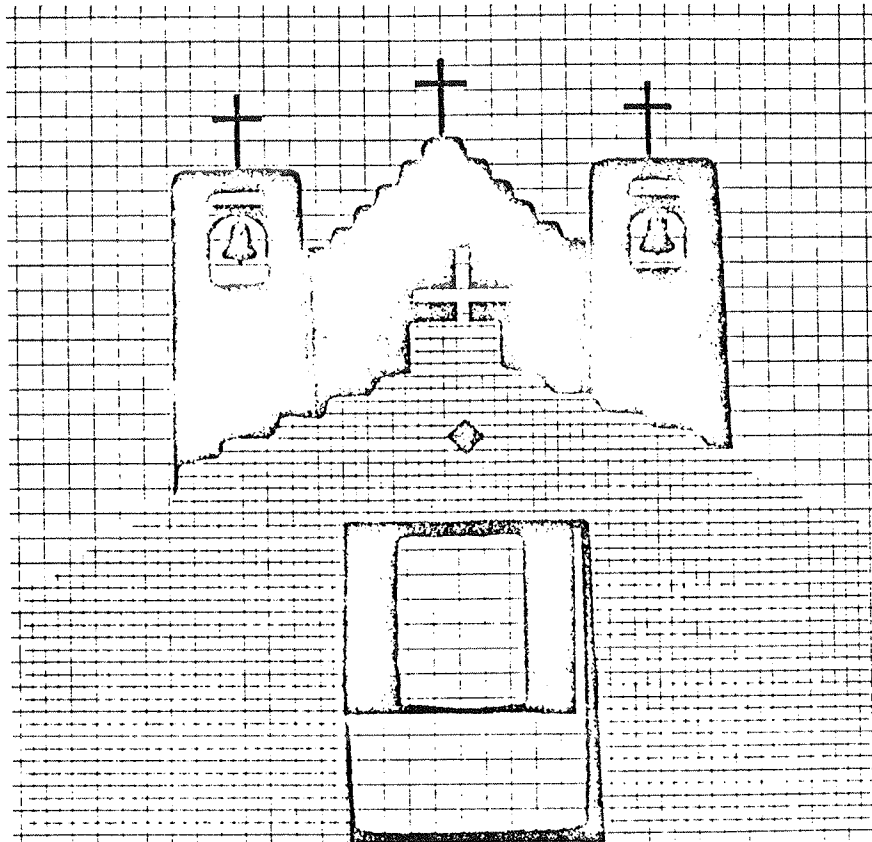


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## INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE AS HOME AWAY FROM HOME

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Architects have often been called upon to design an environment that "feels like home" or has a "homey" quality, but what does this really mean? What social, psychological, and physical components does "home" imply? How can we begin to measure whether or not a place will feel like "home?"

The concept of home is just beginning to be uncovered by psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, and environmental designers. Their writings have attempted to answer some of the following questions: How can we conceptualize "home?" How is self-identity related to home? How do people begin to feel at home in a new place? How do people perceive, think about, and behave in the home? How does the use of the home differ for people of various cultures and social classes?

### "HOME" RESEARCH

The most basic question in any investigation of home concerns its definition. In a thought-provoking essay, Sopher defines the "landscape of home" as a litany of names, pictures, and tales of places by one's people, family photo albums, and a mental composite of smells and sites and sounds.<sup>1</sup> Home can mean a non-journey, a house, land, village, city, district, country, or even the world. The words "hometown" and "homeland" convey the concentric zone area of home, where home is at the center of one's universe.

Hayward refined the definition of home in his study of New York City apartment dwellers.<sup>2,3,4</sup> His early work distinguished four concepts of home: a physical structure, a territory involving personalization, expressions of self and self identity, and a social and cultural unit. He also argued that home can be viewed as a series of concentric territories with the bedroom and house in the innermost circles and the yard, street, and neighborhood at the outermost fringes.

Through open-ended questions in both interviews and questionnaires, card sorting tasks analyzed by hierarchical cluster analysis, evaluative ratings of each meaning, and surveying comparable material from other literature, Hayward further identified nine clusters or dimensions of the meaning of home.<sup>5</sup> By asking people to rate the categories on a seven-point scale, labeled "Most like my ideas about home" to "Least like my ideas about home," Hayward produced a relative ranking of the centrality of these categories. He found that, in order of importance, "home" is:

- a relationship with others
- a social network
- self identity
- a place of privacy and refuge
- continuity
- a personalized place
- a base of activity
- childhood home
- physical structure.

