aural privacy you do not have.  
(K1a:0900-1200/W22APR87/N/HP/1/1:3-4)

Thus, it was considered alright in this organization for people to keep an ear on another conversation in another cubicle, and join in the laughter on a joke, or get up, peer over the cubicle partition and join the conversation.

As Harold Pickard explained further:

As I said, we are constantly talking over the tops of the cubicles, walking around, mingling. You



need privacy at some points, but at others you usually don't.

(Kla:0900-1200/W22APR87/N/HP/1/1:3-4)

While conversations were expected, interruptions were frowned upon.

But also if you're writing and you're really into it, an interruption to me is like slapping me in the face. People sometimes come up and I'm just like, I have words or I have the paragraphs in my mind and I'm typing, and it's just coming and somebody will walk in and it will vanish (emphasis). It shatters the moment. So at times like those I say "Oh God, why can't I have a door to lock everyone out?"

Sometimes you want the interaction, It's almost like mood swings, but its the job that creates the mood swings. Like when this issue comes out, and I sign off on the blue print and I'm elated. I want to walk from cubicle to cubicle and say "Hey, how's it going?" you know, "How have you been the last week or so?"

But one person's period of elation or completion of a project may not coincide with similar periods for others.

Harold Pickard continued.

But it may be at their peak time, and they don't want to talk to me. In other words, the jobs are cyclical. But the space is constant, the design of the space. So you alter your behavior accordingly.

Norms regarding behavior had developed.

OM: You may be in a real up mood, but you're about to walk into somebody's cubicle and when you see they're kind of looking like "stay away, please", so you just sort of keep walking. You learn to pick up on these body (signals) these non-verbal

communication[s] when somebody just doesn't look up if you [come around] that means [they are] too busy or something.

R: Well, along those lines I was going to ask given that there are no doors are there any kind of symbols or signs which indicate that now I don't want to be disturbed like for example not looking up or something when some one passes by?

OM: Some people occasionally put a piece of tape across their door. This has happened. On the tape it says "DO NOT DISTURB", "EMERGENCIES ONLY", or "DO NOT BOTHER ME". But that is--, it's frowned upon to do something like putting up a physical barrier outside your cubicle. It's fine for people within the unit. But if a visitor from another area, let's say some vice president comes walking in, just stop in and sees that, its like "what's wrong with these people? Can't they respect work?" And it's, I mean that's the way it is. But primarily you don't put tape across your door. If you're working you don't look up, or you tell somebody, or you're just quiet for a while. So I guess if you're visible that's another way of showing people you're accessible that way.<sup>54</sup>

(K1a:0900-1200/W22APR87/N/HP/1/1:8-10)

Conventions for outsiders and insiders were not the same.

If you were just from the unit, if you were just somebody walking in I would say "I'll talk to you in a few minutes, let me just finish this."

(K1a:0900-1200/W22APR87/N/HP/1/1:15)

These norms required the office occupant to respond in a manner considered appropriate when someone appeared at the door.

Usually you don't say "Go away". So if someone walks in it is assumed that if you have the time you are going to give it, especially to the people of the unit. You're mutually supportive, you're all part of the same support network.

(K1a:0900-1200/W22APR87/N/HP/1/1:15)

Characteristics of the environments discussed above work stations, offices and cubicles, differed greatly. Norms for behavior and appropriate conduct were specific to each of the environments within the same organization. These cultural norms were very physical context specific and were affected by characteristics of the physical environment.

#### Behavioral Norms Affected by Quality of the Physical Environment

The physical environment of the lower level administrative members, as described earlier, was very different in quality from that of the senior officers. The quality of the environment of the lower administrative people was rough, unfinished, crudely finished, dingy and dark. In contrast, the environment of the senior officers was very fine, well finished, open (large) and pleasant. Norms of behavior in these two environments were also quite different.<sup>55</sup>

In the basement where lower administrative people were located people could be heard whistling, singing and mumbling while at work. They had clothes which were frequently stained with grease or otherwise dirty. Ogling at women was also quite common which made women uncomfortable to go to those environments. Loud laughter and banter, loud talk including language containing frequent use of four letter words were commonly heard in these environments. As described earlier, the washrooms were littered with paper towels, toilet tissues, newspapers etc. and the walls contained graffiti

with mostly sexual connotations and frequently obscene. People felt quite comfortable with these kinds of behavior in these environments and were not considered inappropriate.

In contrast, the top executive floors were very quiet. Sounds of loud laughter, banter, loud talk and use of four letters were not heard. Soft talk was very common. The environment was clean, the furniture neatly arranged and well maintained. Magazines on the side table were neatly arranged, staggered so that titles such as Fortune, Business Week were visible. No magazines were left with back cover facing up or with pages open. People, mostly those waiting for appointments, reading the magazines did not leave them on the floor or open on the table, they put them on the coffee table. And if they did not, someone else would come by and replace it in its proper place. People in this environment were dressed in clean clothes, white shirts mostly conservative red or blue ties, or an occasional off white one, dark navy blue or black suits and polished shoes. It was an environment where an inappropriately attired person would feel out of place.

These norms guided what kinds of behavior was appropriate and acceptable in which kinds of environments. Norms relating to behavior, talk, language, and dress were affected by the quality of the physical environment.

Some authors such as Cahill et al. (1985), Blake (1981), have claimed that the basement areas, particularly washrooms, are liminal areas where norms of behavior either break down or do not exist. The liminal quality of the environment leads people to engage in behavior they would not normally engage in<sup>56</sup> such as leaving litter behind. These works illustrate the differences in behavioral norms in these physical environments, although the authors do not describe what qualities or characteristics of the environment make it liminal.

Others such as Holdaway (1980), Ball (1967), following Goffman, claim that physical environmental regions can be defined as front and back regions. They go on to illustrate that the behavior and behavioral norms in these two areas are markedly different. Front regions with finer environments showed more restrained polished behavior while back regions with coarser environments showed less restraint on behavior and perhaps coarser behavior. This again, illustrates that behavior and behavioral norms vary with the quality of the environment. What is stressed is not the quality of the environment but its socially constructed definition of "front" or "back". Such definition I feel, is intricately intertwined with the quality of the space. Washroom behavior is not different simply because it is a washroom and therefore back region or liminal. If this were so then all washrooms should be considered liminal space or back region and all washrooms should be considered similarly liminal or back space. It would follow then that in all washrooms

irrespective of their location, people (the same people if necessary) should exhibit similar behavior. My earlier descriptions illustrate that even washroom behavior varies with quality and location. This in turn suggests that either the definition of liminality and "back region" need to be reconsidered or the fact that this phenomenon is based on quality needs to be emphasized. "Visibility" of the space itself, as well as of people in the space may be playing an important role in such situations.<sup>57</sup>

It would be interesting to see what happens when back regions are made into front regions. Organizations have occasionally "experimented" with changing back and front regions. However, these were not scientifically conducted experiments with control on all important variables. Along with the changing of back regions to front regions, by making them more visible, quality changes were simultaneously made.<sup>58</sup> One such change in the location and architectural features of the mail room is described below.

In one organization<sup>59</sup> I looked at, the mail room had traditionally and historically been a back region activity and space. It had been in the basement in a dark area with no direct natural light, lit by fluorescent tubes. The space, especially the walls, had dirt marks.

In contrast, in this instance, in the new building built in 1983, the mail room was not put in the basement.<sup>60</sup> Rather, it was put

on the first floor adjacent to a small court atrium, where it could be easily seen by people who ventured past the large primary atrium. It thus had a more visible location. Other changes were made simultaneously at the new location which gave it radically different features. The new mail room had an external window wall with high level glazed windows on the north side which brought daylight in, and allowed the sky outside to be visible. The two side walls of the large rectangular room were opaque, solid gypsum board walls painted off white. It had a complete glass wall and full glass doors on the court atrium side. Moreover, the space had numerous fluorescent lights, and was therefore very well lit. The transparent glass wall on the atrium side allowed the activities of the mail room to be visible and public, while the windows to the outside and fluorescent lights made the inside very visible. It was interesting to see, through the glass wall, the automated mail trucks bringing mail from various parts of the building.<sup>61</sup> This was quite a departure from the dark mail rooms tucked away in basements with no windows or natural light and hidden from view of a majority of organizational members and visitors.<sup>62</sup>

The organizational members in this mail room were well dressed compared to those in basement mail rooms. Most were semi-casually dressed but had clean brightly colored clothes. They were all busy at work -- some were getting mail off the trucks, while others were sorting mail. There were others who were doing a variety of tasks such as putting postage stamps on a large pile of mail, taking mail

from one truck and putting them on the table, checking for stamps and putting them in mail bags. All were obviously busy at work. At other mail rooms that I had observed some people appeared to be lounging and chatting with others. I was informed by several people including the supervisor that there was a change in the behavioral norms at this new mail room. The people reportedly took more active interest and pride in their work. They dressed better and cleaner and expected it of others.<sup>63</sup>

A back region had been brought "out of the basement" and in this case transformed into something more in keeping with a front region.<sup>64</sup> Simultaneous with the location change, the quality of space had been changed as well. From being dingy, dark and sometimes dirty, it had become open and brightly lit. It was also very cleanly maintained, which in itself was a behavioral norm change, as were changes in work attitude and dress.

In another instance described earlier, a marketing department at Norton was asked to temporarily relocate to a basement space while their space was to be renovated. Initially they refused because they thought that the basement space would be lower quality space and because they thought that it would be inappropriate for an operation which was more in keeping with a front region. They agreed to move there only after the physical resource manager agreed to improve the quality of the space and make it more in keeping with what they were accustomed to. After the quality of the space was



upgraded through renovation including painting of walls, removal of grease, replacing or patching of carpet, and a new layout more in keeping with their department's functional needs, they moved, and reportedly even liked it there. Here, the quality of the environment was varied and eventually produced acceptance by the group.

In all these cases, the quality of the environment was changed through introduction of different design and architectural elements. While arguments regarding liminal space and back and front regions hold in some instances, quality changes seem to be one common denominator in all of them. These examples suggest that behavioral norms were affected by the quality of the physical environment.

#### Behavioral Norms Affected by Nature of the Physical Environment

At Norton Corporation the nature of the physical environment was such that the organization did not have adequate automobile parking facilities for all its members. In addition, what was available was not all of similar value. Most of the parking places were in a number of open lots. A few small lots adjacent to parts of the main building, or to other buildings allowed for some members to have their cars near by. Others had to park at varying distances from the offices. For some the walk from the parking lot to the office could be up to thirty minutes or more. In summer with nice

weather and longer day light hours the walk was pleasant, and people would choose an open air route. In winter, with daylight hours reduced and darkness in the morning at 7:00 a.m. and even in the evening at 5:00 p.m., safety and security became issues. Further part or all of the walk could be in the open, and cold and inclement weather with snow and rain could make the walk particularly bothersome. There were some parking spaces available in covered garages. Two were particularly convenient, one of which was a multistoreyed garage in close proximity to one part of the main headquarter building.

Obtaining a parking spot in close proximity to one's work place became an important privilege. One manager explained that when she became a manager, this was the first privilege she tried to obtain.

OM: "Yeah, I'll be honest. You know it's funny. I am one of those people that--, I'm a late person. So I don't come in at the crack of dawn. And so when I got my officership the thing I wanted was a parking sticker because I got to park closer.

R: So, that was a status --?

OM: That's what I ran down to get. No that wasn't status that was laziness. But it was very real, okay, because it meant that instead of parking 18 blocks away I could sleep later. It also meant, at night when I am the last one out I'm not walking in the dark 18 blocks. So that was a safety issue."  
(D2:1300-1450/F09APR/N/FMU/1/1:28-29)

Gripping about the nature of physical facilities was common and acceptable. George Vance explains.

OM: "You know what the biggest single gripe at Norton is?"

R: What?

OM: How far they have to walk to their parking place. This is a cold climate, a nasty climate in a lot of ways. Look out this window (pointing to one to his right) and you can see about 40 acres of cars down here on the other side of the railroad tracks. There's a lot of people who work (here) have to walk all the way down. My car is in the parking garage here under cover. I am not going to have to go out and scrape ice off of there, and that is a perk as a management employee of Norton that I enjoy immensely--. Being stuck in the middle management rank is good news and bad news. It's good news because you're making a very healthy income and you get to park in the parking garage legally and all kinds of good stuff like that."  
(A5b/1500-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2:4)

Both these managers, as did others, considered parking in close proximity and under cover very important and desirable privileges of their position in the organization.

Non-officers were not allowed to park in the garage, that George Vance referred to, according to the rules of the organization. There was a guard at the entrance to this multistructured garage to control entry. But members of Norton organization found ways to deal with this problem of parking. George Vance explained.

I'll tell you something else. Several other employees I have who are not supposed to park in there (in the garage) have their cars in there today (a particularly snowy day in December) I'll bet, because they sneak in when the guard isn't looking. They sneak in and park there.  
(A5b:1500-1700/T09DEC86/GV/1/2:4)

The question is was this considered to be normatively inappropriate?<sup>65</sup>

This is the culture of the organization. See its OK to sneak in. That's not a despicable act in our society, you know. You can sneak into the parking garage, its perfectly OK if you don't get caught.

Even though there were guards to enforce the organizational rules which the organizational members violated, it was considered normatively all right to sneak in and park in the garage. George Vance contrasted this to some other cultural norms.

