



**ESSEX  
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**Exploring the Lived Dimension of Organisational Space: An  
Ethnographic Study of an English Cathedral.**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Management  
Studies

Essex Business School

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## **Declaration**

This is to certify that

The author of this thesis declare that it does not include work forming part of a thesis presented successfully for another degree,

All work presented represents the author's own original work except for when referenced to others,

This thesis is less than 80,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, bibliographies and appendices.

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## Abstract

This thesis aims to extend current understandings of the production of organisational space, with particular attention paid to its embodied characteristics. Empirically, this thesis explores the everyday lived experience and understanding of organisational space of employees and volunteers at St Edmundsbury Cathedral in England. Current empirical studies exploring the phenomenon of organisational space do so primarily from the perspective of space *and* the body, separating the body from space and viewing the body as being *in* space as opposed to *of* space. This perspective provides only a limited view of the lived experience of organisational space, for it does not consider that space and the body are intertwined, with the body shaping space and space shaping the body. To address this research gap, the thesis draws on the work of Lefebvre's (1974/1991; 1992/2004) theorisation of space. Data is collected through the methods of shadowing, photo-elicitation and hermeneutic conversations. Underpinning all of the stages of the data collection and interpretation is a Gadamerian approach to hermeneutics, which requires a joint interpretation of the data between myself and the research participants.

The three main findings of the thesis extend existing conceptualisations of the lived experience of organisational space. The findings show that first, artefacts play a role in contesting the conceived spaces (Lefebvre, 1974/1991) of the organisation, producing spaces to dwell. A second key finding is the role that gestures play in understanding the lived experience while the third key finding highlights the role of the imaginary, in particular memory, death and nostalgia to spatial understandings. The latter are especially considered hitherto underexplored areas of the lived experience of organisational space. The final chapter of the thesis presents the overall conclusions, establishing how the conceptual contributions provide alternative ways of exploring and understanding the lived dimension of organisational space.

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# ***Chapter One: Introduction to the Thesis***

## **Introduction**

This thesis explores the lived experience of organisational space. In doing so it embraces an epistemological understanding which examines the lived, embodied experience of space and considers space and the body as “intertwined in mutually constitutive ways that need to be engaged jointly” (van Marrewijk and Yanow, 2010: 3). Attention is given to the everyday experience of individuals as they go about their daily organisational life. The everyday is understood as “the most universal condition, the most social and the most individuated, the most obvious and the best hidden” (Lefebvre, 1987: 9). This is a view which can be related to the context of organisational life. The everyday is experienced by everyone, it appears as obvious; indeed so obvious that much of the everyday goes by unnoticed due to being habitualised. Whilst I consider that much of everyday experience stems from observable facets such as spatial design and movements through space, other more hidden facets are equally important. Both the tangible and the tacit make up the lived experience of organisational space. Whilst space can appear homogenous and stable, this thesis examines how multiple representations of organisational space are produced through bodily experiences and practices.

This chapter provides an introduction to the thesis, beginning with a discussion of the key debates surrounding conceptualisations of organisational space. A significant stream of the extant organisational space literature focuses on the ways in which spaces are planned and designed (e.g. Leonard, 2013; Taylor and Spicer, 2007) and the power of the built environment in shaping behaviour and practices (e.g. Hancock and Spicer, 2011; Kenis et al., 2010; Kingma, 2008). Whilst this thesis acknowledges the value of these positions, its focus is on the individuals’ lived experience of organisational space, where the individual and space are intertwined, each shaping the other. Having outlined the key debates and

established the position of the thesis, the chapter then continues by introducing the research setting, St Edmundsbury Cathedral, a type of organisation currently underexplored in organisation studies. The chapter closes with an outline of the thesis and states the contributions that the thesis will make.

### **1.1 Key Debates in the Organisational Space Literature: A brief Overview**

Research on organisational space is by now an established field of inquiry following the so-called 'spatial turn' in organisation studies (van Marrewijk and Yanow, 2010). Gradually, the approach within this field has changed from a focus on a Euclidean and Cartesian view of space, concerned with Tayloristic and Fordist scientific measures of space, to a focus on the users' lived experience of space. That is, to more subjective understandings such as the impact of alternative working practices on identity, attachment and social interactions (e.g. Dale and Burrell, 2010; Kim and de Dear, 2013; Warren, 2006). Such perspectives bring individuals in organisations to the fore, and thus move towards more experiential perspectives on space.

The increased focus on individuals' lived experience of space has led to an acknowledgement of space being appropriated by individuals who change and negotiate space (e.g. Laurence et al., 2013; Ng and Höpfl, 2011; Taylor and Spicer, 2007). This is for example observed in the literature which examines organisational behaviours and practices which contest organisational space, and which explores the use and meaning of personal artefacts, and the decoration of organisational space (e.g. Hancock and Spicer, 2011; Tyler and Cohen, 2010; Tyler, 2011). In these studies the individual and space are considered in conjunction with each other, recognising that individuals in organisations are shapers and testers of organisational space. Such studies explore the lived dimension of organisational space, a

dimension which “always transcends geometry and measurability” (Pallasmaa, 2012: 68), and in so doing, have opened up an important domain of inquiry, which this thesis aims to further. Specifically it will explore the minutiae of individuals’ everyday lived experience of organisational space through an embodied approach, which pays attention to the mutual constitution of body and space.

Some current research on organisational space contends that exploring bodily lived experience is a key means to understanding organisational space (e.g. Dale, 1997; 2005; Dale and Latham, 2015; Tian and Belk, 2005; Tyler and Cohen, 2010; Watkins, 2005). Whilst research conducted within this perspective has increased, there remain aspects that warrant further exploration. Specifically, two areas can in this respect be outlined. First, the role of the imaginary, memory and nostalgia in experiencing organisational space has hitherto received limited attention. I argue that the imaginary, memory and nostalgia are important elements for the production of organisational space, created through embodied processes, extending space into the past and into the future. This is an alternative form of appropriation to the physical appropriation of space discussed above, and provides additional ways of understanding the lived experience of organisational space. Second, research which examines the production of organisational space through the gestures of the body has been limited, (e.g. Bathurst and Cain, 2013; Bazin, 2013). This omission is worth redressing, for through analysing recurring gestures a spatial understanding which is hitherto largely absent from the organisation space literature is brought to the fore.

### **1.1.2 Conceptualising the Lived Experience of Space**

Scholars that seek to conceptualise the lived experience of organisational space (e.g. Dale and Burrell, 2008; Kingma, 2008; Stillerman 2006; Wasserman and Frenkel, 2010)

commonly draw on the work of Henri Lefebvre (1974/1991). Lefebvre's position on space as a dynamic, productive force rather than as an empty container which is homogenous and static provides a compelling proposition. His perspective firmly rejects that understandings of space can be based purely on cognitive perception of external stimuli, which assign priority "to what is *known* or *seen* over what is *lived*" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 61, original emphasis). Lefebvre is referring to types of knowing and seeing which are considered to be descriptive and reductionist in nature, and which exclude more complex phenomenological forms of knowing which constitute the lived experience. The over-reliance on what is cognitively known and seen at the expense of an existential phenomenological form of knowing leads to a decorporealization of space (Simonsen, 2005), a fragmented view which marginalises lived experience. However, knowing can also be viewed from an embodied, phenomenological perspective. Highlighting the importance of the lived dimension of space, Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 201) perspective rejects the view of the "body-in-space", that is, a body placed in space, considered as separate from space. Instead, Lefebvre subscribes to a view of "space of the body", whereby space shapes the body and the body shapes space. In other words, they are mutually constituted. According to this position with which I agree, the body becomes the mediator for all spatial understandings.

Lefebvre's seminal text 'The Production of Space' (1974/1991) which establishes his conceptualisation of space as a tripartite dynamic framework of *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* space has become a key text for research on space. The triad has been widely used and cited in organisation studies (see Simonsen, 2005) and whilst it presents an important conceptualisation of space and is drawn on in this thesis, there are other significant aspects of Lefebvre's work which hold value in terms of their contributions to understanding the lived dimension of organisational space. The thesis will therefore also draw on other key

concepts discussed in 'The Production of Space' to construct a framework which extends beyond commonly used applications of the tripartite model. Lefebvre's (1974/1991) discussion of spatial architectonics provides one example of analysing the practices of the production of space. It explores the relationships and interactions taking place within the lived dimension of space, including the ways in which the body creates and produces space and the ways in which the body is being produced by space. The body experiences space through different means, for example artefacts, through movement and through the imaginary. To provide a solid foundation for an understanding of the lived experience of space, I will also draw on Lefebvre's posthumously published 'Rhythmanalysis' (1992/2004), which holds particular relevance in terms of Lefebvre's ideas around the 'cyclical and linear rhythms' of the body and the notion of 'dressage', a training of the body. Taken together, Lefebvre's (1974/1991) triad provides the conceptual means of understanding space as perceived, conceived and lived, while architectonics and rhythmanalysis provide the means to unpack how these spatial dimensions are constructed in practice. These different aspects of Lefebvre's work provide a comprehensive way to open up further avenues for understanding the lived experience of space as a multifaceted, pervasive dynamic of organisational life.

Given the above, the overall research question which this thesis explores is:

### **How is organisational space lived and understood at work?**

Based on this overall question, there are a further three specific sub-questions:

What is the role of the body in the production of lived organisational space?

How do past experiences inform individuals' understanding of organisational space?

In what ways can the lived dimension of organisational space be articulated?

## **1.2 Introducing the Context of the Cathedral**

The organisational context within which the research was carried out is an English cathedral, a hitherto under-researched empirical setting in the field of organisation studies. There are forty-two English Cathedrals, (The Association of English Cathedrals, 2014) which function as “museums, centres for pilgrimage and foci for the performing arts” (Shackley, 2002: 345). Their primary purpose however remains being a place of Christian worship and at the heart of every cathedral is the daily round of services offered to the community (Beeson, 2004). The current circumstances of cathedrals are reflected in the way they are debated, discussed and portrayed by public and ecclesiastical bodies, and in the media. Recent research published by the Archbishop's Council (2014) shows that over the last ten years, whilst parish churches have experienced a steady decline in parish member numbers attributed to the increasingly secular nature of the population, English Cathedrals have seen a steady rise in both attendance to services and in terms of overall visitor numbers. Due to often being the largest public space in many areas, Cathedrals are commonly used as venues for hosting different events, for example concerts and graduation ceremonies. Therefore, the contemporary cathedral not only provides a quiet place for contemplation and prayer, but also a tourist destination providing important revenue to the cathedral and to the local area.

The cathedral presents an interesting organisational context for studying the lived dimension of organisational space. The organisation is steeped in tradition which carries with it certain historical, cultural and social expectations and perceptions. The cathedral is

considered as a religious organisation as opposed to a charity or for profit organisation. However, times are changing which cause cathedrals to increasingly adopt practices which are commercial in nature. These changes are driven by economic pressures which have led to cathedrals having to make strategic decisions to generate income. With the economic downturn, key revenue streams from Church Commissioners, government grants and donations became less certain. For example, “English Heritage has seen the amount it has to give out in grants reduced from £25.9m in 2010/11 to £15.4m in 2012/13 as a result of government budget cuts” (Kasprzak, 2012). With the costs of running cathedrals being high – for example, it costs some £60,000 per week to run Durham Cathedral, while the average donation is 32p per visitor (Ibid.) – a drive to raise income levels through enterprise activities is now a fixed feature of the management of cathedrals.

Despite the fact that cathedrals are increasingly being run like corporations, and are facing challenges common to other contemporary organisations, for example in terms of decreasing income levels and having to adapt to a changing business environment, they have not been extensively studied from an organisational perspective. Instead, cathedrals have traditionally been studied from a theological (Cameron et al., 2005; Hopewell, 1987) or architectural perspective (Maddison, 2000). More recently, there has been an increase in academic research focussing on the cathedral as a tourist destination (e.g. Francis et al., 2010; Gutic et al., 2010; Shackley, 2001 and 2002; Voase, 2007). Some research into the lives of cathedral employees has been conducted, for example, Danziger’s (1989) study, which explores the lives of forty people who work(ed) for Lincoln Cathedral and Beeson’s (2004) work which studies the lives of twenty-two Deans. Such studies, whilst having a phenomenological orientation, do not focus on the lived dimension of organisational space, instead the focus is on the relationship that the research participants have with the cathedral



as a place of Christian worship. In this thesis, the lived experience of organisational space is viewed as including and extending beyond the physical cathedral building to explore the everyday spatial practices taking place in and across all organisational spaces. Therefore, an objective of this research is partly to contribute to the organisational space literature by exploring the ways in which organisational space is being lived and understood in the context of an English Cathedral, and partly to posit what the findings mean for understanding other organisational contexts.

### **1.3 Outline and Contributions of the Thesis**

Having located the thesis amongst the current perspectives on organisational space and presented the setting in which the research is situated, this final section of the chapter outlines the structure of the thesis, along with the contributions that the thesis will make. Following this chapter is Chapter Two, which presents the key debates on organisational space. It begins by discussing two key ontologies and epistemologies of space. First outlined is the Cartesian view which is based on the physical aspects of space, examined through the lens of objectivity and defined through scientific measurements. This position presents organisational life and space as aligned with rationality and calculability. The second perspective outlined observes space as a lived phenomenon, socially constructed and experienced, presenting a view which represents organisational life as aligned with non-rational aspects. Building on these different foundations of spatial understandings, the chapter then examines the ways in which space has been conceptualised in an organisational context, focusing on spatial configuration, heterotopian space and liminal space. Following this, Chapter Two discusses the work of Lefebvre and in particular his ideas in 'The Production of Space' (1974/1991) and 'Rhythmanalysis' (1992/2004). This discussion includes his spatial triad along with a detailed review of Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 195) view

of the “spatial body”; a body which produces space and is produced by space. A critique of Lefebvre’s spatial concepts ends this section, centring on his neglect of differentiated bodies, in terms of the role of varied embodied subjectivities for spatial understandings, and on his lack of empirical application in terms of the body’s role in the production of space. This critique is accompanied by a discussion of the identified neglect of the imagination and memory in understanding the lived experience of organisational space.

Chapter Three locates my ontological and epistemological position, which is firmly placed in the interpretive paradigm following the main aim of the thesis to understand the lived experience of organisational space. A further position of this thesis is that understanding is a joint production, in this case between myself and the research participants, and therefore, the research adopts a Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenology. Adopting this philosophy assists in ensuring that a joint interpretation of the lived experience of organisational spaces emerges from the analysis of the research data. The chapter first introduces the key tenets of hermeneutic phenomenology before detailing the Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenology, including how language and conversation, prejudices and horizons and the hermeneutic circle form the basis of interpretive understanding. These concepts have been chosen in terms of the value that they bring in encouraging joint interpretations of the lived experience of organisational space.

Chapter Four presents the research methods and the strategy of data collection and analysis conducted following the chosen philosophy and methodology. The chapter begins by restating the research question and sub questions before discussing gaining access to the research site and presenting the research sample. After this the research strategy is discussed, including detailing the methods selected for the empirical research. The research

has been designed as an organisational ethnography which is in accordance with the ontology and epistemology of a Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenological approach. The chosen data collection approach includes ethnographic methods of shadowing, photo elicitation and hermeneutically informed conversations. These methods are detailed and justified in terms of enabling me to gain insight into the participants' lived experience and in providing the participants with ways to articulate their daily life at work. These ethnographic methods are considered as being most conducive to facilitating co-created interpretive understandings of lived experiences. Following this the chapter includes a discussion regarding researcher reflexivity, specifically in relation to the relationships developed in the field and to the prejudices (Gadamer, 1975/2004) that the researcher brings to the field. The chapter then moves on to detail the process of data analysis, which is reflective of the principles of Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) which supports the research methodology in terms of ensuring that the analysis is based on intersubjective dialogue taking place between the researcher and the participants. To facilitate the articulation of lived experiences, these discussions and the subsequent writing-up of the data were designed to reflect Gadamer's (1975/2004) notions of the hermeneutic circle. The final section of the chapter details the considerations given to research ethics.

Chapter Five presents the research context and introduces the site of the research: St Edmundsbury Cathedral. First, the cathedral sector is discussed in terms of the challenges and tensions it is currently facing. Following this, the empirical site of St Edmundsbury Cathedral is introduced through a visual presentation. This visual presentation of the organisation is supported by insights into the conditions which it is operating under, the organisation's structure and roles, and employment practices. This is followed by explanations offered by the research participants of the perceived purpose of the

organisation, leading to the identification of the tensions surrounding the need to balance the sacred with the secular.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present the key findings from the analysis of the fieldwork. Chapter Six explores the production of private dwellings in workspace and points to the importance that participants' assigned to artefacts and the associated feelings which they evoked. These dwellings are analysed through Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 201) notion of "space of the body" and Bachelard's (1964/1994) notion of the 'nest' and are situated within the concepts of liminal space and heterotopian space. These spatial concepts are explored through the ways in which spaces are appropriated. Through the different means of appropriation, for example the use of artefacts, participants produce a space in which to dwell. This chapter contributes to the organisational space literature by acknowledging the role of the body as an active agent which co-constitutes space. The chapter shows how the body and space can be intertwined in spatial analysis and exemplifies, in ways that the current literature does not, that we are of space and space is of us.

The focus of Chapter Seven is on the recurring rituals and routines that contribute to the production of organisational space. Organisational life is explored as it unfolds through the participant's body, illustrating that space is dynamic and ever changing. Individual participants' lived experiences are explored in terms of how understandings of organisational space emerge through the bodily movement of walking. I consider this to be a hitherto under-explored area of organisation space studies which brings the routinised and habitualised gestures of the body to the forefront of spatial analysis. Through bodily movement, this chapter shows the ways lived organisational space is produced (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). Walking is viewed as a way of managing organisational space and in so doing

is seen to challenge the ideologies of conceived space. The second section of Chapter Seven explores the ways in which organisational rituals are performed through space and in turn through the total bodily experience. The final section presents a way of conceptualising gestures through Lefebvre's (1992/2004) notion of 'dressage', which presents an alternative way of exploring power in organisations.

The final chapter of findings is Chapter Eight, which explores the concept of imaginary space, paying particular attention to the notions of memory and nostalgia. The focus of the chapter is on the "landscapes of the mind" (Boym, 2001: 354), and whilst the mind is not separable from the body, I argue that its significance warrants specific attention. The first section of the chapter explores how the imaginary is used to express participant's perceived organisational frustrations and organisational ideals. The second section explores the ways in which memories and nostalgia bring a temporal dimension to spatial understandings which extend to the point of, and beyond, death. It demonstrates how idealised pasts impact on the participants' current ways of being and leads in some cases to subverting organisational control and resisting organisational change.

Dwelling, gestures and the imaginary are considered as important theoretical insights into spatial production in terms of the ways that individuals, through their bodies, shape organisational space and are shaped by organisational space. These concepts provide a way of developing further understanding of lived space, for they bring to the analysis of the lived dimension of space aspects of the body hitherto not explored. The "total body" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 200); its brain, gestures, feelings and emotions are considered as providing a more embodied and holistic view of the lived experience of organisational space. For example, in terms of the ways that the appropriation of organisational space is taking place,

the ways in which power and control are being contested by the body through space and in terms of the ways and reasons for resistance to organisational change.

Chapter Nine is the last chapter of the thesis and draws together the main conclusions. The chapter begins with providing a summary of the findings Chapters (Six, Seven and Eight), before detailing the key theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions that the thesis has made. Following this, the chapter outlines the limitations of the thesis, before moving on to identify possible avenues for future research. The chapter closes with the final reflections of the thesis.

## ***Chapter Two: Space in Organisation Studies***

## **Introduction**

This chapter reviews current perspectives and key debates on organisational space. Before proceeding to discussing the particularities of how space has been conceptualised in organisation studies, the opening section outlines two fundamental perspectives according to which space is conceptualised ontologically and epistemologically. Particularly, the section presents the contrasting philosophies of the Cartesian tradition of spatial understanding and the phenomenological tradition and outlines their ontological distinctions. Following this is a discussion on the meaning and use of the terms 'space' and 'place', offering a justification for the conceptual position adopted in this thesis to apply the term space over place. Next, the conceptualisation of space in an organisational context is discussed with a focus on spatial configuration, heterotopian space and liminal space. After discussing the limitations of the organisational space literature, the chapter then proceeds to discuss the theoretical framework underpinning the thesis which draws on the work of Lefebvre, in particular his ideas discussed in 'The Production of Space' (1974/1991) and 'Rhythmanalysis' (1992/2004). The section ends with a critique of some of Lefebvre's work, which is accompanied by a discussion of the identified neglect of memory and imagination in understanding the lived experience of space in the current organisational space literature. The justification for how the thesis aims to further these debates is based on the work of Bachelard (1964/1994) who encourages an understanding of space which stems from the interpretation of memory and imagination. The final section presents a chapter summary.

### **2.1. Key Ontologies and Epistemologies of Space**

In this section of the chapter I shall outline two key conceptualisations of space: the Cartesian perspective and the phenomenological perspective. The organisational space literature draws on these two key perspectives. In brief the Cartesian perspective conceptualises space



as being homogenous and static while the phenomenological perspective views space as dynamic and complex.

Aligned with these ontological perspectives are, I consider, three epistemologies of space. The first is based on a scientific understanding of space, according to which the concept of space is rooted in mathematics and abstract constructs. The philosophical foundations of this understanding are underpinned by the Cartesian tradition, according to which space is deemed to be quantifiable and underpinned by rationality, and ontologically viewed as an objective reality external to the individual. Lefebvre (1974/1991: 300) suggests that adopting a Cartesian view of space means opening a “chasm between the logical, mathematical, and the epistemological realms on the one hand, and practice on the other”. This ‘chasm’ between the mental constructs of lived aspects of space implies a mechanistic view of space as “something self-sufficient and wholly independent of what is *in* space” (Casey, 1998: 139, original emphasis). In an organisational context this understanding of space disassociates workspace from the individuals in the space and is discussed further in the following section. The second epistemological approach to space recognises that understanding space needs to account for the individuals who are in the space. This is a shift towards a more phenomenological perspective, where the lived dimension of space is brought into spatial understandings. In the organisational space literature, this basis of understanding space considers for example the design and layout of (Cartesian) space along with the impact that this has on the individual’s experience (phenomenological) in the space (e.g. Taylor and Spicer, 2007). The third epistemology sees the organisational space literature shifting further towards a phenomenological philosophy and, instead of viewing the inhabitant as being *in* space as Casey (1998: 139) suggests, situates the inhabitant as *of* space. As Lefebvre (1974/1991: 201) states instead of the inhabitant “being-in-space”

understanding should be based on the view of “space of the body”, meaning the body and space are inextricably tied together.

In the discussion below I will outline the shift from a Cartesian perspective of space towards a phenomenological perspective in the organisational space literature. This identified shift will be discussed in terms of the three identified spatial epistemologies, namely, space viewed as empty of individuals; space *and* individuals; and individuals *of* space.

### **2.1.1 From a Cartesian to a Phenomenological Perspective of Space**

Starting in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Cartesian view of space implicitly underpinned the view taken in organisation studies, which traditionally focused on the rational and ordered aspects of the organisation. According to this perspective space provides a way to assert managerial control in terms of location, for example, where employees are placed in the organisation and subsequently how they can be observed carrying out their work. The focus is on the physical aspects of space; aspects which can be objectively and quantifiably measured. Frederick Taylor was an early pioneer of the importance of space for maximising efficiencies. According to his principles of Scientific Management (Taylor, 1911), space was viewed as a physical resource which could be manipulated and controlled to improve levels of production. Applying these same principles was the philosophy of Fordism which saw thousands of individuals fixed in place along a production line to create a “divided, controlled, hierarchised space” (Chanlat, 2006: 23). Space from this perspective is viewed mechanistically and quantitatively with little consideration given to its effect on individuals’ experiences. The limitations of these conceptualisations of space is aptly noted by Halford (2004: 3 original emphasis) who observes that “space is *done to workers*: workers are subjected to specific architectural and managerial constructions of organizational space”.

Space, along with the individual within it becomes dehumanised. Space and the body become mere abstractions, detached from the lived experience, they become homogenous, nothing more than their material form, empty of history, emotion, expression and social existence. The imposed, planned spaces of the organisation were seen as passively received by individuals, limiting their agency. Such conceptualisations of space effectively silence the inhabitants of the space, viewing them as subjugated to processes of power expressed through spatial manipulation.

By the 1920s, the Human Relations School challenged this view of space, to include the formal and informal relationships of the workforce. Individuals were considered as social beings and space and time were created for social interaction whilst at work. Whilst this is still a form of managerial manipulation, the human perspective was beginning to be a focus along with the space itself. With greater emphasis on the experience of the individual in space, a social constructionist approach emerged in spatial research, which focused more on the meaning of space (e.g. Bachelard, 1964/1994; Creswell, 2004; Ford and Harding, 2004; Lefebvre 1974/1991; Massey, 2005; Tuan, 1977/2008). This approach recognises that space is being socially produced through the social activities of the individuals in the space. The approach further brings attention to the subjective experiences of the individual in space, exploring the ways in which space is being produced through actual lived experience, as opposed to through its geometric properties of the space. The focus of such research explores the dynamic interactions taking place between the individual in their spatial environment, committed to understanding the ways in which space is being lived in organisations.

There is a fundamental epistemological difference between understanding space as a container within which the body is placed and understanding space phenomenologically, according to which the body produces space and is produced through space. This 'third position', which is the position taken in this thesis, posits that the body, which includes the mind as one is not privileged over the other, subjectively experiences space and understands space through connections with others, to values, to social norms, to the history of the space and our own histories that are brought to the space. Following this perspective, the role of the body in understanding the lived experience of space is pivotal.

Taking a phenomenological approach to understanding organisational space is a necessity. Viewing organisational space as lived integrates the different dimensions of space: the mental, the physical and the social (Watkins, 2005). Taken together these three dimensions of space provide a way of understanding the complexities of everyday life in organisations. Exploring the lived experience of organisational space brings space alive, shifting it from being viewed as an inert, homogenous container, to dynamic, embodied space, rich in diversity. This view of organisational space demands a phenomenological epistemology which embraces the notion that space transcends its physical characteristics.

### **2.1.2 Space or Place?**

Alongside the shift from a Cartesian conceptualisation of space to a phenomenological understanding, debates around the meaning of 'space' and 'place', particularly in the discipline of Human Geography (Agnew, 2011) are taking place. Whilst this thesis does not warrant a detailed discussion of the two concepts, it is important to justify the decision to adopt the term space over place in this work. From the literature on space and place, it is clear that the two are often seen to represent a dualism, with space representing the abstract,

associated with freedom and openness and place representing the concrete and the social, associated with stability and security (Tuan, 1974/1990; de Certeau 1984). In short, “place is seen as the private, cosy, warm side of geographical emplacement whereas space can hold within it the terror of boundless distance” (Dale and Burrell, 2008: 5). Agnew (2011) and Casey (1996: 17) agree and discuss the concept of place as local, “to live is to live locally, and to know is first of all to know the places one is in”, and space as global. Agnew (2011) associates place with tradition and nostalgia and space with modernity and progress. These distinctions thus define place as local, familiar and intimate whereas space takes on a more indeterminate meaning.

For Massey (2005), however, there is no need to sign up to distinctions of place as concrete and space as abstract. Such oppositional dualisms are not necessary as both are considered to be “concrete, grounded, real [and] lived” (Massey, 2005: 185). Other scholars similarly disregard such dualisms, deeming them unnecessary. For example, in Crabtree’s (2000), Foucault’s (1986) and Lefebvre’s (1974/1991) writing, the terms space and place are used interchangeably, often ambiguously and within the same sentence. I argue that a useful perspective is one that accepts that the two fold into one another. Supporting this view is Löw (2008) who considers that place comes into being through space and space comes into being through place. This is aligned with de Certeau (1984: 117, original emphasis), who considers that “*space is a practiced place*”. Space becomes a place through actions and movements, through naming, through memories, through living and inhabiting the space; both are therefore interwoven and dependent on each other. This aligns with Tuan’s (1977/2008) view, that space and place are irrevocably interlinked and that the two merge as space when endowed with meaning and value becomes place. This does not mean that space ceases to exist, but instead, the folding together of space and place creates the term

'social space' which "in many ways, plays the same role as place" (Creswell, 2004: 10). As with Creswell, Shields (2006: 148) sees the dualism between space and place disappear under the notion of social space which "map[s] affinities between bodies, meanings and sites", making the distinction between space and place obsolete and the distinction between space and the body obsolete. This view embraces the epistemology of individuals *of* space as opposed to *in* space. Following this argument, in this thesis the semantic and epistemological distinction between space and place will be set aside in favour of an all-encompassing use of the concept of space. The justification for adopting 'space' over 'place' is also based on the conceptual foregrounding of this thesis which in part draws on Lefebvre's (1974/1991) spatial triad, consisting of *conceived space*, *perceived space* and *lived space*. In the context of this thesis space is conceptualised as ideologically manifested through the organisation (*conceived space*) and as phenomenologically experienced by the individuals (*perceived space* and *lived space*).

Having considered key philosophical arguments concerning space, and outlined the debates surrounding space and place, the next section proceeds to discussing conceptualisations of space in an organisational context. Approaches to organisational space are manifold, encompassing different meanings and representations. The different meanings which are socially attributed, produce spaces which are fluid in nature and are temporally situated.

## **2.2 Spatial Conceptualisations in an Organisational Context**

In organisation studies there is a substantial body of work which focuses on organisational space. The growth in the interest in space as a key aspect of organisations can be noticed in the publication of journal special issues on the subject, including *Culture and Organization* (Maréchal, et al., 2013; Lucas, 2014); *International Journal of Work Organisation and Emotion*

(Wasserman, 2012); *Journal of Organizational Change Management* (Carr and Hancock, 2006); *Tamara* (Carr and Hancock, 2006; Kociatkiewicz and Kostera, 2011); *Organization*, (Jones et al., 2004) and *Organization Studies* (O'Doherty et al., 2013). These special issues show how prevalent the topic has become and shows how the study of organisational space is seen as an important factor for understanding organisations.

Spaces of work are increasingly being turned to, as ways of exploring and analysing management and organisations (Taylor and Spicer, 2007). Some empirical research focuses on organisational space as a means of furthering understandings of organisational life, conceptualising the multiple ways in which space is being understood and experienced (e.g. Baldry, 1999; Dale and Burrell, 2008; Kornberger and Clegg, 2003; Taylor and Spicer, 2007). Organisations from this general space perspective are not made up of homogenous space, instead, organisational space is considered as a complex phenomenon which is “doubly constructed: most are built or in some way physically carved out. They are also interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined” (Gieryn, 2000: 465). The point being made is that space is fluid and dynamic. This is a shift away from, but does not discount the Cartesian perspective which is abstract and mathematical, to an understanding which sees space as multi-dimensional and dynamic, as opposed to static and homogenous. This section will discuss how this dynamism and complexity has been understood and conceptualised in the organisational space literature.

Following a thorough review of the literature, I have chosen to organise organisational space studies into two key strands. The first strand is concerned with the configuration of organisational space, that is, with the design and layout of space. The second strand is concerned with the lived experience of space. The literature which approaches space as

spatial configuration explores the physicality of space as materialisations of power (Taylor and Spicer, 2007). Interest is concerned with how employees are controlled through workspace. Design and layout are a focus of the empirical research in two ways. First, in terms of how individuals are placed within a certain hierarchical ordering. Second, how the design and layout of the organisation contribute to directing and controlling movements, behaviours and work practices across organisational spaces. Included in this strand is the literature exploring alternative spatial work arrangements, for example, hot-desking, hybrid working and coworking.

The second identified strand first and foremost conceptualises the lived experience of organisational space. This strand explores the reconfiguration of workspace, that is, how imposed workspace is changed by individuals. It also focuses on the ways in which employees “not only resist regimes of power and domination, but in some cases actively seek to reconstruct spaces” (Taylor and Spicer, 2007: 333). The literature within this strand seeks to explore how space is produced through the experiences of the employees inhabiting the space, that is, largely following an ‘of space’ perspective as opposed to an ‘in space’ one. Such research explores the ways in which spaces are reconfigured through artefacts and explains how everyday, mundane space is imbued with different spaces, conceptualised as liminal and heterotopian space.

### **2.2.1 Organisational Space as Spatial Configuration**

Research has established that organisational space is an important dimension to the study of organisations. Taylor and Spicer (2007: 327) provide a useful overview of how organisational space has been studied. They identify three major approaches: “Space as Distance”, “Space as Materialization of Power Relations” and “Space as Lived”. In relation to



the two key strands that I have identified above, strand one the configuration of space is aligned with 'space as materialisation of power relations' and the second strand, the lived experience of space is aligned with 'space as lived'. 'Space as Distance' is predominantly concerned with the Euclidean view of space, according to which space can be objectively measured between two points. This approach due to its objective position is not the focus of the literature in this section, which is predominantly concerned with "Space as Materialization of Power Relations", following which the focus is on the manifestations of power emerging through the physical aspects of space. I have placed organisational space studies which focus on this approach under the umbrella of 'spatial configuration'. The concept underpinning spatial configuration is that no matter how apparently insignificant, all spatial arrangements are a manifestation of organisational power. For example, the deliberate placing of photocopiers (Fayard and Weeks, 2007), and coffee machines (Dale and Burrell, 2008) in the corridors of organisations are designed to encourage informal conversations and subsequently increase organisational creativity and effectiveness. Power in this context is viewed as the hidden dimension of organisational life, as spatial configurations are underpinned by a "hidden logic of control" (Taylor and Spicer, 2007: 332); designed to control employees in ways which keep them "ignorant of the sources and the operation of power" (Dale and Burrell, 2008: 45).

This materialisation of power through spatial configuration is a particular organisational practice. Spatial interventions led by management seek to order and control the behaviours and work practices of employees. Dale and Burrell (2008: 53) conceptualise this spatial ordering as 'emplacement', which "implies control in space through fixing [...] everything and everybody are put in their rightful places". Employees are assigned to different workspaces in the organisation, which facilitates the managerial surveillance of work practices (Baldry,

1999). This practice of surveillance through architectural design, aligns with the principles of Foucault's (1977) panoptical space following which individuals can be seen doing their work but are not necessarily sure when this occurs. Recent examples of this form of surveillance is observed in Gastelaars' study (2010) detailing how the solid walls of a university's corridors were replaced with glass, enabling corridors to become observation galleries for teaching labs. This is akin to the power associated with open plan offices and hot-desking offices where work processes can be easily observed (Baldry and Barnes, 2012; Kornberger et al., 2011).

Literature falling under the umbrella of spatial configuration is further concerned with the spatial ordering of work, which is explored from two key perspectives. The first is the research concerned with traditional work arrangements and the spatial ordering of individuals' positioned within the organisation. The second perspective is represented by the literature on alternative work arrangements in organisations, for example, hot-desking, mobile and hybrid working and home-working. These will now be discussed in turn.

### **Spatial Ordering of Power and Resistance**

The organisational space literature within this section empirically explores organisations to analyse the ways in which power relations underpin the planned spaces inside the organisation. Spatial ordering seeks to control the movements and interactions of employees who are placed in designated office spaces, situated within the organisation's buildings. This represents a more traditional form of spatial ordering compared to the alternative work arrangements discussed below. For example, Zhang and Spicer's (2013) research conducted in a government office building in China, note how the internal layout of the building represented a hierarchical ordering of workers. This spatial ordering was observed through

the placing of individuals in the organisation in terms of the proximity between the highest and the lowest ranks. The lower ranks shared offices on the lower floors of the building and the more senior members of the organisation occupied “personal suites” (Zhang and Spicer 2013: 8) located on the upper levels. Symbols of seniority were also reflected in the décor of the building, with the executive floors having “red carpets, wood veneers and genuine art works” (Ibid: 9). For the individuals situated on the lower floors, managerial surveillance was possible through the use of glass doors, which showed a contrast to the wooden doors which afforded greater privacy to the more senior members of the organisation. Individuals at a lower level had their movements restricted within certain areas of the building, for example, they were not meant to access the higher floors of the building. The organisation of movements through spatial design is a feature of Peltonen’s (2011) study of organisational space at a Finnish university. Peltonen’s research was concerned with how the building acted as a way of organising the movements of employees across the organisation. This research highlighted that individuals resist imposed routes, in order to create short-cuts (Peltonen, 2011). Similar resistance to the planned organisation of space was observed in Hancock and Spicer’s (2011) study of the Saltire Centre (previously the library of the Glasgow Caledonian University). Spatial ordering was imposed by designers and managers in order to dictate desired behaviours in the centre. This presents an example of the management of organisational space and the management of the users of the space. The different floors of the centre were designed in order to elicit expected spatial practices within each of the defined spaces. For example, the ground floor of the centre is described as the ‘market place’, a hive of activity where the background noise of a marketplace can be heard. In contrast, the top floor is designed for quiet individual study, where a female ‘shush’ greets all users as they exit from the lift. As in Peltonen’s (2011) study, there was resistance to this enforced

ordering by students who wilfully contested the spatial design, with the researchers observing:

Students sleeping on beanbags [...] and instances of students using personal electrical equipment including hair-straighteners and razors at the table power points also pointed to a form of embodied disruption of the building and its aspirations (Hancock and Spicer, 2011: 103).

Resistance such as this challenges the notion that the built environment determines particular behaviours. Resistance demonstrates that the process of encoding space (Dale and Burrell, 2008) is not straightforward and for that reason “space cannot be assumed to be constructed with predictable outcomes” (Hernes, 2004: 67). It is inevitable that spaces will become interpreted by different users who become the “unofficial architects of space” (Ibid.). These ‘unofficial architects’ produce a different space to the one imposed upon users by the organisation and they do so through their lived experience of space. This presents an understanding of organisational space that assumes that “space is never empty and always embodies diverse meanings for the actors which share in it” (Cairns et al., 2003: 130). Understanding organisational space, then, focuses first and foremost on the lived experience of organisational space, which considers space with multiple and ever-changing meanings.

### **Expanding Spaces of Work**

Alternative work arrangements in organisations, for example, hot-desking, mobile and hybrid working and home-working are the material translation of a particular outlook on organisational space, one which views it as flexible and as stretching across different locations, such as the workplace and home. Changes to the design of the workplace along with changes to where work takes place, observes organisations offering greater flexibility

to the workforce, along with creating ways in which to control social relationships and “break down pockets of worker discontent” (Barnes, 2007: 246).

These changes to conventional workspace, where employees are physically placed in an office which becomes their space for work, have been discussed in terms of the concept of ‘non-territorial offices’ (Barnes, 2007; Elsbach, 2003). Empirical research conducted by Halford (2004) of an IT office undergoing a ‘Workplace Transformation’ project shows the consequences of the introduction of hot-desking, which resulted in individuals questioning their status in the organisation and experiencing feelings of being undervalued. It was considered to be their right to ‘own’ a workspace, seeing this as an entitlement. The response by some employees to the introduction of hot-desking was to deliberately sit in the same spaces everyday, arrive early to log in colleagues to neighbouring desks and leave personal items on desks. Through these spatial behaviours, individuals are able to lay down physical markers enabling them to re-claim personal workspace. In effect individuals were re-scripting “organizational spaces through the deliberate misappropriation and misuse of organizational space” (Taylor and Spicer, 2007: 334). This research points to the conclusion that individuals have a need to create a sense of ownership at work and one way of achieving this is by ignoring the ‘non-territorial’ aspects of hot-desking and instead, create territories in their working space.

Hot-desking and home-working represent forms of displacement which for Hirst (2011) bring forth a change which moves away from viewing individuals as ‘settlers’, to individuals as ‘mobile workers’ or ‘vagrants’. Hot-desking and home-working are seen to limit social interaction by breaking down informal relationships, thus causing a sense of isolation and loneliness which threatens both the personal and the social status of workers (e.g. Barnes,

2007; Brown and O'Hara, 2003; Elsbach, 2003). Elsbach's (2003: 622) research conducted in "a newly created, non-territorial office environment" concluded that the non-territorial work environment of hot-desking threatened the identity of the employees, "because it severely limited their abilities to affirm categorizations of distinctiveness (versus status) through the display of personal possessions" (Ibid.). The resistance to and the concerns expressed around hot-desking and home-working show that spatial expressions of identity, ownership and continuity are emerging as important aspects of organisational members' engagement with their workspace.

Loss of visibility and social fragmentation are in the literature also considered as outcomes of home-working. Halford and Leonard (2006) and Harris (2003) confirm home-workers' shared concerns regarding the loss of visibility. Research participants in these studies were not only concerned that their workspace was unseen, they also considered themselves to be invisible to the organisation. The issues around lack of visibility was compounded by a sense of social loss due to the inevitable demise in their 'work' relationships. Home-working also raises issues concerning the blurring of spatial boundaries between home and work and the corresponding conflicts this creates in terms of where and when the home is used for work and where and when the home is used for family time (Kreiner et al., 2009; Tietze and Musson, 2005; Wapshott and Mallett, 2012). Seeking to redress this erosion of boundaries between work and home life and the sense of isolation from working alone, is the idea of coworking spaces (Spinuzzi, 2012). Designed as a social workspace (Surman, 2013) coworking space creates networking opportunities for freelancers and entrepreneurs, who rent space in an open-plan office. The design of coworking offices is underpinned by an "endeavour to break isolation and to find a convivial environment that favours meetings and collaboration" (Moriset, 2013). This spatial arrangement provides a space for lone workers

to interact in an office setting, which is seen as conducive to professional creativity and psychological wellbeing.

Home-working, coworking and hot-desking are work arrangements which, although non-traditional, are, still spatially contained in a particular setting. Contrasting these working arrangements are mobile and hybrid workers who are increasingly adopting public spaces traditionally viewed as non-workspaces, as spaces for work. For example, coffee shops, trains, airport lounges, planes, and hotels have all become alternative spaces of work, which consequently have provided scholars, for example, Brown and O'Hara (2003), Felstead et al., (2003) and Hislop and Axtell (2007) with the opportunity of exploring spaces of work as situated in public spaces of daily life. This movement of work into non-work settings suggests that work is becoming less spatially contained and consequently is occupying an increasing range of social, cultural and private spaces.

In relation to this thesis, the identified issues surrounding alternative work arrangements such as a loss of identity, a sense of not belonging and feelings of isolation, need also to be considered as possible outcomes of traditional work arrangements. These are workspaces which individuals return to day after day and yet the lived experience can raise similar concerns around belonging, isolation and identity. This suggests that there is something else, other than work arrangements causing such dissatisfaction which is worth exploring through the lived experience of organisational space.

### **2.2.2 The Lived Experience of Organisational Space**

The second key strand in studies of organisational space explores the ways in which organisational space is socially produced through the embodied actions of individuals.

Following this strand, central to this thesis are the spaces of the everyday, otherwise known as mundane space “associated with everyday life” (Smith, 1999: 16). When viewed through a phenomenological lens, everyday lived space “is in constant motion. There is no static and stabilized space” (Thrift, 2006: 141). This view of space acknowledges that organisational space is permeable and boundary-less. Research turns attention to the minutiae of everyday life in organisational space, where mundane space takes on different representations. These everyday spaces are important in an organisational context, as they provide an insight into how employees subjectively experience organisational space, through their social and cultural frames which they bring to work (Taylor and Spicer, 2007). Space then takes on different meanings once it is imbued with personal interpretations. Whilst workspace to some extent is imposed upon us by the organisation, the literature in this strand shows that employees seek to recreate the space, so that space “is at once a becoming of expression, and a becoming of our being” (Bachelard, 1964/1994: xxiii). Simply put, space becomes an expression of who we are and we become an expression of the space we inhabit.

These forms of expression emerge through the different ways that individuals seek to inhabit their workspace. For example, artefacts are being used by individuals as a way to ‘manage’ workspace as opposed to being managed by their workspace. Organisational research undertaken by Ng and Höpfl, (2011); Tian and Belk, (2005); Tyler and Cohen, (2010); Wells, (2000), shows that appropriation of workspace manifesting itself through the display of personal artefacts. Appropriation served to bring aspects of the home into work, increasing the habitability of the space and the possibility of dwelling in the space. In addition, the placing of artefacts in workspace provided a way for managing stress and emotion at work (Laurence et al., 2013 and Wells, 2000). Through appropriation, spatial modifications emerge which at times “challenge the prevailing notion of order and the bureaucratic purity



of the site” (Ng and Höpfl, 2011: 762). Imposed organisational space is challenged and an alternative space emerges which takes on new meanings and which represents a spatial form of ‘ownership’.

The notion of ownership provides a way in which employees regain authority over imposed organisational space. For example, in Tyler and Cohen’s (2010) study in the offices of female staff in a university, photographs, artwork and sentimental objects were symbols of ownership and territorial marking. By decorating designated office space with family mementos, individuals who considered themselves as being invisible at work, took comfort from having visual reminders of “their identities and commitments outside of work [helping] to counteract the sense of not belonging” (Tyler and Cohen, 2010: 188). Similarly in Tian and Belk’s (2005: 299) study, the purpose of the appropriation of office space was to “overcome feelings of alienation and transience by making a personal mark”. Along similar lines in Ng and Höpfl’s (2011: 761) study of small office spaces, artefacts were used as forms of resistance to the imposed organisational space and served to “define territory and communicate a notion of personal identity”. In this study artefacts were used as surrogates in which to establish alternative identities and as ways of recalling life outside of work. Through the appropriation of space, individuals are able to seek ownership of their workspace, assert their identity and are able to both blur and separate the boundaries between private life and work life. This literature demonstrates that spatial expressions of ownership and identity each emerge as important aspects of an individual’s engagement with and experience of organisational space.

The organisational space literature in this strand, suggests that the inhabitant of space is not passively situated in space. Instead, the inhabitant transforms a space, which from a

Cartesian perspective can appear rational and one-dimensional, into a “‘differential space’... a new space which accentuates differences” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 52). Differential space emerges through the everyday or mundane spaces of the organisation, for example the office and the corridor. These everyday spaces, through the lived experience of the individual, take on new meanings and are being conceptualised in the literature as heterotopian or liminal space, which will now be discussed in turn.

### **Heterotopian Space**

In organisation studies, while conceived, imposed space is sometimes considered the dominant form of organisational space, we must also understand that such homogenous space is not necessarily a persuasive account, and that heterotopia is one concept through which a more differentiated space can be understood. Heterotopian space, a concept introduced by Foucault in 1966, is a means of conceptualising a feature of organisational space which explains how individuals, through inhabiting space, create alternative forms of power in organisations. Such spaces do not become known through the formal plans and design of organisational space, they “emerge from the jumble of practices, behaviours and artefacts of the organization” (Cairns et al., 2003: 135). This emerging of heterotopias is characterised in offices, through for example, the display of personal artefacts, through the arrangement of furniture and through the spatial behaviours of individuals. These factors can produce heterotopian space within the existing space, so that it is at once part of the office, yet separate to it.

Heterotopian space alters the imposed spaces of the organisation, they are spaces which are being re-designed by the inhabitants of the space. Foucault’s accounts of heterotopia were published in 1986 (English translation) in *Diacritics*, entitled ‘*Of Other Spaces*’. Foucault

(1986: 23), through Bachelard's (1964/1994) work, recognised that the spaces in which we live are not homogenous spaces "we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things... we live inside a set of relations". These relations are what makes the spaces that we live heterogeneous space. Space which shares relations with the histories and cultures of its inhabitants who in turn produce spaces that contest and invert (Foucault, 1986) planned organisational space. Foucault conceptualises such spaces as heterotopias and utopias. These two spatial concepts are fundamentally different, for heterotopias are viewed as an existing feature of everyday organisational life (Cairns et al., 2003), whilst utopias are defined as unreal, existing in the imagination and can be considered alongside dystopias for both describe an imaginary space; the former characterised by the positive and the latter characterised by the negative. Heterotopian space is particularly relevant in this thesis in the context of contesting and challenging organisational space. Such heterotopian spaces emerge from the practices of the inhabitants, who challenge imposed space. These emerging spaces "don't seek for unity and homogeneity but open up a world full of gaps and difference; they challenge, provoke the established order of things and words" (Kornberger and Clegg, 2003: 86). Examples of the manifestation of heterotopian space can be seen in Daskalaki et al.'s (2008: 61) study on *traceurs* (free runners). The activity of *parkour* (free running) creates 'other spaces' in the city that pose "a challenge to fixed, sterile organisational behaviour, rigid models and ready-made answers". Through a transposition of the metaphor of *parkour* to an organisational context, a different view of the organisation emerges. A view where employees take control of their everyday spaces, transforming them into spaces of possibilities (Daskalaki et al., 2008). In the previously mentioned Hancock and Spicer's (2011) study of the Saltire centre, an example of a heterotopian space emerges through the behaviours and practices of the students, who contest the imposed organisational space by producing a temporary space for rest and

personal grooming. Through their actions students created a heterotopian space where the space designated for group work were juxtaposed with an alternative space, “a different space [was being produced] within a prescribed space” (Hjorth, 2005: 394). This re-configuration of space was considered by management to be incompatible with the carefully designed space, which in turn was failing to determine behaviours. Heterotopian space emerges through the everyday spaces of the organisation as they are ‘contested and inverted’. They represent a coexistence of space or a partial overlapping of space. The effect of such spatial arrangements shows the dynamic changing qualities of organisational space.