Hayward's research emphasizes that the concept of home is best understood as a relationship to an environment, rather than the environment itself.

Tuan proposed a similar typology of home in his colorful book entitled *Topophilia*, a term he coined to describe humans' affective ties with the material environment.<sup>6</sup> He adds another dimension to Hayward's theory of concentric circles of home by placing clothing in the innermost ring, surrounded by the home and the neighborhood.

The notion of privacy is common to several scholars' concepts of home. Many writers view the home, and particular spots within it, as an individual's most private place. Goffman compares the concept of home to a theatrical setting composed of frontstage, or public areas (such as the living room, dining room, and kitchen) and backstage, or private areas (such as the bathroom, bedrooms, closets, and cabinets).<sup>7</sup>

Cooper's insightful piece describes how self identity is wrapped up in the style, decor, and type of home which we inhabit.<sup>8</sup> Appleyard expands on Cooper's notions by illustrating how certain aspects of home can take on symbolic attributes.<sup>9</sup> He views the exterior of the home as a vehicle of display.

How does one first begin to feel at home? At the urban scale, Franck, Unsel and Wentworth examined how newcomers to New York City learned their way around the city and how they began to feel at home in it.<sup>10</sup> Their findings indicate that feeling at home may be a prerequisite for newcomers to explore and enjoy their new surroundings.

Other researchers have looked closely at how people behave in and perceive their home. Altman and Chemers, Hall, and Condon and Yousef focussed on how behavior in the home varies cross-culturally.<sup>11,12,13</sup> Freid, Freid and Gleicher, and Rainwater describe how the perceptions of home differ across social classes.<sup>14,15,16</sup>

#### THE INSTITUTION AS HOME AWAY FROM HOME

The concept of home is relevant not only to private dwellings, but also to certain types of institutional architecture, such as nursing homes, psychiatric wards, and dormitories. This case study explores the meaning of home at a dormitory.

Establishing a "homey" place is particularly difficult in an institution such as a dormitory, which assumes the functions of a home, but whose physical structure is dramatically different. Residence halls are substantially larger than the typical, single-family home or apartment, and they house many more inhabitants. Kitchens, bathrooms, hallways, and living rooms are private in single-family residences, but they are shared in dormitories. With the exception of "home as a childhood home," dormitories have the potential to be viewed as any of Hayward's other eight concepts of home--with some modifications.<sup>17</sup> For example, the familial component of "home as a relationship with others" is absent at residence halls, since students live apart from their families. Friends, however, may provide a suitable surrogate for the family. On another level, opportunities for personalizing--changing and decorating a place to reflect one's ideas and tastes--are restricted to students' dormitory bedrooms. The notion of "home as a personalized place" at student housing is limited. Perhaps the discrepancies between Hayward's concepts of home and the conditions at dormitories reflect the differences between a home and a home away from home.

While the amount of environment and behavior literature on dormitories and student housing is great, no one has focussed specifically on the issue of home. Most dormitory research has been in the form of technical papers, concentrating on specific and sometimes esoteric issues, while failing to examine the dormitory environment as a Gestalt.