There isn't anybody in my department who would take money out of your wallet if they saw it lying on your desk, because they would consider that a despicable act. They would not steal a typewriter. They probably would be willing to make a phone call on the company's nickel. But they would definitely sneak into the parking garage.  
(5B:1500-1700/T09DEC86/N/GV/1/2:5)

#### DISCUSSION

"We human beings are strange creatures; while our personalities are very much influenced by our environments, we are nonetheless biological entities...(w)hen these biological needs are met, as anthropologists and sociologists have often observed, this is accomplished in culturally defined and socially approved ways.

Eating, for example, involves not merely filling

one's stomach but tactfully complying with a number of conventions, which transforms this simple act of consumption into an occasion, into dining. Moreover, these rules are generally informally enforced by others, often by ridicule, sarcasm, or threats to end social interaction.

Meeting the basic need for an adequate nutritional and caloric intake is, in general fraught with cultural restrictions. Anthropologists and historians tell us that hungry people have starved rather than eat a forbidden food. Others have suffered the same fate when they would not sacrifice their honor by begging or stealing food. Thus, consuming the appropriate food and drink is a sign of membership in one's community.

(Birenbaum & Sagarin:1973:15)

Birenbaum and Sagarin, in the above quote, point out some crucially important elements and features of cultures. Even an activity as basic as eating which is biologically needed for survival, is essentially "culturally defined" and has to be carried out in "socially approved ways". In fact, what, how, where, and in what ways people choose to eat sometimes defines them as being members of particular groups. Choices in the selection of things, such as food, and actions, such as how one eats, available to individuals thus are not entirely free and open. Cultural values

and restrictions constrain the range of choices available to a limited number or menu of options. What, when, how, where and in what ways a person eats can be seen also as a form of symbolic non-verbal communication reaffirming membership or indicating lack of loyalty to the culture of which one is a member.

Buildings can be seen as providing a basic and very needed service. Buildings serve needs of shelter from a variety of potential hazards, such as natural, climatic and man-made elements. Without buildings acting as shelter, survival can become quite problematic. Buildings can also be seen as serving instrumental and functional needs pertaining to the accomplishment of a variety of tasks. And yet we find that meeting these needs, like that of eating as Birenbaum and Sagarin point out, is accomplished in culturally defined and socially approved ways. What kinds of physical environments people build, how they build, what they do in what they build, and how they behave in the physical environments they construct are culturally guided through norms, rules, conventions and programmatic instructions. Following these norms and rules makes or defines these people as being members of that particular group.

In this chapter I have described some of the ways in which organizational culture has mediated the organization's relationships with the physical environment through norms, rules, conventions and programmatic instructions. There were three separate aspects to

this, norms regarding the physical environment or physical environmental norms, norms regarding behavior in the physical environment or habitational norms, and behavioral norms affected by the physical environment or reactive social norms.

The looks, maintenance and upkeep of a building have real costs. Renovations cost money and even requirements such as cleaning up one's desk every evening has costs as Richards & Dobyns (1957) have pointed out. Where a person has coffee also has its costs in lost time. Yet, even with all these costs organization attempt to maintain a certain "look." These are driven in part by larger societal notions and goings on, as well as intra-organizational conceptions about what is appropriate.

The literature on appearance, maintenance and upkeep of buildings is quite scanty. Some organizations have contended that the upkeep is critical to company morale; Mars candy is one example where they devote an obsessive attention to keeping the place clean and shiny. Planners and architects have felt that neatness of appearance is important, perhaps critical (Sundstrom: 1986; Pile: 1978; etc.). Most of these, however, are normative writings which talk about how things should be. Many have commented on the oppressiveness that such arrangements have created. A few have attempted to look at the lack of freedom aspects of habitational behavioral restrictions related to maintenance of particular looks, arrangements or designed aspects (Sundstrom: 1986). There is some

anecdotal data on control by fiat to maintain certain looks, and employee and individual reactions, such as the person who put a McGovern bumper sticker on the back of the chair or the person who insisted on hanging a giant inflatable banana in his office (Sundstrom 1986:219). These have raised eyebrows in environmental psychology.

Mintz (1956) and Maslow & Mintz (1956) are two studies which have attempted to assess the effects of quality environments. To my knowledge, not much is known of the cultural norm related aspects of building looks and maintenance, and of the tension between normative aspects of the appearance of physical environments in organizations and individual freedom over the physical environment. Further we do not know much about how these affect organizational performance. Riemer (1979) mentioned that behavior varied with the quality of the finish of the building but did not elaborate on the normative aspects. Much more work needs to be done in this area.

Allocational norms have been addressed largely under the rubric of status demarcation. The emphasis has been on how organizations have had elaborate systems of status demarcation much of it through the physical environment that members receive, and an occasional witty tale is told about how these have been obsessively enforced. The impression conveyed is that most large organizations and governmental organizations have this all consuming interest in maintaining status distinctions. In fact Sundstrom cautions:



A facilities planner may be asking for trouble by trying to change the existing status markers in an organization. Status markers represent part of the local language. At best, a new set of status symbols would create confusion for a while. At worst, it could foster conflict and dissension. (Sundstrom:1986:251)

How and why this happens is not addressed. If indeed status markings are top-down enforced phenomena then such a caution is meaningless to the planner. But perhaps, what Sundstrom is suggesting here is that inequalities are created, maintained, and sustained through norms of appearance which we have so far placed under the rubric of status but needs independent examination and understanding as a phenomenon pervasive in many organizations, as the new standards at Norton demonstrate.

Appropriateness norms demonstrate what happens at individual levels, and what keeps people from seeking and obtaining physical environmental elements in excess of what is appropriate for them. There is an interesting interplay between appropriate norms and individual desire for socially higher categories of environmental elements. These norms, as with others have tolerance for idiolect level variations. Environmental policing by members helps with enforcement, and compliance which is also achieved through voluntary compliance, through surrender, and through forced compliance. While there is some information in the literature on forced compliance (Sundstrom: 1986), voluntary compliance has not been addressed.

Habitational norms form the second set I have described. Habitational norms regarding use of the physical environment govern

who can use the physical environment, when and how. In some of the exotic simple societies anthropologists studied men were not allowed to enter the house during daylight hours. This norm prevented non-kin men from entering a house when the men of the house were away in the fields. At Norton in 1960's bells announced when one could enter the building and when one could leave, and conditions under which the building could not be used. There were other conditions for building use -- for instance at Norton in the past, the building could be used only when the temperature was below 90 F. These normative provisions were intended to ensure the safety of inhabitants and ease in maintenance and upkeep. The latter being a back stage activity involving dirty work was clearly demarcated and separated from cleaner activities. Cleaning also required the cleaning crew to enter individual members' backstage areas which often caused discomfort for the inhabitant as I have pointed out (see also Joiner: 1971, 1976). Besides, it was easier to spatially-temporally separate cleaning and those who did the cleaning. Now, with work stations of the kind I have described, for some this separation is not as clear, since many of the mechanisms for spatio-temporal separation have been removed.

Habitational norms of appropriate and inappropriate behavior especially with regard to place, have been illustrated more in the literature. As pointed out earlier many such habitational norms have been identified particularly with regard to the house. Where animals could live (Tambiah: 1973; Errington: 1975; Orme: 1981)

where males and females could live (Tambiah: 1973; Orme: 1981; Eyde: 1983, etc.), where children could sleep (Tambiah: 1973) were all governed by norms. Selection of places for these people and activities were also governed by notions of clean and unclean. Related to this was the notion of taboo spaces which was meant to disallow people with particular characteristics to enter specific spaces at specific times. Menstruating women were considered unclean and having a polluting influence, and so in the Zoroastrian house they were not allowed access to the house but were required to stay in the ganza-i-punidun. There were also notions of sacred and profane, and in the Zoroastrian example the house was considered sacred while the ganza-i-punidun was profane (Mazumdar & Mazumdar: 1984).

In the office too, many activities were considered undesirable, profane, and having polluting power as I have described. The position and treatment of women in the early part of the century were seen as having "polluting" power which would contaminate the "hard working" men and distract or prevent them from their honorable tasks. This was an attempt, in the cases of both inappropriate behaviors (potentially polluting activities) and potentially polluting people -- women -- to be spatially segregated in places where both the inhabitants and habitational activities could be seen as nearer normal. Removing the person producing inappropriate behavior from the office was one of the primary orders of business, and occasionally this was accomplished by keeping the person on the

payroll as employee but disbarring him or her from coming to the office, occasionally through long-term disability. The appearance of a doctor in a white coat, or even a nurse, redefined the situations or place as a place where anomalous behavior could be expected. Needless to say, the doctor could also assist in the classification of "disabled" on a long-term basis.

Most works in the study of cultures and physical environments, have looked at how humans have dealt with the physical environments, how they have ordered, parceled, manipulated and affected it. Very little attention has been focused on how human systems have responded to existing physical environments, or to turn the question around, not much is known about how pre-existing physical environments affect cultures or social systems. In other words the culture-physical environment relationship has not been seen as inter-actional. Some have addressed stimulus-response issues most of which have not looked at social systemic adjustments. At Norton there were norms affected by the quality, characteristics, and nature of the physical environment. These were reactive social norms, many of which, although not all, attempted to compensate for shortcomings in the physical environment. It is here that we see evidence of efforts to socially redefine or reconstruct a physical reality. Imaginary culturally accepted boundaries existed (or were socially constructed where physical walls should have been, for example. It seems then that organizational culture's relationships with physical environments are interactional, one affecting and affected by the other.

## IV Notes

1. By Goffman's terminology, this was clearly a front region, and the upkeep had to be consistent with the image the organization wanted to project to the public. This was an era when these companies, the ones that had survived, and not gone under like numerous others, proudly announced their presence and financial viability. These comments do not necessarily say anything of the back regions. Suffice it to say that carefully sculpting and "managing" a front, irrespective of the back, was an important activity in those days, and still is.
2. These were affected by larger societal notions of what was appropriate for corporate office.
3. The 1950s-1960s was the era of mass production, of designing products that could in a less cumbersome way be produced by machines. Plain and simple forms, shapes and lines were used to herald this new age. It was the age of increasing speed in travel, and of travel to space. It was felt that even buildings -- immobile and fixed as they are -- could reflect and expound these tastes and become streamlined. Certainly, the decor of the building, at the very least the lobby, could be making a statement.
4. Supervisors' desks were an exception to this rule, and were often placed at an oblique angle to the orthogonal rows.
5. For other similar examples see Richards and Dobyns (1957). They describe how members were required to clean up their desks every evening even though this meant loss of time, and frequently, accuracy in the job.

The appearance of the building has been an important factor for many an organization and many a manager. Managers, in conjunction with architects and planners, attempted to institute rules that would maintain and sustain a certain "look" or appearance for the workplace. Sundstrom (1986:220) cites an example of the CBS headoffice building where members were required to strictly follow rules regarding how they should keep their workplace.

[Y]ou can't hang anything on the walls, you can't have any live flowers or plants on your desk, etc. You can't rearrange your furniture without getting written permission. One man got ready for a conference at which he was to exhibit kinescopes of television shows. He got the viewer ready and called "lights out!" That's when he discovered there was no light switch in his office. When he asked for a chair to stand on, so he could unscrew the bulb, he was told it would require two inter-

office memos, one to move the chair, and the other for permission to touch the bulb.

(Sundstrom:1986:220, quoting Beaty, J:1965:12).

And in another instance:

I'm a fish in a glass container, and there's no way I can make this fishbowl mine. The authorities request that every desk be cleared. Everyone must use the same set of filing cabinets, the same waste paper baskets. No posters are allowed. No photographs. Plants have to be a certain height.

(Coombs:1977:69)

People of Merit Insurance Company, the headquarters of which was constructed in 1965, related similar stories. Along with the building the architect designed the desks and even the ashtrays, which were to be located at specific places on the desk. Members reported that the chairman's personal secretary would occasionally go on spot checks, and if she found anything out of place or order, she would make it a point to have it correct.

6. Here "crowded" is used in the popular sense, with the knowledge that academically distinctions are made between density and crowding (Stokols: 1974). Addition of desks in the same area over time certainly increased the density significantly. But saying it was very dense, or that the density was very high still does not convey the sense that "crowded" does. With 5 desks abreast rows, the person in the center had to get past two others to get to her (mostly females there) desk. High density does not necessarily imply this "crowded" condition, as Stokols has emphasized.
7. These disruptions have economic consequences in lost production time and lost productivity, in addition to the money directly invested (or lost depending on the point of view) as the sum paid for the cost of the renovation itself. Some would question such a decision, given that this money could have been paid out to stockholders, or otherwise invested and made to "work" for the company. What makes such investments "justifiable" in the minds of the management of the company? The norms being discussed in this chapter, and the material discussed in the rest of this thesis certainly has weight, force and meaning which leads to this "justifiability."
8. This is judging from my experience in the other organizations.
9. Physical environment managers, in particular, worry about the appearance of the physical environment (and to some extent about the degree of freedom or restriction) as they feel it reflects on their job performance.

