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Cultural similarities and diversities of corporate art and architecture in Norway, USA, Japan and France

An exploratory and comparative study on corporate art collections and the architecture of corporate headquarters

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Preface

Since September 2006 I have been a PhD-student at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design and have been working with this PhD-project from that time. My interest on the theme; to examine cultural similarities and diversities of corporate art collections and headquarters architecture in different countries, emerged many years ago after completing my Master Thesis in Sociology on visual art in Norwegian corporations in 1999. During the late 1970s and early 1980s I was educated as a Book Designer and Illustrator at the National College of Arts and Crafts in Oslo, and as a Visual Artist at the National Academy of Art in Oslo. Today both these institutions are merged in the new Oslo National Academy of the Arts. My education within visual art and design lasted for nearly nine years. During and after my artistic education I have been practicing as a Designer, Illustrator and Visual Artist; and participated in several art exhibitions, such as the Annual State Art Exhibition in Oslo, the East Norway Regional Art Exhibition and the Spring- and Touring Art Exhibitions of the Younger Artists Society in Oslo. Due to my interest and engagement in sociological issues, I continued my studies at the University of Oslo, where I became a Master of Sociology (Cand. Polit.) at the end of the nineteen nineties. In my Master Thesis in Sociology I examined corporate art in Norway, as mentioned above, while in my Bachelor Thesis I examined the legitimization problems of visual art, focusing on power relations between art and social classes. I have also completed Educational Courses at the National College of Professional Pedagogy in Oslo and Art and Architectural history at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design.

I have been teaching within Visual art and Design for many years, both at High Schools and University Colleges and the latest years at Buskerud University College. During the work with my PhD-project I have visited USA, Japan and France for research and fieldwork, starting as a Visiting Scholar at UC Berkeley, Department of Sociology, in the spring of 2008. During my stay I examined corporate art and architecture in the San Francisco Bay Area and in Silicon Valley. I also visited San Francisco and New York in 2009, to complete my examinations. In the spring of 2010 I visited Japan, where I examined corporate art and architecture in Tokyo and Osaka, and cultural sites in Kyoto. My last fieldwork abroad was in France, where I examined corporate art and architecture in Paris and La Defense in the fall of 2010.

During my stays in Berkeley and San Francisco in 2008 and 2009, I have also had the great pleasure to meet twice with Professor in Sociology, Howard Becker, who has become a great source of inspiration for me. The meeting was

initiated by my eminent supervisor, Professor Per Otnes at the University of Oslo. During the work with my PhD-project, I have participated at several international conferences where I have given oral presentation of papers related to my PhD-project. These are; the 1st ISA Forum of Sociology arranged by the International Sociological Association at the University of Barcelona in September 2008. Architectural Research and Critics Conference at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim in April 2009. The 2009 IVSA Conference arranged by the International Visual Sociology Association at the University of Cumbria in July 2009. The Doctoral Consortium at the NORDES Conference at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design in September 2009. The XVII ISA World Congress of Sociology arranged by the International Sociological Association in Gothenburg in July 2010. The 2010 IVSA Conference arranged by the International Visual Sociology Association at the University of Bologna in July 2010. My participation in these conferences has been very useful to me in respect of being inspired by other participants as well as getting useful feedback on my own research. It has been particularly interesting to meet great and internationally recognized colleagues and authors within the Sociology of Art and Culture. I should also mention that I participated as audience in the 2007 NAEA Convention arranged by the National Art Education Association in New York in Mars 2007, which also provided me with several interesting perspectives, not at least through the speeches of several visual artists from the USA. In 2010 I also had the great opportunity to publish two articles on themes from my PhD-thesis in the Norwegian scientific journal "Sosiologisk Årbok", no. 1 and 3-4, 2010.

Acknowledgments

Abstract

In this PhD-thesis I examine cultural similarities and diversities in corporate art collections and headquarters architecture in Norway, USA, Japan and France. From the perspective of the flâneur; I discuss, analyzes and compares the visual appearance of art collections and headquarters architecture. From the perspective of the business; I discuss, analyzes and compares the objectives of corporations to collect art and to emphasize the architecture of their headquarters. Finally, from the perspective of culture; I discuss cultural features and mentalities of the included nationalities, and analyze the findings in the perspectives of the flâneur and the business in light of culture. In my theoretical discussions that are mainly based on Sociology and Art and Architectural history, I first discuss visual art and architecture in general, related to particular qualities of art collections and headquarters architecture, which also make the basis for comparable categories used in my analysis and comparisons of the included art collections and headquarters architecture. Some of these qualities were explored during a pilot study in Norwegian corporations, while others are based on theory. Totally I examine 12 art collections and 12 headquarters in Norway, USA, Japan and France. The theoretical discussions and empirical analysis reveal several interesting patterns that may be related to cultural similarities and diversities of the included countries. However, this study is too limited to be generalized and the findings are not valid for "all" corporate collections and headquarters in the included countries. Still the findings reveal interesting features of the included corporations, time periods and cultures, as well as they are proposing interesting themes for further research and for building theories and hypothesis within the field, which are also important aims for the thesis.

PART I:
Introduction

1 Thematic approach, theory and method

With the title of the thesis; "Cultural similarities and diversities of corporate art and architecture in Norway, USA, Japan and France; an exploratory and comparative study on corporate art collections and the architecture of corporate headquarters", I hope to grasp the complexity of this research project that is forming my PhD-thesis at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design. The complexity is reflected in the structure of the thesis which is organized in four sections, Part I – IV. Part I; "Introduction" includes a thematic approach to the thesis, its theory and methodology (Chapter 1). Part II; "Visual art and corporate art collections" embraces theoretical reflections and empirical examinations of visual art and corporate art collections, while Part III; "Architecture and corporate headquarters", contain theoretical reflections and empirical examinations on architecture and corporate headquarters. In Part II and Part III, I also apply two main perspectives; "The Perspective of the Flanêur"; for making visual observations and analysis (Chapter 2 and 4), and "The Perspective of the Business"; for collecting data and analyzing objectives of collecting art and emphasizing the architecture of headquarters (Chapter 3 and 5). In Part IV; "The influence of culture" I apply a third perspective; "The Perspective of Culture", where I examine the cultural similarities and diversities of corporate art and architecture discussed and analyzed in Part II and Part III (Chapter 6), and drawing together a final conclusion of the thesis.

1.1 A SIGNIFICANT ARENA FOR ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Visual art and architecture appear in different styles and shapes in every culture; in dwellings, schools, hospitals, churches, mosques, temples, synagogues, and office buildings. Yet most people may not notice the visual qualities of art and architecture in their daily life. Instead they visit cultural places in Europe, Asia and the Middle East to see world architecture from the Antiquity to Gothic cathedrals, Renaissance palaces, Baroque churches and modern architectural icons. Or they visit great art museums to experience great art, such as the Louvre

in Paris, the Hermitage in St. Petersburg and the Uffizi gallery in Florence, as well as museums of modern art, such as the MoMA in New York, the Tate in London and the Bilbao Guggenheim in Spain. Most ordinary people cannot afford to buy museum quality art, and the size of such art is often too large to hang in ordinary homes. However, there is an alternative arena other than museums where a considerable number of high quality art is displayed; corporate headquarters and office buildings. Some people experience such art every day without seeking it out deliberately. Many corporate headquarters and office buildings within different industries are living arenas for exposing high quality visual art. This is a reason, why I have chosen to examine art in corporate headquarters, starting with my master thesis in Sociology; on visual art in Norwegian corporations, in the late nineteen nineties. (Hagen 1999)

Many corporate headquarters also have an emphasized high quality architecture, which may contribute to strengthen the corporate identity by being a landmark. Both an art collection and the headquarters architecture can be included as a part of the corporate brand and thus art and architecture are given a similar function as the logo; to be seen and recognized. As a tourist on the top level of the Empire State Building in New York, my headset guide, Tony, tells me; the spectacular skyscrapers in New York were competitively growing higher and higher during the twentieth century, to make the corporations that erected them more visible than the corporations that erected the surrounding skyscrapers. Or at least, that is what the myth tells us about "the corporate skyline" of New York, as many consider the skyscrapers as synonymous with corporate buildings.

But according to the American architectural historian Carol Willis, many of the skyscrapers are not purely corporate buildings. Instead they are often erected by individuals or groups of investors as rental properties, as for instance the Singer and the Woolworth buildings from the early nineteen hundreds. In the 47 story Singer building from 1908 the company occupied just one floor, and was renting out the rest. Similarly, in the fifty five stories Woolworth building from 1913, the company occupied less than two floors, while they were lending out the rest of the office space to other companies. (Willis 1995) This means that many of the corporate skyscrapers are not entirely occupied by the corporation. Instead, as described by Willis, many, also architectural historians regard skyscrapers to be "…expensive expressions of corporate identity or as advertising." (Willis 1995)[1] As described by Kenneth T. Gibbs in his study on skyscrapers from the 1870's through the 1930's, quoted in Willis, he look at how "…the tall office building

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[1] Page 146

functioned as an image-forming vehicle for big business". (Willis 1995)[2] In other words; although many of the corporate skyscrapers are not purely occupied by the representative corporations, as we may believe, they are still functioning as signs of corporate identities, a brand value representing an important objective of erecting increasingly higher and more spectacular skyscrapers, in order to be more visible than the other corporations and their skyscrapers.

MIH Photo: 1 (left) North-east view from the Empire State building, New York, Mars 2007
MIH Photo: 2 (right) South-west view from the Empire State building, New York, Mars 2007

MIH Photo: 3 (left) Asinelli tower (97meter) and Garisenda tower (48 meter), Bologna, July 2010
MIH Photo: 4 (right) The Asinelli and Garisenda towers, Bologna, July 2010

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[2] Page 146

An interesting aspect of the competitive skyscrapers is that the aim of becoming the highest rest upon old traditions, not only about being the biggest, but literally the tallest, as for instance the towers of the wealthy families of Bologna, which during the 13th century had nearly 200 high family towers, competing about being the highest. Most of them have been demolished or taken down during the centuries, to avoid them collapsing. Today two towers, the 97 meter high Asinelli Tower, and the 48 meter high remnant of the Garisenda Tower, built between 1109 and 1119,[3] have become a landmark of the city.

Corporate headquarters are also work places where a lot of people gather every day. Many corporations collect high quality art as well as their headquarters represent great architecture. Other corporations emphasize the architecture of their headquarters, but choose not to collect art, or put little effort into establishing and maintaining an art collection. Some do the opposite, putting great efforts into having a high quality art collection, while the headquarters architecture is rather anonymous. Besides of establishing living arenas for visual art and architecture in their headquarters and office buildings, large scale corporations participate in the global society and cultural exchange, and by their significance in the society they may also influence the development of culture in the societies where they are present.

1.1.1   A historical view

Today large scale corporations represent modern work organizations, where the tradition of collecting art and emphasizing the architecture of corporate buildings stems from the last one and a half century. For instance the commercial building structures known as "the Chicago style" that developed in the late nineteen century, was the predecessor of a new and distinctive type of buildings called the "American office building". (Huxtable 1985) In respect of art collections, some claim, that in the US the phenomenon of corporations collecting art started with Standard Oil and the Rockefeller family in the nineteen twenties. In a wider sense, the tradition of art decorations and an emphasized architecture connected to the work sphere includes a variety of buildings that are housing all kinds of professional work activities, such as parliament buildings, schools, stores, hospitals, churches, monasteries, convents and so on, as different kinds of work activities take place in all buildings dedicated to activities that imply professional work, as well as in factories and purely office buildings. The overall spaces of work includes buildings from the antiquity and up to the present, and architecture dedicated to professional work activity have been a part of people's everyday life for more than two millenniums, as in the Minoan palace Knossos in Crete, from

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[3] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Towers_of_Bologna (05.09.2011)

about 15-1700 BC. Although palaces are dwellings, they are also spaces of work. It is assumed that Knossos was not only a royal residence, but also a centre of communication and trade, due to a large number of storage rooms for stocks, workshops for craftsmen and offices. With its rich and decorative murals, the art at Knossos shows the significant meaning of art and architecture also at that time. By the way, it is interesting to notice that many artworks from the antiquity actually depict "men at work", within crafts, farming, hunting and fishing, such as in the Minoan "Harvesting Vase" from Hagia Triad, 1550-1500 BC, that shows people celebrating the harvest. Another example is the relief "Workers carry a beam" from Sakkara, about 1325 BC. (Janson and Janson 1978)

However, it seems plausible here to relate the appearance of corporate art and architecture to the entry of Modernism in the Western culture towards the end of the nineteen century. The Norwegian pedagogue and psychologist Helga Eng (1875-1966)[4] describes how the Arts and Crafts Movement[5] developed in England after the London World Exhibition in 1851. (Eng 1918) This great exhibition that displayed an enormous number of industrial products, many of conspicuous poor quality, became a dividing line within the Western arts and crafts. Several cultural personalities and artists in England, such as John Ruskin (1819-1900)[6] and William Morris (1834-1896)[7] considered the poor quality of many of the exhibited objects to be a consequence of the evolving industrialism. Ruskin, Morris and their like-minded, including members of the Pre-Rafael Brotherhood; a group of English artists founded in 1848, started to work against what they regarded as a cultural breakdown stemming from the alienation of industrial production. Instead they worked actively to develop a new era of handmade arts and crafts. They claimed that the decline in the quality of utility and cultural objects came with the shift from the craftsman's creation of these objects to industrial production of such objects, which according to the German philosopher and economist Karl Marx ruin the content of work, and alienate the worker also in respect of the spiritual content of the work. Instead the worker is degraded as a part of the machine, at the same time the workload increases. This also implies that in the production of objects that in its essence rely on the high skills of the craftsman, these skills are replaced by the machine. (Marx 1995) Both Ruskin and Morris became central figures in the development of the Arts and Crafts Movement that started in England and spread to the rest of Europe

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[4] http://www.snl.no/.nbl_biografi/Helga_Eng/utdypning (06.20.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; Elisabeth Lønnå
[5] Mentioned by Eng as "Kunstbevegelsen"
[6] http://www.snl.no/John_Ruskin (06.20.2011) Store Norske leksikon; Ragnhild Nessheim/Stephan Tschudi-Madsen
[7] http://www.snl.no/William_Morris (06.20.2011) Store Norske leksikon; Ragnhild Nessheim/Stephan Tschudi-Madsen

during the next decades. It also reached the United States, where artists, particularly graphic artists, designers and architects were influenced by the style. (Eng 1918)

In addition to the concern about the quality of arts and crafts, the movement was strongly engaged in improving the life and work conditions of the English working class and the large number of unemployed people living in great poverty in the streets of London and other industrial cities in England. (Eng 1918) The poverty and disease of the working class, the unemployed and the many homeless children in the late 1800s London, created a basis for many of the novels of Charles Dickens, and is also described by the German philosopher and social scientist Friedrich Engels, who lived for many years in England, and describes the conditions of the English working class in the nineteen century in several of his writings. (Engels 1993)

Ruskin, Morris and other members of the Arts and Crafts Movement arranged educational courses for the working class, and in the areas where they lived. They considered visual art to be an important tool for education, and many of the courses were actually drawing classes. By teaching art to the working class, the movement spread knowledge that formerly had been reserved for the aristocracy and bourgeoisie. The idea was that artistic and cultural knowledge would raise their awareness and improve the capacity for poor people to manage their lives. Teaching art to the working class was also a way to educate the population and raise their general consciousness about the value of arts and crafts in the society. (Eng 1918) Ruskin was convinced that an aesthetical environment with access to art experiences as well as great architecture would raise people's work efforts and improve the possibilities for learning, particularly in schools. He developed several theories of learning and upbringing in school as well as in the home and his ideas were included in school curriculums in most Western countries already in the late 1800s and still remain in many educational curriculums today. Among the writings of Ruskin are "The seven lamps of architecture" from 1849, where he describes seven aspects of architecture that he considers to be "safeguards against error", and "sources of measures of success", and vehicles to ensure "the well-being of the art" labeled as the lamps of sacrifice, truth, power, beauty, life, memory and obedience. (Ruskin 2005)

The Arts and Crafts Movement was fading out during the first decades of the 1900s, not at least because of the shift to a belief in the technological progress and industrial production initiated by the German Bauhaus School which was founded by the German architect Walter Gropius in 1919, and where the slogan

was to unite art and technology. (Hauffe 1996) Still remnants of the Arts and Crafts movement seems to have survived in various forms in different countries. Today there are two associations in Norway named "Art at school",[8] founded in 1901, and "Art at work",[9] founded in 1950, (Solhjell 1995) which both still loan visual art to display in schools and firms. The way in which Ruskin, Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement emphasized the importance of the visual environment, based on the conviction that aesthetical qualities in the surroundings is crucial for education and knowledge, seems to have inspired also these two Norwegian associations and the affiliated schools and firms that make use of their services.

In 1923 Johan Throne Holst, the founder of the Norwegian chocolate factory Freia, today owned by Kraft Foods,[10] ordered 12 large artworks from the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch (1863-1944),[11] to decorate the female workers dining room. In 1934 the paintings were moved to the new common dining room called "Freiasalen", or "The Freia Hall", which is still functioning as the dining room for all of the factory's employees today, and is considered by many as one of the finest corporate facilities in Norway. (Freia 1988) Similar to other factory owners, Throne Holst was occupied by social responsibility, and in 1912 he founded a village of brick houses for his employees in Oslo[12] called "Haslebyen". He also offered health care and other services for the employees. By displaying high quality art in the work place, his idea was to pay more to the employees than just their regular wages by enriching their lives through culture.

Another remnant of the Arts and Crafts Movement is probably its influence on the many Arts and Crafts schools, for instance the major school of arts and crafts in Norway; the former "Statens Håndverks og Kunstindustriskole" located in Oslo; the "National College of Arts and Crafts", originally founded as a school of drawing in 1818, and transformed into a school of arts and crafts in the end of the 1800s. The evolvement of the school was decided after a development committee had visited several schools of Arts and Crafts in England, France, Germany, Belgium and Austria during the winter of 1875-76. As described by the committee;

> …the later times founding of good schools within Arts and Crafts
> everywhere in Europe has become a fiery question that is subject to the

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[8] "Kunst i skolen"
[9] "Kunst på arbeidsplassen"
[10] http://www.snl.no/Freia (05.09.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; Redaksjonen
[11] http://www.snl.no/Edvard_Munch (06.20.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; Redaksjonen
[12] http://www.kraftfoodsnordic.com/kraft/page?siteid=kraft-prd&locale=nono1&PagecRef=2240 (05.20.2011)

same great interest from the government and the people, and one does not shun any efforts or spending of money to reach the intended goal: the united, powerful and healthy growth of arts and crafts. (Parmann 1970)[13]

According to the committee, the founding of schools adapted to the current modern time was a "leverage" to raise the arts and crafts of a country, as "the art of the craft" is also appealing to the intellect, fantasy and the taste of the worker. (Parmann 1970) Although the Arts and Crafts Movement influenced arts and crafts schools in the last part of the nineteenth century, the Bauhaus School became an important model for the twentieth century arts and crafts schools. Unlike the Arts and Crafts Movement, Bauhaus worked side by side with the technological and industrial development, considering art and design as possibilities and natural qualities of the industrial production process. While Ruskin, Morris and their like minded declared themselves as socialists, working against social inequity and to improve the life conditions of the poor working class and the unemployed in the late 1800s, the bourgeoisie spent their protected lives distanced from the poverty. Still many members of the upper classes, such as landladies and the wives of priests, were also engaged in voluntary aid, working amongst the poor within health care and education. (Eng 1918)

The bourgeoisie were living in great town houses or country estates surrounded by great parks, similar to the parks of royalty, which has long historical traditions in England as well as in Europe and Asia. In the nineteen century, European garden art played an important role in displaying social status. Between 1750 and 1850 England became a model for garden art with its untamed nature and landscape parks spread out into other European countries by private and business contact between merchants. (Dietze 2007) The bourgeoisie were imitating the gardens of the aristocracy that were copied in order to distinguish their social position. The ongoing competition in garden art between social groups had a great influence on the development of garden art. Thus the garden became a symbol of conspicuous consumption, and an important status symbol to signal class identity among the bourgeoisie and merchants. (Dietze 2007)

1.1.2   Corporations and the city

The headquarters of most large corporations are usually located within or close to a big city or in suburban areas, for example the headquarters of a great number of high-tech industries located in the area popularly known as Silicon Valley, south of San Francisco. While metropolises such as New York, London, Tokyo and

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[13] Page 216 (My translation).

Paris today play a significant role in the development of industries within high-tech, finance and banking, and function as key points where most modern people work and live, different kinds of trade and industry have historically played a significant role in the development of these cities, particularly after the industrial revolution. In other words, it is an interrelation between corporations and cities, as industry, money and business life historically are linked to cities and urban areas. While the German sociologist and economist Max Weber claims that the conditions for constituting an urban community are the predominant features such as the needs for markets, associations, administration, court and fortification, (Weber 1969) the philosopher and sociologist Georg Simmel describes the metropolis as "the most fertile soil" for developing both intellectual and economic capital, qualities that he considers to be mutually interdependent. He mentions both these qualities in his characterization of London; "London has never acted as England's heart but often as England's intellect and always as her moneybag". (Simmel 1969)

Simmel regards intellectual capital to be a necessary prerequisite in the accumulation of economic capital, and conversely, that economic capital is needed to develop intellectual capital. (Simmel 1969) The coherence between intellectual and economic capital as pronounced by Simmel, is related to the coherence between class and cultural capital described by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu, the social class position that implies economy and education also generate intellectual capital, a premise for acquiring high cultural capital, and is embodied in the "habitus" of the members of different social classes. (Bourdieu 1995) Also the sociologist Louis Wirth regards the city to be the centre of the economic, political and cultural life. Wirth claims that transport and communication, as well as the cultural and recreational institutions in the city like the media (press, radio and TV), theatres, cinemas, libraries, museums, concert halls, operas, hospitals, colleges, research centres and religious centres have accentuated the role of the city as the predominant element of our civilization, and made city life attractive to rural people as well as for the inhabitants of the city. The cities also have more differentiated incomes and status groups than rural areas, and a large proportion of adults are employed in white-collar jobs, (Wirth 1969) or in other words; within office work.

While explorers have prepared the ground for international trade and communication since Leif Eriksson, Columbus and Marco Polo; trade, business and communication between nations have exploded in the twentieth century, and changed the character of many big cities and metropolises such as New York, London, Paris and Tokyo to the extent that they have become global; inhabited

by people from all over the world. The globalization of cities is caused by multiple factors, such as trade, financial exchange, outsourcing of manufacturing, extraction of raw materials and sources of energy, and so on. The different forms of outsourcing, export and import has resulted in large corporations establishing branch offices and headquarters abroad connected to trade, finance or production unities. Because of this, many large scale corporations have become multinational. During the last decades while the digital revolution, mobile phones and the emergence of the Internet have made the world more transparent and potentially accessible to all people on earth, the globalization process has accelerated. Digital and high-tech industries import and exchange intellectual capital and expertise all over the world. Also physically, the world itself has become more and more accessible to everyone, not only by surfing on the Internet, but in respect of travel, which has become cheaper, due to the price competition between airlines and easily assessable tickets, made possible through the Internet. This has resulted in metropolises such as New York and Paris becoming overflowed by tourists to the extent, that Paris is described by some as "Parisneyland".