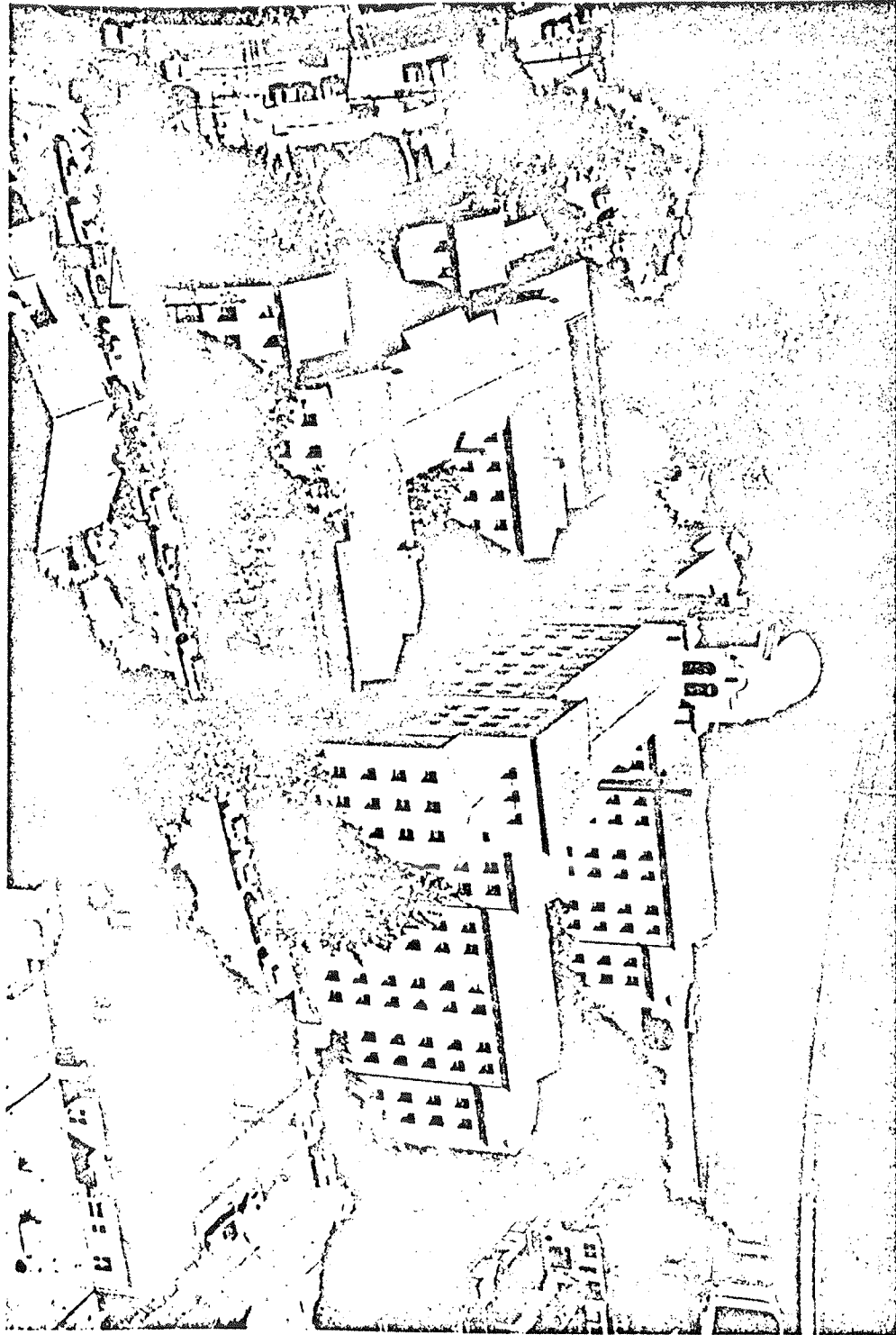
Two exceptions are the work of Van der Ryn and Silverstein on dorms at Berkeley, and Becker's research on dormitories in New York state.<sup>18,19</sup> This study follows the lines of thought promoted by these two researchers.

#### METHOD

Setting. The research setting was the International House at the University of California, Berkeley. (See Figure 1.) "I House," as it is commonly known, houses about 600 undergraduate and graduate students and visiting scholars, about two percent of Berkeley's entire student population. Half of its residents are American, while the other half hail from over 50 different countries. I House's doors first opened in 1930, and the eight-story, Spanish style building has since become a well-known landmark in the San Francisco Bay Area.

The architect for I House was George Kelham, Supervising Architect for the University of California and designer of several notable buildings in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Among his most famous works are San Francisco's Russ Building, the city's tallest skyscraper for over 35 years, and Powell Library at the University of California, Los Angeles. At I House, Kelham displays a fine example of Spanish Colonial Revival architecture, through its courtyard configuration and its interior details, iron railings, painted tiles, and arched doorways. His emphasis on the monumental appearance and ornamentation of I House's public rooms--its Great Hall and the Dining Room, its entrance and its front facade--parallel his other buildings, which also set out to make public statements. Floorplans of the first floor, showing some of its public rooms, and the fourth floor, depicting its private rooms and corridors, are provided

Aerial View of International House.  
Figure 1.



in Figures 2 and 3. The building was constructed at a cost of \$1,750,000, and it originally housed 243,300 square feet.

While Kelham intended all residents' rooms to be for single occupancy, at the time of this study, 129 were doubles and 323 were singles. The building contains a total of 452 bedrooms, most of which measure 9' x 13'. The corridors in I House are exceptionally long; some extend for 260 feet and contain as many as 35 rooms.