10. The question of individual freedom and surrender of some part of the freedom for common societal (organizational) aims or goals is an intriguing one. Cast as control versus freedom it has been addressed to some degree by Kunda (1986). A similarly intriguing question is that of individual creativity versus surrender of some of that for following a societal or other master plan. These, however, cannot be addressed here, and have to be left for later.
11. Whether the carpet tiles are that easily replaceable as made out to be, and whether the new replacement tiles will not stand out against the more worn and beaten ones alongside is another matter.
12. Both blinds and curtains would substantially alter the design logic. Open, low-partitioned work areas were placed next to window walls. Enclosed offices for officers were located in the central portions of large halls. Fully glazed walls on the window side made for large, open, well-lit areas. Making the glazed walls opaque in any way would make the office wall areas appear much less wide, and the offices would become completely dark interior offices, and thereby lose some of the charm the designers hoped to provide them with.
13. While there seems to be less of a concern for restricting member interactions with the physical environment, it was still too early to tell at the conclusion of the research whether (more) norms may not develop to deal with the problems of freedom for individual members.
14. What I am calling the 1985 renovations has had a brief history. Ideas for the renovation were developed and presented to senior management approximately three years earlier, i.e., in 1982. At that time neither market conditions nor income was very stable or predictable. Senior management thought perhaps that such a major renovation (even though it was estimated at a much lower cost at that time) would not be defensible or justifiable, and chose not to respond positively, but asked the Physical Environment Planners and Managers "to continue to study" the possibilities. In 1984-85 the ideas and plans for renovations were presented again and this time approved. In 1985 work began in earnest with competitions being held and architects selected. A first phase of the renovation project, parts of two floors were completed and opened in a grand way with open house invitations, balloons and the like in March 1986. Shortly thereafter, people moved into these spaces. I interviewed members from two groups who were going to be the first to move, prior to the move, and members of one group shortly after the move. Since my data collection concluded shortly thereafter, I was not able to interview the same group at the three-month point. Renovations of the entire building are expected, in the phases that have been earmarked, to take

approximately five years. At the end of that period, and at interim phases, continuation of this study would be very useful.

15. The normative stance taken at least in the written version can be tweesed out. These standards were being implemented with great vigor when I was there. Yet there were exceptions. How the standards were being implemented and how exceptions were being handled, while interesting, will not be discussed here.
16. A number of studies were conducted. Jobs and job related needs were studied for specific categories of job types. Surveys were conducted to gauge preferences. Market studies were expected to reveal what kinds of products were available, how they could be used and whether they would be useful. For example, it was felt that fiber optics would be the future trend in data transmission. And even though installation of fiber optic cables is rather expensive, and even though current utility of fiber optic cables is extremely low in the organization, the decision to install them was made and implemented. Surveys were conducted to understand use of environmental elements and products. For example, a chair use and selection study was conducted, which took approximately seven months, in which selected members were to use several different chairs and fill out survey questionnaires at different stages. This information, from this carefully controlled study, was used to select one specific kind of chair as "the standard" for the organization. Mock-ups were constructed with the physical environmental elements and time lapse surveys conducted to gauge, through this "pilot" study, member reactions to the new physical environment. These were found to be significantly positive. Later time lapse studies will again be conducted to get a better sense of member reactions. Productivity studies were being conducted, not necessarily connected with the renovation, to gauge the extent to which physical environmental changes were reflected in productivity. Tremendous efforts were made to put the renovation on a sound, scientific footing. Norton seemed to be using state-of-the-art skills and tools and seemed to be on the cutting edge!
17. The standard size manufactured was 65". But Norton based on its studies, figured that height created a boxed in feeling, although it was more effective in providing privacy from standing persons, and that it would significantly cut down daylight from the external windows, and prevent standing visibility of windows and consequently of the outside. They convinced the manufacturer that 61" height would be more appropriate allowing for the desired visibility and yet cutting down on most undesired visibility.



18. Inappropriate messages were to be particularly avoided. Physical environmental indications are mostly quite reliable. An example is provided by Athos (1968-75). He relates the case of a Vice President whose office, he found, was "larger and recognizably more stunning space in which to work than the office of the President. When Athos asked his guide, an officer, who was giving him the tour how long the President and Vice President were vying for power, he looked surprised, laughed and said "Another theory bites the dust! The Vice President's office is better because he has charge of sales in this district and his office is our best example of what we can do for our customers." A year later when the Vice President and President came into open conflict many in executive circles were asking "who is running this place?" Athos's reading of environmental indicators was quite correct.
19. Thompson (1961:138-151) has pointed out that "in general, subordinates must create an impression that they are awed by their supervisors" (Thompson:1961:151) and not show too much comfort or ease when in a superior's space or environment.
20. The conversational segment quoted here, like many such others, points out that often small conversational segments illustrate or point to a number of different phenomena. In addition to those elaborated here, there is clear evidence of environmental reading and how it works. Hence part of the segment may have been quoted there too. Separating the phenomena, I felt, was more important than quoting small segments more than once.

It also needs to be emphasized that there was a lot of environment related emotion here which may be getting lost in the tease-apart analysis in process. It mattered greatly to Frances M. Unger that he was the only AVP with four fabric covered panels instead of the usual two, and that he was the only one with green couches and chairs when everyone else had brown. Recall that he was also elated about being the one (among his group perhaps) to have an "office" (a cubicle in actuality). This social comparison of environmental elements gives him a sense of self worth and perhaps boosts his confidence.

21. But all this did not have to be played out and tested as is often the case with norms.
22. Zany Upton's story about the radiator cover is another one that illustrates the strong emotions that are often associated with the physical environment. In this event it was of strong anger.
23. Similar situations are reported from other organizations, and Norton does not seem unique in this regard. Here is one.

But when it comes to designating rank the corporate world is rarely as zealous as the Federal Government. Federal regulations detail such matters as office size and accouterments.

One tale is told of a government employee who moved into an office vacated by another employee of higher rank. The office was outfitted with two signs of that rank: an American flag and wall-to-wall carpeting. But quickly, the story goes, someone appeared to remove the flag and to cut the carpet into an area rug.

A General Services Administration spokesman, when asked about the alleged incident says "that sounds like an apocryphal tale. They wouldn't do that." He adds "they'd just remove the carpet." (Bralove:1982:23)

24. While many office buildings have often fixed hours, most provide access almost all the time, except in the case of emergencies and accidents. Many have shift work with data processors coming in on second and third shifts providing round-the-clock usage.
25. Until November, 1911 the daily work times were 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., when it was changed to 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. while still keeping to a six day work week.
26. Some people were required to work 40 hours, these positions were advertised as such. Flexitime required people to choose the times they would work from several standard ones. However, for ranks lower than manager one had to announce one choice and was expected to follow that as a regular daily schedule. These starting times varied from 7:15 a.m. to 9 a.m.
27. This seems to be in keeping with the philosophy of low maintenance mentioned earlier.
28. At various times organizations have attempted to control member behavior both on and off the premises of the organization (1977) Margolis (1979). For technological and privacy issues relating to these see Marx & Sherizen (1986).
29. While company publications claim it was a pioneer in hiring women it appears that other insurance companies in the eastern USA had already hired numerous women by December 1909. (See for example pictures in NYLIC:1909.)
30. These materials are derived largely from archival records, and written materials about the company. In order to ensure anonymity I have used pseudonyms for a number of authors. Not all materials will be completely cited. In some instances deliberate obfuscation has been resorted to in order to

maintain anonymity of organizations and people. The documents referred to here were in the possession of the company in 1987.

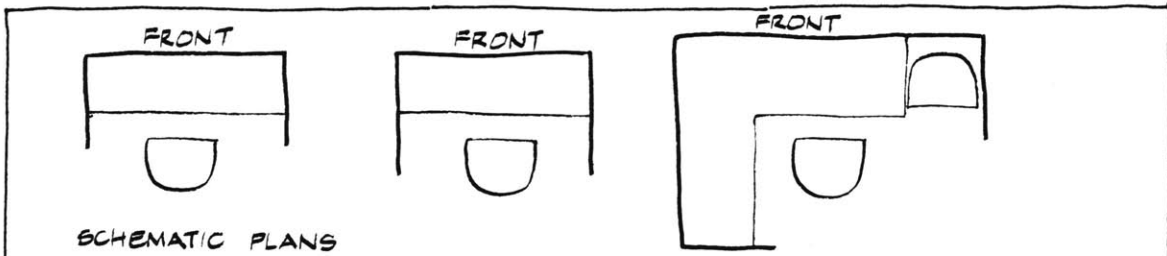
31. A 1931 census of Hartford, Connecticut insurance companies -- there was a conglomeration of insurance companies in Hartford, which was considered the insurance captial of USA -- found that most companies hired unmarried women.
32. In other words they were not to be or expect to become full members of the organization.
33. One of these temporary women was still classified as "temporary" after 40 years with the company, and joked about it at an office party honoring her 40th anniversary. Most, however, were let go, she recalled.
34. In those days and in that building, the top executives, such as the President, the Vice President, Secretary of the Company, were not located on the top floor, but on the second and third floors. The top floor was not a coveted floor. But remember there was no air conditioning, and no elevators.
35. For other examples of segregation of women in organizational buildings, of taboo spaces, of provision of special elevators, staggered work hours, and women's restroom (not washroom) (where men were expected not to go) see Abrams (1986), see also Orme (1981:95-96) for a different kind of example.
36. These conditions were not peculiar to Norton. Many other companies had similar policies regarding the hiring of women. Some informants claimed that these were derived from policies of the Federal Government.
37. At Merit Insurance Company for example, one woman had been married for ten years, and yet the company did not know. Some close associates found out several years after she retired, because she informed them eventually.
38. How romance led to firing was mentioned earlier.
39. See also Ong (1987) for a similar phenomenon at work with multinationals in Malaysia using young women as labor for the electronics industry.
40. Blacks, Asians, and some other races have been similarly affected in part because they were thought to lack achievement motivation (McLelland:1961) and creativity, in part because their conceptions of space and time were different, and in part because of other characteristics and habits. It was thought that they would not fit in, and would perhaps contaminate, pollute and corrupt. Judgments in organizations are not based on work alone.

At Norton cafeteria, sari clad women were seen to be sitting together, frequently joined by other sari clad women, but rarely by women in western garb. (Was the lack of fit obvious or was this self-fulfilling prophecy?)

41. See for example Cunningham, Bourdieu, Tambiah, Douglas, Ardener in the references at the end.
42. See Mazumdar & Mazumdar (1984) for an example of separate spaces and distancing to avoid pollution and contamination in another society.
43. See Rosengren and Devault (1963) and the material on bathroom behavior example Cahill et al. (1985).
44. An administrative level person was dismissed for "insubordinate behavior" because she loudly criticized her supervisor in the work hall. The administrative officer explained that if she had done it in the supervisor's office it would not be a problem of such magnitude and perhaps not a problem at all. It was particularly not appropriate in the hall in the presence of the others, i.e. the place and setting, were not appropriate. This person also cited a newspaper article about a Randolph man who lost his job because he called the Vice President of his firm a liar and a crude derogatory name in the presence of several other employees. The large hall makes it more likely that others will hear and witness the goings on.
45. These examples are from various companies, I studied, not necessarily all from Norton. As recounted, "A woman, believe it or not, was masturbating at her desk...what she did ultimately, she climbed on the back of the chair, hiked up her skirts and started to sing one of the songs from the big musical called Oklahoma, you know where men are men and women are women..." (M-36 1400-1550/WO3JUN87/1J/D2/1/1:42). Regarding sexual activities at work see Riemer (1979).
46. "Three years ago she slugged one of the men in the cafeteria." The same woman kicked a man in the testicles. They attempted to get her out of the building and to a hospital in a strait jacket.
47. A 30-year-veteran male of the company repeatedly ogled at different women which made them uncomfortable enough to complain.
48. Entering spaces from which one is excluded by norm or engaging in behavior normatively considered inappropriate leads to a certain amount of discomfort (see Birenbaum & Sagarin:1979).
49. Changing the physical environment constituting the setting is thus another way to make an activity more normal for the setting.

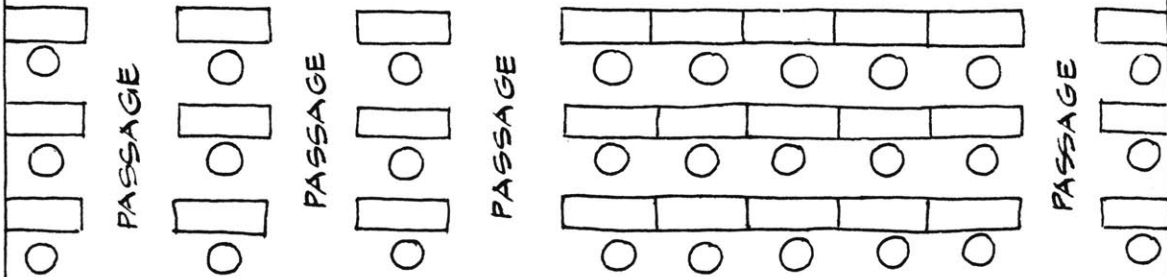
50. These components allow for add-ons of additional components such as book shelves, paper holding equipment, lockable cabinets, display panels etc. or their removal. They also supposedly allow for easy dismantling and reconfiguration and hence "flexibility."
51. Some (such as Joiner:1976) have argued that in an office setting with one's back to the wall gave the person more security, especially if the door was always in view. The work station, which lacked the security of four walls and a door was essentially a situation in reverse, where a person's front and sides were blocked but the back and sometimes sides were open to access by others. By Joiner's standards this should have caused extremem insecurity.
52. The psychological aspects of having partitions in front and sides have not been well researched to the best of my knowledge. It would be interesting to know more about the psychological effects of partial enclosure particularly that in front and partially at the sides, versus at the back.
53. As mentioned earlier, at times during my conversations with members, hearing was rather difficult due to ambient noise. Tape transcription was especially difficult. As Kuper tells us
- Some are particularly sensitive to sounds, more especially those which they cannot control. It's noises from other people that distresses us... Our main interest is in the reactions of resident to these intimacies of noise, whatever the objective measure of the degree of intrusion may be, since it is their reactions which are the basis of relations with neighbors." (Kuper:1976:246)
54. Kunda (1986) gives an example of an organization where it was considered acceptable to put tape across the opening, especially if going away on vacation.
55. Some such as Maslow & Mintz (1956) and Mintz (1956) have claimed that individual and group behavior are affected by the quality of the physical environment. Individual's ratings of tasks varied when the quality of the physical environment was altered. Others such as Riemer (1979) have shown that when the environment was unfinished and crude, that behavior was crude and became more polished when the environment was more finished and fine. Riemer's work is particularly relevant here. However, he neglects to tell us how norms regarding behavior were affected. It appears that it was acceptable to throw wrappers to the wind in a low quality environment. See also Rosengren & Devault (1963).
56. Rosengren & Devault (1963) make essentially the same claim.