According to the Dutch sociologist Saskia Sassen, global cities such as New York, London and Tokyo have also become centres for the global economy, forming transnational networks with other growing cities. (Sassen 2001) The global exchange between nations within finance, industry and trade, also lead to a significant cultural exchange, and as described by Sassen, cities are places where people from different countries most likely will meet and where a multitude of cultures can find each other. The international character of many big cities today is not only caused by the international corporations and the infrastructure of tele-communication, but also by the multiple cultural environments in which the employees are living. As a result of this, large cities today represent a concentrated variety where the space of the city is not only marked by corporate cultures, but also by a diversity of national cultures and identities. (Sassen 2008) The migration has led to a significant growth in these cultures that were formerly local, and a spectre of cultures from all over the world are re-territorialized in a few cities; such as New York, Los Angeles, Paris, London, Amsterdam and Tokyo. The cultural differences lead to contradictions and conflicts, because of the concentration of economic power on the one hand, and on the other hand; a large amount of marginalized people living in poverty, which also makes the cities become a place where groups less well off are underestimated. Hence big cities today represent a context with the double presence of an increased trans-nationalized economy that has made the cities

become strategically significant for global capital, and marginalized groups that claim their legal rights to the same cities. (Sassen 2008)

The coherence between industry, business and the city is also described by the German philosopher Walter Benjamin in his essay "Paris, the capitol of the XIX hundreds" from 1935. According to Torodd Karlsten, the essay is considered to be a synopsis of Benjamin's uncompleted "Passage-work", an attempt to depict Paris as the first modern city; the capital of fashion and fetishism of commodities, an essence of the bourgeois society, interpreted through the materialized social representations; and particularly the form of commodities. (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991) Benjamin is preoccupied with the glass covered passages of Paris, many of them built between 1822 and 1837, initiated by high conjuncture within the textile industry. The passages are the predecessors of the department store; and formed the centre of the trade of luxuries. Here even the arts came into the service of merchandise, as the passages were highly decorated, adored by the Parisian people of the time and for a long time to come they have been highly admired by the visitors of Paris. (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991)

MIH Photo: 5 (left) Passage Jouffroy (1846), Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 6 (right) Passage Verdeau (1847), Paris, November 2010

Another prerequisite for the emergence of the passages besides the industrial high conjuncture was the development of iron constructions which led to a renewal of architecture in the Empire epoch. The iron beam was first used in railway tracks. Later on the functional nature of the iron beam brought the principals of technical construction and engineering into architecture, and by that, "the everlasting battle" between the constructor and the artist or as

Benjamin puts it, "between École Pulytechnique and École des Beaux-Arts". (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991) Although iron constructions were not used in private residences, it was used in passages, railway stations and exposition halls and in other buildings with a transitional function where iron beams were cast in the mould of Pompeian columns, factories were designed like private residences, and railway stations were erected in Swiss style. Simultaneously an extended use of glass appeared in architecture, but still the social conditions were not yet prepared for a common use of glass as a building material in the way we see in the twentieth century. (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991) Here an interesting aspect of the glass passages of Paris is the fusion between commerce and business, architecture and art, although it is also criticized by Benjamin as contributing to the increase in the fetish character of commodities.

MIH Photo: 7 (left) Grand Palais (1900), Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 8 (right) Spiral escalators, Nordstrom Shopping Centre, San Francisco, May 2008

MIH Photo: 9 (left) The dome of Galleries Lafayette, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 10 (right) The dome of Westfield, San Francisco Centre, May 2008

While the great exhibition hall from the World Exhibition in London in 1851 was demolished in a fire in 1936,[14] the Grand Palais in Paris, erected for the World Exhibition in 1900 is still intact, with large impressive glass roofs and domes made of iron and glass. During the planning of the new Les Halles in Paris in the 1850s, the great city planner Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann told his architect Victor Baltard, as quoted by Harvey; "We want umbrellas" made of "iron". (Harvey 2003)[15] And as described by Harvey that is also what Baltard gave him in the end. An interesting observation is also how the architecture of several old department stores and grand magazines, such as the Galleries Lafayette in Paris and the Westfield San Francisco Centre also have similar kind of glass covered domes, obviously to let in the daylight, but still they appear almost as if they were theatres or even churches, with reference to styles such as the Baroque. An interesting aspect in this context is that both these department stores as well as the Paris passages are in their essence corporate architecture, although the represented businesses diverge in type and size.

1.1.3   Identity, built environment and visual representation

According to the German philosopher Hannah Arendt, the artefacts in the society contribute to the constitution of our lives through their durability. (Arendt 1984) By the same token, artefacts can contribute in the shaping of identity for many peoples' lives, and over a long span of time, for example properties and objects that endure through the generations. The durability of the artefacts can, in a sociological term, also be looked upon as the socio material field and how it is representing the factuality of our lives, as also discussed by the French philosopher and existentialist Jean Paul Sartre. (Johansen 1992) By their presence, enduring objects, such as buildings, roads and other manmade systems that we as individuals cannot change, may have a significant impact on our lives, either this is desirable or not. Sometimes these material restrictions are made deliberately, to reinforce social segregation. Described by the political scientist Langdon Winner, about 200 low hanging overpasses on Long Island that were built by the New York urban planner Robert Moses between 1920 and 1970 were designed to prevent buses on his parkways. As described by Winner;

> Automobile-owning whites of "upper" or "comfortable middle" classes as he called them, would be free to use the parkways for recreation and commuting. Poor people and blacks, who normally used public transit,

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[14] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Krystallpalasset (11.24.2010)
[15] Page 13

were kept of the roads because the twelve foot tall buses could not get through the overpasses. (Winner 1999)[16]

An underlying reason was also to limit the access of low income groups and racial minorities to "James Beach", Moses' highly acclaimed Public Park. (Winner 1999)

According to the French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre, there has been a movement from the production of objects to the production of space, constituted by the contribution of objects. He claims that the room of nature is irreversibly gone, as the nature, also described by Arendt, is reduced through reification to become raw materials and means of production. (Arendt 1984) The history of space becomes the space of capitalism lead by the bourgeoisie, reflecting business, monetary power and politics at a national and international level, along with the spatial intervention of highways, airports and information systems. (Lefebrve 1979) The durability of the artefacts and its significance for organizational identity also applies to corporate brands and other visual elements of public relations, as for instance, the Coca Cola brand whose logo has lasted almost unchanged for over a hundred years, and has been known to at least four generations. Even the state logo of the old Roman empire; SPQR,[17] is still in use in Rome today; visible on man hole covers spread around in the streets of Rome. (Thomas 2003) The Chrysler building has been known for generations and is forever connected to the Chrysler brand. There are innumerable historical examples of how manmade expressions within visual art, design and architecture contribute to shape the environment of our lives and constitute our personal, organizational and national identity.

Corporate identity refers to both an external and internal identity. Thompson and McHugh describe internal identity as a product of social interaction between employees participating in different social structures and contexts within the work organizations. (Thompson and McHugh 1995) The Norwegian sociologist Sverre Lysgaard describes how employees in a Norwegian paper factory establish personal relations between blue-collar workers to strengthen their well-being and social working community, where fellowship with colleagues, and "being between equals", strengthens their bonds in the workplace. (Lysgaard 1985) The brand consultant Wally Olins claims that today's visual symbols play a significant role in strengthening the identity and "we-feeling" amongst employees in modern and often very complex and fragmented organizational

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[16] Page 30
[17] Senatus Populusque Romanus

structures, where employees are spread in offices around the world. While earlier the workers could have "a drink with the lads" at the local pub after work, this is no longer possible when the employees in the same company are working in London, New York and Tokyo. Colleagues within modern organizations are often spread globally and as claimed by Olins; in these new fragmented organizational structures visual symbols function as "the glue" that keeps the employees together. (Olins 2004)

Similarly the Czech architect and philosopher Dalibor Vesely describes how the fragmented appearance of the modern society today leads to "splintered identities", with competing ideologies and businesses. (Vesely 2004) It is likely that also "the speed of the society" today contributes to its fragmentation and splintering identities. While Lefebvre for his part speaks about "the constant flow"; the flow of energy, raw materials, labors, information and so on, (Lefebrve 1979) David Harvey mentions "move" as one of the most typical features of the society today, quoting the American author Gertrude Stein (1874-1946)[18] in her description of America; "…a space that is filled (is) always filled with moving". (Harvey 1985)[19] According to Harvey, the embodiment of the move and restlessness of the modern society is also brought to life in the novel of the beat poet and novelist Jack Kerouac (1922-1969);[20] "On the road", with its characters in restless motion without any goal, stating: "There was nowhere to go but anywhere". (Harvey 1985)[21]

Unlike the internal fellowship between employees, the external "image" of a corporation refers to a broader sense of corporate identity in respect of physical signs and metaphysical qualities, such as corporate values and visions expressed both in the corporations visual profile, and linguistically, through slogans and textual descriptions published in brochures, annual reports, books and corporate websites. The public image is materialized in the visual signs such as the logo, the headquarters architecture, the park that is surrounding the headquarters, the art collection, the lobby furniture and interior which is also a part of the public representation of the corporation, displayed to show the economy and power position of the corporation, similar to what the German sociologist Jürgen Habermas describes as "status symbols". (Habermas 1988) Through visual signs and symbols the corporation seeks to present itself as coherent with its values and visions. The image is constantly signalized to the public to appear as desirable to public opinion, which is important in respect of success. The visual signs of a

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[18] http://www.snl.no/Gertrude_Stein (05.09.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; Orm Øverland
[19] Page 16
[20] http://www.snl.no/Jack_Kerouac (05.09.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; Orm Øverland
[21] Page 16

corporation may be subject to what the German philosopher Immanuel Kant describes as "the aesthetical judgements of taste", where desirable expressions will survive, (Kant and Hammer 1995) while disapproval for instance of a logo, or of improper artworks, may be harmful to the business. As described by Bourdieu, taste is a social constitution, which means that judgements based on taste also relies on the habitus of different social groups. (Bourdieu 1995)

The way corporations present themselves may be of crucial importance, as collective judgements can be fatal when representing the majority of people within a society or social group, for example the opinions of the target group for their production or services. This can be exemplified by the taste of youths, which due to media and the Internet today tend to be global, therefore youths all over the world tend to prefer the same kind of shoes, jeans and electronic equipments. (Olins 2004) Thus youths have the power to decide which products and producers of youth commodities will survive, and which will not. A similar view on how consumers have the power to make decisions in the market is coherent to basic theories on market economy, and for the principals of "just-in-time production", discussed in chapter 1.3.4.2 where the demands of the market control the production. There are of course also many other forces in the market other than taste and brand preferences, such as consumer economy, which may sink and rise in periods of economic recession or wealth. While the brand and public relation material represent the formal visual representation of a corporation, the art collection and headquarters architecture are expressive and informal visual representations, although in many cases art and architecture are considered to be a part of the public corporate brand. Both the brand and visual symbols must inhabit several qualities and restrictions linked to corporate visions and values, and must appear as proper and trustworthy symbols of the business. A main objective of the visual brand as well as skyscrapers is to make the corporation visible between other competitive corporations, described by Robert Goldman and Stephen Papson as "sign wars". (Gottdiener 2001) Although visual art is usually regarded as a discipline with its own autonomy, corporate art may sometimes lead to critical questions regarding the autonomy of art. For instance, art commissioned by a corporation, or art made by artists supported by a corporation. Architecture on the other hand, always needs a builder in order to be materialized. Corporate architecture and visual branding seems to represent a counterpoint to visual art, both made with the purpose of serving the commissioner, while art usually has another purpose. Similar to how visual art is claimed to reflect the society, corporate art collections and headquarters architecture may also reflect the society and the culture in which they are established, although in different ways.

An interesting aspect of the relation between corporations and the society is how the wealth and success of industrialized countries rely on successful businesses, industry and trade, while developing countries have suffered from the lack of the same development. This is a problem that has engaged many politicians and governments around the world for decades. Several corporations from industrialized countries have also been accused of exploiting natural resources and the workforce of developing countries. In such cases the reputation of a corporation is threatened, which is indeed not good for business. Although large scaled corporations play a crucial role in the development of the society; for better or for worse, legitimate criticism is important for the corporations as well as for the society, in order to change future undesirable and harmful practices.

1.1.4   Business, culture and money

High quality art collections along with high quality headquarters architecture need corporations with pecuniary strength to be realized. In the nineteen eighties Impressionist and post-Impressionist artworks such as Vincent van Gogh's "Sunflowers" was sold to corporate collectors in Japan for almost $40 million, while his "Portrait of Dr. Gachet", and Auguste Renoir's painting "Au Moulin de la Galette" were both sold for around $80 million. (Jacobson 1993) The meaning of money in respect of architecture is strikingly described in Carol Willis' book; "Form follows finance", (Willis 1995) where the title alone indicates the close connection between money and the realization of architectural projects. In the nineteen twenties and thirties, the height of New York skyscrapers were estimated in respect of how much income one could expect in relation to the expense of building a certain number of stories, as the increased construction costs of building a taller building would often be offset with increased rent. As described by Willis;

> The most profitable height for tall buildings was analyzed by a committee of architects, engineers, contractors and building managers, and was published in 1930 as The skyscraper: A study in the Economic Height of Modern Office Buildings. (Willis 1995)[22]

The analysis included a great number of qualities connected to the building, such as localisation, size of the land, and other factors. A basic rule noted by the committee of the analysis was; "...the higher the value of land, the taller a building must rise to reach the point of maximum economic return". (Willis 1995)[23]

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[22] Page 85
[23] Page 88

In other words, money plays a significant role in respect of architecture, which on the other hand is also relative to the matter of culture. In the question on culture and financial economy, Harvey considers money to be "a concrete abstraction" which according to Marx grows out of the exchange of commodities and the division of labour, and at the same time it is an abstract power independent of the producers. During the industrial development, the meaning of production moved from craftsmanship and giving form, to money alone. Today money has become the universal measure of social wealth, and the concrete means to the expression of power. However money also shapes social freedom. Similarly to Simmel, Harvey points out how the independent lives of the inhabitants of the metropolis, is also dependent on innumerable suppliers, workers and companies for their basic needs and wants. (Harvey 1985)

Harvey claims that money can also be looked upon as a democratic tool, in its contribution of eliminating class distinctions through the rich diversity of jobs, where the common goal is earning money. He also claims that the urban individualistic life style reflects the breakdown of traditional class distinctions, and as characterized by the French author Émile Zola (1840-1902),[24] quoted in Harvey; "Money may be, as the moralists have it, the root of all evil, yet it appears also as the unique means of doing good." (Harvey 1985)[25] Money can also contribute to added value over time, and the accumulation of money means the accumulation of social power, which contrasts the democratic function of money. Weber describes how accumulation of money is legitimized through the faith and ethics of Protestantism that has mainly grown out of Calvinism, where accumulating money is legitimized through a religious belief that these who benefit are selected by God. (Weber 1981) In opposition Simmel says, as quoted in Harvey, that the nature of money has "...something of the essence of prostitution". Similarly Boudelaire says, quoted by Harvey, that "commerce...is in its very essence satanic", because when dealing with money "...even honesty is a financial speculation". (Harvey 1985)[26] It is challenging but important to discuss contradictory features of culture and business. And independent of the money issue, art and architecture may also contribute to establish contact and mutual understanding between a corporation and its environment, business partners, customers and others. In cross-cultural collaborations art and architecture may presumably also contribute to establish contact; as this is described by Mary H. Futrell who looks at art as "windows to foreign cultures"

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[24] http://www.snl.no/%C3%89mile_Zola (05.09.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; Truls Olav Winther
[25] Page 123
[26] Page 119

and "the essence of global understanding", as art is a "universal language of civilization" that can be understood by everyone in every culture. (Futrell 1990)

1.2   THEORETICAL APPROACHES

As my theoretical approach is both sociological and based on my perspective as a visual artist, it was natural to select my basic theoretical approaches within sociology, architecture and art history. In the theoretical discussions I apply relevant theory to enlighten specific topics based on observations, empirical findings and my own experiences, and create topical discussions referring to relevant theory on art in chapter 2.1 and on architecture in chapter 4.1, related to my research questions presented below. The theories are also applied in my analyses of empirical data within each case.

1.2.1   Sociology and Social Sciences

I refer to a great number of theoreticians and authors of theory within sociology and social sciences, applied in my topical discussions and analysis in various degrees. This means that I cannot mention all of the authors here, but only create a brief overview on those that I refer to most often, and who seems to be most relevant for the study as a whole. I base many of my discussions here on the theories of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, as the appearance and objectives of corporate art and architecture are closely connected to the cultural capital of the founders, leaders and decision makers within corporations. (Bourdieu 1995) In addition, I also pick up useful perspectives on the division of gender as described by Bourdieu in his theory on the subject. (Bourdieu 2000) I build several discussions on the theories of the Norwegian-American economist and sociologist Thorstein B. Veblen (1857-1929),[27] in particular his theory on "conspicuous consumption" that contributes to mark the social position, wealth and power of the consumer, (Veblen and Mills 1994) and in this context corporations. Related to the same subject, I briefly mention the theoretical contributions of the German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas, particularly his views on status symbols, (Habermas 1988) which here may apply to art and architecture, and how these symbols contribute as tools in forming a desirable representation of the corporation. The writings of Habermas are considered to represent "critical theory", a tradition known from the German "Frankfurter School", inspired by Marx, Weber, Kant, Hegel and Freud. According to Alvesson and Sköldberg, critical theory seeks to increase our consciousness of the political nature of social phenomena and the ability to apply

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[27] http://www.snl.no/.nbl_biografi/Thorstein_Veblen/utdypning (05.09.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; John R. Christianson

critical reflection on "taken-for-granted realities". (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000)

I am also considerably inspired by the American sociologist Howard Becker and his theory on the "art worlds". (Becker 1984) Here I draw on Becker's insights in respect of corporate patronage and in my discussions I also apply thoughts from his contribution within Visual Sociology, (Becker 2007) which is also relevant here as I include a great number of photographs to illuminate my observations and discussions. I should also mention the works of the English anthropologist and social geographer David Harvey, which is relevant to several subjects that are discussed here. (Harvey 1989) In respect of corporate art collections, I particularly apply findings made by the American sociologist Rosanne Martorella in her examinations of 234 corporate art collections in the USA in the 1980s, presented in her book; "Corporate art". (Martorella 1990) I also find the study of the American sociologist Diana Crane on the development of the New York art world from 1940 to 1985; "The Transformation of the Avant-Garde", (Crane 1987) very useful in my discussions on sociological subjects related to art. A great thinker, who has also been particularly inspiring in this work, is the German philosopher and theoretician Walter Benjamin, (1892-1940),[28] and I connect the major structure of my dissertation to a particular metaphorical figure that he is occupied with; "the flâneur", which is originally a figure borrowed from the writings of the French poet Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867).[29] (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991) As corporate culture is also an important subject here, I apply organizational theories by the American social psychologist Edgar H. Schein and his description of the three levels of organizational cultures, (Schein 1999) along with the comprehensive description of work organizations by the British organizational theoreticians Paul Thompson and David McHugh. (Thompson and McHugh 1995) Not at least, I also make use of the Dutch organizational anthropologist Geert Hofstede and his son Gert Jan Hofstede's examinations on cultures and organizations, henceforth referred to as Hofstede, on the mentality of people from different cultures, as this is shown in their study of a large number of employees from more than 50 nations, working in the local subsidiaries of IBM. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)

1.2.2   Art and Architecture

As it appears above, I also apply sociological theory related to art, or more correctly, theories within Sociology of Art and Sociology of Culture. It may sometimes be difficult to draw the lines between sociological approaches to art

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[28] http://www.snl.no/Walter_Benjamin (05.09.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; Eivind Tjønneland
[29] http://www.snl.no/Charles_Pierre_Baudelaire (05.09.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; Truls Olav Wintheer

and Art History, as these fields may also overlap on several occasions, for instance in the case of Diana Cranes interesting description of the art development in New York. On many occasions I make use of general art history, provided by authors such as the art historians Horst W. and Dora J. Janson's "History of art", (Janson and Janson 1978) "The story of modern art" by Norbert Lynton, (Lynton 1989) and Robert Atkins' books "Art speak" (Atkins 1997) and "Art spoke". (Atkins 1993) In respect of Japanese art, I collect useful information from the authors Julia Meech and Gabriel P. Weisberg, (Meech-Pekarik and Weisberg 1990) and the Japanese archeologist and art historian Akiyama Terukazu. (Terukazu 1961) In my discussions of corporate art I also use information provided by the American art adviser Marjory Jacobson, in her book on art for work. (Jacobson 1993) In respect of art and gender, the perspectives of the English art critic and author John Berger are particularly useful. This applies also to other authors such as the American art historian Carol Duncan. (Duncan 1992)

In respect of architecture, I have been particularly inspired by the American architects and co authors Robert Charles Venturi, his wife Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, henceforth referred to as Venturi et al., and their approaches to architectural sign and symbols, (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977) along with the retrospective outlines of their early theories written by Venturi and Scott Brown. (Venturi and Scott Brown 2004) I have also found useful information in the writings of the American architectural theoretician Charles Jencks, both in respect of architectural signs and Post Modernism, (Jencks 2005) and from James Wines and Philip Jodidio in my discussions of green or environmental friendly architecture. (Wines and Jodidio 2000) In respect of architecture and gender, I draw on theory from authors such as the Norwegian art historian Wenche Findal, (Findal 2004) and the architects Diana Agrest (Agrest 1996) and Aaron Betsky. (Betsky 1995)

1.3 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

According to the architect Halina Dunin-Woyseth, there are three main attitudes on research within practical-aesthetic professions; 1) the conservative, which reject research in the practical-aesthetic fields, 2) the pragmatic, which includes reflections and comments on aesthetic practise, and 3) the liberal attitude seeing creative practise as research per se. (Dunin-Woyseth 2005) As a researcher I use my professional skills both as a sociologist and as a visual artist. Thus my interpretations are marked by both sociological and visual assessments, partly as within visual sociology, which may lead to broader interpretations than

assessments made within one single discipline. According to the definition of Dunin-Woyseth, studying corporate art and architecture apparently belong to the conservative attitude. But as the study includes reflections on aesthetical practice; such as art expressions and architectural form, it is also pragmatic. In respect of the third attitude, the liberal, I do not directly create art as such as a part of the study, but I include a great number of photos taken by myself to illustrate the different subjects, and two of my own graphic prints from around 1980 to exemplify the multiple levels of art interpretation.

1.3.1   Research questions

My research questions are:

> Is it possible to expose cultural similarities and diversities of corporate art and architecture in Norway, USA, Japan and France by examining: 1) the visual appearance of art and architecture in corporate headquarters, 2) the objectives of collecting art and emphasizing the architecture of corporate headquarters?

The study is an exploratory and comparative multiple-case study, where each art collection and headquarters I examine explicitly represents a case. According to the American social scientist Robert K. Yin, case studies may require multiple methodological approaches in collecting and analyzing evidence from several sources, in order to achieve deep insight in each case. (Yin 1990) The overall methodological approach is to collect, analyze and compare various kinds of qualitative data from each case. As a basis for analyzing and illuminating the included cases, I discuss visual art in general, art collections, public architecture and office architecture in light of relevant theory. I also use some former scientific reports, including quantitative data, such as Martorellas report on corporate art in the US in the nineteen eighties, (Martorella 1990) and Hofstedes study on Cultures and organizations. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) As this is an exploratory study, it is also important to be open to new and unusual methods for collecting, analyzing and interpreting data.

1.3.2   The purpose of the project

According to Yin, exploratory studies do not always need to have propositions made in advance, but it is important to have a rationale and a direction within the study. (Yin 1990) The direction and the purpose of this study is to explore and interpret aspects of visual art and architecture in corporate headquarters as formulated in my research questions, focusing on the visual appearance of art and architecture and the objectives of corporations to collect art as well as

emphasizing their headquarters architecture, and finally to observe if similarities and diversities that appear may be associated to cultural similarities and diversities.

My personal aim with this project is to learn more about the theme of my Master Thesis in Sociology, (Hagen 1999) where I examined art collections in the headquarters of four Norwegian corporations, by extending the field to corporations outside of Norway, and by including architecture besides that of visual art. In a broader context, I hope to provide new knowledge on corporate art and architecture in different cultures, as well as new insights by also looking at different qualities of visual art and architecture per se, mainly in the countries included in this study, but also with some examples outside of these, which can provide relevant perspectives on the different qualities I discuss. Not at least, I hope to provide new ways of observing and thinking on corporate art and architecture, which hopefully can be useful and inspiring within corporations as well as within disciplines related to the field, such as visual art, architecture, visual communication, visual sociology and sociology of art and culture. Additionally it may provide new insight within marketing, as art collections may be included in the corporate brand, and as apparently more and more new corporate architecture becomes a visual representation of the firm. Finally, as I have set out to explore the field, a huge amount of interesting issues emerge, which are worth a deeper study. Some of these issues I include in my thesis, while others have had to be put aside to be pursued in future studies, which I will be happy to carry out also together with fellow researchers within my own and related fields, who find interesting themes for their future research in this thesis.