In the organisational space literature a second view of heterotopian space also emerges, a counter view which considers that heterotopian spaces, rather than emerging spontaneously through the spatial practices of individuals, can be actively encouraged and therefore managed by the organisation. This view proposes that organisations need heterotopian spaces in order to enable and facilitate creativity, innovation and flexibility (Kornberger and Clegg, 2004). Empirical studies by Hjorth (2005) and Beyes and Michels (2011), exemplify the explicit organisational engineering of heterotopias. In Hjorth’s study (2005: 394) a space within the organisation was transformed into a ‘haven’ for the employees to enjoy their own time “a space for comfort, rest, silence and pleasure... a space for play within the place prescribed for production”. Whilst this space was created by management for individuals, it meets a requirement for individuals to be creatively productive. By ‘allowing’ a fixed and dedicated space of play to exist within the prescribed space of the organisation, a certain management expectation arises that increased productivity will ensue. In Beyes and Michels’ (2011: 522) study of a “large-scale experimental teaching project” in a business university, planned spatial interventions led by practitioners, were designed to encourage the emergence of heterotopias. In order to do this the normal arrangement of a freshers’ week

induction programme was changed. Traditional routines and activities were shelved and instead of remaining on campus, the students moved into the city in the middle of the week and “through working together with local artists and local organizations, the spatial boundaries of university life [were] temporarily displaced” (Ibid.). As part of the project, students displayed their work in the university’s concert hall which was temporarily turned into an exhibition space. This imbuing of the conceived space of the concert hall, with an alternative purpose was considered as producing a heterotopian space by the authors, who concluded that spatial interventions can facilitate the emergence of heterotopian space within the spaces of the university.

In both Hjorth’s and Beyes and Michels’ empirical research, there are attempts to encourage the emergence of heterotopian space, seeing such spaces where innovation and creativity can flourish. The argument I pose here is that the acts by management to encourage the creation of heterotopian spaces are a deliberate intervention to harness creative productivity. Here a managerial logic imposes itself on the fluid, chaotic and emerging quality of heterotopian space. An important question here is, is it still heterotopian space if it is planned like in Beyes and Michels’ study, or is the very meaning of heterotopia that it cannot be managed. The view taken in this thesis is the latter and accordingly, of greatest interest is the organisational space literature which aims to understand heterotopian space as it emerges, not through managerial design, but instead through individuals’ lived experiences. The reason being is twofold: first, conceptualising heterotopias from this phenomenological perspective aligns closely with Lefebvre’s (1974/1991) concept of ‘lived space’ which forms a key part of the conceptual framework of the thesis and is presented in section 2.3. Second, this conceptualisation of heterotopias provides a way through which to explore disruptions to the order and rationality of organisations and the dynamic,

sometimes contradictory facets of organisational space, in terms of how they are being produced and reproduced through embodied practices.

Foucault (1986) comments that heterotopian space inverts imposed space, it changes it so that the space takes on different meanings. In the organisational space literature, how actors invert their imposed workspace, is through the appropriation of space (e.g. Tian and Belk, 2005; Tyler and Cohen, 2010). The appropriation of space in the context of this thesis is taken from a Lefebvrian perspective which notes that inhabitants of space seek to appropriate or change the spaces that they inhabit and do so in order for the space to become an expression of who they are (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). Through analysing appropriated space particular ways of living in the space materialise. In this section it is seen how individuals produce heterotopian space, differential space. That is a different space which imbues the conceived spaces of the organisation with something other namely a lived space. The next section looks at an alternative conceptualisation of space, namely liminal space, which sits in-between the major spaces of the organisation (Dale and Burrell, 2008).

## **Liminal Space**

In the organisational space literature, there is interest in spaces which seemingly, when following a calculative, rational view of space, do not seem to serve a productive function (Shortt, 2015). Such spaces are conceptualised as liminal spaces, a term introduced by van Gennep (1909/1960) and developed by Turner (1979: 53) which considers that liminal space “develop[s] apart from the central economic and political processes, along the margins”. Liminal space was by van Gennep and Turner conceptualised as space where a transformation takes place, for example, ‘rites of passage’ (van Gennep, 1909/1960). Here the stepping over a threshold (limen), often referred to as the crossing of a sacred space into

a profane space (Eliade, 1959; Czarniawska and Mazza, 2003), causes a liminal state of being. Such a state is experienced when we are separated from one environment and have not yet entered a new environment, “a sort of social limbo” (Turner, 1982: 24). Liminal spaces are the temporary constellations of organisational life.

Liminal spaces are the connecting spaces within the organisation, for example, doorways, and corridors (Iedema et al., 2010). They represent the ‘passageways’ of the organisation (Küpers 2011). These spaces, according to Turner (1969/1997: 95) are “neither here, nor there; but betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial”. In the organisational context, liminal spaces can be viewed as being freed from imposed ways of working and are thus able to provide individuals with an escape from the monotony of the everyday. In such spaces, moments are created whereby individuals are free from the restraints of norms of working and are able to adapt the space to meet their own needs and purposes.

In organisation studies, liminal space and liminality are studied in different contexts. For example, in Czarniawska and Mazza’s (2003), Garsten’s (1999) and Sturdy et al.’s (2006) research, the concept of liminality is based on people who are temporarily part of an organisation, for example consultants and temporary workers. These empirical studies explore the concept of liminality in order to frame and to understand research participants’ “reactions to liminal experiences” (Thomassen, 2012: 32), to being in a transitory state. This is a state which brings the reward of flexibility and mobility on one hand, but on the other hand also marginality, for these roles are placed on the margins of organisations, not inside or outside, but ‘betwixt and between’. This research is particularly relevant given the growth in alternative workspaces and alternative work arrangements as discussed in section 2.2.1

and which pointed to an acknowledgement that work today increasingly takes place in many different spaces, both inside and outside the organisation.

When it comes to liminal space there are attempts at engineering it, for example Howard-Grenville et al (2011) explore how liminality is 'crafted' by managers, in order to lead planned cultural change after a recent merger. Two ways that this was achieved was first concerned with the bracketing of everyday events such as meetings and instead use them for different purposes. This meant that organisational actors were still connected to their old means of working and at the same time were experiencing new ways of being in the organisation. The second process involved inviting organisational actors to 'try out' what the new culture of the merged company may be like through scenario based workshops where new resources and skills were juxtaposed with old resources (Howard-Grenville et al., 2011). This provided a way for individuals to 'experience' the liminal state of crossing a threshold, in terms of being in-between a familiar setting before arriving at a new setting. Both processes were considered a positive step in the transition of moving from one culture to another and were by the researchers, considered as important to leading successful cultural change. Providing a final context for the study of liminal space is Shortt's (2012; 2015) empirical research in hairdressing salons. The focus of the studies was the hairdressers' experience of being in liminal space. Liminal space is considered as the forgotten and taken for granted spaces of the organisation cited as cupboards, doorways, 'secluded corners', toilets, backrooms and stairwells. These spaces do not "embody strong indications for staff about what is to take place within [them], (Iedema et al., 2010: 53) and therefore "offer a transitory space for conversations without organizational conventions" (Shortt, 2015: 638). These liminal spaces were all revealed as providing a temporary suspension of norms and had a particular, productive purpose. They served an important purpose in providing respite



from the pressures of the 'shop floor'. Toilets and the 'towel cupboard' were used as social spaces, where hairdressers gathered to 'gossip' and where 'creative conversations' could naturally unfold (Shortt, 2015). These informal social spaces were favoured over the prescribed staffroom, a space which carried expectations in terms of what would take place and at what time. Instead, the toilet and cupboard were frequented for social purposes at any time of the day under the guise of 'going to the toilet' or 'folding towels'. These liminal spaces are considered unmanaged organisational spaces. Despite being fixed physical spaces, the activities taking place in toilets, cupboards and stairwells are transitory, which is why they are considered liminal space, for they appear and disappear throughout the working day. They are spaces on the margin and need to remain there, or else they are at risk of being taken over and "put to good use by official monitors of space" (Shortt, 2015: 653). For example the deliberate placing of photocopiers and coffee machines in the corridors in Fayard and Weeks' (2007) and Dale and Burrell's (2008) empirical work mentioned earlier are also attempts at subsuming liminal space under a managed space with clear purpose and expectations. What research on liminal space clearly shows is that individuals need a space which they can consider their own, free from organisational norms and expectations; spaces which fall outside of formal, prescribed organisational space.

Liminality and liminal space provide important means for conceptualising the lived experience of space, particularly in terms of understanding the different ways in which individuals interact with and seek meaning from their workspace. Liminal space provides a view of organisational space which accounts for how individuals need more than a functional space for work, they need a space where they can dwell, a space which, if only for a moment, they can call their own.

Although the meaning of artefacts is often discussed in the organisational space literature as mentioned earlier (Ng and Höpfl, 2011; Tian and Belk, 2005; Tyler and Cohen, 2010), interestingly, artefacts have not been discussed in relation to liminal organisational space. However personal artefacts can play a role in creating or 'crafting' moments of liminality. Outside organisation studies there are some examples of studies which bring these two features of organisational life together. Providing one such example is Spitz's (1989: 366) research in an educational setting, which explores the significance of artefacts, for example picturebooks, in terms of how they create liminal spaces "in which fantasy blossoms" in the minds of children. A second example is Rodovalho's (2014: 89) study, where the use of home video, home being Japan, constituted "home mode artefacts", which when viewed by family members exiled in North Korea, led to a liminal state of being home when not at home. Through the video, liminal space emerged between the two 'homelands'. The third example also draws on the home setting, in which Pahl and Kelly (2005) bring together artefacts and liminal space in order to explore how home-based artefacts placed in the classroom assisted in creating a liminal space between the classroom and home. Analysing the role of artefacts for creating liminal space is of particular interest to this thesis as I consider that they have a role in producing liminal states of being within organisational space. Bringing home-based artefacts into work not only serves to express individual identity, it also serves to create a transitory space between home and work. This liminal space does not exist on the margin or amongst the forgotten spaces of the organisation, it appears and disappears in the ordinary space of work, for example in the office. From this perspective, liminal space can appear in any organisational space.

The literature which explores individuals' experience of organisational space gives an insight into the ways in which organisational space is being lived. The literature shows the inter-

relationships taking place between space and the individual and whilst providing important contributions to a spatial understanding, it does so in a limited way. Warranting further attention is research which embraces the view that in order to understand lived space, there needs to be a perspective taken which considers the body and space mutually constructing one another, interwoven with one another. Providing a rare example in organisation studies of the interweaving of the body and its environment is Dale and Latham (2015: 167) who explore the “ethical implications of embodied entanglements”. Whilst the focus is not on spatiality this research clearly advocates the importance of bringing and considering the body and the material together in terms of its contribution to the study of organisations. In the context of this thesis, the intermeshing of the body with space explores how people make space and how space makes them and allows for a critical understanding of organisations which is valuable, for it draws attention to the unseen and neglected aspects of organisations.

The bodily lived experience of space is part of our habitual being and therefore tends to fade into the background. It is a relatively neglected part of spatial understandings and yet it matters to organisation studies because it is this that shapes the individual’s practices and sense of being in the organisation. To gain a deeper, more holistic understanding of the lived experience of space a phenomenological approach is required. Such an approach calls into question, How am I in this world and of this space? It posits that I am because of the space I inhabit and the space is because of me; the body and space fold into one another (Simpson, 2008). Through Lefebvre’s (1974/1991) notion of the ‘total body’ it is possible to address what current studies discussed so far have not, for it brings into spatial analysis all aspects of the body, the physical body and the mind. From this perspective the analysis of the lived experience of organisational space needs to draw on the total body intertwined with space, there is no separation.

## 2.3 Lefebvre's Conceptualisations of Space

In this section of the chapter the work of Lefebvre will be discussed, beginning with the foundations of his thoughts and then moving on to what are considered to be his key spatial concepts, namely the spatial triad (1974/1991) and his posthumously published work on 'Rhythmanalysis' (1992/2004). Lefebvre's conceptualisations of space are chosen as a key analytical framework in this thesis through which to explore the everyday lived experience of organisational space. A significant reason for this choice is based on Lefebvre's epistemology of space, which sees space not as a fixed, stable, homogenous entity which is external to the body, but instead sees space as fluid, irrational and dynamic and coexisting with the body. His conceptualisations of space are centred on the lived experience of space. Whilst applications of Lefebvre's work, particularly the spatial triad, are becoming increasingly ubiquitous in organisational studies of space, its application in terms of exploring the embodied dimension of the lived experience of organisational space is relatively neglected. And yet the body and its co-existence with space is arguably a strong thread running through his work.

Lefebvre is one of the most prominent and influential writers on space (Dale and Burrell, 2008). Described as a neo-Marxist and existentialist philosopher (Shields, 1999) the foundations of his spatial ideas are rooted in Marxism and based on a concern of people's right to everyday public spaces. Initially Lefebvre's interest on space focused on rural life, and later extended to the spaces of the city which provided the platform through which to promote his political ideologies. In both of these environments Lefebvre's primary interest lay with the familiar and mundane side of life, the side often overlooked. Shields (1999: 66) suggests that Lefebvre's ideologies were based on "the politics of the banal rather than the politics of the elite". Key to Lefebvre's writing, and underpinning his work is his interest in

everyday life, and everyone's right to space. These issues he explored thoroughly in his trilogy titled *Critique of Everyday Life* (1958/1991; 1961/2002; 1981/2008). Unlike Marx, Lefebvre was not only concerned with labour relations but also with the experience of all aspects of life, "joy, desire and play" (Simonsen, 2005: 3). Both commercial and social life were key features of Lefebvre's work. His writings on space take a political stance which argues that capitalism and its "financial interests and private property signifies control – that is to say, the end of the freedom that is indispensable to full enjoyment" (Lefebvre, 1981/2008: 128). Lefebvre writes of times when those who produced space were the same people as managed and used it, he termed such space as 'Absolute space', a product of kinship and equality. However, absolute space was replaced with capitalist desires of wealth and accumulation. Meanwhile, the right to space was increasingly being denied to individuals and communities. Lefebvre conceptualised this capitalist space as 'Abstract space', which he refers to as the capitalist space of owners and planners who seek to divide up space into "uniform, homogenous parcels" (Jones and Popke, 2010: 117). Abstract space is a manifestation of power, for Lefebvre (1974/1991: 49) it was "the dominant form of space, that which centres on wealth and power". Abstract space today can be considered as the spaces owned by organisations, who design the space in order to maximise efficiencies and profits and who decide who will work in the space and be controlled through the space.

Lefebvre's most cited work is 'The Production of Space' (1974/1991). It has been drawn on across a diverse range disciplines, including geography (Harvey, 2000; Soja, 1989), architecture (Upton, 2002; Kurnicki, 2014) and organisational space studies (e.g. Dale and Burrell, 2008; Watkins, 2005; Wapshott and Mallett, 2012). Lefebvre demands that studies of space incorporate the lived and the concrete experience of space, so that space becomes a reality which is "organic and fluid and alive" (Merrifield, 2000: 171). Lefebvre's interest in

the lived experience of space emphasised meanings afforded to space and the spatial character of social relations. He considered that there is no sociality without space, and that space is inscribed in the social.

In the opening chapter of 'The Production of Space' Lefebvre (1974/1991: 24) makes it clear that he wants to "detonate the state of affairs" which observes an epistemology of space from a Cartesian, rational and one dimensional perspective. Instead, Lefebvre wished to bring together the different dimensions of space: the mental perspective alongside the sensory realm of space; calling on scholars to investigate the dialectical interaction between "spatial arrangements and social organisation" (Shields, 1999: 157). From this bringing together of the mental and sensory realms of space it is possible to explore peoples' lived experience of everyday spaces. To provide an alternative to understanding space in a fragmented fashion, Lefebvre (1974/1991: 11/12, original emphasis) developed a unitary theory of spatial understanding, the aim of which was to:

Discover or construct a theoretical unity of theory between fields which are apprehended separately [...] The fields we are concerned with are, first, the *physical* - nature, the cosmos; secondly, the *mental*, including logical and formal abstractions; and, thirdly, the *social*. In other words, we are concerned with *logico-epistemological* space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols, utopias.

In this quote we can see a refuting of the Cartesian approach to understanding space. Lefebvre's unitary theory is situated in the phenomenological realm, which views space not as static and homogenous, but instead as dynamic, complex and subjectively experienced. Epistemologically space and the body coexist, simultaneously shaping each other. Lefebvre's

unitary theory brings forth embodied experience as a dimension of the production of space together with the abstract and the social. The focus is on the subjective experiences of space through the human body. Understanding space from this perspective moves beyond the Cartesian perspective in which “space like time, has been understood in a narrow, calculative, mathematical sense [...] divorced from our experience of space” (Elden, 2004: 188), to an experiential spatial understanding which recognises space as produced through subjective, embodied processes. Following this perspective an understanding of the lived experience of space is “conveyed by bodily sensation and sensuous perception rather than by cognitive superimposition” (Löw, 2008: 28). Of importance to note is that Lefebvre is not seeking to grant embodied experience primacy over the wider conditions within which such experiences are situated, but rather to observe them in conjunction. Lefebvre’s view, as presented so far, has been chosen as key for this thesis which aims to understand the body’s role in the production of organisational space, for his ontology of space is phenomenological, according to which space is produced through the embodied lived experience of it.

### **2.3.1 A Lefebvrian Perspective of the Body**

Following Lefebvre’s (1974/1991) writings in ‘The Production of Space’ and in ‘Rhythmanalysis’ (1992/2004), the importance Lefebvre attached to the body is clear: “the whole of (social) space proceeds from the body” (1974/1991: 405). Lefebvre views the body as political as well as social; as inscribed with and shaped by the socio-economic context within which it is situated. Lefebvre for example critiques Taylorism for its calculative, dehumanizing and ‘labourizing’ effects:

Taylorism [...] reduced the body as a whole to a small number of motions subjected to strictly controlled linear determinations. A division of labour so extreme, whereby

specialization extends to individual gestures, has undoubtedly had as much influence as linguistic discourse on the breaking-down of the body into a mere collection of unconnected parts (Ibid: 204).

A Tayloristic view breaks the body down into its constituent components to enrol it in the production process, whereby a holistic view of the body is suppressed in favour of a mechanistic one. It follows the dominant Cartesian view, which detaches the body from space and in doing so “has *betrayed* the body; it has actively participated in the great process of metaphorization that has *abandoned* the body; and it has *denied* the body (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 407, original emphasis). In other words, it has denied the body of its lived existence. According to Lefebvre, capitalism seeks to homogenise space and homogenise the body in modern society. Lefebvre refuted this dominant ideology, critiquing abstract conceptualisations of space and the body which reduced the understanding of space to a purely intellectual endeavour. In the context of organisational space, and in agreement with Lefebvre, there has to be a rejection of a “Cartesian split between mind and body” (Dale, 2001: 11) for in order to gain an understanding of the lived experience of organisational space, the body in terms of its senses and its movements must be considered through space. The body outside space loses its meaning and its (place of) existence for “each living body both *is* space and *has* its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 170, original emphasis). Body and space coexist, they are one; simultaneously organisational space produces the body and the body produces organisational space.

To Lefebvre (1974/1991: 196) the body is a ‘spatial body’ “which has neither meaning nor existence when considered in isolation from its extensions, from the space that it reaches and produces”. It is the body’s experience in space which produces space. The body to which



Lefebvre refers is conceptualised as a “total body” (Ibid: 200). The total body is made up of its mental abstracts, movements, senses and gestures and is capable of infusing abstract space or dominant space with a different space, a lived space. Lefebvre does not provide empirical clarifications of this lived space, but examples have been discussed in section 2.2.2 as heterotopian space. It is this lived space, which is of interest to this thesis, Lefebvre (1974/1991: 52) conceptualises this space as different space or differential space, a “new kind of space” which emerges from abstract space. A space produced through the rhythms and gestures of the body.

The importance that Lefebvre (1992/2004) grants to the body is seen clearly in his writing on rhythmanalysis. Although Lefebvre does not to any great extent explore the concept of the ‘total body’ empirically, his discussions on gestures and rhythms provide a conceptual framework through which to explore how space is produced through the body. The everyday rhythms of the body shift the body to a living active body of space. Writings on rhythms also provide a framework in which to explore the interlinking of space with time, both of which I now turn to.

### **2.3.2 Rhythms, Space and Time**

Lefebvre’s political views which were concerned with the tension between an imposed rational order and local possibilities of its subversion, are implicit in his work on rhythms of the body in everyday life, and his perspective on time. Lefebvre subscribes to the notion that the body, space and time are bound together, “time is known and actualized [through the body] in space [...] Similarly, space is known only in and through time” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 219). His view on what constitutes the rhythms of the body and time are now discussed.

Two types of rhythms are defined by Lefebvre (1992/2004: 8): linear or rational, and natural. The linear or rational rhythms impose themselves on the body and stem “from social practice, therefore from human activity: the monotony of actions and of movements, imposed structures”. They represent repetition and are defined by “the consecutiveness and the reproduction of the same phenomena, identical or almost at more or less close regular intervals” (Lefebvre, 1996: 231). Lefebvre here is referring to the monotonous and routine nature of daily life, actions are repeated day in and day out. These actions in an organisational context are often being structured by external factors, for example, rising at the same time every morning in order to get to work at a specific time, or, taking a break at the same time everyday in order to comply with organisational rules. Linear rhythms are grounded in everyday organisational space, in the banal aspects of work and seek to control behaviours in space through repetition. These rhythms align with Newtonian time, quantitative in character, which orders and measures everyday life at work:

This homogenous and desacralised time has emerged victorious since it supplied the *measure of the time of work*. Beginning from this historic moment, it became the time of everydayness, subordinating to the organisation of work in space other aspects of the everyday: the hours of sleep and waking, meal-times and the hours of private life, the relations of adults with their children, entertainment and hobbies, relations to the place of dwelling (Lefebvre and Régulier, 1986/2004a: 73, original emphasis).

This desacralisation of time, refers to a kind of disenchantment where any form of pleasure or spontaneity experienced in daily life, has been sacrificed through a twenty four seven focus on work. The linear represents the tedium of daily life in organisations, organisations which have “a linear bias [where] many natural rhythms have been replaced by artificial ones, a rhythmic society replaced by a metronomic [society]” (Young, 1988: 19). That is a

society ruled by Newtonian time, by the regular tick of the clock and whereby the natural rhythms or spontaneous unplanned rhythms, have been corrupted by the daily grind of modern life.

Tensions arise between “measured, imposed, external time [Newtonian time] and a more endogenous time” (Lefebvre and Régulier, 1986/2004b: 99). Endogenous time, otherwise known as cyclical time, links to Lefebvre’s natural rhythms. Lefebvre couples together natural rhythms and cyclical time, both of which he presents as freedom and personal expression. They are rhythms which are free from the imposed structure of modern daily life. Cyclical time provides a balance to Newtonian time for example, balancing rationality with irrationality and monotony with spontaneity. Cyclical time and natural rhythms produce a certain kind of organisational space, a lived, unpredictable space, which at times can display a “victory [...] over the linear, integrating it without destroying it” (Lefebvre, 1981/2008: 131). Cyclical time as Lefebvre understands it, shares his epistemology of lived space. Lefebvre did not view time as something that could be measured, his time was “as non-calculable, as resistant to abstracting generalisations and in need of being understood as lived” (Elden, 2004: xi). According to Lefebvre both space and time have to be understood from the perspective of lived experience.

Linear and natural rhythms and Newtonian and cyclical time cannot be separated, they intermesh in everyday life. This complex interaction defines both relations between space, time and embodied experience, and the dichotomies which exist within each of those three elements. In organisational space there are clashes between space as planned and space as lived; in time tensions emerge between quantitative time (Newtonian) and qualitative time (cyclical), and in the body contrasts appear between the spontaneous and free natural

rhythms of the body and the body controlled by the linear rhythms of external, managerial forces. These juxtapositions “are at the heart of daily life” (Lefebvre, 1981/2008: 130), shaping the production of differential organisational space. This different space is sometimes in harmony and sometimes in disharmony with the planned space and Newtonian time of the organisation. It is these qualities of space that are of central interest to this thesis where both space and time are lived through the body.

Lefebvre’s work on rhythms and gestures highlights what is arguably the most notable limitation of his work, which is his virtual silence of the body’s unique quality and characteristics. He does not account for different bodies and that is a weakness. Lefebvre only discusses the body in the context of a general body, ignoring the “diversity of bodies” (Dale, 2005: 655) and thus has a “tendency to homogenize and disembody” (Dale and Burrell, 2014: 168). The feminine body in terms of its contribution to spatial understanding is neglected. Lefebvre offers a “male-dominated spatial regime” (Stewart, 1995: 611) which disregards the fact that any spatial analysis needs to recognise that bodies are for example, gendered, racialized and classed. Lefebvre fails to account for a female view of space and time which represents different experiences to a masculine view (Kwan, 2002). In his work in ‘Rhythmanalysis’ (1992/2004), there is no indication of, or consideration given to, the different rhythms being produced by the male and female body and what this could contribute towards understanding the lived experience of space. Lefebvre does not provide a gendered spatiality, only a masculine spatiality and does not say how or what a feminine view of the body in terms of how space is being experienced, could contribute to spatial understandings.

Whilst gender does not constitute a key line of inquiry in this thesis, Lefebvre's neglect has been addressed in the organisational space literature by for example, the works of Dale (2001; 2005), who acknowledges and tends to the gender differences of the spatial body. Halford and Leonard (2006) observe a gendered dimension in the choice of dress to be worn in the different spaces of the organisation, for example, a senior nurse wearing a trouser suit when called to board meetings. Tyler and Cohen (2010), analyse how gender emerges in organisational space through artefacts and identity construction, and Wasserman (2012: 7) explores open-office design noting that "architectural decisions are rarely gender-neutral". This research offers an important contribution to the lived experience of space for it takes a bodily account of how lived space is produced from a gendered perspective, for example through identity marking and appropriation along with how organisational space is understood from a gendered perspective. Whilst the absence of different bodies has raised critique of Lefebvre's work, his work still has considerable importance to this thesis. His spatial concepts discussed in this section provide a useful analytical framework in which to explore the lived dimension of organisational space.

## **Dressage**

In this section I turn to Lefebvre's (1992/2004) work in 'Rhythmanalysis' and in particular his concept of 'dressage' in order to explore a particular form of power and control directed upon the body. Dressage presents a form of organisational power that is inscribed on the body and is observed through the movements of the body. The notion of dressage is relevant to this thesis for its attention on the body and in providing a lens through which to explore everyday routines and rituals which often go by unnoticed in organisational space research and yet contribute to the production of lived space.

Lefebvre (1992/2004: 49) defines dressage as the action where “one breaks-in another human living being by making them repeat certain acts, a certain gesture or movement”. Dressage in an organisational context is a form of training, of learning, imposed by the organisation onto the body. Dale and Burrell (2014: 170) can be said to provide a contemporary conceptualisation of dressage as “the organizational shaping of the body”, whereby our bodies are being shaped through our occupations (Ibid.). Dale and Burrell are exploring here the relationships between ‘organised embodiment’ and occupation with a particular emphasis on different forms of ‘unwellness’. Whilst the context is different from this thesis, the underlying theme of organisational power in terms of controlling the body and its movements is evident. While dressage occurs in any organisation to some extent, cathedrals provide a particular example of how the organisation seeks to control bodily movement. For example, dressage is clearly on display through the regimented way in which daily service takes place in terms of the rituals and routines followed. During the leading of the service the body of the priest or the vicar is trained to act in a certain way at a certain time. The repetitious behaviours of these programmed movements “embody ideology and bind it to practice” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 215) and in so doing help to ensure that organisational norms and traditions are upheld. Dale and Burrell (2014: 168) describe this binding to practice “as a process of socially organized embodiment that concerns us as ‘being occupied’. On taking up any particular occupation our embodied being is shaped through our interaction with this occupation”. Our body, in terms of its actions and movements is taken over by its occupation, namely the work that we do. Taking the example above, the priest’s body is occupied by his or her work which is dictating his or her bodily movements in the cathedral. The body, in this example follows expected organisational norms which are deemed to produce a professional body, undertaking a particular occupation. I argue that

this form of control, is generally overlooked in organisation studies as everyday routines tend to be forgotten, due to having become familiarised.

The concept of dressage provides a framework for examining the effects of everyday organisational rituals and routines, and raises questions in terms of how the body manages this level of control. For the body as we know is not “a system, a design, a mechanically organized structure” (Dale, 1997: 107), contrary to the view of Taylor (1911). Therefore, “how does [the body] insert its own rhythms amongst those [...] imposed by authority?” (Lefebvre and Régulier, 1986/2004b: 99). The struggle ultimately is between homogenisation and difference, between programmed and routinised movements and spontaneous emerging movements.

Empirical applications of rhythmanalysis commonly focus on the body’s experience in urban space (e.g. Edensor, 2010; Simpson, 2008; 2012). In this context, rhythmanalysis is explored through the everyday practice of walking and through street performers. These studies show that rhythmanalysis provides a way of exploring the embodied practices of walkers and performers and brings together the co-existing relationships taking place between the body, time and space. Rhythmanalysis was used in analysis to explore the patterns of street performances (Simpson, 2008) and their embodied responses to both linear rhythms in terms of the start, end and duration of each performance along with the cyclical rhythms of their performances and responses to the outside environment, namely the sun and rain. Analysis in Edensor’s (2010) research focussed on walking patterns in terms of walking that was disciplined for example, following prescribed routes, providing links to Lefebvre’s dressage, and how walking contested such disciplined ways, subverting them allowing for a more sensual mode of walking with a greater awareness of the environment. A common

characteristic of these studies is the level of detail, for the studies are focused on exploring the minutiae of everyday life. I argue that there is value in incorporating Lefebvre's work on rhythms and dressage into the study of organisations, although currently it is an under-represented aspect in the organisational space literature. The aspect of Lefebvre's work most drawn upon in organisational space studies and to which the chapter now turns, is in the application of his conceptual spatial triad which provides the conceptual means of understanding space and which importantly ties space and the body together.

### **2.3.3 The Spatial Triad**

Lefebvre's spatial triad is a framework of spatial analysis and, like his concept of 'dressage', is underpinned by power. The triad is useful for understanding organisational space, for it provides a conceptual tool to explore different aspects of space, a tool which integrates both the political and the personal (Dale and Burrell, 2008). Through the triad it is possible to explore how organisational spaces are appropriated, experienced and contested and resisted through lived experience. The triad consists of three interconnecting elements, all of which contribute equally to the production of space. The first element is known as Representations of space, conceived space or in French *l'espace conçu*; the second is known as Spatial practice, perceived space or *l'espace perçu* and the third is known as Representational spaces, lived space or *l'espace vécu*. The terms adopted for this thesis are conceived space, perceived space and lived space.

*Conceived space* is the "paper space of drawings" (Elden, 2004: 189). It is space as idealized by designers, architects and planners, with Dale (2005) adding managers. It is the conceptual, logico-rational dimension of space, "the abstract presentation of lived experience in space reduced to quantified movements along vectors between x-y



coordinates” (Shields, 1999: 163). Conceived space is the ordering of space which assigns certain spaces to certain activities and is materialised through, for example, floor plans, which identify set routes and points of access and egress. Conceived space links to the ways that organisations are designed in order to control movements and in order to ‘emplace’ (Dale and Burrell, 2008) certain employees within certain spaces. Conceived space is embedded with power and order, dictating the division of labour and outlining the movements and behaviours that are to be carried out. It represents abstract space, the spaces owned by the elite or spaces controlled by management and the space to which Lefebvre’s (1992/2004) notion of ‘dressage’ applies, for it is a space designed to control the body. The conceived space provide directions for how to behave, but as Lefebvre (1974/1991: 230) asserts, it should not form “the basis for the study of ‘life’. For in doing so it reduces lived experiences”. Conceived space considered alone represents just one dimension of space, reducing it to a homogenised form, easily identifiable and descriptively explained. It makes space appear transparent “which evades both history and practice” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 7). It presents only a part of the production of space, making it appear ahistorical and homogeneous, disregarding its irrationality and complexity. In order to understand the lived experience of space, conceived space has to be considered alongside perceived space and lived space.

The second aspect of the triad is *perceived space* which attends to the physical aspects of space. Using Lefebvre’s words (1974/1991: 38), perceived space represents “the spatial practice of a society”. That is the everyday routines and behaviours as practiced by users of space. These spatial practices are shaped by the individual’s understanding of the space, based on assumptions made about the space, which partly stem from the conceived space, but may also contradict it. This leads to a spatial competence that either aligns with or

negates the conceived space. The deliberate slow walking and the hushed tones of visitors in a cathedral suggest a spatial competence according to which understanding of space is aligned to the conceived space. In contrast, the running around of noisy children in a cathedral suggests an incongruence between what the space has been conceived for and how it is being perceived. Spatial competence can be linked back to Lefebvre's (1992/2004) notion of rhythms, where it is observed that the body is either in or out of rhythm, with the imposed linear rhythms of the space. Perceived space is the space of human activity; the physical space of daily life "that is generated and used" (Elden, 2004: 190); through these everyday practices the production of space becomes humanised.

The final aspect completing the triad is known as *lived space*, and for Lefebvre (1974/1991: 33) it represents the "clandestine or underground side of social life". Through lived space "alternative imaginations of space" (Simonsen, 2005: 7) emerge which can temporarily, using Lefebvre's expression, *overlay* the planned conceived space. Such spaces could also be conceptualised as heterotopias or liminal space. Like perceived space, it is the space of human agency, where lived experience has the potential to change conceived space. Lived space can be viewed as the space which interrupts, contests and disorders the conceived space. It is the subjective, experiential realm of the triad, it is the space which "refuses to acknowledge power" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 10). Exploring how space is 'lived' in terms of the ways it is being contested by individuals provides a way in which to explore resistance to organisational power.

Research which has applied the triad in the context of organisations has some limitations in that it often does not equally account for each aspect of the triad to the spatial experience. There is a tendency to favour one element of the triad over another. For example in Tyler

and Cohen's, (2010) study lived space was the focal point of interest. In other studies, the three elements of the triad are considered in an independent fashion, where each element is explicated in the context to which it is being applied, for example street markets (Stillerman 2006), casinos (Kingma, 2008), a government building (Wasserman and Frenkel, 2010) and a university (Ryan, 2011). What is missing from these studies is an analytical discussion which brings together in detail the three elements of the triad from the perspective of the body. This I consider, presents a fragmented view of the triad and limits its use in understanding the lived experience of space. A different application of the triad would be one that explores it from the perspective of the body and in so doing brings together the elements through the concept of "space of the body" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 201), as opposed to the separating out of the body's experience from space, implying a disembodied space.

The body needs to be viewed as an integrated element of the triad, traversing and intertwining with each of the elements. It is by means of the body and its associated rhythms and gestures that the triad is translated from an abstract form into a concrete form. From a phenomenological perspective, there is no knowing outside of the body, we come to know the world through our body, we orientate ourselves through our body and through its movements. For Lefebvre (1974/1991: 201) this is how space is produced; through the "body of space", shaping space and being shaped by space. It is the 'body of space' which provides the lens in which to explore the nature of submission and resistance to organisational space. Applied in the context of a cathedral, the conceived representation of the cathedral may align itself with the perceived notions of the space, or the perceived space may produce a spatial practice which changes the space through the lived experience of space. Through the body, the space of the cathedral takes on different meanings. Its physical

appearance differs to how the space is being imagined through the embodied experience. To put it simply, as soon as the space becomes inhabited differentiations begin to emerge:

Thus as exact a picture as possible of this [physical] space would differ considerably from the one embodied in the representational space [lived space] which its inhabitants have in their minds, and which for all its inaccuracy plays an integral role in social practice (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 93).

Lefebvre is suggesting in the quote that once inhabited, space becomes an appropriated space. The inaccuracy to which he refers represents tensions between conceived, perceived and lived space. The appropriated space overlays the conceived space, it belongs to the individual who “can alter, add or subtract, superimpose their own ideas (symbols, organization) on what is provided” (Lefebvre, 2003: 130). The appropriated space symbolises an act of resistance to conceived space, producing lived space through the body. For Wapshott and Mallett (2012: 72) this contesting of space is inevitable:

In the ever-changing reality and conception of a given space of representation [conceived space], there will be a push and pull between the conceived intentions for the space, the power that is exerted on its occupants, and the reaction to these ‘rules’ by the inhabitants.

This push and pull between the rules of conceived space and the resisting of these rules, further exemplifies the necessity to give simultaneous attention to the architectural and ideological dimensions of space (conceived space), as well as the activities and imaginations that contribute to its production (perceived and lived space). These different dimensions shape each other. What I argue occurs in organisations as a result of this push and pull, is spatial appropriation, meaning that spaces are being re-configured by individuals in order

to produce a different space to the one imposed by the organisation. How and why this is happening and in turn what an understanding of this different space brings to our understandings of organisations is what this thesis examines. For such spaces represent tacit aspects as well as physical aspects of the spatial triad that is memories, dreams, images and symbols which overlay and translate the conceived space into a lived space through the body.

Lefebvre's spatial concepts of rhythmanalysis, dressage and the triad do all present a particular characteristic of his work, namely the fact that they are mainly intellectual projects, confined to his own contemplations, to the "laying and relaying of conceptual schemes" (Curry, 1996: 183). The lack of empirical study has, I argue, led to the body predominantly being studied from an exterior perspective, which considers the body's experience from the position of "an onlooker, a sightseer, someone not otherwise involved with the scene" (Tuan, 1974/1990: 10). The problem of taking this external position is that it prioritises the physical body in spatial analysis, but ignores the other aspects of the body, namely thought, memory and imagination which are excluded from the analysis. To address the inattention of these otherwise neglected aspects of the body, a Lefebvrian spatial analysis can be complemented by the work of Bachelard (1964/1994).

### **A Bachelardian Understanding of Organisational Space**

Bachelard's (1964/1994) work draws on the role of the imagination for understanding space. I consider his work on dreams, memories and images as valuable for extending understandings of the lived experience of organisational space, by paying attention to these more hidden dimensions of everyday life. For Bachelard (1964/1994: xxxvi), the imagination adds a dimension to the homogenous spaces of work:

Space that has been seized upon by the imagination cannot remain indifferent space subject to the measures and estimates of the surveyor. It has been lived in, not in its positivity, but with all the partiality of the imagination.

Bachelard is emphasising here the fluid and complex nature of space, rejecting the Cartesian notion that space can be measured in a positivist, objective way. Instead, space is dynamic, and once imagined, space takes on a different meaning to its physical representation. It also shapes how the space is lived. Bachelard explores the role of the imagination in spatial understandings, principally in the context of the house. His work explores the impact of the house on the inhabitant and the impact of the inhabitant on the house (Bachelard, 1964/1974). Both are brought together, creating one another. The house provides the shelter of the lived experience, a lived experience which is understood through the interpretation of the inhabitant's thoughts, memories and imaginations. I consider that this aspect of the lived experience, whilst relatively neglected in the organisational space literature, provides important contributions to understanding the lived experience of organisational space. For it presents different dynamisms of space to the previously mentioned dynamism associated with for example spatial configuration and appropriation.

Organisational space can be viewed from the perspective of the house for "all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home" (Bachelard, 1964/1994: 5). This perspective explores workspace in a more intimate context, as opposed to a functional context, where it is considered that individuals seek to dwell in their spaces of work. This sheds an alternative light on what it means to inhabit workspace. Through thought, memory and imagination a sense of how individuals are actually dwelling, or living in their workspace emerges. The ways in which individuals create a sense of familiarity in the workspace and create a sense of belonging become known. The interpretation of thoughts, memories and the imagination

highlights the human dimension of space and in so doing brings nearer an understanding of the lived experience of organisational space.

Understanding the lived experience of space is at the heart of this thesis and at the heart of the lived experience is “the total body, the brain, gestures and so forth” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 200). The importance of the total body, is currently under-represented in the organisational space literature. Whilst the body has been written about at some length, I consider that the embodied dimensions of memory and imagination are under-explored from a spatial perspective. Bringing together Lefebvre and Bachelard to explore the lived experience of organisational space will, I argue, assist in addressing this current neglect.

## **2.4 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has outlined competing understandings of organisational space, from Cartesian to phenomenological perspectives. The former focused on the rational and ordered view of space, where space is considered as homogenous and static and the latter focused on the fluid and dynamic understanding of space, where space is considered as being alive and ever changing. Key debates in the organisational space literature have been presented from debates which view space as being one dimensional, a container in which human experience is discounted, to debates which put at their heart the lived dimension of space. Through the work of Lefebvre (1974/1991: 201), the adopted position of this thesis in terms of how the body is being viewed emerges from his notion of “space of the body” as opposed to the “body-in-space”. This view considers body and space coexist, they are fused together, inextricably linked, with each being made by the other.

Alternative working practices and spatial arrangements have been discussed in terms of how space is being configured in organisations. Through the notions of spatial configuration and reconfiguration, different forms of organisational power and control have been explored. These include design and layout and processes of spatial appropriation, which observes a shifting of power away from the organisation towards the individual inhabitant of space. This view of power moreover pays attention to the lived experience of space. The lived experience of space is central to this thesis and the chapter has shown that the lived experience can be conceptualised in different ways, for example as heterotopian space and liminal space. Each provide examples of where space when imbued with different interpretations, overlays imposed space, producing an alternative space to the physical space. Through the concept of lived space, space is considered as dynamic with multiple dimensions.

By reviewing the organisational space literature along with Lefebvre's contributions to spatial understandings, I have concluded that there are perspectives currently neglected in understanding the lived experience of organisational space. These identified perspectives are the role of thought, memory and imagination. To begin to address this neglect I have in this chapter turned to Bachelard's work (1964/1994) who considers that space can be understood through the interpretation of thoughts, memory and imagination. My coupling of Lefebvre's conceptualisations of space with Bachelard's work addresses these currently under-represented perspectives and provides a clearer understanding of the lived experience of organisational space, one which embraces a holistic or total bodily experience of lived space.



Having reviewed the existing literature and provided the justification for this thesis I will next present the chosen research methodology, namely hermeneutic phenomenology.

***Chapter Three: A Hermeneutic  
Phenomenological Approach to  
Exploring Organisational Space***

## **Introduction**

This chapter outlines the epistemological commitments of the thesis, which is situated within the paradigm of interpretivism, and in particular the Gadamerian tradition of hermeneutic phenomenology. Hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with the interpretation of lived experience which in the context of this thesis is the lived experience of organisational space. This epistemological position acknowledges that there has to be a commitment to the joint interpretation of the lived experience between the participant and researcher. Gadamer's (1975/2004) work on understanding lived experience complements Lefebvre's (1974/1991) understanding of space, and I argue that together they provide the means to conceptualise and explore the lived experience of organisational space.

The chapter comprises four sections. The first locates the thesis in phenomenology before moving on to Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenology. The second section explores in detail Gadamer's (1975/2004) emphasis on language and conversation as enablers of understanding within the key context of prejudices, the fusion of horizons and the hermeneutic circle. The third section brings together Gadamer's focus on the role of language for understanding, and Lefebvre's focus on the role of the body in understanding. By combining both approaches, interpretation follows which accounts for both the verbal and the non-verbal, which I argue produces deeper levels of understanding the lived experience. This leads on to the fourth section, prior to the chapter summary, which discusses the way that an embodied hermeneutic approach can be applied to research practice.

### **3.1 Introduction to Phenomenology and Hermeneutics**

This thesis brings together phenomenology (lived experience) with hermeneutics (interpretation), the thesis is dedicated to the study of people. The adopted approach draws

on two philosophies which share both similarities and differences. The first is the phenomenology of Husserl (1931), which broadly speaking addresses the key issues of consciousness and perception. The second is the hermeneutic phenomenology of Heidegger (1927/1962) and Gadamer (1975/2004) (a student of Heidegger). Gadamer is chosen in this thesis over Heidegger due to the conceptual tools that he developed based on Heidegger's work which posit the ways in which pre-understandings and prejudices form an integral part of the interpretation of the lived experience. Each of these philosophers shared a commitment to understanding the life-world as it was lived (Lavery, 2003), whilst also showing differences in their ontological and epistemological positions. I will now outline these two philosophies as they relate to the methodological approach of this thesis.

Phenomenology as a methodology "works best when the aim of the research is to understand an experience as it is understood by those who are having it" (Cohen et al., 2000: 3). Phenomenology is the study of lived experience and for Husserl, viewed as the founder of phenomenology, its objective was to discern the very essence of phenomena as immediately experienced, prior to any reflections or conceptualisations. For Husserl accessing phenomena was only possible through the separating, or 'bracketing', of all presuppositions upon encounter. A Husserlian phenomenology in this sense was labelled as descriptive, transcendental phenomenology, where the immediate experience as it appeared was described from a seemingly purely objective stance, supposedly free from presuppositions (Gill, 2014). Husserl's conceptualisation of bracketing is not without its critics. For Heidegger the notion of bracketing and the separation of subject from object was not possible, for we are always already in the world and therefore cannot stand outside of it (Heidegger, 1927/1962). A Heideggerian phenomenology is concerned with the nature of existence, therefore termed existential phenomenology. His philosophy contests the separation

between subject and object and views “existence [as] understood to be founded on an embodied being-in-the-world” (Langdridge, 2007: 16). For Heidegger, and later Gadamer, separating our ‘being’ from the ‘world’ was impossible, as our understanding of the world is “grounded in our body in relation to the environment in which we live” (Ibid.). Gadamer (1975/2004) similarly considered Husserl’s view of bracketing problematic, seeing it as more aligned with the ontology of objectivism as opposed to subjectivism, which he considered to be the necessary perspective for understanding lived experience.

Heidegger and Gadamer thus rejected the separation between subject and object and considered a phenomenological understanding to be about the bodily engagement with phenomena, that is, a view of the world as being mutually constituted with the embodied subject. For both, an individual’s ability to interpret other subjects or objects was only possible through their own histories. As such, “uninterpreted phenomena” are an impossible occurrence (Van Manen, 1990: 180), that is, it is impossible to ‘bracket’ away own histories from interpretation:

In interpreting a text we cannot separate ourselves from the meaning of the text. The reader belongs to the text [or social situation] that he or she is reading [or experiencing]. Understanding is always an interpretation, and an interpretation is always specific, an application. For Gadamer the problem of understanding involves interpretive dialogue which includes taking up the tradition in which one finds oneself (Ibid.).

Text as referred to here is not just about ‘text’ in a narrow sense for it also applies to the interpretation of all phenomena. The hermeneutic tradition has moved beyond the interpretation of the written word to “any method which seeks to elicit meaning by

rendering the spoken words and/or acts as written texts and applying to them forms of textual analysis” (Yanow, 2006: 15). Text in the context of this thesis includes spatial behaviours observed in the research setting, participants’ taken photographs and conversations which bring together “bodily, verbal, and visual data” (Boden and Eatough, 2014: 164).

For Husserl, phenomenology was about describing the structure of the lived world and for Heidegger and Gadamer, phenomenology was about understanding the subjective nature of human existence along with its ‘traditions’ which it is founded upon. Theirs was an interpretation based on what it means to exist.

### **3.1.1 Gadamer’s Hermeneutic Phenomenology**

Gadamerian hermeneutics also known as philosophical hermeneutics (Dostal, 2002; Howard, 1982; Koch, 1996; Prasad, 2002), is a particular branch of phenomenology which forms part of the epistemological shift from objectivity (description) to subjectivity (interpretation). It differs from classical hermeneutics, which focuses on providing methods of understanding text (originally ancient biblical texts), as a way of recovering the original meaning of the text. In classical hermeneutics text was considered to have definite meaning. This is different from philosophical hermeneutics which posits understanding “as inevitably reflecting the ‘prejudices’, the pre-understandings, of the interpreter” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 12), therefore viewing understanding as diverse and subject to temporal change. This reflects Lefebvre’s understanding of space as dynamic, ever-changing and fluid, according to which definite meaning is unattainable, only momentary meaning is possible. Like Lefebvre’s reluctance to indicate how his conceptualisations could be used empirically, notable through the absence of empirical applications in his work, Gadamer (1975/2004:

xxxv) did not intend to offer a method of interpreting text with the aim of finding conclusive and fixed meanings. This is a point which he addresses in the foreword of his seminal text 'Truth and Method':

I did not intend to produce a manual for guiding understanding in the manner of earlier hermeneutics. I did not wish to elaborate a system of rules to describe, let alone direct, the methodical procedure of the human sciences.