57. How visible the space and the behavior is to others may make a difference to the behavior.
58. If this was not done the change would be a definitional one, in name only.
59. This was not at Norton Corporation, but at Ziggy Insurance Group.
60. At my request I was given a tour of this mailroom.
61. These mail trucks traveled on their metal tracks. In a few other organizations mail was collected and delivered by means of a battery operated vehicle. In one organization it was manually operated by an operator while in another "Oscar" was a robot traveling on magnetic strips on the carpet.
62. Since for the organization it was not a longitudinal study, it is not possible for me to make definitive comments on change. However, this mailroom was quite a contrast to others I observed in other organizations.
63. For description of behavioral change when the quality of the environment changed, see Riemer (1979:54-60).
64. Many organizations are now "experimenting" with changing conventional back regions with near front or front regions. Restaurants are putting part or all of their kitchens in front so that patrons can see the food being prepared. Others have put in on display for outsiders to see. These have produced a good measure of success in attracting customers.
65. My attempts to park in the open lots were very successful and in the garage were quite successful.



SCHEMATIC PLANS

FIG. 4.7 BACKS OF WORKSTATIONS OPEN



1930's LAYOUT

1970's LAYOUT

FIG. 4.8 DESK LAYOUTS COMPARED

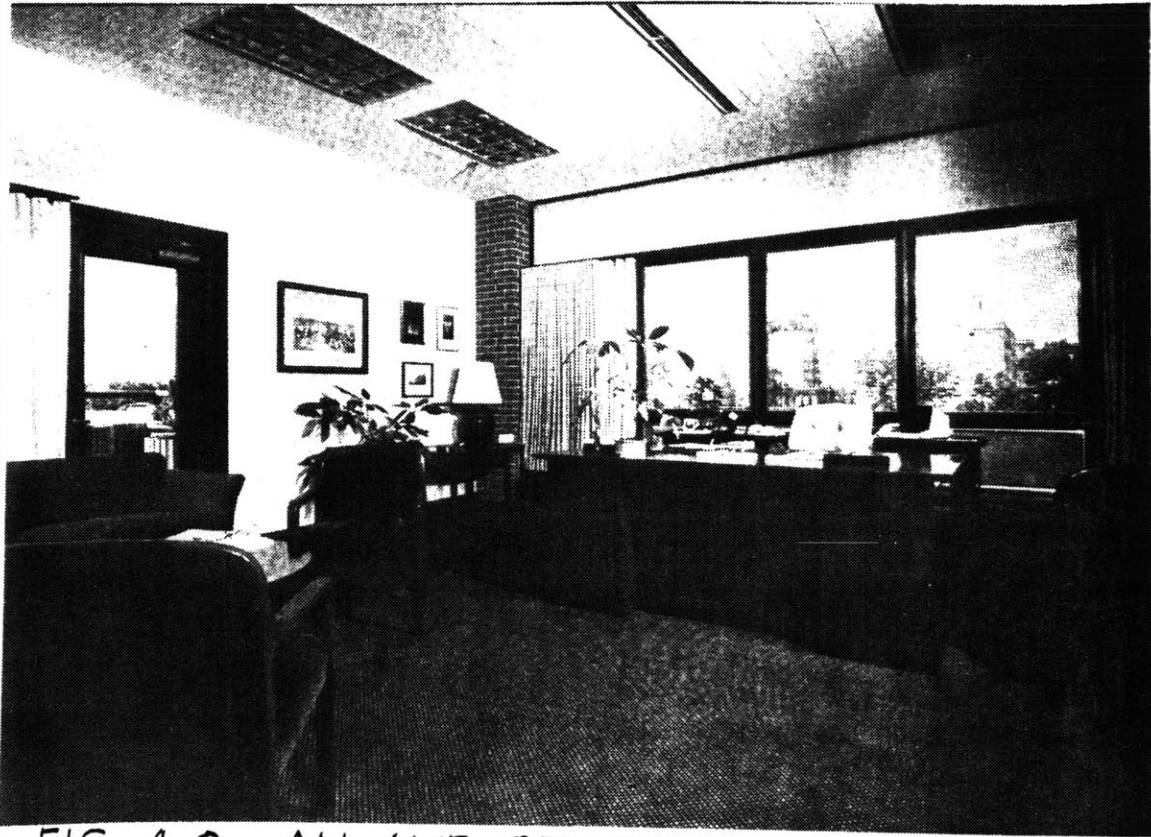
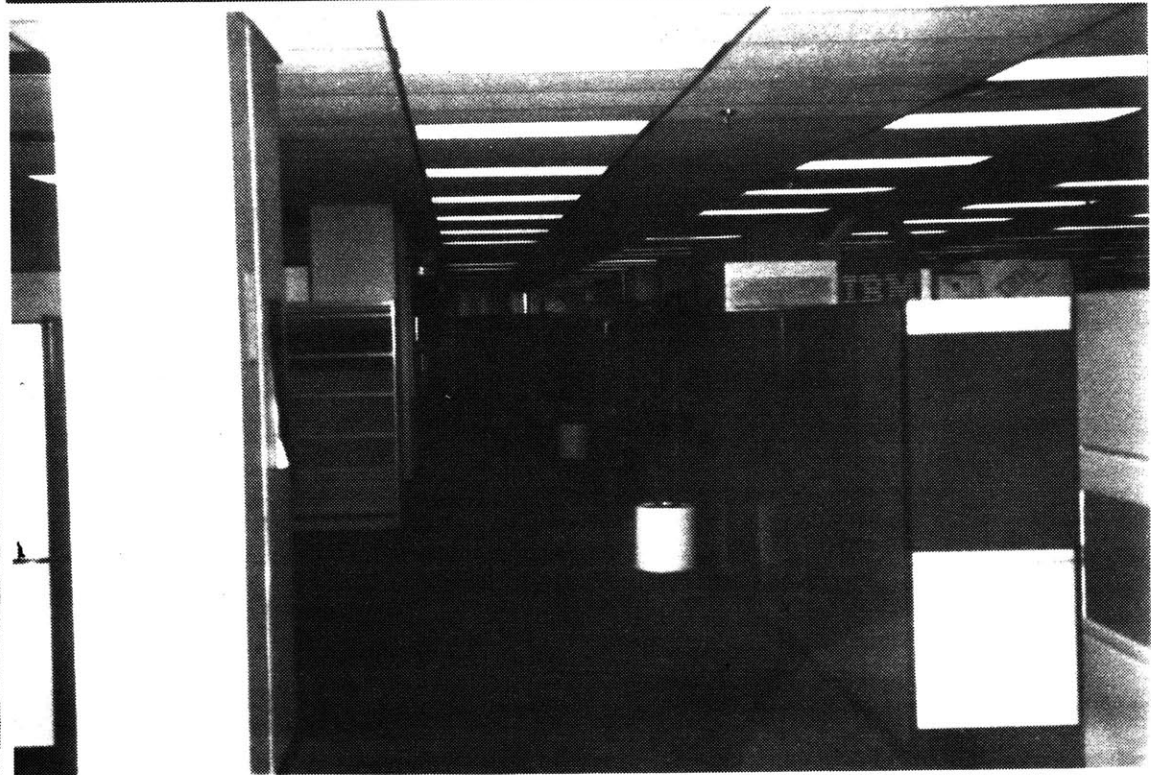
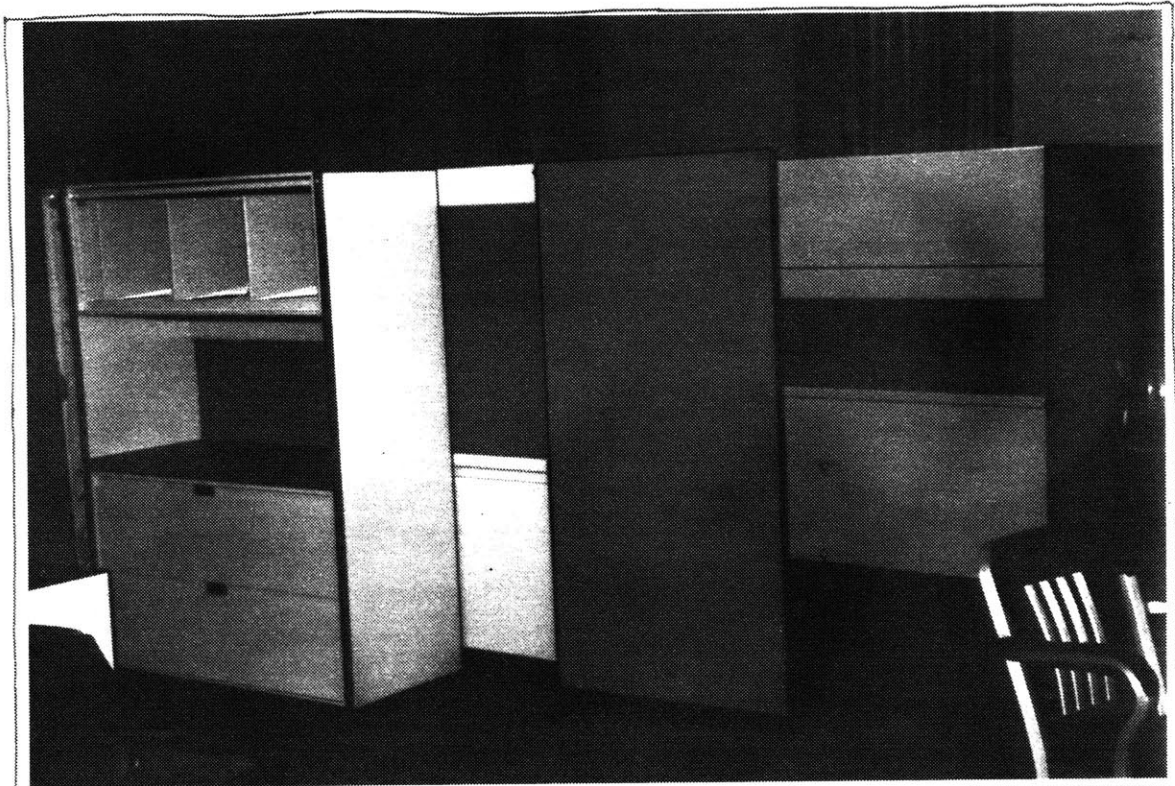


FIG. 4.9 AN AVP OFFICE

SOURCE: BUILDINGS (1983: Feb).



FIGS. 4-10 & 4-11 MODERN WORKSTATIONS QUINN





FIG. 4.12 VIEW OF MODERN WORKSTATIONS NORTON



FIG. 4.13 MODERN WORKSTATIONS NORTON



FIGS. 4.14 & 4.15 PRESIDENT'S OFFICE & BOARD ROOM  
ZETA DIAMOND



FIG. 4.16 MODERN OFFICE AMENITIES - GARDEN  
DIAMOND



FIG. 4.17 MODERN OFFICE AMENITIES - ESCALATORS.  
TREES. COLOR CODED RAILINGS

## CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: ARCHITECTURE OF ORGANIZATIONS AND ORGANIZATION OF ARCHITECTURE

My primary interest in this exploratory study was to understand through naturalistic field research the inter-relationships<sup>1</sup> between organizational culture and the physical environment. More specifically I wanted to learn about the physical environment, what it meant to cultural members, and how their interactions with the physical environment were affected by norms, rules and programmatic behavioral instructions. In the previous sections I have described several<sup>2</sup> aspects of the relationships. These were as follows.

- 1) The physical environments of the different subcategories of Norton members were very different.
- 2) The physical environments and the differences were very meaningful to Norton members.
- 3) The manifestation of these meanings was through phenomenon such as environmental reading, socio-physical congregation

and distancing, environmental embarrassment, and environmental deprivation.

- 4) The physical environment carried a great deal of symbolic significance.
- 5) The inter-relationship between organizational culture and the physical environment were mediated by norms, rules and programmatic behavioral instructions which affected members' interactions with the physical environment and that in many instances the existing physical environment affected the norms and rules.

In this chapter I would like to summarize and discuss these relationships as well as provide some examples of cross-cultural variations. I would like to describe the implications for organizational culture studies, organizational studies, environmental design research, and practice. Finally, I conclude with some cautions and a word on the importance of the physical environment.

#### SYMBOLIC CHARACTERISTICS AND SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The rhetoric of functional and instrumental needs may be largely that: rhetoric. I make this speculation based on a few observations. First, similar kinds of work in different companies producing similar products, such as insurance, or computers, were

being done in very different physical environments. It is true that certain basic tools, instruments, and physical environments may be necessary for certain basic operations. And it may be true that certain kinds of environments may lead to higher or lower efficiency. These are of course very difficult to measure. Nonetheless, organizations still seem to develop their own ways of designing work, and selecting or designing the physical environment for it. These differences may be more influenced by cultural views of work and its division than on efficiency and instrumental concerns.