1.3.3   Three perspectives; the flâneur, the business and the culture

My research questions implies two different and somewhat opposite perspectives on corporate art and architecture; 1) the perspective of the *flâneur*; observing and interpreting the visual appearance of corporate art and architecture, and 2) the perspective of the *business*; studying the objectives of corporations collecting art and emphasizing the architecture of their headquarters. Additionally a third perspective is embedded in my research questions; 3) the perspective of *culture*, which is also the superstructure of all three, covering the two other perspectives which may be understood in light of culture.

The perspective of the flâneur is based on a metaphor of the spectator strolling around and observing the city, originally Paris and the Paris passages, as he appears in the works of the nineteen century French poet Charles Baudelaire. Walter Benjamin claims that the genius of Baudelaire was nurtured by allegorical

melancholy, and thus the gaze of the flâneur is an allegorical gaze. The flâneur stands on the threshold of the city and of the bourgeoisie, while neither of these influences the bohemian mind of the flâneur. (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991) Observing and interpreting the visual appearance of corporate art and architecture as a spectator during guided and individual walking tours outside and inside of corporate headquarters and campuses, implies "the allegorical gaze of the flâneur", in the interpretations of more or less communicated visual qualities of art and architecture. Similarly, searching for art and architecture inside and outside of cities, walking, or by car, as some of my examples of architecture is actually photographed from the car window, also requiring the gaze of the flâneur. As described by the French sociologist and philosopher Jean Baudrillard while exploring America by car; to drive gives a transparence to objects, where everything can be explored, and everything can be erased. (Baudrillard 2007) Also the architecture and sign system in cities such as Las Vegas, described by Venturi et al., is established to attract the attention of car drivers. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977) In other words, without idealizing the use of the car in respect of pollution; driving by and through places by car may give an interesting perspective of the content of places, of which some of it is caught by your gaze, and remains as an allegorical illusion in your mind, while some impressions disappear and are erased by your consciousness.

Additionally, any exploratory study implies that the researcher needs to be open to unexpected experiences, findings and interpretations, which according to the sociologist Robert K. Merton can contribute to significant explorations, due to the latent functions of phenomena, (Merton 1968) an openness that is similar to the open bohemian mind of the flâneur. Being open minded during examinations and observations, is also similar to the open mind of the child while exploring the world, as this is emphatically described by Howard Becker. In his article "Learning to Observe in Chicago",[30] Becker tells how he and his boyfriends from about the age of ten often amused themselves by taking the El, the elevated train system through the streets of Chicago, observing how the buildings and neighborhoods changed from place to place; they saw poor neighborhoods, wealthy neighborhoods and the ethnic patterns of the city through the signs in Polish, Italian and Swedish, and blacks living on the South Side. (Becker 2009) As described by Becker:

> As we rode, we observed, looking closely at everything that went by… commenting to each other about what we saw, seeing the differences and taking them home with us to think about. By the time I was, say,

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[30] http://home.earthlink.net/~hsbecker/articles/observe.html (04.21.2008)

> twelve, I had a good understanding of the physical and social structure
> of the city, at least from a geographic point of view.[31]

The Norwegian sociologist Oddrun Sæter points out how also the flâneur possesses the gaze of the child, which in its essence is revolutionary and powerful because of its active, tactile and creative character. (Sæter 1998) She examines the similarities between the gaze of the flâneur and the gaze of the researcher, the journalist, the detective and the photographer, and the methodological potential of this gaze. (Sæter 1998) The sociologist and philosopher Chris Jencks seeks to reconstitute the analytical force of the flâneur while examining the urban space; "…as the spectator and depicter of modern life, most specifically in relation to contemporary art and the sights of the city". (Jenks 1995)[32] Although the flâneur does not appear as entirely admirable, as he is described by many as "a dandy drifting about", and some, as the sociologist Richard Sennet, look at him as "a dandified inactive". But still he possesses a power by walking around, seemingly without a purpose, and simultaneously "…with an inquisitive wonder and an infinite capacity to absorb the collective...". (Jenks 1995)[33] In opposition to walking around, the French author Georges Perec observes the life at Place Saint-Sulpice in Paris by sitting down in a café, studying urban life and observing literally what is happening "when nothing is happening". (Perec 2010) Obviously making visual observations of city life by sitting down in a café, in this case during an October weekend in 1974, is a way of observing the city with a similar gaze as the gaze of the flâneur. Harvey on his part describes the flâneur that figures in the novels of the French novelist Honoré de Balsac as following;

> Balsac's flâneur is more of an aesthete, a wandering observer, he is also
> purposive, seeking to unravel the mysteries of social relations and of the
> city, seeking to penetrate the fetish, (the latter referring to the city as a
> fetish object). (Harvey 2003)[34]

Finally I will add that the gaze of the flâneur is also similar to the gaze of the artist; here the artist as a spectator, in the meaning of looking at, evaluating and interpreting the visual environment and artworks created by other artists, which is also a significant part of the professional life of any artist, and as I will claim; a necessary exercise to develop both as a visual artist and an architect, the latter by evaluating architecture.

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[31] http://home.earthlink.net/~hsbecker/articles/observe.html (04.21.2008)
[32] Page 146
[33] Page 146
[34] Page 56, (my comment in parenthesis)

In the perspective of the business, looking at the objectives of art collections and emphasized architecture, the allegorical gaze of the flâneur is temporarily put aside, in favor of interpretations of conversations, photos and texts, although the need of the openness of the bohemian mind remains. The cultural perspective is here representing the superstructure of the other two. Not to be confused with the Marxian superstructure, reflecting basis, although culture and cultural institutions as described by the Norwegian sociologist and philosopher Dag Østerberg, is a part of the Marxian superstructure. (Østerberg 1984) But so also is the bohemian mind of the flâneur, because it is resting upon the mode of production and the means of the bourgeoisie. As described by the British author Elizabeth Wilson, referring to an anonymous pamphlet from 1806; "he is said to be a rentier, seemingly set free by his unearned income from familial, landowning or mercantile responsibilities". (Wilson 2001)[35]

Similarities and diversities of art collections and headquarters architecture that may be related to culture are examined both on the basis of the visual appearance of these phenomenon, which means the flãneur perspective, and by their objectives, the business perspective. To make explicit; the term "culture" refers to different meanings, as it both refers to the customs and traditions of the society in which we live and grow up in, and to a diversity of activities and objects, such as theatre, literature, art and architecture. Hofstede distinguishes between "culture one", which refers to the narrower sense of culture, such as education, literature, art and architecture, and culture in a wider sense, "culture two", which refers to the broad area of a society. According to Hofstede, "culture two" is the culture in which we grow up in, for instance the Norwegian culture or the French culture, which also influence the way we relate to the narrow sense of culture, such as art and architecture in "culture one". (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) This means that while corporate art and architecture belong to "culture one", the culture within each country, which also makes basis for my third perspective and the superstructure of the other two; the perspective of culture, belongs to "culture two". In addition I also look at how the society, "culture two" affects corporate cultures, with their values, signs and symbols, often brought in by the founder of the business, as this is described by Schein and others. (Schein 1999)

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1.3.4   Collecting qualitative data

1.3.4.1   Mixed methods

In this exploratory case study I use multiple sources for collecting data. According to Yin, "...a major strength of case study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence", and he also claims that; "...most of the better case studies rely on a wide variety of sources". (Yin 1990)[36] Yin describes six sources of evidence; 1) documentation, 2) archival records, 3) interviews, 4) direct observations, 5) participant-observation and 6) physical artefacts. Here I use both established and partly new and unusual methods for collecting different kinds of data, including documents, interviews, observation and physical artefacts. For example I collect visual information (data) through observation and photo sessions carried out alone; or during guided tours through the campuses together with key informants, including informal conversations with these. Photographs are also "sources of evidence" within visual sociology, as this is described by Becker. (Becker 2007) In the following I will describe the selection of the included countries and cases before I give a deeper description of my methodological approaches to the study.

1.3.4.2   Selection of countries and cases

Originally the Norwegian cases included in this study were meant to be pilot studies, but during the work I decided to include them equally with the others. Thus Norway represents one of four countries in the study. The other countries included in the study, USA, Japan and France are selected on the basis of two main qualities; 1) their position in the development of modern art and architecture, and 2) their position as industrialized countries. In other words; France is included because of its position as a leading country in the growth of Modernism within art, starting in the late 1800s with Realism, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Cubism and the following styles. Similarly the USA is included because of its position as the cradle of new international art styles after World War II, starting with Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art, Minimalism and the following styles. Japan is included because of the country's significant influence on Western Modernism, particularly within graphic art, design and architecture, starting with Art Nouveau in the end of the nineteen century in France which succeeded in parallel styles throughout Europe, such as Jugend in Germany, Sesession in Austria, Modernista in Spain and the Dragon style in Norway. The "Japan fever", named Japonism inspired a lot of artists, included the Norwegian painter Edward Munch, and influenced the Pre Raphaelite artists as well as the Arts and Crafts Movement in England. After Europe the Japan

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[36] Page 96

fever spread to America, and continued to inspire artists, designers and architects, such as one of the most influential Western architects in the nineteen century, the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright who spent a lot of time in Japan, (Birk 1996) and had a great passion for Japanese art. (Meech-Pekarik 2001)

The current countries are also included because they have in common that they are highly developed and industrialized countries, in respect of industry, technology and trade. In spite of economical recessions during the last decades, they are all rich countries, with a high Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rate. In the first decades of the nineteen hundreds, the USA had a leading position in industrial production, due to the "moving assembly line" developed at Henry Ford's automobile factory in 1913,[37] and soon implemented as a main principle of industrial production in the West. But in the last decades we have been witnessing great changes within industrial production, where "Fordism" is transmitted into flexible accumulation; from "Just-in Case production" to "Just-in-Time production". (Harvey 1989) While the main principals for the "Just-in-Case" production of Ford Motor Company was to manufacture and store a great number of automobiles, just in case someone wanted to buy them, the "Just-in-Time" production is driven by customer needs, and produced when the customer wants to buy them. According to Thompson and McHugh, the Just-in-Time system was originally developed by Toyota, and the Japanese mode of production became a model for industrial production also in the West. The establishment of Nissan in Washington in 1986 became the main source of (reinforcing) "The Nissan effect", which led to an emulating of the Japanese practice in Western corporations, most prominently seen in the case of Ford. (Thompson and McHugh 1995) The "after Japan" initiative led to new employee involvement programs, new management structures and a new corporate culture in Western corporations. With reference to the economist Erik Swyngedouw, Harvey describes the most distinguished features of the Just-in-Time production as; flexible and small batch production, no stocks, demand driven production, multiple tasks for employees, personal payment, more horizontal organization, and high employment security for core-workers. (Harvey 1989)

Originally I planned to include 2-4 random corporations from each country within the same type of industries, such as high-tech, oil and banking, to make the cases suited for comparison. Another option was to include corporations that were particularly known for their art collections or for their headquarters architecture. But as my inquires to different corporations about visiting and

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[37] http://corporate.ford.com/about-ford/heritage/places/highlandpark/663-highland-park (05.19.2011)

examining their headquarters sometimes succeeded and sometimes failed, it was not possible to choose freely which corporations I should include, and thus the included corporations represent both these categories. To get access to the corporations and establish contact with key informants, I first contacted persons within the corporations who could serve as "gate keepers", and who I got in touch with by contacting embassies, corporate branches in Norway and Europe or by contacting the corporations directly. I met several hindrances, among other things by being a PhD-student. In Norway PhD-students are usually regarded as employed at a University or a University College. I learned that outside of Norway, PhD-students are often looked upon as "a student" similar to every other student and the policy of many corporations abroad is that they do not receive single students for research purposes. Instead I was often advised to find the information I needed on the corporation's website. Which I actually also did on several occasions.

Because it was not possible to visit all of the included headquarters, I chose to visit some collections in corporate art museums that are open to the public, and observe some headquarters from the outside. All in all I examined seven art collections (including "accidental art") through guided tours, and four art collections in corporate museums that were open to the public. One collection I had to examine through the presentation on the corporations website. Likewise, I examined the architecture of seven headquarters through guided tours, and five by external observation and other sources, such as relevant books, articles and corporate websites. The numbers of corporations from each country varies, and the 12 (11) corporations of which I examine the art collections, are not coherent with all of the 12 corporations of which I examine the headquarters architecture, but in 9 of the included corporations I examine both the art collection and the headquarters architecture. I examine 2 Norwegian, 5 US, 3 Japanese and 2 French art collections from the following industries; 4 high-tech industries, 3 oil corporations, 2 banking corporations, 1 tyre manufacturer, 1 jewelery firm and 1 law firm. Further, I examine the architecture of 2 Norwegian, 4 US, 4 Japanese and 2 French headquarters representing the following industries; 6 high-tech industries, 3 oil corporations, 2 banking corporations and 1 brewery. I examine both the art collection and the headquarters architecture in 2 Norwegian, 4 US, 1 Japanese and 1 French corporation.

1.3.4.3   *Visual observations and photos*

The use of photographs in sociological studies is broadly described by Howard Becker, who also discusses the principals of visual sociology. (Becker 2007) According to Becker, visual images and photography are sources of evidence and

can be used in a similar way as qualitative and quantitative data in sociological analysis. Still, using visual material tends to be seen as "unscientific" within sociology. Becker says this is odd, as photography is used frequently as evidence within natural sciences. (Becker 2007) Within social sciences however, only history and anthropology, often regarded as the "least scientific" disciplines use photography, while the "most scientific" disciplines, such as economics and political science do not. (Becker 2007) Although photographs in many cases speak for themselves, in a scientific context, it has to be integrated in a theory. In such a setting, photography can be used as data and documentation of social phenomena. As expressed by Becker on his website:

> One picture does not tell a sociological story or make a sociological point, let alone build sociological theory visually. No more than one word or one paragraph would, one statistical table or one paragraph from my field notes. A photograph is evidence, data, and requires context to make its point…[38]

While photos in this sense show representations of reality, unless they are arranged or manipulated, visual art may also have similar, although indirect, qualities like the role of paintings and graphic prints before the development of photography. For instance the copperplate prints were reporting scenes from the society, architecture, rural and city life several centuries before the development of photography, and Realism artists like Gustave Courbet and Honoré Daumier were showing aspects of the society and the conditions of the nineteenth century's working class. Before the emergence of photography, realistic artworks inhabited a lot of important information and data on the society. In this study I use nearly 200 photos of architecture and visual art. Many of them are taken during guided tours through the corporate headquarters, some while I was walking alone, some when passing by other examples of interesting architecture, during walking tours like the flâneur, or from the car window, driving by. With few exceptions the photos are taken by me, representing images of architecture and visual art, creative works that each can be analyzed and interpreted independently. Here the photos function as data to illustrate the included cases, and other examples of art and architecture.

1.3.4.4 Informal conversations, group interviews and questionnaires

As described by the Norwegian psychologist Steinar Kvale, different kinds of interviews and informal conversations are common techniques for collecting qualitative data, which also implies several stages of preparation, conducting

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[38] http://home.earthlink.net/~hsbecker/articles/spq.html (07.30.2008)

interviews or conversations and analyzing collected data, as well as considering the problem of reliability, validity and generalization; although the latter is not usually the goal for qualitative examinations. (Kvale 1997) Originally I planned to conduct indepth personal interviews with employees in different positions, but as this turned out to be difficult to arrange by most of the included corporations abroad, I had to abandon that plan. Instead I managed to conduct informal conversations with my contacts and guides in the corporations I visited, who functioned as my key-informants in each case. My key informants are corporate people in different work positions such as executives, art curators, directors of the facilities and others. The benefit of using key-informants, is demonstrated in many well known studies, such as in the classical study "Street corner society: the social structure of an Italian slum", of the American sociologist William F. Whyte, where "Doc", a gang leader, played an important role for the researcher both in respect of getting access to, and being accepted within his gang. In addition, Doc also functioned as "an editor", and contributed to verify and clarify observations and information. (Whyte 1993) Also the Norwegian sociologist Sverre Lysgaard emphasizes the utility of using key-informants in the classical Norwegian study "Arbeiderkollektivet", on informal collectives between blue collar workers in a Norwegian paper factory. In Lysgaards study the leaders of the labor unions functioned as key informants, helping the researchers to get access to the factory, acceptance from the workers, and functioned as "editors" to verify and clarify observations and information. (Lysgaard 1985)

My informants in the corporations I visited guided me around in the current headquarters, to see the art collection or accidental artworks, and simultaneously they could tell me about the art and architecture as we were walking or sitting down. In the informal conversations I used a check-list, functioning as an interview-guide to ensure that approximately the same issues were covered. During the tours we also met random employees and had some informal short talks with these, including issues on the corporations' art and architecture. As my original plan on using personal employee interviews failed abroad, my key informants could still provide me with relevant information, and some provided me with additional information after I returned home. I was also able to get some answers from a few random employees through a short questionnaire. In addition to the informal conversations I conducted one traditional group interview, and one group meeting that was carried out almost like an informal group interview. Here the first group consisted of random employees who made a heterogenic group, while the group meeting was held among corporate executives and an art curator, who formed a homogenous group. Both provided useful information, although the heterogenic group contributed with a more pro and contra

discussion in respect of art. As described by the political scientist Dag Ingvar Jacobsen the type of group can affect the balance of the discussion, (Jacobsen 2005) which was also the case here. In addition to informants and random employees within the corporations, I have had very useful informal conversations with art advisors and museum staff.

Because I was not able to conduct employee interviews to the extent that I originally planned, I had to adjust the direction of my study, and to use a greater part of other sources, such as corporate publications, books and websites. But one of the advantages of qualitative methods, as also demonstrated by Lysgaard, (Lysgaard 1985) and particularly in respect of exploratory studies, is that it is possible to adjust the direction of the study during the research process, as is partly the case here. Because of the possibilities of doing interesting explorations, it has also been my intention from the beginning of the project to be open to changes as well as unpredictable experiences and findings as the work progressed.

1.3.4.5   Document analysis

During the study I have also used documentary analysis, primarily in the meaning of studying relevant corporate documents and publications, such as brochures, booklets, annual reports and books which I have received during my visits, as well as catalogues and corporate websites, in order to get a deeper understanding of their visions and values, and how they emphasize and express the objectives of their art collections and headquarters architecture. To a certain degree this also implies elements of discourse analysis as this is described by the organizational theoreticians Mats Alvesson and Kaj Sköldberg including all kinds of "utterances and written documents". (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000) An interesting observation is however, that since I started to collect data around 2007 and until today 2011, several corporations have changed or increased their information on their websites, sometimes also in respect of their art collections, while others have removed information I found a couple of years ago. In one case the website was removed, as the corporation seems to be restructuring its organization through a merging between branches and maybe with an external business as well. This only shows that corporations are indeed "living organizations", or to use one of the metaphors of the organizational theoretician Gareth Morgan, they are "living organisms", (Morgan 1992) changing constantly, which is actually the case with several of the included cases in respect of how they have developed and merged with other firms through the history. I also use relevant papers presented at conferences within sociology, visual sociology, art and architecture, and relevant literature and articles in scientific

journals, public websites and newspapers. I should also mention digital Internet based encyclopedias such as the authorized Norwegian "Store Norske Leksikon"[39] and Wikipedia; although I should add that these digital encyclopedias are used only to provide "fast facts" on subjects such as the height of a building, the correct name of an artist, architect or an author.

1.3.5   Analysis and interpretation

Collecting and analyzing data are closely related, and particularly within qualitative methods it is inevitable not to start analyzing data during the collecting process. Early findings, as well as obstacles; in this case in respect of employee interviews, has led the study into its final direction, which was also the case in Lysgaards "Arbeiderkollektivet", where the researchers planned to study the working processes in the factory, including both employees and leaders, but ended up studying only the blue collar workers, due to interesting findings of hidden collectives among these early in the research process. (Lysgaard 1985) The analyses of the collected data in my study are based on 1) Visual analysis and 2) Comparative cross case analysis.

1.3.5.1   *Visual analysis*

Visual art and architecture represent separate disciplines, each complex and with different traditions, practices and sets of rules. But the two disciplines also have several qualities in common; they both represent visual expressions made in different times and in different cultures. This means that the visual appearance of a church, a corporate building, a work of art as well as an art collection are visual phenomenon that express signals that are perceived and interpreted in different ways, depending on the individual and cultural learned experiences and preferences. In other words, the interpretation of such visual expressions depends on the spectator, who will interpret the visual expression of a building, an artwork and other visual objects on the basis of his or hers education, social background, religious and political affiliation; or with the words of Bourdieu; with their social position and cultural capital incorporated in their habitus. (Bourdieu 1995)

As mentioned above, I include nearly 200 photographs to show examples of art and architecture that is included in my discussions and empirical examinations, which also make them functioning as "evidence", similar to what Becker describes within visual sociology where photographs are analyzed and interpreted in a similar way as other collected data. (Becker 2007) Analyzing

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[39] Actually I use this authorized Norwegian encyclopedia consciously, because it was threatened with being closed down in 2010, as it lost the public economic support, but was saved by the change of owners.

visual expressions requires a critical methodological approach to reveal how visual representations can inhabit cultural and social signals of class, gender, race and sexuality. According to the Norwegian sociologist Tove Thagaard, a critical approach to visual expressions should be based on three traditions: 1) the production of visual expressions, referring to the social, economic and cultural basis for the production, 2) the distinctive character of the visual expressions; which cultural patterns and social relations are presented by the expressions, and 3) the hallmarks of the audience; which cultural and social relations influence the reception of the visual expressions. (Thagaard 2009) All three traditions have relevance in this study, as the design of corporate headquarters and the founding of an art collection presumably reflect the social, economical and cultural basis for a specific architecture and a specific art collection, which rely both on the society and on the founder and decision makers. Presumably the distinctive character of corporate art and architecture may also reflect cultural patterns and social relations as well as style and gender issues. Finally cultural capital, taste and aesthetical judgments influenced by social background, education and income of the spectators decide the reception of corporate art and architecture.

In the visual analysis I also apply metaphors, which according to Thagaard, give visual associations to data, usually descriptive text, and analyzing metaphors can give relevant information on the actors or cultures that are examined. The essential meaning of a metaphor is that it gives new meaning to a phenomenon that we are familiar with. Thus the metaphor contributes to create new meaning, and to lead our interpretation of a phenomenon towards the new meaning expressed in the metaphor. (Thagaard 2009) Metaphors have been used by many theoreticians such as Morgan who uses metaphors to interpret work organizations. (Morgan 1992) Also architects use metaphors to characterize architecture. One of the most well known metaphors within architecture is made by Le Corbusier, who looked at the house as "a machine". Here I use metaphors in a double sense; applied as a tool of interpretation, and to describe architecture in terms of form-metaphors. According to Alvesson and Sköldberg; using such metaphors belongs to the hermeneutic tradition, based on what the philosophers Martin Heidegger and Paul Ricoeur describes as "poetic hermeneutics"; a school within the "alethic hermeneutics",[40] (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000) here aiming to reveal both clearly communicated and hidden qualities.

Visual art and architecture is often analyzed and interpreted within an aesthetical perspective. But according to the sociologist and philosopher Theodor W. Adorno, understanding art in our time on the basis of a traditional aesthetical

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[40] *Alethic:* from the Greek *aletheia*, which means to uncover (reveal) something hidden

thinking, may lead to a misunderstanding rather than to an understanding of art. The reason for this is that seeing art objectively, but communicated through subjectivity, is an idea that is delivered from the classical tradition, and which has no relevance for art within Modernism. (Adorno 1998) Vesely on his side claims that the critical turning point of modern art was when traditional poetics was transformed into aesthetics. Similar to the philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, he points out that the appearance of new art, instead of complementing nature was contrasting reality, and led to an aesthetic differentiation where art no longer has a place within the aesthetic consciousness. (Vesely 2006) According to the art historian Erwin Panofsky, a work of art is not necessarily created to be experienced aesthetically. Still a work of art always has what he mentions as "aesthetic significance", which must not be confused with aesthetic value. He describes how every work of art demands to be experienced aesthetically, independent of whether it is good or bad. But also every other natural or manmade object can be experienced aesthetically, which most of us do often only by looking at the object, without relating it to anything else. In opposition, the experience is not aesthetically when we start to associate the object with something else, as in the carpenter when he is associating a tree with what he can make out of it. (Panofsky 1982) This applies also when people are preoccupied with the function and utility of art, for instance at work; where art is expected to influence the work place in different ways, which I discuss later.