For Gadamer, understanding is a "result of something that happens to us over and above our wanting and doing" (Ibid.), rather than emerging from a prescribed method. His philosophy encourages an open frame through which to explore lived experiences. It acknowledges that lived experience cannot be read and interpreted like ancient texts where the goal of understanding is in the grasping of the author's intended meaning. Instead understanding under his hermeneutics requires a flexibility from the researcher, a researcher able to embrace the complexities of 'living texts'.

An important aspect of interpretation, which applies to this thesis, is that understanding "is always temporal, situational, progressive and shared through interactions, implying it is limitless with possibilities, and open to interpretation and reinterpretation" (Sammel, 2003: 158). Whilst agreeing with Sammel to a point, it has to be remembered that there will always be some limits of interpretation, that any interpretive process is situated within some 'structures'. For we cannot produce completely new interpretations outside of the limits of our understanding. These limits or structures of understanding are the historical, cultural and social frames that we bring to space and which we draw on when we produce understandings of space. Where I do agree with Sammel, is in the ongoing cycle of 'interpretation and reinterpretation' for in the tradition of hermeneutic phenomenology

there cannot be conclusive, fixed understandings, only understandings based on subjective experiences and interpretations. Hermeneutic Phenomenology is relevant to this thesis for its focus is on understanding lived experience from a position which incorporates both the participant and the researcher in shared understanding. It is also valuable for it enables an understanding of how the researcher's own pre-conceptions form part of the process of understanding but also how they are embodied in the research setting.

### **3.2 Language and Conversation: The Process of Understanding**

At the heart of Gadamer's hermeneutics is the art of language and conversation. Language is the medium through which we gain knowledge of the world and as such, language conditions our way of being. Conversations are a particular form of language-in-use which Gadamer saw as key to all understanding. Gadamer states that all interpretations should be based on a dialogue between the text, (here understood as a broad term encompassing all forms of interaction), and the interpreter. In the context of this thesis, conversations take place between myself and the participants and between myself and the resulting empirical data. These conversations are embedded in the context of mine and the participants' lived experience and it is this context which provides the basis of interpretation. For interpretations are not free floating; they are always situated. For Gadamer conversation is not about reproducing a 'text' or accurately identifying or describing the text's original meaning. The purpose of conversation is to re-establish text in the light of the new context in which it is temporally situated. The aim of a conversation is to find a common language which "generates new insights into the essential nature and meaning of a particular experience" (Gill, 2014: 125) and which allows unexpected meanings to emerge. The 'essential' is tied to context and points toward the importance of understanding the context



of the lived experience being interpreted. That is, understanding the traditions and histories which are brought to the experience and which in turn shape the lived experience.

Gadamer's ideas on language and conversation play an important methodological role in terms of the interpretation of data in this thesis. However, Gadamer does not discuss the role that the body plays in contributing to understanding, instead language is assigned to the spoken or written word which reduces words to mental abstractions and this I consider to be limiting to interpretations of text. Deeper understanding needs to embrace more than the verbal and this is where Lefebvre adds a methodological contribution to the interpretation of data. For Lefebvre (1974/1991: 133), as for Gadamer, language is "the vehicle of all understanding", however, he considers that in the context of understanding space, language in terms of the verbal, has the ability to reduce space to mere signs, to Cartesian conceptualisations where "the forbidden fruit of lived experiences flees or disappears under the assaults of reductionism" (Ibid: 134). Language in this context risks rendering space lifeless and to prevent this, Lefebvre considers that the notion of language needs to include, the "total body" (Ibid: 200), its mental abstracts, movements, senses and gestures. This Lefebvrian view of language provides a complementary addition to Gadamer's notion of language, where the 'total body' is brought into hermeneutic conversations. I argue language taken from the total body perspective will produce deeper understanding of the lived experience of organisational space.

### **3.2.1 Prejudices and Horizons**

Prejudices and horizons are the foundations by which our understanding is based. Prejudices are formed from our historical, cultural and social structures and are set within the context of our past and present horizons. Prejudices can stand in the way of being open

to the possibility of new understanding, to new ways of being and therefore need to be 'managed'. Gadamer recommends that when approaching the interpretation of lived experience we come "prepared for it to tell [us] something" (Gadamer, 1975/2004: 271). In order for this to happen, there needs to be an understanding and appropriation of one's prejudices, that is an awareness of possible biases, so that the text can be read with an openness that enables understanding to emerge. This does not mean a 'bracketing' away of prejudices, but rather sensitiveness to them, which according to Gadamer (1979: 151–152) is a necessary condition for authentic understanding:

In reading a text, in wishing to understand it, what we always expect is that it will inform us of something. A consciousness formed by the authentic hermeneutical attitude will be receptive to the origins and entirely foreign features of that which comes to it from outside its own horizons. Yet this receptivity is not acquired with an objectivist "neutrality": It is neither possible, necessary, nor desirable that we put ourselves within brackets. The hermeneutical attitude supposes only that we self-consciously designate our opinions and prejudices and qualify them as such, and in so doing strip them of their extreme character. In keeping to this attitude we grant the text the opportunity to appear as an authentically different being and to manifest its own truth, over and against our own preconceived notions.

This reference to 'own truth' in the context of understanding space is not proclaiming to be "a true space" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 132) for that would not be possible, but it is an attempt to realise a momentary "truth of space" (Ibid.). It is a truth based on the participants' lived experience as it emerges through our conversations. This is their truth as opposed to my truth and this requires Gadamer's suggestion of a 'bridled approach' (Dahlberg et al., 2008)

to interpretation. A bridled approach, as opposed to a bracketing away of preconceptions, enables a slowing down of the tendency to rush into an understanding which may be clouded by prejudices. The key point Gadamer is making, is to ensure that prejudices do not obscure the possibility of new understandings, that they do “not make definite what is indefinite” (Dahlberg et al., 2008: 122) and that they do not limit openness by “affecting the understanding of phenomena and their meanings in a negative way” (Ibid. 133). For Gadamer re-framing pre-understandings meant that prejudices needed “hermeneutical rehabilitation” (1976: 9), for if we are blind to our prejudices then we are unable to grasp a full understanding of our histories and traditions. Gadamer (1979: 107) considered that “without readiness of self-criticism – which is also grounded in our self-understanding - historical understanding would be neither possible nor meaningful”.

Understanding can never be completely free from prejudice and a blindness towards prejudices could lead to the blocking of new meaning as “it is the tyranny of hidden prejudices that makes us deaf to what speaks to us” (Gadamer, 1975/2004: 272). These hidden prejudices, for the hermeneutician, “[constitute] an original structure of properties buried at the root of our existences, but for this very reason also forgotten” (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2009: 97). This ‘structure of properties’ is referring to our historicity, the social, the cultural, and our historical traditions and values which we bring into every encounter and which form the basis of, and condition, all understanding. For Crotty (2003: 90) uncovering and understanding prejudices is important:

In large measure authors’ meanings and intentions remain implicit and go unrecognised by the authors themselves. Because in the writing of text [or in this case the undertaking of an act], so much is simply taken for granted, skilled hermeneutic

inquiry has the potential to uncover meanings and intentions that are, in this sense, hidden in the text [or hidden in the act].

What Crotty is referring to here is the taken-for-granted, forgotten, rituals and routines which make up everyday organisational life and to which a Gadamerian hermeneutics coupled with Lefebvre, helps with uncovering. These are the acts that form part of the deep structures to which Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009) refer to, they are the structures embedded in our being.

## **Horizons**

For Gadamer, prejudices are set within the context of the horizons of the past and of the present. Horizons provide the “range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point” (Gadamer, 1975/2004: 301). Our horizons are our phenomenological perspective on the world, a perspective that we bring to every conversation and from which the interpretation of the situation is initially made. There will always be a horizon of the past, which forms the basis of tradition and of every understanding. This sentiment is echoed by Dahlberg et al., (2008: 52) who comment “our past experiences as human beings are the foundation that to a greater or lesser extent structures every new experience”. Therefore horizons of the past must be considered in seeking to understand the lived experience of organisational space.

Horizons of the past suggest a temporal element in Gadamer’s work and this also relates to Lefebvre’s (1974/1991: 48) work, as he considered that the history of a space formed “the basis of representational spaces [lived space]”. The history of space thus needs to be understood as part of the production of space. Time for both Gadamer and Lefebvre in the

context of exploring lived phenomena is not seen from a Newtonian perspective, according to which time is objectified, calculable and external to being. Rather, time is viewed as subjectively lived and as permeating all experiences. Thus, “temporality refers to the ways in which we are always living in time and how a person’s sense of time might serve to underpin the experience being described” (Langdridge, 2007: 104). Through language and through our bodies, we are at once situated in both present and past time, where past traditions join with and make up the lived experience in the present. And, through our imagination, future time also appears on the horizon, producing a future horizon. Gadamer (1975/2004: 297) talks of temporal distance, that is travelling to and fro between the past and the present to find new meaning and future possibilities:

Time is no longer primarily a gulf to be bridged because it separates; it is actually the supportive ground of the course of events in which the present is rooted. Hence temporal distance is not something that must be over-come. This was, rather, the naive assumption of historicism, namely that we must transpose ourselves into the spirit of the age, think with its ideas and its thoughts, not with our own, and thus advance toward historical objectivity. In fact the important thing is to recognize temporal distance as a positive and productive condition enabling understanding. It is not a yawning abyss but is filled with the continuity of custom and tradition, in the light of which everything handed down presents itself to us.

Temporal distance is ‘productive’ in that it brings histories to life in the present. Horizons including the prejudices of the past may be re-evaluated in the present context in which they are situated anew. This re-evaluation brings new understanding. Our historicism and the historicism of the spaces we inhabit, provides us with the structures that enable us to understand the phenomena with which we are concerned with today. Gadamer’s notions of the horizons of the past and the present is applied in this thesis in the context of the

participants' horizons, my own horizons along with the histories of the space. For space has a history representing a past and also the present. Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 37) view is pertinent here:

The past leaves its traces; time has its own script. Yet this space is always, now and formerly, a *present* space, given as an immediate whole, complete with its associations and connections in their actuality.

To understand space in its totality there is a need to continually move back and forth between the past and the present (Gadamer, 1975/2004). For this thesis to reach its aims, there has to be an understanding of space that recognises how the impact of the past manifests itself on the present and how the present “dominates both past and future” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 131). For Lefebvre, it was through understanding the ‘codes’, in Gadamerian terms the ‘horizons’ of the past, that people were able to make sense of the space in the present and in so doing, produce the space of their lived experiences. In this sense the production of space is a dynamic endeavour. The cycle of spatial production continues to evolve where time and again new codes or horizons of understanding are produced through different bodies that experience and understand the space in different ways. The focus of this thesis then, is not to consider what space is being produced, but rather the ways in which the lived experience of space, imbued with different meanings, contributes to understandings of organisational life. These contributions stem from the bodily lived experience of space and is where lived experience is open to mutual and co-constructed interpretations.

The task of hermeneuticians is to identify the tensions between past and present horizons. Such tensions are presented in Chapter Five in terms of managing the sacred needs and the

secular needs of the organisation. The identification of these tensions is needed in order to develop a deeper understanding of, in the case of this thesis, the lived experience of organisational space. This view is supported by Howard (1982: 149), who notes that a hermeneutic researcher should pose the question of “what truth shows up if my prejudices and yours confront each other on the occasion of this text?” The projection of the historical horizon forms only part of understanding. It is not a fixed horizon and it is constantly being shaped by the horizon of the present. Therefore understanding occurs when the horizons, through conversation, are fused and when the horizon of the past is “overtaken by our own present horizon of understanding. In the process of understanding, a real fusing of horizons occurs – which means that as the historical horizon is projected, it is simultaneously superseded” (Gadamer, 1975/2004: 305/6). To provide a simple example, my preunderstandings of what activities should be taking place in the cathedral were based on my past horizons, which were in time ‘superseded’ by my new understandings of the purpose and function of the space. This new understanding, presents the foundations for future horizons, which emerge through Gadamer’s notion of the hermeneutic circle (see 3.2.2 below). These future horizons in turn become present and then through the passage of time become past horizons, hence the circle of understanding is ongoing.

### **3.2.2 The Hermeneutic Circle**

The interplay between past, present and future horizons takes place in the hermeneutic circle (Gadamer, 1975/2004). The hermeneutic circle is founded on the notion that in order to understand the whole, the reader of the ‘text’ has to understand the parts, but in the context of the whole. This understanding of the whole and related parts is achieved through hermeneutic conversations whereby there is back and forth questioning of the whole and the parts until new understanding emerges as horizons fuse. From a hermeneutic viewpoint,

understanding stems from having an awareness of the conditions by which this fusion takes place. These conditions lie in the relationships taking place between conversing parties, between degrees of familiarity and strangeness. For Gadamer hermeneutic understanding entails this being in-between, where we experience a sense of disorientation in terms of what we know and who we are, when our conditions of understanding are held in abeyance and new understanding is yet to be reached. This part of the hermeneutic process, then, can be likened to the experience of being in a liminal state or in a liminal space, where initial understandings are disturbed as our own horizons are being challenged by the horizons of the text (Lawn, 2006). This state of uncertainty remains until the fusion of horizons occur, and the liminal threshold is crossed.

A limitation of Gadamer's concept of the fusion of horizons is that he does not account for how horizons may differ due to the subject's position, for example, gender, sex, race and religion. Whilst Lefebvre can complement Gadamer by bringing the 'total body' into hermeneutic conversations, he similarly neglected to account for differentiated subject positions, referring only to 'the' body. It could be argued that Gadamer acknowledges an individual's position through past horizons, accepting that every individual brings their own history to their conversations. But he does not specifically address the significance of these histories in the context of for example gender, along with how these different positional perspectives may contribute to understanding. However, I consider that interpretation based on Gadamer's horizons, and the hermeneutic circle means that the meaning of text will always be interpreted differently through every context in which it occurs. This recognition of the significance given to context allows for different positions to be explored. In understanding Gadamer's horizons and the hermeneutic circle I am able to approach the conversations that I have with the research participants, in such a way that requires



acknowledgement of and an embracing of both of our prejudices in our understandings of lived experience. It also brings a temporal element to understanding, for the notion of horizons of the past and the present allows for an understanding which explores how the past impacts on the present and how the past plays a role in producing lived space.

### **3.3 Bringing Together Gadamer's Hermeneutic Phenomenology with Lefebvre's Spatial Concepts**

Gadamer and Lefebvre together provide the methodological underpinnings of this thesis. Gadamer provides the epistemological approach in terms of hermeneutic phenomenology, which sheds light on the complexity and processes of understanding and Lefebvre provides the conceptual framework, through which to explore processes of understanding from a spatial perspective. Together they enable me to achieve the overall aim of the thesis which is to explore the lived experience of organisational space. Underpinning a Gadamerian understanding is the interpretation of 'text'. For Lefebvre, understanding the production of space is achieved through the embodied experience of space. From this perspective it can be seen that Gadamer's position on understanding and Lefebvre's position on space share the same ontological and epistemological traditions. Both are positioned within the paradigm of interpretivism, where reality is considered to be subjectively experienced and socially constructed. For Lefebvre, this meant having a concern with the practico-sensory realm of space as opposed to the logico-mathematical realm. For Gadamer this meant a shift away from pure description of a phenomenon, to the interpretation of a phenomenon. Koch (1996: 176) explains Gadamer's ontological position as one that "suggests that understanding is a mode of being, so that when he [Gadamer] talks about understanding he is talking about existence". This is an understanding which requires the researcher to "go beyond the 'surface' (or obvious) meaning of the text and to 'dig beneath' the surface language of the

“text” with a view of unveiling and retrieving those meanings that often lie buried beneath the surface” (Prasad, 2002: 25). This is an understanding based on lived experience and which is explored in this thesis through the notion of the hermeneutic circle.

To understand the lived experience of organisational space it is essential to include a bodily dimension to the interpretation process. Recognising that body and space are coexistent as opposed to phenomenologically separate, Lefebvre’s (1974/1991: 47/48) notion of spatial coding is helpful for conceptualising this mutuality:

A spatial code is not simply a means of reading or interpreting space: rather it is a means of living in that space, of understanding it, and of producing it. As such it brings together verbal signs (words and sentences, along with the meaning invested in them by a signifying process) and non-verbal signs (music, sounds, evocations, architectural constructions).

The phenomenological aspect of Lefebvre’s quote in terms of ‘living’ in space suggests that it is through the body that space can be understood in a Gadamerian sense. It requires an interpretation which is equally based on the mental, the physical and the bodily/sensory lived experience of space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). A Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenology is committed to finding ways of exploring what can be visually observed along with what cannot be seen for example, the meaning behind words and acts. In the context of this thesis aspects which cannot be so easily observed, have to be interpreted through bringing together and as noted above the mental, the physical and the sensory realms of space exploring what is “constitutively involved (in a deep, philosophical sense) in each and every act of interpretation” (Prasad, 2002: 15). Bringing these premises together in this thesis means interpretation draws on the perspectives of “space of the body” and the

“total body” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 201/200), to produce understandings of the lived experience of organisational space.

Adopting a Gadamerian approach to exploring the lived experience of organisational space, together with Lefebvre’s (1974/1991) importance of incorporating the ‘total body’ in spatial understandings, provide the means by which to conceptualise space. Gadamer provides the ‘tools’ for example, the hermeneutic circle to interpret the lived experience of space, which Lefebvre asserts involves the interpretation of all bodily experience including for example, feelings and imagination. These aspects of lived space in this thesis are accessed via Gadamer’s notions of prejudices and preunderstandings, namely through our historical horizons. The requirement of the approach is to unpack the meaning of all interpretations through a historical, present, and future lens providing a deeper level of understanding of lived experience.

### **3.4 Applying an Embodied Hermeneutic Approach to Research Practice**

Conversation and language along with prejudices and the horizons that we bring into the hermeneutic circle are to Gadamer conditions of understanding. Whilst Gadamer’s philosophy embraces the notion of ‘being-in-the-world’, the body is not acknowledged in his writing in terms of its significance in contributing to the conditions of understanding. In this thesis I am incorporating an embodied perspective of Gadamer’s hermeneutics, by bringing his work together with Lefebvre’s view of total bodily experience in all spatial understanding. In Finlay’s (2006: 19) paper ‘The body’s disclosure in Phenomenological research’ there is recognition that much phenomenological research is based “on words from transcripts and protocols – the body is strangely absent”. In agreement, and also writing from a phenomenological perspective are Harquail and King (2010: 1622) who note that in

organisational identity research and at the expense of an embodied perspective, “empirical studies typically focus only on members’ verbal descriptions of the organization’s characteristics or values [...] and consider just the part of a member’s physical experience that is captured by these words”. Researchers adopting a phenomenological tradition are interested in exploring the lived experience of their participants; to therefore ignore the embodied aspect, the very locus of that lived experience means ignoring a fundamental aspect of the conditions of understanding the lived experience. It is after all a “phenomenological fact that we are always bodily in the world” (Van Manen, 1990: 103). To gain an understanding of lived experience requires an embodied contextualisation of Gadamer’s ‘conversations’. For Gadamer, understanding the lived experience was based on language and words, while for Lefebvre all understanding has to stem from the body. For this thesis the significance of the role that the body plays in spatial understanding is twofold. Firstly, I agree with Finlay (2006) that phenomenological research without a consideration of the bodily experience offers an incomplete analysis of the lived experience. Secondly, by following the Gadamerian tradition of hermeneutic phenomenology where the interpreter’s traditions, horizons and prejudices all form part of new understanding, it seems necessary for an embodied component to be incorporated into the analysis. In the context of this thesis, each participant’s body, along with my own body is situated in organisational space and is central to the analysis in terms of movement, rhythm, memory and imagination. Each of these aspects along with horizons and prejudices are key to understanding the lived dimension of organisational space.

In explaining how an embodied approach may be translated into empirical research, Finlay (2006) offers three distinct yet connected layers to understand or interpret embodiment. The first layer, bodily empathy, translates to being “attentive to our participants’ bodies and

their existential embodied experience” (Finlay, 2006: 20). In the context of this research, as Finlay suggests, I paid close attention to and ‘tuned in’ as much as I could with my participants’ bodies. Through their everyday gestures and movements I was able to gain a better understanding of their lived experience. For example, walking with them through the organisational spaces I was able to “empathetically grasp something of their feelings” (Ibid: 24), something of their lived experience. These feelings and experiences became known through our conversations, whereby we were both able to draw on our bodily experiences, along with words, to reveal a deeper understanding of the lived experience of organisational space. The second layer, ‘embodied self-awareness’ shifts the focus from the participant to the researcher and to their embodied responses to being in the field. It asks that the researcher “pays attention to experiencing at the bodily level” (Halling and Goldfarb, 1991: 321) and becomes aware of how they are physically being affected by and affecting their surroundings. The third layer, ‘embodied intersubjectivity’, brings both the researcher and participant together, focusing “on how, in the process of research, the bodies of participant and researcher may intertwine in empathic connection” (Finlay 2006: 20). I relate this to what is happening through Gadamer’s ‘hermeneutic circle’ where the fusion of horizons occurs not just through language, but also through mine and the participants’ bodies, for we draw on our bodily experiences as a way to express the lived experience. The physical responses between the researcher and the participant are not verbalised, and are to a great extent unconscious. Abram (1996: 52) explains well this unconscious connection, intertwining the researcher’s and the participant’s bodies:

When my body thus responds to the mute solicitation of another being, that being responds in turn, disclosing to my senses some new aspect or dimension that in turn invites further exploration.

By being bodily aware researchers become attentive to this silent conversation taking place between two bodies thus revealing a 'dimension' of the lived experience that otherwise would not become known. Gadamer's hermeneutic phenomenology, complemented with Lefebvre's concept of the 'total body', brings to our understandings in a Gadamerian sense the verbal and non-verbal aspects of the lived experience of organisational space.

### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has detailed the epistemological position taken in this thesis, a position that combines both a Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenology with a Lefebvrian spatial framework. This combination provides the conceptual means of exploring the lived experience of organisational space. This taken position contributes to the field of organisation space studies by exploring understandings of lived experience which include the historical, cultural and social structural frames of both the researcher and the participant. Interpretation encompasses both what is said through language and 'unsaid' through the body. In so doing it redresses the balance in the literature which I consider currently pays greater attention to the observed aspects of the lived experience of organisational space, basing analysis on what is being seen at the expense of what is being experienced through the body.

Understanding the lived experience of organisational space in this thesis is arrived at through an interpretation which embraces the notion that body and space coexist. The conceptual analysis, then, has to include an understanding and acceptance of the historical frameworks to which I, the participants and the space that we each inhabit are situated within and which form the basis of our understanding. To assist with this, Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 200) concept of the "total body" is required, where all aspects of the body are

brought into the interpretive conversations. That is, physical movements and gestures, along with feelings and the imaginary, blending together the stated with the tacit, the verbal with the non-verbal. These understandings emerge through adopting the three tenets of Gadamer's hermeneutics, namely, language and conversations, prejudices and horizons and the hermeneutic circle. These understandings cannot produce complete truths of lived experience, but will produce understandings which as far as is possible accurately reflect the context in which they occur.

The end goal of this thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experience of organisational space. Gadamer and Lefebvre provide the conceptual framework, but they do not provide the methods by which this deeper understanding can be attained. To do this in this thesis I have chosen to conduct an organisational ethnography, which I consider fits well with the adopted epistemological position. Ethnography and its accompanying methods shares its epistemological and ontological foundations with Gadamer and Lefebvre, for its focus is on the subjective understandings of lived experience and therefore I argue will provide the means in which to gain an understanding of the lived experience of organisational space.

## ***Chapter Four: Research Methods and Analysis***



## **Introduction**

A focal point of the research undertaken in this thesis is to observe the routine and mundane aspects of everyday organisational life. Much of the everyday goes by unnoticed and this state of existence remains until there is a disturbance, an intervention that disrupts everyday practices and in so doing re-awakens people to their taken-for-granted, habitual surroundings. The role of the researcher in this context is to become a “seeker”, “someone who welcomes the new and looks out for the unexpected in the familiarity of daily life [...] to conjure up a return to what was forgotten or left behind, to see beneath the surface ordinariness of a phenomenon”(Guimond-Plourde, 2009: 9). In order to fully embrace this undertaking, an ethnographic approach is undertaken, for I consider that the practice of ethnographic based research, embraces the Gadamerian tradition of hermeneutic phenomenology. Supporting this theoretical position, this chapter focuses on the chosen research methods of shadowing, photo-elicitation and hermeneutic conversation. These methods and means of analysis have been selected for their epistemological compatibility with hermeneutic phenomenology.

The chapter begins by restating the overall research question and sub questions which this thesis addresses. It then explains the choice of research site and discusses gaining access to it. Next the research strategy is discussed, including detailing the methods selected and used in the empirical research. Following this is a discussion regarding researcher reflexivity, specifically in relation to the relationships developed in the field and to the prejudices (Gadamer, 2004/1975) that the researcher brings to the field. The chapter then moves on to detail the data analysis, which is reflective of the principles of Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The final section, before the chapter summary, provides

the considerations given to research ethics and specifically to the issues of consent, anonymity and data management.

#### **4.1 Research Questions**

The review of the current organisational space literature revealed that there is a lack of research which explores the lived experience of space as led from Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 201) notion of "space of the body". Current research has a tendency to separate the body from space rather than consider them as inseparable. The proposition presented by this thesis is that we are of space and space is of us. With this in mind, the aim of this research is to explore, from a hermeneutic phenomenological position, the research participants' lived experience of organisational space. As a result, the overall research question guiding this study is:

##### **How is organisational space lived and understood at work?**

Based on this overall question, there are a further three specific sub-questions:

What is the role of the body in the production of lived organisational space?

How do past experiences inform individuals' understanding of organisational space?

In what ways can the lived dimension of organisational space be articulated?

Supporting the overall research question and these three associated questions, is the chosen research strategy which has been informed and shaped by an interpretive epistemology. The

methodology of hermeneutic phenomenology along with an ethnographic approach is chosen for its required commitment to exploring the lived experience. Ethnography is considered to fit with a Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenology for the epistemological position is the same, in that understanding is considered to be subjective and can be accessed through an interpretive approach. Whilst there does not appear to be a prescribed set of methods for hermeneutic phenomenology (Van Manen, 1990; Armour et al., 2009), it is considered that an organisational ethnography would afford the opportunity for co-created, interpretive understandings of the participants' lived experience at work. To address the overall research question, the ethnographic research methods of shadowing, photo-elicitation and hermeneutic based conversations were chosen.

#### **4.2 Choice of Research Site and Gaining Access**

My fieldwork at St Edmundsbury Cathedral started on 30th June 2011. Before then, in April of the same year the process of gaining access began. I was fortunate in that a colleague had recently hosted an event at the cathedral and had two contact names which they considered would provide me with an appropriate introduction. This was vital as I was then able, in my first correspondence, to 'target' the Public Relations Manager (Maggie) and an Administrator, both of whom were in the position to initially assess the viability of my research. This initial correspondence was via email where I outlined my research idea and requested a meeting to discuss my research further. Soon after, I received an email from Maggie inviting me to attend a meeting to discuss the research. The meeting was held in the 'Chapter Room', in 'The Office' building, adjacent to the cathedral itself and lasted approximately one and a half hours. The majority of the meeting was led by Maggie who explained the structure and workings of the organisation. Whilst little of my time at the meeting was given to providing details of my research, I was asked at the end to send an

email to the Dean, the decision-maker, to explain my research interests. On receiving my email, The Dean sent a positive response and requested that I send my research proposal to Maggie by the 10<sup>th</sup> May 2011. The proposal was sent and shortly after, Maggie responded stating that the Dean had given permission for the research to be conducted at the cathedral. I was then asked to attend a second meeting on 21<sup>st</sup> June 2011, where I was to present my research aims and intentions to twelve interested employees and volunteers. At the end of the presentation seven participants immediately signed up and others joined later, reflecting 'self-selection sampling' (Symon and Cassell, 2012: 43) based on participants' interest in the research. Each participant was given a participant information sheet and a consent form (Appendices A and B).

At this stage of gaining access, there were no restrictions imposed in terms of where in the organisation I could observe, or what I could observe. However, as Johl and Renganathan (2010: 42) note "once access has been gained it becomes necessary to renegotiate entry into the actual lives of people in the organization". Throughout the fieldwork, access in terms of when, where, what and who I could observe often needed renegotiation. For example, two of the identified participants who attended the meeting did not respond to my attempts at contact and later withdrew their interest. The first withdrew due to being 'too busy' and the second due to leaving the organisation mid-way through the research. Following a discussion with Maggie, my request for ten participants was maintained as both were replaced by interested members of the organisation.

#### **4.2.1 The Research Sample**

Following the interpretive nature of the research, the sample was selected purposively. The chosen sample needed to facilitate the answering of the research question and in so doing,

assist in meeting my research aim; the participants had to be willing to share their experiences. The aim was for the participants to “represent a perspective, rather than a population” (Smith et al., 2009: 49). The level of detail required in order to understand individual lived experiences, in terms of observing, recording and transcribing the minutiae of everyday life meant that intentionally the research sample was small.

A small sample size is considered to be typical of hermeneutic phenomenological and ethnographic empirical research (Smith et al., 2009; Symon and Cassell, 2012) and for this thesis as noted above, a sample size of ten participants was chosen. The sample was homogenous in that each participant worked for the same organisation and therefore shared some of the workspaces. The sample was also reflective of heterogeneous purposive sampling in terms of employment status, organisational role and departmental assignment. The predetermined criteria for selecting the sample was based on wanting a sample from a range of different departments. The only exclusion criteria being those not interested in partaking in the research. The ten participants making up the sample represented a cross section of departments and roles: the Refectory Manager; the Education Officer and Administrator; the Public Relations Manager; the Canon Pastor; the IT Manager and the Shop Manager. Completing the sample were three volunteer participants who represented the cathedral flowers, the cathedral tour guides, and a retired chaplain. In terms of employment status, aside from the three volunteers, four participants were employed on a full-time basis and three were employed part-time.

### **4.3 Designing the Research Strategy – Organisational Ethnography in the Context of Hermeneutic Phenomenology**

The study's particular emphasis on engaging both the researcher and the participant in seeking mutual understanding, along with the involvement of the participant in the collection and analysis of data, shares similarities with 'reflexive ethnography' (Neyland, 2008). In the interpretive analysis of data, I as the researcher am paying attention to my "own methods of making sense, while comparing ethnographic means of making sense of the sense-making methods of those studied" (Neyland, 2008: 56). These means of making sense of, or understanding the participants' understanding, stem from my own prejudices making up the horizon of my past, along with the prejudices of the participants which are interpreted through the notion of the hermeneutic circle (Gadamer, 1975/2004). My prejudices along with the participants' prejudices have to be considered in each stage of the analysis of empirical data. That is the shadowing, photo-elicitation and hermeneutic conversations. Whilst these methods have been chosen, based on their relevance for the capturing and recording of the lived experience of space, they also facilitate the emerging of prejudices through conversation.

The interpretive nature of research described above does not appear in all ethnographic accounts, which can generally be characterised as detailed descriptions of particular social behaviours of groups of people, with the aim of determining how the culture of the group works (Creswell, 2013). This type of ethnographic research has its traditional foundations in the ethnographic accounts of the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, which offered a realist picture built on the notion of Husserl's 'bracketing'. Such accounts were based on positivist ontologies in terms of the researcher describing exactly what was being observed in the field. Such studies are considered to pay little attention to lived experience (Loftus and

Higgs, 2010 and Billet 2007), with Van Manen (1990: 178) noting that “the lived-through or existential quality of personal experiences is sacrificed for the cultural, social, or scenic focus”. This aligns with Pagis’ concern that there can be an overreliance on words in ethnographic research and an ignoring of “physical, embodied interactions” (2010: 324). As such, there is a need to pay more attention to the total bodily experience including, feelings, imagination, memories, movements, gestures and so forth, all of which are in the context of this thesis considered to make up the lived experience of organisational space. This enables a tuning in to the research site so that the lived, embodied experiences of the participant and the researcher are shared (Pink, 2008).

In the context of this study, I, like the participants, am bodily present, my horizons encounter their horizons to form part of the process of interpretation. I am therefore not a distanced observer purely describing what I see, nor am I a neutral participant. I am an active partner in the co-construction of mutual understanding. This ideology is reflected in some of the more recent ethnographic accounts, for example, Pink (2008; 2013) and Tyler’s (2011) work, which both incorporate the reflexive awareness of how one’s own bodily responses impact on and are impacted by the research setting. Such accounts endeavour to bring together the lived experience of the participant, the researcher’s own reflexive experiences and the theoretical conceptualisations into the research analysis through ethnographic methods. With this focus in place, such studies along with my research, adopt “philosophies that blur, if they do not demolish, the subject-object distinction so central to traditional ethnography” (Van Maanen, 1988: 34/35). This ‘demolishing’ of the ‘subject-object distinction’ is assisted by an ethnographic approach which requires that researchers immerse themselves in the research site. The immersion into the research setting facilitates a mutual understanding between the researcher and the participant. Whilst it is

acknowledged that having the exact same experience is not possible as individual social, cultural and historical standpoints will always be different, the researcher will be able to experience a way of being in space which is aligned with the experiences of those observed. These shared experiences can then form the basis of a mutual understanding through Gadamer's (1975/1974) notion of the hermeneutic circle. Immersion in the field formed the first phase of the empirical research and took place through the ethnographic method of shadowing (Gill, 2011). The second phase was photo-elicitation and the third and final stage was the hermeneutic conversation. Each will now be discussed in turn.

#### **4.3.1 Ethnographic Shadowing – Fieldwork Phase One**

The interpretive basis of ethnography suggests that the most suitable way of approaching the research method of shadowing is in an unstructured way, whereby researchers “enter ‘the field’ with no predetermined notions as to the discrete behaviours that they might observe” (Mulhall, 2003: 307 original emphasis). This is an idealistic view, for we cannot enter without any ‘predetermined notions’. However, through reflexive awareness of and acknowledgement of the prejudices and preunderstandings (Gadamer, 1975/2004) that are carried to all settings, researchers can be open to an understanding of the participants’ lived experience. Supporting this approach the observations in the field were reflective of ‘shadowing’, considered to be a suitable way to understand and represent participants’ lived experience of organisational space, that is to “see the world from someone else’s point of view” (McDonald, 2005: 464). Shadowing is considered as a subset of non-participant observation, “its mobile variant” (Czarniawska, 2007: 41), and is an accepted and applied qualitative method (e.g. Bruni, 2005; Delgado and Cruz, 2014; Gill, 2011; Gill et al., 2014; Raulet-Croset and Borseix, 2014; Vásquez, 2012; Vukic and Keddy, 2002). However, the use of the term non-participant is used simply for categorisation purposes, for all observation is



participatory; “one’s mere physical presence and human decency requires participation” (Czarniawska, 2007: 55). When undertaking shadowing the researcher ‘shadows’ and therefore does not participate in tasks, but remains open to any situations arising in which more direct participation is requested.

Shadowing involves the following and recording of the participants’ everyday life at work. It does not require, as participant observation does, “simultaneous action and observation” (Czarniawska, 2007: 55). It is considered to enable a detailed capturing of the mundane and taken-for-granted aspects of organisational life, which may otherwise be overlooked and can be difficult to express verbally. Central features of shadowing is its association with mobility and its creation of a close dynamic between the researcher and the participant:

Shadowing creates a peculiar twosome – the person shadowed and the person doing the shadowing – in which the dynamics of cognition become complex and therefore interesting. There is a mutual observation, an establishing of similarities and differences; then there is a focus created by the movements of the person shadowed, and the double perception of a kind – the researcher guesses (and asks about) perceptions of the events being perceived as well (Czarniawska, 2008: 10).

Shadowing is a method of observation which enables co-created interpretation, through the dialogues taking place between researcher and participant. In this sense researcher and participant coexist in space and time, together working towards a joint understanding of perceived events, as they are being experienced and recorded in situ. Whilst shadowing means that the researcher is not immersed in the field in terms of carrying out the same tasks as the participant, as is the case in participant-observation, a closeness and empathetic understanding is established through continual movement; “by moving together, shadowers and shadowees develop more or less intimate, complex, and often productive relationships”

(Vásquez et al., 2012: 146). Shadowing in the field allows for a capturing in detail of the minutiae of everyday organisational life from the participants' perspective as it occurs. It enables an exploration into the participants' "role in, and paths through the organisation" (McDonald, 2005: 457). This capturing of real time occurrences later informed the conversation phase of the research, which was centred on understanding the participants' lived experiences through dialogically exploring them in a hermeneutic conversational setting.

Whilst shadowing formed the main method of observation in the field, there were two occasions when my actions in the field to a greater degree reflected 'participant observation'. At such times I participated in work tasks and in so doing assumed the "role of a member of the organization" (Czarniawska, 2007: 13). This temporary shift in the researcher role from being a shadower to being a participant observer was part of establishing a rapport with the participants. Participant observation is a known and popular method which enables the researcher to fulfil expectations of ethnography, namely being able to "live like those who are studied" [and] "describe what it is like to be somebody else" (Van Maanen, 2006: 13/16). It is a method well documented in the ethnographic literature (e.g. Herrmann et al., 2013; Phakathi, 2012; Zilber, 2014). The decision to carry out shadowing as the main form of observation was made for I consider that it was the best way that I could understand the participants' lived experience of organisational space. Shadowing enabled me to make detailed fieldnotes of everything that I was seeing, and whilst I acknowledge that it is not possible to observe 'everything', I did observe the daily actions taken by each of the participants in their workspace, along with their movements across the organisation. This level of detail would not have been possible if I had undertaken participant observation in terms of carrying out work tasks, as I would then not have been able to make the detailed

fieldnotes that I did. These detailed fieldnotes were shared with the participants and became the basis of our hermeneutic conversations. At that point, the emerging of mutual understanding was made possible.

### **4.3.2 Shadowing in the Field**

Having successfully gained access to the research site I conducted my fieldwork between June and October 2011. I shadowed ten research participants for the duration of their working day. Each were observed on three separate occasions, and in total the shadowing occasions spanned the seven days of the week. I negotiated with the participants the time during which I would be their shadow, allowing them to delineate times where they considered my presence would not be appropriate, for example sensitive meetings. Aside from two participants, I was able to begin shadowing the moment the participant started work to the moment that they left the workplace. This normally happened between 7.30 am and 6 pm Monday to Friday and between 8 am and 3 pm on Saturday and Sunday enabling me to observe and gain a full representation of a working day.

From the beginning of my time in the field, I made clear the activities that I would be carrying out as their shadow. In addition to moving with each participant wherever they went (aside from the lavatory), I informed them that at all times I would have my field diary to hand and would whenever possible be writing fieldnotes. I did this so that the activity of note-taking became an accepted and expected part of my role and was a way for me to capture their daily life as accurately as possible. As some of the observations took place in public spaces, I did not take photographs or use a Dictaphone on these occasions, considering this to be too intrusive. To protect others' privacy, my fieldnotes were centred on the participants and not on the people that they interacted with. Such interactions were recorded in my fieldnotes

only “in so far as it pertained to understanding” (Gill, 2011: 120) the participants’ daily experiences. The participants were informed that the fieldnotes gathered during my time as their shadow would be transcribed and sent to them prior to the third phase of the research, the hermeneutic conversation phase. This sending of the transcribed fieldnotes was part of the methodological process, for I was interested to see how the participants would respond to the detailed accounts of what I had seen. Through being given the transcripts the participants had the opportunity to return to and to re-acquaint themselves with their daily habits and routines. Through the ‘text’ of the transcript they and I were able to interpret their ways of ‘living’ in the organisation. Later, these interpretations, based on our own prejudices and horizons (Gadamer, 1975/2004) were brought together in the hermeneutic conversations.

Shadowing involved following the participants as they attended meetings, visited colleagues in different offices and went to lunch. It also involved long stationary periods during which the participants were doing deskwork. I kept a comprehensive set of fieldnotes recording what I observed, which primarily included three key aspects. The first was the physical environment, namely the location, size, layout, equipment and objects in the workspace, along with the number of people sharing the space. Second, the participants themselves in terms of social interactions, appearances, expressions, language, gestures, movement, pace, and routine. Third, sensory aspects including smells, sounds, light and temperature. Incorporated in the fieldnotes were snippets of conversations, sometimes directly quoted and sometimes paraphrased. The fieldnotes were interspersed with details of my own thoughts, reflections and initial interpretations, ensuring that my presence in the field contributed to the overall understanding of the lived experience.

The fieldnotes provided reflective records of my personal experiences and emotional responses to what I was observing and sensing. These were interspersed in the fieldnotes, highlighted by brackets and labelled as “*OC* - observer’s comments” (Saldaña, 2009: 71). The aim was not to do a form of ‘bracketing’, but to background them so that they did not overshadow what was being seen; the participant needed to remain “centre-stage during the fieldwork” (Vásquez et al., 2012: 149). These comments provided me, having left the field, with a way of ‘returning’ to the field without being physically present. The ethnographic importance of capturing these personal reflections is supported by Emerson et al., (1995: 11) who state “it thus becomes critical for the ethnographer to document her own activities, circumstances, and emotional responses as these factors shape the process of observing and recording others’ lives”. Recording these experiences embraces the essence of ethnography as described by Van Maanen (1988: ix): “[ethnography] rests on the peculiar practice of representing the social reality of others through the analysis of one’s own experience in the world of these others”. Through my own bodily experiences I was in a stronger position to understand and interpret the participant’s lived experience. The level of detail recorded in the fieldnotes ensured that the data was “rich, dense and comprehensive” (McDonald, 2005: 457). In total, across the ten participants, three A4 lined pads were filled with handwritten fieldnotes and sketches of the participants’ movements in and around the organisation’s spaces. This corresponded to 182 pages of typed text, totalling 105,709 words.

Carrying out fieldwork is an embodied process, which cannot be reduced to a cognitive exercise. In any type of phenomenological research the body is central to the interpretive process, it is a site of knowledge construction. The social, cultural and historical contexts that I bring to the field become embedded along with my own experiences and interactions through and with the research setting. The body cannot be divorced from the research

setting (Coffey, 1999), both my past histories and present experiences interact with the participants' past and present which together contribute to the mutual understandings and the re-constructions of the daily lived experience. On a practical level, I became aware of how my own appearance impacted on fieldwork experiences. My way of dressing mirrored that of the participants, through them I adapted how I looked between being casual and smart. Dress became a way of 'fitting' in with the organisational landscape, it helped to "locate [me] as part of... the social world" (Coffey, 1999: 69) I was inhabiting. I already stood out due to my constant writing in my fieldnotes, I did not therefore want to be distinct in terms of my dress. Appropriate dress assisted with building relationships with the participants and enabled me to feel like I fitted into the research setting. Dressing in a similar fashion contributed to putting them and myself at ease. In addition I needed to consider my body in terms of its spatial positioning and negotiation (Coffey, 1999). Whilst not wishing to be intrusive, visually I needed to be able to observe everyday activities, so when shadowing in the participant's office, I either sat adjacent to, or behind and to one side of the participant. On other occasions such as meetings, I positioned myself outside of the meeting group, so I could clearly look in, this I also considered limited the level of intrusion caused by my presence. Finally, my body was also present in the writing of fieldnotes. It is through my bodily actions that I am able to capture and record what is happening in the field, providing a record of my interpretations of what I see, hear and sense in the field.

When the last shadowing activity had been undertaken, I provided each participant with a written brief, provided in Appendix C, detailing the next phase of the research: photo-elicitation.

#### **4.3.3 Photo-Elicitation – Fieldwork Phase Two**

The use of visual methods is becoming increasingly popular in ethnographic studies. It has been used in various disciplines including education (Allen, 2012; Smith et al., 2012); marketing (Brace-Govan, 2007); leisure and tourism (Kyle and Chick, 2007); health (Radley and Taylor, 2003) and organisational aesthetics (Warren, 2002; 2008). It is a method which is aligned with the research philosophy of this thesis, in that the analysis of photographs follows a subjectivist viewpoint. This viewpoint acknowledges that the interpretations of the photograph are socially constructed and therefore will have multiple representations. Advocates of visual methods agree that the rewards lay in the richness of the data produced. The use of photographs in qualitative research can take on different forms in terms of whether they are produced by the researcher (e.g. Matteucci, 2013; Pink, 1999; Schwartz, 1989) or produced by the participant (e.g., Barker and Smith, 2012; Sandhu et al., 2013; Kerstetter and Bricker, 2009; Radley et al., 2005; Smith et al., 2012; Warren, 2012; Wells et al., 2012). Both methods provide the researcher and the participant with the opportunity “to question, arouse curiosity, tell in different voices, or see through different eyes from beyond” (Edwards, 1997: 54). Important to this research is the use of the photograph and the subsequent hermeneutic conversation (phase three of the research design) in capturing the taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life. In the analysis of organisational space the use of photograph provides:

An ideal medium through which to analyse the importance of space since the camera indiscriminately records everything within its ‘gaze’ when the shutter is pressed, capturing not only the intended subject of the photograph, but also a great deal of contextual information about the scene with it (Vince and Warren, 2012: 282).

This ‘contextual information’ provides rich data accompanying the image and can often express what is not seen within the image itself. Asking participants to photograph aspects

of their everyday life in the organisation and then to talk about the photos allows them to reflect on their everyday activities in a way that is not usually done. In particular “it gives them distance to what they are usually immersed in and allows them to articulate thoughts and feelings that usually remain implicit” (Rose, 2012: 306). Photographs can bring back into view the routine and taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life at work, as the image and its setting are looked at with fresh eyes. In addition, having the participants take photographs followed by discussion, encourages reflexivity by opening up different sensory and emotional accounts of their environments.

I consider that photo-elicitation is a complementary method to shadowing as it puts the participant in control of the data being produced. In observational research, the researcher selects the data to be recorded and presented and whilst this should be representative of the participant’s experience, the participant has limited say in terms of what is included or excluded. In contrast, participant-led photography followed by discussion “provides a direct entry into [the participant’s] point of view” (Radley and Taylor, 2003: 79), helping to ensure that the photograph is the participant’s representation as opposed to the researcher’s representation. Such an approach to data collection is termed by Kerstetter and Bricker (2009) as ‘Reflexive Photography’ which moves on from the descriptive account given of the content of the photograph, towards an approach which brings the body into the interpretation. The analysis of photographs must consider the “embodied experience of being in a place” (Warren, 2009: 1144). This ‘being in place’ refers to the real time of taking the photograph and to the occasion, time and or place that it transports the photographer to.

Participant-produced photographs with accompanying hermeneutic conversation is the chosen visual method taken in this research; the importance of which rests on the value of



the photograph, in its ability to “help *visualise* the *invisible*” (Warren, 2002: 233, original emphasis). Of significance to this research is the ways in which the participants were describing their lived experience of organisational space through the photographs that they had taken. The participants’ narratives of their taken photographs extended beyond the visual representation, explaining their reasons for taking of and what they wanted to communicate with it. Such outcomes suggest that the “intention behind taking the photograph may be more relevant to the research than the actual product” (Barker and Smith, 2012: 94), and therefore interpretations of these ‘intentions’ were considered by both of us during the conversations, to be best captured alongside the photograph itself.

It is fully accepted that the lived experience of organisational space cannot be captured purely through the visual image produced in a photograph. Visual methods such as photo-elicitation are presumed to privilege the ocular over other forms of knowing (Warren, 2002). However, when photographs are interpreted alongside narrative data, the ocular view becomes balanced with for example, the feelings that the photograph evokes. The interpretation of the photograph moves beyond the image itself, producing other ways of seeing which include the reasons why the photograph has been taken, meaning that “we move from an interest in the meanings of images alone to an attempt to understand what has been made visible and why” (Radley and Taylor, 2003: 79). Understandings have to extend beyond the photograph, for the image itself may not disclose why the photograph was taken. Whilst the visual image alone cannot be said to represent the ‘reality’ of the lived experience, when interpreted alongside hermeneutic conversations the photograph does provide a way of accessing lived experience. As Rose (2000: 556) argues they are “cultural documents offering evidence of historically, culturally and socially specific ways of seeing the world”. The photograph is understood through the individual frames of the interpreters,

namely the participants and me. The frames are made up of our social, cultural and historical structures which form the basis of all of our understandings and which we bring to our conversations taking place through the 'hermeneutic circle' (Gadamer, 1975/2004). In this way, mine and the participants' frames contribute to interpretations of the photograph, interpretations which are producing different layers to the photographs, layers which include the past, the present and the future.