Second, the instrumental argument is a rhetoric that gets attention in a society that has the culture of instrumentality. It is easier to ask for, and get, a table or desk if one claims that it would affect the performance of one's job than to ask for it simply on the basis that one likes it or believes that it would make the space look better. Even when the latter argument is accepted it is often because it is felt that appearance might affect the organization's performance in sales. The instrumental rhetoric can, and is, effectively used to acquire environmental elements. Many are reluctant to give up environmental elements that are "due" to them because of their position, even though they may not have any "need" for it, and may even hurt their effectiveness. One manager at Imperial Jane showed me a large wooden credenza that was absolutely empty and cluttering up his office. Yet he was not willing to give it back. It symbolically represented his position.

Third, determination of functional needs may be rather problematic. It would depend on how work and tasks were divided up. If these were very clear and fixed for relatively long periods of time -- till the next physical environmental change or renovation -- then these could be worked out for that period. But jobs and tasks are rarely that stable or stagnant.

Fourth, the physical environment was symbolically depicting members' positions and identities, and this is very important and meaningful to members, as I have emphasized.

Fifth, I have also mentioned that how and when members could use the physical environment was governed and affected by cultural rules and norms. In some instances these led to inefficiencies, as Richards & Dobyns (1957) have pointed out.

Hence it may be that the argument of instrumentality is largely rhetoric and is engendered by the culture of instrumentality that pervades business organizations. This is not to deny the existence of instrumental relations with the physical environment. Rather, I wish to emphasize the existence of this rhetoric as a legitimizing mechanism, and to signal that instrumentality may not be the all important crucial driver it is made out to be. I also wish to emphasize the cultural value laden relations with the physical environment and its symbolic nature, even in business organizations.

The viewing of the world and the physical environment as symbolic in nature is not new to social scientists. Symbolic interactionists such as Blumer (1969), Mead (1934) and others have pointed to the symbolic nature of social relationships, and have tried to understand how people symbolically interact with one another. Most symbolic interactionists, however, have not picked up on the symbolic communication and interaction that occurs through the physical environment and setting.

Several anthropologists have described the symbolic values that the exotic tribes they studied either depicted in the physical environment or affected the building form and use of the physical environment. These studies, in large measure, dealt with environments which were likely to have higher symbolic value, such as house, temple, etc.

The viewing of offices as symbolic representations of organizational ideology, or organizational values has not been common except for Doxtater (1981) who viewed the office as a symbolic representation of the cosmos. The viewing of physical environments in offices as being socially constructed also has not been common. The physical environment can be viewed as being socially constructed in two ways. On the one hand such buildings require massive coordinated concerted effort and can be seen as being socially constructed in that sense. On the other hand the physical reality of the building can often have in parallel a



socially constructed reality with its own social map overlaid on the territory. Certain regions may be considered inaccessible even though there may be physical access. Large open accessible spaces may have invisible socially constructed boundaries, and therefore be inaccessible to some.

Symbolic significance is manifest also in the use of the physical environment as a means of symbolic non-verbal communication. Several before me have pointed out that physical environments are "read." Rapoport (1982) has claimed that the built environment carries meaning which is transmitted and received through the physical environment acting as a symbolic communication device. Some such as Ruesch & Kees (1966), Knapp (1980) have emphasized the fact that the physical environment can form part of a language of non-verbal communication which can be subtle yet more telling, pervasive and openly available than other forms of communication. Hall (1959) has emphasized the social aspects of communication but has taken pains to point out its cultural variability. And of course archaeologists and ethnoarchaeologists have been reading the physical environmental materials and remains of entire civilizations.

However, I tend to agree with Steele (1973:53) who cautioned consultants from jumping to hasty conclusions in trying to read physical environments in organizations, and assuming that the symbolic messages were universal. My study suggests that

communication achieved through the physical environment is culturally mediated and behave more like dialects valid for certain regions and specific groups of people, as evident in the ways members expect others to approach their space described earlier. Based on my study I can also make the suggestion that organizational members even in commercial organizations, tend to put greater value and emphasis on the symbolic significance of the physical environment in the organization, and that the physical environment is seen as part of self-identity statements.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL MEANING

The physical environment and environmental elements carried special meaning and special value to organizational members. These meanings became evident in certain relationships with the physical environment. I have described four such phenomena, and would like briefly to summarize them here.

These special meanings were derived partly from a member's organizational self-identity. The projection of that identity and identity claim was done partly through the selection, design, manufacture, and display of "objectivations," and physical environmental elements and artifacts. These not only located a person in the organization but also communicated that to others through symbolic non-verbal communication. The physical environment

not only gave the member a physical place it also placed the member in the social organization.

### Environmental Reading

In the absence of carried-on-person visual signs, and of verbal signs, the physical environment has emerged as an important communication of a person's social position.

Just as symbols form part of language and communication, the physical environment was seen as communicating messages about the occupant. Part of this was the signification and message sending aspect where occupants intended to send messages to others. A door to an office being closed and locked indicated that the occupant did not want others to enter the office; the door being left open could carry more complex messages from "enter if you want" to "you are not expected to enter without permission because that is the cultural norm."

Another part was the "reading" aspect. Organizational members "read" the physical environments. In the reading of the physical environment, the environment was thought to reflect the social categorization that existed in the organization. Members read the physical environments of others and tried to place them in the social organization. They were seen as presenting identity claims

or identity statements. The physical environmental elements, as well as the differences, were meaningful to members.

In social interaction, projection of an appropriate front and self-identity are very important, as Goffman (1959) has pointed out. And projection of an appropriate front depended, in part, in the ability to read the other's projection of self identity, as emphasized by Goffman (1959, 1967). Goffman focused on the readings and projections that people did through manipulations of their bodies, and their clothes. What Goffman neglected to focus on was that people, as social beings, manipulated not only their bodies and clothes but also the physical environment around them. In organizations, environmental reading became an important activity on which depended the projection of an appropriate front, and selection of an appropriate behavioral strategy.

#### Socio-Physical Congregation and Distancing

Members of similar social class tended to congregate in physical proximity while distancing themselves from others, especially distant, social categories.

Distancing was both social and physical in nature. Cultural norms required members to "keep to one's place" and "keep one's distance" from those belonging to very different social categories and strata. Goffman (1973) and Potash (1985) have claimed that when

social distances were encroached upon, stress resulted. This was supported by data I gathered. I found, however, that social distance was not the only important factor. Physical and psycho-physical distance was equally important if not more so. The elaborate mechanisms devised to not only maintain social distance (separate elevators) and physical distance, location on top floor, to be accessed through traversing large distances, but also the use of psychological factors such as getting past guards, secretaries, doors, check points and the necessity for being appropriately dressed for the occasion.<sup>3</sup>

#### Environmental Embarrassment

Environmental embarrassment was not only a social phenomenon but a physical environmental one as well. There was embarrassment related to the physical environment. Members were embarrassed when the physical environment did not meet expectations in terms of appearance, ambience or performance. Non-performance, also led to embarrassment as did loss of environmental elements or visible lack of control over environmental elements. Gross and Stone (1973) have, in writing about embarrassment as a social phenomenon, mentioned that props in social encounters can lead to or even cause embarrassment.<sup>4</sup> The five elements they identified which gave rise to embarrassment were: space, props or decor, equipment, clothing and the body. It is obvious that the first three could be considered physical environmental elements. And even though they claim "if

identity locates the person in social terms, it follows that locations or spaces emerge as symbols of identity, since social relations are spatially distributed" (Gross & Stone:1973:104), they do not pay the kind of attention to the physical environment that it requires for a good understanding of environmental embarrassment. Environmental embarrassment requires further study with regard to the conditions that cause it and how people deal with it.

#### Environmental Deprivation

Environmental deprivation was a situation where a member was not provided with a physical environment which was appropriate, expected, or where a person suffered a loss of physical environmental elements and artifacts through environmental take aways. Environmental deprivation deeply affected organizational members, even when such take aways may have been necessitated due to a technical problem, such as the space being required for a computer room or a telephone closet. Environmental deprivation had devastating effects on organizational members, often leading them to quit the organization, in part due to social comparison. It was generally viewed with great alarm by organizational members.

Not much has been written about environmental deprivation in organizations. It is generally known however, that when a member's office is moved to the boon docks that there are some problems, and the word gets out that the person is on the way out. Loss of

environments in housing and community studies provide some input. Fried (1972), Gans (1962) have described the phenomenon, while emotional responses have been explained by Fried and Gleicher (1974).

#### INTERACTIONS WITH THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURAL NORMS AND RULES

Another important facet of the relationship between organizational culture and physical environment was evident in the norms and rules that were devised to regulate and mediate members' dealings with the physical environment.

The kind of physical environment an organizational member could have was not a matter of free choice by the member, nor was it up to the member to purchase what he or she wanted and have it installed. Rather an organizational member's physical environment was governed by culturally devised rules and norms. These rules were strictly followed and enforced primarily by the Physical Resource Managers of the organization (see also Davis, T.:1984). Although of late there has been an effort to write down these rules, in the past these were not written down. Organizational members got to know about the rules none-the-less. With the rules not written there was more room for negotiations but with rules written, the weak willed and those not well versed in the art of environmental

negotiation, were being turned away. Negotiations are likely to continue nonetheless.

Underlying these rules and norms regarding who should get what kind of physical environment were culturally developed ideas of good and bad, appropriate and inappropriate environments. These ideas were so important that members did not want to be in highly inappropriate places, which gave the sense that there was a place for everyone as Perin (1977) has mentioned. If the physical environment was not important to the culture, it is doubtful that it would figure prominently in its rules and norms.

There were rules and norms regarding conduct in physical environments. Organizational members were expected to play the "corporate game," look serious "make work" (Goffman:1959:109ff) and appear busy. This kind of behavior was likely to get them ahead faster. Looking like corporate people also helped as Goffman points out.

Similarly, executives often project an air of competency and general grasp of the situation, blinding themselves and others to the fact that they hold their jobs partly because they look like executives:

Few executives realize how critically important their physical appearance may be to an employer. Placement expert Ann Hoff observes that employers now seem to be looking for an ideal "Hollywood type." One company rejected a candidate because he had "teeth that were too square" and others have been disqualified because their ears stuck out, or they drank or smoked too heavily during an interview. Racial and religious requirements also are often frankly stipulated by employers." (Goffman:1959:47) Quote from Stryker Perin:1953:182, "How Executives Get Jobs: Fortune).



Not all could get ahead as easily, however. Some due to their characteristics were excluded, because it was felt that they could not fit into the upper strata, while some were thought to be more suitable to certain, mostly lower, strata.

After describing how the physical nature of the back region is designed to differ from the front region, Goffman goes on to illustrate some of the other traits that are utilized.

"Employers complete the harmony by hiring persons with undesirable visual attributes for back region work, placing persons who "make a good impression" in the front regions. Reserves of unimpressive looking labor can be used not only for activity that must be concealed from the audience, but also for activity that can be concealed but need not. As Everett Hughes has suggested, Negro employees can more easily than otherwise be given staff status in American factories if, as in the case of chemists, they can be sequestered from the main areas of factory operation. (All of this involves a kind of ecological sorting that is well known but little studied.) And often it is expected that those who were back stage will achieve technical standards while those who were in the front region will achieve expressive ones." (Goffman:1959:124).

Goffman's statements are confirmed in what I observed and have described earlier.<sup>5</sup> For executives the appearance of their spaces was important. One officer who had changed the arrangement of his office came back the next day to find a note on his desk from a senior executive stating that he had to either change the arrangement back to the old layout of desk facing the door or leave the company, the story is told. Out of the norm and inappropriately maintained spaces were frowned upon particularly for executives.

Women in the early part of the century, were considered outcasts as far as work in offices were concerned. Several precautions of a physical and social nature were taken to ensure that they remained "in their place." Women were considered back region people.

Rules and norms were affected by the physical environment. Quality of the physical environment affected culturally expected behaviors. It seems as if it was acceptable to behave crudely in environments that were not well maintained or crudely finished.

Norms were affected by characteristics of the physical environment. Work stations provided a situation which was the converse of a private, enclosed office. Norms required the visitor to announce his or her presence and approach with a verbal signal before the visitor crossed an invisible culturally accepted line. Yet fully enclosed offices with doors were expected to be entered without a knock if the door was closed, but a knock was required when the door was open! This casts some question on definitions of privacy that are physical enclosure based (Brill:1984). While physical enclosure affects a person's feelings of privacy in a major way, it seems that social norms and rules not only affect expectations of privacy, but also regulate interaction modes, which in turn affect privacy (see also Clearwater:1979).

Similarly, territoriality and its effects need to be carefully re-considered. Humans, and human organizations, as with animals (Ardrey:1966), like to exert control over physical space which they consider their own. In the case of organizational cultures, territory and control over it were culturally mediated through rules and norms.

#### CROSS CULTURAL NOTES

There are a number of other issues I would like to address briefly. These deal with variation, correlation of differences, and changes over time.