Manmade objects that are not demanding to be experienced aesthetically, and because of that usually are called practical objects; can be divided into two classes, described by Panofsky as: 1) vehicles of communication, and 2) tools, or apparatuses. While the first, a vehicle of communication is intended to transmit a concept, the second, a tool is intended to make a function, although this may be to serve the transmission of a communication, for example a typewriter. (Panofsky 1982) But according to Panofsky, also works of art belong to one of these classes. A painting is also a vehicle of communication, while architecture may be seen as a tool; but only in a sense, because they are not only a vehicle of communication or a tool. In any event, to look at art as well as architecture as vehicles of communication is harmonious to my way of interpreting art and architecture in this study, since aesthetical judgements are not applied here.

It is also relevant to apply visual analysis and interpretations in terms of iconography and iconology as this is described by Panofsky, (Panofsky 1982) here on the visual appearance of the art collections and the headquarters architecture, and the symbolic values and meanings embedded in art and architecture. According to Panofsky visual expressions inhabit three layers of

meaning; 1) The primary or natural meaning connected to the form of an object, for example a building or the motif of an artwork, named as "pre-iconography". 2) The secondary or conventional meaning refers to the content of the visual expression, whether this is the motif of an artwork, or the style of a building which requires general cultural knowledge. It represents pictorial stories or allegories, and is called "iconography". 3) The third meaning is the inner meaning or content of the visual expression. It is established through adequate cultural and historical knowledge, and includes symptoms of "something else", or conditions outside of the object or artwork that the creator may be unaware of. This meaning constitutes the "iconology" of the visual expression. (Panofsky 1980) As the interpretation of art and architecture also depend on which culture and time period the visual expression is created, and in which culture and time it is interpreted, it may also be analyzed in terms of semiotics, in the same way as the literature theoretician Roland Barthes "read" photographs and images as re-presentation of reality, by reading the denotative "signs" of art and architecture; the materials, motifs and means that in the next turn establishes the connotations of art and architecture; "what it says", or communicates. (Barthes 1994)

In respect of interpreting art and architecture, it may also be useful to be aware of what Lefebvre call the "trialectics of society"; which refers to the physical, mental and social appearance of society. According to the political geographer Edward W. Soja, these three dimensions are described as an interrelated triad of: 1) spatial practise, referring to the space of production and reproduction, 2) representations of space, referring to the space of scientists, planners, urbanites and technocrats, and 3) spaces of representation, referring to a community of a distinct form with coded and complex symbolisms, a "non-verbal subliminality", a common understanding, and with the insightfulness of art versus science. The third space is inhabited by artists, writers, philosophers and others from the cultural and educated classes of society. (Soja 1996) Apparently the production within the third space with its codes and symbols is similar to the production within cultural fields that Bourdieu describes as "the production of belief", as discussed later, which also presupposes access to codes and symbols within the current community. (Broady 1987)

1.3.5.2   Comparative cross-case analysis

As my study includes multiple cases the collected data are analyzed in terms of cross-case analysis, where information on a number of categories, here visual qualities of art collections and headquarters architecture are placed in a matrix, to literally "eyeball the table" as suggested by the social scientists Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman in order to compare the cases and look for

patterns. (Miles and Huberman 1984) A matrix also creates a basis to conduct what Yin describes as pattern-matching; "For case-study analysis, one of the most desirable strategies is the use of a pattern matching logic." (Yin 1990)[41] According to Yin, the advantage of pattern matching is that it strengthens the internal validity of the study, if the patterns coincide. The main objective of this study is not to generalize findings, but rather to seek to explain findings and coincidental patterns; what Yin calls "explanation-building." (Yin 1990) In addition, the analysis may also generate hypothesis, as a main goal for this study is also to develop ideas for further research. Also Thagaard describes the use of matrixes as a suitable way to analyse qualitative data and conduct what she describes as theme-centred analysis. (Thagaard 2009) A similar way of using matrixes in comparative cultural analysis is demonstrated by the American sociologist Wendy Griswold, in her analysis of Romantic plays in London theatres. (Griswold 1986)

As also Martorella claims, to study corporate art collections, which includes disciplines such as art, art history and sociology; it is necessary to use different approaches. (Martorella 1990) The same applies when the study includes architecture. As mentioned above, being open, with the bohemian mind of the flâneur, one may also make unexpected findings, due to the latent functions of phenomena, and reveal what Merton mentions as "unintended consequences". (Merton 1968) According to Alvesson and Sköldberg, multiple methods from different traditions applied in the same study, also contributes to create a methodology that is interrelated and reflexive. (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000)

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PART II:
Visual Art and Corporate Collections

2   The Flâneur Perspective on Visual Art

2.1   THE VISUAL APPEARANCE OF ART

2.1.1   Art images; a multi layered source of interpretation

Visual images such as photographs can be read and interpreted in different ways. Becker shows how information in photographs can be sociologically interpreted. In one of his examples he compares two photos, each of a woman in a New York street. The content of the photos can be analyzed and sorted into different categories, such as gender, race, class, personal security and so on. But it can also reveal things about the street itself. One could for instance analyze and compare the buildings, the customary architecture, the class of the inhabitants, and the density of traffic and so on. (Becker 2007) Inspired by this possibility, as an experiment and a paraphrase to the photographic example, I decided to analyze two of my own graphic prints made around 1979-80, old enough for a critical evaluation, and created in a time when the Norwegian art world was marked by what was called "the graphic art boom", with high consciousness among the artists on political matters, among these, national threats.

More specific, the graphic art boom in the Norwegian art world in the nineteen seventies coincided with a period when social and political consciousness, particularly among young people and students was strongly present, and a huge proportion of Norwegian artists were making graphic prints. The motifs of many of these prints, as well as paintings from the same period, show themes and scenes related to political and social matters, spanning from protest against the Vietnam war to potential threats from a third world war and environmental damage. The graphic art boom and the interest of graphic prints may also be seen as a result of the production of the huge amount of political posters that was emerging in Western countries in the same period, inspiring artists to include political messages in their art. In Norway many artists were also educated both as graphic designers at the National College of Arts and Crafts, and as visual artists, at the National Academy of Art and had achieved the skills of both making poster art, graphic art and traditional artworks, such as paintings. (Hagen 2010)

This period of political engagement started in the sixties, reflecting civil rights, anti discrimination and anti war movements in the USA and Europe. In Norway different groups of what may be called "arts activists" evolved, such as the group named "Gras", a name that refers to "the grass root", or "ordinary people", and particularly to the working class. As described by one of the members of Gras, the Austrian-Norwegian artist Willi Storn, quoted in Hennum;

> I meant that we as visual artists could serve the people by being accessible, being their spokesmen and visualize their conditions, their conceptions. (Hennum 2007)[42]

Starting with protests about war and discrimination, after the end of the Vietnam war, the political engagement was turning into more national concerns, such as protesting against Norwegian membership in the European Union, an issue that had its first referendum in 1972. Many of the artists were also concerned with the women's liberation movement, and with saving the environment by fighting against water power plants that would damage the Norwegian natural environment by destroying spectacular waterfalls. Other issues were to prevent depopulation of remote areas, especially in the northern part of Norway and to establish the dividing line of national fishing zones. Both artists and the intellectual elite were fighting for these issues, and one of the most known participants in the ongoing protest actions, was the Norwegian philosopher Arne Ness, a professor from the Oslo University. He participated in the "Mardøla-aksjonen" in 1970, by chaining himself, together with other demonstrators in a direct action of civil disobedience to save the spectacular Mardøla Waterfall from being shut down by a power plant. Finally Næss was carried away by the police together with the other demonstrators, an event that also was documented in a famous press photograph. (Hagen 2010)

By engaging themselves in political matters, the Norwegian artists in the late sixties and through the seventies were both signaling their own political standpoints, and also reflecting the general "zeitgeist" of the Norwegian society in this time period, and the political fights and discussions that were going on between different political groups and parties within the country. According to the architectural historian Mari Hvattum, both the German philosophers Georg W. F. Hegel and Johann G. von Herder looked upon history as a series of distinct time periods, each with their own unique expressions and qualities, forming different variations of zeitgeist, similarly to the way art history categorizes style periods, or "isms", where history represent a chain of epochs, mirroring the

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[42] Page 149 (My translation)

changing nature of the zeitgeist. (Hvattum 2006) The political engagement among a large number of Norwegian citizens in the late sixties and seventies, connected with the different political matters described above, formed a particular zeitgeist marked by social and political concern, and not at least, of solidarity. In comparison, the zeitgeist of the last couple of decades is rather narcissistic, although there is a new great global movement today; on protecting the environment. The interesting thing is that while arguing for environmental protection in the seventies was made by more or less legal minority movements protesting against governments in protest actions such as the "Mardøla-aksjonen", protecting the environment today has become one of the main concerns of governments all over the world. The same can be said about discrimination and other issues where human rights are put aside. In other words, as many revolutions start small, we have during the last decades been witnessing a silent revolution within issues on environmental concern and human rights that have brought about changes in many countries.

MIH Photo: 11 (left) "Autumn", MIH Etching 1979-80
MIH Photo: 12 (right) "House of the Archipelago of Northern Norway", MIH Etching 1979-80

Both of the two prints above have their motifs from a small Norwegian fishing village in the coast of Northern Norway. Unlike photographs, although they are in one sense realistic, many details are removed from the images. The left house is abandoned and empty. The wooden walls are gray, after being torn by the harsh weather through many cold and stormy winters. One can also see how the trees are formed in bended shapes by the wind. It was not windy when I did the sketches for the prints, but the trees have got a permanent shape like the frozen movement of the wind. I am not sure whether the right house is abandoned, as it was placed on a small islet on the outskirts of the fishing village which I was making sketches of from a long distance. Anyway, it is simple and probably even more exposed to the harsh weather conditions than the left house that was located in the middle of the village. The small windows that were placed some distance from each other, shows how the house or more correctly, the residents of the

house, try to protect themselves against the wind and winter storms. The two houses have both differences and equalities. The left house is bigger, it has larger windows and a fence to protect privacy, it is located in the village and it has probably been more expensive to build than the other. Unlike the right house, which has an installation to hang fish for drying, telling us that the inhabitants of this house are fishermen, there is nothing about the left house that tells us about the occupation of the residents. Although the location is a fishing village, there may have been the village's doctor or a teacher that used to live in this house. Both houses have in common that they are telling us about the cold and harsh climate conditions of their location. They also reveal customary Norwegian architecture in this part of the country. Being abandoned, there must have been a reason for the residents to leave the left house. Here we have reached the political level of the interpretation. (Hagen 2010)

Abandoned houses in Norwegian fishing villages, symbolize the problem of depopulation of remote areas and rural municipalities, which the Norwegian government and different political parties and movements have fought against during the last decades, especially against the depopulation of rural municipalities on the coastline of the northern part of Norway, along with the closure of traditional fishing industries. In other words, this shows how information about the society can be interpreted through visual art, when integrated in knowledge and theory. (Hagen 2010) It is important to add, that although I had social and political interests at the time when these graphic prints were made, I was not aware that they could be interpreted in a sociological way. At that time, it was primary the visual expression of the houses and the way they "spoke" to me that attracted me and inspired me to make sketches for the etchings. To me the houses had an abandoned and empty expression which appealed to me artistically. In addition the left house appeared quite mysterious, while the right house had an appealing quiet, bright and poetical expression. Now, many years after, I realize that it must have been my social and political interest at the time that unconsciously made me create these potential sociological interpretative images.

In a sociological perspective Martorella points out the limitation of art history, which in spite of representing a rich source of knowledge is not enough to give a sociological understanding of art as part of political and economic events, or as "communicative representations of particular societies." (Martorella 1990) [43] But the artwork itself however, can contain a lot of information on a society. As described by Martorella;

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[43] Page 8

An artwork's content, for example, may express themes, genre, and subject matter, or use materials that reflect the historical period, inform us of events and relationships, and embody ideas shared by a culture. (Martorella 1990)[44]

2.1.1.1   *Interpretations of art images; iconology and semiotics*

In the example above, I have briefly interpreted two graphic prints historically and sociologically. Such interpretations presuppose theory in the meaning of knowledge about Norway and the political conditions of the seventies. The interpretations seems to coincide with Panofskys iconography and iconology, (Panofsky 1982) and to Barthes's semiotic analysis by reading the details and content in an image as an analogue to linguistic signs. (Barthes 1994)

As briefly presented in chapter 1.3.5.1 Panofsky has identified three levels of meaning embedded in visual art; 1) The "primary" or "natural" meaning, including both a factual and an expressive meaning, connected to the form of an object or the motif in an artwork named as the "pre-iconographic" description. Understanding the expressive meaning of an object requires sensitivity, established through practical experience with similar objects. 2) The "secondary" or "conventional" meaning refers to the content of the visual expression, for example the motif of an artwork which requires general cultural knowledge usually achieved by growing up in a specific culture. The secondary meaning is established by the intellect based on cultural traditions within a society. It represents pictorial stories or allegories, and is called "iconography". 3) The third meaning is the "inner" meaning or content. It is established through adequate cultural and historical knowledge, and includes symptoms of "something else" outside of the object or artwork, or symbolic values of which the creator may be unaware of. The third meaning represents the "iconology" of the visual expression. (Panofsky 1980) While the pre-iconographic meaning is descriptive, the iconographic meaning represent the analytical meaning of an artwork. The iconological meaning is based on a synthetically interpretation which besides of relying on the iconographic analysis, also applies the personality of the artist, the time and nationality the artist is occupied with and the political, poetical, religious, philosophical and social tendencies within the current society. In other words, the iconological interpretation also includes the dynamics of the society that surrounds and influences the artist while the artwork is created, and which may later be traced in the artwork. Actually Panofsky claims that historians in general should use artworks in a similar way as art historians do in their research

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within politics, literature, religion, philosophy and social situations. (Panofsky 1982)

In Barthes' semiotic analysis visual elements are sign in a communication system that has two levels; 1) The denotative level where elements and objects in an image are defined as (analogue) signs that carry meaning like letters in a word. 2) The connotative level where the denotative signs are "read" like words in a sentence and contribute to create the meanings of an image. Barthes describes strikingly the meanings that are communicated through an image; as "the rhetoric's of the image". (Barthes 1980) Briefly, the distinction between Panofsky's iconography and iconology compared with Barthes' semiotics is that while Panofsky's approach is to evaluate images by "looking into" the image, and in the iconological interpretation apply theory, Barthes' approach is to read signs that are communicated by the image, and meanings that so to speak "steps out" from the image. The complexity of what an artwork can reveal about the society also varies with our own knowledge about the society, culture and the time of the creation of the artwork, and with our knowledge within art and art history. With the terms of Bourdieu it also varies with our possession of cultural capital. (Bourdieu 1995) The two prints above can be analyzed and compared as below, in a way that also shows the distinction between iconology and semiotics:

Artistic interpretations:
• The composition, contrasts, colors, technique and other basic features of the artworks.
     - In the degree that these features represent meaning, such basic features may be *pre-iconographic,* as bricks in a wall contributing to establish and build up the pictures.
     - In a semiotic perspective, such features may be *denotative* signs in the artworks, like letters in a word, as far as they carry meaning.
• Details of the motifs, here the shape of the houses, roofs, windows, trees and other details.
     - These details are *pre-iconographic* and contribute to establish each artwork.
     - In a semiotic perspective, these details are *denotative* signs like letters in a word.

Sociological interpretations:
• The motif as a whole, in a wider sense more than the smaller details, but still what you can actually see in the pictures, a house with small windows on an islet, an abandoned looking house with bended trees, which both tell

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something about the life and conditions of the people living there, namely that the place must have a harsh and cold climate, and the people living there are probably not very wealthy.

- By seeing the content in each picture as a whole, the picture is established, and according to Panofsky it has become *iconographic,* which means that we have achieved a broader understanding of the picture.
- In a semiotic analysis these signs constitute a *connotative* meaning of the image, on the condition that the viewer has knowledge about the reflected location and life conditions.

• An underlying story on class, social status and the occupation of the people living there (as the people living in the white house where the fish drying installations besides of the house indicates that the inhabitants probably are fishermen).

- According to Panofsky such interpretations are *iconological,* as they reflect symptoms of "something else" or conditions outside of the artworks that cannot be seen in the pictures (except for the fish drying installation), but are based on theories that can be applied to, or underpinned by the pictures.
- In semiotic analysis there is no third expression for this level, and the meaning is still *connotative.* A further understanding of the meaning presupposes a deeper knowledge about the reflected society and culture and in addition, to the point in time that the artworks reflects or was created in.

Sociological and territorial interpretations:
• Both the houses looks abandoned, which mirrors the political problem of depopulation of rural areas in Norway.

- Also this interpretation is *iconological,* as it reflects underlying political conditions independent of these artworks, but which can also be affiliated to the motifs. Thereby the motifs of the artworks can underpin theory on the political problem of depopulation in the Norwegian society, which in this specific case is also a territorial problem, (although other countries may experience similar problems).

• As the artworks can be sociologically interpreted, they can also reflect the political engagement of Norwegian artists in the 1970's.

- This is also an *iconological* interpretation, as it reflects a situation independent of the artworks. It is obviously quite possible to make such images without being politically engaged. But these motifs are

quite typical for Norwegian graphic art from the nineteen seventies. With knowledge of that, and of the general political engagement of the Norwegian artists in the same period, the artworks underpin theory on this subject. Reflecting the specific Norwegian art world at the time, this interpretation is also territorial.

- It is claimed that art reflects the society, and as the artworks may be seen as reflecting the politically engaged artists at the time, they may also reflect the political engagement among people in general in the Norwegian society in the same period.
    - This is also an *iconological* interpretation, representing a situation independent of these works of art, and which needs extended knowledge or theory so as to be interpreted from these prints. As political engagement was a particularly present phenomenon amongst many people in the seventies, the artworks may also represent the state of the zeitgeist in Norway at that time. Today, several decades later, it is obvious that the political engagement among Norwegian people in general was stronger in the seventies than around and after 2000.

Cultural and territorial interpretations:
- The houses reflect Norwegian architectural customs in their location and in the rural life of the northern coast of Norway.
    - This *iconological* interpretation presupposes knowledge of Norwegian culture and architecture, and the artworks can underpin theory on architecture in fishing villages on the coast of Northern Norway. By that, this interpretation of the artworks is both cultural and territorial.
- As these graphic prints are representatives for the graphic art boom in the Norwegian art world of the 1970's, they represent a certain Norwegian style of that time.
    - By this the artworks can be culturally interpreted both as *iconographic* as a style, which can be revealed by perceiving the artwork, and *iconological,* by being theoretically integrated as a part of the Norwegian art history. Also these interpretations are both cultural as part of the art history, and territorial, reflecting specific Norwegian art conditions. That it is not to say that artists in other countries did not have similar style preferences and political engagement during the same period.

2.1.1.2   Summary; the multiple layers of art interpretations

The analysis and interpretation of the two etchings above is an example of the multiple layers of interpretations that can be embedded in works of art, the last interpretations related to iconology and semiotics. As shown, art may also be a source of sociological understanding when relevant knowledge and theory is applied as in here of the harsh life conditions of a remote fishing village in Norway. The etchings also show the political issues in the Norwegian society in the seventies as well as the political engagement of Norwegian artists and the dominating Norwegian art style at the time. Besides the artistic and aesthetical interpretations, which is not focused on here, this means that the etchings can be interpreted sociologically by reflecting; 1) the everyday life of people in the fishing village, 2) political and 3) territorial problems in Norway in the seventies, 4) the social engagement of visual artists at the time and 5) the political engagement of people in general in the Norwegian society during the same period, or the zeitgeist of the time. In addition they can also be connected to issues within the sociology of art and culture, such as 6) the architectural customs in Norway, and 7) the dominating Norwegian art styles in the seventies. While some of these interpretations can be made both within iconology and semiotics, some interpretations are in their essence iconological, as they include different types of knowledge independent of the works of art. In my experience such multiple interpretations of art are not limited to naturalistic art expressions, but can be applied to abstract and new art expressions as well, and may represent a useful source of knowledge within sociology as well as within the history of art.

2.1.1.3   Visual art reflecting the "zeitgeist" within a culture

In the example above I use figurative artworks, although they are in a sense abstract as any artworks are. It is important to notice however, that similar and multiple interpretations applies to all works of art, whether they are figurative or not. In the 1980s the new direction of the Norwegian art world was marked by Neo-expressionism and strongly influenced by German artists such as Anselm Kiefer, Jörg Immendorff and Georg Baselitz, and at a glance to the American Abstract Expressionists and other American post World War II styles, along with American Neo Expressionism. As in the seventies many of the Norwegian artists of this decade were also concerned with political matters, but now the interest was refocused on a more worldwide concern. As Kiefer and his fellow German artists were often concerned with "war motifs" with anti war connotations, the motifs of many of the Norwegian artists were marked by a fear of a potential apocalyptic nuclear war, as well as fatal environmental damage. Unlike the graphic art boom of the seventies the eighties in Norway became a renaissance of the art of painting; and the motifs of many of the Norwegian painters were, like

in Kiefers "The Brandenburg March" from 1974, marked by anti war expressions or they had apocalyptic connotations. The inscription in this painting, "Märkishe Heide" refers to the moraine ground that Berlin is built upon, but it also refers to an old march used by Hitlers troops, and the picture itself shows associations with a battlefield. Kiefers paintings are also mentioned as new "History painting", as well as referring to the Old Testament. (Lynton 1989) Like the paintings of Kiefer and his German fellow artists the Norwegian paintings also became large and up to wall-sized in the 1980s, which also underpinned the strong expression of future fear and depression. Many of the expressions are, like the paintings of Kiefer and his German fellow artists apocalyptic and dark. Similar to the graphic art of the seventies, the paintings of the eighties mirror the Norwegian zeitgeist in the decade, marked by the concern of the East-West arms race, terror balance and a general fear of nuclear war, culminating and released by the demolition of the Berlin wall in 1989.

I am, as a sociologist and visual artist interested in the social and political context of Modernist and Contemporary art, as well as the "isms" and styles that have developed from the entrance of Modernism. By understanding the context and how the art world develops and is parallel to, and almost literarily mirrors the technical, scientific and political development of the society, makes art history more interesting than without these perspectives, and gives a broader meaning to the different isms and styles than art historical interpretations alone. Seen in light of how the technical and technological development of the twentieth century has been accelerating compared to foregoing centuries, no one should wonder about the great changes in the visual art expressions of the same century. I only need to mention cubism in the early nineteen hundreds, and the following isms and their relation to space and time, which was created and developed simultaneously as Albert Einstein introduced his Relativity Theory in 1905, the Wright brothers made their first engine driven flight in 1903, (Janson and Janson 1978) the same year as the Ford Motor Company started its production of automobiles and which accelerated with the production of the T-model in 1908.[45] Also the development of film production with moving images influenced the art world. Many of the artworks from the early nineteen hundreds, such as the French artist Marchel Duchamp's painting "Nude walking down a stair", where the motif is expressed as "frozen movements" like pictures in a filmstrip put together, and which was created in 1913, the same year as the Ford Motor Company introduced the "moving assembly line". Both the Analytical Cubism (1909-1912) and the Italian Futurism (1909-1929) shows the interest of speed and moving images, (Atkins

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[45] http://www.snl.no/Ford (05.25.2011) Store Norske Leksikon by Redaksjonen

1993) the latter was particularly engaged with depicting automobiles and all kinds of mechanical and motorized vehicles, applied with an expression of speed. By mirroring society, visual art can be seen as representations of the society in different times and different cultures. Like photographs, visual art can reveal several layers of social and political information. Compared to photography, which is a more direct documentation of time and space, visual art such as paintings, graphic prints and sculptures is an indirect source of information. As Becker claims, photos can be interpreted in several ways. (Becker 2007) In my experience, so can visual art.