I was aware that asking participants to take their own photographs could cause problems relating to willingness, along with the ability to take photographs. These concerns were highlighted in Brace-Govan's (2007) study where more than half the research participants did not take any photographs due to finding it too difficult. This is one of the disadvantages of asking participants to take their own photographs. To try and alleviate any concerns that the participants had, after the shadowing had been completed, I spent time with each participant explaining the taking of photographs and left them with written guidance (Appendix C). Concerns raised were minimal, with only one participant worrying (unduly) about their photographic abilities. I offered to supply disposable cameras, but instead participants were happy to use their own digital devices. I explained that for ethical reasons photographs could not include people, unless permission was granted or people could be anonymised without compromising the main focus of the image. This is not an unusual request and as Radley and Taylor (2003) found in their photo-elicitation study on a hospital ward, people did find their way into the image via the telling of the story behind the photo although they were not allowed to feature in the actual photo.

The brief instructed participants to take photographs in and of their workplace. I intentionally did not state how many photographs could be taken, as I did not want

participants to feel restricted. The purpose of the taking of photographs was that I wanted them to show and tell me through the photographs taken, about their lived experience of organisational space. I wanted a degree of openness in terms of the taking of the photographs as I did not want to direct the participants too strongly. However, I appreciated that some guidance would be needed, so I informed them that of importance was that they selected spaces which for some reason were significant to them. It was left to the participant to associate why they were significant, whether for positive or negative reasons. Through their narratives I was looking to discern the ways in which they accounted for their lived experience of organisational space.

With each participant I agreed how they would like their photographs to be processed so that they could most easily be accessed during the conversation stage of the research. In most cases photographs were printed and brought by the participants to the discussion; on two occasions photographs were viewed on the participant's device and printed afterwards. At the end of this phase of the research a total of ninety-six photographs had been produced by the ten participants, with the lowest number taken being four and the highest being number twenty-four. The participant taking twenty four commented that "there are so many spaces to take, when I started taking photographs I could not resist taking so many". Taking photographs may however also be experienced as limiting for what it is the participant is seeking to express. This was experienced with *two* participants who expressed disappointment with their photographs: "the photo doesn't do justice, the lighting is not good" and "I'm not an expert photographer". These concerns are recognised by Smith et al (2012) in terms of the limitations associated with the quality of the camera and echo the request from Croghan et al., (2008: 348) of the need to "bear in mind that the nature of the photographic equipment itself structures the image and to some extent defines what is

represented". What the examples show is that it's not just the photograph and the story behind the photograph that is of importance, but also how the participants went about taking them and the feelings that were evoked during and after the process. This presents an embodied aspect to the taking of the photograph, which was not just about the problems with technology and lighting. By the participant pointing out the "lighting is not good", they are hinting towards how they experienced the situation and how their experience did not come through in the photograph. The photograph did not reflect their embodied experience in terms of what they were seeing and feeling at the time of taking the photograph, when they were inhabiting the space. It is very difficult to translate the embodied experience of what the participants feel when they took their pictures. For it is difficult to capture what is being felt when taking a photograph and translate that into an image. This is because the photograph is not in itself reflective of the participants' embodied experience which is why I chose to use photo-elicitation accompanied with a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, for I consider this to be a way of enabling the embodied experience to come out through our conversations. During the conversation phase of the research (see below), the reasons for the participants' orientation towards particular spaces can become known. This then further stresses the importance of including Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 200) notion of the "total body" not only in the context of the lived experience of space but also in the context of bringing the total body to understandings of the taking of the photograph. The participants are both physically and mindfully present in the taking of the picture, and this needs to be considered during the hermeneutic conversations.

#### **4.3.4 Hermeneutic Conversations – Fieldwork Phase Three**

Like shadowing and the use of photographs, conversations provide an opportunity for the researcher to "enter the participant's lifeworld" (Smith et al., 2009: 58) through their words

and their bodies. The conversations in this research were approached, carried out and analysed following hermeneutic sensibilities. The conversations were focused on the fieldnotes and the participants' taken photographs. When constructing in my mind how these conversations would evolve, I wanted to ensure that there was a two-way flow of communication. I did not want it to be like an interview during which the participants simply answered my questions. I wanted a conversation style which moved back and forth, with questioning taking place between the researcher and the participant. I was also aware that our interpretations of the transcribed fieldnotes and the taken photographs stemmed from an initial understanding based on our individual or pre-understandings making up our past horizons (Gadamer, 1975/2004). These were carried into the conversations and formed our "own frames of reference" (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2009: 106). Through the two-way flow of conversation, I hoped there would be space for histories to emerge, which would lead to a deeper understanding of the lived experience. This particular form of questioning in hermeneutic based conversations is according to Gadamer (1975/2004: 360), an 'art':

Only the person who knows how to ask questions is able to persist in his questioning, which involves being able to preserve his orientation toward openness. The art of questioning is the art of questioning ever further - i.e., the art of thinking. It's called dialectic because it is the art of conducting a real dialogue.

With this in mind the hermeneutic conversation is designed in an open manner, which allows questions to emerge through the process of conversation. For example, I started the conversations regarding the fieldnotes with "how did you feel when you read the transcribed fieldnotes?" The conversations regarding the photographs began with "take me through the photographs that you have taken". These initial prompts then naturally led onto different questions emerging. The questions went back and forth until there was a sense that mutual

understanding had been reached. This persistent questioning of emerging themes I considered created deeper levels of questioning and thinking, for it challenges prejudices, “which must be fertilized by the new understanding” (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2009: 104). Shared understandings ultimately produce new understandings, which whilst situated in the moments shared between the researcher and the participant, I argue produce understandings which can be applied in a broader organisational context outside of the immediate setting.

This third phase of the research occurred on average five weeks after the shadowing had been completed. This provided me with time to transcribe and send the fieldnotes to each participant and provided the participants with time to take their photographs and to read the transcribed fieldnotes. All participants were informed that our conversations would be recorded on a Dictaphone, transcribed and like the fieldnotes forwarded to them afterwards. The location of discussions was the participant’s choice and in all cases this was within the work setting. The decision to share the fieldnotes follows from the epistemological approach taken. Giving the participants the transcribed fieldnotes is considered by Tracy (2010: 844) as providing occasions for “member reflections [...] providing opportunities for questions, critique, feedback, affirmation, and even collaboration”. By providing the participants with the transcribed fieldnotes, I re-awakened them to their everyday actions. Reflexive responsiveness became clear when I asked each participant what they thought of the transcribed fieldnotes, as exemplified by two responses below:

I was fascinated, I really was fascinated. Because you don’t look at yourself you are so immersed in what you are doing that you don’t take account of what you are doing at all. I was fascinated by things like, that I was moving my feet to the music which I had no recollection of doing at all. All sorts of little things that you’d picked up that I found

actually really illuminating about how I work. One of the things that you picked up was that I don't go between or into [a colleague's] side of the office when she's here; that I stand by the barrier and ever since then I've been aware of doing that, I just find that absolutely fascinating. I now find I'm starting to ask myself well why am I doing this, why do I not feel that I shouldn't (Valerie –Administrator to the Education Officer).

I liked the way you spoke about me walking into the cathedral quite calmly, such a contrast to [name of other colleague] which is really striking. It's not something I'm aware of, so to have it observed is useful (Mark – the Canon Pastor).

Participants were made aware of their habitual actions, and this allows them to probe their own 'motives' and routines, and it enabled me to see their routines and habits which they normally do not think about, for example their movements in their workspace. Collaboration was central, that is, the collaboration in the interpretive process producing mutual understanding reflecting the principles of the hermeneutic circle (Gadamer, 1975/2004). The aim was for me and the participant to co-construct the interpretation and the re-interpretation of the transcribed fieldnotes until consensus in terms of what represented a momentary truth of the lived experience emerged. Another reason for asking the participants to read the fieldnotes was to add a level of rigour to the research. It was important that the participants would find the fieldnotes representative of their daily lives at work, or if they did not, to explain why they thought this was the case. Any such explanations were equally valuable as data, as it provided insight into the qualities of their work which the participants for different reasons found important. Apart from the opening question, I did not prepare a list of structured questions, prior to this conversation phase of the research. Instead I had prepared a short list of areas, a checklist of sorts, that I wanted to ensure were covered during our conversations. These were areas of further inquiry I had

singled out from the shadowing phase of the research and to which I wanted to hear further details of, for example the reason for different artefacts placed in and around the immediate desk area.

Regarding the conversations centred on the taken photographs, I purposely did not request that the photographs be sent to me prior to our conversation, as I did not want to go into the conversation with any pre-conceived ideas of what the photographs may or may not represent. I was keen to hear the participant's perspective first-hand and did not want these to be overshadowed by my own thoughts. I recognised that a strength of the taken hermeneutic approach rests "in its ability to hear the voice of the research subject" (Allen, 2012: 448). I wanted to ensure that the participant's 'voice' was heard first and was the voice leading the conversation. These conversations can be said to reveal and shape identities because "photo-elicitation interviews are sites in which the interviewees (and interviewers) perform their social identity by, in part, working with the photographs they have taken" (Rose, 2012: 313). Each party is drawn to the aspects in the picture which bring out the 'self' that they would like to be seen by others. I considered that the photographs became a way of knowing each other better; they provided insights which had either not been seen during the shadowing phase, or were extensions of what had been seen. The photo-led conversations were not only about the photograph and its different representations, they were also about the relationships between myself and the participant and our bodily interactions which informed part of the process of interpretation.

#### **4.4 Researcher Reflexivity**

As a researcher following Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenological principles, I am embedded in the research task (Coffey, 1999). I am "neither objective nor unobtrusive" (Gill,



2011: 119). In this sense, I was a participant in the research as was the research participant, as was our relationship with one another. The significance of this relationship is articulated well by Gill (2011: 123) who considers that the method of shadowing is “less about the tasks that are being done and more about the relationship between participant and researcher”. I needed to be reflexively aware in terms of the dynamics of our relationship. Being a ‘shadower’ and being a ‘shadowee’ are not typical everyday roles and so for both parties the relationship is strange. How the participants saw my role differed, this they discussed with me and I tried as far as possible to fit in with their perceptions of the role. Adapting myself to their understanding was a way of ‘locating [my]self’ (Coffey, 1999) in the research setting and this took on a different form with each participant and was a way that I hoped would put participants at ease. Some participants viewed me passively, I was someone who was just ‘following them around’ literally their ‘shadow’ and was introduced in such a way. In contrast others wanted to involve me in everything that they were doing. I found this level of engagement hard, and at times frustrating, for one participant seemed to talk to me more than they worked. In such situations I felt like a new employee as opposed to a researcher. I later realised that this ‘talking’ was a key part of their role and provided much insight into their lived understanding of organisational space. I found myself seeking to play the role that participants had constructed for me to gain their trust and in time, those that viewed me passively started to engage with me a little more, and those who initially felt that they had to engage with me a lot, began to interact a little less.

My presence in the field brought attention to my own body and how it quickly came to mirror and be the mirror for the participants. For lengthy periods of time I sat in participants’ offices mirroring their silence. I became acutely aware of this silence and conscious of how noisy the turning of my fieldnote pages sounded. In these moments, absent of any dialogue, I noted

that as in Pagis' (2010) ethnographic study of meditation practice, patterns emerged out of the silence. If I shifted in my seat so did the participant, if I coughed they followed, "this orchestra of sound and movement merely reflects human nature and human sociality – we tend to react to others, even when surrounded by silence" (Pagis, 2010: 319). Although silent, we were attuned to one another, aware of each other's presence, which supports Goffman's (1981: 103) claim that "when nothing eventful is occurring, persons in one another's presence are still nonetheless tracking one another and acting so as to make themselves trackable". There was a need to acknowledge each other's presence even in times of silent working.

An important part of reflexivity is the awareness of my own prejudices situated in my past horizons. Through the participants I was able to understand more deeply my prejudices and in so doing I was able to put them through a sort of 'rehabilitation', where they were re-evaluated in the situated context in which they were questioned. This is a key tenet of Gadamer's hermeneutic phenomenology: that in order for there to be an understanding of the other, there has to be a willingness to understand the self, and through the process of iterative dialogue a renewed understanding of the self can be achieved.

#### **4.5 Data Analysis**

The process of data analysis was designed so that the interpretation of the findings addressed the research questions outlined in section 4.1. The process also needed to meet the research philosophy guided by a Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenology and therefore had two key tenets. First, to ensure that all analysis was based on co-created interpretive conversations which embraced the prejudices of the researcher and the participant. Second, that the overriding purpose of the analysis was to "transform lived

experience into a textual expression of its essence – in such a way that the effect of the text is at once a reflexive, re-living and reflective appropriation of something meaningful” (Van Manen, 1990: 36). In line with this, the approach taken for analysing the field data followed elements of Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). In this context, data analysis is considered as a collaborative process with the participant and researcher working together to produce understandings of the participant’s lived experience (Smith et al., 2009). This section of the chapter presents some of the key aspects of IPA and begins with the iterative analysis of the fieldnotes and accompanying conversations before moving on to the photographs and accompanying conversations.

Data analysis began informally the moment that I entered the research setting. On entering a new location as researchers we automatically begin to question what is being seen and experienced. Discussed in the sections below is what I consider to be the more formal process of data analysis. The process of data analysis incorporated the three phases of the research: phase one, the analysis of the fieldnotes which were based on my time spent shadowing each participant; phase two, the participants’ photographs; phase three, the hermeneutic conversations. The conversations took place after phase one and two and had two key areas of focus. The first part of the conversation centred on the transcribed fieldnotes and is discussed below (4.5.1) and the second part focused on the participants talking about their taken photographs, discussed in 4.5.2.

#### **4.5.1 Interpreting Transcribed Fieldnotes and Accompanying Conversations**

I took the decision to type up the handwritten fieldnotes in full, as soon as possible after the shadowing had taken place. This allowed for a capturing of field work experiences whilst

they were fresh in my mind. These typed fieldnotes provided the first reading of events which occurred in the field and enabled a reflexive response to the comments recorded concerning my own thoughts and prejudices that I had carried with me into the field. The completed fieldnotes reflected the characteristics of descriptive writing, “picturing through concrete sensory details the basic scenes, settings, objects, people, and actions the individual observed” (Emerson et al., 1995: 68). The aim was to capture the organisational lives of the participants as truthfully as was possible.

Typical of IPA and other forms of analysis, once fieldnotes for each participant had been typed they were read and re-read as a way of re-immersing myself in the original data (Smith et al., 2009). At this point focused analysis began. My aim was threefold; to identify initial patterns in the data; to move towards the identification of conceptual themes, and to be able to draw meaningful relations between the identified themes and theoretical conceptualisations. Through the reading and re-reading of my detailed fieldnotes I was able to code the data following a manual process advised by Saldaña (2009), of first, second and third cycle coding. I decided not to use coding software such as NVivo, for the reason of wishing to keep close to and in contact with my data. This manual process of coding provided an initial and systematic way to progress through the layers of analysis required to move from description to abstract conceptualisation. Coding started informally as soon as the shadowing began, and where key words and phrases were noted in the margins alongside the fieldnotes. After the fieldnotes had been transcribed, first cycle coding took place using the method of ‘descriptive coding’ which is recognised as being suited to research that has multiple types of data and to ethnographic research in particular (Saldaña, 2009). This level of analysis is recognised as “initial noting” in IPA (Smith et al., 2009: 83) described as exploring key words or short phrases appearing and re-appearing in the data. The focus of

this level of analysis is descriptive in terms of noting the words, phrases or explanations given by the participants. For each participant I drew up an ‘empirical research table’ (an extract is given below) where I noted key words and phrases and then added initial codes to these. The significance of the colour of the different dates was a way of noting which comments referred to the date that the shadowing occurred. I distinguished my own thoughts by using bold and italicised text:

Findings	Coding
<p><b>16<sup>th</sup> August 2011</b> 16<sup>th</sup> September 2011 <b>12<sup>th</sup> Oct 2011</b></p> <p>“This is my space” – referring to the communication box in the store room – <i>(OC) he is territorial it is only the space which holds the communication cupboard!</i></p> <p>“I’m quite paternalistic about it” talking about the website. “Power place” language he uses “Can spy on people from here” “It’s a heartbeat thing if I get a text I know she is working” referring to his server which he named Pandora. “part of my nosiness”</p> <p>He has named his computers/servers – Pandora, Athena “I treat Pandora as a naughty child most of the time”</p> <p>“this job is just great I’m left alone no-one knows what I do”. “I like to go across and make myself visible” “so we’ll go across to the deanery and plod about in the Dean’s bedroom”</p>	<p>“<i>this is my space</i>”</p> <p><i>Spy</i></p> <p><i>Power</i></p> <p><i>Nosy</i></p> <p><i>Alone</i> <i>Visible</i></p>

It can be seen that this first cycle coding was descriptive with no conceptualisation. They were codes which I took at face value in terms of what was being said. Another form of first cycle coding and recommended in IPA (Smith et al., 2009) is the noting of the participants’ use of metaphor. Some examples of metaphor recorded were:

*The Hovel* (an office located underneath the cathedral building)

*The Atlantic Ocean* (used to illustrate a sense of separateness)

*The black hole period* (a period of time in the organisation when the participant did not know what was going on).

*Vast obstacle race* (illustrating the network of corridors to get from one location to another).

These metaphors proved to be quite insightful in terms of describing the organisation and which in turn during the conversation phase of the research, provided the opportunity for more conceptual deliberations. For example the 'Atlantic Ocean' represented a sense of separateness, a void between certain areas of the organisation. At this level of coding I was able to clearly see how Gadamer's notions of prejudices were affecting my understanding of what was occurring. For each time a participant did something that surprised me, namely challenged my prejudices I typed them in red on the 'empirical research table':

<b>Findings</b> 30 <sup>th</sup> June 8 <sup>th</sup> July 18 <sup>th</sup> July 2011	<b>Coding</b>
<p>"Does that mean you took them [the books] through the cathedral" "yes we did it was the easiest way to the shop with a sack barrow, if we had gone the long way we would have had the steps outside and the steps at the cloister". "Would you have taken a sack barrow through another cathedral" "No I wouldn't but it was the easiest way".</p> <p>She climbed over the altar and under the red cord barrier, another short cut.</p>	<p>"No I wouldn't but it was the easiest way"</p> <p>She climbed over the altar and under the red cord barrier.</p>

Both examples challenged my prejudices of what I thought were acceptable behaviours in a cathedral and both served to provide the basis of new understandings.

The first cycle codes I had identified for each participant were handwritten on individual post-it notes and displayed on a large piece of paper. An example of this process for one participant resulted in the identification of forty-three codes across the three observations. Through this first cycle of coding I became very familiar with the data which assisted me with the second cycle coding following the method of 'pattern coding' (Saldaña, 2009).

Pattern coding helped to pull together the data and identify the more conceptual themes emerging from the descriptive coding. In IPA this move to pattern coding, or the identification of emerging themes, requires a shift from a focus on the transcript itself to a greater focus on the initial codes. This began with revisiting the first cycle codes, moving around the pieces of paper, which enabled the visual grouping of themes. Physically moving the codes helped to visually identify the emerging concepts and ‘meta-codes’ in terms of “hierarchy, process, interrelationship, themeing and structure” (Saldaña 2009: 189). In line with the notion of the hermeneutic circle, the transcript was not forgotten, for the extracts making up the different parts of the transcript had to be viewed in light of the whole transcript, they were not seen in isolation. Using the above example, this process resulted in the forty-three codes being reduced to ten categories each with sub categories; further analysis reduced this to six categories. Providing an example for one participant the six themes recorded were as follows:

Doreen’s three observations - 6 categories and 37 subcategories

*Separation* - tensions; controlled; metaphorical distance; interruptions; intrusion and spillage; negotiation; dissatisfaction and surprise/dread.

*Identity* – visually present; grooming and social.

*Blurring of boundaries* – personalisation; self-dialogue; ‘parent’ discourse; caring/supportive; home and community.

*Movement* – pace/tempo; up/down; cues/signals; “the long way round”; time forgotten (in the flow) and time remembered.

*Control* – “I feel like a jailer when I come down here”; signage, peering in/peering out; seek & find; hiding/secrecy; convenience; territory; ownership; barriers and hierarchy.

*Types of space* – difficult space; alternative spaces and alternative activities.

This process of analysis was carried out for each of the ten participants. At this stage of the process I paused the analysis of the fieldnotes, for I was fully aware that the same process of

analysis needed to occur for the transcribed hermeneutic conversations, which were focused on the shadowing phase of the research and on the taken photographs. After this analysis had been undertaken I was then in a position to look at overall themes and begin to connect the different sets of data together. This third cycle of analysis is discussed in the next section.

#### **4.5.2 Hermeneutic Conversations and Interpreting the Photographs**

Phase three of the research was where the participant and I discussed the transcribed fieldnotes and the photographs. The analysis of the conversation was accordingly split into two. These hermeneutic conversations took place in the field, and were later subjected to formal analysis, following the process discussed above, away from the field. The conversations were recorded and transcribed and later re-listened to alongside the fieldnotes, providing further interpretive analysis. Supporting the adopted research philosophy, the process of analysing the conversations followed the key values of the hermeneutic circle, moving between the parts of the data and the whole. For example, during the conversations I and the participants discussed particular extracts from the transcribed fieldnotes and this enabled a deeper understanding of the full transcript, which in turn could only be understood through the extracts. These conversations enabled the participant to present each photograph as they chose, leading to an interpretive dialogue which included what was seen in the image along with the unseen. Every image had its own story which formed a key part of understanding the lived experience. This initial interpretation of the photographs again followed the notions of the hermeneutic circle with back and forth questioning until agreed joint understanding was produced. I decided that it would aid my initial analysis of the photographs if I broke the language being used down into categories: emotive language and cognitive language, focusing on 'I feel' and 'I think'. A table (excerpt given below) was produced to facilitate this process:



<b>Emotive Language - <i>I feel</i></b>	<b>Cognitive Language - <i>I think</i></b>
<p>I feel it's a home like, people feel away from everywhere, people feel more relaxed, it feels like home really. Perhaps they feel uncomfortable feeling physically close. People love it (the chapter room).</p> <p>The chapter room scared the living daylights out of me.</p>	<p>I think because it's enclosed. I can't honestly think of a space that would be better.</p> <p>I think just lightening it up, even having maybe windows in the doors.</p>

Creating this table served as a way of coding the data and initially did help with managing the high volume of data which is typically found in phenomenologically based research Smith et al., (2009). Away from the field, the photographs were further analysed, this time following a similar coding process as described in the analysis of fieldnotes. This process started with the laying out of the photographs belonging to each participant, whilst simultaneously listening to the recorded conversations. Hearing again the voices of the participants' discussing their photographs with me, as opposed to merely reading the transcript, personalised this analytical stage. Hearing the voices made me feel as if the participant was still involved in the interpretation. During this process I noted codes and patterns emerging from the data. By treating word and image together I was able to build on the earlier analysis of 'I feel' and 'I think' and identify further contextualised representations of the photograph, as opposed to restricting the analysis to the visual representation. The coupling of words and images was then reflected in the findings chapters, where it can be seen that the photographs are presented alongside the textual data (Vince and Warren, 2012). The majority of the photographs presented in these chapters were taken by the participants, however, some were taken by me and are noted as the 'author's photograph'. My photographs have been used in Chapter Five to show the physical layout of the cathedral and in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight to support and illustrate excerpts from my fieldnotes and quotes from the participants. Reading the text alongside the photograph enhances the

meaning of the images to the reader and shows, by adding a textural accompaniment, the different layers of the photograph. After this process of listening to the individual presentations of the photographs, I decided to display all of the ninety six photographs around the walls of my office at home. The purpose of this was twofold: it provided me with a complete visual representation and immediate (re)immersion with the data, and it provided the possibility of a different perspective. Displaying the photographs together provided a visual overview of them, enabling me to see if any new patterns emerged across the whole corpus. When analysing the photographs in conjunction with the photo-led conversations it was the content, context of and meaning given to the photograph that led to the identification of patterns.

The 'pattern codes' or themes which emerged from the participants' photographs and narratives were noted and set alongside the pattern coding identified during the analysis of the fieldnotes and accompanying conversations. Each phase of the research represented a different aspect of the participants' experience. In order to contextualise and enrich this knowledge further, I pulled together, first for each participant, and later for the sample as a whole their transcribed fieldnotes, photographs, and transcribed conversations with the aim to explore the relationships between the data sets, as "these different media represent different types of knowledge that may be understood in relation to one another" (Pink, 2007: 120). This was a form of data triangulation which enabled, when viewed in its totality, the identification of three themes which were: Crossing boundaries; Separation and Protective behaviours, which following further conceptual analysis of the data, changed to become the final themes of; Dwelling, Gestures and The Imaginary. These conceptual themes are centred on 'interpretations of meaning' (Laverly, 2003) and provide a way of making sense of the experiences in the field, "so when we analyse a phenomenon, we are trying to determine

what the themes are, the experiential structures that make up that experience” (van Manen, 1990: 79). Determining themes in this context is only possible through a reflexive lens, which commits to illuminating the multiple meanings and multiple contexts of experiences. The themes identified in the data corpus in this thesis have emerged from a hermeneutic inquiry committed to the in-depth analysis of the participants’ experience and understanding of the lived experience of organisational space.

The analysis of the data discussed in this section leads on to identifying the challenges concerned with undertaking research based on the philosophy of Gadamer’s (1975/2004) hermeneutics, in terms of the ability to present the interpretive aspect of the conversations. By this I mean adequately being able to capture in writing the dynamic interplay presented by a circular, non-linear form of interpretation (Smith et al., 2009). In the findings chapters that follow, I have tried to capture not only the dynamic interplay of the hermeneutic conversation, but importantly to its methodological underpinnings, the collaborative interpretation of data. Through the presentation of our conversations, it is seen how I and the participant are able to come to a mutual understanding. This brings forth a further challenge of presenting interpretive based research, which is striking a balance with not presenting too long extracts of data, but at the same time being able to show to the reader that hermeneutic based conversations have taken place. In order to be able to distinguish between my words and the participants’ mine are noted in italics. The final challenge I have identified rests with being able to bring the individual contexts within which both the researcher and the participant are situated to the presentation of data in a meaningful way, for example their cultural and social histories. These histories I argue have to be embedded within the hermeneutic conversations and whilst I consider that my own context and the participants are represented in the discussions that we had, presenting them is difficult.

These challenges I suggest draws attention to how successfully the data presented in the empirical findings accurately reflects a joint product of interpretation, reflective of Gadamerian hermeneutics. However, I am satisfied that the findings presented are as far as is possible in phenomenological research, truthful representations of the participants' lived experiences of organisational space. I take confidence from knowing that I have followed a detailed process of coding and analysis as presented in this section of the chapter and have taken on board the advised process of writing-up interpretive based research. In so doing, the presentation of the research data is presented in a fashion typical of IPA and includes large extracts from the field data. By presenting large extracts, followed by detailed analysis, I consider that this gives the reader the opportunity to check my claims of understanding and in so doing either agree or disagree with my interpretations.

#### **4.6 Considerations given to Research Ethics**

The ethical principles underpinning this project were concerned with my conduct in terms of being clear on issues of anonymity, protection of data and participants, and the ownership of data. The ethical codes of conduct concerning these points are clearly stipulated by the Essex Business School (Appendix D), and could easily be articulated to the participants. However, on entering the field I was not yet fully aware of the ethics situated in the context within which the research was taking place, namely the sacred setting of a cathedral. The research setting produced its own expectations in terms of ethical practices and behaviours and these could "not be concluded until [I] was actually doing the ethnography" (Pink, 2013). In this sense ethical practices were adopted as they became realised in the field and were led by the observed practices of the participants.

Delivering a presentation to prospective research participants enabled the participants to make an informed choice in terms of whether to partake in the research. It was made clear that participation was optional. Informed consent was gained from each of the research participants, prior to the research starting. In participating in the research, participants agreed to be shadowed whilst they were at work. Part of this agreement acknowledged that if they felt my presence would compromise their work in any way, they were free to say so and exclude me from that event. In signing the consent form (Appendix B) participants agreed to take photographs which were not to include any person unless permission was granted. The reason for this was that the photographs may be published in the thesis and in future academic papers. The final agreement concerning the data collection was that participants would participate in discussions based on observations and based on their taken photographs. Consent was given from the Dean that these discussions could take place at work and during work time. The participants were promised anonymity in terms of their actual names not being disclosed, but it was made clear that the name of the organisation would be referred to along with their role and the department in which they worked. Concerning the ownership of data, all data produced by me would belong to me, however, as the photographs were produced by the participants, I took guidance from Warren (2002: 241) that “technically the copyright of the images they created remains with them”. Based on this I sought consent to use their photographs for academic purposes only. All participants were informed that they would be given copies of the transcribed fieldnotes and transcribed conversations and granted access to the completed thesis, a copy of which would be given to the organisation. The giving of a copy of the thesis, was a way for me to ‘give something back’, described by Pink (2013: 64) as the “ethnographer extracts something (usually the data) and then makes a gift of something else to the people from whom he or

she has got the information". The thesis provides a small way of giving thanks to the organisation for allowing my empirical research to take place.

#### **4.7 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has focused on the research methods and design which have been adopted in the following four empirical chapters. The methods and design have been situated within the paradigm of a Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenology and organisational ethnography which requires time spent in the field and a commitment to the co-constructed interpretation of data between the participant and the researcher. Detailing the process of data analysis was with the aim of making the decisions taken transparent and ensuring that the epistemological commitments of the thesis were reflected in the doing and analysing of the research.

***Chapter Five: Situating the Lived  
Experience of Organisational Space  
in the Cathedral***

## **Introduction**

This chapter details the broader characteristics of the cathedral sector and then focuses on the research setting itself, St Edmundsbury Cathedral. As outlined in Chapter One, studies of cathedrals tend to be confined to the architectural realm, namely the cathedral building and its sacred symbols (e.g. Cameron et al., 2005; Hopewell, 1987; Maddison, 2000). In this thesis, the cathedral building does form an important part of the empirical research, however, of equal importance are the other spaces making up the organisation for example the shop, the refectory and the education centre. The chapter outlines the challenges facing the sector as a whole in terms of for example, managing the need to increase income levels whilst preserving Christian traditions and the managing of the different needs of the pilgrim and the tourist. Such challenges will be discussed in terms of sacred and secular space and sacred and secular values.

The chapter is presented in three main sections. The first provides an overview of the current challenges and tensions facing the cathedral sector today. The second section presents the chosen research site, St Edmundsbury Cathedral and provides a visual representation in terms of the organisation layout. Complementing this is a discussion on the structure and organisational roles supporting the organisation. The ways that the hierarchical ordering of the organisation in terms of its physical spaces and buildings can be seen to exert power and control over visitors' and employees' movements around the organisation are explored. The notion of separation is discussed in terms of the changing function of sacred space, in particular the separation of sacred and secular activities and in terms of the physical separation and segregation of employees. The third section, prior to the chapter summary, presents four of the participants' understandings of the organisation. These understandings portray tensions between sacred needs and expectations and secular needs and expectations



and are explored through the theoretical concept of moral landscapes (Creswell, 1996; Setten and Brown, 2009). A disjuncture between ideological representations of the organisation and the changing reality of the organisation is presented, along with an acceptance that the sacred and the secular are having to sit alongside each other as opposed to against one another. Quotes from the research participants are used in this chapter as they are considered helpful for understanding the organisation and for highlighting the challenges it is facing.

## **5.1 Managing the English Cathedral: Challenges and Tensions**

To situate the cathedral in a wider context it is important to understand the current challenges and tensions that this sector is having to manage. Recent research published by the Archbishop's Council (2014) shows that over the last ten years, parish churches have experienced a steady decline in parish member numbers, attributed to the increasingly secular nature of the population. As noted in Chapter One, a similar decrease has not been observed in cathedrals which have seen a steady rise in visitor numbers, both pilgrim and tourist, which have increased from 9.7 million in 2012 to 10.2 million in 2013 (Ibid.). One reason given for the notable declining number to parish churches and growing numbers of the cathedral is in the nature of worship and scope of activities. Due to their small setting Parish churches are considered as being "contemporary, informal and intimate" (Sadgrove, 2006: 91), which is in contrast to cathedrals where greater anonymity is afforded due to scale. Fletcher (2006: 49) comments that "regular worshippers in cathedrals have little history and experience of being part of a congregation; indeed they are often there because they have disliked congregational life in another place". Such studies point to a significant shift in the role and constitution of congregations and their membership. First, smaller parishes are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their former levels and breadth of

activities as numbers dwindle. Second, the simultaneous increase in cathedral visitors' points to the seeking of a different space, and a more individualised practice of worship, which is not characterised by the communal experience of a tightly knit local parish. In addition, the versatility in terms of the various functions and events, and the size of the cathedral space allows for a welcome that embraces and extends to those beyond worshippers, something which is not possible in a parish church.

In acknowledgement of the different purposes that cathedrals serve today, research into the contemporary use of the cathedral was commissioned on behalf of The Association of English Cathedrals and the Foundation for Church Leadership. The research was published by both The Grubb Institute, a consultancy, and Theos, a theology 'think tank'. The publication entitled 'Spiritual Capital: The present and future of English Cathedrals', reported on data which comprised a national survey of 1,700 adults and a local survey of 1,933 adults who were asked questions regarding one of the six cathedrals (Canterbury, Durham, Lichfield, Leicester, Manchester and Wells) included in the research. In addition, six case studies of the said cathedrals included two hundred and fifty seven in-depth interviews of people who worked with and in the cathedrals. A key finding of the study was the tension between managing the pilgrims' expectations and the expectations of the tourists. The root of the tension can be found in the popularity of the cathedral, which according to Engel (2011) can be explained as follows:

Cathedrals are especially popular, with good reason. And their services have actually become more popular in recent years - why go to the local am-dram if you have the ecclesiastical equivalent of West End theatre only a short drive away?

Engel strikingly likens the cathedral to a London West End production, which brings forth associations of entertainment, a spectacular staging, and rich visual and aural sensations. Such framings of the cathedral highlight its juxtaposition of being both a place of worship and a place of cultural interest. The 2012 study referred to above, suggests that for some visitors these dual functions can merge, with tourist visitors attending for a secular experience but having a spiritual experience whilst there. The sacred experience for such visitors was considered to be unexpected with the research concluding that “seeing the cathedral as a tourist destination did not preclude an appreciation of its spiritual role” (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012: 17). Whilst the statement points to the possibility of a co-existence of two different purposes and experiences in one space, it also reinforces a perceived dualism, and consequently a tension, which characterises the contemporary cathedral.

The complexity in terms of managing these tensions between being sympathetic to both the tourist and the pilgrim is a challenge cathedrals today must manage. The recognition of these two partially overlapping visitor roles is further complicated by the research suggesting “that cathedrals may understand the position and aspiration of the secular tourist less adequately than it understands the pilgrim” (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012: 17). The organisation in this context is having to ‘target customers’ who they know little about, but on which they rely for revenue purposes. Managing this challenge is addressed through the establishment of key organisational roles tasked with developing the commercial activities of the cathedral. Indications of the increased emphasis on responding to such challenges can be seen in the news media. For example, on the 4<sup>th</sup> January 2013 Exeter Cathedral were advertising for a Managing Director with a salary of circa £50,000 in the Guardian recruitment section. The advert stated that the cathedral wanted to recruit a “commercially

astute professional” responsible for “forging a sustainable future for the cathedral by maximising the return from all of its revenue generating activities” (The Guardian, 2013). Here we are seeing a ‘professionalization’ of cathedrals. The economic discourse which is drawn on here may sit uneasily with traditional conceptions of the role of the cathedral, but it provides a useful illustration of the perceived current challenges facing cathedrals, and responses to them. An earlier example in the media, related to the focus on increasing revenue through tourists was highlighted in December 2012, when the BBC hosted a three-part series which took a behind-the-scenes look at Westminster Abbey. The importance of tourism was reflected in the comment “tourism is the Abbey’s life blood” (Westminster Abbey, 2012). This suggests that without tourism, the Abbey's future would not be secure. The broadcasting of the series shows that there is an interest in looking at the less public aspects of cathedral life, meaning that there is an increasing interest in not only the religious aspect of the organisation but also in terms of how such organisations are being run.

In a political context, supporting the push for commercial activities was observed on the 28<sup>th</sup> June 2012, when the House of Lords led a debate entitled ‘Lords Debates the future of English cathedrals’. A comment recorded by a peer, Baroness Andrews, during the debate, highlights the increasing need to raise income:

The challenge to every cathedral today is to remake itself as the heart and spirit of the community and to provide the cafes, lavatories, bookshops and educational spaces that enable people to feel that they belong there and understand the place (Andrews, 2012).

Baroness Andrew’s comment refers to the needs of the secular visitor, arguing that they are what the future fabric of the cathedral is arguably most dependent on. The construction of

purpose-made facilities produces material spatial reorganisations, as well as provides the cathedral with new symbolic meanings related to the services that it is expected to deliver. In 2013, 86% of cathedrals had a coffee shop or refectory selling refreshments to visitors (Archbishop's Council, 2014).

In light of the above, I consider that the overriding challenges facing cathedrals today is in managing the interface between the sacred and the secular. This applies to the management of both sacred space and secular space and the sacred and secular visitor. Whilst there has been a rise in visitor numbers, cuts in cathedral funding has meant that the need to increase income is a necessity; however, the ways in which income is generated are not without controversy. Charging an entrance fee is one way of increasing income levels and one practised by most tourist sites, but one that sits in contention with Christian ideologies. Of the six cathedrals surveyed in the Theos report, only one charged an entrance fee, others invited donations. Other cathedrals who do charge include St Paul's Cathedral and Ely Cathedral, however, they clearly state that there is no charge for visitors attending for sacred purposes. The controversy associated with charging is embedded in the cathedral's philosophy of welcome. The act of charging inevitably leads to potential exclusion, as some visitors will not be able to afford to pay. Those cathedrals who do charge are changing the nature of the relationship between the visitor and the site. The implicit contract of paying means that visitors have a right to expect value for money. This challenge is linked to managing the different expectations of cathedral visitors. Modernisation programmes are taking place within broader economic and social contexts, which affect the management of the organisation and drive the need for change. The changing social needs and expectations of both the worshipper and secular visitor are also driving change programmes. For example, visitors now expect to have such facilities as lavatories, a shop and a refectory, enabling a

satisfaction of both sacred needs and the needs of consumption. These different types of visitor needs have to be established and met in order to secure the future of the cathedral.

In conjunction with managing the expectations of its different visitors, cathedrals are also faced with the challenge of negotiating a path between innovation and tradition. The sacred space of the cathedral is increasingly being used in commercially orientated innovative ways, for example, Ely Cathedral is an established filming and recording venue, home to such films as 'The King's Speech' and 'Elizabeth The Golden Age', and to TV programmes such as the 'Antiques Road Show'. Similarly, Christ Church Cathedral in Oxford was used as a location for the Harry Potter films. In addition, an increasing number of schools and universities are turning to cathedrals as venues in which to host a range of events, for example, Norwich Cathedral hosted the University of East Anglia's 40 year foundation and St Edmundsbury Cathedral is the chosen location for the University Campus Suffolk's graduation ceremony. These, along with occasions such as 'Raves in the Nave' held at Ely Cathedral and general events such as art exhibitions, concerts and dinners, all contribute to generating much needed income. Whilst these events are positive in terms of increasing income levels, they bring with them associated tensions, for they change the nature of the sacred space and in so doing produce different spatial experiences. For example, during such events as those mentioned above, the cathedral becomes a space of entertainment as opposed to a space for quiet reflection and worship.

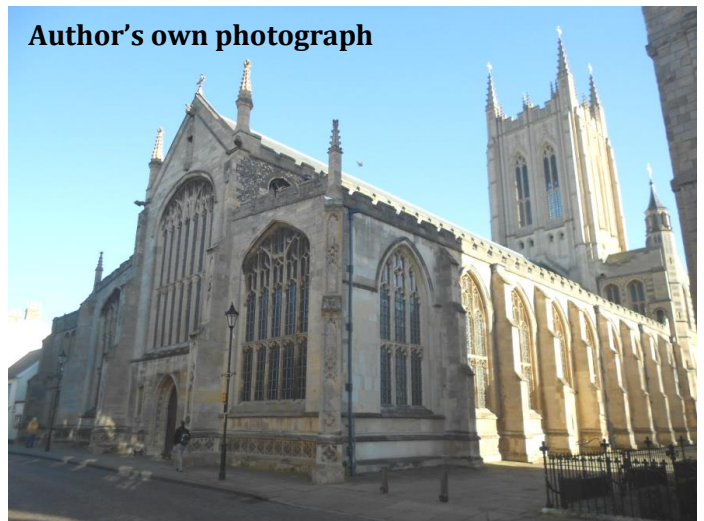
Innovation in the form of technology is increasingly being used in cathedrals. Online communities are encouraged via cathedral websites to connect and bring together the disparate and diverse users which contribute to cathedral life. Most cathedral websites offer Twitter, Facebook and news feeds, with Christmas 2012 bringing the first ever Church of

England Tweeting campaign which saw over 9,000 tweets being posted during Christmas Eve and Christmas day (The Church of England Newspaper, 2013). Other technology driven initiatives being used to enhance the visitor experience is the use of touchscreen multimedia tours at St Paul's and online shops are hosted by many cathedrals including Lincoln, Winchester and Westminster. Such practices do not only furnish the traditional cathedral space with modern technology, but also extend the cathedral space into virtual space.

In sum, challenges facing cathedrals today are translated into a spatial dimension, in that they encompass practices that lead to the reordering of organisational space both in terms of its physical manifestations, symbolic associations, and resulting organisational practices.

## 5.2 Introducing the Organisation: St Edmundsbury Cathedral

The empirical research was conducted at St Edmundsbury Cathedral in Suffolk. The site where St Edmundsbury Cathedral sits today formed a very small part of the land which in 1020 housed a much larger Benedictine Abbey. Housed in its grounds was St James' Church which later, in 1914 became St Edmundsbury Cathedral, creating the diocese of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich. The Abbey fell into ruin following the dissolution of the monasteries by King Henry VIII in the sixteenth century, however parts of the building still remain today for the visitor to see. Like all cathedrals, St Edmundsbury Cathedral offers a daily service.



**Author's own photograph**

**Image 1: St Edmundsbury Cathedral**

Following common organisational design practices, the organisational structure of St Edmundsbury Cathedral displays hierarchical levels of authority and responsibility. The organisation is led by the Cathedral Chapter. At the most senior level sits the Very Reverend Dr Frances Ward, with line management responsibility for the Cathedral Administrator; the Canon Precentor responsible for worship, liturgy (the order and performance of services) and music; the Canon Pastor responsible for the pastoral care of the congregation, visitors and wider community; the Canon Curate responsible for theological education, and the Cathedral Chaplain. The organisation has seven departments each led by a manager who oversees their teams. Managerial positions include the Finance Manager; the Public Relations (PR) Manager who has line management responsibility for the Refectory Manager and the Shop Manager; the Education Officer, Head Verger and IT Manager. In the managers' titles we see typical organisational roles which point to a division in particular areas of the organisation between the sacred and the secular. For example, the Refectory Manager, Shop Manager and Finance Manager are roles with a greater commercial orientation than the Education Officer and Head Verger who share a greater focus on preserving the sacred aspects of the organisation.

At the time of writing there are four full time Clergy plus one retired who works as a volunteer, nine lay staff who are full time and sixteen part time lay staff. In addition to these paid staff there are approximately 250 volunteers (figures confirmed 11<sup>th</sup> July 2014). This large number of volunteers is typical of cathedrals, who rely on volunteers to ensure that the organisation can serve all of its visitors, sacred and secular, every day of the year. In terms of visitor numbers to the Cathedral, there were a total of 67,827 visitors in 2013, as confirmed by the PR Manager on 11<sup>th</sup> July 2014 and from January to the end of June 2014 the number of visitors was 32,150. These figures are typical of a cathedral of this small size,



however, this is vastly different from larger cathedrals such as for example St Pauls receiving over 2 million visitors, and Canterbury Cathedral receiving over 1 million visitors per year (The Church of England, 2013).

As is typical of cathedrals today, St Edmundsbury has lavatories for visitors, a shop and a refectory, along with an art gallery (a space leased to local artists). In order to manage the commercial side of the organisation, the 'St Edmundsbury Cathedral Enterprise Ltd' was set up in 1973. Today the enterprise comprises a board of volunteer members from local businesses, who advise and support the cathedral's commercial operations. These enterprises are all charged a rental fee and administration costs by the Cathedral Chapter. Visitor numbers to the shop and the refectory are not tracked, but the number of transactions is recorded, which gives an indication of the number of customers that visit the outlets. For 2013 the total number of transactions was in the region of 17,500 across both the refectory and the shop, showing that these enterprises are significant income generators for the organisation and are as such treated as economic units in terms of having to manage and meet budgets and financial targets.

The hierarchical structure of the organisation and the key roles within it point to an organisation which is attempting to manage the tensions associated with having to meet the commercial needs of the organisation, the sacred needs and expectations of the pilgrim and the secular needs and expectations of the tourist. In addition, it is having to manage a team of employees who due to the nature of their work have differing priorities in terms of the long term direction of the organisation. These tensions are all having to be managed in an organisation which is steeped in hundreds of years of Christian traditions and values, which

in itself carries with it expectations from those working inside the organisation and those who view it from the outside.

In order to become familiar with the physical layout of the organisation, the pictures below were taken by me during the fieldwork and show the main buildings making up the organisation:

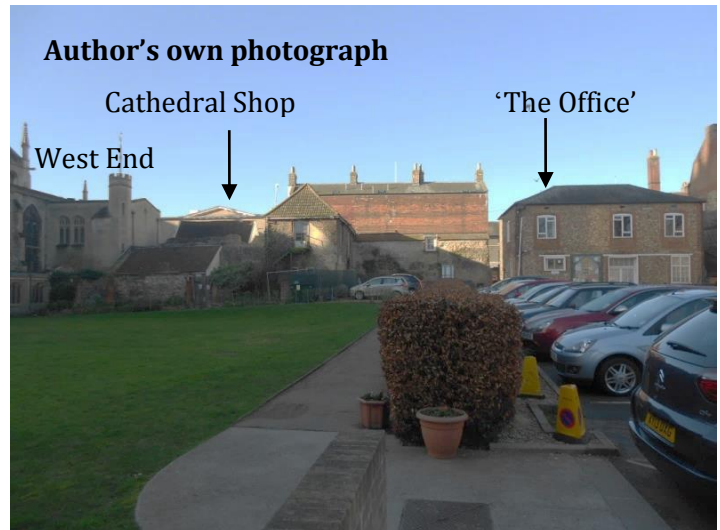
This image on the right shows the north-east corner of the cathedral. The two adjoining cloisters (pointed out by arrows) join organisational spaces together and act as routes in which to access different parts of the organisation. Connecting the east end of the cathedral to the Cathedral Centre (opened in 1990), is the cloister which provides access to the Treasury, the Song School for the Cathedral Choir, the Discovery Centre (an educational space), meeting rooms, the IT office and the Refectory.



**Image 2: The Cloisters**

The next image seen over page was taken standing with my back to the Cathedral Centre, facing toward the west end of the cathedral: Top right is 'The Office' building which houses the Dean and Chapter along with the Cathedral Administrator, Finance Manager, PR Manager and various support staff. To its immediate left is the entrance to the car park, with allocated spaces for visitors and management level employees. Next to The Office are the road facing

buildings, one of which houses the cathedral gallery and, as labelled, the other one houses the cathedral shop. Adjoining the cathedral shop is a porch area which provides access to the main entrance of the cathedral.



**Image 3: Cathedral Shop and 'The Office'**

As can be seen, the organisation consists of several buildings, which allows for a spatial ordering whereby the management, namely the Dean and Chapter, are able to place individuals in designated areas of the organisation. This is symbolic of the cathedral building in terms of its ability to wield power. The cathedral itself represents an overt form of power, its appearance an expression of sacredness (Dale and Burrell, 2008) which dictates expected norms of behaviours and rituals. For Lefebvre (1958/1991; 1974/1991: 143), such monuments as cathedrals represent spaces which enforce order:

Monumentality, for instance, always embodies and imposes a clearly intelligible message. It says what it wishes to say – yet it hides a good deal more [...] monumental buildings mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought.

Such notions of power epitomise the ideologies associated with Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 33) conceived space, which is "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations". These frontal relations are understood as the physical and visual representations of the cathedral,

where the “space ‘decides’ what activity may occur” (Ibid: 143). The design of the cathedral space ensures that sacred symbols and signs are strategically placed in order to articulate the function of the space in “such a way that space becomes readable (i.e. ‘plausibly’ linked) to society as a whole” (Ibid: 144). This readability of space is enacted through the repeated spatial practices of visitors and pilgrims whose bodily comportments abide by the conceived rules of the space, and in doing so “reproduce over and over” (Ritzer, 2005: 8).