Culture's relationships with the physical environment can be expected to vary from culture to culture. Some variation is affected by the larger culture in which the organization is located. Senior officers in the organizations I looked at in India were located on rather lower floors, even though the upper floors provided better views and gave the feeling of metaphorically being "on top of it all." The second floor (first floor in places the ground floor is not labeled first floor) was a frequent choice. The "executive row" would have a grand marble stairway leading up to the second floor along with other accouterments such as double height ceilings, views onto the entrance lobby. Local contexts and considerations vary. In places where electricity cannot be taken for granted, and supply is often interrupted, lower floors have the

added attraction of not only being close to ground but also easily accessible on foot. In places where social and labor unrest focuses on executives, safety becomes a real issue. Lower floors offer advantages of quick and easy exit.<sup>6</sup> Also in India, executive offices are not always very elaborately decorated. Status may be indicated by a larger office or a guard in splendid regalia, complete with colorful turban seated outside the door. Wood desks may not convey the same connotation in India, where wood desks are less expensive than metal ones. The availability of materials is different. Further, labor may be valued differently. Hand crafted materials may actually be less expensive than machine made ones. All these lead to differences between cultures.

But sub-cultural values are likely to differ, too. In the Progressive Computer Company, there were offices of three different sizes (250 square feet, 150 square feet, 80 square feet). While the President had the largest of the three, there were several others who had offices the same size. This was quite different from the situation in Norton. Technical Computer Company, in contrast to Progressive, had an elaborate set of standards with three kinds of enclosed offices, A, B, and C, varying in size from 140 to 192 to 270 square feet, and these did not cover senior executives such as CEO, President, Vice President. Technical also had an elaborate set of furniture standards while at Progressive there were few noticeable differences between the ranks. Hence, it would be inappropriate to generalize that Norton was typical. A majority of

organizations are likely to have different physical environments for its different contributors. However, this is not a universal phenomenon. These differences, fine though they may be, may say something about the nature and culture of the organization, and their ideology. More research needs to be done in this area before trends can be identified. Based on my study, I can in a speculative way identify some correlations of differences. The differences do not seem to be dependent on industry. However, computer firms seem more likely to experiment. They seem to be more conscious that the physical environment is a factor that can be manipulated. Computer scientists and engineers on the one hand and lawyers on the other hand appear to be more conscientious about their physical environments and their capabilities, than other groups. Computer engineers seemed to want to manipulate the elements in an attempt to produce a more productive atmosphere and their environments varied from "sweat shop" type to offices loaded with equipment and incandescent lighting instead of fluorescent. Lawyers seemed to be more conscious of the impression their offices would have on others, especially clients. Their offices were rarely sparse, mostly rather richly decorated.

Age and size of the organization may have some effect on the development of standards regarding physical elements. Newer and smaller organizations seem to be less motivated to lay out strict standards.

Cultural values, preferences, norms and rules all change over time. I have identified some of these for Norton. Philosophical viewpoints, on the part of those who initiate organization-wide changes in the physical environments vary from "the physical environment really does not make any difference to the organization's functioning" to "the physical environment is an important component affecting the organization's functioning." The former tends to not invest in the physical environment, while the latter tends to the adoption of new developments in the physical environmental area, such as the incorporation of ergonomic furniture. For Norton I have noted the beginnings of a pattern with regard to renovations, every 25-30 years, that were not "instrumentally" necessary.

As an organization, Norton was special and different in ways. There were concerted attempts under way to use "scientific" methods and knowledge to positively influence the physical environment at Norton. A nine-month long chair study was carried out to determine which chair would be the most appropriate for them. Several surveys and pre- and post-occupancy studies were carried out to involve renovation ideas were well received. Not too many organizations are as careful. But where these studies and efforts fail are in that they are unable to capture the issues surfaced by a study which seeks in an intensive way to understand what is happening in the field.

## IMPLICATIONS

In this section I would like to discuss the implications of some of the observations I made earlier. I shall consider these under four categories - implications for organizational culture studies, implications for organizational theory, implications for environmental design research, and implications for practice.

### Implications for Organizational Culture Studies

Examination of the relationships between organizational culture and the physical environment have largely been neglected. A few have described aspects of the physical environment in the almost ubiquitous descriptions of settings done ritually by many social scientists perhaps (see Kanter:1977; Rohlen:1979; Lynch, M.:1985). On occasion the physical environment has received a chance remark or a brief descriptive mention (Kunda:1986; Smircich:1983; Ouchi:1981; Davis:1984; Deal & Kennedy:1982). In most, little or no connection is made between the nature of the physical environment and cultural attitudes or notions regarding how the physical environment ought to be built, or how it can be "used" or "lived in." As a result in most of these cases, not much would be lost if the descriptions had been entirely left out.<sup>7</sup> Schein (1983) had proposed a three-level model of culture: starting with the top they were artifacts, creations ("visible but often not decipherable"), values ("greater level of awareness") and basic assumptions ("taken for granted").

Yet Schein's proposition that there was a connection between organizational culture and artifacts was not explored further.

My exploratory study reveals that it is possible to learn about organizational culture by looking at interactions with the physical environment and at the physical environment itself. This is similar in general terms to the argument made that one can learn about a culture by looking at language available for a semiotics or semiological analysis (Barley:1983), at stories (Martin et al:1983) myths and rituals (Pondy et al:1983), practices (Peters & Waterman:1982), etc. As I have indicated, cultures devote fair amount of attention to delineating the ways in which members ought to relate to the physical environment. Physical environments further act as symbolic medium which helps members know how to relate to each other. The sections on environmental embarrassment and environmental deprivation suggest that the physical environment carries great significance from a socio-cultural perspective. All these indicate that physical environments are important to cultural members. It seems to be a fruitful area of research for those interested in organizational cultures.

#### Implications for Organization Studies

Only a few very specific kinds of questions regarding the physical environment have been asked in this literature. Questions that have been asked regarding the organizations physical



environment fall into the instrumental domain, including what purpose does the physical environment serve? How can the physical environment be used to increase productivity? What can be done to the physical environment to reduce expenses and make the organization more efficient? What role can the physical environment play in making the organization more effective? Can the physical environment be used to increase workers' satisfaction and loyalty? Other than these, the literature on organization theory also has neglected consideration of the physical context in which organizations operate. Management literature, particularly organizational behavior literature has played hide-and-seek with physical environmental aspects. The Hawthorne experiments supposedly "proved" that physical environmental elements did not affect productivity and set the stage for general neglect of consideration of physical environmental elements. Yet a closer examination of this literature reveals that the physical environmental elements often played a prominent role in the development of ideas but was ignored, as I explained earlier.

In the study of organizations, many have taken a metaphorical look at organizations (see Morgan:1986 for a review). Looking at the physical structure or the building as a metaphor of the organization has not been done, although Pfeffer (1982) suggested it. Many have looked at organizations through conceptual 'lenses' such as goals, reward systems, etc. Here too the physical environment has not been used as a conceptual lens. As a result,

questions such as what can we learn about organizations by looking at their physical structures have been neglected.<sup>8</sup> Other related questions such as why do organizations select to build (or rent) the kinds of buildings they do, remain presently largely in the domain of conjecture.

Lately, there has been some movement from some quarters emphasizing and calling for more studies of physical environments of organizations and their effects. Pfeffer (1982), Duffy (1969) have suggested that perhaps there is a connection between organizational structure and physical structure. Steele (1973, etc.), Davis, T. (1984), Salancik & Pfeffer (1978), Pfeffer (1981, 1981a), Peters (1978) have highlighted the symbolic aspects of the physical environment and also of management.

Viewed from a non-verbal communication perspective, studies of organizations have devoted only a limited amount of attention to symbolic non-verbal communication aspects. These include Salancik and Pfeffer (1978), Peters (1978) McCaskey (1979), Morgan (1986), Smirich (1983) and Louis (1980). Joiner (1971, 1974) and Zweigenhaft (1976) addressing the psychological aspects claim that arrangement of furniture in offices creates zones and conveys messages to the visitor as to how far the visitor may enter. Both seem to convey the sense that the messages conveyed by the arrangement of furniture are universal. Much more can be done in this regard, as my study suggests.

Implications for Environmental Design Research

In the field of environmental design research there has been almost no research specifically on organizational cultures and their physical environments.<sup>9</sup> There have been some attempts to study national, regional, local cultures and their physical environments. This movement spearheaded by Hall (1969) and Rapoport (1969) has received only modest support until recently.<sup>10</sup>

Contributions have been made from another stream based on studies of houses (Kuper, L:1976), neighborhoods (Gans:1962), towns (Gans:1968), stratification and minority studies (Ardener:1981); Mazumdar & Mazumdar:1984). A large majority of this work has been relating to house and housing. A few have attempted cross-cultural studies (Aiello & Thompson:1980; Altman & Werner:1985, etc.). Work and organizational culture studies from an environmental design or social ecology perspective have been significantly absent.

The primary aim of studies of work, organization and office environments have been to come up with findings generalizable widely and across cultures. Effects of cultures and cultural variations have received little attention. Many of these studies have been done largely from an instrumental perspective (Becker:1981; Wineman:1986;etc).

Productivity has been a major concern (Brill:1984). Measurement of productivity has been a problem, however, in modern offices, except in areas where output was very clearly measurable. Managers influenced by scientific management theories, attempted to impose piece-rates on those areas that had clearly measurable outputs. Of course, scientific management required the work space and work to be laid out in a manner which would support maximum productivity. In present day organizations there are few areas where output can be clearly measured on a periodic basis. Attention has now shifted to effectiveness and efficiency instead, although many still tried to measure productivity through self reports. (Clearwater:1979, Brill:1984, etc.)

While a lot of attention has been focused on productivity and efficiency because these are easily comparable, measurable data, whose significance is sometimes seriously in question, it is effectiveness that really gives a good indication of the "health" of the organization. Even so, effectiveness also requires choice of criteria and decisions as to what can be considered "being effective" for the organization.

There has been some emphasis in recent years on devising means to measure individual satisfaction with the work environment with the assumption that satisfaction of this sort will lead to increased productivity. A large part of the work in the field of Environment-Behavior and Environmental Psychology have relied on individual

aspects, responses and feelings. These have been obtained largely through self-administered survey questionnaires, which were then computed statistically to obtain aggregated findings. While it is interesting to find out aggregated individual responses along pre-set dimensions of what people think of specific environmental elements, these still do not provide us with understanding of culturally mediated reactions and behavior of the sort I have described.

This reliance on the individual as the unit of analysis, has effectively left out of the equation, and even out of consideration cultural and social systemic aspects. Further, measures of individual level analysis are also confounded with issues of idiolect variations. Cultural rules and norms do not set absolute limits. On the contrary, these are variable, negotiable and allow for idiolect level preferences, individuality and variations. Even though there are such variations, the importance of the rules and norms as guides to thinking and behavior are not diminished. As a result, the tension between socially and culturally constructed and mediated version and the aggregated individual response version continues unabated.<sup>11</sup>

If organizations are seen from the drama analogy (the presentation part) with members having roles to perform, then effectiveness can be related to role performance. And role performance can be affected by the props and stages as Goffman

(1959) and Gross and Stone (1973) have pointed out. The stage and props are of course largely physical in nature. Inadequacies in organizational props are sometimes compensated for by norms and rules, as was the case with work stations.

But humans are not simply instrumental. Instrumental goal directed behavior occurs especially when there is an emotional commitment to the goal. Yet the literature has largely neglected the emotional component and how and why it occurs. Humans exist in space and time and are space and time bound. The nature of the physical setting (house or home) for family and domestic activities has been explored and found to be of utmost importance (Perin:1977; Cooper:1975; Gans:1962; Fried:1972; Fried & Giecher:1974; Rosow:1974). The same kind of explorations need to be carried out for office and work settings.

### Conceptual Issues

In this section I would like to conclude by surfacing some conceptual problems, some methodological issues and end with a few comments on cross-cultural variations.

I have suggested that one of the most important facets of the relationship between organizational culture and the physical environment was that the physical environment was seen as being symbolic. I have also pointed out a number of ways in which this

symbolic dimension is manifest. Others may agree and provide evidence that the phenomenon may have validity and generalizability beyond the confines of this study. Yet there are some conceptual issues.

Most social scientists (with a few exceptions) have not only neglected to study the interactions of societies with their physical environments, but also the physical environment itself. It is felt that since meaning, and therefore significance, is imputed to the physical environment by humans and society, it is more fruitful to study humans and human interaction. By choosing this route, a whole area of what I consider fruitful inquiry was left out. If we are to believe Berger & Luckmann (1966:34) who claim that objectivation, often the product of human expressivity, becomes available to the producers and others "as elements of a common world" then it becomes important to consider the physical environment as part of the common world. Yet, while studies of the physical environment and social relations have been neglected, some other objectivations are receiving increasing attention. For example, language consists of a number of symbols, or artifacts, objectivations or products of human expressivity. It is felt by social scientists, however, that the choice of what is expressed, the rules by which the symbols can be used and what can be expressed through language are all fruitful areas of social inquiry. The study of language, linguistics, semiotics, semiology has gained currency in the social sciences and has revealed much.