2.1.2 Interpretation of corporate art collections

Interpreting art is usually connected to interpretations of single works of art, or to the particular expression of an artist. Here my intention is to interpret art collections in a similar way to interpreting single pieces of artworks, by looking at each collection as a single unit based on the represented styles, objects and time of founding. Obviously corporate collectors have certain art preferences that reflect their own social and educational background, values and visions which also mark the different corporate cultures. While the collectors may have their own conceptions of what the art collection shall communicate to the surroundings, the spectators are interpreting the art as well as the absence of art in their own ways, depending on their social and cultural background, education and own cultural capital, as showed in my master thesis. (Hagen 1999) Thus also corporate art collections can be interpreted in different ways, harmonious or not harmonious to the intention of the collector. In terms of semiotics, the visual signs in a collection can be read in different ways.

During my examination of corporate art and architecture, I observed several qualities that characterized the different art collections. Some of these qualities that I discuss below are: 1) Personality; corporate taste mirroring corporate cultures, or the "zeitgeist" that marks corporate cultures. 2) Gender; the gender aspect embedded in most art and art collections, 3) "Pure art"; as in the absence of offending art. 4) Spaces of art; diversities in how and where corporations display art and art collections. 5) Territorial art; the territorial dimension of art and art collections. 6) Capital; cultural and economic capital, that sometimes implies conspicuous consumption. Before I discuss these qualities, I make very explicit that the qualities are not exhausting, and some of them are overlapping each other, as in the case of Personality, which includes several other qualities, such as cultural capital, and is in one way "the superstructure" of the others.

2.1.3   Personality; corporate values and the "zeitgeist" of cultures

During my visits to corporate art collections in Norway, USA, Japan and France, I observed that each collection seems to have its own "personality", both in respect of the size of the collection, and the represented styles, expressions and art objects. The personality of a collection is obviously based on many different conditions, such as; cultural capital, corporate taste and particular art preferences among founders, decision makers and people engaged in the art collection within the corporation, and also in respect of external conditions within the society where it is established. In many ways the personality of an art collection also reflects the "spirit", the "mentality" or the current "zeitgeist" of a corporate culture. While the term spirit and mentality may easily be connected to corporate cultures, the term zeitgeist may be less obvious as it usually refers to a particular time period within a society. But as the time factor of the founding of a collection is crucial to the personality of a collection, the term zeitgeist may also be useful as a metaphor when analyzing and comparing corporate collections in a similar way to how I use it above, when analyzing single artworks.

As mentioned briefly in chapter 2.1.1 the zeitgeist changes through a series of distinct time periods. This means that it is connected to the historical development within a society, which implies the current conditions within different social fields, such as politics, art, religion, science and technology. According to Hegel, history develops in a "dialectical process". Theoretically dialectics is an ongoing process that refers to the philosophical discourse, where the aim is to reach a more reliable and true point of view. Thus the dialectics of the society leads to better and transcendental conditions that the society needs to develop and move forward. (Skirbekk and Gilje 1980) The dialectical process that leads to the historical development of a society includes inter-subjectivity between the members of the society and interaction in their work with the objects. The totality of the dialectical historical process between the subjects and their interaction with the objects creates a common "geist" or spirit through the self reflecting and self experienced inter-subjectivity. This common spirit implements itself through the members of the society, and appears as a "common horizon of understanding". Such common horizons of understanding are valid in different epochs of time, but they also change through the history, because of the dialectical process. It is this common horizon of understanding within a time epoch in a society that Hegel names "the zeitgeist" of a time period within the same society. (Skirbekk and Gilje 1980)

It is important to notice that the zeitgeist also varies within different cultures, and is only referring to groups of people, for example "members of a culture", and

not to individuals. As discussed in chapter 6.1 the term "culture" has several layers. The use of the term is referring to different social groups, from the social micro level, for instance "the culture of a family", to the macro level; "the culture of a society", for instance the French culture, the American culture, and so on. In this setting, corporate cultures represent a level between the other two; the mezzo level. As the zeitgeist is changing at the macro level in the culture of a society, it presumably also influences corporate cultures at the mezzo level. But corporate cultures may also change for reasons other than changes in the society; for example when they merge with other corporations, or when they get new leaders, although some of these changes can also rely on changes within the society. However, here the zeitgeist of corporate cultures refers to the common horizon of understanding within a corporation in particular time periods, and how this marks the different corporate cultures. Presumably the zeitgeist of corporate cultures is reflected in their art collections, and contributes to create the personality of each collection.

Among the features that led to my observation of the "personality" of each art collection, are; 1) the age of the collection, as some collections are relatively newly established, and some were established a long time ago. 2) The age of the artworks which varies; some collections contain mainly Contemporary art, some contain mainly Modern art, while other contain mainly antique art objects. 3) The type of artworks that varies from paintings, drawings, graphic prints, sculptures, installations and crafts such as porcelain, ceramics, textiles and wood works. Some corporations also include objects and historical utilities from the current industry in the art collection.

Also in my master thesis where I examined visual art in four Norwegian corporations, I found that while two corporations showed a mixed taste in their art preferences, the other two had a distinguished and almost contradictory art preference. While one of these two had a pronounced preference for Contemporary Norwegian art the other showed a preference for National Romantic Norwegian art from the nineteen century and particularly landscape paintings. Still both of these two corporations had in common that they were more conscious about their art preferences than the other two corporations with a mixed art preference, and they both preferred Norwegian or Nordic art. The corporation that collected Contemporary art had a pronounced desire to appear as modern and innovative. Oppositely the aim of the corporation with National Romantic art was to appear as serious, reliable and economically strong. Through the art preferences of the latter corporation most art connoisseurs and business partners with knowledge on Norwegian art will also recognize the solid economy

of this corporation, as National Romantic art is far more expensive to purchase than Contemporary Norwegian art. (Hagen 1999) I related my findings to cultural capital, and experienced as a result of these findings that the art preferences of different corporations represented a "corporate habitus", since the art collections reflected distinctive corporate cultures, in a similar way that personal art preferences reflect the individual habitus, developed within the culture of a social class. (Bourdieu 1995)

In her study of 234 US corporate art collections Martorella observed several diversities and similarities and found that she could actually categorize organizations through their art collections, based on different "corporate taste cultures" which diverged through the style preferences that was reflected in their art collections. It also seems to be a close relationship between the economic and political situation within a company and the art styles that are represented in the collection. (Martorella 1990) Obviously, the economic and political situation within a corporation also affect the "zeitgeist" of a corporate culture; and the way they think in a particular time period, as the economic and political situation in a corporation can vary over time. Although the styles finally are decided either by chief executive officers, their spouses or by professional art consultants, other crucial aspects that may affect the selection of art styles are the type of company, size, growth and location. (Martorella 1990)

While personal art preferences that reflect a particular class culture are displayed in private homes, corporate art preferences that reflect corporate cultures are displayed in the visual and physical environment of corporations. According to Schein, corporate cultures have several levels that go from the visible to the tacit and invisible. Level one (1) consists of the artifacts and what you see, hear and feel; or "…your observations and emotional reactions to the architecture, the décor and the climate". (Schein 1999)[46] While level one includes the artifacts and visible organizational structures and processes, one has to have knowledge about level two (2) the espoused values; the strategies, goals and philosophies of the corporation, and level three, (3) the basic underlying assumptions of an organization; the unconscious and taken for granted beliefs, thoughts and feelings, to fully understand a corporate culture, and the behavior of the members of the organization, which varies from corporation to corporation. Still, as described by Schein, at the level of artifacts (1); "…culture is very clear and has immediate emotional impact". (Schein 1999)[47] The espoused values of a corporation are expressed by informants and published in different kinds of

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[46] Page 16 (the climate refers to how people behave)
[47] Page 16

brochures, booklets and websites, often historically based on the values of the founders, and their principals, ethics and visions, such as the belief in team work, open planned offices, customer orientation and product quality. The third level, the shared tacit assumptions represent the "…jointly learned values, beliefs, and assumptions that become shared and taken for granted". (Schein 1999)[48]

Corporate culture represents the "accumulated learning" of a group, where the members learn how to think, feel and perceive the world that makes the organization succeed. This learning may accumulate into what Hegel describes as the zeitgeist of a culture, referring to the common horizon of understanding within a culture in a particular time period. (Skirbekk and Gilje 1980) In the creation of new corporations, the values and visions of founders, leaders and founding families, based on personal beliefs, assumptions and values, are often imposed on the people that are hired and become shared views, regarded as proper values, and after a while the corporate values are taken for granted. Founders and leaders create and embed the corporate culture through various mechanisms, such as how their own behavior influences employees; by "walking the talk", or behaving as they speak, and become role models for employees. While the founders or leaders attention, measuring, coaching, recruiting and similar activities are primary embedding mechanisms for creating a corporate culture, other activities are secondary articulations and reinforced mechanisms for creating and maintaining the same corporate culture. These are; 1) organizational design, structure, systems and procedures, 2) rites and rituals, 3) design of the physical space, such as façades and buildings, 4) stories, legends and myths about corporate people and events, 5) statements of organizational philosophy, values and creed. (Schein 1999)[49] It is the articulated and reinforced mechanisms that include the design of the physical space (3) together with the organizational philosophy and values (5) which represents the values and visions of the founders or central leaders, that contributes to decide whether a corporation has, or has not, an art collection and what type of art is included in the collection. In which occasion an art collection is established varies, a) it may be parallel to the establishment of the firm, or b) by the recruitment of new leaders, c) when the corporation is moving into a new headquarters, or d) after a fusion with another corporation which may already have an art collection.

In other words, many internal and external factors influence an art collection, such as the time of founding, the values and visions of the founder, the culture of the society in which it is founded, and the zeitgeist of that culture. While Schein

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[49] Page 98

describes three levels of internal corporate culture, Hofstede talks about two basic cultures in the society; (1) "culture one"; the art and educational field; such as visual art, music, theater, literature and education, and (2) "culture two"; the different national and regional societies in which we live and grow up, and how the customs from culture two influences people and how they relate to culture one. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) An interesting aspect then, is that the fields of art in "culture one"; such as visual art, music, literature and theater, inhabits what Bourdieu describes as the "production of belief", to get access to the symbolic economies, (Bourdieu, Broady et al. 1987)[50] which among other refers to a) how a number of actors contributes to create the artist, such as art critics and art dealers and b) how the different genres of art have their own different universes of belief filled with actors that create and maintain each universe of belief, and c) how new art in a time perspective passes the established styles as "avant-garde".

Between the different genres within each art field, such as within visual art, theater, film and literature, it is an ongoing battle to define what is art and what is not; between bourgeois art and intellectual art, between traditional art and avant-garde art, and geographically as in Paris; between the right bank and the left bank (of the river Seine). The production of belief is marked by the denial of financial economy, as art is defined by being none commercial; as a commodity not made for trade. Thus the battle is also between art production and commercial production of art, between producers (artists) and disseminates; the art business and receivers of art, or between non commercial art and bestsellers. Each genre attracts people from different positions in what Bourdieu describes as "the room of social positions", (Bourdieu, Broady et al. 1987) (Bourdieu 1995) where the organization of social positions coincides with the spatial organization of the art field. For instance in Paris; while the great boulevard theaters are gathered at the right bank, the intellectual theatres are gathered on the left bank. The neutral theaters are spread on both sides. Art galleries representing different genres and other art institutions follow a similar pattern of location. (Bourdieu, Broady et al. 1987) In addition to the different art genres, new styles develope in an ongoing process over time where new art passes by the former established styles as avant-garde, while established styles may be declassed.

Independent of art genre, there is also another factor that may influence the content of an art collection; the development of art as such, which is closely related to the development of the society in two major ways; as a result of 1) the political development of a society or the political regime, where artists may a) at least seemingly, support the political development and current regime, for

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[50] "La production de la croyance. Contribution à une economie des biens symboliques."

instance the Italian futurists that supported war and demolition, or they may b) oppose the political development and current regime, as for instance the Norwegian artists in the nineteen seventies and the Dadaist Movement. 2) The scientific and technological development, for instance; a) in the case of graphic arts and the printing technology; in Europe from the development of woodcuts, copper and steel prints in the wake of Johann Gutenberg who invented the technique for book print in the 1450s,[51] (although printing techniques were known earlier in Eastern Asia), b) a banal problem today, but tubes for storing paint eased the mobility of artists in the late 1800s, and made artists able to leave their studio to paint "outdoor images" outdoor, which actually contributed to the development of Impressionist and Post Impressionist art, and c) today the digital technology creates a basis for new art expressions. In other words; a great number of features of the political, scientific and technological development at all times also affect the development of art, and what art expressions are typical, possible, dominating, popular and available (in culture one) in the different time periods within a culture of a nation or a region, as in what Hofstede mentions as culture two. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)

While some corporations show a distinguished taste culture that implies a consciousness about their physical space, including pronounced objectives of their art collection, others have a modest or absent interest and consciousness in respect of art, which may also be due to the corporate culture or tendencies in the society at the present time. For instance a firm established in a society or time period marked by economic crisis, may not prioritize collecting art compared with organizations that are established in strong economic societies or in periods with strong economy. Or the opposite; some corporations may hypothetically prioritize collecting art in times of economic crisis in order to focus on human values, which may be crucial for the survival of the firm. In every case, any decision on collecting art rests upon the current values and philosophy of the corporation; the corporate culture, and the current zeitgeist within this culture.

To summarize; a lot of factors such as 1) the current society with its different political and technological features, 2) the current corporate culture with its different leaders and values, 3) the current art field with its social processes and different genres as well as 4) the time period when a collection is established, marks a corporate art collection. Additionally 5) the corporate culture and customs within similar industries may as described by Martorella also affect a collection. (Martorella 1990) All these factors and layers of time and culture may influence the content and expression of an art collection. Because of this, the art

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[51] http://www.snl.no/Johann_Gutenberg (05.11.2011) Store Norske Leksikon; Øyvin Rannem

collection may also reflect the current zeitgeist of the corporate culture, as well as in the society or the nation in which the corporation is established.

2.1.4   Gendered art

An aspect that deserves attention is art and gender, both in the meaning of 1) the unequal representation of male and female artists within well established art styles, and 2) gendered art expressions. The situation for female visual artists is quite equal to the situation of female architects, discussed in chapter 4.1.4. Although a large part of art students today, often about 50%, are female, the visual art world is still dominated by males. The low representation of women leads to a domination of masculine art expressions which are most visible within recognized and high quality art. Because of these conditions both visual art and the art field may be characterized as gendered.

In the NAEA[52] 2007 Convention in New York the dominating participants among some thousands were female art teachers. Some of the speakers focused on the situation of female artists, among others one from the arts activist group the "Guerilla Girls", founded in 1985 by a group of women artists who are fighting against the repression of female artists.[53] The group has an international field of action, and has participated in several large exhibitions in USA and Europe, such as the biennale in Venice. Their art represents feministic propaganda art, and the members are always covered by guerrilla masks when performing in public. At the conference their speaker described how less than 5% of the visual artists in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York are female, while 85% of the nude paintings show naked women. Because of this they ask; "Do women have to be naked to get into the Met. Museum?"[54] As most represented visual artists in art museums and art historian books are white males, they also propose that recognized books on art history, for instance the American art historian Helen Gardners (and co-writers) "Art through the ages", (Gardner, Kleiner et al. 2005) should be renamed "White male Art through the ages", and others "History of Mostly Male art".

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[52] The National Art Education Association, USA
[53] http://mdarted-org/naea2007confpreview.html (05.25.2011)
[54] Guerilla Girls, The NAEA 2007 Convention, New York Mars 15 -18 2007

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 13 (left) Poster by Guerilla Girls, "Do women have to be naked to get into the met Museum?" NAEA 2007 Convention, New York, March 2007
MIH Photo: 14: (right) Poster by Guerilla Girls, "History of Mostly Male Art", NAEA 2007 Convention, New York, March 2007

According to Berger, females have been born into the custody of males, where the self of the female has been divided into two; she must always watch her behaviour, and always walk beside the image of herself. From early childhood she is raised to always watch herself, so that the observer and the observed become essential features of her identity in order to make a desirable appearance to others, and particularly her appearance to males. Her feeling of her own inner self has been replaced by a feeling of being valued as self by another. Males look at females, while females observe that they are watched. This makes females look at themselves through the male perspective; as a female that is watched. (Berger 1985) In respect of the classical nude painting, females have always been the first and an ever repeated theme. Many of the European nude paintings show the customs and criteria of how males judge females. Already in the first nude paintings, showing the naked Adam and Eve; observing they were naked because they had tasted the forbidden fruit, for which Eve is blamed and punished by being subordinated to the male, and with pain giving birth to children. In every female nude painting following the first Adam and Eve, the model is aware of that she is watched by a spectator. According to Berger, "She is not naked as she is. She is as naked as the spectator sees her". (Berger 1985) [55] The female nude is always looking at the spectator, watching the spectator, expected to be a male, looking at her. Some of the female nudes are also depicted with a mirror, which makes clear the female role as a spectator of herself, as she is raised to be. The mirror was claimed to symbolize female vanity, which Berger claims to be hypocrisy, as males paint naked women simply because they like to watch them:

> You painted a naked women because you liked to look at her, then you put a mirror in her hand and named the painting Vanity. By that you

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[55] Page 50 (My translation)

morally condemned the woman that you had depicted naked for the sake of your own amusement. (Berger 1985)[56]

By adding a mirror to the female nude, and naming the painting Vanity, as in the painting of the Flamish painter Hans Memling from 1485, the painter condemned the female who he had painted naked for the sake of his own amusement, and by that camouflaging his own sexual motivation, as a voyeur or a "peeping Tom".[57] According to Berger, the real function of the mirror was to make the model behave primary as something to be watched, which means that she did not hold the mirror because of her own vanity. (Berger 1985)

In other words; as most artist through the art history in the Western world are males, the objective of many artists to create female nude paintings and sculptures may just as well be because they "like to watch naked women", and not entirely for refining the art expression and their ability to paint the naked body as most people usually think. Up to the present the long lasting nude study has been regarded as a core subject within art education, which also contributes to legitimize the tradition of nude paintings and drawings. And admittedly, long lasting nude studies where students are taught to study the human body to understand form, volume, inner proportions and perspective is a useful exercise and a suitable way to learn the art of drawing, painting and sculpturing. Still one may wonder, perhaps the tradition of nude drawing and painting in art education and practise actually does rest upon male sexuality and the voyeuristic tendencies of male artists? After all, any object can serve the same purpose in respect of learning to understand form, proportions and perspectives of an object. In any event it is the male perspective; watching and painting the naked body, particularly the body of females that represent the origin of nude painting and drawing through the art history, which until the late nineteen hundreds was dominated by males. Being a visual artist was seldom an option for women, while women painting male nudes were not even thinkable.

The unequal representation of male artists and female nudes reflects both the suppression of female artists and the sexual repression between genders through the history, where males were permitted to actively follow their sexual lusts, looking at naked women, while females were expected to be the passive object of the male gaze. As the tradition with the female nude develops, the female model is depicted in available positions, naked and passive waiting and watching the spectator almost akin to pornographic photographs, for instance a painting from

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[56] Page 51 (My translation)
[57] (Norsk: kikker)

the sixteen hundreds of Nell Gwynne, the mistress of Charles II created by the Dutch painter Peter Lely. But according to Berger, the position of the model is not an expression of her feelings. Instead it is a sign of her subordination to the feelings and demand of the owner. (Berger 1985) The interesting thing is however, as told by Berger, that in other cultures outside of Europe and the Western culture, Indian, Persian and African art, female nudity is usually not depicted as passive. In these cultures art with sexual motifs show erotic images were both the male and the female are equally active.

In the fifteen and sixteen hundreds the aspect of competition between women was brought into the female nude paintings; represented by "the judgment of Paris", based on a story from Greek mythology, where Zeus picked the mortal Paris to judge who was the most beautiful of Hera, Athena and Aphrodite.[58] According to Berger, Paris' judgement today is represented in our times by beauty competitions. The award however, was rather dubious; to be available to the judge. (Berger 1985) Undoubtedly the thousands of female nudes painted by male artists through European art history, contributes to underpin the male view of women as passive sexual objects, opposite to women in other cultures as mentioned above. While women in these cultures are depicted as active humans, European women are depicted as object to male activity. As pronounced by Berger, the distinction between genders roles represented in the female nudes can be described as: "Men act and women looks". (Berger 1985)[59]

In spite of woman's struggle for equality between sexes, and to be regarded an actor equally to men, inequality continues, also in the sexist manner, as is the case with the female nude paintings. The sexist suppression appears in different ways. For instance, a male teacher I know about always makes jokes about female students and colleagues, by asking; "but is she pretty?" Although a joke, the eternal sexist view shines through; as I have never heard the same teacher make the same joke in respect of male students or male colleagues. I have also experienced once, while I was teaching nude drawing in a class, the curiosity of a visiting male colleague that was not teaching art himself and how he eagerly longed to have a look, almost breaking into the classroom and asking eagerly; "but is she naked"? Unfortunately for my colleague, I did not let him in. Actually nude models, as I have experienced as an art teacher and during my own art studies are often shy persons who do not like to be exposed to other than the students that draw or paint them and the teacher. On one occasion, when an old female model while posing as a nude in our classroom suddenly became aware of

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[58] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Judgement_of_Paris (11.30.2010)
[59] Page 47 (My translation)

some guys working on the facade outside of the window, she immediately grasped her housecoat and refused to pose any more until they disappeared. Usually artists and art students drawing and painting nudes has little to do with sexuality, although the tradition of nude painting may, at least in part, be based on the sexual interest of male artists through the Western history of art.

The dominating role of male artists is reflected also in many modern art epochs or isms, where the visual expressions have been either raw and unrefined or technical. The diversity in male and female art expressions may reflect the gendered socialization of girls and boys in the Western society, pointed out by thinkers such as the French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir, who claims that no one is born as a woman, one becomes a woman. (Beauvoir and Moi 2000) The expected and desirable behaviour of children has been, and in spite of changes still is; nice and quiet girls, while boys are allowed, and to a certain extent expected, to be noisy as well as being somewhat "bad boys". (Nielsen and Rudberg 1989) As Bourdieu points on, the masculine domination makes women adapt to the limitations achieved through their experiences and establishes their feminine habitus which also include the desire of being an object. This makes a symbolic interrelation between males and females, and creates a demarcation line between the sexes. (Bourdieu 2000)

Within modern art the masculine dominance is reflected in various ways, and particularly in epochs that favour rebellious and raw art expressions, for instance Expressionism and Fauvism in the beginning of the nineteen hundreds, advocated by art movements and artist groups such as Der Blaue Reiter and Die Brücke. After World War II similar art expressions were re-actualized by the mainly New York based Abstract Expressionism that developed in the USA between 1947-1962, (Atkins 1997) and artists groups such as Art Brut and Cobra in Europe at the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s. As claimed by Rune Gade, the main figures within Abstract Expressionism are associated with macho attributes as well as misogyny, which apply to both the American artist Jackson Pollock and the Dutch-American artist Willem de Koonig, and to several others of their fellow artists. Also the monumentality of their artworks, as well as the personality of these artists is coded with masculinity. (Gade 2001) Duncan also discusses the aggressive masculine coding of the post World War II American art in MoMA, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which is one of the most important museums of modern art in the world. According to Duncan many of the female figures, such as de Koonigs "Woman 1" from 1952 contribute to distribute an ideological sexist signal that determinates the modern art project as a primary male acquisition. (Duncan 1992) She claims that these paintings refer

to pornography "without actually being pornography", but still giving the receiver this reference, by presenting "...frontal, iconic, massive figures seen close up – they fill, even overflow the picture surface". (Duncan 1992)[60] Duncan compares the similarities between de Koonigs "Woman 1" and a Penthouse advertisement in this way;

> The photograph's low camera angel and the painting's scale and composition monumentalize and elevate the figures, literally or imaginatively dwarfing the viewer. (Duncan 1992)[61]

To consider monumentality in art as a masculine code that "dwarfs" the viewer, is harmonious with Bourdieu's description on how the masculine and feminine field are organized by their contradictions, such as large – small, hard – soft, strong – weak and so on. (Bourdieu 2000) Duncan also discusses how a complex mechanism that includes artists, art collectors, art critics and representatives of the art museums has contributed to reinforce the tendencies of favouring masculine art. Both the monumentality and the raw expressions of Abstract Expressionism were continued in Neo- Expressionism in the 1970's and 80's, through art expressions labelled as Bad Painting or Wild Painting in the USA, and Heftige Malerei in Germany. Also the Neo-Expressionist art expressions are mainly masculine, raw and monumental, although the content has other focuses. For instance many Neo-Expressionist artworks inherit anti-war signals, particularly the artworks of German artists, such as Anselm Kiefer, Georg Baselitz, Jörg Immendorff and others. A different masculine art expression that is more technically oriented than raw and rebellious, but still masculine, is represented within art epochs such as Cubism that developed from 1908 to 1918, Constructivism; from about 1913 to 1929, (Atkins 1993) and Minimalism that developed between 1960 to middle of the 1970's, (Atkins 1997) styles that are all closely related to architecture. For instance Cubism is considered to have played a crucial role in the development of Functionalism.