The cloisters provide a good example in the organisation to express the way in which space enforces order and dictates the activities which take place in the space. Whilst the conceived function of cloisters may have changed over the years, how the space along with management ‘decides’ on what takes place in the space continues today. The function of cloisters historically was to separate monks from workmen; they were considered sacred spaces “which mark off the route followed (and laid down) by the steps of the monks during their time of (contemplative) recreation” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 217). Today they are still clearly marked out, but their function is now representative of the secular. For example, the cloisters provide an exhibition space symbolising a more contemporary use. Through the physical design the commercial enterprises of the refectory and the shop are joined to the cathedral by the cloisters. The cloisters provide the accessible route for people wanting to visit these spaces, which they can do so without having to enter the cathedral building. The cloisters, then, whilst now serving a different purpose, continue to represent space designed to separate and protect the sacred from the secular.

This separation is symbolised through the layout of the other buildings that surround the cathedral. Segregation and specialisation is typical of organisations, reflected in “spatial units [which] are demarcated clearly to enable an orderly environment for contemporary

organizations to carry out their tasks and operations” (Yeung, 1998: 112). This is a common form of control as discussed by several scholars (Baldry, 1999; Dale and Burrell, 2008; Halford, 2008; Zhang and Spicer, 2013), whereby spatial cues classify members in terms of their seniority, representing a form of spatially mediated power. A key spatial cue at St Edmundsbury Cathedral was ‘The Office’, separated from the cathedral and adjoining buildings as shown in image 3 (page 150). This image also shows the cathedral car park which had clearly marked spaces allocated to managers and visitors. The Office is home to the offices of the more senior organisational members, and the size of the offices serve as symbols of status and power in the organisation:

The Dean’s office is the biggest I have been in, it has a large six seater table, two large and comfortable chairs with a table in between. The only other office mirroring this size, if a little smaller, belongs to the Cathedral Administrator, reflecting that the two most senior members of the organisation have the largest offices (*Fieldnotes, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2011*).

This spatial ordering of people in terms of segregation was also observable in the placement of other full and part time employees who were dispersed across the organisation. The ordering of employees in this way is a form of control and manipulation conceptualised by Dale and Burrell (2008) as ‘emplacement’, following which employees are strategically placed in certain areas of the organisation. This design of organisational space reflects conceived space, a desired ordering of space by management where key decision makers are housed in one space, facilitating quicker decision making. The hierarchical ordering of the cathedral space is symbolised here in the location of the office. Just as the central altar, the most sacred and important part of the cathedral has its designated space marked out by clear boundaries, so too does The Office.

The ordering and design of space seeks to encourage certain spatial behaviours. However, Lefebvre (1974/1991: 33) recognises that these 'frontal expressions' do not "completely crowd out their more clandestine or underground aspects", namely the lived dimension of space. In the everyday reality of the organisation and as discussed in more detail in the following three chapters, the 'frontal expressions' of the conceived space are challenged by employees who appropriate the space in order to be able to 'live' in organisational space. This lived space presents alternative ways of being, of different spatial practices that represent a transgression of the imposed organisational order. These transgressions or spatial appropriations can:

Occur both purposely and unintentionally, but have radical potential in that they can denaturalize and disrupt the existing order and its taken-for-granted assumptions underlying who and what is included and excluded in the use of everyday space (Setten and Brown, 2009: 192).

Such transgressions do not always fit with the organisational ideologies in terms of how the space should function and in terms of how it 'should be' read. Instead, rather than reproducing the same space time and again these ways of being are subjectively experienced and produce different spaces, namely lived space. Transgressions emerge from people's pre-understandings (Gadamer, 1975/2004) of the spaces which they inhabit and this pre-understanding also provides the basis for the ways in which individuals understand the organisation in which they inhabit. In order to be able to understand the basis of the spatial transgressions observed in chapters Six, Seven and Eight and in order to further the reader's understanding of the organisation, I consider it is useful to introduce some of the research participants' views in terms of their understanding of the organisation.

### 5.3 Navigating the Moral Landscape of the Organisation

To provide an analytical basis for the participants' descriptions of the organisation I draw on the concept of a 'moral landscape' (Creswell, 1996), a form of pre-understanding, which frames the ways in which the sacred (in this case based on Christian ideology) and the secular are navigated and understood through the participants' narratives. The moral landscape signifies:

The interrelationship between landscapes and moral values and judgments; it concerns how particular symbolic and material landscapes both shape and reflect notions of 'right/wrong', 'good/bad', 'appropriate/inappropriate', and 'natural/unnatural' in relation to particular people, practices, and things. It also concerns the ways in which certain moral boundaries are naturalized in, and through landscapes, in the interplay of their material and representational forms and related significations (Setten and Brown, 2009: 191).

The landscape can in this case be seen to be made up of the different organisational spaces as described above, along with the interactions and intertwinement taking place between the organisational space and the participants who bring to the space different moral values. These values I argue form the basis of judgements made in terms of what is considered to be appropriate behaviours and activities taking place in organisational space. Such judgements outline the 'right/wrong', the good/bad' and the appropriate/inappropriate dualities and can broadly be defined as sacred and secular values. The concept ties in with Lefebvre's (1974/1991) conceived, perceived and lived space. That is the ways in which the space is perceived, in terms of spatial practices, which may align with the conceived space or overlay space with different understandings representing lived space. The Christian values of the organisation are overtly represented through the materiality of the cathedral building. The

cathedral building communicates these values which carry certain expectations in terms of the running of the organisation. However, less visible are the expectations more secular in nature, which are required in order to uphold the Christian ethos, namely the need to increase income levels.

Moral landscapes provide a way of framing the participants' expectations of the organisation in terms of the way it is engaging with and upholding (or not) its Christian foundations. As told by three participants, there is a separation of the sacred and the secular. Richard, one of the cathedral tour guides presents the first response to the question of how they thought of the organisation:

You asked when we met how I thought of the organisation. I have thought more about this; it is not only an organisation which controls what goes on, but a congregation that gathers on Sundays and other occasions and which can be temporary and semi-detached and a community that is sustained by its life and sustains it. These three modes of being have their priorities and their tensions, which are reflected in the way the space is structured and used.

Richard recognises that the organisation needs to have elements of control, but at the heart of his narrative is the notion of community, a community which needs the organisation in order to live and which serves the organisation in terms of sustaining its life. The purpose of the organisation is to nurture the relationship between itself and its community through the ideologies associated with Christianity. This is a challenge due to the three modes of being to which Richard refers. These different modes of being represent three types of stakeholders, each striving to serve their own needs but with different and sometimes conflicting agendas. The management team seeks to control the activities taking place in



space, the congregation assists in ensuring that the daily round of services in the cathedral are being maintained and the wider community are concerned with being able to freely access the cathedral and its accompanying spaces as and when they wish. To Richard, all three stakeholders join together in their goal of maintaining Christian values, with the acceptance that management also have to maintain and enact secular values.

Richard's metaphorical use of 'modes of being' suggests that the organisation is viewed as being alive, as providing a collective site for different people with differing needs. The metaphor of a living body is also exemplified by Michael, a retired member of the clergy:

I think the cathedral is very much like any other church. There is an organisational quality about it, but I always like to think of it more as a body of people who make up the body of Christ, that is one of the phrases we use about the church. So there's got to be an organisational quality, otherwise the thing would fall to bits. But I do like to think of it as a body rather than an organisation.

Michael as for Richard is equating 'organisation' with 'control' and 'body' with something which is more free and spiritual. Whilst there is an acceptance that organisational qualities in terms of management control are needed, "otherwise the thing would fall to bits", there is a clear sense that the core foundation of the organisation is its human quality, which ideologically acts as a way of maintaining and representing the Christian ethos. It can be seen here in Richard's and Michael's comments, that the use of the terms 'being' and 'body' serve to denote the upholding of the moral landscape, by protecting traditional values which the organisation should represent.

Richard's and Michael's views regarding the importance of the human qualities of the organisation was echoed by Jill, the Education Officer:

It's an organisation in the sense that it has a service to provide and it's got all the back up to provide that service. But it's not an organisation in relation to say a Government department or enterprise, a shop or something like that, because it is actually about hospitality, mission and enfolding everybody in the local community into something special that we can share in. It is about living and it's supposed to be modelling ways of living your life. That's how I see it.

I went on to ask Jill if she considered that the organisation meets with her expectations and it became clear that it did not entirely do so:

In part it does yes. We are actually offering a service as a Christian community, saying that you can come and use this space which is a friendly place to come and be and do your work in, as part of all of us together as a community. [...] But, there are other occasions when perhaps it isn't this, in a sense that it's an organisation and this is the way we do it. We have these special things that happen, like the Queen coming, and you are only allowed to come if you're wearing a certain type of badge. The organisation strives to be encompassing and inclusive but it closes its doors for different things. [...] There's a difference between having a door open and every one being able to come in for free, and then having a prestigious concert when you are charged £15 to sit on a pew. So, [it is] an organisation I see as perhaps offering a service but also being part of the community.

For Jill the premise on which the organisation rests is in terms of "modelling ways of living your life". The Christian ethos should permeate all of the organisational spaces regardless of whether they were physically part of the cathedral building or adjacent to it. Frustration and disappointment occurred when Christian values were being forgotten, when space was

merely practiced as mundane. Jill's reference to the £15 charge gives an indication that the cathedral is opening its door to the profane world of commercialism and in doing so is losing its tradition of welcoming all in its embrace. This change, more closely associated with the secular, may be seen as representative of "decaying moral values" (Creswell, 1996: 46). Such actions were counter to Jill's idealised 'modelled ways of living' according to which no community members should be excluded from the activities of the cathedral organisation.

Richard, Michael and Jill are all seeking to protect the moral landscape, to protect the Christian ethos from profane intrusion. Yet in each of their narratives, especially in Jill's, there is an awareness that secular activities need to sit together with the Christian ethos. This awareness carries a concern that the sacred values of the organisation may become lost to secular activities (Belk et al., 1989). Whilst these three participants want to preserve sacred traditions and values there is in their quotes an acceptance of an inevitable intermeshing of the sacred with the secular, where it is not possible to separate out or see the two as opposing forces. Robert the shop manager summed up this knitting together of the sacred and secular:

It's a Christian foundation which finds itself more and more involved in the commercial world, and having to think commercially to exist.

This is an inevitable change given the increasing need to raise income levels. Robert's comment suggests that the secular activities that the organisation needs to undertake, actually serve to keep and strengthen as opposed to weaken the sacred. Without the secular activities of for example concerts, the purchasing in the cathedral shop and refectory, the longevity of the cathedral is at risk, for the income from these commercial enterprises contributes to the running of the cathedral. From this perspective the secular actually

upholds the sacred. What is having to happen is a reconciliation of the fact that the secular is becoming as equally important as the sacred.

In this section it is seen that organisational space has different uses and representations; it is dynamic as opposed to fixed, heterogeneous as opposed to homogenous. The composition of organisational space is made up of diverse moral values, which juxtaposes with the different and changing needs of key stakeholders. These juxtapositions inevitably lead to tensions which are present due to the particular expectations of the organisation which in this case are overtly based on Christianity.

## **5.4 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has presented the focal organisation of this thesis and discussed a key tension that is present between managing the sacred and secular needs of its different stakeholders. The chapter first outlined the broader context of the challenges and tensions facing cathedrals today. It then specifically turned to the research site of St Edmundsbury Cathedral in terms of the organisational structure and layout of the physical buildings which make up the design of the organisation. Organisational power was discussed through the physical ordering of the organisation and the segregation of different employees through the notions of 'emplacement' (Dale and Burrell 2008). This first part focused on the physical separation of the sacred and the secular while the second part continued to explore 'separation' through the moral landscape lens. This lens provided a way to frame the participants' own understandings of the organisation, emerging from which were tensions around sacred ideologies and secular ideologies. Through their quotes, whilst a separation of the sacred and secular was acknowledged, of greater significance was an acceptance by the participants of an increasing intermeshing of the sacred with the secular driven by the commercial

pressures facing the organisation today. Through the negotiation of the organisation's moral landscape, space is depicted as being dynamic both in terms of its multiple uses and in terms of the different ways that it is understood.

## ***Chapter Six: The Role of Immediate Workspace for Understanding Lived Space***

## Introduction

This chapter focuses on the meaning and importance of what can be called immediate workspace, meaning it is assigned as personal, meaningful, and central to one's work. The participants discussed in this chapter each chose to take photographs of what I here call their immediate workspace. What they considered as their immediate workspace differed. For one participant this was the desk, for another it was the office itself and for the third participant, immediate workspace comprised three separate work areas. What is seen here is that a sense of ownership along with the territorial boundary which they drew on differed between individuals. Exploring the meaning behind immediate workspace in terms of ownership and territory along with how participants organise themselves at work and how they become to feel at home at work, presents an understanding of the lived experience of organisational space which focuses on the view of 'being' in space (Pallasmaa, 2012). This being in space is understood through Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 201) concept of "space of the body" presented in Chapter Two. Space of the body embraces the notion that we are of space and space is of us; "each living body *is* space and *has* its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 170 original emphasis). Space of the body interweaves the body with space through the notion of *dwelling*.

The chapter is organised into three main sections. The first section 6.1 is split into three and tells of three participants, who took photographs of their immediate workspaces. Through the photo-led discussions, the meaning behind how imposed workspaces were appropriated is explored in terms of shifting an immediate workspace to a personal space. Through the appropriation of space, lived space is conceptualised as liminal space and heterotopian space, each producing a sense of dwelling at work. By adapting the space to meet their own needs, participants create a sense of home at work and in so doing, show the importance of

needing to belong at work. The second section explores the impact of the notion of dwelling in space from the perspective of organisational power. In creating spaces to dwell, participants become active agents in the production of workspace, they are not passive receivers of space. Participants are considered as 'owners' of workspace and are so through lived space, namely their subjective experience of space which includes physical and embodied appropriation, in terms of how they feel and imagine the space. It is this lived space that I consider redresses the balance of power between the organisation and the individual. The final section of the chapter presents the chapter summary.

## **6.1 Arranging Personal Workspace**

One theme which became prevalent in the course of the fieldwork was the meaning and role some participants assigned to their immediate workspace. Especially three participants, Valerie, David and Jill, attributed great significance to their offices through their taken photographs along with the accompanying photo-led discussions. The first example is from Valerie, the Education Officer's administrator. Valerie is responsible for supporting Jill, the Education Officer in all their activities, for example, organising volunteers, planning for school visits, family activity days and more generally co-ordinating educational events both inside and outside of the organisation. The office that they share is connected via a door to the east end of the cathedral. The office, partitioned off by two walls, forms part of the larger space occupied by the vergers and the cathedral cleaners. Valerie took photographs of her immediate workspace and her discussion centred on the pictures which she has deliberately placed in her desk area and on the wall directly in front of the desk:



Right, okay this one on the computer screen [she points], this one is a labyrinth and it's a big labyrinth at the Chartres Cathedral in France and this is a copy of it. When I go on retreat which I do once a year in



February, I go to a place called St Beunos in North Wales and they

**Image 4: Computer Screen and Artefacts**

have a copy of this labyrinth that I walk, it's a big one in the grounds [...] It is here [at work], because I do find myself getting really, really pressured and under pressure a lot. It is supposed to be there to help me think about it [laughs] and I don't know whether you noticed but at something like 12.45 everyday a little reminder will pop up on my screen that will say take a labyrinth break. What I'm then supposed to do and what I decided would be good for me, would be to take 10 minutes to actually, with my finger, walk the labyrinth. I came back in February and set that up and now it is September and I've not done it yet.

*Why?*

Because I've always been in the middle of something that I've felt I couldn't leave. I've always said to myself I'll do it when I finish this and I've always forgotten and I don't. So that is interesting that I can't somehow make myself do it, but I don't know whether it's because it's not that easy, it's quite small, it isn't easy to trace it as you can easily lose the lines, or, whether it's just that actually I am in a totally different environment here and that works in that sort of environment [the retreat] and it doesn't work in this environment. But having it there reminds me, and this image here, yeah, this image [points at the PC screen saver], that is where I sit when I'm on retreat; I'm looking out across the valley there to North Wales.

Valerie's narration of the paper copy of the labyrinth at a well-known place of pilgrimage, and the image taken at her annual retreat, which she has set as her screen saver, is set in the context of work pressures. Her description can be examined through the notion of pace, more specifically the juxtaposition of different qualities of pace. While organisational pressure can be understood as an intensification of pace, the alternative pace symbolised through the labyrinth and image from the retreat is a more measured one, allowing for respite. Through these pictures Valerie is attempting to create lived space by bringing the rhythms of the retreat into her office. She has even devised a concrete practice for switching from one pace to another: a daily reminder has been set on her computer. The picture of the labyrinth acts as way of crossing a threshold between the reality of work and the ideals of the retreat; devising a concrete practice, enables her body at a key time to experience a space "where different human worlds meet and to a greater or lesser extent overlap" (Dale and Burrell, 2008: 234). The practice enacted by Valerie can be understood through the concept of liminality, discussed in Chapter Two. To recapitulate, liminality can be conceptualised as the spaces on the margin of the dominant spaces in the organisation. Corridors and stairwells are frequently cited as liminal spaces, free from organisational rules and procedures. Such spaces are commonly known as the spaces in-between, a form of 'no-man's land' where a liminal state occurs when passing from one space into another. Through the placing of her pictures representing the retreat, Valerie produced lived space where liminality could be experienced, a state of being which momentarily sits in-between her office and her retreat. Valerie was not creating a liminal space in its physical form for example, lifts (Dale and Burrell, 2008); 'passageways' (Küpers, 2011); doorways, corridors and staircases (Iedema et al., 2010), cupboards (Shortt, 2015) and lavatories (Shortt, 2015; Taylor and Spicer, 2007), she was creating a liminal space, which sought to replicate her experiences and feelings whilst on retreat. This liminal space was created within the boundaries of her office,

boundaries which did not physically change, but were being extended through her past experiences. As in Howard-Grenville et al., study (2011: 529) of organisational cultural change programmes, Valerie's liminal space was not physically separated from her organisational space, "suggesting that spatial separation is not an essential precondition to crafting liminality. Symbolic separation was essential, however, as it constituted the temporary suspension of norms". A suspension of norms was being attempted through the labyrinth and through attempts at slowing down the pace of work. Through the pictures symbolising the retreat, Valerie was trying to recreate the feelings of being on retreat away from the retreat. She was creating a liminal state of being where the feelings associated with work were being juxtaposed with feelings associated with outside of work; she was in neither one nor the other, but instead was in-between.

Valerie's discussion then moved on to the pictures above her computer:

Those [pointing to the photographs on the wall] are my children and their partners and my husband. They are there because that sort of keeps me focused, keeps me grounded because they really are the most important things in my life. I just really like looking at them, you know my daughter is in Scotland so we don't see her very often and my son does still live around here but he's really busy and his job takes him all over the place, so it's just nice to have them here. That painting there is Iona in Scotland and we go to Scotland quite often on holiday. I just love the beaches there, the colours are stunning, the white, the really white sand and the sea because it's so clear, like really deep blues and greens which are just amazing. Again that's a place where I feel really at peace and really calm. That's one of my own paintings again with blues and greens. My paintings come out of when I meditate and that has a real feeling of depth and peace for me. I just like it there because again it's something that I can look at and take a deep breath.

Like the labyrinth, the paintings incited feelings in Valerie which enabled her to momentarily escape the pressures of the working day. Valerie, by associating the paintings with the space of meditation, is once again able to create a space which sits in-between her organisational space and her meditative space and in doing so is able to temporarily recreate aspects of the meditative practice she enjoys outside of work in work. Regulating and monitoring her breath in a natural way, allows her to slow down her body. This provides a moment of reflection, itself characteristic of being in a liminal state, producing a space to pause, step back and reflect. In this way, Valerie is able to humanise the space to meet her own ends, it enables her to live in the office in a way that she enjoyed, a way that resisted the hurried pace of work. Her pictures had use, not in terms of memorialising past events as found in Tian and Belk's (2005) research, but in terms of creating moments of liminality throughout her working day. Valerie's liminal space is not considered to be physically in-between two spaces, it is a figurative space which enables her to separate herself from the pressures of work and slow down to pause and reflect. Through the placing of her pictures she was able to recompose as and when she needed the experiences of the retreat and the experiences of meditation in her office.

The liminal incited certain feelings for Valerie, feelings that she associated with experiences outside of work, feelings which enabled her to manage her life at work. Valerie inverted her normal role at work, characterised by being busy and pressurised, to a state of being characterised by a slower pace, more reflective and relaxed. Valerie's failed attempt to enforce a set time to 'walk the labyrinth' suggests that these moments of liminality had to emerge alongside the natural rhythms of her body (Lefebvre, 1992/2004), not as dictated by the linear or routinised rhythms of work. These moments were spontaneous, they did not take place at a set time each day. From an organisational perspective this suggests that there

needs to be instances in the working day when individuals are free from the norms and constraints imposed by the organisation, free from Newtonian time. There needs to be opportunities for crafting liminality in organisations. This free time for Valerie produced a differently lived space, a kind of space which enabled moments of escape, where for periods of time her workspace represented a space for pause as opposed to work. This enabled her to manage her workspace, so she could experience a sense of dwelling, which, following Lefebvre's (1974/1991) borrowing of Heidegger's notion of dwelling, is about 'being'. To 'be' in space is to dwell and to dwell means to feel at home.

Valerie's explicit efforts at bringing aspects of the retreat and of her meditative practice to her everyday work shaped her lived experience and was a way to seek meaning from her workspace, providing a means by which she could claim a sense of ownership of her space. This sense of ownership was particularly important, as Valerie shared her office with Jill, and at times sharing led to Valerie experiencing a loss of her 'own' physical space:

When Jill is here and I'm confined to my desk, sometimes I find it very confining and quite limiting. I can feel quite uptight when Jill puts things in my space but you know, I think it is because she is so focused on what she does here and that's a good thing and she needs to be, but I'm not as focused as her because I've got other stuff, family things and other things that I do outside. But I think because Jill is so focused on work, you know if it's to do with this [her work] it's important, it takes priority which is not a bad thing, it's just different, we are different people.

This shared space is an aspect of her lived space where Valerie does not have autonomy, and which she counteracts by taking control. The lived space of autonomy was physically represented by her pictures, and was lived through her feelings. In this sense it was a space living inside of Valerie and therefore could not be invaded, for the "inner space... is not open

to just anybody” (Bachelard, 1964/1994: 78). This creation of a figurative space within a shared space enabled Valerie to manage the invasion of her physical space, for she had created a space which had greater meaning than the physical space itself. The feelings evoked through the images provided Valerie with a sense of ownership, she had created her own personal space within her office which she wanted to protect.

## Ownership and Order

Valerie worked in what is considered to be a traditional work arrangement. She had a dedicated workspace which she returned to each day. Her desk was not officially shared by others and she did not work from home. Despite this, the importance of creating her own sense of ownership remained strong and was further exemplified when Valerie discussed another photograph that she had taken of the stationery cupboard situated immediately behind her desk. The sense of ownership and personal workspace was recognised by her repeated phrasing of ‘my cupboard’, which I have italicised below:

This is *my cupboard* it has in it all the paper, all the envelopes, sellotape everything that I need, that is, it's *my cupboard*, Jill does go there to get things but nobody else does (laughs).

I think what *my cupboard* represents is the fact that my role is about keeping things in order.



Image 5: Stationery Cupboard

The cupboard represents her role at the cathedral and is a visual image of the way Valerie likes to work:

When working on my own I can order things as I want to, and I can do things in the order that I want to rather than having that order imposed on me. I'd rather get things done in my order if you like, in a way that makes sense to me rather than make sense to anybody else. I like to work on one thing at a time. I keep quite a few things in piles, but I like to have one thing on at a time, if it gets more than that then I start to lose track of it.

Through the photo-led discussion Valerie's motives for keeping the cupboard in an orderly fashion become clear, for the image belies hidden dimensions which represent Valerie's values and ideologies in terms of order and a desire for ownership and control. The cupboard becomes a personal space for Valerie, she has created her personal territory (Davidson, 2009) and a material extension of her personal role identity through the cupboard. The cupboard is experienced as one might experience the spaces of the home; owned, cared for and protected from uninvited visitors:

Another thing that happens is our volunteers often bring their handbags down and put them in *my cupboard* and they are buzzing around all the time it can be a nightmare. We are putting in lockers and pigeon holes upstairs so that they don't have to keep coming in here (*Fieldnotes, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2011*).

The motive behind the provision of lockers for Valerie was a protection of privacy. Outsiders represent an invasion, they intrude on Valerie's personal workspace and disrupt the notion of order she has created. When disturbed and used by others the cupboard takes on a different meaning, reflective of the sense of invasion she experiences when her workspace is encroached on by Jill. The space of the cupboard, like her office space was imbued with

meaning which transcended its physical representation. The cupboard was an expression of Valerie's role and the way that she wanted to work; it was a representation of order where everything had its place and should be in its place.

Valerie's dislike of disorder became clear from another photograph she took which represented a different stationery cupboard. She did not consider this one as her immediate workspace, but one she had to use frequently to collect resources:

This cupboard was just such a mess, this was the cupboard before, that's how it was, you couldn't get anything in or out because of all the stuff which had just been dumped and not sorted out. You know that cupboard goes back quite a way, but you couldn't get in there to get anything out and in contrast to this, *my cupboard* which is just really tidy, which I really like.



**Image 6: Stationery Cupboard in the Youth**

The cupboard above dismays Valerie, its confusion and mess symbolises disorder, items do not have a set place but instead spill over onto one another. This messiness causes a sense of unease and this sits in opposition to how Valerie would like her experience of work and life to be; one that like 'my cupboard' represents compartmentalisation and above all order. This desire for everything having its place, is exemplified in Valerie's narration below where she expresses a dislike for unclear and undefined boundaries:



*A couple of things that you said during my observations intimated that you are concerned that the work that you do outside of this organisation sometimes gets blurred inside of the organisation, why is this such a concern for you?*

Because I'm in the training period of the ministry, and the work that I do in my ministerial role is still done under supervision, however, occasionally I have been asked to do things here as a priest, when actually that is not part of the ministry to which I have a contract with and is not part of the contract that I have here. My contract here states clearly that I'm an administrator and the hours that I do and the sort of work that I do, and the contact I have with the ministry states my role and hours with them. But to be asked to do ministry here, where I'm actually an administrator, blurs things for me, because actually my role here is not as a priest, my role here is an administrator. To be pulled out of this administrative role to go into something else is, I don't think is helpful to Jill [her manager] because it is taking me away from the time that I'm supposed to be working for her. It also doesn't help with my ministry because it is asking me to do my ministry in a space that I'm not supposed to.

It appeared that Valerie did not want the organisational community to see her in her ministry role, for this was a role she reserved for outside of the organisation. For Valerie to be able to control and organise her work and her different roles both inside and outside of work there had to be a sense of order; for her to function at work it is necessary that things are in their place. Valerie's distaste for the messy cupboard signifies a sense of chaos caused by things being out of place, namely the enacting of her role as a priest in spaces reserved for work. Through 'my cupboard' Valerie is able to position and understand her role within the organisation and outside of the organisation. Organising the space in this way enables Valerie to manage not only her space but also her daily work experience.

Valerie's experience of her personal workspace shows lived space emerging through the physical appropriation of space, which enables feelings of peace associated with her meditative practice and a sense of being able to escape into the different realms of her life outside of work. This presents different understandings and representations of the conceived space. Valerie's desk area became imbued with feelings which produced a figurative liminal space which for moments of her day overlaid the dominant space of the office. Valerie had created her own personal space within the space that she shared. The theme of ownership continued with Valerie's discussion concerning 'my cupboard', which was a representation of her role and a symbol of order. When contrasted with a messier cupboard, Valerie's discussion showed that ownership and order extended beyond the boundaries of work into life outside of work, where it was important that her life was compartmentalised with each aspect having its own place. 'My cupboard', then, becomes not only a representation of her role at work, it also came to represent the way she liked to manage her life. The emergence of a spatial extension of one's role has in the organisational space literature been expressed through the notion of identity, boundary management and territory marking (e.g. Tyler and Cohen, 2010; Shortt, 2012; Shortt, et al., 2014), where the appropriation of workspace serves to convey individuals' "otherness" (Tyler and Cohen, 2010: 187) serving as reminders of roles outside of work. In this thesis this spatial extension of role observed with Valerie is understood to be lived space, where she imagines this space differently to the conceived space, it takes on a different meaning and encapsulates the frustrations she feels in terms of spatial constraints, messiness and the blurring of boundaries along with the more positive feelings of being on retreat.

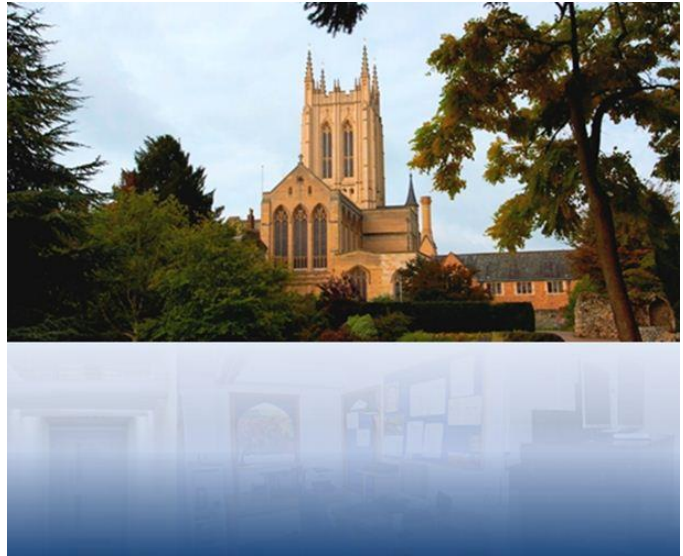
From an organisational perspective, this draws attention to the importance that the forgotten aspects of organisational space, namely cupboards, drawers and cabinets, have for

understanding the lived experience of organisational space. For Bachelard (1964/1994: 78) such spaces form part of “our intimate life [...] They are hybrid objects [...] they have a quality of intimacy”. ‘My cupboard’ provides an example of Bachelard’s reference to hybrid objects, which have more than one purpose or more than one meaning; they represent a mix of things, they have “shifting identities” (Dale, 2005: 672). ‘My cupboard’ had a functional purpose and an intimate purpose. For Valerie it provided a way to order the resources she needed to do her job and provided a symbolic reminder of how life inside and outside of the organisation should be being lived.

### **6.1.1 The Hovel**

David provides the second example of taking photographs of his immediate workspace, namely his office. David is the IT Manager and his remit is to provide IT support to all departments and employees. He is responsible for ensuring that the IT systems are in good working order and are being maximised to their full potential. His professional role is therefore central to the organisation while, as he explains, his office is not. Known widely as ‘the hovel’, David’s office is located beneath the body of the cathedral, with no natural daylight and only reachable through the basement stairs. In David’s narration his experiences in terms of the hovel’s physical location and in terms of how he feels about his organisational position, emerge through images, which are versions of montages of two photographs:

Right, this represents the cathedral, but it sort of a little more represents in a very broad sense the management of the cathedral. The Chapter, the management hierarchy of the cathedral, and this is the invisible hovel [pointing to the bottom half of the picture]. Now, what I wanted to do in here, if you look really hard you can see it, and that's the really bad thing about here, is that it is not visible.



**Image 7: The Invisible 'Hovel'**

*What, you're not visible?*

The place isn't visible, work required down here isn't visible, but I try to make myself visible, as you've noticed I slip out of the office when I can. This isn't a big gloomy thing really, but what I don't like about it, it's not about actually being down here, it's what this [the picture] represents.

*And you say that the cathedral here isn't the cathedral as it was in the other picture, it's more about representing did you say The Chapter?*

Yes that is the governance and the senior management of the cathedral. And I feel this room [his office in the photograph] is very symbolic of that, its position is very symbolic – almost in the unconscious of the cathedral. It's there, it's expected that occasionally it causes problems, but most of the time it's taken for granted, and it all ticks along. I did sort of want to do a break in there [pointing to the split in the picture], I would probably put like an earthquake line in there – sort of a disconnect. So I've got now the invisible office and I feel it's almost like crossing the sticks to get down here. I am in the underworld in more ways than one.

In the first image, David comments that the cathedral represents “the management of the cathedral, the Chapter, the management hierarchy”. The Cathedral in this picture represents the business orientated realities of the organisation, reflective of a calculative and at times political organisation. When viewed from this perspective, the Christian values disappear and are replaced with the managerial values, which David feels disconnected from. The cathedral, when viewed from this organisational perspective, results in David feeling like a spectator located in the space, only observing as you would a picture (Lefebvre, 1974/1991) as opposed to being a participator of the space. As a spectator David becomes detached from his organisational space and questions his role within it. In his account of the image David portrays himself and his work as being invisible and disconnected from the organisation, in his own words he is an inhabitant of the ‘underworld’, not worthy of inhabiting the spaces above. This position is explained through his reference to ‘management’, that is, the representative of formal power in the organisation. Through this image David expresses an experience of a manifestation of organisational power which spatially structures and controls its workforce and provides an order of ranking; all qualities of a bureaucratic space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991) and conceptualised by Dale and Burrell (2008) as *emplacement*. The assigning of David and his office beneath the cathedral represents the working of power which signifies to him that his work is taken for granted and hence made invisible.

David conceptualises his experience of being beneath the body of the cathedral as being in the ‘underworld’, and in so doing he is presenting an alternatively ordered space. The underworld is symbolic of his physical space, a space that he enjoys:

*If you had the choice, would you move your office elsewhere, I know you have said previously you are very happy down here, but if they said OK, you can have your office wherever you like, would you move it?*

No. The good far outweighs the bad, and it's not actually that bad.

*I suppose it is more about how your role can become more visible than actually having to move it?*

Absolutely. Exactly right and that's not really a bad thing, it's not so much about the physical space. This physical space is nicely symbolic of the situation, and to be honest if I had an office sat on top of the cathedral tower, it would have been exactly the same in a different photo, but I would still have had to get the mismatch in there somewhere.

David is content with the location of his office. However, when applied to his role, the notion of the underworld causes concern for David. The underworld becomes symbolic of how he considers his role is being understood from a management perspective; a largely forgotten aspect of organisational life, disconnected from the rest of the organisation.

David then showed me a second montage he had created using the same two photographs as the ones above. This time the photograph shows his office as visible and provides a way of understanding how David personally experiences being placed in the 'underworld':

Right, this is the good thing about where I work. So this is my hovel, supporting the work of the cathedral, both physically just underneath it and also mentally in terms of my mental space. You will recognise the corridor, the room and Pandora's

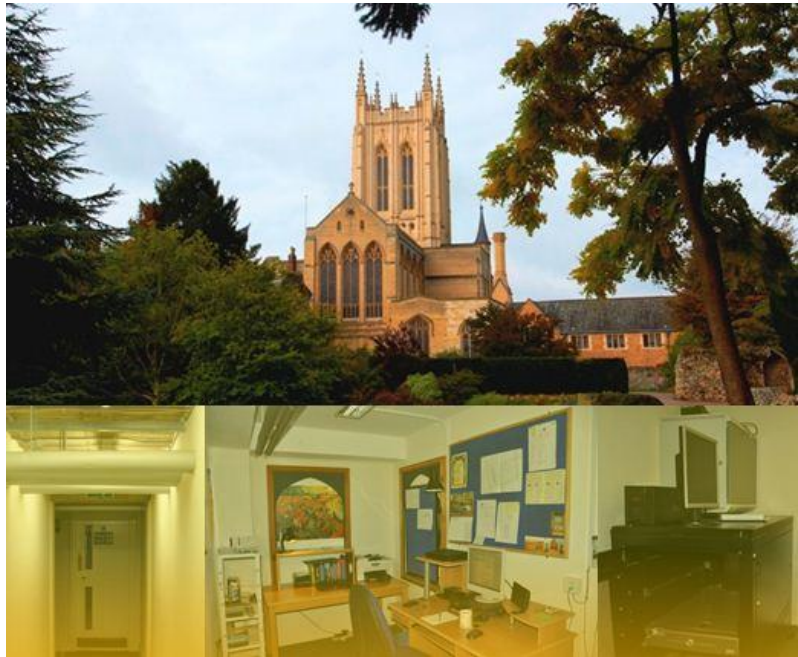


Image 8: The Visible 'Hovel'

Box [the server]. For the good part it is yellow at the bottom, it's warm, it's a nice warm place.

*Have you put that colour in?*

It was me, so I have yellowed it at the bottom so it's a warm place and it's a cosy place.

*Why is it a warm and cosy place for you?*

Obviously it's a physically warm place, but it also sort of wraps around me, shall we say it's like home, it's not like home per se, but it's warm, cosy and secure like home.

In the second image, David's position becomes one of support, shown in his representation of the organisationally connected, warm, embracing office. The hovel is now represented as literally physically supporting the structure of the cathedral and this is aligned with how David views his role as supporting the continuation of the daily life of the cathedral. The hovel in this second photograph is now transformed, it is imbued with personal meaning and

whilst still being considered as disconnected from the organisation, his appropriation of the space has ensured that for David it is connected to home:

Where I live at home and here [referring to his office] are both homes to me. This [his office] isn't so much a home per se, but here and my house are a home both inside of me.

For David, his home and his office were viewed as a space existing inside of him. This representation of the space transcended the physical space, home and work became a part of his body. By doing this, David is able to experience the space in a personal way. The physical space remains a part of his spatial understanding but forms only part of the way in which the space is being understood and experienced. Like Valerie, David's lived space is being produced through the exterior physical space and the space existing on the 'inside', the felt experience of space. The hovel in the photograph represents more than a workspace; it is a space in which David can dwell.

Both parts of David's organisational space, the interior and the exterior make to him a perfect space. The physical space and the space he has created produced feelings associated with the home and presented an ideal space for his body. David's production of his organisational space described as intimate, cosy, warm, secure can be seen in the light of Bachelard's (1964/1994) imagery of the nest. Bachelard describes the nest as a refuge a shelter, somewhere we retreat to, a place in which we can "withdraw" (Ibid: 91), it is synonymous with home. An inhabited nest is a living nest, just as lived space is space for dwelling. David shapes his space through his body. The decoration of his hovel, seen in the photograph below and the feelings that it produced in terms of feeling cosy, warm and safe could be termed as



'bespoke space', one that fitted him perfectly. He also furnished his office to strengthen the feeling of comfort:

I'm not a great Van Gogh fan necessarily, but I like the colours – they are warm and they are nice. I try to keep the place feeling a bit cosy because before the equipment was in here, I recall it was pretty clinical. Everything in here was pretty clinical, and actually a bit like a cupboard.



Image 9: The 'Hovel'

David had succeeded in creating “a personal nest of his own, a nest for his body, padded to his measure” (Bachelard, 1964/1994: 101). He produced lived space through his office, a space which fits with who he is and which evoked feelings of home which served to counteract the negativity he associates with his role being rendered invisible to the organisation. David had crafted a space to dwell providing him with a way to be in his space of work. Exploring the bringing of the home into work through personal artefacts is a consistent feature of organisational space research (e.g. Belk and Watson, 1998; Hancock and Spicer, 2011; Tian and Belk, 2005). The case of David presents a complementary strand whereby the home is brought into work through feelings and emotions. For Bachelard (1964/1994: 5) this bringing home into work is of no surprise as he considers that “all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home” suggesting that in work as in home there is a need for comfort and protection.

To dwell is to be able to express and understand oneself through the space which we inhabit. Valerie was able to express herself through her space by the connections that she had created with the retreat and her meditative practice. David was able to express who he was through his 'hovel', in terms of its connections with home and with the cathedral:

I try and go in the cathedral every day to remind myself of what I am here for, but I can go for a week or two and think I've not actually been into the cathedral, which is what I am here for and I take myself off and sit in there for a few minutes.

Through the integration of his work with the Christian values of the cathedral, David is able to express an understanding of himself, enabling him to move from being in space to being of space:

In my head there are many spaces and I'm always trying to integrate things together. There is definitely a side of me which is, I was going to say spiritual, but that is far too pretentious, but there is that side to me. There is also the side which is absolutely technical, propeller head, nerdy type. So by integrating those things together, the spiritual, with a very small 's' and the technical is sort of what this room [his hovel] is about.

David's narrative mirrors the twofold organisational representations of his two montages, and also mirrors the tensions presented in Chapter Five. The first representation is of the cathedral as a rational-logical, economically driven organisation and the second as an ecclesiastical organisation encompassing Christian values. This dual representation reflects his description and understanding of himself as being part spiritual and part 'nerd'. The hovel becomes then a way of spatially expressing and embracing these juxtaposed identities, for it is being produced through his body.

## **Producing Lived Space: Interior and Exterior Representations of Space**

The creation of organisational hierarchies and the way in which people make sense of their position in the organisation is acknowledged to be shaped by organisational space (e.g. Zhang and Spicer, 2013). How people and different organisational functions are placed affects how the organisation is understood in terms of its purpose, its working practices, its power structures and its scope for change.

For David the *emplacing* of him by management beneath the organisation was symbolic of the importance he considered the organisation attached to his role. His IT role was the forgotten element, buried deep and unseen. His feeling of disconnection shaped the production of heterotopian space, space which blended both home and work. Heterotopian space in this context is understood as the quality that lived space is characterised by, it is one manifestation of lived space which served to acknowledge his presence and role in the organisation and acted as a way of counteracting the negativity associated with being considered invisible. David's heterotopian space juxtaposed with the physical space or 'exterior' space of his office produced a particular kind of lived space, which exists 'inside' of him, I label this as an 'interior' representation of space. Using heterotopia as a way of understanding a space which exists in a material form (exterior representations) *and* in thought (interior representation) extends understandings of the lived experience of organisational space. For Foucault, heterotopian space was focused on physical space, however, in this thesis they are also being conceptualised in conjunction with Bachelard's (1964/1994) work concerned primarily with interior space and specifically with the spaces of the imagination through which the notion of David being in the 'underworld' emerged.

Valerie's office and David's hovel were spaces which interweaved interior space with exterior space. Together these produced two particular kinds of lived space. For Valerie I conceptualised this as liminal space, for it came and went amidst the pressures of the working day and for David his lived space is characterised by the notion of heterotopian space, a space which has greater permanency. The appropriation of the hovel in terms of its decoration, in terms of the imaginary images its location evoked ('the underworld') and in terms of the feelings that it evoked produced heterotopian space. For Valerie the appropriation of her shared office created liminal moments whereby she could temporarily escape the pressures of work and for a time be somewhere in between life inside and outside of work. This conceptualising of heterotopian space and liminal space shows that they are not spaces which are "freely accessible like a public space" (Foucault, 1986: 26). It is space based on both interior and exterior representations and therefore only part of the space is seen; there is a hidden aspect to the space, the meaning of which became known through Valerie and David's photo-led discussions. This merging of exterior space with interior space further exemplifies why the lived experience of organisational space cannot be objectively measured but can only be understood through the subjective interpretation of the lived experience itself. Space, when viewed from the outside *and* the inside of the body, is a space in perpetual movement, ever becoming, and therefore the scientific take on space can only tell a 'partial truth' about space.

Replicating feelings associated with the 'home' and 'retreat', along with the metaphor of the 'underworld', presents alternative ways in which to understand the lived experience of organisational space. Through the appropriation of their immediate workspace individuals produce a different space, with different meanings to the imposed conceived space. They do this through 'transporting' other spaces to the workplace physically and emotionally and

through metaphor. In understanding these processes, we can better understand how employees manage a given space through their bodies, in order to find their place within the organisation. This offers a different and complementary form of emplacement to Dale and Burrell's (2008); an affective process carried out *by* people, as opposed to a managerial process carried out *for* people. That is, employees also 'do' emplacement.

Both Valerie and David had traditional work arrangements, they had been given a space which they could make their own. But this sense of ownership was only made possible through the interior/affective and exterior/physical appropriation of their offices. Spatial appropriation led to the production of lived space which became spaces of private dwelling in the spaces of work and enabled Valerie and David to experience a sense of belonging and a sense of ownership. Organisational belonging is an important part of being part of an organisation and in this section we see a spatial dimension to this need to belong. To belong in an organisation is partly to feel connected to its values, which are integral to how we orientate ourselves towards the organisation, which in turn shapes our lived experience of partaking in everyday organisational life. My understanding of Valerie's and David's lived experience of organisational space was occurring through the interactions taking place through their "total body" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 200) of space. Space in this context is not homogenous, it is imbued with Valerie's and David's past horizons (Gadamer, 1975/2004) which they bring to the space. These horizons become known through the ways that they draw on other aspects of their life in order to produce a space in which they can dwell. Their life histories, culture and values all form a spatial understanding which led to the production of particular kinds of lived space.

Jill, the Education Officer provides the third and final example of a participant who took photographs of her immediate workspace. Jill summed up her role as follows during the photo-led discussions: “the two main approaches to our work are telling the Christian story and celebrating the Christian story, so those to me sum up everything I do”. This telling and celebrating are facilitated through the diverse events which Jill organises, for example, family activity days, visits to schools and school visits to the cathedral. In Jill’s photos and comments, three immediate workspaces emerge: her office which she shares with Valerie; The Discovery Centre, an educational space designed for children attending family days and school visits; and the Youth Basement, predominantly used as a space for storage:

Jill had to work hard to secure these three workspaces, her office was previously located where the Cathedral Gallery now sits, facing the road, situated along from the cathedral shop (image 3 page 149). This is a glass fronted building and in this sense was visible to the public. Jill described her office and its location as having a “connection with the world [...] we were on the street so you could see us. People used to drop in”. Jill’s work and team had outgrown this space and had requested a larger space:



**Image 10: The Discovery Centre**



**Image 11: The Youth Basement**

*What was on offer?*

The basement. Yes, that's what the Chapter offered, they wanted to have a gallery and it would be sensible to have it on the street. The crunch came and they said you've got to move out, we're going to make this [her then office] the gallery, and that was it. I was taken down to the basement and was told this is now yours, and I said no it isn't, no way [...] They gave me a month to get out at first, I said I'm not moving out until I have a suitable space, I held on and I held on. So there's been a great deal of negotiation. I really had to fight for it but I knew if we could hold out we would get something even better. Which we have. But it's taken a lot of heartache.

Jill's initial unhappy response to the basement, now one part of her workspace named the 'Youth Basement', was due to it not only being hidden away, but also being considered as unsuitable in terms of communicating the Christian Story effectively; "I was standing up for what I thought was right for the children" (Jill). In addition to this, one could argue that the holding out for a better space was to ensure that Jill was able, in her everyday life at work to enact in view her own Christian values. The photograph below was taken by Jill to sum up how she perceived her role to be in the organisation:

Basically the tea is in there ready to be poured. My role I feel is to make people feel welcome and comfortable. Because that's the Benedictine approach to life, and that's what people like, making people feel valued and feeling part of a team, part of a family, part of God's family, giving someone a cup of tea and a really nice biscuit – I have a reputation for always having M&S biscuits!



**Image 12: Tea and Biscuits**

I think that's what I'm about, it's the Christian message, it's about me and my work, the two are very close.

Through the appropriation of her workspace Jill had created the space that she needed, "I can't honestly think of a space that would be better within the present environment. It's the best we could possibly have" (Jill). During my shadowing of Jill it became clear to me how her values were being expressed through her bodily gestures:

She opens her arms as a symbol of embracement ensuring visitors [to the family day] feel welcome. Her personality emerges in here (Discovery Centre) she is fully alive – she laughs so much and it is genuine. As she sits on the stool facing the room, her feet are on tip toes, hands in lap and chuckles, as she chuckles her torso rises – she rocks with enthusiasm and reminds me of a female Father Christmas. I sense that her work fully satisfies her. As she shows the children the different activities on each of the tables she sits, stands, bends, touches, points, talks, demonstrates and checks understanding (*Fieldnotes, August 2011*).

She manages to engage with all those around her by listening and watching, she is fully connected. She sits and shrugs her shoulders at the children, it is a gesture of excitement and they respond, she smiles, fully embracing them with her physical gestures not words (*Fieldnotes, August 2011*).

Jill has a positive disposition her body is aligned with where she is and what she is doing - everything appears positive on the physical level. During the project meeting she leans forwards on her chair papers in front – she reads with pen held in her hand, arm on the desk, she moves her head around a lot to ensure she engages with all around the table. Her feet are on tip toes under her chair. Now elbows on table and hands clasped together. Then arms crossed resting on the table. Now hands clasped together on her chest a position of excitement and pleasure. She laughs fully and spontaneously, her torso physically rises as she laughs (*Fieldnotes, September 2011*).