I House is more than the average dormitory. It has its own library, auditorium, reception rooms, music listening, and music practice rooms, a laundromat, an outdoor patio and courtyard, two hotel rooms, a variety of administrative offices, and a coffee shop open to the public. It offers a myriad of services unavailable at most dormitories, for example, check cashing, cot rental for residents' guests, and reception room rental for special events, as well as an array of social, educational, and cultural events and programs.

In order to help newly arrived students adjust to the Berkeley campus and to the community, the Program Office sponsors special orientation sessions for new students, weekend retreats in the country for old and new residents, host families, and tours of San Francisco. To encourage social interaction within the dormitory, the Program Office sponsors a hiking club, folk dancing, social dancing, music groups, an exercise class, a speaker's bureau, museum tours, special discussions, sports events, happy hours once every few months, and weekly coffee hours.

Sample. A sample of 27 residents was selected for interviews. The primary criterion for selecting these interviewees was their relative location within the building, and within that parameter, another criterion was that residents had lived in I House for three academic quarters or more.

Questionnaires were distributed to all 580 residents of I House, and 207 (36 percent of the total) were returned. Semi-structured, open-ended questions covered topics such as room personalization, ability to modify the environment, the quality and quantity of social and cultural interaction, friendship patterns, participation in dormitory activities, amount of time spent in the building, levels of satisfaction, perceived sense of safety, territoriality and "home." Residents were also asked to provide a detailed account of every dwelling they had lived in and to speculate about what qualities would make up their ideal home.

Staff members in I House's Residence Office, Executive Director's Office, Business Manager's Office, and the Dining Room were also interviewed for periods of 1/2 to 2 hours. Questions for residence hall administrators concerned their perceptions of the role of I House and their opinions about how much of a home I House should be.

The six-page questionnaire covered 64 questions, 38 of which were closed items. The closed questions contained a mix of seven-point scale ratings and fixed responses. The content of the questions was similar to those on the resident interviews.

Archival records provided background information about the dormitory's policies, procedures, and history, as well as student reactions to I House. The author's residence in and employment at I House--as a Graduate Resident Assistant and an Information Desk Assistant--over a three-year period also enabled participant-observation to be a major research method in this study.

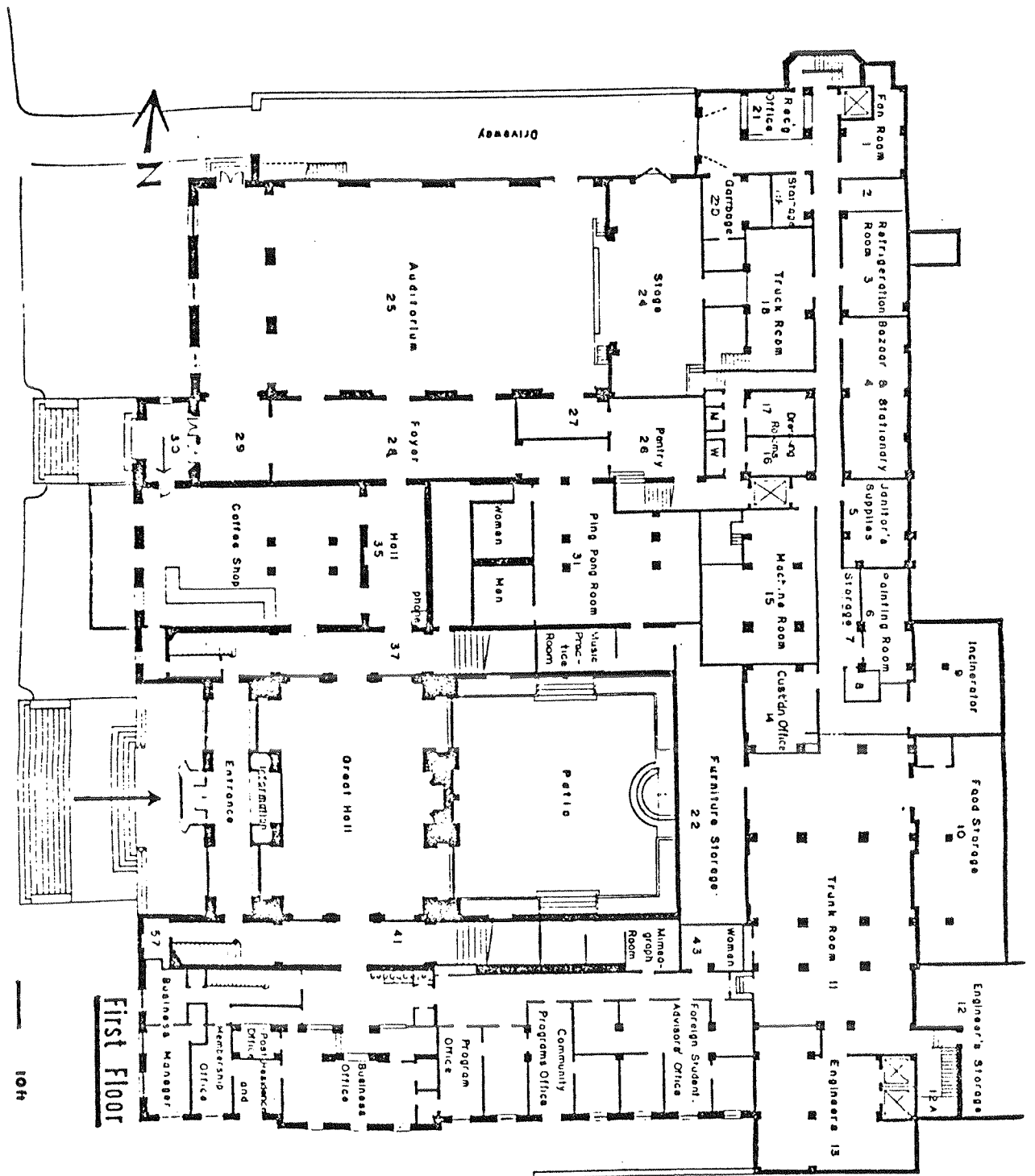
Procedure. Interviews and questionnaires were primary data-gathering techniques. Interview sessions ranged from 1 1/2 to 4 hours.