The post war American Abstract Expressionists seem to be among the most well-known modern artists in the USA, as most Americans seem to know artists such as Willem de Koonig, Mark Rothko and Jackson Pollock like everybody knows Pablo Picasso and Salvador Dali in Europe. At least one gets this impression by visiting modern art museums in the USA where these artists are represented and you can often hear comments from American spectators such as: "Look, there is a Rothko" and the like. Independent of gender, much of the well recognized art

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[60] Page 356
[61] Page 356

from these periods represent great art, with brave and dynamic art expressions of high quality, although mainly males have been accepted as making these vital expressions. In the NAEA 2007 Convention mentioned above, the female American artist Audrey Flack spoke of her difficulties of being accepted as a female Abstract Expressionist in New York in the nineteen forties and fifties.[62] Although she had participated in the New York art world of that time, and as she said, had been "hanging around with DeKoonig's", her experience was that she had never achieved the same acceptance as an Abstract Expressionist as her fellow male artists. According to Crane, the Abstract Expressionists formed several informal organizations, for instance "the Club", described as "the core of a subculture". In the early fifties deKooning was one of the clear leaders that influenced the followers of the style. (Crane 1987) But obviously Flack was also a female in "a man's world". Crane describes that during the emergence of Abstract Expressionism in New York: "All twenty one members of the first generation of Abstract Expressionists were male". (Crane 1987)[63] As described above, Abstract Expressionism mainly represents a rough and masculine style, and her difficulties in being accepted made her abandon this style. Flack's experience made her give up her own artistic career for many years, until she came back with a new and opposite visual expression; Photo-realism. An interesting or rather ironical aspect of her story is that Flack's Photo-realism is claimed to have been an important source of inspiration for the male American conceptual artist Jeff Coons.[64]

My own experience as a female artist, and particularly as a female art student in the seventies and eighties several decades after the experiences of Flack, is that rough or technical masculine art expressions still tended to be favoured, while feminine and more sophisticated art expressions made by female students were suppressed. As an art student I experienced how male teachers, as most of the art teachers in higher art education at that time were males, claimed that the art expressions made by female students had weaker qualities than the art expressions made by male students. Thus female students were encouraged to pick up a masculine and rough style, to have their work recognized equally to the work of male students. This encouragement was not pronounced directly by the teachers, but passed on through a pattern of coded signs, for example by almost always acknowledging the works of male students, while they were almost always underestimating the works of female students. Female students that succeeded in adopting a masculine style were the ones that were most likely to be

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[62] http://mdarted-org/naea2007confpreview.html (05.25.2011)
[63] Page 26
[64] http://www.audreyflack.com/AF/index.php, http://cda.morris.umn.edu/~lamberts/audreyflack/importance.html (09.26.2009)

acknowledged by the art teachers as well as by their fellow students. In other words, female students had to adopt male art expressions, similar to the way in which female leaders have to adopt male leader behaviour to be equally recognized, as described by Harriet Holter and other theorists concerned with gender issues. (Holter 1976)

Still it is not easy for females to achieve and maintain leading positions. As claimed in an article in the newspaper Aftenposten recently; "It is a disadvantage to be a woman",[65] referring to the former Swedish minister Mona Sahlin, who had to withdraw from her position as the leader of the Swedish Social Democrats in the fall of 2010 after a bad election result. Since then she has been subject to criticism and personal attacks, which is claimed to be due to her gender.[66] Another recent example also mentioned by Aftenposten and other media around the world, is Miriam O'Reilly, a 53 years old TV host who was fired from BBC because of her age, as it was claimed that television did not want mature women with wrinkles in their programs. A colleague had even suggested her that she could use Botox to get rid of her wrinkles. O'Reilly won her lawsuit against the BBC, and could get back in her job.[67] But the repression of women is a universal problem that has at least three levels, as shown in the case of O'Reilly; females are repressed 1) because they are females 2) because of their looks, and 3) because of their age. This problem is also known to female television hosts in Norway, and according to the 71 year old former Norwegian TV host Toppen Bech, the TV channels lack a job policy for women over 50-60. And as she claims; "...the news channels often use elderly men with young women by their side. This is a pattern, and...the looks is also a factor".[68] Obviously the looks or the age of male TV hosts are not as often questioned as the looks and the age of females, although some males may also experience repression in some situations. However, that is more likely because of age than of the way they look or because of their gender, since it is a general tendency in the Western society also to repress elderly people.

2.1.5   Pure art; the absence of offending art

Similar to architecture, which according to Østerberg can be experienced as a relief or as a burden, (Østerberg 1998) also visual art can be experienced as a relief or a burden. The latter is undoubtedly the case with offending art, and a significant quality that appears when observing corporate art and art collections, is the seemingly "purified" selection of art expressions and the absence of

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[65] Aftenposten, 11.29.2010; Odd Inge Skjævesland (My translation)
[66] Aftenposten, 11.29.2010; Odd Inge Skjævesland
[67] Aftenposten, 01.16.2011; Eirin Hurum
[68] Aftenposten, 01.16.2011 Page 7; Kaja Korsvold and Per Kristian Bjørkeng (My translation)

offending art. It is important to notice that offending art must not be mistaken as controversial art, although these categories overlap. While offending art is "always controversial", controversial art is not always offending. As told in an article by Ilana Stanger; the in-house curator of Pfizer, Ingrid Fox, explains how the company consciously avoids controversial artworks that may offend the company's clients, as artworks containing political, religious, nude, or gun issues. In the same article, it is also expressed that Michael Klein, the former chief curator at Microsoft exposes a similar attitude, that the art must not be offending but with one clear distinction to the attitude of Pfizer, namely that the art may well be provocative. When people are passionate for or against an artwork, this shows that "the collection works". According to Klein, the company wants to have discussions about the art, because "If it just sits on the wall and no one notices it then its wallpaper, not art". (Stanger 2007) Although a small amount of corporate art may be experienced as rather controversial, corporations avoid displaying art that is regarded as offending, due to the content or the motif of the art. In the following I discuss different types of offending art, forces in the society that put restraints on art or make art instrumental, and the consequences and dilemmas that may appear by displaying controversial art that most people also consider to be offending.

2.1.5.1   *Offending art*

The reason for why most corporations avoid displaying offending art is obviously because it is "not good for business". But they also avoid offending art because it raises ethical problems opposite to their corporate values. It may become a burden for people within the business as well as to visitors, clients and customers. But what is offending art? The view on what is considered to be offending art varies, but usually it represent art with motifs with an improper 1) sexual, 2) religious, 3) political and 4) violent character.

In respect of improper sexual motifs, what is improper or not varies from time to time, and from culture to culture. Many of us are familiar with the fig leaf covering the genitalia of nude sculptures in the Vatican Museum. In the Christian culture the genital part of the body in old paintings and sculptures are often conveniently covered with a piece of cloth, or accidentally hidden behind a hand or other objects. When the French painter Éduard Manet painted his "Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe", or "Lunch on the Grass" in 1862-63, it led to severe commotion, because to show a naked lady in public together with two dressed gentlemen was a scandal. Not because of the nudity as such, but because of the modern context where the nude was made a symbol of dubious business. Also Manets "Olympia" from 1864, a paraphrase of "Venus of Urbino" from 1538 by

the Italian painter Titian, created an erotic shock, as the model was presumed to be a prostitute. (Harris 1979) Today hardly anyone in the Western world reacts to images of naked people, as we are bombarded with images of more or less naked people every day through television, magazines and the Internet. Although not all images of naked people are of a sexual character, corporations still have to be conscious about displaying art with motifs that can be interpreted as sexual, because they have visitors, clients or employees from other cultures where nudity is not as common and accepted as in the modern Western culture. An example of this is described recently in the Norwegian newspaper Aftenposten. In a short contribution to the newspaper the visual artist Päivi Laakso, of whom three artworks are purchased by the Norwegian oil corporation Statoil, claim that the corporation has not included any of her artworks in their new book "Pieces of energy", (Jenssen and Våga 2008) which is presenting the corporations art collection, because her art contain images of naked people. When she confronted the corporation, the answer was that they had been advised by a professor of anthropology not to include artworks depicting naked people in the book, to avoid insulting business partners from other cultures.[69]

Different religions have different bids and bans that put restrictions on what kind of art and art motifs can be displayed without being regarded as blasphemous. An example of art that is considered to be blasphemous is the American artist Andres Serrano's "Piss Christ" from 1987, a photo of a plastic crucifix placed in a glass with the artist's urine,[70] which most people experienced as blasphemous and offensive. The art work represents a genre called Shock art, where the purpose is pronounced; to shock. Nevertheless, the art work was sold in London in 1999 for $162 000,[71] so obviously, not everyone was shocked by this piece of art, or conversely they enjoy being shocked. Because of its offending character, many are critical of Shock art as "genre" which ironically is characterized on a website:

> To make British Shock art, you need to be a filthy rich, ad executive or maybe a worn-out rock star with deep pockets. Start by buying up all sorts of outrageous art: A carefully sliced cow or finger painted portraits of child molesters...it really doesn't matter. What does matter is that you tell the "journalists" down on Fleet Street about it. They tell everyone how ugly, obscene, disgusting and icky it is. A big fuss ensues. Fleet Street sells copy and you've made shock art.[72]

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[69] Aftenposten, 11.09.2010; Päivi Laakso
[70] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andres_Serrano (11.29.2010)
[71] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andres_Serrano (11.29.2010)
[72] http://www.possessionsessions.com/2008/11/user-friendly-guide-to-shock-art.html (11.29.2010)

The "sliced cow" in the quotation above refers to the English artist Damien Hirst's "Mother and child divided", where a cow and a calf is cut in to pieces and kept in formalin, while the "finger painted portrait" refers to the English artist Marcus Harvey's "Myra", a portrait of the female child molester Myra Hindley,[73] based on handprints made by children. Addressed as US Shock art, the genre is further described as:

> What is that you say? You are not a rich, wrinkled rock star and you don't have buckets of cash? No problem. Just follow this simple formula for American Shock art:

$$\frac{(feces + religious\ icon)^{medias}}{right\text{-}wing\ politician} = shock\ art$$

> Always remember, it is a better shock if you make it with government money.[74]

The American artist and photographer Robert Mappelthorpe has been considered by many as controversial, among others because of his photographs of the New York S&M scene in the late nineteen seventies, containing a lot of shocking motifs. As expressed by the artist in ART news in 1988;

> I don't like that particular word "shocking". I'm looking for the unexpected. I'm looking for things I've never seen before… I was in a position to take those pictures. I felt an obligation to do them. [75]

Mappelthorpe also took a lot of photographs of celebrities and film stars, among others for "Interview Magazine"; such as Andy Warhol, Donald Southerland and Isabella Rossellini, and created album covers for the American musician Patti Smith, who he moved in with at the famous Chelsea Hotel in 1970. Mappelthorpe died of AIDS in 1989.[76] Among other artists that are considered by many as controversial, is the English artist duo Gilbert and George; who often push the limits towards "shock art" in their works. The duo started working and living together in the end of the nineteen sixties. Most of their large scaled art expressions from the last decades represent bright playful and colorful works based on photographs that give their art expressions a bright and graphic

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[73] http://www.artdesigncafe.com/Marcus-Harvey-Myra-Hindley-John-A-Walker (05.10.2011)
[74] http://www.possessionsessions.com/2008/11/user-friendly-guide-to-shock-art.html (11.29.2010)
[75] http://www.mappelthorpe.org./biography/ (03.15.2011)
[76] http://www.mappelthorpe.org./biography/ (03.15.2011)

character. However, as it appears, several of their colorful art works actually contain enlarged photographs of bodily fluids such as feces, urine and semen, as in their series called "Naked Shit Pictures" from 1994, which many people find shocking, although the artworks are in their essence also humoristic. The duo has also been criticized for depicting sexual acts, and in 2005 they were criticized for their series "Sonofagod Pictures", with several works containing "Crucified-Christ-like images".[77] Apparently many people find these images blasphemous and offending. But in spite of the "shocking content" of these artworks, the shock effect is largely modified through the bright colors and the duos humoristic approach to these, in its essence, "shocking" themes.

Religious demands may put restraints on art that is breaking marital and sexual norms of the current religion, depicting situations that are considered to be a sin against God. For instance many religions consider homosexual practice as a sin, and in some cultures it is forbidden, while in other cultures it is legalized for marriage. In Norway homosexuals have gained the right to marry, but not yet as a Christian marriage in the church, although the Norwegian Church is a state institution, but at the same time with a high level of independence of the state. In Norway homosexuality was forbidden by law until 1972 and the hesitation of the church to be open to homosexual marriage, is that it considers homosexual practice to break with Christian rules and values. In many cultures politics and religion are closely intertwined, to the extent that the law rests upon the imperatives of the religion, such as in many Islamic states, where the religious Sharia rules are practiced as the legal rules. Many may remember the reactions of many Muslims in respect of the so called Mohammed-caricatures that were published in Denmark a few years ago, because the drawings were considered to be blasphemous. In many states the political system decides what is regarded as proper art expressions and not, and may forbid undesirable images, for instance art depicting historical or holy persons, or expressions that do not fit in with the political ideology of the state. It is for instance well known in Western countries that unwanted persons in the former Soviet regime were erased from public photographs, while German abstract painters before World War II, such as the Expressionist Emil Nolde were declared unwanted by the Nazis as their art was regarded as degenerated and forbidden.

Opposite, in some countries, particularly within totalitarian regimes, both in our time and historically, artists are commissioned to create favourable images of the leader, and propaganda images to state the content of a political system or an ideology. The latter, artists that have depicted scenes from working life has also

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[77] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_and_George (12.21.2010)

been practiced in democratic countries, based on a tradition of showing ordinary people and men at work. In the Western culture this tradition started with Realism in art, represented by the French painter Gustave Courbet's "Stonebreakers" from 1848. Actually it was the poet Charles Baudelaire, who was a friend of Courbet who also encouraged him and his fellow painters to depict the "heroes of everyday life" in the 1800s. (Janson and Janson 1978) Although this tradition was initiated by social engaged artists, political movements in the nineteen hundreds have also used artists to depict scenes from the development of the society, particularly within industry and agriculture. In Norway we have many examples of how artists have been depicting the industrial development and Norwegian working life, such as the fresco murals of the Norwegian artist Alf Rolfsen in Oslo City Hall from the nineteen forties.[78] The murals in the Coit Tower in San Francisco from 1933, is another interesting example of artists depicting peoples everyday and working life. The murals made by 26 young artists decorate the walls of the ground floor. In keeping with this style these murals have clear references to the murals of the Mexican artist Diego Rivera, who also usually depicted the life of ordinary people in his works. Actually the artists in Coit Tower wanted to pay a tribute to Rivera,[79] who a short time before had created a commissioned mural in the lobby of the Rockefeller Centre in New York, named the "Man at the Crossroads", but which ended with the demolition of the work because he refused to remove a small portrait of the Russian revolutionary leaders Vladimir I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky on the request of the American politician and director of the centre, Nelson Rockefeller. The large wall painting that replaced Rivera's mural at the Rockefeller Centre was created by the Spanish Catalan artist Joseph Maria Sert and named "American progress", a work that also represents an interesting story of men constructing the modern America.[80] Additionally Sert and the British artist Frank Brangwyn made a series of large sepia coloured murals to decorate the lobby and ground floor elevator shafts between 1930-34,[81] named "Mans Intellectual Mastery over the Material Universe", and "Mans Conquest of the material World".[82]

In regard to the political demands of art expressions, the Norwegian art historian Rolf Braadland claims that the development of post World War II Abstract Expressionism in the USA was made possible because it was supported by political forces, including the CIA. He claims that the freedom and individualism that characterized the abstract art was a metaphor for the abstract as an

[78] http://www.snl.no/.nbl_biografi/Alf_Rolfsen/utdypning (11.01.2010) Store Norske Leksikon; Redaksjonen
[79] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coit_Tower (11.01.2010)
[80] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rockefeller_Center (11.29.2010)
[81] http://www.frankbrangwyn.org/murals.html (11.29.2010)
[82] http://www.nyc-architecture.com/MID/MID055.htm (11.29.2010)

expression of globalisation and a new global language. Opposite, realism in art was regarded as the expression of totalitarian regimes, with reference to Nazism and Communism; represented by the Nazis preference of Romantic art and classical figuration, and Social Realism in the Soviet Union. Because of this, socially engaged art was made suspicious by the modernists; and figurative art became politically suspect, while abstract art was regarded as a symbol of the struggle of freedom against tyranny. (Braadland 2008)

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 15 (left) Murals in Coit Tower, San Francisco, June 2009
MIH Photo: 16 (right) Murals in Coit Tower, San Francisco, June 2009

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 17 (left) Sepia-mural in Rockefeller Centre, New York, June 2009
MIH Photo: 18 (right) Sepia-mural in Rockefeller Centre, New York, June 2009

Opposite to the Soviet Union the public debate was not strangled in the United States. Instead, as described by Braadland, the sharpest social critics were restrained and neutralized by looking through and neglecting political and revolutionary standpoints. Because of this, Braadland claims, the CIA practised a repressive tolerance, by silently accepting social critics, anti capitalistic and anti American attitudes among the artists. (Braadland 2008) According to Braadland, social realist art became the art doxa in the Stalinist regime, where the historical

experimental and revolutionary Avant Garde; as the German author Berthold Brecht mentioned as "the operative aesthetics", was condemned. As described by Braadland, this was probably the reason why abstract art in the USA could also function as a tool in the war of propaganda during the cold war. (Braadland 2008)

Also the American sociologist Vera Zolberg describes how the new international standing of the US in the Post World War II period, is claimed to have created "...a climate supportive of the fine arts to achieve regime goals". (Zolberg 1990)[83] Zolberg is referring to a view particularly proposed by the French art historian Serge Guilbaut, on how "the cold war competition" between the USA and the Soviet Union contributed to make the US turn itself into an artistic leader, using the Abstract Expressionism as a propaganda tool to promote the US as a country where artists were free to follow their imagination, the opposite to artists in totalitarian regimes. (Zolberg 1990) The differences between the US and Soviet art is also strikingly described by the French philosopher Jean-Francoise Lyotard; "when the power is named party", Realistic art and Neo classicism concurs the experimental Avant Garde, which becomes disgraced and forbidden. (Lyotard 1986)[84]

Art and artists can be used and misused by political regimes and others. As mentioned above, the Nazis admired Romantic art, and in particular the German Nazi regime adored the works of the nineteen century Romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840),[85] regarding him as a model for life and art in the Third Reich, claiming that he was expressing the "real German spirit", and the true essence of the nature of Germans. (Hinz 1980) It is also well known that the former Soviet regime used art in political propaganda and publications. Still an interesting aspect of the early Soviet publications is the political posters called the Rosta-windows, emerging during the civil war in 1918-21, representing not only political propaganda, but also common advices and information on peoples practical life including food, education, health and hygiene, for instance about how bacteria grows, along with direct advices like "wash your hands before you eat". (Brunse 1980) Similarly, as told by my informant at the Norwegian chocolate factory Freia, one of the objectives of the founder Johan Throne Holst to commission artworks by the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch to decorate the female workers dining room was, besides of giving the workers good art experiences, to encourage good eating manners. I presume that also included the washing of hands before eating. In any event today in our times openness and

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[83] Page 184
[84] Page 85 (My translation)
[85] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caspar_David_Friedrich (05.10.2011)

global interaction within business and trade, corporations have to be strictly aware of not showing art that is provocative to different religions or with an improper religious or political content. This explicitly applies to contemporary art, since historical paintings that glorify political leaders and war heroes such as the French emperor Napoleon in the early 1800s are modified in its political message through the ages, and by being subordinated to aesthetical rules.

The forth kind of art that is considered to be offending is art with a violent content. As most of us know, violence, for instance in war zones, may often be a mixture of killings, accidental violence, torture and sexualized violence, particularly represented by rape and sexual abuse of women and children carried out by males, in some war zones this is almost ritually taking place. Due to the close relationship between violence as such, and sexual violence, both kinds of violence may appear in art images. Such motifs in art are not new, and do appear in many historical works of art such as in the painting of the Dutch painter Peter Paul Rubens; "Rape of the daughters of Leucippus" from 1615-18. (Carroll 1992) Still contemporary art with such motifs often appear as more direct and brutal than the old paintings where the motif is subordinated to aesthetical means, such as composition, perspective, anatomy, volume, proportions and the use of colour, all of these imply a moderation of the expression of otherwise brutal images. Violence may also be related to political matters, particularly politics that lead to war, but also violence that refers to terrorism which by many is considered to be an act of war. The pronounced goal for terrorists is often to harm other regimes with ideologies that diverge from their own, independent of the social and human costs. Thus corporations have to avoid art images with violent content, whether this refers to accidental or sexualized violence, or to the violence of certain ideological and political systems.

2.1.5.2   *Controversial art; as a contribution to public discourse*

As some art obviously may be experienced as offending, art should not be protected against criticism. On the contrary; art should be criticized and discussed, as art is a social phenomenon integrated in the society with many different expressions that influence people in different ways. Not at least, to contribute to the public discourse is an important goal for many artists, which they actively try to obtain through their art expressions, starting with the French painter Eugène Delacroix who with his painting the "Massacre on Chios" from 1822-24 represent a shift in "history painting"; from glorifying war heroes to displaying the suffering of war victims, to the Dadaist movement, rebelling about the social forces and power structures that led to World War I, and the political engaged artists in the nineteen sixties and seventies, as discussed in chapter 2.1.1.

Also contemporary artists today create art as a contribution to the public discourse. Some of this art is regarded as controversial, and lead to different consequences. The Finish literature theoretician Erkki Sevänen describes how the artist and activist Ulla Karttunen, who by displaying fragments of pornographic magazines in the artwork "Virgin-Whore Church", exhibited in the Helsinki City Art Museum in 2008, and with the purpose of focusing on the problem of the porn-industry and "sexification" of youth in the Western society, instead of gaining support was notified to the police and subject to a trial because the art was claimed to show sexually child abusive images. (Sevänen 2010) In spite of that the artist had given assurances that the models in the photos were above the age of consent, about 18-20, but styled as if they were younger, show the meaning of some of the problems she was focusing on within the porn-industry. As the artwork is described by the artist:

> It asked how the following paradox is possible: the concept of child porn is understood as the most terrible sin, but at the same time it is possible to sell openly a 12-year-old-looking "teen babe" as a star of the most central market; net porn. (Karttunen 2009)[86]

According to the artist the name of the controversial artwork came from teen pornographic sites, which call their models "virgin whores" or "teen sluts". With the work she wanted to criticize the values in the society that make pornography focusing on child-like young people possible, such as "double standards, hypocrisy, normative role models and market values". (Karttunen 2009)[87] There is no doubt that the same social values also contribute to make possible the overall sexification of the younger generation today. In this case the controversial art has a purpose, although it obviously led to misunderstandings and negative sanctions in Finland. But art can also be "controversial without a cause", as discussed below.