Jill's body is at one with her workspace, each shaping the other. She had created a particular kind of lived space where her values were being openly expressed through her body entwined with space. Her body seemed to fold into the spaces that she inhabited, and did so through the easy way in which she interacted with her space. Jill had appropriated her workspaces in a way that represented her as a whole person. There was no sense of compartmentalising roles and identities. With Jill there was no indication in her photographs, observations or conversations that there was an interior and exterior, space and body were one. The appropriation of space allows Jill to "create and reinforce the enactment" (Dale and Burrell, 2008: 226) of her values. Jill signals the values of her role through her embodied experience whereby her body is being occupied (Dale and Burrell, 2014) by her vocation. The embodiment of space comes through in several ways: laughter and the corresponding rise and fall of her torso; the opening of arms; the shrugging of shoulders; and the hands clasped excitedly together. In order to understand the relationship between Jill's embodied experience and her work I turn to Dale and Burrell's (2014: 171) notion of "embrace" as representing her willingness to embrace her work and in turn allowing it to embrace herself, where "the recesses of the mind and cavities of the body are willingly opened up to occupation" (Ibid.). Jill fully embodied her work, and whilst this embracement of work extends beyond the workplace spilling into the home, (Jill regularly referred to work being taken home), this is not viewed in the sense associated with being a workaholic, an identified outcome in Dale and Burrell's (2014) research. Rather it is seen to reinforce that the boundaries between life in and outside of work blur and become unimportant when deeply embedded values are being experienced. For when the familiarity of space connects with personal values, with who we are, the actual space which we are physically in, is in a sense forgotten about, we are just in it, at one with it.

In Jill we see how embodied practice, in terms of the connecting with others and with the organisation is part of the production of lived space. Jill was producing lived space and in so doing 'I consider' was dwelling in the space of work, she was able to bring together conceived space with lived space. The notion of dwelling in the context of Jill acquires a different meaning to how it was for Valerie and David, where it was conceptualised as liminal and heterotopian space. For Jill, to dwell in space was not a temporary state of being and did not overlay the physical space of work, for there was no sense of a separation between lived space and conceived space, the two were entwined together. Jill's belief about the organisation's identity in terms of its Christian ideologies, was being enacted through her body, which became a vehicle for organisational understanding. Her embodied actions were a way of expressing the organisation's values and her own and this was a reason why she found it so difficult when the organisation's practices were not aligned with the identity she had construed. Through Jill's actions I could begin to understand the expectations that she placed on the behaviour of the organisation (Harquail and King, 2010) which was further supported by her comment "it's [the organisation] supposed to be modelling ways of living your life" (Jill). Her interpretation of the organisation was framed by her non-verbal actions and which were observed as *modelling ways of living your life*. If to dwell in space means to be able to 'be' in space in a way that expresses who we are, then dwelling is an appropriate way of conceptualising Jill's lived experience of organisational space. It is a conceptualisation of lived space as an expression of being.

## **6.2 Shifting Organisational Power Dynamics**

The notion of and the experience of dwelling in organisational space presented in this chapter presents a view of organisational power. It is well known that organisational aims are reflected in spatial structuring, namely the hierarchical ordering of space and the placing

of people in space. In this chapter it is explored how participants find ways of doing their own thing within the imposed spatial structure. In 6.1 the imposed spatial structure of the office has been overlaid with two forms of different space, namely liminal and heterotopian space, which in turn produce a different power dynamic. This power dynamic is being led by the lived space as opposed to the conceived space. This alternative power dynamic presented through Valerie's and David's narration of their workspace stem from both their exterior physical space and their interior space, driven by personal feelings. Both are aspects of lived space, and provide a way of exploring how Valerie and David manage and negotiate the tensions in their organisational space. For Valerie these tensions are linked to work pressures, hurried pace and threat of spatial invasion and for David the tensions arise from a sense of his role being invisible to the organisation.

The ways in which David and Valerie were managing their organisational space allows for a revisiting of Lefebvre's (1974/1991) view that conceived space is the dominant space in society. This Lefebvrian perspective of organisational space is one where space is controlled and manipulated by management with the aim being to maximise the productivity of both the space and the individual within it. However, Lefebvre also recognises that spatial structures are conceptualised differently to their original, intended meaning. In the context of the organisation, what the managerial space represents differs to how it is being represented through the individual's experience of space. Valerie and David appropriated their spaces ensuring that their workspace evoked feelings that they needed in order to be able to dwell and achieve a sense of belonging at work. This shows that the body is not merely a passive acceptor of space, placed within a spatial structure, but is instead an active producer of space. How this happens is through the interiority-exteriority dynamic which produces lived space and creates moments where dwelling at work is possible. From Jill's

embodied experience of organisational space, I would suggest that the importance attached to organisational power in terms of spatial structuring is transcended. Space is simply not conceptualised in a hierarchical, ordered way. The impact of spatial structuring becomes insignificant, for the focus of spatial appropriation with Jill was not on the physical changes that she made in order to produce lived space, instead it was through the subjective experiences of embodied practice. This was what was producing lived space, where Jill, at one with her interpretation of the ideology of the organisation, could dwell.

Based on the production of particular kinds of lived space, Valerie, David and Jill each show that they are managing their workspace through a designation of sites that are important to them, in this chapter called immediate workspace. They are altering the spatial structure through appropriation and through the experience of their bodies. This redresses to a degree the perceived balance of power. Valerie, David and Jill each created lived space and these spaces symbolised the sentiments of personal space, space where enactment of personal values was possible and are understood as private dwellings emerging in organisational space. These dwellings enabled a temporary respite from the pressures of work for Valerie, they created a sense of the home for David and ensured that Jill could embody her Christian values; each were necessary in order to be both productive and at ease at work. These lived spaces were not produced in order to be productive in the sense of creating profit, although arguably this was an outcome, they were produced “in order to adapt [the space] to [meet] their own interests and their own rules” (de Certeau, 1984: xiv). In this sense the restructuring of spatial structures, benefits both the organisation and the individual. From this perspective, organisational space becomes more than a space assigned for particular tasks and roles; it becomes a space within which to live, to dwell.

### 6.3 Situating the Concept of Dwelling used in this Thesis

In this section of the chapter, I articulate the concept of dwelling in the context in which it has been applied in this thesis. The theoretical heritage which the concept acknowledges is Heidegger's (1971) perspective according to which dwelling is considered as centred on our very being. It is a key feature of human existence: "to be a human being means to be on the earth as a mortal, it means to  *dwell*" (Heidegger, 1971: 147, my emphasis). Dwelling is integral to our everyday life and from a Heideggerian perspective to dwell is about always being-in-the-world. It is an active engagement between body and space, positing human existence as being of space rather than taking place in space, in other words, as embodying space. In Heidegger's (1971) essay 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking' he seeks to explore the relationships between building and dwelling, arguing that these are not separable, consecutive activities, instead, they are co-constitutive. Similarly, space in this thesis is not considered as separable to the body, or considered as a container in which activities are housed. Dwelling for Heidegger, with whom I agree, is more than an occupation of space, it is a representation of the way we are, a representation of being in the world as opposed to the "individual confronting a world 'out there'" (Ingold, 1995: 58). Borrowing Heidegger's words, "we do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is because we are dwellers' (1971: 148). What this means is described well by Ingold (1995: 76) as "the forms people build, whether in the imagination or on the ground, arise within the current of their involved activity, in the specific relational contexts of their practical engagements with their surroundings". Our being is thus intertwined with the 'forms' that we build. The contexts used most often used when dwelling is discussed are house, landscape and environment (see Bachelard, 1964/1994; Casey, 1998; Ingold, 1993, 1995; Macnaghten and Urry, 1998). In the context of the house the question posed by Heidegger (1971) is "how does a house become a home in which we can dwell?" In the

context of this thesis the question how a house is made into a home is translated to how workspace is made into a dwelling. That is, a space which has been appropriated in order to reflect the self, becoming part of our identity, of who we are. To dwell, then, is born from a subjective knowing and an embodied engagement with a given space. Engagement is the key word here, as Ladkin (2006: 95) aptly notes “one can’t “dwell” by thinking about it”. Instead, we have to be actively engaged with it through our ‘total body’ (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). In this sense dwelling needs to be viewed as a form of involvement, which is not fixed, but which “should suggest an embodied, practised, contextualised, melange of experience” (Cloke and Jones, 2001: 664). In this chapter this was shown in multiple ways, for example, producing a lived space through the use of artefacts to produce liminal and heterotopian spaces, which I conceptualised as spaces in which the participants could dwell.

Dwelling, then, constitutes more than just occupying a space, it is about being at one with the space, bringing together the outside and the inside, the interiority of the body and the exteriority of the physical space. Heidegger’s notion of dwelling is very much viewed as a rootedness to a given space and this view brings forth some criticism (see Cloke and Jones, 2001; Thrift, 1999). Notably, the romanticising of dwelling as an idyll, a cosy, familiar bounded place, which protects and keeps safe its inhabitants. This is where Heidegger’s perspective is shared by Bachelard’s (1964/1994) notion of the nest, a shelter to retreat to, and an intimate space to which we can withdraw. This view of dwelling is represented in this chapter and particularly in the context of David’s experience of the hovel which he described as intimate, cosy, warm and secure. The hovel is very much a bounded, fixed space synonymous with home which he has made his own, where he is at one with space, both shaping space and being shaped by space. This is however just one aspect of dwelling presented in the chapter, for I do not consider dwelling and space as bounded and fixed,

instead they continually evolve through the passage of time and through people's experiences, and therefore have multiple representations. The hovel for David was an idyll, for others it was a cold unwelcoming space buried beneath the cathedral. Thus a more contemporary view of dwelling is shown here, building on Heidegger's conceptualisation. This view adds to the notion of rootedness as not necessarily pertaining to a fixed space or structure but instead seeing dwelling as dynamic. To experience dwelling there needs to be a sense of belonging, and this I argue can be carried within us. I do not consider that in order to 'dwell' we have to be bound to a specific space, and in this chapter this was depicted by Jill who was able to carry the form of her dwelling, within her body (Ingold, 2000) across the different spaces of the organisation. This was enabled through her deeply held values which were being enacted through her body in her movements and in her practice. This view of dwelling requires a more active perspective as opposed to a fixed one, whereby the notion of dwelling is produced by the embodied engagement of space, through a body which is seeking to belong.

Subsequently, the experience of dwelling can occur in any body and locale, and across different temporalities. For Valerie dwelling was transitory, experienced through her artefacts which evoked feelings of liminality. In the case of David, dwelling had a greater sense of permanency and rootedness. This idea of a view of rootedness not pertaining to a fixed space, provides an interesting perspective of dwelling. For in the context of contemporary working practices, for example mobile workers, how does the experience of dwelling, of belonging, manifest itself? If, as I consider, dwelling is an intimate experience, in what ways do we experience dwelling when the space of work is a coffee shop, an airport, a seat on a train? What then are the possibilities associated with feelings of belonging, a uniting of body and space? Such questions are worthy of future research.

## 6.4 Chapter Summary

This first chapter of findings has explored space from the perspective of the 'space of the body' and draws on the interior and exterior dynamic whereby the physical appropriation of space serves to fulfil personal, interior needs for example, feelings and emotions, which produce particular kinds of lived space. I have chosen to conceptualise this lived space as liminal and heterotopian, both of which alter spatial structures by overlaying conceived space, and in turn produce different meanings of space. The final section of 6.1 presented Jill's lived experience of organisational space. For Jill being of space represented a being with space. The possibility of dwelling in space was not through the notions of liminality or heterotopia, but I explained was through being at one with organisational space, where there is no separation, where the interior and the exterior blend together. Here the body and space become expressions of each other. Jill carries with her through her body the space of work, she is that space and the space is her. The notion of dwelling formed the discussion in 6.2 in terms of how it shifts power dynamics in terms of spatial ordering. I consider that this shift presents a more balanced view of organisational power giving greater ownership to users of space in terms of how they challenge the prescribed spatial ordering in order to meet their own needs. Whilst the contesting of formal, conceived space is not new in organisational space research how this happens through the notion of dwelling, does offer a fresh contribution.

Throughout the chapter the body emerges as the agent which brings space into its lived existence, which produces lived space. Through the body "the contours of 'real' space" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 317) can be observed and understood in the moment that it is being produced. This notion of 'real' space is phenomenological space, considered to be real as it is being lived. Through the participants' body it is seen that "the concept of space denotes



and connotes all possible spaces” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 299). There is not one homogenous, rational, measurable space, instead this chapter has shown that organisational space is made of several layers and successively represents different things.

The findings presented can be viewed in conjunction with the taken epistemological position that space cannot be measured, cannot be fixed in time and can only be understood as it is being subjectively experienced. That is, subjectively experienced by a body which is alive, as opposed to inert, active rather than passive, intertwined in both shaping space and being shaped by space.

# ***Chapter Seven: The Role of Bodily Movement for Understanding Lived Space***

## Introduction

Bodily mobility emerged as an important aspect of the empirical research. Accordingly this chapter explores the ways in which participants produce space through their gestures. Gestures in this chapter are applied in a broad sense and are considered as reoccurring bodily movements (Bazin, 2013), which produce and reproduce organisational space. Gestures are an embodied way of interacting with space, they are performed by the inhabitants of space whose “bodies themselves generate spaces, which are produced by and for their gestures” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 216). Organisational spaces are reproduced through the gestures of the body. They are entwined with space, an embedded aspect of organisational life, and provide a way of appropriating organisational space. Exploring gestures, their purpose and meaning contributes to understanding the lived experience of organisational space.

This chapter is organised into three main sections. The first section explores the gesture of walking and in particular the participants’ ways of walking. Walking can be considered a rather mundane and banal aspect of organisational life, and it is a relatively forgotten aspect in organisational studies. Yet the gesture of walking encompasses different meanings which contribute to the lived experience of organisational space. In this section it can be seen how walking creates opportunities for social interaction and a sense of belonging, and in contrast how ways of walking also limit social interaction. Lefebvre’s (1974/1991: 214) notion of “gestures of displacement” is explored according to which walking provides a way of disrupting organisational norms. Through the participants’ walking we see how dominant organisational space, for example the cathedral, alter through bodily movement. Walking is seen as a way of managing space to meet the participants’ own ends and in so doing challenges some ideologies of organisational space. The second section of the chapter

explores the ways in which organisational rituals are performed through space and through the total body experience. Rituals are seen as repetitive gestures, observed as being intuitively produced, as being felt as opposed to thought. Presented and explored are the performing of sacred gestures taking place in sacred space, along with 'sacred' gestures taking place in non-sacred space. Here the importance attached to ritual is underpinning the production of the participants' gestures. The final section before the Chapter Summary critically analyses gestures through Lefebvre's (1992/2004) notion of 'dressage'; a training of the body which seeks to shape the body and its behaviours in the conceived space of the organisation.

### **7.1. Walking Through Organisational Space**

Some of my time shadowing the participants was spent walking with them around the organisation. In walking with participants I began to realise that walking was a way through which participants were connecting with the organisation, with the spaces of pathways and cloisters (akin to corridors) which formed a key part of their lived experience. In addition to moving from A to B walking served other purposes and meaning. The first illustration of the significance of walking is presented through examples from my time spent with Robert, the shop manager. When walking with Robert I quickly realised that walking together was difficult:

We took the route from the shop, walking down the cloister, through to the verger's space and into Jill's (Education Officer) and Valerie's (Administrator) office. Here he placed the box of stationery meant for their office, as opposed to the



**Author's own photograph**

**Image 13: The Cloister**

shop, on Valerie's chair. I note the change in pace, for when we set off from the shop I had to physically slow myself down to stop from walking in front. I had to adjust to Robert's pace. I have been so used to the faster pace of the other participants (*Fieldnotes, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2011*).

Initially I was out of rhythm with Robert, because I was accustomed to a particular pace set by others, my pace was much quicker, and momentarily this felt uncomfortable. I only become aware of my own rhythm through Robert's rhythm; I was able to consciously experience my own pace through Robert's. This physical experience of being out of pace enabled me to adjust my pace and in so doing I was able to express a physical connection to Robert (Edensor, 2010). Through shadowing Robert I came to realise that there was a reason for his slow pace, and this was linked to his need to connect with others in the organisation:

On the way to the office we meet with [a colleague], Robert physically blocks his path making it difficult for him to pass without talking (*Fieldnotes, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2011*).

Robert tidies books as he passes the shelves in the shop and walks slowly behind the customer chatting on the way. Stands and chats then moves on (*Fieldnotes, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2011*).

In my conversations with Robert, the importance of connecting was also articulated:

*When you leave the shop and you go to The Office [housing the Dean and management team], every time I saw you do that you would go through to the cloister area, then past the rose pathway. I am interested as to why you take that route and why you don't take the quicker road route?*

Well, I don't know really – it's just habit. Actually though, when I think about it, the truth is going to come out now. Until a couple of years ago I used to smoke cigars. I used to go that way a couple of times a day, and I would see [a colleague] and we would have a little smoke together. So I suppose I just got into the habit of going that way round rather than the other way. It has got to be like a natural route from here to the office really, so that's why.

Here it is interesting to note that something initially 'purposeful' stays on as a habitual routine. At the time of the fieldwork taking that particular route had a social purpose for Robert, it provided a way for him to attach himself to others. The routes that he took were planned in the hope of 'bumping into' a colleague. The road route from the shop to the office was not used, for not only was it shorter, decreasing the chance of encountering a colleague, it was also unlikely that any other colleagues would be using the same route. This was an interesting way of creating serendipity, where the 'bumping into' others by chance was actually being orchestrated by him. These routes created 'social detours' and his slow pace not only heightened the chances of interaction, but as colleagues fell in step with Robert, his slow pace enabled prolonged interaction. Robert's ambling pace created welcome interruptions, providing a relief to the monotony of his working day. The gesture of walking

provided a way of connecting with others, of maintaining social ties. I understand Robert's pace to be a way of appropriating or reconfiguring space. This draws on the organisational space literature exploring the appropriation of space through physical artefacts, (e.g. Halford, 2004; Taylor and Spicer, 2007; Tyler and Cohen, 2010) however, here it is not just physical in terms of objects, it is physical in terms of gestures, in terms of walking. This suggests that the mundane act of walking in an organisation, a largely unobserved phenomenon, actually contributes to the appropriation of space and the production of lived space.

Through Robert, the significance of spaces which tend to be overlooked in organisations, for example corridors and pathways became clear. Such spaces whilst conceptualised as liminal spaces (see Chapter Two) are also viewed as connecting spaces; they lead from somewhere to somewhere. Such spaces symbolise movement, they organise walking, but they are also used socially, connecting people as they walk through organisational space. Robert's walking becomes understood as an everyday spatial practice that is tactical in character (de Certeau, 1984). That is, he creates opportunities through walking, where pockets of time emerge in space for social encounters. Through walking, Robert was able to manipulate space, in order to make time for other activities, so its intended purpose of a connecting space was for moments complemented with a social space where Robert could "mingle and linger" (Iedema et al., 2010: 53). From a rational organisational point of view this mingling and lingering in organisational space could be seen as diversions away from productive work, or, diversions which lead to an increased ability to, borrowing Iedema et al.'s (2010: 55) term, "handle complexity". That is, such lingering creates opportunities to share problems with colleagues, together forming resolutions and therefore increasing productivity at work. Through Robert

we see that pathways connecting different parts of the organisation together provide examples of liminal space, a “transitory space for conversations” (Shortt, 2015: 638).

It is my view that walking is an expression of belonging; producing pockets of time for social activity which provides Robert with a way of creating a sense of belonging in the organisation. Despite Robert having his own office at work, there was still a need to create a sense of belonging. This can be seen as a need more closely associated in the organisational space literature which draws on the notion of non-territorial offices and in particular hot-desking (Elsbach, 2003; Halford, 2004), where a need to belong is heightened due to not having ones ‘own’ space. It is interesting that Robert selects connecting spaces such as pathways to meet his social needs, as opposed to his ‘own’ office, as I consider pathways as non-territorial spaces, falling outside the boundary of immediate workspace. In this sense and emerging from the habitual routine of walking, non-territorial spaces serve different purposes and are traversed for a particular reason. Instead of viewing these connecting spaces as homogenous and one-dimensional, they are in fact dynamic spaces, produced through the body for particular purposes.

Pathways and corridors represented a space for Robert, which was something more than connecting spaces. They were not seen as merely functional routes and shortcuts primarily used to get from A to B in the quickest possible manner. For Robert, they instead presented spatial detours, which led to informal social exchanges and to the connecting with others in the connecting spaces of the organisation. These spaces were providing him with respite from work pressures, they provided a welcome interruption to his day, thus forming an important dimension of his lived organisational space.



## Ways of Walking: Changing Pace

Differences in ways of walking in terms of pace, purpose and meaning were observed when Robert's walking was contrasted with those of another participant, Maggie. Maggie is the PR manager and shares an office with her administrator. Her office is located in the 'The Office' building and sits separately to the other spaces of the organisation, for example the Discovery Centre, Refectory, Shop and Cathedral (see image 3 on page 147). Whereas Robert's walking was slow, Maggie's was fast, whereas a key purpose for Robert was social and a break from work pressures, for Maggie a key purpose was to be productive. Robert's slow walking signalled 'available for interaction' whilst due to her fast pace, Maggie's signalled 'unavailable'.

Through the gesture of walking Maggie, like Robert, used connecting spaces for a particular reason:

Maggie reaches the shops via the shortest route which is right out of the office then left onto the pavement and enters the shop from the public pavement (*Fieldnotes, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2011*).

Maggie's route was the opposite of Robert's, who always took the longer route from the shop to the office, for example past the rose pathway (see image 15 on page 201). To illustrate the difference between Maggie's and Robert's walking pace I have included several fieldnotes entries below which comment on Maggie's pace as she travels around the organisation:

Maggie virtually runs down the stairs in the office building, takes the route to the cathedral that takes you to the top of the cloister, she did not go around the outside

like she did to get to the shop. I wonder what the shortest route is (*Fieldnotes, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2011*).

Maggie moves everywhere quickly, her movements are rapid in all that she does, quick and efficient. A little small talk in [a colleague's] neighbouring office as it is her birthday, the rest focused on work exchanges (*Fieldnotes, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2011*).

"I need to go and get some cream paper but I will wait till you've had your lunch otherwise you will get indigestion!" (Maggie, talking to me and indicating that indigestion would be caused by moving at her pace). Maggie collects the cream paper from the photocopy room, [located in a different part of the office building]. On the way we see [a colleague] who steps out of Maggie's way and pauses her own journey to let Maggie pass. Maggie tells me that [the colleague] always gets out of her way as "I run everywhere, which comes from being a part time worker. Of course you have a full time job so you do everything in double time" (*Fieldnotes, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2011*).

A caller notifies Maggie that her visitor is here, she gets up immediately, grabs her diary and notebook and goes to meet her visitor. She moves at a fast pace and on the way drops off some paperwork into the finance office (*Fieldnotes, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2011*).

When not sedentary Maggie's pace was always fast and purposeful, when she could she would plan her routes so that she could complete other tasks on the way:

*Is there any reason as to why you select the different routes that you do?*

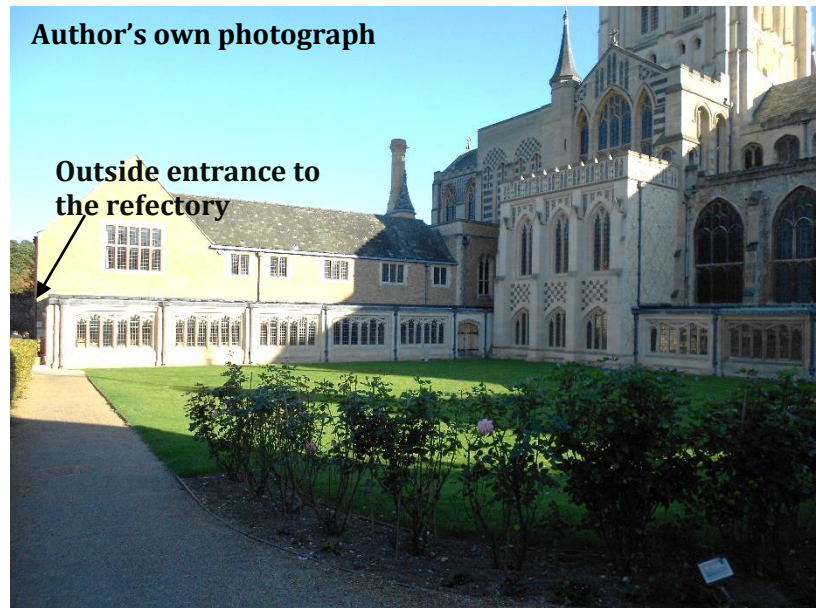
I think if I'm going into the cathedral I would go along the route at the back [shown in the picture]. If I'm going just to the shop I think I would tend to go along the front [road side] and enter in through the door opening onto the pavement. I rarely go anywhere for a single reason. If I'm going to walk out the door [of her office] I'd save up a whole list of things to do while I'm there [in the cathedral]. So I probably have got a load of leaflets in my hand, or a poster or something, so I will have a reason for going on a route and I will often, not always, but almost always just go and check everything is all OK in the cathedral. I'm a natural 'checklist' person.



**Image 14: Shortcut**

Maggie's routes to the shop and the cathedral were chosen for their efficiency for they met her criteria of being able to perform the greatest number of tasks en route. The route 'around the back' was a shortcut, it was the quickest way to get from her office into the cathedral and provided the least risk of interaction, which would impede her journey. The route to the shop took Maggie outside, onto a public pavement and in so doing meant that she was unlikely to bump into work colleagues. Whilst the routes she chooses to take help her to keep in rhythm with the time pressures of her day, they do provide Maggie with a dilemma:

Maggie walks down to the refectory, follows the rose pathway and goes in through the outside entrance. Maggie informs me that she put up all the signs around the cathedral which direct people where to go; “I usually come in this



**Image 15: Rose Pathway**

way but I feel sad as I put the sign

up saying to go that way round, [a longer route], so I always have a dilemma but for me and my time management this way is quicker” (Fieldnotes 28<sup>th</sup> July 2011).

Time management for Maggie overrides the official guidelines of the signs which are a means through which space “signifies dos and don’ts” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 142); they are a manifestation of organisational power. Signage represents a way of ordering space, of demarcation and orientation and thus forms part of conceived space, which seeks to control movements, “prescribing or proscribing gestures, routes and distances to be covered in the space” (Ibid: 143). Such gestures subsequently become repeated, leaving traces and marks. A well-trodden path marks the way for others to follow, bodies that have gone before leave their trace and in doing so prescribe the path for others. In this way, the following of signs elicit certain behaviours which contribute to spatial cohesiveness through repetitions of particular spatial practices. However, through walking, Maggie performs a circumventing of organisational rules, a disregard of a prescribed path which is translated into movements that do the opposite, that is, cut across. Maggie’s resistance to this attempt at spatial ordering highlights the question to what extent conceived space can be managed and to what extent

users can be ordered in space. Despite being the one to put up the signs, Maggie chooses to ignore them in favour of a quicker route. By ignoring prescribed routes Maggie demarcates and re-marks the routes of the organisation in a different way showing that the production of space through the movements of employees is ongoing (Peltonen, 2011), thus making it difficult to 'manage'. As such, whilst resistance to power is observed in the taking of a shorter route, Maggie's movements ensure that she is more efficient at work and therefore produces greater value to the organisation. Maggie's experience in space, as suggested by Lefebvre (1974/1991: 142) "differs radically from the reality of something written"; the signs form only a part of spatial understandings but do not necessarily align with the lived experience of organisational space.

Maggie said that her pace changed in the private spaces of home. This became evident when I asked Maggie if the speed of her movements at work were reflective outside of work:

No, I'm a different sort of person, I spend a lot of time sitting on the sofa at home - this is the work persona definitely.

Instead of blurring the boundaries between work and home through the use of artefacts which in addition act as a way of identity marking and which is now widely explored in organisational space research (e.g. Ng and Höpfl, 2011; Tian and Belk, 2005; Tyler and Cohen, 2010; Warren, 2006; Wells, 2010), Maggie instead actively demarcated the boundaries between home and work and did so through her pace of walking. I consider that it was walking that provided an identity marker for Maggie as opposed to personal artefacts, which were notably absent from her office space. The intensity of her movement signalled an identity at work, akin with being professional, busy, an achiever of goals and so forth. Every space became associated with work and reflected the pressures of work. This opens

up different ways in which to explore the purpose of demarcation at work and the ways in which demarcation is occurring and in addition, the role that walking plays in expressing identities at work.

Maggie's rapid movements continued in the spaces of the cathedral, and this was where I noticed a disjuncture between how I perceived the space and how she acted in the space. For the fast pace changed the atmosphere of the space and challenged the ideologies inscribed in the space. Instead of the conceived space of the cathedral imposing its ideals on Maggie's body, for example the slowing of pace, her body resisted the conceived space, refusing to be shaped by it. Maggie's walking may be understood as "gestures of displacement" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 214), wherein sacred space is being temporarily displaced through her bodily movements.

### **Gestures of Displacement**

When shadowing Maggie and entering the cathedral I had to alter my own pace. This time, unlike the experience with Robert, it needed to be increased. This was in tension with my normal way of being inside a cathedral which otherwise would be slow, with soft steps. My slight apprehension was informed by the horizons of the past (Gadamer, 1974/2004) which I brought to the space; my histories informed me about how to be in sacred space and how to understand the space. Maggie's fast pace was causing the sacred space of the cathedral to be momentarily changed. Her pace of walking caused a 'displacement' in the cathedral space; to me, the pace felt out of place. This transposition by the gesture of walking led to a 'gap' appearing between the sacred and the mundane aspects of the organisation which I felt acutely aware of. It was also seen in the case of another participant, Jill, whose spatial practices could be considered as gestures of displacement:

“Right I’m going into the cathedral to lay out the treasure hunt” (Jill). She goes down to the cathedral taking the shortest route into the quire area, she looks up at the organ and places treasure on the quire stalls, then into nave area, she moves very quickly, cuts across the nave by the pulpit, takes the short cut into the office via the door which connects her office to the cathedral – I struggle to keep up (*Fieldnotes, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2011*).

In my observations with Maggie and Jill the aisles of the cathedral, like the cloisters, became the corridors of the organisation, they symbolised action and movement, routes to get from A to B and were momentarily not observed as sacred spaces. Like Maggie, Jill created shortcuts which enabled her to be more productive at work, her pace in the cathedral space, now a space of work, reflected the imposed pressures of her working day and like Maggie her pace of walking altered the atmosphere of the cathedral. Maggie’s and Jill’s walking presents a different form of spatial resistance, and aligns with the students’ behaviours of personal grooming and sleeping which contested the imposed space of the Saltire Centre in Hancock and Spicer’s (2011) research. The difference is that Maggie and Jill’s behaviour did not serve to negatively disrupt the running of the organisation. Whilst their walking contested the conceived space of the cathedral and challenged my own ideologies, I did not consider their movements to be disrespectful. Maggie and Jill’s walking through space mirrored organisational ideologies and goals in terms of *movement*, always heading somewhere; *speed* in terms of deadlines, and time pressures and *direction*; purposeful and ever changing.

Providing another example of spatial displacement was the walking of Richard, the cathedral tour guide who described his tour as ‘formulaic’. Richard’s lived experience of organisational space was at times frustrating due to the limitations imposed on him throughout the tour.

He was controlled both spatially and temporally, expected to follow a prescribed path around the cathedral and given a set time by which to complete the tour. At times Richard obeyed these orders and at other times he challenged them and in so doing “increase[d] the number of possibilities” (de Certeau, 1984: 98) he had in the space. For example, during an observation with Richard I recorded:

This time he climbed over the cord barrier prohibiting access to the high altar to read the inscription on the gold cross. Last time he did not climb over and instead tried to say the inscription from memory and struggled. He climbs back over and says “this space is for Priests and Bishops they are the only people that get in here” (*Fieldnotes, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2011*).

By his gesture of entering this space, Richard is displacing the conceived meaning of the space, like Jill and Maggie’s fast pace around the cathedral, the act of crossing the boundary reduces the sacredness of the space. The boundary is momentarily not observed meaning that the experience of the tour group is instead heightened. In another observation, Richard entered a door to the cathedral which is not meant for use on tours and said to his tour group, “we will go in this entrance, we are not meant to, but we will”. This was similar to Maggie’s use of prohibited entrances in order to shorten her walking route. The reason for Richard was to improve his and the group’s experience on the tour. On both occasions, Richard crossed the boundary into a prohibited space, he was actively making decisions which increased the spaces of the tour. Doing so, he believes, improves the experience of the tour. Whilst seen as contesting the spatial order, this defiance, like Maggie’s and Jill’s, ultimately serves the organisation that benefits from the likelihood of increased visitor donations. At other times, Richard conformed to the dictated routes of the tour, despite wishing the tour



could incorporate other parts of the cathedral, for example the Lady Chapel. When asked who made these decisions in terms of where he could and could not go he commented:

‘The Office’, the Dean and the Chapter

*So is The Lady Chapel an out of bounds space for the tour?*

Yes it is. I can say this, the guides would actually like to use it so that we could do a circular tour of that area, and maybe in the future that will happen, I think it is a question of ‘watch this space’.

Richard’s training as a tour guide had informed him that the tour was designed to exclude the Lady Chapel, “we are specifically told that we must keep out of it. Because it is for private prayer, so we stay away from it” (Richard). It was a space reserved for a different purpose, but its prohibition meant Richard’s ideal tour was not possible because the ‘flow’ of the tour was interrupted:

My ideal tour would be to start at the font, go down and do the crossing altar, go round the Lady Chapel, come and take in the high altar, and then take in the Edmund Chapel and the Edmund story and then flow out again.

*And because you can’t do that, you think the flow is interrupted?*

Yes because you have to come back on yourself when you get to the Lady Chapel.

When two tours were simultaneously taking place, this ‘going back on yourself’ created tensions. When waiting for one tour group to leave an area and for another group to enter, a bottleneck occurs. I observed this spatial congestion during my final observation with Richard:

Another tour comes past Richard - this lady tour guide has a loud voice and stands just in front of the gates which separate the two tours, she is close to Richard waiting for him to move on, it feels uncomfortable, claustrophobic almost (*Fieldnotes, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2011*).

If a circular tour was possible this overcrowding in space would be avoided, tour guides could ensure that multiple tours followed one another around a defined circular route. According to Richard this would create an enhanced experience.

Richard's gestures on the tour were shaped by both economic and cultural/historical forces. His tour design generated donations and needed to respect private prayer. Richard was trained to adhere to the rules of the tour in terms of the routes he could take, the scripts he should speak and the timeframe he had. This control caused tensions for it had an impact on the space being produced. There was a gap between the prescribed tour and the desired tour and Richard was attempting to fill this gap. Through his gestures he appropriated the space marginally, so that his own experience and the experience of the tour group could be enhanced.

Robert's, Maggie's, Jill's and Richard's walking in the organisation becomes a way of producing lived space; through walking, organisational space is appropriated and hence takes on different meanings and purposes. I conceptualise this as a form of spatial extension where walking increases the possibilities of space and the experiences taking place in space, in terms of its purpose and meaning that it serves to its different inhabitants.

Observing the ways of walking of these participants provides insight into organisational life. It is seen that an important part of everyday routine and ritual happens through movement.

Walking provides a particular way of exploring organisations for it is spatially and temporally dynamic. Although in motion, Richard was nevertheless fixed through the prescribed route and the prescribed time of the tour. Robert on the other hand created pockets of time within the connecting space of pathways and corridors. His walking can be seen as being out of synch with the linear rhythms (Lefebvre, 1992/2004) of the modern organisation, but in synch with the slower rhythms of the traditional cathedral. In contrast, by adopting a walking pace reflective of time pressures and deadlines, Maggie and Jill were seen to be in synch with the linear rhythms of the organisation, but were observed as being out of synch with the conceived space of the cathedral. This opens up a way of analysing spatio-temporal organisational geographies. That is, organisations are not only shaped by different spatial demarcations; instead such demarcations need to be viewed in conjunction with mobility. This indicates that organisational space is a) not homogenous and b) emerges out of movement.

Through the participants' narratives and my fieldnote entries, it is learnt that the gesture of walking, whilst being situated within imposed organisational space and time and therefore partially conditioned by organisational norms, does present alternative ways of being of space. Robert, Maggie, Jill and Richard were all producing space for and by their gestures (Lefebvre, 1974/1991), which enabled them to be in the workspace in a way that served their own ends together with the organisation's ends. In organisation studies, I consider insufficient attention is given to the gesture of walking as this everyday, mundane activity becomes hidden, it is a taken for granted and forgotten aspect. Yet walking is a ubiquitous feature of everyday life in every organisation. It is a way of bodily organising, placing and orientating oneself through the organisation, and as such it provides a way to understand the lived experience of organisational space.

## 7.2 Performing Organisational Rituals

Performing organisational rituals emerged as a significant theme of the lived experience of organisational space for three participants: Mark, Michael and Doreen. The first example presented is Michael, a retired cleric who works in the cathedral predominantly on Wednesdays. Michael says his role is to “welcome and make visitors feel welcome, safe and comfortable”. On Wednesdays as Michael becomes the resident member of the clergy, he is responsible for making his presence known and felt to visitors and this is assisted by the wearing of his cassock and dog collar. Michael is also responsible for leading the 12 noon prayer and the lunchtime service at 1 pm. Having the physical presence of a member of the clergy in the cathedral, along with delivering services are daily rituals taking place in the cathedral. The ways in which these daily events become ritualised and embedded through his body is manifest by Michael’s gestures, captured in my fieldnotes:

After prayer, Michael walks slowly back down the central nave and chats to people, he clasps his hands behind his back (*Fieldnotes, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2011*).

When Michael stops and chats he does not lean on anything but stands upright, when his hands are not gesturing they are crossed behind. His voice is soft, loud enough for the person he is talking with to hear but no-one else (*Fieldnotes, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2011*).

He stands at the welcome desk, occasionally he rocks back and forth on his feet. Slowly he walks down the aisle, hands clasped behind his back, pausing to smile and engage. His head is never down when he walks, he is always looking forwards (*Fieldnotes, 21<sup>st</sup> September 2011*).

I note in my field diary the positions that he stands in when chatting to visitors: semi-circle, circle or triangle. A moment ago he joined visitors who were standing side by side, it quickly transformed itself into an equal triangle, all three equally engaged with one another (*Fieldnotes, 21<sup>st</sup> September 2011*).

The bell chimes (for the 12 o'clock prayer), Michael climbs up the pulpit steps, enters the pulpit and rests his hands on the cushion and then clasps them, his head bent and eyes closed – I wonder if he is saying his own personal prayer preparing himself. He speaks, the cathedral falls silent (*Fieldnotes, 21<sup>st</sup> September 2011*).

Walking across the nave he pauses in front of the altar and nods his head, he has done this twice (*Fieldnotes, 21<sup>st</sup> September 2011*).

Michael's body was conforming to the space that he was in. His gestures, part of perceived space were aligned with the conceived space of the cathedral. Walking slowly, speaking softly, engaging and embracing visitors, not through physical touch but through how he positioned his body amongst theirs were all ritualised gestures. Michael was displaying the Christian organisational values through the ritualised gestures of his body. I asked Michael about his nodding of his head as he passed the central altar:

*Sometimes when you cross the altar in the central nave, you will pause and nod your head, other times you don't – can you explain this?*

It is not a conscious thing. I couldn't explain why sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. It's just when it happens.

Michael is at one with the space, in that he is no longer aware of when he moves his body to conform to the space or when he does not, it is an unconscious act, embedded in his being. Over time the external space becomes an extension of his body, it is integral to it, there is an intimate knowing of the space together with the body; the two become connected. This qualitative shift in his body is an automated response to the space he is in, a space where his body and its gestures become unnoticed to him. This is a conditioning of the body, an internalised routine, in response to many years of repetition. The repeated performing of

rituals in the cathedral causes Michael to not think about what he needs to do. The sacred act of lowering the head becomes a bodily spatial reaction, embedded in his being. Michael provides an example of embodied knowing; the mind does not have to consciously think about what the body is doing, it is intuitive, the body “feels its way” (Hubbard, 2006: 119). This embodied knowing constitutes Michael’s lived experience of organisational space, he has both mastered the space and in a way been mastered by the space through his body. Over the course of time Michael has appropriated his gestures in such a way that they produce a sense of grace, a certain style of being which cultivates the space.

The second example of ritualised gestures is Mark the Canon Precentor, a full time member of the clergy, who has the same responsibilities as Michael when in the cathedral. During the time I spent with Mark similar patterns to those of Michael were emerging in terms of Mark’s ritualistic gestures in the cathedral. For example:

I observe [Mark’s colleague] enter through the south door of the cathedral and walk quickly across the top of the nave to get to the sacrosanct to prepare for the service. A minute or so later Mark enters via the same door – I think this is the shortest route from their homes into the cathedral. He comes in calmly, pauses to lower his umbrella and before moving on ensures the door is closed and the curtain covering the door is in place. He then walks calmly to the central altar, pauses and looks up marking the cross on his body. He then walks across to the sacrosanct (*Fieldnotes, 6th September 2011*).

Mark enters from the south door, pauses and nods towards the high altar then talks to a member of the congregation. After some time he retreats back up towards the East end and as he passes the high altar he nods and then heads towards to the vestry (*Fieldnotes, 9th October 2011*).

Mark enters from the south door, walks straight across to the central area and pauses to nod towards the high altar, he is dressed all in black (*Fieldnotes 15<sup>th</sup> October 2011*).

Mark, like Michael, had ritualised gestures which he performed when moving around the cathedral. I asked Mark about his bodily behaviour in the cathedral, to which he replied:

We conform to what we believe about the space. I would never run in the cathedral, I pause and reflect as you noted.

Both Michael and Mark's bodies are orientated towards a sacred mode of being in the cathedral space. This could be conceptualised as their body being "'occupied' by [their] occupations" (Dale and Burrell, 2014: 160), where their bodily gestures were shaped by their occupation, through the cathedral space. Michael and Mark were producing space which was characterised through ritualised gestures, which were synonymous with their profession. These are gestures steeped in time which follow centuries of tradition.

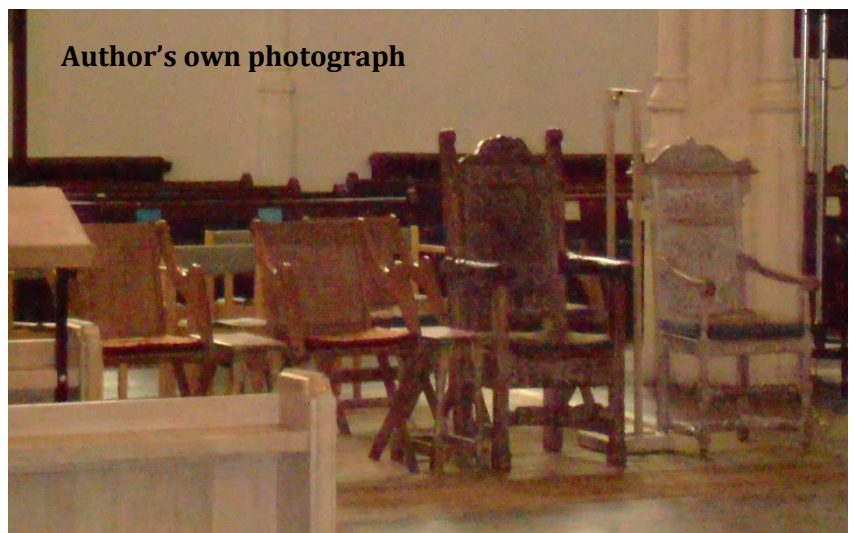
Mark provided a further, and this time more overt, example of performing rituals in the cathedral. The occasion was the Harvest service, a formal event, repeated every year. Mark had a specific role to play in the service and his body observed a specific position. This was visible through the hierarchical ordering of the service in terms of the procession, an ordering of bodies who are entering a holy place; it is a symbol of pilgrimage:

I follow Mark into the vestry. Lots of the members involved in the service are in there, he takes them all up to the lecture room which is next to the Discovery Centre room and greets everyone "it's good to see you thanks for being here". He then begins organising the cathedral procession, using his service book as a point of reference, he informs people where they need to place themselves in the line-up. He leaves the

lecture room and runs down the stairs, his open cassock ballooning behind him. Back in the vestry he continues instructing verbally and physically with his arms. Mark leaves the vestry and peers out into the cloister looking for someone and then back into the vestry and continues to organise people into the right space. “Great now everyone we will go into the cloister”. At this point I leave the ‘back stage’ and re-enter the ‘front stage’ taking my seat in the cathedral (*Fieldnotes, 9th October 2011*).

In the cloister Mark assembled the line-up. He and others were being placed in a line, accepting that “different bodies [are] suitable for occupying different spaces” (Riach and Wilson, 2014: 333). The placing of bodies followed the prescribed order and hierarchy of the procession. This placement and movement of bodies is a ritual performed in all services. There is always an order of entry and exit, which is always led by the most senior member of the clergy. It is a manifestation of the rules governing the space but also an instance of actively producing that space. Mark accepts his role and place both in the processional line up and inside the cathedral during the service:

I observe Mark enter the cathedral in his place in the procession. He then takes his chair which had his name on it. There is a hierarchy evident here by the chair size. The bishop’s chair is the grandest and largest with high armrests and its own small table [facing left], then the Dean’s chair [cream] slightly smaller and then the canons’ chairs where Mark sits, which are smaller and less ornate (*Fieldnotes, 9th October 2011*).



**Image 16: Cathedral Chairs**



The order of the service was represented in Mark's gestures, starting with the ringing of bells which signalled his entrance into the cathedral. Once inside the cathedral his body along with the congregation was responding to the ordering of the service. He and they were instructed where to sit; when to sit; when to stand, and when and how to exit. This ordering of the body, a body being occupied through its occupation (Dale and Burrell, 2014) was also clearly shown when I observed Mark leading the daily ritual of Morning Prayer:

Mark is taking Morning Prayer in the quire with [a colleague] and two worshippers. He stands and sits conforming to the requirements of the space and of the service. He reads alternating with [his colleague]. He sits, they stand and read and then alternate. He is dressed in his vestment [uniform] for Morning Prayer, his head is bent down as he sits. The cathedral is peaceful, except for the sound of the wind. Mark now stands and reads, then sits in silence, the service is over. His colleague leaves, he pauses and then stands and on reaching the High Altar nods and then goes left and stops to talk with the members of the congregation and then continues into the sacrosanct to de-robe (*Fieldnotes, 6<sup>th</sup> September 2011*).

In the sacred space of a cathedral, such bodily responses to space are heightened. The sacredness of the space is marked and reproduced through the ritualised gestures of marking the cross on the body, bending to prayer, following the order of the procession. But in any organisational space, the body will be conforming, it will be bending to the ways of the organisation (Lefebvre, 1992/2004) through its gestures. Whilst the organisational space literature discusses the resistance to conforming to conceived space (e.g. Hancock and Spicer, 2011; Hernes, 2004; Ng and Höpfl, 2011; Peltonen, 2011), there is less literature which explores the meaning behind conforming to lived space. An explanation being that like walking, conformity represents the mundane everyday routines and thereby go unnoticed. I consider that to a greater or lesser degree all users of space conform to space. Users follow

rules and procedures for example: sitting in designated workspace; using appropriate entrances and exits; parking in the correct bays; dressing appropriately, such conforming are some of the ways in which we bend our bodies in order to fit in with the requirements of the organisation.

In the next and final example of performing organisational rituals, we see gestures being performed in what would be considered a non-sacred space, namely the cathedral refectory. The gestures presented are considered sacred not due to their religious connotations for example the marking of the cross on the body, but instead due to the significance the participant attributes to ritual. Doreen is the refectory manager and spends her time between being in the refectory and her office, which is located inside the refectory separated by a door. The refectory and her role within it served to condition her body so that it was presented in a certain way. Throughout my observations with Doreen, repeated references were made to the importance she gave to her appearance:

I must have my lipstick, I need that.

Her makeup bag is placed on her office desk, she opens it up and puts on her lipstick (*Fieldnotes, 31<sup>st</sup> August 2011*).

Thought I'd better point those out, my nail files, because I can't do without my nail files. They [her team] know that if

I've broken a nail it's a catastrophe! The other girls come and use



**Image 17: Desk**

them as well. I have even had a member of Chapter come across and say “Doreen, I always know you’ve got a nail file”. I can’t be without my hand cream, nail file, hair clips and my lipstick.