Each of the 27 resident interviews was recorded on tape, transcribed in its entirety, and analyzed for content. A frequency count of all 207 questionnaire responses was taken to see how the population responded as a whole. Bivariate analyses, mainly the Chi-Square and Pearson correlation tests, were conducted to discover significant relationships between variables. Several questions on a similar issue--such as personalization or territoriality--were combined into a series of indices on which further statistical tests were performed. A content analysis of all open-ended questionnaire items was conducted.

#### HYPOTHESES

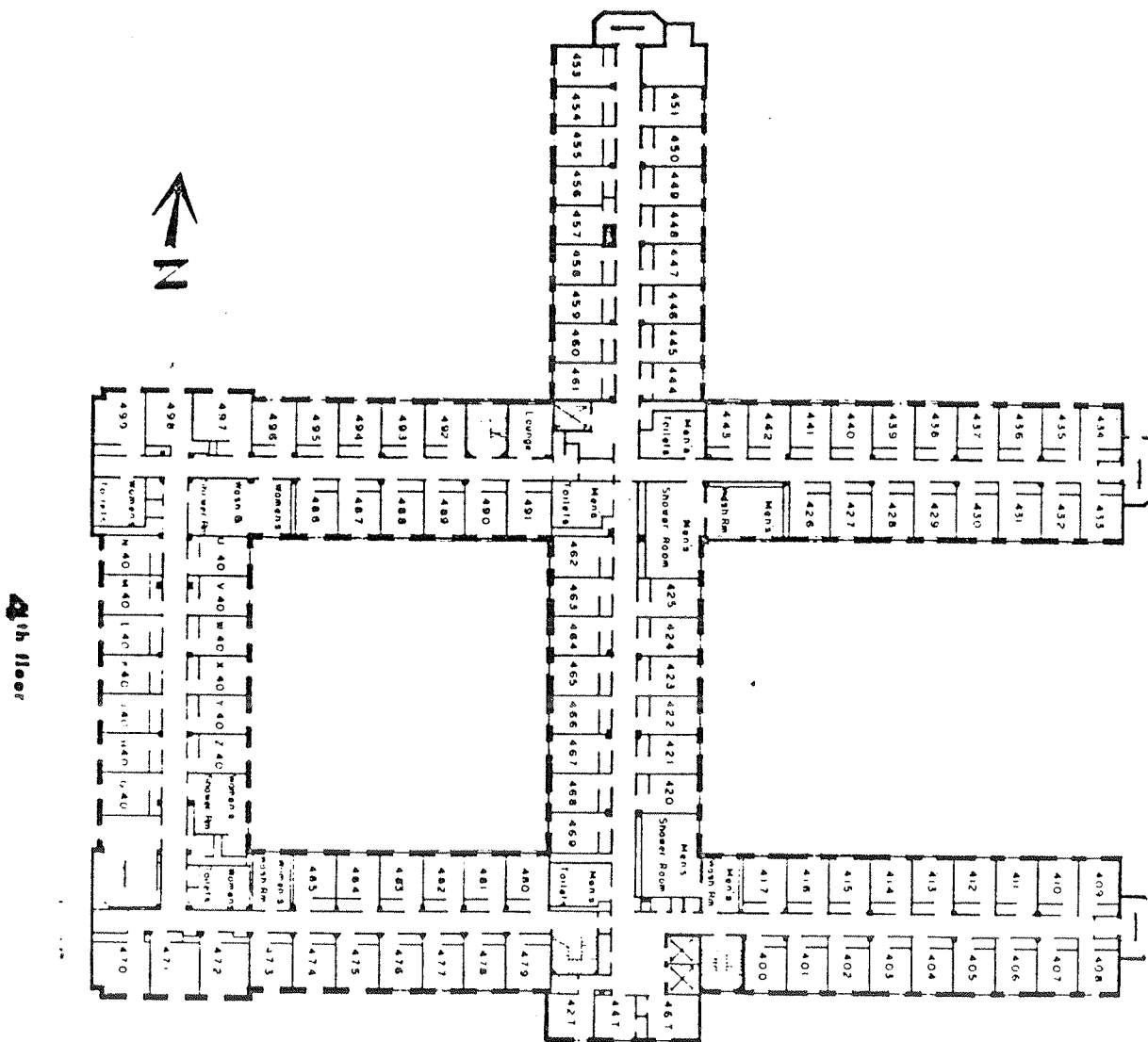
The following hypotheses helped guide this study. The literature cited lends support to these hypotheses.

Floorplan of first floor, International House.  
Figure 2.



Floorplan of fourth floor,  
showing typical residence rooms and corridors,  
International House.

Figure 3.



Residents are more likely to have a strong sense of home in an institution if they:

- Have a high level of satisfaction with their institution overall and with specific aspects of its physical, administrative, and social environment. 20,21,22,23,24
- Feel their expectations about their institution are met. 25
- Feel they have enough privacy and security. 26,27
- Engage in a high degree of personalization and territorial behavior. 28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35

## RESULTS

Questionnaire results indicate that just over half the residents (55 percent) feel at home in I House. The Pearson correlation test identified significant correlates of feeling at home in I House. In order, they are a high degree of satisfaction, meeting expectations, believing the administration cares about its residents, a