Architecture need not be seen only the way architects see it, just as social scientists do not see language the way linguists do. Yet much can be gained by looking at architecture not only to learn how a culture chooses to build and the roots of such choice and behavior, but also to understand the processes by which this objectivation (architecture) occurs, what it means and how such meanings transcend time or change.<sup>12</sup>

Another conceptual issue is that social scientists have been divided by the issue of "social construction of reality." Positivists believe reality is "out there," objectively verifiable, and independent of sense perception; (Burrell & Morgan:1979).<sup>13</sup> Antipositivists (Burrell & Morgan:1979) claim that there is no reality independent of sense perception and that reality is socially constructed and defined. And it is conceptually possible that one socially defined reality may be different from another.<sup>14</sup> Burger & Luckmann (1966:183) make a distinction between the natural world, which they claim exists by itself and is a given, and a socially constructed world which includes most everything else. And as I have pointed out, buildings are objectivations and are socially constructed in the sense that the reality of the building is a socially constructed one and also in the sense that a social system was responsible for the construction of the organizational headquarter building. Thus by trying to incorporate in one, studies of the social world, and of physical artifacts, objectivations and realities we encounter some unique ontological and epistemological



problems of conceptualizing reality but also of terminologies as illustrated above. Transcending these problems are not necessarily difficult, but do require some thought.

Methodologically, some adjustments need to be made to traditional forms of inquiry. Ethnographic techniques need to encompass physical artifact analysis and trace analysis. Traditional environmental design research techniques need to accommodate techniques for understanding symbolic, emotional and expressive domains. It may mean inclusion of techniques from ethnography (Lofland, J.:1976,1971; Lofland, L:1985; Emerson:1981, etc.), archaeology (Gould:1981) architectural form analysis, anthropology, sociology, social psychology (Gans:1962; Fried & Gleicher:1974; Rosow:1974; Lofland,J:1971) phenomenology and humanistic geography (Seamon:1980; Rowles:1980, etc.) and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel:1967; Lynch, M.:1985). Some progress is being made in these (see Van Maanen & Kunda:1987; Seamon:1980; Rowles:1980).<sup>15</sup>

#### Implications for Practice

There are several practical implications of this work. There needs to be more cognizance of the symbolic and emotional components of people's relationship with the physical environment. Moving people around may be economically more feasible than moving the so called flexible systems furniture. But one needs to be aware that

members of an organization may have self-identity in some ways connected with the physical environmental elements they have, including location and place. My study reveals that a great deal of apprehension, anguish, embarrassment, deprivation and related stress may be associated with loss of appropriate physical settings. The losses in organizational or even economic terms need to be researched and considered. Brill's (1984) work is a beginning in pointing attention to the direction of translating these effects into economic terms. But in the meanwhile one can only repeat the old saying "it is not only what you do that counts but also how you do it."

In the past, as Goffman has pointed out, there was an attempt through physical design to clearly separate the different clusters and people with vastly different social positions. Modern day designers have tended to confuse and even bring together and mix social categories, causing problems for those in the social system. This may be done for ideological reasons such as egalitarianism, or because designers as outsiders to the social system do not understand the big deal about separation of social categories, or it may be because they are not trained to consider such social systemic aspects. But such actions often have devastating effects as has been pointed out by Potash (1980), Jaulin (1973), Snyder, Sadalla & Stea (1976) etc.

A physical environmental change is likely to have repercussions on the social system of the organization. Since the two are intricately intertwined, the effects of environmental changes need to be explored further. One high ranking official pointed out (paraphrased), "here we are spending \$125 million dollars in renovating this building, more than the cost of the original building, in order to provide a better environment for our people and yet somehow we have managed to alienate them." Physical environmental changes need to be more carefully and sensitively considered. "Physical environments themselves don't do the work, people do" would be the considered advice if social systemic blunders of the kind described by Miller and Van Maanen (1979) in "Boats don't fish people do" are to be avoided (see also Jaulin:1971). One organizational put it rather succinctly:

"So if you ever get to the point where you think that space isn't important to people, try to do something like that [environmental take away] and you will find out very quickly how important it [the physical environment] really is."

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## NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. This exploratory study reveals that there are indeed a myriad of interwoven, complex sets of numerous, if disjointed, relationships of which this study can make modest claims to have described only a few.
2. I say several because most studies of this length are unable to provide a complete picture of the complexities of real-life social life.
3. Even in organizations where physical and psychological distance was not as great, there still was a fair amount of social pressure not to "hang around" the executive offices. This was in spite of the much touted "open door" policy. See Chapter III for a more elaborate description.
4. Gross & Stone (1973) in their description of embarrassment neglect to mention the phenomenon of social comparison.
5. Margolis (1979) has explained how managers are selected not so much for technical ability, but on a good fit, part of which relies on looks demeanor, marital status, wife's looks and demeanor, etc. See also Goffman (1959:124).
6. In India many executives had built special and hidden rooms and special stairways so that they could escape if faced with problems. In Holland, one company built an elaborate headoffice building like a castle, complete with moat around, so that executives could be well protected from terrorist or other attacks.
7. Perhaps the only exceptions to this would be Peters & Waterman (1982) and Peters (1978).
8. Athos & Coffee (1968), and Coffee, Athos & Reynolds (1975) are exceptions.
9. Doxtater (1981) was an exception.
10. Works by anthropologists I have mentioned earlier. See also Saile (1984), Robinson (1984), Amiel (1983), Snyder, Sadalla & Stea (1976), Hardie (1983), Mazumdar (1984), Mazumdar & Mazumdar (1984) have started to devote some attention to it.
11. Kunda (1986) deals specifically with some of the tensions between managed culture and individuals in organizations.

12. Durkheim suggested that social phenomena should be studied as things (standpoint of cultural anthropology) while Mauss and Malinowski proposed that things (manufactured articles, weapons, tools and ritual objects) be seen as social phenomena (the view of social anthropology) claimed Levi-Strauss (1963:357). In either case, physical artifacts ought to be given their due consideration.
13. This view has been criticized. "Long ago, Democritus posed an argument between intellect and the senses about what is real. Says intellect "ostensibly three is color, ostensibly sweetness, ostensibly bitterness, actually only atoms and void." Respond the senses: "Poor intellect, do you hope to defeat us while from us you borrow your evidence? Your victory is your defeat."  
(Perin:1977:27 quoting Schroedinger:1967:177)
14. And different from an "objective" reality if that was possible.
15. Perhaps, there should be a new name such as socio-physical analysis, context specific or situated ethnography.

## CHAPTER VI

APPENDIX: METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

"Long ago, Democritus posed an argument between intellect and the senses about what is real. Says intellect 'ostensibly three is color, ostensibly sweetness, ostensibly bitterness, actually only atoms and void.' Respond the senses: 'Poor intellect, do you hope to defeat us while from us you borrow your evidence? Your victory is your defeat.'" (Perin:1977:27 quoting Schroedinger:1967:177)

In this chapter I would like to briefly describe what the research involved, and generally how it was conducted. There were several important parts to this which need to be described.<sup>1</sup> However, unlike the earlier sections this is more of a personal recounting of what happened and what I did, and is therefore, presented much more informally, in story fashion. A few analytical themes will be developed at the end.

## DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

In this research my interest was to learn about the relationships between organizational culture and physical space, to learn how cultural members view and understand space, and to learn about the "idioms" of space and physical artifact usage. I wanted to learn to behave "like a member" at least insomuch as one related to the physical environment.

The research on which this thesis was based was a study of the ethnographic sort.<sup>2</sup> It included several conventional and several modified and unconventional techniques which were used in order to understand the physical environment.

More conventional techniques, (see for example Lofland: 1971; Lofland: 1976; Johnson: 1975; Emerson: 1981; Van Maanen: 1983, etc.) included observation, participant observation -- including the four stages outlined by Gans (1962) of observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and full participant -- intensive indepth unstructured taped interviewing (I prefer the word conversations as more aptly descriptive of what transpired), informal chats on and off the premises, attending meetings, eating at the cafeteria and striking up conversations, etc.

I attempted to spend as much time as possible in the organization. This meant 12 hour days at the least. Often it meant

getting up at 4:00 a.m., driving 100 miles out, starting at the organization at around 7:00 a.m. when some due to flexitime started their day. Most meeting related business finished around 5:00 or 5:30 p.m. at which time most members left for the day. From 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 or 8.30 p.m. I would spend reading materials, copying, taking notes either at the corporate library or in an office. At 8:30 or 9:00 p.m. I would start my 100 mile drive home.

The nature of the subject required variation from traditional ethnographic techniques. Specific consideration of the interrelationships between organizational culture and physical environment required the use of additional kinds of data and triangulation of various kinds of data collection techniques.

Primary among these was the inclusion of material and information on the physical environment. This has included techniques of architectural analysis (of the kind usually conducted by architects), physical artifact analysis, layouts and contents of spaces, inspection of drawings, inspection of photographs and other archival documentation, and interviews with designers and physical resource managers. It has included analysis of material remains somewhat of the kind carried out by archaeologists and ethnoarchaeologists, and physical trace analysis of the kind suggested by Ziesel (1981).



I also included the use of historical information from archives. I felt that the context was extremely important and that historical circumstances, as experiential knowledge, had been instrumental in affecting currently existing relations in the "ethnographic present" at the time of this naturalistic study.

The interviews (conversations) were informal in nature. I attempted to give the people the option of not participating, or of stopping either the interview or the use of the data they provided at any time. I felt that more information and expression of deep feelings would be forthcoming if the people felt comfortable. This I tried to achieve using strategies that varied with the kind of person I was talking with. Joking and humor were very useful in this regard, although that was not always acknowledged in that manner.<sup>3</sup> Taking a light-hearted approach helped a great deal, although this often meant obtaining information which at that time seemed useless. The format was not always a question and answer type, although I started with "could you briefly tell me what you do and how?" This would invariably provide a lead into other questions probing other aspects. Naive questions were very conveniently used, although for me the questions were real.

Coming back for repeat interviews were very useful. The familiarity allowed probing of areas left unexplored earlier. Seven or eight repeat taped interviews were conducted with some people. Being a good and genuine listener helped, I think.

Closing an interview was often a crucial moment. After I had thanked them for their time and help, many people tended to continue, sometimes for up to 30 to 60 minutes, talking in a more informal mode. These sometimes yielded some of the best data. Closure of the 'interview' led to the informality. On occasion, due to other appointments, I had to actually terminate. In a few instances, a follow up interview did not produce the same atmosphere - the moment of opening-up had passed. What surprised me was the extent of emotion expressed by several members once past the initial inhibition. In a few organizations, the corporate mode was to present the organization in the best light. In such situations, I had to specifically probe "is that what everyone says or is that your point of view?"

Reliability of data was of top concern. Wherever possible I attempted to challenge the person into justifying or exemplifying what he/she said. I also attempted to corroborate accounts with others and with written records whenever possible. I have provided multiple examples in the text. I have attempted to point out both corroborating and differing views and claims in the text as far as was practicable.

Validity and generalizability within the population was also of concern. There was always a strong concern for good data, to check for reliability, validity and importance and generalizability. But the primary objective was to obtain an understanding and hence

internal consistency and internal validity were particularly important. Data not corroborated or where I felt that it did not represent the larger viewpoint did not mean automatic rejection. Rather it meant careful inspection to see if that illustrated important aspects (see also Johnson: 1975: 216 ff).

#### TEMPORAL ASPECTS: DATA COLLECTION, TRANSCRIPTION, ANALYSIS

Data collection commenced with the "quick study" organizations in September 1985, and continued until September 1987. The time period for the most intensive data collection (ethnographic field study) was October 1986 to September 1987.

There was a fair amount of work involved in data collection and having the data in a form which allowed some amount of analysis. For example, I conducted at least 150 interviews of which about 130 were taped - producing approximately 130 - 90 minute cassette tapes. Considering only the taped interviews it seems I spent 195 hours (or 24.5 full days) in directly taped conversation. Listening to those tapes once at the regular speed took at least 200 hours. Transcription was even more time consuming and painful, if the voice was soft or if there was a high degree of ambient noise. To give an idea -- my own efforts at transcription took 16 hours for one 90 minute cassette and 28 hours for another - to yield an average of about 22 hours/cassette. (Full tapes yield approximately 46 double spaced pages of transcribed notes.) Luckily, one of the companies

offered to do the tape transcription for me. That saved me 2,860 hours - which is close to 1.5 years of full-time work. But it was necessary to check the transcriptions for accuracy and for filling in the gaps left by the transcribers who could not comprehend everything that was said. This required going over the tapes (and transcripts) at least once, at about half speed - which required 400 direct hours. Additional time was necessary to go over the transcriptions from an analytical perspective to identify categories, highlight or otherwise mark phenomena. This required another 400 hours. Hence collecting and dealing with raw data itself required at least  $200 + 400 + 400 = 1,000$  direct hours or more than six months of work. This does not include obtaining access, following leads, taking notes, keeping records, travel time, time spent or lost in between interviews, chasing people for materials, phone calls, thinking, reading material written by others, talking to people not part of data collection, and of course indexing materials, producing outlines, and the actual writing. The only way real time was condensed was through the use of 12 - 14 hours per day, seven days a week for the research and related activities.

#### FINDING ORGANIZATIONS TO STUDY

This was perhaps one of the most difficult parts of the research project. Organizations generally do not wait for doctoral level researchers to come in and study them. They often attempt

"not to waste time" on such research and researchers. The questions of "what do we stand to gain from this" often came up with many, while others were simply not interested in altruistic aims of advancement of knowledge. Many researchers, particularly at the doctoral level, have found organizations to study and gained access through their faculty members helping them by talking with people they knew (see for example, Van Maanen: 1988; Lynch: 1985; Dyer: 1984; Kunda: 1986; etc.). I had no such luck. In the end the organizations I finally got access to and studied could only be described as a "convenience sample."

I tried various different approaches and strategies for access. Spreading the word to family friends got me access to one organization (one which later withdrew when it came to granting official permission). Using the telephone directory, selecting companies and writing and calling them produced access to another organization. My position as Lecturer in a graduate school of Business Administration at a local university gave me the opportunity of announcing to students my research project and my interest in recruiting a 'few' more companies produced access to two more.