Doreen was making everyday objects sacred through ritual (Belk et al., 1989). Sacred in this context is not connected to a formal religion as was the case with Michael and Mark. Instead, it was connected to rituals which transcend everyday routines, where importance is retained, they were rituals which overtime did not become ordinary. For Doreen, looking good mattered, personal grooming was ‘more than’ an everyday routine like the wearing of her black and white ‘uniform’ associated with the mundane; it was a ritual. Grooming is a part of who she is, something that she cannot do without, it shapes her identity at work. This was a different form of identity marking to Maggie, this time it was appearance rather than the pace of walking which provided Doreen with part of her organisational identity.

Aside from her nails and make-up, Doreen’s hair formed an important part of her daily grooming ritual. She ritually attended to her bodily appearance at the same time each day. Just before the refectory opened to the public (9.30 am), Doreen would leave the office to go to the neighbouring lavatory and tend to her hair:

I must go and put my hair up now cos I’m going out there and I must put my lippy on  
(*Fieldnotes 15<sup>th</sup> August, 2011*).

I’m just going to go to the loo to put my hair up so I’m ready when it goes mad at lunch time  
(*Fieldnotes 31<sup>st</sup> August, 2011*).

I like to think that when I’ve got my hair up I am presenting the proper image to the customer (Doreen).

Doing her hair and makeup were bodily gestures which represented who Doreen was at work. From the above it is clear that Doreen liked grooming and whilst this could be considered as a performance put on for work, I argue that the gestures formed part of her 'natural' disposition. The meaning behind Doreen's personal presentation at work was in contrast to Halford and Leonard's (2006) and Tyler and Cohen's (2010) research where female employees deployed deliberate attempts to render themselves acceptable within the organization. For Doreen these rituals were not performed in order to be acceptable to the organisation, they were performed because they were rituals she needed to do for herself and part of this need was the gratification she gained from knowing that she was meeting the customers' expectations in terms of what she perceived to be the "proper image". These perceived expectations as with Michael and Mark, were in accordance with organisational norms and standards. The manager of a refectory or restaurant is expected to have a high standard of personal presentation, commonly associated with the wearing black and white, accompanied by a polished appearance. The ritual of personal grooming therefore served to meet both her own and the organisation's needs.

Michael, Mark and Doreen also provide examples of the gendered performing of organisational rituals. Each were performing their gendered identities (Tyler and Cohen, 2010) through their work, through their personal presentation including their 'uniforms', and each in their own way were ensuring that their behaviours were aligned with the expectations of their role. In Mark and Michael we see the male clergy performing their roles and in Doreen we see the female who is stereotypically grooming herself in preparation of presenting herself to customers. Gestures then, become another way of materialising aspects of gender at work, along with for example, the presentation and appropriation of workspace. Each of the participants provided a gestural and gendered perspective of organisational

space. Through their gestures the way in which space and body together produced lived space became known:

Gestural systems embody ideology and bind it to practice. Through gestures, ideology escapes from pure abstraction and performs actions. Gestural systems connect representations of space [conceived space] with representational spaces [lived space] (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 215).

The participants' gestures connected body with space, a merging together of conceived space with lived space through spatial practices (perceived space). Through their gestures they were able to perform both the organisation's ideals, which were experienced as concomitant with their personal ideals. The participants' bodies acted as custodians of the conceived space, they "function like tour guides to the social rules that govern the space" (Erickson, 2004: 77). Whilst Michael's, Mark's and Doreen's gestures aligned with their own ways of being of space, they were also seen as conforming to organisational ideals, where we see bodies put to work, and this notion of the body being put to work is next explored through Lefebvre's (1992/2004) concept of Dressage.

### **7.3 Conceptualising Gestures: 'Dressage'**

Daily life in organisations is made up of repetitive gestures, taken for granted movements which go by unnoticed due to how familiar they have become. Through repetition and ritual, the body "regulates itself via the procedures that have become embedded in its constitution and exercised in habitual, repetitive practice" (Edensor, 2010: 71). These 'procedures' or norms of behaviour have become innate, automated, and yet they are the activities which shape organisational space and structure organisational life. However, because bodily movements like walking, bending to prayer, and putting on make-up are intuitive they can

easily go by unexplained leaving their meaning underexplored. It is only through an interruption that these behaviours come back into the conscious frame; an interruption which in this research was caused by my presence and by mine and the participants' attempts at interpreting these unspoken practices. Once learned, gestures can be conceptualised through borrowing Lefebvre's (1992/2004) notion of 'Dressage' a particular form of organisational control on the body. An early example of dressage is Taylorism, whereby bodies were treated as machines to perform specific tasks in designated spaces. Organisations took control of the body and through training dictated its movements whilst at work.

In the cathedral, this control of the body was seen in overt ways in terms of Michael and Mark wearing the uniform of the clergy and Doreen always presented in black and white. Through rules concerning the wearing of a uniform the organisation is able to "keep the body specific" (Riach and Wilson, 2014: 341) to the role and immediate space of work and in so doing acts as a way of restricting bodily movement. Michael, Mark and Doreen were being "marked by [their] uniform" (Erickson, 2004: 83) which to a degree confined them to particular organisational spaces. In this sense they were easy to control, could without difficulty be located and if required, easily be observed by the management of the organisation. Organisational control was also seen in more subtle ways which included the dressage of Doreen's personal grooming; Mark's position in the processual line-up; Michael's marking of the cross on his body; Richard's following of the dictated cathedral tour. Dressage presents itself here as a way of teaching the body through repetitive bodily gestures, which in turn become ritualised in organisational space. Dressage is an organising of the body into daily rituals, which helps ensure organisational conformity and the continuity of organisational norms.

Controlling the body leads to a productive body; just as broken-in animals are put to work, so is the human body: “they have a use value” (Lefebvre, 1992/2004: 40). What is seen in the examples in this chapter are bodies which at will perform for the organisation, which can be explained by drawing on and returning to Dale and Burrell’s (2014) term ‘embrace’. ‘Embrace’ meaning to allow an occupation to *enter ourselves* is a form of dressage which whilst *willingly* embraced, represents unseen organisational power, unseen as the work is considered to be worthwhile, meaningful and aligned with one’s values. It is a view which considers dressage as the total bodily experience, namely body and mind entwined with space. Dressage in this chapter is understood through the participants’ gestures which:

Involve body movements, repetition, appropriation and tool uses; thus, focusing on them is, de facto, fully inscribed in a corporeal approach to organisations, populating them with moving, feeling, sensing, hurting, enjoying, tiring, and resting bodies (Bazin, 2013: 377).

Understanding the organisation from such a corporeal perspective recognises the “intimate connections” (Dale and Latham 2015: 167) taking place between the total body and space, that is bodies which are of space and in so doing gives greater insight into different modalities of organisational life. By exploring gestures from the perspective of dressage, the ways in which individuals connect with the organisation and become of space as opposed to in space can be explored. For example, bending their bodies in prayer and in so doing aligning their values with the values of the organisation. Seen in this chapter are the ideologies of space performed through the body, and the ideologies of the body performed through space. The concept of dressage taken from the view of the total body also provides a way of exploring the means in which the body is being productive when not fixed in a

dedicated space, carrying out a sedentary task, but instead is moving around organisational space.

#### **7.4 Situating the Concept of Dressage used in this Thesis**

In Chapter Two the concept of dressage is outlined from a Lefebvrian viewpoint, which provides the foundation for my conceptualisation and application of dressage in this chapter. In this final section of Chapter Seven I provide an explanation regarding how the concept of dressage has been applied in this thesis, along with giving due attention to the Foucauldian perspective on dressage.

Lefebvre's (1992/2004) notion of dressage considers the shaping and training of the body as explored through gestures. How dressage is applied in this chapter differs from the more common perspective of linking dressage with conceived space. That is, in terms of the body being placed in a designated space and treated as a machine more akin to Taylorism and Fordism, or in more contemporary terms of organisational spatial ordering and hierarchies (Kornberger et al., 2011; Zhang and Spicer's 2013). Such perspectives are concerned with how the management of organisations seeks to control, order and discipline employees through the notion of "emplacement" (Dale and Burrell, 2008: 53), a fixing of people in workspace. This view has a tendency to carry with it negative connotations of power and control. Instead, in this chapter I have conceptualised dressage through the lens of lived space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). In this context dressage still pertains to a disciplining of the body, but stems from the view of 'body of space' as opposed to 'in space' (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). This I consider to be a more nuanced perspective which is led from the embodied experience of being entwined with space, according to which dressage is viewed as both "the organizational shaping of the body" (Dale and Burrell 2014: 170) and the bodily



shaping of the organisation. This perspective of dressage is one which is explored through bodily movement, without necessarily attending to it as a means to an end in terms of maximising levels of production. From this view we see the participants not as 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1977), passively accepting conceived space and being overtly controlled in space, but instead as active agents interacting with space and negotiating space to meet their needs and values. This differs to the commonly applied Foucauldian perspective with a focus on the disciplining of the body in space by the organisation, for the organisation. For Foucault (1977) dressage is something done to a person, it is a method of disciplining and controlling the body, and it considers the body as objectified; a "body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, [and] responds" (Foucault, 1977: 136). This is representative of a productive, material body, which can be ruled and governed in space. Foucault does not account for the specificities of an "embodied negotiation of [...] space" (Dale and Burrell, 2008: 68). Foucault chooses to marginalise the specificity of the body in terms of for example, gender, race, and class, and thus fails to attend to the multiplicity of the bodily lived experience of dressage.

I have shown in this chapter a conceptualisation of dressage which stems from the participants' lived experience. Dressage has broadly been explored through the notion of gestures and more specifically through bodily movement and pace, for example walking, and through repetitions and rituals which become so ingrained in the body that I have considered them to be representative of embodied knowing. This perspective on dressage has shown bodies which perform according to organisational requirements for their own sense of fulfilment. This willingness has been explained by drawing on Dale and Burrell's (2014) term 'embrace', whereby the participants willingly allow their occupation to enter themselves, for it meets their own ideals and needs. The work itself is considered meaningful, carrying with

it intrinsic as well as extrinsic value. What is important here is not what work is to be done per se, but “the faith in the moral injunction that it should be done” (Jackson and Carter, 1998: 58). This presents a more positive understanding of dressage whereby the ideologies of the organisation and the ideologies of self are viewed as non-conflictual and performed through the body. What is different to this conceptualisation of dressage, as opposed to a view which focuses on power and on maximising levels of production, is that first and foremost the focus is on the individual’s total bodily lived experience. I offer in this chapter a corporeal perspective on dressage, which is primarily centred on the productiveness of the body for the body instead of productiveness of the body for the organisation. The organisational dimension cannot however be ignored, for the two are mutually interacting and co-constructing one another through the activities of everyday organisational life.

## 7.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter focuses on the ways in which bodily gestures and dressage contributes to understanding the lived experience of organisational space. The chapter brings to the fore the significance of gestures which are ingrained in the body; a body which produces space for its gestures by its gestures. The body in its lived form provides a sense of *becoming* through space. I here mean a body which does more than inhabit a space, a body which provides “a direct lived experience, a bodily embedded understanding of space” (Simonsen, 2005: 7). In terms of organisation studies, this becoming of space shifts attention away from *what* is being produced in organisational space toward a view which explores the role and meaning that the body and its gestures play in producing space.

By exploring everyday gestures, it can be seen how walking presents a form of spatial appropriation, how it creates a sense of belonging and becomes an expression of

organisational identity. In addition walking is seen as providing a way of managing spatial tensions and organisational control which shifts between conformity and non-conformity. Through their gestures the participants showed how productive their bodies were, in terms of their willingness to conform to and perform organisational ideals through their everyday rituals. Such gestures were understood through the notion of dressage as an unseen form of power which assisted in ensuring the “continuity and some degree of cohesion in [the spatial] configurations” (Simonsen, 2005: 6) of the organisation.

# ***Chapter Eight: The Role of the Imaginary for Understanding Lived Space***

## **Introduction**

During the fieldwork it became clear to me that one important way in which participants were able to articulate their understanding of the organisation was through what I conceptualise as the imaginary. Accordingly, this final chapter of the findings presents and explores the imaginary and its role in producing lived space.

The imaginary is considered in this thesis as an aspect of lived space which seeks to appropriate and overlay physical space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991), by drawing together physical space with the user's subjective experience of space. This drawing together of the physical with lived experience intertwines the imaginary with a material manifestation. The imaginary, then, is not considered as a pure flight of fantasy, instead, it is a concept which "draws on what is already in circulation" (Johansson, 2012: 3613). Participants were drawing on existing organisational space to express their organisational frustrations and ideals and were showing, as Ricoeur (1994: 121) states, that the notion of the imaginary is more than "a 'scene' being played out on the stage of a mental 'theatre' for the benefit of an internal spectator". The imaginary was expressed through the participants' photographs and through their narratives which provided a way of articulating their understanding of the organisation and their role within it.

In the first section 8.1 the concept of the imaginary is drawn on to discuss the participants' taken photographs of the welcome area in the cathedral, the cathedral tower, the portacabin and the cathedral car park. Through their narrative it is seen how the imaginary emerges as uncovering organisational frustrations experienced on a daily basis, as well as perceived organisational ideals. In section 8.2 the imaginary is manifest through memory, death and nostalgia, serving to highlight understandings of the past, present and future. Here imaginary

lived space enabled participants to re-enact the past in present organisational space, and in so doing create a nostalgic sense for times gone by, imbuing space with different meanings. Lived space also enabled the slowing down of the dying of perceived organisational ideals, struggling to find their place in the changing organisation. The idea of the immortal organisation is then explored, particularly in light of how participants envision of a future space beyond their death. Here participants express a desire to live on in the organisation without being physically present. The final section 8.3, before the chapter summary discusses how the imaginary can contribute to our knowledge on understanding organisational space and draws on Boym's (2001) 'restorative nostalgia' and 'reflective nostalgia'. In this section participants' narrated past memories, projected futures and idealised organisational presentations are discussed as a means of gaining a closer understanding of the constitution of lived space.

### **8.1 Organisational Spatial Reality Juxtaposed with Organisational Ideals**

Several instances during my conversations with the participants touched upon the physical presentation of different organisational spaces, and the associations the spaces evoked in the participants. For example, the issue of unacceptable 'messiness' was raised a number of times. One example was provided by Michael, who had chosen to take a photograph of the 'welcome' area of the cathedral, which is the space that visitors immediately enter from the main entrance:

I think again I mentioned about the welcome area. It's funny that whilst I was taking this photo, one of the welcomers was standing there in his robe [consenting to be in the photograph] and he said "oh, I hate this



**Image 18: Welcome Area**

space as well", which was very interesting. He said

it is so cluttered and busy, I had to agree, it is a space I like the least I've got to say. It's a space that has got to be there, it is the first impression you get when visitors come through the glass doors into the cathedral, it should be very important. People have got to be welcomed somewhere, but something more could be done there to enhance that space.

*What would make the space a better place?*

Have you ever watched the House Doctor series on the television? There's a lady there that talks about clutter and I'm sure if we could get rid of a lot of that clutter it would be a much cleaner, more welcoming space. A lot of it is essential clutter. There's all sorts of baskets with papers, all sorts of things. Perhaps down in the cloister, away from the entrance into the cathedral there could be something like pigeon holes for people that need those sort of papers. You don't need to see them in baskets on tables at the entrance that is my own personal view.

For Michael, the welcome area represented an important part of the cathedral, based upon which visitors form their first impressions of it. However, its untidiness lets the cathedral down, which for Michael is a state of affairs that should be changed in order to 'enhance the space' as he says. Specifically, he mentions the doing away with 'clutter'. His comment that

the baskets with papers should be moved to another place can be discussed in light of Douglas' (1966/1996) analysis of how 'matter out of place' evokes negative associations – it is seen as dirt – not because of its innate qualities, but because of it being in the wrong place. As a conceived space of calm and contemplation, the atmosphere of the cathedral is sullied by the 'busyness' of the welcome space which is littered with materials. Barbara, responsible for the cathedral flowers, expressed a similar dislike of the welcome area:

This is a significant space, but one that I have trouble with.

*Why?*

It is a complete and utter muddle. I just find you walk into the cathedral and you're met with a conglomeration of I don't know what – mess. It just doesn't do anything for me at all. I just love to get past that area.

*And when you look at that picture, compared to the other photographs you have taken inside the cathedral, it doesn't look like it's the same place.*

No it doesn't – it could be anywhere. You could be walking into a library, or into anywhere, like a college. I know this is because we are still doing the clearing up from the harvest, but even so, every day you've got mess. I feel when you come into the cathedral – it's like at you!

[...]

*Do you think there should be some more sacred symbols there or is not really about that?*

No, it's just that there's too much there at the moment. I think this board [pointing to a large notice board] could be moved. We don't need to have it in your face almost as soon as you walk in the door, you need to be led in there gently – to see the beauty.



As for Michael, the state of the welcome area for Barbara represented not only disorder, but in her mind provided the wrong impression of the organisation. Here the fusing together of the material with the symbolic caused a sense of disenchantment as opposed a sense of enchantment (Dale and Burrell, 2008). The clutter took away the sacredness and beauty of the space, it intruded on her idea of what the cathedral should represent. In its current state the welcome area was a spatial expression of disorganisation, a space which mirrored the 'outside world', which was in sharp contrast to Barbara's imaginary world inside of the cathedral:

To me, this chapel is like a womb almost – you are just sort of there. And I get close to my friend up there [pointing upwards]. It's a peaceful place, I love the peace. When you've got so much going on out there in this world of ours, it's escape in a way.



**Image 19: The Chapel of Transfiguration**

Barbara's imaginary lived space fuses together the material with the symbolic which together present her organisational ideals through the metaphor of the womb. These ideals typified her perception of what the organisation should represent, which was providing an escape from the 'clutter' of the outside world. Instead, this clutter was on display inside the cathedral.

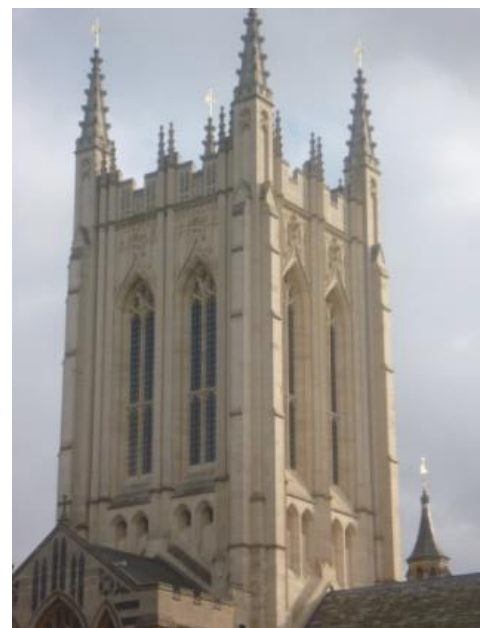
Michael's and Barbara's contentions with the mess surrounding the welcome area provided not only a means to express their dislike, but also a means to contrast the organisational spatial reality with the ideal organisational representation as they saw it. This provides an important clue regarding how the imaginary informs lived space. Their sense of dislike was not grounded in for example instrumental reasons of health and safety, but in a perceived dissonance between what the cathedral ideally promises and what it delivers. Barbara's photograph of the chapel was taken to provide an illustration of how the space should be presented in order to be aligned with her perceived ideal. The welcome area of the cathedral was particularly important, as it was a manifestation of the Christian welcoming ethos. Not all organisational spaces are seen as a representation of what the organisation is about, but in this case the welcome area was one such key area.

Contrasting spatial representations were also provided by Maggie, the PR Manager. Maggie's first photograph was of the cathedral tower, which to her is a spatial representation signifying the positive aspects of the organisation:

This for me just embodies everything I love about working here. I've been here since August 2000 and the scaffolding had just gone up on the tower, so the tower is very much, I feel about my journey here at the cathedral.

*OK, so it's symbolic of your last eleven years?*

I actually have a picture of the tower being built in my living room at home because it is a



**Image 20: Cathedral Tower**

part of me. Although I've obviously never laid a stone or a brick I just feel it is part of me here. In a sort of broader sense what it symbolises is the vision of this as a place. You know, there's no way I could ever think of this as being a boring place of work, so for me it is about the people, the previous chapter who made an ambitious decision to undertake an ambitious project which has left a legacy for the future. All of that kind of rhetoric I love, I mean that's what makes the place a great place to work.

*The tower then for you has different representations?*

Yes. We actually in my family call it 'my tower'. There are always jokes about, oh well, Maggie built the cathedral, but I do feel as though the role I have here, what I have had here, is so much part of the story.

The cathedral tower is imbued with meaning which transcends its physical appearance. It becomes a spatial expression of everything that Maggie likes about working for the organisation. The tower not only represents Maggie's "construal of the organisation's identity" (Harquail and King, 2010: 1632), but also her own identity. Instead of modelling her identity on the qualities of another person, she was modelling her identity on the perceived qualities (Hoedemaekers, 2008) of the tower through the imaginary. This observation complements the organisational literature which explores the use of artefacts in expressing identities at work. Commonly these are portable artefacts brought into the workplace by the users of the space and more literally serve to express a person's identity; for example, children's drawings, expressing a parental identity (Tian and Belk, 2005; Tyler and Cohen, 2010) and certificates and awards (Elsbach, 2003; Wells 2000) expressing a professional identity. The tower was framed differently; first, it was a permanent fixture of the organisation and therefore a permanent identity marker (Elsbach, 2003) and second, its function as an identity marker was not literal, but achieved through the imaginary. This presents an interesting view on the identified problems associated with non-territorial

offices, and in particular hot-desking (Halford, 2004), in terms of not being able to express identities at work through portable artefacts. A consideration is that such identity marking materialises through permanent artefacts/fixtures existing in the organisation, which take on different meanings through the imaginary and which serve to reaffirm identity.

In contrast to the positive qualities associated with the tower, Maggie presented a second photograph, through which she expressed her frustrations with the organisation:

I don't like this on a number of levels, it symbolises things that I find frustrating here. A load of hideous mess around it, and anything else they can't think what else to do with in terms of building materials just gets piled up, so basically a load of junk. We don't have the foresight really to tidy up behind ourselves, so we don't think things through to the final conclusion. There is often never a sort of sense of completion, there's always something else and things



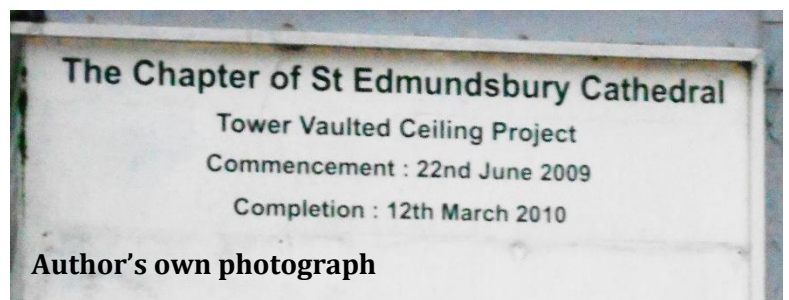
never quite finished off – a bit of messiness around the edges. And of course this view is also from my office window, so I can actually see both [the cathedral and the portacabin] at the same time. You've got the shiny outward facing and all the big glossy stuff which is what my job is all about. That's what I always do, focus on the positive, but actually there's a lot of mess underneath. It's varied over the time I've been here. Sometimes it's to do with staffing, sometimes it's to do with more major things, I guess with any organisation that's true, but to me it actually physically embodies that we don't tidy up after ourselves. My job is all about presenting a good, positive, welcoming image and for many of our visitors who come in through what you could call in effect our

**Image 21: Portacabin**

‘tradesmen’s entrance’, they see this mess, and it’s terrible. It’s absolutely appalling and immensely frustrating.

*That’s interesting. Because this picture [showing the cathedral tower] which you say is a positive aspect about your organisational space, is very much connected to the portacabin isn’t it?*

Oh yes, we wouldn’t have had the portacabin if it hadn’t been for the tower because that was the site office. Instead of clearing up because we want to create a good image, we leave it lying around for a bit to see what happens! Even the fact the sign on the site office, which was actually to do with the vaulted ceiling,



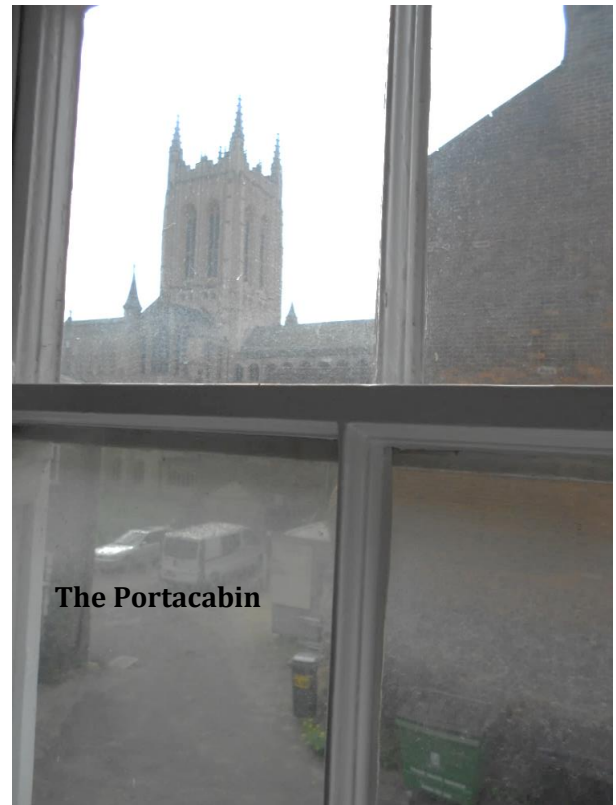
it’s got the dates on saying that the project will be finished on the 12<sup>th</sup> March 2010 which it did – in fact it finished early. But we haven’t taken the signs down, and it’s sort of symbolic of the processes here because everything takes so long. I’ve asked repeatedly when is the portacabin going and I keep being told oh soon, soon, and the latest thing that I found out yesterday, that oh no, it’s going to be used by the next lot of workmen who are coming to do another project in January and February 2012, but we don’t want a dilapidated portacabin - we will have had it seven years.

**Image 22: Portacabin Sign**

Here it can be seen how the supposed temporary solution has become a permanent organisational fixture. Despite being unused the portacabin remains. It is a part of the organisation that Maggie would like to see removed, for it represents the weaknesses of the organisation, weaknesses that she does not wish to be associated with and yet, from her office window is reminded of everyday. The view from Maggie’s office window (see image over page) starkly juxtaposes representations which for her are positive and negative. It

represents a spatial ordering with the window frame providing a visual division between the areas at the top and the bottom, and what they represent to her.

Viewed upwards, the window is filled with the Cathedral Tower which spatially represents to Maggie the ideals of the organisation, her vision and hopes for the future and her organisational identity marker. It also represents her past: “the



tower is very much I feel about my journey here

**Image 23: View from Office Window**

at the cathedral”. In contrast, viewed downwards, the window literally appearing more opaque, symbolises disappointment. It symbolises an organisational space which Maggie desperately wants to make disappear. The portacabin evokes a different imaginary. It becomes a spatial expression of what is wrong with the organisation, the more dirty side of the organisation, evoking like the welcome area a sense of messiness which from Maggie’s PR Manager perspective should remain hidden.

Providing a final example of dissatisfaction expressed through organisational space is Doreen, the Refectory Manager. This time it was the physical car park fused together with the use of metaphor which expressed a dissonance with the organisation:

*When I was shadowing you, you referred frequently to your colleagues based in 'The Office' as "them over there". Can you explain this expression?*

Yes, something I always say is that the car park is like the Atlantic Ocean, in terms of information coming across to the refectory.

*Can you explain this a little more?*

Yes. I just think of it [the car park] as a huge space and it's very difficult to communicate between the two. I don't know what it is, it's very difficult to get information to here [the refectory] and from here to there [The Office]. I just look upon it as another world really.



**Image 24: The Car Park – taken from the Refectory looking towards 'The Office'**

This is a different form of discontent to that of the welcome area and portacabin, which represent a physical messiness, of things being out of place. Instead, Doreen expressed a discontent stemming from a sense of separation. To her, like Michael, Barbara and Maggie, there was a perceived dissonance between the ideals of the organisation, this time between the practicing of community values in terms of inclusion and support and the reality of what the organisation delivers. The car park, considered a mundane space, not, as the welcome area, a key space in terms of communicating what the organisation was about, represented for Doreen a perceived ineffectiveness of the organisation, much like the portacabin did for Maggie. What informs Doreen's perception here is the commonly existing 'imaginary' of the distance between the top echelons (management) and other layers of the organisation;

where we tend to think that management are separated from the 'shopfloor reality' of the organisation and that they don't understand the reality of people's work. This is a particular imaginary that Doreen evokes, which she expresses through the Atlantic Ocean metaphor and the physical manifestation of the car park. The sense of separation was mirrored in her spatial practices of rarely leaving her immediate space of work:

I don't have a great deal [to do] with what goes on out there. If there is a meeting or function in the Chapter Room which requires food I take it over [to The Office], or if I need to use the photocopier (housed in The Office). So I don't go in there very much at all, no it's not somewhere I'd go to have a chat.

Doreen's language signals both spatial and social distance, a distance which could not be objectively measured in a Euclidean way, namely the distance between two points, for this was a vast imaginary distance, stemming from lived experience which spatially reconfigures imposed space in a different way, highlighting the fluidity of space.

In the case of Doreen the use of metaphor provides the alternative image of the car park, namely the Atlantic Ocean. This presents another way in which the imaginary informs lived space. The imaginary through metaphor informs lived space by imbuing a physical space, namely the car park with an alternative meaning. The meaning that she attributes to the space of the car park is being understood through a different phenomenon (Morgan, 1983) namely the Atlantic Ocean which captures characteristics of the organisation which she associates with separation. Through the imaginary Doreen extends the boundaries beyond what the eye could see. This adds a further discussion to the organisational space literature concerning boundaries which are often discussed in terms of materialisations of power (Panayiotou, 2014; Taylor and Spicer, 2007) and the permeable boundaries between the



public and the private (Clegg and Kornberger, 2006; Wapshott and Mallett, 2012). Doreen had drawn up her own extended organisational boundaries through the imaginary. This served to create a sense of separation similar to those found in the studies of home-workers (e.g. Kreiner, et al., 2009), for the imaginary distance prevented social connectivity outside of her immediate workspace. In turn Doreen's spatial practices were upholding this perceived extended boundary by rarely stepping outside of her immediate workspace.

Doreen draws attention to the exterior space of the car park and its impact on informing lived space. The organisational space literature is predominantly concerned with internal layout and internal space, for example offices, corridors and meeting rooms. There is less research which focuses on the impact of external spaces (but for exceptions, see Warren, 2002; 2013), and in particular their impact on lived experience. Doreen has shown that the external spaces of the organisation can contribute to understanding lived experience, as the carpark as well as representing a symbol of power and seniority in terms of expensive cars allocated to dedicated bays (Panayiotou and Kafiris, 2011), can also produce lived space through the imaginary.

### **The Utopian and Dystopian Imaginary**

The welcome area, cathedral tower, portacabin and car park were captured as spatial representations expressing the participants' ideals and disappointments of the organisation. The cathedral tower was a symbol of organisational ideals, the portacabin and welcome area symbolised the messier side of organisational life and the car park represented a sense of separation. The imaginary informed by material reality produces a particular kind of lived space which I will here conceptualise in utopian and dystopian terms.

Maggie's, Michael's, Barbara's and Doreen's imaginary expressions were not free-floating; they were informed by their social, cultural and historical positions which they bring into organisational space. These positions informed the imaginary which provided a way for participants to spatially interpret the meaning of the organisation. Following the Gadamerian tradition of interpretation, organisational space can be seen as the text through which the participants were trying to understand their lived experience in the organisation. Through our hermeneutic based conversations the participants were translating the ideals they held about the organisation into visual illustrations and explanatory narratives were drawing on their own histories and traditions along with the histories and traditions which they are situated within. These histories informed them of what the organisational space should and should not be representing.

For Dale and Burrell (2002: 109) "every utopia is also a dystopia, for the first is predicated upon the second. Every utopia attempts to secure the 'best' and obscure the 'beastly'". The point being made here can be seen through the photograph of the window (image 23). The tower represented the best of the organisation. It should, according to Maggie, be the face of the organisation, which ought to hide away its more messy foundations, represented in the bottom half of the window by the portacabin. Through her interpretations of the tower, Maggie draws on particular ideals to make sense of and explain what the tower means. This was similar to Barbara's interpretation of the Chapel of Transfiguration (Image 19), spatially expressed through the metaphor of the womb. Both were representations of their organisational ideals. In contrast, the portacabin represented the organisation as a dystopia, a space considered as 'hideous', 'absolutely appalling and immensely frustrating'. Yet the utopia was built upon the foundations of the dystopia, as when in concrete terms the messier

side of organisational life appeared in the same frame as the tower. This tension was expressed by Maggie:

You've got the shiny outward facing and all the big glossy stuff, which is what my job is all about, but actually there's a lot of mess underneath.

The 'shiny, glossy stuff' was the cathedral and the 'mess underneath' the dystopian features, could be understood as the working processes of the organisation. The utopian was being expressed through the tower and the chapel of transfiguration and the dystopian was spatially expressed through the portacabin, welcome area and car park. Each of which served to represent the messier, more chaotic side of organisational life, the disordered side which was obscuring the 'shiny, glossy stuff'.

## **8.2 The Role of Memory and Nostalgia in Understanding Lived Space**

This section of the chapter explores how participants figuratively transcend time and space through memory and nostalgia. As has been shown in the literature (e.g. Brown and Humphreys, 2006; Gabriel, 1993; McDonald et al., 2006; Michel, and Molnar, 2012; Milligan, 2003; Strangleman, 1999) memory and nostalgia play an important role in understanding organisations. Extant research tends to focus on memory and nostalgia predominantly in the context of organisational change, attachment, belonging and identity.

The first example in this section is provided by Robert, the shop manager. The shop plays an important part for the revenue generation of St Edmundsbury Cathedral, as is the case for many cathedrals. It is therefore an important part of the organisation, whilst also being the object of some contention. Robert's narrative of what it is like to work in the shop portrayed

feelings of frustration caused by organisational pressures which were affecting the ways in which he was required to manage the cathedral shop.

Previously, I and the volunteers were absolutely and completely left on our own in the shop, there was really no support or interest from other people within the cathedral management. Then about a year ago the acting dean decided that the cathedral needed some additional money and so decided that the shop and the refectory should come under the umbrella of St Edmundsbury Cathedral Enterprises Ltd. Since then there has been increasing pressure to increase income. But if you took a look at the bigger picture of what the shop is all about you will see that to me the shop is not just a shop, a commercial enterprise, there is also this ministry of welcome. So you try to cater for the people who come in to buy something, but you also have got this thing where a lot of people come in just to have a chat because they need to and whatever really. And that is what is being forgotten, the ministry work that we do here; there is not a full understanding of what this shop is about in terms of providing companionship and a social place for the volunteers.

[...]

You see, Sarah, a lot of my views are often quite old fashioned, and I don't care really. Quite often old fashioned views are quite underrated.

Robert is referring to the 'bigger picture' in terms of how he sees that the shop should provide more than products to buy. Robert extends the purpose of the shop to align with what he perceives to be the organisational ideals which are based on the 'ministry of welcome'; this extends to all visitors, pilgrims and to his volunteers who together with Robert run the shop. Robert was anxious that a particular, valued past was vanishing amongst the required practices of the present. His past was reflective of the 'true' purpose of the organisation in terms of its 'ministry of welcome' and in terms of providing

'companionship'. It was a past which stood in contention to the modern organisation which has come about due to increasing financial pressures.

Robert was actively using his personal attachment to the shop to "cling doggedly to images of a 'golden past'" (Strangleman, 1991: 727). His dissatisfaction and concerns with the present provided him with a perfect reason to cling to the past and in this sense, "*nostalgia is a state arising out of present conditions as much as out of the past itself*" (Gabriel 1993: 121 original emphasis). His spatial practices were repetitions of an imaginary past mobilised for the purpose of preserving certain values, a past that he felt still added value in the present (Boym, 2001). Observing Robert it became clear that he was resisting attempts to modernise the working practices taking place in the shop, as noted in my fieldnotes:

Robert has a book where he notes his invoices, he crosses out when they are paid with a ruler – I think he is a very precise man. Robert photocopies the paid invoices and stamps 'copy' on it, hole punches them and then chooses the correct folder to file them in. All quite laborious, I am not sure why he does not do it all on computer after all they have been printed from the computer (*Fieldnotes, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2011*).

[He goes] back to the filing cabinet and retrieves a file, returns to his desk and goes through the document. "I just need to do a bit of delving". He has been asked to do a reference and is finding out a volunteer's start date. Goes through each piece of paper in the file "here you go, here you go, here she is" and pulls out relevant papers then puts the file back together and returns to the filing drawer. He then proceeds to hand write the reference, this is very unusual to see nowadays. His pace is steady but slow compared to others observed. Pen poised thinking and then starts to write (*Fieldnotes, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2011*).

I watch him handwriting an internal memo in a triplicate book – very dated (*Fieldnotes, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2011*).

Robert was steered by memories which acted as his guide in terms of how he should act at work. These memories harkened back to a simpler past, when according to Robert, individuals had greater agency over their work. Robert's spatial practices were enacting a past based upon "utopian ideals" (Harvey, 2000: 163). These ideals were in contention with the increasingly commercially focused organisation. Robert's resistance was directed at the new ways of working; in the face of increasing commercial pressure he was trying to hang on to old values and in so doing his working habits and routines deviated from the required purpose of the space, which was primarily to increase income.

By resisting organisational change he provided himself with a sense of continuity, with a sense that he still belonged to the organisation to which he had been a part of since he was a boy (he was approaching retirement at the time of the fieldwork). Continuity served to preserve and protect his sense of identity in the face of experiencing what Milligan (2003) calls a sense of 'identity discontinuation', a sense of displacement caused by changing working practices. Continuity therefore helped to ease his unease and his melancholy at the loss of what once was. Through these emotions he was able to "blunt ever-hostile newness" (Bachelard, 1950/2000: 60), which otherwise might have threatened his sense of belonging in the organisation. Robert's practices were deeply immersed in the past, and he found it difficult to accept that some ideals were gradually dying and were slowly being replaced in an organisation which was trying to balance the tensions between the sacred and the secular.

Resistance towards what the organisation represents today was also enacted by Valerie. Whilst like Robert she was drawing on the past, hers was an unlived imagined past (Strangleman, 1999) which informed her spatial routines in the cathedral. Early on, I noted some of Valerie's routines in my fieldnotes:

I observe Valerie climb over the closed altar gate and under the red cord barrier to get her prayer book from the quire stalls (Fieldnotes, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2011).

Same routine as previously, climbs over the closed altar gate and under the red cord to collect the prayer book, only this time she looked towards the morning service taking place, I wonder if this was to see if she was going to be seen (*Fieldnotes, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2011*).

I later asked Valerie about these routines during our conversation:

*I noticed on two mornings you were in the cathedral and climbed over and went under the physical barrier surrounding the altar, would you do this in another cathedral?*

No, I wouldn't do it in a cathedral I didn't know and I wouldn't do it in this cathedral if it wasn't very early in the morning. But you know it's not that I think there's anything wrong in itself about walking across that space, it's just a part of the cathedral, I don't see it as being more sacred than any other. You see, I've always been fascinated by the fact that buildings like this [the cathedral] and church buildings, particularly in medieval times and just post medieval times were used by the community. They were used by markets, the porches were used to keep sheep in, and people did things in them. They became a sacred space when you had an act of worship and there might always be a place set aside for the sacrament to be, but they'd be used for the community and I think, they should be. They are buildings that can be sacred spaces when you want them to be, but they can also be used as communal spaces and I think they ought to be used as communal spaces. You know, you could still appreciate the beauty even though you are using it as a work space, a different space.

Valerie, like Robert, was juxtaposing a selective and idealised past with the present which they both found to be lacking in terms of the organisation's perceived lack of 'community' focus and 'ministry of welcome'. Through her narrative Valerie was presenting a "warm

feeling of yearning and longing” (Gabriel, 1993: 121) for a particular time; a medieval time which to Valerie was a utopia of sorts, shaped by historical readings and her imagination. Valerie’s understanding of the purpose of the cathedral space emerges through the imaginary which is enacted through her current spatial practices. How Valerie perceives the space is different from how it is conceived of by the organisation today. To Valerie the cathedral is increasingly becoming representative of exclusion. Individuals are prevented from entering certain areas of the cathedral and on certain occasions, for example when concerts are held, are being totally excluded from the cathedral. These changes, which like Robert she is resisting, are stemming from the need to raise income following the decline in funding and a decline in visitor donations. Brown and Humphrey’s (2006) research on identity and resistance charts how a case of organisational restructuring resulted in employees wishing to knock down and ‘bulldoze’ certain buildings which they considered to be past the point of renovation. Similarly, Valerie’s fantasy served to highlight halcyon bygone days; a time in which the building’s purpose was, according to her, put to better use. While the conflict felt by Valerie did not bring about a desire for doing away with the building, it served to legitimise her present use of the space, a common practice in organisations where ‘how things used to be done’ is mobilised to justify current working practices. As in the case with Robert we here see how the past “dressed up and embellished [can] triumph over the present” (Gabriel, 1993: 121). For Robert, through maintaining practices associated with the past, and for Valerie, through imaginaries of a medieval time, there was an attempt at escaping and resisting the “contradictions of modernity” (Boym, 2001: xvii) which the organisation was facing. These contradictions were represented through the organisation having to manage the increasing tension between the need for income with the need to preserve Christian values. Through Valerie’s accounts of the medieval church, reflections of a space of openness were mobilised. In this imaginary space



the cathedral welcomes all and represents a space free of stratification which Valerie sees as serving to control movements in a prohibitive way. This imagined medieval church is represented as a space where people were at liberty to roam and use the space as they wished, as opposed to being constrained by the powers of the organisation. This is a highly selective idealised view, for the cathedral in medieval times was still powerful, people were still being constrained in many ways, but for the contemporary cathedral visitor, this particular practice when viewed upon in terms of the constraints imposed today seems 'free'. The past is thus viewed through the lens of a contemporary understanding of socio-spatial practices.

It is clear that drawing on the past presents ways that users of space may resist contemporary organisational practices and do so based on an emotional sense of detachment and "disenchantment with the present" (Gabriel, 1993: 137). This leads to attempts to ignore organisational change. However, the past is important for it provides a sense of continuity and thus provides an understanding of what our own role might be in the 'timeline' of the organisation and in so doing contributes to our identities at work. What we do, the mundane organisational routines that so often are performed automatically, becomes part of building on an experienced or imagined past which in turn becomes one way of producing lived space.

### **8.2.1 The Immortal Organisation**

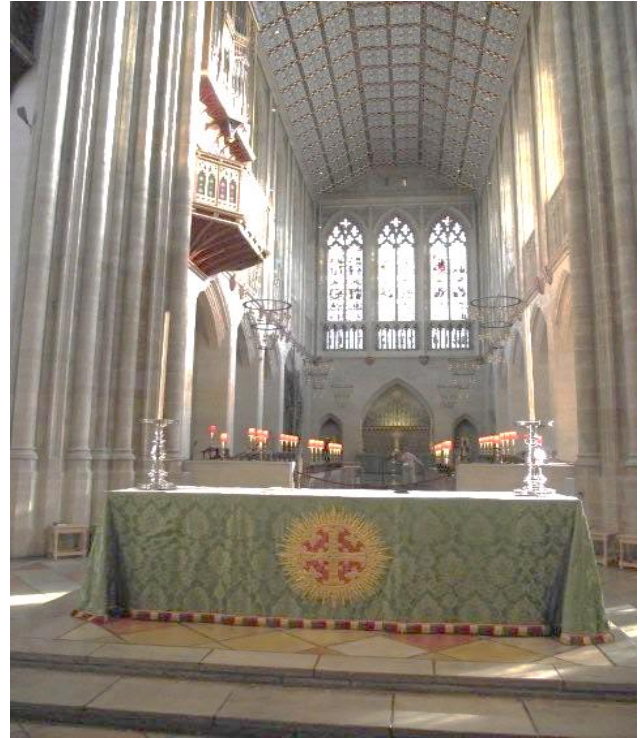
Through the participants' narratives and photographs, it became known that the imaginary also played a role in transcending time and space through an imagining of death and its aftermath. The notion of the organisation outliving its members was exemplified by Robert's narration below of a space where death emerges in a personal sense. This was evident

through his desired imaginings of his own end. In this context the organisation becomes (he hopes) the beholder of not only his memories of the past, but also the beholder of his dead body:

That's a special place, a really special place. We were married in front of this altar.

*I did not know that.*

And also I'm a server [a volunteer role] in this area. This is the sanctuary and this is really important to me in the role of server. Beyond that is the quire and years ago I used to be a choir



**Image 25: Central Altar**

boy here. So that area is all part of who I am really. You see I was actually, this applies to my wife and my children, we were all christened here, we were all confirmed here, all married here and you never know, I won't be buried here, but my ashes might be.

Robert's narration of the photograph of a space which held personal meaning to him is predicated on memories of the past. This particular space is for Robert a powerful reminder of happy past events, enabling him to "rescue the past from darkness... bringing it into the light of the present day" (Lefebvre, 1961/2002: 288). His narration of a past space in a present space enables him to experience space and time beyond their present manifestations. In the present moment, Robert is able to imagine his space of bodily rest, and in doing so, his "bodily being [is] spilling over its own boundaries" (Morris, 2004: 178) into an imagined future. In imagining his death he is striving "to attain something not yet present

and to ‘presentify’ or present it” (Lefebvre, 1961/2002: 288). The power of the cathedral building, itself a symbol of life and death, “transmutes the fear of the passage of time, and anxiety about death into splendour [...] The space of death [is] negated, transfigured into a living space which is an extension of the body (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 221)”. The notion of death becomes localised in a space where in the realm of the imagination the past, present and future merge into one.

Robert’s aspirations of the place for his body after death makes the assumption that the cathedral will outlive him and in so doing, it will eternally house his remains. This notion of being outlived by the organisation also applied to Barbara and Maggie who both acknowledged that the cathedral will outlive their physical form:

The Lady Chapel I can go and sit in, it’s very much as I think I have remarked before, it’s part of our family chapel. No particular reason except that we have our own family tablet on display there (Barbara).

The ‘family tablet’ stretched the space in time, it meant that Barbara was part of the history of the space, part of its present and a part of its future. A future which would outlive Barbara, but of which she would always be a part. The cathedral tower had a similar resonance with Maggie:

The tower is a little moment of time when history is being made, in hundreds of years to come people will be coming to see what happened in the time that I was working here and for me that gives me an enormous buzz and sense of satisfaction.

Through the family tablet, the cathedral tower and buried ashes, Barbara, Maggie and Robert all vied for an existence in the organisation after their physical death. In expecting the organisation to be immortal they were in a sense “creat[ing] a modest immortality for themselves” (Walter, 2014: 72). Their memories and emotions concerning the organisation presents a timelessness which transcends fears associated with the passing of time beyond one’s own existence. They are able to look forward to beyond the point of death, which becomes a moment of anticipated ‘splendour’. In their own “desire for personal immortality” (Ibid: 74), the participants show a refusal to acknowledge that the organisation is anything other than immortal.

The immortalising of space through memories of times past, was further observed with Michael, who like Robert was seeking to protect precious memories of a previous time and relive them in present time. Michael’s narration below speaks of such cherished space:

Yes, that’s a very personal preference. I’ve taken the picture of the Lady Chapel because that’s where I do my thing [take a service] at 1 o’clock on a Wednesday. It reminds me very much of what I used to do as a parish priest in one of my little country churches in Norfolk, it’s the same size, and the congregation is about the same size. So, that’s the space I do love dearly.



**Image 26: The Lady Chapel**

By being in the enclosed space of the Lady Chapel, at a fixed time, Michael was able to enjoy and relive the space of his past. In Michael's narration we see how "the recollection of moments of confined, simple, shut-in space are experiences of heartwarming space..." (Bachelard, 1964/1994: 10) which Michael wanted to protect. This he was able to do through his experience in the Lady Chapel. Bachelard goes on to say that "such a space does not seek to become extended, but would like above all still to be possessed", in Michael's case he has succeeded in extending his dearly loved space into the Lady Chapel, enabling him to not only recollect and 'possess' his experiences in his memory but also reliving these experiences every Wednesday lunchtime. Being in the Lady Chapel, evoked the same feelings that he previously had in his Norfolk churches. Through the filtering of memories, Michael remembers his former country churches with affection. This revering of a past space in a present space makes the detangling of what is real and what is being imagined difficult. The real and the imaginary are not separate realms, they are coexisting in present organisational space. Through the photograph of the Lady Chapel, we see the intermingling of everyday organisational (spatial) practices with the imaginary. The 'little country church' is indelibly marked within Michael, it cannot be forgotten or removed; it is a space which Michael loves and therefore will return to again and again through his spatial practices in the present. With Michael, it is possible to see how the imaginary and the real are dimensions of the lived experience that cannot be separated.