low sense of restriction and crowding, adequate level of privacy, high satisfaction with programs, having favorite possessions in the dormitory rooms, and a high amount of territorial behavior by leaving markers in semi-public spaces throughout the building and eating regularly with the same group of people in the same parts of the Dining Room. Other correlates include finding the level of social interaction satisfactory, feeling able to modify the room, and engaging in a high amount of risk-taking behavior by leaving belongings unattended in semi-public spaces and by leaving bedroom doors unlocked.

When asked what makes I House a home away from home, most (61 percent of the 69 respondents who answered this open-ended questionnaire item) cite the dormitory's social qualities, especially the ability to meet many people and make new friends. Here are some examples of these and other qualities that help residents view I House as a home away from home.

"What Makes I House 'Homey'?"

It's homey because of friends and events that bring residents together, which give the feeling that people care about you and what you're doing: "How was your day?" or "What did you do yesterday?" (American male)

The familiarity of the environment, and having my personal effects surrounding me. (Canadian male)

It's homey because it constitutes a safe, well-known piece of turf with a bed and shower facilities. (American male)

In response to a general question about what makes a place feel like a home, most (51 percent) reply "feeling like I belong in it." The next most common response is "having as much privacy as I want" (38 percent), a quality which, like the previous one, points to home as a social entity. (See Table 1.)

TABLE 1

What Makes a Place Feel Like Home?