Attending various kinds of conferences and conventions in the facility management field, using their mailing list failed to produce any. But contacts at a few of these conventions, and

follow-up meetings and negotiations produced access to two more organizations.

Although the total number thus far appears to be six, there were actually less because of drop-outs. Also, the kind of access received thus far was not very encouraging. These organizations expected me to complete data collection in a few days. They were willing to give a regular public relations tour, provide me with some historical information as to when the building was built, etc., and provide copies of some public documents such as annual statements and reports. These I have called "quick-study" organizations.<sup>4</sup>

Since these low and middle level approaches were not producing the results I needed I decided to change strategies, thinking that perhaps I could use bureaucracy to my advantage. I obtained several mailing lists and wrote letters to the top officers inviting their participation in a research project, explaining what the research project was about, what it entailed and how the research might benefit them. To my surprise this approach produced access to three of the companies that eventually led to this study. Access to the four organizations I looked at in India was through relatives and their friends.

Access was slow and incremental even for those organizations, such as Norton, which eventually allowed me full access. At the

initial stages there was no promise of full access. Rather, initially their interest was in estimating how much time I would take up, and how much participation in the research project was likely to cost them both in real monetary terms and also in 'lost time'. As a result, until the time of full access I was not entirely happy with the level of access and not quite sure how the thesis was going to turn out. At that point I had envisaged a thesis which would attempt to produce a composite picture drawn from a number of companies, or a collage of images and; pictures from different companies, rather than a detailed account of one company, supported by evidence from others. On receiving full access I was finally able to carry out the kind of study I had wanted to. In fact, I consider myself the richer for having looked at several organizations, albeit in varying degrees of access, and fortunate that I was able to, for almost every assertion made, to compare with the situations in other organizations and know that there is support for them.<sup>5</sup>

The level of access varied. All organizations (except two) I looked at had a facility manager, corporate communication person, or public relations person give me a tour of the physical facilities and answer general questions. Requests for seeing plans and other related documents, if available, was also fairly easily granted. Corporations do not usually maintain very good archival and historical records. Requests for walking, lounging, loitering or "hanging" around at my pace and schedule raised eyebrows. Requests

for interviews with people generally resulted in questions such as "how many?", "who," "how long would the interview take?" "can't we answer all your questions?" Some actually felt that interviews would "rock the boat" in terms of what they might reveal, or because they may change or raise awareness and expectations. In some organizations which permitted interviewing, the interviews had to be arranged through the liaison person. This almost automatically meant that the list, unless incremental, could not be 20 or 25 long. Organizations which allowed complete access allowed me to arrange my own appointments with whoever I wished, and this happened in part I suspect, because the liaison person developed confidence in me and simultaneously got bored with the appointment arrangement job. In the "quick study" organizations the primary issue was the amount of time I was going to complete the study in and consequently the amount of time they would have to devote. Some organizations saw the time they were going to spend as the problem and put limits on the amount of time I could take. Another major problem was the number and kinds of people I wanted to talk with. Some saw this as a major problem and allowed me to talk with only a pre-agreed number or group of people.

In some organizations I was provided with a picture I.D. This was a great help since it legitimized my position, and I did not have to repeatedly disturb my liaison person. The I.D. also made me seem like a regular employee. Provision of an office or desk, even though temporary, facilitated by someone's absence was also a big



help. Free desk was a rare occurrence in these tight-for-space organizations and even if the liaison person wanted to, often could not find one. The provision of a telephone and telephone directory was very helpful. The telephone directory permitted me to pick names somewhat more in a random fashion, while the organizational chart or manual gave the possibility of selecting people for specific knowledge or point of view. Limited secretarial help, provided in only a few organizations, enabled me to receive messages in my absence regarding appointments, etc.

In terms of access, a technique I found particularly useful was exit and re-entry that anthropologists have talked about. Exiting or going away for two weeks or more, followed by re-entry changed the stance that people took towards me. I was by then a familiar face who had returned rather than the new person groping around.

Access to "what" was an important question. Physically, I limited myself to largely headquarter complexes. I did make several trips to other office buildings to see the facilities and also to meet with people. Companies which granted me full access, allowed me to go pretty much anywhere in the corporate head offices, although a few wanted me escorted, at least initially, and in one organization, I was not permitted to visit the executive offices.

Access to "whom" is another very important question. It was generally rather difficult to talk with the executive officers. And

although ethnographic studies have been carried out without access to executive officers (see Rohlen: 1977; Kunda: 1986) I thought it was important to talk with people at all levels to obtain a good sense of the organization. I attempted to include a mix of people from different divisions, different buildings, different strata and different occupations. My interest was not just to have a diversified sample, but to obtain different points of view. What I present are what I consider to be the prevalent ones, along with several discussions.

In the organizations with complete access I was able to interview several executive officers. This was not possible for all the organizations. I sought out and was able to interview people who had left the organization, including retirees -- one of who was 100 years old. My research also took me to interviews with outsiders, such as consultants, press, etc., who had contact with the company.

Part of the access question of who one gets to talk with deals with the selection or sample of people whose ideas are made available through interviews and whose actions and interactions with others and the physical environment can be observed. Everyone was given the choice of participating or not participating. Some 2% opted not to participate simply because they did not want to get entangled in a research project. Let me call them the "habitual non-participators." Then there were those, some 2%, who opted not

to participate because they did not know me or the project. Let me call them the "reasoned non-participants."

In terms of this kind of sample selection, I have reason to believe that the sample can be better in an intensive field research of the kind I did than in survey kinds where such sample selection is more critical. In a survey of the self-administered questionnaire type, and others, a potential participant can choose not to be a respondent by not returning the questionnaire. The researcher can at best attempt to carefully control the sample to whom questionnaires are distributed through randomization, weighted sampling, or other means. A response rate of 70% means that 30% of the carefully selected sample chose not to participate in the research and these would include both habitual non-participants and reasoned non-participants and their viewpoints are neglected and never tapped by the researcher. The survey researcher has to accept this and work around this problem.

Intensive field research allows for better sample selection and better representation, I think. I had the option of approaching a habitual non-participant a second or third time with a request to reconsider. This I did especially if I thought this person had information important to the research. I also had the option of requesting the person to reconsider by either presenting a case, such as writing a letter providing information about myself and my research (some actually agreed after such an approach), or

approaching with a similar request through common friends. All these approaches produced good results. With reasoned non-participants who were at a busy period, I simply asked for an appointment for three or six months later, i.e., waited till they had a little more time.<sup>6</sup> As a result of these approaches I was able to include several habitual and several reasoned non-participants in my research. The 2% number would have been higher otherwise.

#### THE RESEARCHER

The kind and quality of data one gathers, especially in this kind of work, depends on characteristics and qualities of the researcher. Being seen as a researcher associated with a major university, such as M.I.T., was best I thought. Being an M.I.T. student helped some. But being a 'student' had its tremendous drawbacks in many situations. I doubt very much I 'looked like' an undergraduate, but a few treated me that way. I was lectured to, although I did not mind that if it was a preamble to fruitful conversation. On the other hand, those who saw 'consultant' written all over me did not help matters greatly in terms of my research.

My foreignness both helped and hindered the research, data collection in particular. Being a foreigner helped, because it allowed me to ask questions that were naive and perhaps downright stupid -- but asking and finding out about the codes and norms and about the very assumptive base is part of what cultural studies are

about. It also allowed me to inquire about and see the extremely familiar atmosphere of everyday work for all these people in an unfamiliar light. Acting and thinking strange helped. Reversing questions also helped. In addition to asking "Why is this a great place to work?" also asking "Why would anyone want to spend eight hours here?"

Some wanted to talk about their travels or of their dreams to travel. These I saw mostly as being a useful entry and a way to have the interviewee at ease, even though it meant loss of time.

On seeing that I was from a developing country some wanted to show off developments in buildings, systems and strategy. These were also good entry to questions of interest, and good information even though slanted or colored in some way.

My foreignness hindered the research in some ways. Several thought I was after company secrets and their latest development projects. Fears that I had to assuage in unspoken ways, because the questions were often not put to me directly.

It hindered in other unanticipated and unexpected ways as I found out later when I tried to gauge anonymously how my presence affected the organizational members, as described below.

In order to understand, what people thought of me as a researcher, I conducted a self-administered questionnaire survey towards the end of the data collection period. In it were questions, hastily put together, about what they thought of me, whether they felt at ease, whether they spent more time than anticipated, whether they would be willing to do it again, whether there was anything about me that bothered them, etc. While I have not analyzed the data meticulously yet, a quick review revealed that the responses were overwhelmingly positive. Two answers surprised me completely. Even though I was always dressed in 2 or 3 piece tailored abroad suits, one commented that my attire was not quite appropriate -- and that I should have been more business like. I figure the suggestion was that I fit in more by wearing the typical American conservatively colored business suits. It seems I may not have been enculturated yet (actually I just did not want to invest in more suits). The second comment related to my foreignness. One commented that she(?) was afraid because she thought I might be Iranian. While "those guys all look alike" may be truer to life than I would like to believe, foreigners had some unanticipated problems. How this affected the data I received from this person I do not know -- the questionnaire was anonymous. Interestingly though, that both these related to my appearance!<sup>7</sup>

Another feature that affected the nature of the study and its presentation was my architectural and planning background including three degrees and fifteen years of work experience, which includes

work on several competition winning projects in several different cultures. I have also done research in many cultures (see references for publications). Perhaps my design background makes me a more sensitive observer of the physical scene than others care to be? I will let the reader be the judge.<sup>8</sup>

Confidence and trust in the researcher were crucial issues in this kind of research. While not everyone was equally comfortable, based on the results of the questionnaire I felt that on the whole "I was very well received." The kind of data I was receiving at the time of the interview was a fair indicator. Strong emotions meant that I had gotten through. Sensitive information -- whether salaries, personal thoughts, misdeeds, naming names in complaints -- was another indicator. While several interviews were bland, most were very useful. I was generally perceived as an "excellent listener" and was told so. One said "Sanjoy, it's so easy to talk with you. Hours just pass by. It is impossible to stop". It was a nice compliment.

#### FIELDWORK AND THE HUMAN RESEARCHER

Research endeavors of this kind are enterprises in themselves. Strong emotional commitment is necessary to not only bring the work to a fruitful close but also to deal with rejections of various sorts. Companies dropping out of the study for no explicable reason other than internal politics and power play caused

a lot of pain and distress. After years of study, preparation, passing exams, etc. the Ph.D. seemed to be at the mercy and goodwill of people out there in the field. When some of them said, "We cannot let you do that" the Ph.D. seemed so very far away. Emotional commitment from oneself is rather easier to deal with. But this kind of research draws on commitment from people in the field -- commitments of time, information, help, camaraderie among others. Critical in this regard were the key gate keepers and liaison persons. Good access depended on how they "sized me up," and their "gut feel" of me.

#### FIELDWORK AND KNOWLEDGE

While my interest was in an exploratory study wherein I would explain several facets of the relationship between organizational culture and physical environment, I worried about the significance of what I gathered (as a hunter-gatherer in the field) and what I learned. In the name of science, why would anyone want to read a single story or a single case, I also wondered. What can the author generalize from a single case, unless very typical? These were troubling questions. If one seeks only generalizable information (Johnson:1975:207ff). It was the distinction between attempting to understand how the members of the culture saw the world and what they considered significant and important, and what aspects of the single case being examined were generalizable to other populations. And as Johnson (1975:216) tells us:



We rarely if ever evaluate practical information according to the canons of scientific validity. Rather we seek various 'cues' by which we can grasp an intuitive understanding of the idiom, the style, the manner of speaking, the community of sentiments we desire to support or denigrate"

We can learn a great deal from single cases, individual events and singular occurrences. Some have argued that single case studies are not necessarily non-scientific.<sup>9</sup>

I debated a great deal in my mind about whether I should present a composite 'typical' case - since I had very good access to six organizations. In the end I felt that presentation of a single ethnographic case would convey more if I brought in examples from the various other organizations I studied than if I tried to conjure up a 'typical' case. If the reader is able to gather a sense of the "idiom" of space usage that Johnson (1975:216) referred to, I shall consider my effort partially successful.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. While in the thesis for the sake of clarity and coherence the material is presented rather neatly, real life is often more complex and messy from a researcher's point of view, fraught with problems, some of which I hope to describe in this chapter.
2. I call it a study of the ethnographic sort because it was, as I explain later, a modified version of what is usually known as ethnography.
3. Examples can be found in some of the quotations of conversation segments.
4. "Quick-study" organizations at the early stages allowed me to sensitize myself to various aspects that required special attention. They also provided questions I was able to ask later. Later quick-study organizations provided comparative material. They also allowed me to test how much data I was able to collect in a relatively brief period of time - i.e., it also provided some sense of the efficiency and effectiveness of the research endeavor.
5. These comparisons have been provided in footnotes wherever possible. The intent has been to provide a detailed understanding of one organization rather than emphasize only those aspects I felt were generalizable to the other organizations I studied, and beyond.
6. Pressure or coercion of any sort were not used.
7. No wonder they thought of me as an undergraduate. Examples of naive questions can be found in the quotations from interviews provided earlier in the text.
8. See also Mazumdar Shampa (1983).
9. Perhaps others refused to acknowledge the importance of the physical environment and by downplaying its importance nullify human feelings.
10. Lee (in press a & b).

## CHAPTER VII

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