2.1.5.3   *Controversial art without a cause; or because it's good for business?*

It is an essential difference in being controversial to enlighten social and political problems, as in the case mentioned above as well as the political engaged artists in the 1970s, and to be "controversial without a cause". While the political engaged artists in the 1970s who created controversial art for the sake of a political case or as an act of solidarity, some artists today appear as controversial without a cause, or as seemingly; because it is good for (their) business. As told

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in an article in the Norwegian newspaper Morgenbladet in January 2010;[88] when the new Norwegian Minister of Culture, Anniken Huitfeldt moved into the office of the former Minister of Culture Trond Giske, she threw out a painting by the contemporary Norwegian artist Bjarne Melgaard which the former minister had on his wall, and replaced it with another painting. As described in the article:

> When Huitfeldt moved in, she threw out Giske's large homoerotic painting by Bjarne Melgaard.[89]

Melgaard is regarded as a controversial artist, among others because his paintings often have a violent sexual motif. In the following I will use the incident above to reveal some of the problems related to collecting art, assuming that the incident described in the newspaper article is correct. Although the minister's office is not located in a corporate building, it is still a public office. But while corporations usually avoid displaying offending art with a sexual or violent content as it is "not good for business", the artwork on the former minister's wall obviously had a sexual content. The current artist is also controversial because he is accused of using sexually child abusive material in some of his artworks. In a TV-report from his studio in New York in 2009, shown at the Norwegian TV channel NRK 1, the artist confirmed that he uses photos from the former magazine of the American paedophilia network NAMBLA; "the North American Man/boy love Association", in about 22 new unfinished paintings that in the report were lined up by the wall in his studio.[90] But already in 2000 he had been notified to the police in Stockholm for sexual child abuse in his video "All gym Queens deserve to die", containing a sequence where an adult man has the hand of a baby girl in his mouth, while another man is holding the baby who looks confused and scared. In an article on the TV-program at the website of NRK, the reporter Mona Pahle Bjerke says:

> His expressive homoerotic motifs, which often have sadistic, as well as burlesque elements, have been upsetting and shocking the audience. His works have been vandalized, and he has even been notified to the police.[91]

The TV-program was made in advance of a coming exhibition of the artist at the Astrup Fearnly Museum of Art in Oslo in the spring of 2010. Although the program led to a broad public debate on ethics and offending art amongst the

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[88] Morgenbladet, 01.08.2010; Anders Breivik Bisgaard and Ellen Lande Gossner (photo).
[89] Morgenbladet, 01.08.2010; Anders Breivik Bisgaard and Ellen Lande Gossner (photo). (My translation).
[90] http://nrk.no/kultur_og_underholdning/1.6957187 (07.06.2010)
[91] http://nrk.no/kultur_og_underholdning/1.6957187 (07.06.2010) (My translation)

Norwegian mass media, the reporter ends the article by supporting the artist, claiming that he is doing research on the paedophilia subculture.[92] But when he was asked in the TV-report about sexual child abuse and his use of photos from the paedophilia magazine in his art, his answer was something like this; "The children don't look like they are abused, do they?" and "Look, they are smiling".[93] Neither of the comments was convincing in respect of doing research on a subculture. Using such material in the way this artist does has obviously little to do with doing research, besides it is illegal to possess sexually child abusive material in Norway. It is also difficult to see any benefits of using such material in art, unless the benefit is economical, as he revealed in the same TV-program that most of the 22 unfinished pieces of art where the photos were used were already sold.[94] Obviously there is a market for such art that challenges the border between law and crime, and paradoxically the artist is often claimed by people in the press to be the most important and internationally recognized Norwegian artist today. But the Astrup Fearnly Museum of Art, which seemingly was admiring the works of this artist, assured after the TV-program that they would never exhibit illegal art in their museum, and these artworks would not be represented in the artist's following exhibition at the museum.

2.1.5.4 Catch 22; art and political dilemmas

According to Veblen, consumption of luxuries is honorific for a gentleman, and also "a mark of the master", who through a cultivation of his aesthetic faculty becomes a connoisseur in creditable viands and culture. (Veblen and Mills 1994) A cultivation of the aesthetic faculty takes place socially and through education, leading to different degrees of what Bourdieu describes as cultural capital and incorporated in the personal habitus. (Bourdieu 1995) While some become passionate art lovers and art connoisseurs, for instance by studying art or art history, others may pretend to be art lovers and art connoisseurs. The latter implicates what the Canadian social scientist Erving Goffman describes as a "pretending-to-be" performance, trying to establish a desired impression, although on somewhat misleading premises. (Goffman 1992) Many people in certain positions are obliged to have knowledge on art, as for instance a minister of culture, as well as a director of an art museum. If a person in such a position lacks the basic knowledge on art, and by that the ability to be critical about art, this can lead to misjudgements and peculiarities worth questioning.

Obviously the homoerotic painting in the former minister's office makes it relevant to question the art preferences of the minister. Although the style of the

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[92] http://nrk.no/kultur_og_underholdning/1.6957187 (07.06.2010)
[93] http://nrk.no/kultur_og_underholdning/1.6957187 (07.06.2010)
[94] http://nrk.no/kultur_og_underholdning/1.6957187 (07.06.2010)

artist is often cartoon like, the content is still representational. As defined by the American art historian Robert Atkins; representational art "...refers to artworks with a recognizable subject, as opposed to works that are termed Abstract". (Atkins 1997)[95] Obviously the artwork on the minister's office had a recognizable figurative content, and as Diana Crane asks;

> Can the "content" of representational paintings be understood in terms of the presumed social background of collectors and the conservative nature of the organization that display and purchase these works? (Crane 1987)[96]

But as the painting most likely came into his office before it was commonly known that the artist was using photos from the NAMBLA magazine in other artworks, and other persons than the minister may have purchased the painting, one may not blame the former minister for the painting on the wall. However, the video that was notified to the police in 2000 was commonly known, and the artist has been regarded as controversial for many years. As most of the art of the artist express violence, sadism and sexual abuse, it is interesting that people in positions of political power, which usually oblige them to be critical to these issues, avoid being critical to art with this content. One could argue that we also have a lot of movies and games today with violent content, which in that case also should be criticized. But there is an essential difference between art that we hang on the wall and films and games, because the art on the wall is always present, while films and games have a temporary character and are constantly changed.

An interesting aspect here is also that the Norwegian state supports art in general, including art with controversial content, which makes it difficult for ministers and parliament members to criticize such art, because they themselves have prepared the ground for it by supporting it. Another aspect of the lack of criticism may be the sexual content in the artwork, which according to the quotation in the article is homoerotic. I will make explicit that homosexuality as such is not the issue here. But as also Crane asks; "To what extent do representational paintings reflect the social conflicts and tensions of the period?" (Crane 1987)[97] Is it possible that the often violent sexual content in Melgaards paintings reflects a mixture of the sexualisation of Western society, and the interest of violent pornography as well as homosexuals fight for legal rights? The answer is probably well yes and no. Yes, because the overall focus on sexuality and

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[96] Page 17
[97] Page 17

pornography in the society makes it easy for an artist to grab these themes, as there is obviously a market for art images with such content. No in respect of the fight for the rights of homosexuals, as the violent sexual content of the art is rather threatening the cause of homosexuals than supporting it.

In light of this, one may wonder if the minister's lack of criticism may rely on the governmental support of homosexuals, who in Norway have got extended their legal rights significantly during the last decade, also with regard to marriage. In that case, the lack of criticism of the current artwork, which allowed it to hang on the ministers wall may be based on a misunderstanding; created either by the minister's liberal sexual attitude or a fear of appearing as a homophobe, because many of the artworks of the current artist are probably just as offending to homosexuals as they are to heterosexuals. In other words; people in positions of political power who are obliged to support art as well as homosexuals, for instance the former minister of culture, are caught in a trap, partly created by themselves, because they cannot criticize the art that they support, or art with homosexual content because they also support the cause of homosexuals. As discussed above, they may also jeopardise their more or less obligated position as an art connoisseur if they do. Instead they are caught in a multi layered trap, where they are forced to play different pretending-to-be games, instead of being openly critical, also to avoid damaging their political position.

Melgaard is not the first artist that has been fascinated by the mixture of homosexuality and crime. As described by Crane, Andy Warhol was also fascinated by similar themes, a fascination that has been sought to be interpreted in different ways; "Warhol's fascination with homosexuals, prostitutes and criminals might also be interpreted in terms of the resistant subculture hypothesis". (Crane 1987)[98] Through his "anti-cultural" values Warhol has been regarded by many as a precursor of the Punk movement, through an emphasis on indifference and apathy, obsessed by nothingness and in combination with his fascination with violence, among other displayed in series of portraits of the FBI's "most wanted" persons. But Warhol was also embracing American marketplace values, and as described by Crane, rather than;

> ...introducing new materials from deviant subcultures...he was actually picking up a tendency that was already being exploited in the sexual imageries of Hollywood films. (Crane 1987)[99]

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[98] Page 78
[99] Page 79

In other words; instead of transforming the reality presented by mass media and the popular culture as a member of a subculture, Warhol dealt with the reality in the same way as the mass media and popular culture did. Similarly, by drawing on themes from the pornographic mass culture, a great part of the artworks of Melgaard are re-presenting a reality that is overall present in the images of today's pornography.

It is important here to add that the work of the current artist is not one-sidedly worshiped by his fellow artists in Norway, and many artists are in fact critical of his rather grotesque art expressions. At the same time there seems to be less consensus among Norwegian artists today than some decades ago. When a Norwegian artist from the politically engaged art group "Gras", Anders Kjær, opened an exhibition in 1982 called "Playboy", consisting of a lot of large scaled pornographic paintings copied from heterosexual pornographic magazines, he was broadly criticised by art critics and art historians, as well as women's liberation groups, calling the paintings derogatory abuse of the female body and sexuality. But not at least; he was criticized and stigmatized by his fellow artists, including his former artist colleagues in "Gras", who claimed that his pornographic paintings were purely commercial. (Hennum 2007) While these reactions reflect a society with stronger social norms, the weak reactions on similar grotesque art expressions of today may also reflect the current society, marked by narcissism and the lack of norms, particularly sexual norms, reflected in the sexualisation of the younger generation.

Anyway, independent of the sexual orientation of the spectator, art with sexual content, whether this is heterosexual or homosexual still has the ability to offend people who find it improper also in the West, as I experienced in the Nordic Pavilion at the 2009 Venice Biennale, where a part of the exhibition was displaying homosexual activities in several photographs, drawings and videos. When I entered the pavilion I did not notice the content of these artworks at once, but soon I became aware of it, because of a couple of parents who eagerly tried to collect their two children of about 8-10, and get them out of the pavilion as soon as they realized what the art was all about. I would not have taken young children with me to see the exhibition in that pavilion either, as some of these works were obviously offending to many, and to homosexuals as well as heterosexuals.

The discussion above raises several questions on issues such as ethics and responsibility among artists as well as the art audience. One might wonder if in our times narcissism and sexualisation of society is about to move the limits of acceptable too far, as in the case of the artist discussed above, toward sexual

child abuse, since the critical voices against his art are remarkably quite. This makes me think that perhaps we should hope for the return of the pendulum? After all it is claimed in myths that the Roman Empire demolished itself through its sex orgies. In that case, we better watch to make sure that the pendulum stops in the centre, as the opposite side where the pendulum came from was not too good either.

The incident with the homoerotic painting on the minister's wall also shows the symbolic power of art, as discussed in my Bachelor Thesis. (Hagen 1990) It is difficult to criticize an art work that many people experience as offensive if the same artwork, or the artist is acknowledged by museums and "people who count", or at least people who proclaim to count, and still keep the position as an art connoisseur and what Veblen calls "a mark of the master". (Veblen and Mills 1994) In other words, if an art connoisseur, whether he or she is a genuine art connoisseur or a "pretending-to-be" art connoisseur criticize art that is acknowledged by "people who count" even if it is offensive to a lot of other people, he or she risks becoming declassified and loosing the significant "mark of the master". This also shows the ability of art to gestalt its audience. As Bordieau shows in his room of social positions, different social groups develop different tastes and different cultural preferences. (Bourdieu 1995) In regards to art, people may be defined by the exhibitions they visit, the artworks they admire and by purchasing particular works of art to hang on their walls. By showing one's personal art preferences the "card is played" so to speak, because art preferences may, to a certain degree, reveal who people are as a sign of identity that makes it possible for others to interpret their cultural knowledge, social class, economic status and even the personality of a person. Many may not be aware of the ability of art to reveal so much about the holder, unless they belong to social groups where art matters, and what Soja describes as "thirdspace", inhabited by artists, writers, philosophers and other from the cultural and educated classes. (Soja 1996) At least as far as these inhabitants are what they say they are; and not only pretending-to-be artists, writers and philosophers.

2.1.6   Spaces of art; where corporations display art

Walter Benjamin claims that artworks are received at different levels, of which two levels make a polarization; the cult value and the exhibition value. According to Benjamin the production of art started in the cult level, where it was more important that the works were made, than that they were seen. The moose of the Stone Age man painted on the cave wall was a magical instrument, primarily dedicated to the spirits. (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991) In pre historic time art was instrumental. Later on "the art value" of art was discovered, and

according to Benjamin; new methods of reproduction have made a qualitative change in the nature of art, and moved its value from one pole to the opposite; from cult value to exhibition value. The absolute emphasize on the exhibition value of art today has applied new functions to art, particularly the artistic function, although this later may be considered as a temporary function. (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991)

Through the changes of the cult value and with many artworks hidden in monasteries and churches and the like, to the exhibition value, has brought art from the ritual to the public spheres. How art is displayed may also influence how we experience art. Visual art made by younger artists and artists who are not yet acknowledged, are often displayed in not commonly known galleries and placed in anonymous buildings in backstreets, or in buildings of poor standard for example in old industrial building structures; not yet rediscovered and transformed into high quality art museums such as the Tate Modern in London from 1994, an old power station redesigned and transformed by the Swiss architects Herzog & de Meuron to become one of the most famous modern art museums in the world.[100] In the opposite to new and unknown art, high quality and acknowledged art is displayed in well recognized galleries and art museums, or it may be displayed in public buildings as well as in office buildings.

The architecture of new high quality art museums are often designed as magnificent buildings with great splendour designed by the most acknowledged architects in the world at the time of erection. Actually the most famous art of a nation is usually gathered in such buildings. According to the Norwegian economist and sociologist Dag Solhjell: "The "great" art of "great" artists is kept in "great" architecture designed by "great" architects." (Solhjell 2001)[101] Keeping art housed in high quality architectural buildings, may undoubtedly contribute to make art appear as great. Architecture is a signal of the quality of the art, of the significance of the art mediator, and of the economic power that forms the basis of the art and architecture.

Corporate art and art collections are displayed in various ways, and in various spatial and architectural contexts. I have identified at least four ways of displaying corporate art and art collections; 1) Integrated art collections; corporations displaying their art collection or casual art spread around inside and outside of office buildings and corporate headquarters, 2) Internal art museums; art museums that are established inside of office buildings and corporate

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[100] http://www.e-architect.co.uk/london/tate_modern.htm (10.25.2010)
[101] Page 199 (My translation)

headquarters, 3) External art museums placed outside of office buildings and headquarters, wearing the name of the corporation, and 4) Personal art museums; art museums erected by the present or previous corporate managers, and wearing the family name of these persons or families.

MIH Photo: 19 (left) Interior, Tate Modern, London, Mars 2010
MIH Photo: 20 (right) Exterior, Tate Modern, London, Mars 2010

There may also be some cultural differences in how corporate art and art collections are displayed, as discussed below. In addition to these four ways of displaying corporate art, some cities or business areas have established their own art program, for instance in collaboration between the government, regional communities and the residential corporations and businesses which show large scaled art spread around within the business area, for example in La Defense, the relatively new business area west of Paris. With its many works of large scaled art, mostly three dimensional sculptures spread between skyscrapers and office buildings, the area is also considered as a large outdoor art museum.

2.1.6.1   Integrated art collections; art in corporate headquarters

Visual art and art collections in office buildings and corporate headquarters can either be permanently installed artworks or art permanently integrated in the architecture, for instance murals. Or it consists of separate pieces of art that can be moved around and reorganized. Many corporations display art near to the entrance outside or inside of the reception area. Sculptures are often placed outside near by the entrances and in surrounding parks or other social spaces, or in lobbies and corridors inside of the buildings. Large scale paintings can dominate the entrance and the reception area inside, while small pieces of art are spread around in corridors and smaller offices. Unlike art displayed in galleries

and museums, Solhjell claims that visual art used as decorative elements in other contexts run the risk of becoming a comment of the host, rather than strengthen its own spiritual value. By telling a story about the place in which it is displayed as a sign between many other visual signs, such as the entrance, furniture, logo, information signs and so on, it contributes to form a text about the forces of power that are surrounding the artwork. (Solhjell 2001)

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 21 (left) Ootdoor sculptures, Telenor HQ, Fornebu, Norway, February 2008
MIH Photo: 22 (right) Outdoor sculptures, Yahoo HQ, Sunnyvale, California, June 2008

Also Martorella describes how many corporations display pieces from their art collections in central areas near to or inside of the entrance, lobbies and boardrooms, or they establish sculpture gardens "…to gain public recognition and prestige." (Martorella 1990) [102] Presumably with reference to Veblen, (Veblen and Mills 1994) she characterizes the desire of leaders to manifest power and wealth through art and architecture as conspicuous consumption:

> As part of a fiercely competitive business climate, corporate leaders acted quickly to manifest their power and riches – glitzy headquarters and expensive art collections provided the means for such conspicuous consumptions. (Martorella 1990)[103]

It also seems as though "elite art" with mass appeal is mostly preferred by some corporate collectors and by that "the rationale for supporting art" may actually be "the snob appeal" affiliated to the uncontroversial nature of elite art. As Martorella claims; "Corporations like to think of themselves as elite trendsetters, and support of the arts enhances this public image". (Martorella 1990)[104]

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[102] Page 5
[103] Page 14
[104] Page 18

Although many corporations display their art in common spaces, the access to art may also be socially determined. As Solhjell describes, corporate office buildings often have the largest sized art displayed in places with high visibility. However if you walk into these buildings, the economic as well as the artistic value of the art will decline the further you move away from the central and ritual rooms, such as the reception, the dining room and the boardroom. He illuminates this by claiming that the lower the rate of wages, the cheaper and lower quality of the art that surrounds the employees. (Solhjell 1995)

2.1.6.2   *Internal art museums; art museums in corporate headquarters*

In Japan it seems to be quite usual that the corporate collections are displayed in internal art museums that are located in the headquarters of the corporation, or in other corporate buildings. These museums often wear the name of the corporation, such as the Idemitsu Museum of Arts and the Bridgestone Museum of Art in Tokyo. In the USA the Microsoft Corporation in Redmond, outside of Seattle, has a similar internal art museum, located in the headquarters of the corporation. Internal art museums can also be organized as independent units and wear other names such as the Shiodome Museum Rouault Gallery located within the headquarters of Panasonic Electric Works in Tokyo.

2.1.6.3   *External art museums; corporate art museums outside of the headquarters*

Some corporate art museums are located outside of the headquarters and corporate facilities in their own museum buildings such as the Suntory Museum of Art from 1994, designed by the Japanese architect Tadao Ando and located on the waterfront area of Osaka.
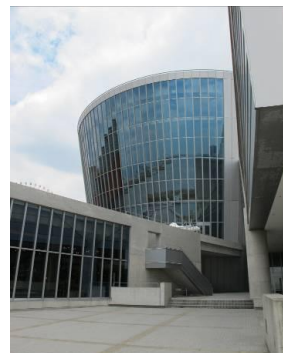
MIH Photo: 23 (left) The Suntory Museum of Art, Osaka, June 2010
MIH Photo: 24 (right) The Suntory Museum of Art, Osaka, June 2010

The Foundation Cartier pour L'art Contemporain in Paris from 1994, designed by the French architect Jean Nouvel, is a similar example of an external

corporate art museum. Another version of external art museums is corporate museums located in other kinds of buildings, for instance in department stores such as the Suntory Museum of Art in the Midtown Project at Roppongi Hills, Tokyo, which is a combination of a department store, cultural center and offices.

2.1.6.4   *Personal art museums; business based collections in personal art museums*

Some corporate collectors and personalities within business build their own personal museums. The German-American architect and author Joe Day claims that such personal museums often prioritize architectural space and site more than just the collection, in order to gain awe from their visitors, similar to Versailles. (Day 2007) For example the Getty Centre from 1997, a palace of white travertine, designed by the American architect Richard Meier,[105] which rises up and is highly visible as a white castle on the top of a hillside north of Los Angeles. The Centre was founded as a memoriam to the American oil magnate and art collector J. Paul Getty who passed away in 1976.[106]

MIH Photo: 25 (left) The Getty Centre, Brentwood, Los Angeles, June 2008
MIH Photo: 26 (right) View of cafeteria, The Getty Centre, Brentwood, Los Angeles, June 2008

According to Day, personal museums were pioneered in Europe, while their escalation in the twentieth century was led by the US and often founded as a gift to the laborers. Among the origins of the personal museums was the Medici Palace in Florence, designed by the Italian architect Michelozzo di Bartolomeo and completed around 1460 as one of the first Renaissance buildings in Florence, posing an entire residence as "a space of exhibition, display and patronage" and representing new practices, mercantilism and new perspectives on the world. (Day 2007) The Medici Palace became a model for many later museums up to the present time, including the Museum of Modern Art in New York, with its

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[105] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Getty_Center (03.01.2010)
[106] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Paul_Getty (05.10.2011)

blank and austere exteriors and a variable sequence of exhibition salons on each floor with an internal organization around a central courtyard. Personal museums have developed from the late 1700s until today and were subordinated and often regarded as counterpoints to the many state museums that have been established in the same time period. (Day 2007)

According to Day, personal museums in the US are often established by "self-made" men, the opposite of the great personal collections in Europe which were collected over generations and gradually to be opened up and displayed to the public, such as the Louvre, which can be regarded as the personal museum of the French royals, later to become a state museum. Among the most famous personal art museums in the USA is the Frick Museum at Fifth Avenue in New York, founded in 1913 by the American industrialist and financier Henry C. Frick, containing an assembly of portraits by great painters such as the Spanish painter Diego Velázquez and the Dutch painters Rembrandt H. van Rijn and Jan Vermeer von Delft, a collection that is claimed to be without parallel in any private or national collection around the world. (Day 2007) Another famous personal art museum in the US is the Barnes Museum in Philadelphia, founded in 1922,[107] by the American inventor Albert C. Barnes, with a prescient accumulation of modern and cubist masterpieces by Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque and Henri Matisse that were often purchased "off the easel" on Barns annual tour to Europe. An important objective of the Barnes collection was to exhibit the collection to "the working man", as it was founded as a gift to the laborers. (Day 2007)

The Frick and The Barnes personal museums led the way to the present personal museums in the US, due to their focus on art which has become an almost exclusive theme for "single-benefactor museums" in the twentieth century. The various recognition that characterizes personal museums today, have radically diversified the architecture of these museums. While most personal museums until the 1950's were housed in the homes of their benefactors, or adjoining their homes, the personal museums later on was designed by architects. According to Day, the personal museums after World War II, combine exhibition space with the single family home, which is the type of building that is most commonly open to innovation. As Day claims: "…many of the most daring gambles in contemporary architecture are taken first in the housing of private art collections." (Day 2007)[108]

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[107] http://www.barnesfoundation.org/h_main.html (03.02.2010)
[108] Page 230

According to Day, both the Guggenheim Museum from 1959 designed by the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright (Cleary, Levine et al. 2009) and the Whitney Museum from 1966 designed by the Hungarian architect Marcel Brauer, both located in New York, are "emblematic of this trend". (Day 2007) Among other personal art museums in the US that have played a powerful and subtle role, are the Kimbell Museum in Forth Worth from 1972, designed by the American architect Louis Kahn, and the de Menil Collection in Houston from 1987, designed by the Italian architect Renzo Piano. A common feature of the museums is how they deal with light and transparency, illumination and privacy, negotiating between traditions of modern architecture and the concurrent strains of minimalism within visual art. (Day 2007)

MIH Photo: 27 (left) The Guggenheim Museum, New York, June 2009
MIH Photo: 28 (right) Museum of Modern Art, New York, Mars 2007

Although all the three major museums of twentieth-century art in New York, the Guggenheim Museum, The Whitney Museum and the MoMA originally were personal museums founded by a single collector, they have grown and become more diversified than other museums, and are conducted by major expansion plans. While the Whitney is the most mission-specific, concentrating on American art, the MoMA brought the leading European art to the American audience, ensuring that "Americans joined, and eventually led, that pantheon of the New." (Day 2007)[109] Through several rebuilding and modifications, MoMA has "…narrowed its purview on the canon of twentieth-century art". (Day 2007)[110] The Guggenheim Museum in New York has been led by a conception of "non-objective" art, including almost all post painterly abstractions. A proliferation of the New York Guggenheim is the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao from 1997, designed by the Canadian architect Frank Gehry, who

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[109] Page 238
[110] Page 238

according to Day has become "…the benchmark against which all culturally based urban-renewal schemes are judged". (Day 2007) [111]

2.1.6.5   The business-district as art museum

As mentioned above, a particular form of mixing art and business, or as one could also say, mixing art with business and an emphasized architecture, is shown in La Defense, the large business district west of Paris. La Defense is described as an outdoor contemporary art museum, due to around 70 large scaled artworks made by world renown artists; such as the American artist Alexander Calder, the French artist Bernard Venet and the Spanish artist Juan Miró, placed between a large number of architectural emphasized skyscrapers and office buildings, most of these designed by world famous architects, and housing the headquarters of several large scaled and mostly French corporations, although some of these are also multinational.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 29 (left) "Two Characters" by Joan Miró (1978), La Defense, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 30 (middle) "The Red Spider" by Alexander Calder (1976). La Defense, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 31 (right) "Doubles lignes indéterminées" by Bernard Venet (1988), La Defense, Paris, November 2010

This mix between art and business gives the art of La Defense a similar function as traditional corporate art, as it provides a considerable symbolical value of the entire area which distinguishes La Defense from most other business districts in other cities. As described in the book "La Défense, A State of Mind and a Time";

> …art invents the memory of new places. Passing by a Calder, Moretti or César every day has nothing ordinary about it. Sometimes, art takes gentleness and warmth upon itself in a glass and concrete universe. It is the presence of the itinerary that will succeed or fail to catch one's glance. (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009)[112]

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[111] Page 239
[112] Page 118

In other words, although the art appears as public, and placed in public spaces, the art in La Defense serves all the businesses represented in the area, and particularly the works of art that are placed nearby the different office buildings.