51%	Feeling like I belong in it
38%	Having as much privacy as I want
35%	Having my possessions around me
31%	Who I live with
22%	Feeling safe in it
16%	Knowing what to expect in it
15%	Ability to modify it
15%	Spending lots of time in it
12%	Sleeping in it
9%	Cooking in it
7%	What it looks like
6%	Where it's located
3%	Taking a bath in it



When asked "When did you first feel at home in I House?" resident's open-ended responses (a total of 108) are equally divided between: after a specific period of time (50 percent), usually the middle of their first quarter of residence or after about a month; and after a particular situation has occurred (50 percent), such as making friends, returning to the dormitory after Christmas vacation, and learning one's way around Berkeley and the campus.

These results emphasize how crucial the first few weeks of residence can be. Events that take place during this time--meeting friends and compatriots, gaining a sense of mastery about the house, learning one's way around, beginning to recognize names and faces of fellow residents and staff, or on the other hand, feeling ignored at the Information Desk or being reprimanded by a staff member--can make long-lasting impressions.

"When Did You First Feel at Home in I House?"

I first felt at home when I could go to the Dining Hall and know I'd see someone I knew well. (American female)

I first felt at home after I had made some good friends from my country. (Korean male)

After buying some posters and spreading my things all over the room. (Brazilian male)

When I got rid of that awful bed they had and got my own. (American female)

When my unfriendly roommate moved out and I had the room to myself for three weeks. (American female)

I called I House "home" just as soon as I arrived. I don't have any other home. I gave up my apartment in Finland before I came here. (Finnish male)

It took until the middle of the winter quarter of the first year at I House for me to call it "home," but it took about a year for me to really feel comfortable. And that is related to my change to a better hallway and a better room. (American male)

Why don't some residents feel at home in I House? In their open-ended responses to the questionnaires, residents cite several troublesome aspects: a lack of privacy (21 percent), the poor quality of the food (21 percent), the transient population (19 percent), and feeling crowded (17 percent). The inability of some residents to feel at home in I House may reflect their inability to feel at home in the Bay Area, in California, or even in the United States. For many foreign students, simply not hearing their native language may prevent them from feeling at home. Difficulties with academic studies or with interpersonal relationships may also explain why some do not feel at home in I House. In short, the failure to feel at home seems to correspond to dissatisfaction with some other facet of life.

"Why Don't You Feel at Home in I House?"

I do not feel at home in America either. I House is too anonymous and it does not allow me enough room to move with any semblance of privacy. (French male)

The restrictions on entertaining, privacy, cooking, and rather unimaginative decor make me continually aware that I House certainly is not my idea of a home. (British male)

The corridors feel like a public walkway, making it difficult to feel at home. (American female)

I have no place to cook or to relax in private, except in my room which I find too small and which sometimes makes me feel cooped up. (American female)

It seems people around you are strangers, like in a hotel. (Pakistani male)

I am not able to watch TV when I want, study whenever I want, or eat and sleep whenever I want. (Mexican female)

I can't invite my friends to a dinner I've cooked. Sharing a room, I can't read in bed as late as I want. I'm not much inspired to try to personalize this place--I'm not sure why. (American female)

I miss my family. (Puerto Rican female)

This is just not a homey dorm with those long, depressing, dark hallways. Camp is more homey than this place. (American female)

When asked what could make I House more "homey," most (36 percent of the 107 residents who answered this open-ended questionnaire item) describe physical changes, particularly redesigning the corridors and adding small lounges throughout the building. Many responses include the words "being able to" which also implies that a lack of restriction helps people feel at home. Several individuals view I House purely as an institution and believe that absolutely nothing can make it more homey.

"What Could Make I House More 'Homey'?"

Having my own kitchen, being able to bring more of my own things into my room, and being able to walk naked to the bathroom. (German male)

Being able to make tea whenever I want to in a kitchen. Being able to walk to the bathroom undressed. (American female)

It would be more homey if rooms were carpeted and corridors were painted. (American female)

Having memories associated with it, and having been there for a long time. (American female)

For those who view I House as a temporary home, what functions does it fulfill? Does I House actually substitute for their childhood home? Or does it take on a related, but altogether different character? Interviews, questionnaires, and observations reveal that most residents do not try to recreate their family homes at I House, but instead use their rooms to create a personalized, unique environment. Many students bring objects from home which possess sentimental value: a gift from a family member, a book, a piece of jewelry. Residents purchase large, dominating objects such as posters and bedspreads, making no attempt to recreate their original home. In many cases, particularly for foreign students, buying these American goods serves just the opposite function. Many American bedspreads, posters, and nic-nacs which residents use to decorate their rooms contain colors, materials, textures, or political messages unavailable outside the U.S. Furthermore, some students' parents have always decorated their bedrooms, and for these residents, I House is the first place where they can express their own taste, rather than that of their family.