What came to light through the participants' photographs was not the domination of conceived space, but the emerging of lived space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). Through the imaginary, the cathedral spaces were being lived in ways that came to define them in terms of how "they engage[d] an individual user's symbolic understanding and imagination" (Lefebvre 1974/1991: 34). Through the participants' reflective memories, space becomes

imbued with an imaginary value “whereby the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here” (Said, 1978/2003: 55). Through memories the meanings associated with a past come into the present space and in so doing transcends the meaning of the present space.

### **8.3 Furthering Understandings of Organisational Space through the Imaginary**

As the participants were making sense of organisational space through their preunderstandings (Gadamer, 1975/2004), we see in section 8.2 the imaginary emerging in the form of memory, death and nostalgia. These aspects of the imaginary punctuate the logical, calculable side of organisations, juxtaposing these with more muddy and messy aspects. I consider that much of the participants’ lived experience in this chapter is based on a sense of nostalgia stemming from idealised memories. Nuding (2009: 2) succinctly defines nostalgia as “a desire reaching across time” and, I add, across space. Nostalgia prevents a freezing of time in space, for it brings the then and now together, allowing the past to live on in the present (Kitson and McHugh, 2014). Organisational spaces such as the cathedral and the shop serve to recapture memories which in turn both connect and disconnect the participants to and from the organisation. To conceptualise this aspect of the imaginary I turn to Boym’s (2001) two forms of nostalgia. These forms are based on the etymology of nostalgia, namely ‘*nosta*’ equalling home, and ‘*algia*’ equalling longing. The first type, ‘Restorative Nostalgia’ is based on *nosta* and the second type ‘Reflective Nostalgia’ focuses on *algia*, on “the dreams of another place and another time” (Boym, 2001: 41). Boym defines the two as follows:

If restorative nostalgia means reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time, reflective nostalgia cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space.

Nostalgia represents and merges together both memory and space, the abstract and the concrete. The spatialisation of time brings the past into the present through the appropriation of present space. Past times become manifest through, for example, the decoration and objects in present space. Restorative nostalgia refers to reconstructing past times in present space, as when migrants reconstruct and recover parts of their past homes in a new setting. This acting out of the past provides a bridge to a homeland currently lost, and so the past regains value, and becomes a spatial manifestation in the present. Reflective nostalgia on the other hand, seeks to temporalise, it seeks to mark a time in space by adding an historical dimension to a present space. In contrast to restorative nostalgia, this is not about the re-establishment of continuity observed in material form, it is a nostalgia that manifests in the mind and which seeks to protect the past by reflecting on it in the present.

In the context of the data presented, I consider for example that reflective nostalgia is present in Robert's and Michael's narration of the cathedral space. Their need to keep alive and relive selected memories, namely the past events of christenings and weddings, along with the conducting of services in 'little country churches'. Both participants were seeking to keep their own idealised past alive through the cathedral. In contrast, Valerie's narration of the cathedral whilst presenting a nostalgic view, represents "a romance with one's own fantasy" (Boym, 2007: 7). Through her own fantasy of what she imagined medieval times in cathedrals to be like, Valerie produced lived space through her spatial behaviours. The medieval spaces of churches were not spaces Valerie had physically inhabited and yet Valerie had an affection with these spaces of history. Through the present space she was able to "to

imagine the bustle of the medieval street” (Pallasmaa, 2012: 56) a space which she idealises in her imagination. Valerie was attempting to restore selected aspects of the past in the cathedral today. This can be conceptualised through Boym’s notion of restorative nostalgia of bringing the past through spatial practices into the present. Similarly, Robert’s discussion concerning the cathedral shop along with my observations of his working practices are also conceptualised as a form of restorative nostalgia. Robert’s working practices were helping to bring the working practices and values of old in the present. Robert’s practice is understood as an attempt to manipulate the current and future workings of the organisation and in so doing protect the organisation as once known.

The dying of traditional organisational practices as experienced by Robert and Valerie presents a metaphor of organisational death. Similarities to this conceptualisation of death, in terms of a nostalgic mourning of old practices, can be drawn in the organisation literature exploring ‘organisational death’ and ‘organisational endings’, each of which effectively illustrates notions of organisational change and organisational failure (e.g. Bell, 2012; Bell and Taylor, 2011; Kelly and Riach, 2014; Milligan, 2003; Walter, 2014). The attempt to prevent the dying of old practices through restorative nostalgia were being balanced with an opposite view of the organisation, the immortal organisation. This became known through a form of nostalgia which created not only a past but also a future. Robert’s reflective nostalgia of the cathedral led him to expressing his desires around his death, to a future time and space. Aspirations of having a future in the cathedral post death were present in Barbara’s narrations of the tablet in the Lady Chapel and Maggie’s narration of the cathedral tower, both examples of how the women imagined themselves being able to ‘live on’ in the organisation post death. The notion of the immortal organisation is particularly relevant to the cathedral seen as a timeless space, for “it seems eternal... it seems to have escaped time.



[It] transcends death” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 221). The outcome of such immortalisation is that even if the cathedral fell to ruin it will always be known and remembered as St Edmundsbury Cathedral, as it will live on in the perception of others. This is an image people and the organisation want to sustain, yet there are of course no concrete grounds for this eternal view.

In this chapter, it is seen that participants were able to bring to life an imaginary past and future in the present. They were able to understand space with both their memory and imagination. As Daskalaki et al., (2008: 60) state “[t]he engagement with the real and immediate occurs as a constant negotiation with the already known and remembered on one hand and the imagined and anticipated on the other”. They inhabited an imaginary space in a real space, producing lived space which brought into the realm of existence “the full sense of their experience” (Pallasmaa, 2012: 74). The imaginary then, is a concept which brings together the real with the abstract. Feelings evoked through a sense of nostalgia provided the participants with the opportunity to repeat the unrepeatable and materialise the immaterial (Boym, 2001). The unrepeatable represents past events, which through organisational space were able to be rematerialized through the participants lived experience in organisational space. For the participants’, the space and its associated imaginings provided ways to “retain the treasures of former days” (Bachelard, 1964/1994: 5). In the present they were able to relive the past and plan for a future in which they would not be present; time and space had an infinite and immortal quality.

Through the participants’ lived experiences the contribution of memory and its associated feelings of nostalgia in terms of understanding organisational space becomes known. The participants were only able to bring “back to life [the past] by linking it firmly to an affective

theme that is necessarily present” (Bachelard, 1950/2000: 50). The ‘affective theme’ was the nostalgic feelings of sentimentality that the current organisational spaces evoked in the participants. This sentimentality arose through past events which were being reconstituted through the selective sorting and filtering of memories, used to translate an idealised past into the present. The imaginary enabled participants to extend the boundaries of organisational space, producing a lived dimension of space which only became known through the intermingling of the physical space and their embodied experience, informed by their imagination.

To finish this section of the chapter, it is recognised that the participants showed a need for the past and the future to be present in organisational space. The “emotive capacity of nostalgia gives it the future (rather than just the past) relevance that explains its recurrent manipulation as a political tool” (Legg, 2004: 100). Through the notion of nostalgia individuals were manipulating organisational space. This was physically achieved in terms of spatial behaviours and in terms of the appropriation of space through memory. Through these means, participants were changing the meaning of space, not only in terms of the present, but they were also, through the imaginary, constructing the meaning of a future organisational space.

What this means for our increased knowledge of organisational space is that for some organisations there is a strong ‘drive’ to conceive of the organisation as long-lived, and as strongly rooted in the past. This is important and especially so if the organisation is steeped in years of history, like in this case. Of course the other side to this is that new organisations for example business start-ups, may instead value the fact they are not ‘hampered’ by the past. However, wanting to conceive of an organisation as long-lived also provides a means of

'stability' for newer organisations; that organisational space is imbued with meaning that goes beyond the organisation itself, thus endowing it with a meaningful position in a wider context.

#### **8.4 Situating the Concept of the Imaginary used in this Thesis**

The concept of the imaginary has been introduced as a compelling lens through which to further understand the lived experience of space. It is shown in this chapter that lived space is produced through the imaginary, which is "the way ordinary people "imagine" their social surroundings (Taylor 2002: 106). As observed in this chapter the imaginary is expressed through the participants' daily practice, photographs and conversations. In this final section I clearly articulate the theoretical heritage of the imaginary as applied in this thesis. To define the imaginary would be to say that it is considered as a product of the imagination (Komporozos-Athanasiou and Fotaki, 2015), it is the work of the imagination. The imagination and the imaginary are not considered in this thesis as separate concepts, the two go hand in hand, for the imaginary materialises through the imagination and is concerned with two dimensions. First, the figurative and second, the affective, namely feelings, emotions, sentiments, memories and its associated feelings of nostalgia (Ibid). An empirical example presented in this chapter is the Chapel of Transfiguration. The chapel was by Barbara described as being symbolic of the womb. Here, the imaginary was not confined to producing the symbol of the womb; it was also entwined with the affective emotions the womb evokes. Barbara extends the figurative by drawing on feelings and emotions which serve to express the imaginary in an embodied way: "It's a peaceful place, I love the peace. When you've got so much going on out there in this world of ours, it's escape in a way". Through the concept of the body of space (Lefebvre, 2004/1991) Barbara was able to be at one with space, to experience a sense of calm and peace which was in contrast to how she

felt outside of the space. Both the figurative and the affective represent the imaginary, they are not separate.

The imaginary presents a means by which physical, conceived space is attributed with meaning and translated into lived experience through the body. The bringing together of the physical with embodied lived experience intertwines the imaginary with a material manifestation and is “where the imaginary is transformed into the real” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 251). Lefebvre is here pointing to the fact that the imaginary can be considered as ‘real’. This view opposes a Lacanian use of the imaginary. Lacan (1977/2001) used the mirror as an example to illustrate his conceptualising of the imaginary, whereby the child’s image reflecting back was considered as being outside of the body, not united with the living sensory body. From this perspective the imaginary is only understood through its symbolic form as opposed to its practical, embodied form. In ‘The Production of Space’, Lefebvre (1974/1991) seeks to address this dualism and from this perspective resonates with Castoriadis’ (1987) view of the imaginary. Castoriadis considered that the imaginary should not be viewed from the perspective of a Cartesian dualism which separates body and mind. Instead, and as the example above shows, the imaginary should represent the bringing together of the “material, embodied and affective” (Dawney, 2011: 538). This view is shared by scholars (e.g. Fitzpatrick 2002; Klein, 2015; Komporozos-Athanasiou and Fotaki, 2015; Lennon 2004) who consider the unconscious as intertwined with lived experience. Castoriadis (1987, 1994) posits that much of the understanding of individuals, societies and institutions is based on rational and logical aspects, which seek to control and maintain the status quo. He argues that whilst important, this view neglects the unpredictable and indeterminant practices of social life which need to be explored in order to more fully understand social phenomena. The imaginary plays a key role in this understanding, for “the

imagination is the power (the capacity, the faculty) to make appear representations [...] whether with or without an external incitement” (Castoriadis, 1994: 139). The imaginary as a product of the imagination has the power to bring ideas into a material form whereby they *become* practices. The imagination therefore provides “the condition for there being a real for us” (Lennon, 2004: 107), and “is what makes it possible for any being-for-itself to *create for itself* an own world “within” which it also posits itself” (Castoriadis, 1994: 143, original emphasis); it provides the body with the opportunity to produce for itself lived space.

When Castoriadis (1987) discusses the imaginary he talks of the “social imaginary” being “the social-historical field” (Ibid.) within which we find ourselves. This I take to mean the deeply embedded social, cultural and historical horizons (Gadamer, 1975/2004) of individuals and societies to which all understanding pertains and with reference to which all members of a society gain a position of understanding. As Klein (2015: 328) aptly notes “it is through social imaginary significations that society brings itself into being”. It is this then, the social imaginary, which guides our understanding of social phenomena, and in the context of this thesis, guides our understanding of the lived dimension of organisational space. Social imaginaries here are considered as assemblages of understandings arising from the embodied experiences of the participants who share the spaces of the organisation. These experiences are both similar in terms of for example, following the same rules and procedures, and different in terms of each body holding its own specificities and histories which produce different interpretations.

The imaginary in this chapter was seen as a way in which the participants were able to make sense of their place in the organisation. It was a way in which they could express their hopes and disappointments, and it provided a means by which they could understand the

organisation and their life within it. The imaginary was made accessible through their daily rituals and practices and through their photographs, each of which was underpinned by our hermeneutic conversations. Their imaginaries did not remain stationed in their minds, instead they were enacted in their daily practice. An obvious example was shown by Doreen, who rarely ventured across to The Office due to the feelings of separation she experienced in the organisation. Notions of separation were represented by the car park which she had figuratively appropriated using the metaphor of the Atlantic Ocean. This figurative appropriation requires “an awakening of imagination and of the creative imaginary” (Castoriadis, 2007: 86), and which led to the transcending of the original function of the car park. In giving it new meaning Doreen was in effect combining the material with its imaginary significance.

It is seen in this chapter that participants recompose and challenge the meaning of existing organisational structures and practices through the imagination which produces different imaginaries, and which serves to characterise aspects of the organisation in a way not originally intended. Through the “interchange between physical, imaginary, and mediated practices” (Jenson, 2010: 121), the participants were able to perceive the organisation in alternative ways and produce lived space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991), which to them more closely represented their organisational reality. From this phenomenological perspective organisations are collectively being shaped and signified through an embodied imaginary, as Castoriadis (1994: 148) would posit, a “sensory, and more generally bodily, imagination”. From this perspective exploring the imaginary has value to organisation studies, for embracing the non-rational, unpredictability and uncertainty presented by the imaginary, organisations are effectively opening themselves up to change, as opposed to simply

adhering to “the way things are” (Wright et al., 2013: 650), which effectively seeks to silence the imaginary and in so doing, the lived experience.

## **8.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has sought to establish the role of the imaginary in understanding the lived experience of organisational space. Through “the landscapes of the mind” (Boym, 2001: 354) and through physical workspace participants showed how organisational spaces “become imbued with cumulative sets of memories” (Davidson, 2009: 339). This view supports the notion of space as ever changing, not only through spatial practice but also in terms of spatial understandings, which, through the space of the body (Lefebvre, 1974/1991), produce multiple imaginary representations. In this chapter it has been shown how space is being stretched through time and how time is being stretched through space. Through the notions of memory, death and nostalgia, participants were able to ‘fuse together’ their past, present and future, which shaped lived space. This presents important understandings of how the lived dimension of everyday organisational space is constituted.

Throughout the chapter it has been shown how organisational space is understood in light of perceived organisational ideals, here conceptualised as utopian space and dystopian space. These spaces provide a way of living organisational space, showing how the imaginary becomes concretised through spatial practices. Importantly, utopian spaces are unforgiving in their presentations of a ‘perfect’ space which does not exist, so can in turn become spaces of dissatisfaction when ideals cannot be met.

Boym’s (2001) concept of ‘restorative nostalgia’ facilitated a way in which to understand how past experiences, past times and past spaces all became ways of resisting organisational

change and desired working practices. For example, the expected practices of the contemporary organisation were being ignored in favour of an idealised past, which sought to protect identity and values considered to be important in present times. The data presented brought forward imaginative means by which individuals contest organisational power, and presents a different way of understanding resistance to organisational change as a process of mourning. Through the concept of Boym's (2001) 'reflective nostalgia' it was seen how participants selected and mobilised particular memories to create a sense of belonging to the organisation's past, present and future. The notion of belonging extended their own lives producing a sense of timeless continuity, here conceptualised as the immortal organisation. This immortalisation of the organisation becomes particularly poignant related to cathedrals, which are often viewed as representing eternal power, and which house the bodies of the deceased within its own body. In the more general organisational context, the idea of immortalisation is important for it shapes organisational behaviour and does so in terms of identity marking and identity continuation and in terms of creating a sense of belonging to the organisation. And despite organisational closures now being a regular feature of business news, there is I consider, a common hope that when we join an organisation, we will leave no matter how small a legacy. We like to think that organisations are immortal so that we ourselves can be immortal.



## ***Chapter Nine: Conclusions and Final Reflections***

## **Introduction**

This final chapter returns to the research question and sub questions, to review the interpretations and conclusions drawn from the empirical work. The questions were as follows:

### **How is organisational space lived and understood at work?**

The overarching question was fleshed out by three specific sub-questions:

What is the role of the body in the production of lived organisational space?

How do past experiences inform individuals' understanding of organisational space?

In what ways can the lived dimension of organisational space be articulated?

The empirical research, born from an organisational ethnography explored the lived experience of organisational space through a Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenological approach, complemented by the methods of ethnographic shadowing, photo-elicitation and hermeneutic conversations (Gadamer, 1975/2004). The research findings presented in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight were analysed by drawing on aspects of the organisational space literature along with Lefebvre's (1974/1991; 1992/2004) spatial conceptualisations which included his work on the spatial triad, spatial architectonics and rhythmanalysis. In addition to this, underpinning Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, Lefebvre's (1974/1991: 200 and 201) concepts of the "total body" and the "space of the body" were

complemented by Bachelard's (1964/1994) work on the imagination, and specifically in Chapter Eight, Boym's (2001 and 2007) work on nostalgia.

This chapter begins with establishing the contributions of the thesis. First, the theoretical contribution is presented, followed by the methodological and empirical contributions. Having outlined the main contributions of the thesis, the chapter then considers the limitations of the thesis, and based on this and the conclusions offered, suggests further avenues for future research, before ending with the closing reflections of the thesis.

## **9.1 Contributions to Research into the Lived Dimension of Organisational Space**

The ontological and epistemological position taken in this thesis supports conceptualisations of space from a phenomenological perspective. This perspective was taken for its focus on understanding the lived experience of space, which from a phenomenological viewpoint is understood as dynamic and fluid, "in constant motion" (Thrift, 2006: 141) as opposed to fixed and homogenous, and thereby considered as "wholly independent of what is *in* space" (Casey, 1998: 139, original emphasis). In particular I argue that understanding the lived experience of space needs to account for the perspective of the "total body" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 200). Such a conceptualisation moves beyond regarding the body and space as separate entities, a perspective that is commonly taken in the organisational space literature. In this thesis, a Lefebvrian understanding of space which brings space and body together is instead taken.

This section of the chapter elaborates on three key findings which provide the basis for the theoretical contribution of the thesis. These findings are concerned with how the lived

experience of organisational space is understood from the perspective of the body 'of' or 'through' space as opposed to 'in' space. From this position I maintain that important conceptualisations of the lived experience of organisational space through the temporally situated body can be made that contribute to the body of knowledge concerned with spatial approaches to organisations. Based on this, the first key finding raises the importance of the need to belong in organisations and turns attention to the ways in which organisational belonging is spatially achieved. The second key finding observes the importance of the mobile body for lived understandings of space and offers not only a perspective on how lived space is produced through the body, but also ways of understanding organisational power and resistance from a bodily perspective. This key finding draws on the ways in which the body alternates between being controlled and shaped by space and seeking to shape space and orientate itself through its bodily gestures. The third and final key finding presents a temporal aspect to the lived experience of space and does so through the notions of the imaginary, and in particular to memory and nostalgia. Specific attention is given to the ways that individuals draw on their memories and feelings associated with nostalgia in order to understand organisational space. These findings will now be developed further in the sections below.

### **9.1.1 Acknowledging the Importance of Belonging for Understanding the Lived Dimension of Space**

This thesis seeks to contribute to research which specifically explores the domain of the lived experience of organisational space (e.g. Tyler and Cohen, 2010; Wasserman, 2012). From the analysis of the findings it can be concluded that creating a sense of belonging and ownership at work is important. Presented in this section of the chapter is a new lens through which to explore organisational belonging, which in the organisational literature is commonly

considered under the notions of identity and culture. In this thesis organisational belonging is explored spatially, through the embodied actions of individuals, meaning that a sense of organisational belonging is created through space. I argue that creating a sense of belonging at work produces a particular kind of lived space which I have framed through the concepts of liminal and heterotopian space. Contributing to the production of these lived spaces is the appropriation of space through artefacts in terms of the embodied experience that their usage evoke. Artefacts, then, are explored from a bodily perspective, and come to play an important role as 'extensions' of the body. This extends the existing organisational literature which typically explores artefacts as expressions of identity construction (e.g. Tian and Belk, 2005; Elsbach, 2003) or from an aesthetic perspective (e.g. Warren, 2002; 2006). The embodied appropriation of artefacts creates moments of liminality through lived space. An example in the findings was when a participant could, through photographs placed in her immediate workspace, experience feelings associated with being outside of the organisation, namely on retreat, whilst inside the organisation, and in such moments was in-between different spaces. In the context of heterotopian space, artefacts are considered in such a way that extends the more typical focus of heterotopian space produced through the physical appropriation of space (e.g. Hjorth, 2005; Beyes and Michels, 2011). The focus in this thesis was, like liminal space, centred on the embodied appropriation of artefacts. This extension goes beyond what appropriation physically produces, to how heterotopian space is being embodied, which I understand as a form of internalising workspace so that space becomes intertwined with the body. An example of this internalising of workspace was offered by the participant who stated that their office was 'part of the space inside of them'. This I conceptualised by borrowing Bachelard's (1964/1994) notion of the 'nest', where space is being produced through the body, for the body. This production of liminal and heterotopian space through the bodily experience of artefacts enables a sense of belonging and ownership.

The importance associated with achieving a sense of organisational belonging I have conceptualised as dwelling. To dwell is in this context considered as a mode of being; a spatial expression of 'feeling at home' in one's immediate workspace. Making workspace a dwelling necessitates the undertaking of labour, seen in this thesis as embodied appropriation of workspace which in turn produced a space to dwell. This offers a new insight into the literature on the lived experience of organisational space to that presented by for example, Ng and Höpfl (2010); Tyler and Cohen (2010); Wasserman (2012) in that it provides an area of the lived experience currently underdeveloped in the organisational space literature. I suggest that the concept of dwelling, most usually associated with the home, can be applied to and is expressed in an organisational context through the bodily lived experience of space. This bodily view of belonging creates a sense of intimacy at work, transforming workspace into a deeply felt, embodied place. Such a spatial, phenomenological perspective on the meaning and experience of intimacy in organisations offers a broadened understanding of the constitution of organisational emotional and experiential landscapes.

### **9.1.2 Acknowledging the Moving Body for Understanding the Lived Dimension of Space**

Walking is in the context of organisational space studies an overlooked activity, possibly due to its taken-for-grantedness. From the findings presented in this thesis I conclude that walking provides an important contribution to our understanding of the lived dimension of space. I am here not referring to the quantitative mapping of movements within and across organisational spaces through, for example, SpaceSyntax which uses computerised software to monitor spatial usage (Dale and Burrell, 2008); I am referring to the moving body in terms of producing lived space. Whilst studies of organisational space have included the body, for example from a gendered perspective (e.g. Dale, 2001; 2005; Halford and Leonard, 2006),

what is currently lacking is an understanding of spatial production through the moving or mobile body. In this thesis walking became a key component of understanding the participants' lived experience and was observed in the field as a spatial tactic, used to open up space beyond its conceived purpose. The participants were 'composing' their own paths for the purposes of sociality, social avoidance and shortcuts. Mobility tends to be associated with fluidity, with change, with never being static, which can indeed be seen as a fundamental quality of movement. However, a different meaning can also be concluded from the findings. While walking emerged as an active process implied in the production of lived space, I also observed that it was equally performed in a routinised way, reproducing particular patterns and paths. Bodily mobility such as walking, then, can in contrast to signifying change and fluidity also come to perform a stabilising, repetitive, ritualistic function. Hence the mobile body is not always about tactical walking and opening up new paths; it also becomes sedimented and habituated. This sedimentation, achieved through movement, forms part of the reproduction of organisational space that maintains the status quo, emphasising the point that not all movement is about change.

In addition to the suggestion that the mobile body brings stability to organisational life, and provides a way of understanding lived experience, the mobile body also offers a means through which to explore the disciplining of the body in organisations. The disciplining of the body is present in organisational studies where movement has been explored in terms of comportment, for example the research on service work in terms of how organisational members, dress and look at work (e.g. Riach and Wilson, 2014). I am bringing something new to this research which extends the disciplining of the body from being primarily exercised through the conceived spaces of the organisation in terms of being emplaced in space (Dale and Burrell, 2008), in terms of spatial ordering and design (e.g. Kornberger et

al., 2011; Taylor and Spicer, 2007; Zhang and Spicer's 2013) and in terms of alternative work arrangements (e.g. Barnes, 2007; Elsbach, 2003; Halford 2004), to situating the disciplining process in lived space. This is where the analysis of the disciplining of the body is foregrounded from a bodily perspective, founded in how the body moves around the organisation. This analytical approach extends existing studies of the disciplining effects of organisational space, which are led by the physical design of space and in so doing have a tendency to view the body as situated in space, as opposed to being of space. This view of exploring the disciplining of the body enables an analysis of how the moving body is controlled in and across all organisational spaces, along with how the moving body resists and contests organisational control. Through the everyday acts of walking it can be observed how bodies are adhering to prescribed and imposed routes around the organisation and are following spatial practices which are aligned with conceived space, for example walking slowly in the cathedral. Equally it can be seen how through the moving body organisational members resist imposed routes by creating for example their own paths and shortcuts which contest conceived space.

The moving body I posit is important for understanding organisations, for it provides a way through which organisational members can make sense of the organisation and their role within it. Current organisational literature draws on the role that symbols, emotions and cognition play in organisational sense making. The very act of movement should also form part of this understanding, for the body is not static it is dynamic and one way that we see this dynamism is through the moving body.



### **9.1.3 Acknowledging Temporality for Understanding the Lived Dimension of Space**

As the findings show, the lived dimension of organisational space also has a temporal quality. This was evident for example in relation to imagined organisational pasts and futures, and the bearing such imaginaries had on the experiencing of organisational space in the present. I therefore argue that the imaginary is an important aspect and a key part of an embodied spatial production, providing a temporal aspect for understanding the lived experience of organisational space.

From the findings presented in Chapter Eight I conclude that the temporal dynamic underpinning the notion of the imaginary emerged through the participants' memories and feelings associated with nostalgia. Memory and nostalgia are not new concepts to organisation studies, and they have been drawn on to make important contributions to understandings of organisational identity, organisational change, and organisational attachment and belonging (e.g. Brown and Humphreys, 2006; Gabriel, 1993). However, the role of memory and nostalgia is hitherto underexplored from a spatial perspective, and in particular its role in producing lived space. Memory and nostalgia bring to the fore a temporal aspect to spatial understandings. In this thesis temporality is not understood as linear, calculable Newtonian time; instead it is about lived time intertwined with lived space. Memories are not factual reconstructions of the past, neatly presented along a time line, but reconstitutions of a past that affects the present. Similarly, the imagining of a future is not a linear time process, but instead is based on the lived experience of time which emerges through the embodied experience of space and which draws on and is informed by both the past and the present.

Lived organisational space is lived time which is produced through the imaginary, memory and nostalgia, which extend the possibilities of understanding time and space for they stretch time backwards and forwards, imbuing space with alternative temporal dimensions. What this brings to the organisational space literature is a further means to explore the ways that organisational space is appropriated. For I conclude that the imaginary, memory and nostalgia present different forms of appropriation to the commonly explored physical rearrangement of space through objects (Laurence et al., 2013 and Wells, 2000). The imaginary extends forms of appropriation and whilst I fully acknowledge that the physical and the mental are not completely separate, through the imaginary the meaning of appropriation extends beyond its physical appearance. These facets of the mind contribute significantly to how space is being appropriated and what this appropriation is then being attributed to in terms of temporality, memory and nostalgia.

These three key research findings are based on the idea that an understanding of the lived experience of organisational space has to consider the total body of space. That is, a phenomenological approach to understanding space which adopts an embodied view that considers in spatial understandings the importance of dwelling and belonging, movements, the imaginary, memory and nostalgia. I posit for the reasons given above, that the perspective of the total body of space contributes to our understanding of what shapes and informs the production of lived space and more broadly to different perspectives in terms of for example, viewing organisational power and control.

## **9.2 Foregrounding the Body in Hermeneutic Phenomenological Research**

The composition of the research methods, supported by a Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenology, has brought two methodological aspects to the fore, worth evaluating in

terms of making a contribution. The first aspect considers how knowledge production is tied to the researcher's embodied presence in the world, and the second to the process of bringing individuals' bodily actions into their awareness.

Whilst reflecting on the preconceptions we bring to the field as researchers is often addressed in reflexive discussions of fieldwork, it is commonly addressed from a cognitive standpoint rather than accounting for the materiality of the body. More seldom accounted for is an embodied reflexivity which considers the ways in which the preconceptions that we bring to the field are expressed and experienced in an embodied manner. Instead preconceptions, here conceptualised as horizons following Gadamer (1974/2000), are commonly framed as being mental/cognitive. However, I argue that they have an embodied dimension, meaning that our horizons are tied up with a bodily understanding. How we situate ourselves in relation to the world and others in it is premised on an embodied consciousness. An example of how my preconceptions were embodied was through my felt experience of awkwardness. This occurred when shadowing a research participant whilst he and his family were part of the cathedral congregation, or having to walk briskly to keep up with a participant in the cathedral, or writing fieldnotes during a cathedral service – these events all made me feel uncomfortable. Rather than ignoring my embodied response, I questioned it until an understanding emerged. I attempted to 'unpack' my preconceptions, which in this example were formed by what I considered to be appropriate behaviours inside a cathedral, questioning their origin and whether they were still valid. This process of unpacking took place in the field during the shadowing phase of the research and after when I reflected on my experiences. This feeling of being uncomfortable in the cathedral emerged not only through my own embodied response, but was also evoked through the participants' bodily actions, for example when erected boundaries within the cathedral were disregarded

and stepped over, or when pews were stood on to take photographs. My preconceptions were viscerally experienced through my body, and how I responded to them was an important part of understanding the lived experience of organisational space, and an important commitment to hermeneutic phenomenological based research. Accounting for the embodied presence and understanding of the researcher in the analysis of data is essential, for in being present I am also incorporated in the body/space dynamic.

In addition to bringing an embodied awareness of the researcher into understandings of the lived experience of organisational space, my methodology provided a way to bring an embodied perspective to the participants' understanding of their lived experience. This was achieved through the research methods of shadowing followed by hermeneutic conversations, for I provided the participants with the transcribed fieldnotes prior to the hermeneutic conversations taking place. This I posit helped them to become reflexively aware of their embodied actions, which became a method of bringing back the everyday actions of their bodies into their awareness. Through the sharing of fieldnotes it was ensured that aspects of everyday routines and habits formed a significant part of our interpretive dialogue. This was essential in order to understand the lived experience of organisational space, as we have seen that habituated action constitutes an important part of it.

I do not claim that my research design is novel in itself; shadowing, interviews/conversations and photos are used in fieldwork. However, I do make a claim that the ways that these methods were composed make for a strong overall design which enabled the 'uncovering' of lived space. I posit that these methods have furthered research on organisational space from an embodied perspective. The methodology has enabled different aspects of the lived experience to emerge, for example the contribution of walking and the

imaginary to understanding the lived experience of organisational space, which have materialised through taking a phenomenological perspective based on joint interpretations.

Overall, the contribution of the chosen methodology is the incorporation of an embodied awareness to spatial understandings. This is an awareness which is foregrounded in a phenomenological epistemology which recognises the importance of the living body of the participant and the researcher for the research process and for understanding the lived experience of organisational space.

### **9.3 Presenting the Empirical Contribution to Organisational Space**

#### **Studies**

The final contribution of the thesis highlights the significance of researching a cathedral, an organisation currently neglected in organisational space studies and in the broader context of organisation studies. As noted in Chapter One, the cathedral is most commonly studied in the fields of architecture, theology and tourism. The cathedral in the context of organisation studies and specifically in the context of the lived experience of organisational space, adds an empirical contribution.

The cathedral, I argue, can be considered as a modern organisation, striving to survive and succeed in an increasingly competitive environment. However, this sector is not currently viewed from this perspective, but instead tends to be viewed from a religious perspective steeped in tradition. This view has precluded it from being considered for organisation based research. Like many organisations today, the cathedral is an organisation in transition as presented in Chapter Five. I suggest that what makes the site particularly interesting is how

the organisation is managing the challenges facing many secular organisations today such as increasing income levels during times of austerity, but is having to do so from both a secular context *and* a sacred context. Having to marry the sacred with the secular is what makes this organisation unique from the other organisations represented in the field of organisation studies.

Cathedrals exist in a particular context and the Christian ethos under which they operate does present particular dilemmas and challenges which are difficult to overcome. Whilst all organisations have to manage challenges particular to their contexts in which they are situated, pertinent to the cathedral is the historically embedded Christian values of the organisation not being aligned to its outcomes in terms of providing sources of income. I argue that what the organisation stands for represents its most significant challenge. For an organisation based on Christian values carries with it certain expectations which are not aligned with the commercial decisions that the organisation increasingly has to make. Tensions therefore arise due to the need to produce sacred space for the worshipper and secular space for the tourist and arise from the need to be innovative whilst preserving and respecting tradition. These tensions have to be managed in such a way as to meet the needs of both the secular and the sacred, for both are essential for the longevity of the organisation. These tensions provide a spatial perspective which draws on the concept of the 'moral landscape' (Creswell, 1996) of the organisation, outlined in Chapter Five. Morals in this context relate to decisions and spatial activities which are considered to be either moral or immoral based on the interpretation of Christian ideologies.

Whilst a sacred organisation like the cathedral has to contend with challenges particular to its history and development, it also faces conditions similar to many other contemporary

organisations. The negotiation of competing value claims and changing organisational practices takes place in many organisations, however, as explained above, a cathedral also has unique organisational characteristics. This thesis to some extent redresses the lack of in-depth studies of the organisational realities of cathedrals by giving insight from a micro-level perspective, into the everyday life of the organisation. It does this by focussing on individuals situated within the particular traditions and history of the organisation, exploring the ways in which they negotiate this context through their everyday lived experience.

#### **9.4 Limitations of the Thesis**

All research projects carry limitations in terms of the research process undertaken. The limitations presented in this section of the chapter are a result of the decisions that I made concerning my research design and the methodology selected. The section begins by considering the restrictions imposed by studying one organisation, then moves on to a limitation associated with the body, followed by a limitation associated with phenomenologically based research.

The objective of this research was to examine the everyday lived dimension of organisational space, and so an in-depth analysis of one organisation was intentionally chosen. Whilst there are clear benefits of dedicating the entire fieldwork time to one organisation, this does preclude a comparative basis to my research. The only possibilities for comparative analysis was through the research presented in the existing organisational space literature, however a comparative analysis of a same or similar organisation was not possible as no such empirical study currently exists. A perceived limitation might therefore be that just one organisation was used, however, in taking a hermeneutic phenomenological approach the significance of having a greater number of participants or case studies is not really relevant,

for I maintain and endorse Smith et al.'s view (2009) that interpretive based studies produce rich and insightful data based on a small number of individual experiences. Importantly, this is what my research design enabled me to achieve.

The role of the total body in understanding lived space has been a key focus of this thesis. However, I recognise that a further perceived limitation of the thesis is that whilst I have addressed the body, I have not explicitly addressed the variation in experiences by different bodies. Yet, I argue that by applying Gadamer's horizons to spatial understandings a differentiated body does constitute part of my epistemology. The past and present horizons in relation to which the participants and I are situated are both general and unique. They are general insofar as they are shaped by wider social forces and unique insofar as they are particular to each individual. Given that I view these horizons as not purely based in cognition, but as being premised on an embodied epistemology, the differentiated body is present in this conceptualisation. As such, I am exploring it in a way which is particular to an individual's horizons and which therefore implicitly does account for the particularities of different bodies.

The final limitation links to the chosen methodology. A Gadamerian hermeneutic phenomenological approach does not set out to find absolute truths, for this is considered an impossibility when analysing lived experience. Instead, researchers adopting this approach set out to find momentary truths based on lived experience, as opposed to fixed meanings. This is a challenge in itself as the embodied lived experience is difficult to articulate, however, the methodology has I argue enabled me to bring out the more tacit and implicit experiences of organisational life. Articulations of momentary truths are always situated within a certain time and space and are constructed through joint interpretations



which stem from our social, cultural and historical traditions and values. This suggests that findings from research adopting a hermeneutic phenomenological approach are particular to the context in which it took place. This I disagree with, as whilst acknowledging that the data presented is based on situated subjective experiences, it would be wrong to suggest that the identified conceptualisations of the lived experience can only apply to this particular setting and to these particular research participants. There are aspects of the lived experience which I consider to be more durable than just a momentary truth. For example, the importance of belonging and dwelling, the significance of the moving body and the ways in which the imaginary, memory and nostalgia all play in producing lived space are embodied processes which are not unique to this particular organisational setting.

## **9.5 Avenues for Future Research**

Having discussed the conclusions and presented the limitations of the thesis, this penultimate section of the chapter outlines suggestions for future research. As the review of the literature outlined in Chapter Two pertaining to empirical work that explores organisational space suggests, along with theoretical conclusions which have been presented in this chapter, I consider that there is a gap which this thesis has started to address which brings together body and space in spatial understandings. This section of the chapter proposes two avenues of future research which I consider would present some needed insights to the field of organisational space studies.

Organisational spaces are changing as ways of working are changing. Much has now been recorded in the literature around alternative working practices, for example the implications of hot-desking and home-working. However I consider these and other working arrangements could benefit from further research through a spatial perspective which

explores in greater detail the embodied lived experience of such forms of work. Therefore, a further avenue of research which follows the epistemology stemming from Lefebvre's (1974/1991) notions of the 'total body' and 'space of the body' along with the chosen methodology adopted in this research, is exploring the lived experience of space of mobile workers. This introduces an examination of spaces which have traditionally not been viewed as spaces for work. For instance, trains, cafés, airports and hotels, which all present important contemporary sites of work. These public spaces are being transformed through the working bodies which occupy them, bodies which find ways of laying claim to the space. These circumstances potentially present interesting conceptualisations around territorialisation and ownership. Such research would provide valuable insights into how these contemporary ways of working might engender new possibilities and avenues along ways in which the lived experience of space is being understood by the mobile individual. This would enable comparisons to be drawn in terms of the way in which lived experiences are being understood by individuals who occupy public spaces, traditional organisational spaces as represented in this thesis, coworking spaces and home spaces. Bringing these different key spaces of work together would provide a more holistic understanding of the lived experience of organisational space across contemporary organisations, reflecting contemporary ways of working.

A second and equally as interesting avenue for future research is to explore further the imaginary. For this is considered to be a rich area of research which I posit will contribute to furthering our understanding of organisations. Following on from the above in terms of changing work arrangements and practices, questions arise which concern the role of the imaginary in spaces of work which sit outside of traditional work arrangements for example, trains and coffee shops. Such questions which further research could explore are for

example, how coherent stories are told about space when a person has no emotional attachment to the space that they are working in. In this thesis, memory and nostalgia concerned with a past and a future provided the basis of such stories, and which were very much anchored in traditional workspace. So what happens when workspaces are instead dispersed, when there is not such a deep attachment to them? Does the imaginary then serve a different purpose and in turn does this then say something about the notion of dwelling that is different from dwelling as explored in this thesis from the traditional work arrangement perspective. Further research is needed to answer these questions thereby broadening our understandings of these contemporary sites of work.

## **9.6 Closing Reflections**

All organisations are made up of spaces which are produced through the embodied practices and imaginations of individuals. Therefore the lived dimension of organisational space is worthy of being treated as a significant aspect of organisational life. This thesis has shown that greater attention needs to be given to the lived experience of organisational space for which the body plays a key role. Understandings from this perspective present the non-rational aspects of organisations and in so doing move away from a homogenous one-dimensional view of space which facilitates the “spiriting-away or scotomization of the body” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991: 201). The theoretical contributions of this thesis have presented conceptualisations of the lived dimension of space which have led from the notion of ‘space of the body’ (Ibid.). These understandings I consider richly represent the lived experience of organisational space for they incorporate fully the bodily lived experience.

On a personal, reflective note two things have sustained my motivation during this thesis. The first is my interest in people. I have an innate desire to try to understand people

(including myself) and whilst undoubtedly challenging, being able to grasp an understanding of aspects of other peoples' daily life, has been a great source of inspiration. The second rests in my interest in space. The different spaces that I inhabit matter, as I have for some time been aware of how space makes me feel and I enjoy questioning my body's acceptance or rejection of space. I try to understand through my body the space that I inhabit. So by bringing the two together – people and space – I have been able to not only understand how other people live and understand their experience of space, but also how their very being is expressed through space. By sharing these experiences I have had the opportunity to challenge the biases that I brought into the research setting and in so doing have learnt more about myself.

Finally, a few words to close this thesis. The value of my time spent at St Edmundsbury Cathedral in 2011 exceeded that of aiming to fulfil the requirements of a PhD. The cathedral, when empty of people is a space that I have always enjoyed, a space which makes me feel calm and, as it turned out, a space that I 'needed'. For it provided me with a space through which I could begin to come terms with the death of my Dad the previous year. Was this serendipity? Who knows, but I will always be grateful that the timing of the empirical research occurred when it did, in the space that it did.

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# *Appendices*

## Appendix A – Participant Information Sheet

### Exploring participants experience of space at St Edmundsbury Cathedral

#### Participant Information

The aim of this PhD research project is to understand how St Edmundsbury Cathedral's employees and volunteers work within and across the different spaces of the cathedral. I hope that a number of you will be willing to allow me to 'shadow' your every-day movements and practices within the cathedral, as I am very interested to learn how you as an individual experience the spaces in which you work.

I would like to include both employees and volunteers within my research, and how I see this proceeding is detailed below:

**Shadowing:** - observing participants over approximately 3 days, my intention is to remain as unobtrusive as possible in order to ensure daily activity is not interrupted. Through the day I will make notes in my fieldnotes of my observations. After this phase I will write up my observations in full which I will share with you.

**Photographs:** - I will ask you to take some photos of your spaces of work. All photos must exclude other people unless permission has been sought. The choice of method is varied, I can provide you with a disposable camera, you may be happy to use your own digital technology, or I could provide you with a digital camera (this would have to be on loan!). All photographs will need to be viewed on a computer screen or printed.

**Discussion:** - after the above has taken place, I would like to take some time to chat with you about the shadowing and the photos you have taken. This would be arranged at a time convenient to you. I would request that our discussion is recorded on my Dictaphone enabling me to listen fully. After the discussion I would then transcribe the conversation and provide you with a copy.

#### Data collection and storage

The research will follow the Ethical Principles of Research of the University of Essex. Data will be collected by the researcher through observation, participant taken photographs and discussion. To ensure restricted access all discussions will be digitally recorded and stored on the researcher's password-protected computer.

**Anonymity**

The research will make explicit reference to St Edmundsbury Cathedral. Following standard practice individuals will not be named and statements which make reference to particular individuals will not be included in any subsequent presentations or publications. However, in some cases the permission will be sought from the participant to disclose their role when referring to statements which are made in that capacity. Interviewee references' to any personal information will not be disclosed. If, upon request, consent to refer to the interviewee's role is not obtained, the interview will be anonymised according to standard practice.

**Contact details of researcher**

Sarah Warnes, Essex Business School, 07742513401, email: [sarah.warnes@colchester.ac.uk](mailto:sarah.warnes@colchester.ac.uk)

## Appendix B – Consent to Participate in Academic Research

I,

Of (Institution)

Tel/email:

*(This information is only needed to obtain consent to the research and will not be used in any discussion arising from this research)*

Have read and understood the attached participant information document and agree to participate in the research project entitled:

### **Exploring the lived dimension of space at St Edmundsbury Cathedral**

Undertaken by the researcher: Sarah Warnes, PhD Student.

Sarah Warnes ☎ 01206 812262 or 07742513401 ✉ [sarah.warnes@colchester.ac.uk](mailto:sarah.warnes@colchester.ac.uk)

Supervised by:

Professor Heather Höpfl ☎ 01206 873333 ✉ [heatherhopfl@essex.ac.uk](mailto:heatherhopfl@essex.ac.uk)

Dr Marjana Johansson ☎ 01206 874462 ✉ [mjohana@essex.ac.uk](mailto:mjohana@essex.ac.uk)

By signing below I acknowledge the following statements:

- I agree to participate in this research.
- This agreement has been given voluntarily and without coercion.
- I have been given full information about the study in the form of a participant information sheet and contact details of the researcher(s).
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without giving reasons and without penalty.
- Details relating to anonymity and confidentiality of the information has been provided and I understand these.
- I have had the opportunity to ask any questions.

Signed: .....

Date: .....

## Appendix C – Email Outlining the Photograph Brief

Dear \*\*\*\*

I hope this finds you well.

Now that the shadowing phase of my research is complete, this email provides you with guidance regarding the next phase of the research, the taking of your photographs.

I am happy to provide you with a disposable camera, or you can use your own device to take the photographs. If you use your own device please ensure that the photographs can be clearly viewed on a computer screen or printed (I am happy to take care of the printing), so that we can look at them together during phase three of the research, the one to one discussion.

Before this discussion on \*\*\*\*, please feel free to take the camera around the organisation photographing any spaces of your choice (being careful not to contravene any organisational confidential policy). For example, you may wish to take photographs which for some reason are significant to you.

When you are taking the photographs take care not to invade another person's privacy and for that reason I would recommend that your photographs do not contain other people. If you do wish to take a photograph with another person in it, do ensure you ask their permission.

The photographs that you take do not need to be 'perfect', what is important to me is the significance of the photograph you have taken and the meaning behind it.

I hope you enjoy taking the photographs and thank you once again for agreeing to take part in this study.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me.

Kind regards

Sarah

## **Appendix D – Essex Business School Ethical Guidelines abided by in this Research**

### **Protection of Participants and their Rights**

1. All participants have the right not to participate in any investigation and this right must be respected. There should be no coercion of research subjects to participate in the research. Students and others in a dependent relationship with investigators must be assured that any decision not to participate will not prejudice their academic or other progress in any way.
2. Each participant must have the right to withdraw easily from the project whenever and for whatever reason without explanation or penalty.
3. All participants and research assistants have the right to expect protection from physical, psychological, social, legal and economic harm at all times during the investigation. Participants and researcher staff must be fully informed in advance of and protected against any hazardous, stressful or uncomfortable contexts and procedures. In addition, researchers should attempt to avoid harm not only to an immediate population of subjects but also to their wider family, kin and community. Participants and researchers must be fully informed in advance of and protected against any hazardous, stressful or uncomfortable contexts and procedures. Should any adverse reaction / event occur, the researcher must report this immediately in writing to the Ethics Committee. The report should describe fully the adverse reaction / event, the action taken and the date, time and place of the event.
4. All participants have the right to expect that the information supplied by them will be treated as confidential and will be protected as such.
5. All participants have the right to expect that their identity will be protected.
6. Researchers should be aware of requirements with respect to personal data laid down in the Data Protection Act 1998.
7. Staff and students working with blood or blood products should advise the University Biological Safety Officer. In addition, they should be aware of the possible hazards, in particular blood borne viruses, and if in doubt should contact the University Occupational Health Adviser. The taking of blood samples is restricted to a person who has appropriate training.
8. Participants should be advised how, when and in what form it is planned to disseminate the findings of the research.

### **Informed Consent**

1. Prospective participants should be provided with as much information as possible about the research enable them to make an informed decision about their possible involvement. If consent is not to be secured a statement justifying this must be provided. The primary objective is to conduct research openly and transparently without deception.
2. It should be remembered that research staff are also participants and need to be made fully aware of the proposed research and its potential risks to them.
3. Informed consent must be given on a consent form. It is also good practice to provide participants with a separate participant information sheet in advance.
4. Consent forms must be signed by participants before the start of any project indicating that they are giving their informed consent to participate in the project. If the participant is not capable of giving informed consent on their own behalf or is below the age of consent, then consent must be obtained from a carer, parent or guardian.
5. Consent should also be obtained for the sharing of research data as appropriate and for the publication of findings. Many funding bodies require that data obtained from a funded project is made available for research undertaken by others at a later date. Participants should be advised how the data that they provide will be stored, used and accessed including details of how confidentiality will be maintained. Consent for this needs to be obtained from participants before the start of the original project.
6. Participants should be provided with a copy of their signed consent form.

**The guidelines are available at:**

<http://www.essex.ac.uk/reo/documents/human-participants.pdf>