Fellow I House residents can serve as a surrogate family, too. Most residents manage to see their friends at least once a day, usually at mealtime where they discuss their day-to-day routines, keep up with each other's news; compare difficulties with writing term papers; preparing for oral examinations; consulting with their advisors; or more personal matters like interpersonal relations, parental problems, or financial constraints.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR ARCHITECTS

The findings at International House confirm Hayward's concepts of home by identifying the key concept of home--at least within a dormitory--as a social and cultural unit and as a relationship with others.<sup>36,37</sup> They also add another dimension to the findings of Franck, Unsel and Wentworth by demonstrating that exploring and learning one's way around the environment may be prerequisite to feeling at home.<sup>38</sup> Orienting oneself to a new place increases one's sense of environmental competence, or control over an environment.<sup>39,40</sup> The notion of environmental competence is common to several components of feeling at home in this dormitory: feeling a lack of restriction, an adequate level of privacy, an ability to modify one's room, and engaging in territorial behavior. All these qualities involve a sense of mastery and control over one's surroundings.

What is most important in feeling at home is not simply whether residents personalize their rooms or the amount of decorating they do. Rather, it is their perception of the freedom to do as they please in their environment, whether this involves personalizing a room, making as much noise as they want, or eating what they like for dinner. In this sense, environmental managers play a key role in helping foster a feeling of home.

To what extent can designers help create a sense of home? Based on this case study, one can conclude that architects can at least provide a shell for a home, creating an ambience lending itself to home-like qualities. Here are some guidelines for making dormitories and other institutional buildings feel like home.

- Planning a facility as large as I House is not advisable, as many residents find it much too large. Nonetheless, if economics dictate such a large size, the building should contain smaller neighborhood units. This can be achieved by designing sensitive

corridor and restroom areas to serve a maximum of 15 to 20 persons. In larger facilities, residents are less apt to recognize each other and the sense of neighborhood is lost.

- The number of single rooms should be maximized.
- Resident rooms ought to be substantially larger than those at I House (9' x 13'). Spacious private areas are preferable to large public areas. Residents perceive a sense of home in their own room, not in public spaces. If, however, no other options are available, even that room size could be made more tolerable by designing modular, multiple function furniture pieces, such as:
  - Chairs that fold out into beds.
  - Couches that fold out into one or two beds.
  - Beds providing storage space underneath, but which are still fairly low.
  - Desks which can accommodate filing cabinets below.
  - Modular storage units.
  - Providing stacking storage units for each room.
  - Particular attention should be given to maximize the use of vertical space while minimizing the use of premium horizontal space.
- Architects should suggest to institutional administrators particular types of furniture which would be most suitable for rooms. A major problem in dormitory design and management is that important decisions about choices of furniture, window coverings, and wall and floor treatments for students' rooms are usually made by administrators who are unaware of the range of products available on the market.
- Wall surfaces in resident rooms should be maximized. The ability to personalize private spaces is important. Small nooks, corners, ledges, and windowsills allow residents to personalize easily.
- Provide carpeting rather than linoleum or vinyl floor coverings wherever possible, especially in resident bedrooms, to mitigate institutional noise and to give a warmer, more comfortable atmosphere to the rooms.
- Provide natural light and ventilation in corridors so they avoid the dark, dismal appearance of those in Berkeley's I House.
- Long, straight corridors typical of many institutional buildings should be avoided. Bays and alcoves can alleviate monotony. In already existing corridors that cannot be substantially altered, accent colors and focal points can add interest.
- Include small kitchen facilities so that residents can cook snacks and small meals of their own.
- Provide a variety of living arrangements: some double rooms, some single rooms, some rooms with adjoining bathrooms. Also vary between single-loaded and double-loaded corridors, where space permits, to plan for different noise levels.
- Work with interior designers to provide several small tables, preferably circular ones, in communal eating areas. These tend to increase one's perception of privacy.

This study reveals that compared to management, the role of architecture in fostering a sense of home is secondary.<sup>41</sup> However, poor architectural design can have a tremendous negative impact and actually prevent some residents from feeling at home. This is an important concept to bear in mind not only in dormitories, but in other institutional buildings where the meaning of home needs to be more carefully examined.

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