2.1.7 The territorial dimension of art

The territorial dimension of art has several layers, such as 1) the origin of the artworks; where the art comes from. In respect of corporate art, this is also closely related to corporate taste and art preference. Another layer is 2) the territorial hierarchy of art, referring to which countries or cities that at any time hold the leading position within the development of the internationally recognized art, a phenomenon that has developed parallel to modernism and internalization in the wake of the twentieth century's extension of communication and trade. A third layer is 3) the mutual exchange of art between countries, initiated by corporate collectors as well as public art museums and culture politicians, which may also influence the development of art and art preferences in different countries.

2.1.7.1 *The territorial aspect of art in different types of corporations*

As presented by Martorella, the different types of businesses that collect art in the United States based on a population of 234 companies in the late 1980s, are, measured by percent; Financial firms: 33%, Manufacturing firms: 24,8%, Insurance firms: 8,7%, Law firms: 7%, Oil companies: 4,3% and other types of businesses: 23,2%. (Martorella 1990)[113] The size of the corporate art collections in the USA, spans from about 100 to over 10 000 artworks. In the different types of companies nearly 50% of the financial and manufacturing firms possess from about 600 to over 2500 artworks, while about 70% of the law firms have less than 100 artworks, which means that the corporate art interest seems to vary with the type of business. The most represented styles in US companies are: Regional American art, Contemporary American art, International Contemporary art and Other Styles. Almost all the corporate collections are dominated by American art. Briefly the diversities of styles in respect of companies are: (Martorella 1990)[114]

Matrix 1

Type of companies	Contemporary American art	Regional American art	International Contemporary	Other styles
Financial	30%	35%	5%	20%
Manufacturing	60%	10%	5%	20%
Insurance	50%	30%		10%
Law	35%	45%		
Oil	50%	35%		10%

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[113] Table on page 56
[114] Briefly estimated by me, based on a diagram on page 58

As shown in the table, Contemporary American art and Regional American art is the most represented art styles in American corporations, while International Contemporary art is the less represented. But the sizes of the companies also affect the selected art styles. While the art collections in small companies are dominated by Regional American art with about 65%, large companies are dominated by Contemporary American art, up to 75%. It is for instance interesting to observe the high representation of Contemporary American art in manufacturing industries. Still over 70% of the total art collections in the population include Contemporary American art in different amounts. In general, Contemporary American art seem to be the dominating style in corporate art collections in the US, as it constitutes over 40% of all styles in the population, while Regional American art makes up for almost 30%. Other styles, such as: Pre-Columbian art, Western regional art, Contemporary international art, European 19th century art, American 1900-1940, American nineteenth century art and other styles each make up for an amount of between 1- 4%. (Martorella 1990)[115]

Among the preferred styles within Contemporary American art, is Representational figurative art,[116] which constitutes about 45%, Abstract Expressionism about 20%, Figurative/tradition about 15%, Figurative modern about 6%, Photorealistic art 4,5%, Neo Expressionism less than 3%, Pop art, Minimal/conceptual art and Pattern art makes up for less than 2% each. (Martorella 1990) According to Martorella also the location of companies affect both the size and styles of their art collections. The largest art collections are located in companies in or near big cities or metropolises, such as New York, Chicago, Minneapolis and Los Angeles. While the collections of companies located within or near the big metropolises are dominated by Contemporary American art, the collections of companies located in regional and rural areas are dominated by Representational figurative art and Regional American art. (Martorella 1990)

2.1.7.2   *The territorial hierarchy of Contemporary art*

The domination of Contemporary American art in large scaled American corporations in the late eighties as shown by Martorella, may reflect a natural choice, in the meaning of selecting art from the homeland of the corporations. At the same time it is well known how American and particularly New York based artists developed the leading international art styles after World War II, starting with Abstract Expressionism in the nineteen forties and fifties. In the last part of

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[115] Briefly referred by the author
[116] Figurative expressions like landscapes, still life, super-realistic sculptures etc.

the twentieth century New York adopted the former position of Paris as the leading city for the international development of art, a position that was held by Paris in the first half century after the emergence of Modernism. Before and during World War II many European Modernist and abstract artists fled to the USA, where most of them settled in New York where they also inspired their American colleagues. During the emergence of Abstract Expressionism in New York in the forties and fifties, one-third of the New York artists were born in Europe, and one-third were born in New York. (Crane 1987) Abstract Expressionism and the following styles that influenced the international art world such as Pop art and Minimalism also developed in New York, and because of their leading international position these styles are considered to be Avant Garde; preparing the ground for new art styles. As in the Post World War II period, Contemporary American art is still dominating the international art scene today, as showed by the Dutch sociologist Femke van Hest in her study on the position of Contemporary Dutch art in 2008, represented by the most important international art galleries in Berlin, London, Paris and New York, and two international art fairs, FIAC Paris and Art Basel. (van Hest 2008) The galleries are mainly selected because of their presence at Art Basel, which is considered to be "the most renowned art fair in the world", (van Hest 2008) and at Frieze Art Fair in London, another of the world's leading art fairs. In her study van Hest found that the most represented art in these international galleries and art fairs was Contemporary American art, before Contemporary German art, which was the second most represented. Contemporary Dutch art and art from other countries came further down the list of representation. (van Hest 2008)

Another study that underpins the impression of the domination of Contemporary American art at the international art scene from the fifties and until today is the Finish sociologist Susanne Janssens study on how art is reported in the most important newspapers in France, Germany, the Netherlands and in the United States from 1955 to 2005. Her study mirrors the findings of van Hest, by showing that the most reported art in western newspapers in this span of time is Contemporary American art. (Janssen 2008) The French sociologist Alain Quemin claims that although the art world today is considered to be globalized, through internationalization and a present aesthetic ideology that "insists on "metissage" and cultural eclectisism," (Quemin 2008)[117] he shows how the regional dimension makes the art scene appear as "…international, but limited to one part of the world", (Quemin 2008) through a national representation that reflects how only a few countries play a major role in the international art market. Quemin also describes how the regional impact of the auction

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[117] Metissage = mixed styles

marketplace as well as of art fairs and commercial galleries are concentrated in a small number of cities, such as London, New York and Basel, which means that also the metropolitan character of the art market contributes to confine the international art scene to just a few countries in the Western world. (Quemin 2008) Because of this, some, such as the American sociologists Diana Crane (Crane 2010) and David Halle, (Halle 2010) claim that what is mentioned as international art today, is rather transnational than international.

2.1.7.3 *Westification and Japonism; the meeting between east and west*

In respect of history, both Norway and Japan are geographically located on the outskirts of large cultures. Similar to Norway, for centuries Japan has been marked by what both Norwegian and Japanese people describe as a "continental influence". In Norway, continental influence refers to Europe, and the influence of European styles and epochs, such as the seventeen and eighteen centuries Baroque and Rococo style; which became the model for traditions within arts and crafts which many today look upon as "typically Norwegian". Both the Norwegian "rose painting"; consisting of decorative flower and leaf ornaments painted on vernacular objects and furniture made of wood, as well as the embroidered Norwegian national costumes, have derived their particular visual form and patterns from these large European styles. In Japan, the continental influence to a large extent refers to the East Asian continent and particularly China, the largest, oldest and still existing civilization in the world, with the styles and epochs of the great dynasties, such as the commonly known Ming dynasty that lasted from 1368 to 1644, and from the middle ages and up to 1911; the Jin, Yuan and Qing dynasties,[118] representing great cultures that influenced the development of the whole Eastern Asia. Several Japanese traditions were brought from China, such as the tea ceremony that was imported by Zen Buddhists in the last part of the twelfth century. (National Museum 2008) In the Edo period from 1603 to 1868 Japan practiced a "closed country" policy for about two and a half centuries, initiated by Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu, where no one was allowed to enter or leave the country. Geographically Edo represents the present time Tokyo, and the Edo period that was characterized by a culture "rich in pleasure" is also known as "the warless two centuries". (National Museum 2008) Japan remained closed until 1854, when it was opened for trade by the Convention of Kanagawa, between Commodore Matthew C. Perry in the US Navy and the Tokugawa Shogunate.[119]

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[118] http://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kinesiske_dynastier (10.31.2010)
[119] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Convention_of_Kanagawa (01.01.2011)

During the last one and a half century the geographical influence has changed, and the main influence on Japan from abroad today comes from Western countries, to the extent that Japanese people describe themselves and the Japanese culture as "Westified", referring to the impact from USA and Europe. The interesting thing is however, both in a historical perspective and today how this influence has been and to a large extent still is mutual, both in respect of art, architecture, high tech and industry. As mentioned in chapter 1.3.4.2 Japan had a large influence on European and Western art at the end of the nineteen century, an influence that was named Japonism, which among others contributed to the development of the Art Noveau style in France, named in Germany as Jugend, Sesession in Austria, and Modernista in Spain, of which the Spanish architect Antonio Gaudi was one of the most represented architects. Japonism reached USA after Europe, followed by the Art Noveau style, as "the continental influence" in the USA actually came from Europe. (Meech-Pekarik and Weisberg 1990) Also Norway had its own variety of the Art Noveau style, named the Dragon style, where Norwegian mythology and Dragon heads were a feature of the medieval Norwegian stave churches also included in this style.

Today there is a considerable mutual exchange of art and culture between countries all over the world, also between the west and the east; USA, Europe and Asia. Much of the global exchange of art and culture is initiated by international trade and industry. A mutual exchange of art and culture often follows as a bias when corporate executives and politicians within trade and industry in a country establishes or arrange important meetings with business contacts abroad, for example in 1996, when the Norwegian chemistry corporation Norsk Hydro was collaborating with the Norwegian minister of culture to present an art exhibition in Beijing and Shanghai with curatorial assistance from a Norwegian art museum; the Henie-Onstad Art Center. (Hovdenak and Smit 1996) A similar example is the exhibition of art works from the collection of JPMorgan Chase in Dubai International Financial Centre in 2008. (Erf, Roe et al. 2008) As well as the art exchange initiated by corporations, there are also considerable exchanges between countries initiated by public museums, as reported in an article in the Norwegian newspaper Aftenposten recently; in 2011 the Pompidou Centre in Paris arranges an exhibition of Edvard Munch, called "The Eye of Munch", where the Munch Museum of Art in Oslo lends out 120 works by Munch to the exhibition in the Pompidou Centre.[120]

The different kinds of art and cultural exchange between countries reflect the development of the art world and the art preferences in the countries included

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[120] Aftenposten, 12.31.2010

here. As mentioned above; before World War II, Paris was the leading incubator of new art styles. As many European artists fled to the USA before and during World War II, New York took over the position as the leading art incubator. However the US influence is not only limited to visual art, but to the entire field of culture, for instance within the film industry where Hollywood has contributed to shape the post war generations in several European countries and seemingly it has also had a similar influence in many Asian countries. In a similar way in which Japanese people regard themselves as "Westified", many European countries are "Americanized". An interesting aspect of the Americanization of Europe is the American interest in Europe, although not surprisingly as the families of a large amount of the American population immigrated to the USA from Europe during the nineteen and twentieth century. When the Arts and Crafts Movement reached the USA it was welcomed and expressed particularly within crafts and architecture. In California the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement is still visible, for instance in several old Berkeley buildings and in the architecture of the California based architects Bernhard Maybeck and Julia Morgan. Another Californian feature that reveals the interest in Europe is the preference for the Mediterranean culture, articulated within the food culture, architecture and city planning, the latter is particularly visible in Santa Barbara, where most buildings are erected in a Mediterranean style. In tourist books and brochures the coastline of Santa Barbara is presented as the "Riviera of California", and is claimed to own the copyright of the name.

Also the "Japan-fever" that emerged in Europe in the late 1800s was adopted by Americans, although the artistic value of the Japanese art and crafts was first underestimated in the US. Obviously it was the Japonism in Europe that stimulated the interest in Japanese art in the USA. As described by the American art historian Gabriel P. Weisberg;

> …once stimulated by Japonisme, America began to compete with continental Europe to collect Japanese objects and to assimilate Japanese aesthetic concepts. (Meech-Pekarik and Weisberg 1990)[121]

In the late 1880s American designers, artists and printmakers reacted enthusiastically to the large number of prints and decorative arts that were imported from Japan. Among the American artists who were influenced by Japonism, was the American poster artist Will Bradley, who similarly to the English contemporary artist Aubrey Beardsly often uses black shapes and curvilinear rhythms in his Art Noveau poster illustrations. In the lithographic

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poster "Bradley His Book" from 1896, the similarities with the Japanese artist
Utagawa Hiroshiges woodblock print "Peacock and Peonies" from 1832 is
clearly recognizable. (Meech-Pekarik and Weisberg 1990)

In harmony with the Japanese notion of being "Westified", Western art seems to
be popular among Japanese people today, and this is also reflected in several
corporate art collections in Japan. Although surprisingly; rather than
Contemporary American art, the most popular Western art expressions in Japan
today seems to be European art styles from the late nineteenth and early
twentieth century, particularly French Impressionism, Fauvism and Post
Impressionism. Indeed museums of Contemporary art in Japan also contain new
art expressions, including Contemporary Western art as shown in an exhibition at
the Suntory Museum in Osaka in the spring of 2010 called "Resonance". The
exhibition included several works by Western artists, such as Anselm Kiefer,
Marlene Dumas and Paul McCarthy, together with artworks by contemporary
Japanese and Asian artists, such as Nobuya Hoki, Nobuaki Itoh and Tetsuya
Umeda.[122] During my research stay in Japan in 2010, I was also searching for
"genuine Contemporary Japanese art expressions", and observed what seems to
be two dominating genres within Contemporary Japanese art today; 1) large
scaled and carefully created paintings, and 2) experimental and mostly sculptural
Conceptual art. The latter demonstrated in an exhibition strikingly named
"Roppongi Crossing 2010: Can there be art?" in Mori Art Museum where a large
number of large scaled Conceptual art expressions were exhibited, including a
video where some of the artists proclaimed that "we are not actually artists"
either. (Kenichi, Hitomi et al. 2010)

Still, after visiting a large number of museums and art exhibitions, including
corporate art collections and museums, I maintain my main impression of a
particular Japanese interest in early modernist French art. Obviously the basis for
the conspicuous interest in early modernist Western art in Japan is complex, and
not a new phenomenon. Among other, many Japanese artists around 1900 went
to France and Paris to study art, and brought the interest for the European styles
at that time back to Japan. Museums and corporate collectors may also have been
influenced by the large number of Western art brought to Japan before World
War II, which came to the art market in Japan after the war from people who sold
out art in order to restore their assets. (Curatorial-Department 2009) But the great
number of Impressionist and Post Impressionist art in Japanese collections today
may also be explained by incidents in the global economy that took place
simultaneously during the 1980s, and which led to a doubling of the value of yen

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[122] Resonance, Exhibition brouchure, Suntory Museum, Osaka, June 2010

against the dollar, and thus eased the Japanese art acquisitions from the West. As Jacobson claims this led to;

> …an art buying binge that boosted the prices of anything by, or like, Monet, Renoir, Modigliani, Chagall, Van Gogh, Picasso and a host of less and least prized Impressionists and Post-Impressionists – as well as paintings and prints by a select group of contemporary Americans. (Jacobson 1993)[123]

This means that the economic situation in both the 1980s, and after World War II may have influenced the great number of early modernist French art in Japan, although originally the interest in this art seems to stem from the time when the current styles evolved, around and after 1900. In the spring of 2010 the Mitsubishi Museum of Art, which in spite of its name has no obvious connection to Mitsubishi Motors, arranged a thematic exhibition on the French Impressionist painter Edward Manet. The exhibition included artworks from the museums own collection and from other art museums in Japan and abroad, among others from the National Museum of Art in Norway. The museum building is in itself interesting. Similar to several other old Tokyo buildings it is built in a European style and located close to the Marunouchi Building, a restored Art Deco looking skyscraper built within the remnants of the stone walls of a former building at the base. A small green garden with restaurants and outdoor cafés fills the area between the two buildings, and lends associations to French gardens and outdoor French cafés, an impression that is underpinned by a variety of French food.

MIH Photo: 32 (left) The Mitsubishi Museum of Art, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 33 (middle) Park at the Mitsubishi Museum of Art, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 34 (right) The Marunouchi Building, Tokyo, June 2010

Inside of the Museum I made an interesting observation. One of the exhibited paintings was Manet's portrait of Emile Zola from about 1868, which in itself enlightens the mutual and long lasting connection between Japanese and French art. In the painting some prints and sketches are pinned up on the wall behind

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[123] Page 68

Zola, and one of the images shows a person with Japanese costume. This, along with a Japanese folding screen that also appears in the painting shows the French interest in the Japanese culture in the late 1800s. It was particularly interesting to observe this over 140 years old French painting in Japan, which with its included Japanese objects shows the mutual interest between Japan and France in the late 1800s. This detail in Manet's painting is also mentioned briefly by Harvey when telling about the rise of Modernism; "The emergence of an active antique and foreign craft market (the latter symbolized by the Japanese prints that Manet inserted into his portrait of Zola…)". (Harvey 1989)[124] It is well known that many European artists in the late 1800s were influenced by Japanese art and in particular Japanese woodcuts. Also the Japanese art historian Terukazu describes how Japanese prints figure in works of European artists such as Manet, Monet, Degas, Whistler, Gauguin and Van Gogh while also he particularly points out Manet's "Portrait of Emile Zola". (Terukazu 1961)

Among the visual artists in Europe that were inspired by Japanese art was the Norwegian painter Edward Munch. Similar to many of his artist colleagues at the end of the nineteen century he was also inspired by Japanese woodcuts, such as the works of Katsushika Hokusai who became popular in Europe with his "Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji" from about 1825, in the Edo period. (Terukazu 1961) During a Paris period at the end of the 1890s Munch was working with graphic prints, similar to other painting artists in Paris that worked with graphic prints in the same period, and who became known as the "peintres graveurs". Many of them, such as Munch, Pierre Bonnard and August Renoir got their prints published in journals such as the "Album des peintres graveurs". (Stang and Stang 1971) Munch himself was experimenting by using old Japanese techniques in his woodcuts inspired by Japanese artists. He also developed a technique for printing with different colors from one block of wood, where the block is first cut into several pieces along the edge of the main figures in the motif before printing ink of different colors are applied to each piece of wood and put together again, like a puzzle and then printed together in one turn. As described by the Norwegian art historian Nic. Stang;

> He even becomes the Gutenberg of woodcuts; as he cut each character out of the printing plate, Munch takes his fretsaw and cut the motif of the printing plate into its different parts. The white outline that appears where the pieces are put together again becomes an extra point... (Stang and Stang 1971)[125]

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[124] Page 272
[125] Page 158, (My translation)

Many of Munch's graphic works were variations of his former paintings, where the motif became a simplified summary of a more naturalistic original painting, or as pronounced by Munch; "a crystallization". As described by Stang, also many of the paintings of Munch were influenced by Japanese woodcuts and because of this many of Munch's paintings have the flat expression that also characterizes graphic prints. (Stang and Stang 1971) The flat expression is a feature that also characterizes the work of many Japanese artists today, such as the works of Takashi Murakami, and his "superflat" expressions; manifested in his USA exhibition "Superflat" in 2001. (Bousteau and Lavrador 2010)

The interest that was paid by western artists to Japanese art and culture in the late eighteen hundreds reflects the Western "Japan fever" at the time, the Japonism which as mentioned above was the basis for the development of Art Noveau and the different variations of the style. According to Terakazu, the first wave of Japonism that swept over the art world of Paris was initiated by one hundred prints; one half depicting Japanese women, and the other half Japanese landscapes, ordered by the Shogunal government in Japan to be exhibited at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1867. The artists commissioned for these prints were among the leading print designers at the time, belonging to the last generation of the famous "ukiyo-e" artists, or translated; "pictures of the floating world" artists. But according to Terakazu these artists were minor artists; and as he expresses;

> …one cannot help marveling that French artists should have been able to draw so important and fruitful a lesson from prints which strike us today as banal and decadent. (Terukazu 1961)[126]

Terakazu claims that it was not possible to grasp the aesthetics of the "ukiyo-e" tradition through these prints. It was not until the World exhibition in Paris in 1889 that they discovered what he describes as "the seductive grace of Utamaro" and much later "the idyllic beauty of Harunobu". He also claims that "once again it was the decadent mannerism of a country's art that made it known and influential abroad". (Terukazu 1961)[127]

An interesting aspect of the connection between Japan and France, which may not be commonly known in Europe today, although it is well known within art history; is that during the rise of Modernism before and around 1900 also several Japanese artists, similar to artists from other countries, such as Russia, Norway

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[126] Page 180
[127] Page 180

and Spain, studied for some years in Paris, and similar to the European Impressionists and Post Impressionists they also spent time painting in other parts of France and its neighboring countries. (Curatorial-Department 2009) This practice contributed to what is known in Japan as "Western style painting" or the "Western school" that has developed from the late nineteenth century, where many Japanese painters have introduced and assimilated the features of modern Western art. Simultaneously another school, the "Japanese school" had been developing with the purpose of modernizing painting, based on traditional Japanese techniques and aesthetics. In spite of its international and advanced style, the Western school today is, as claimed by Terukazu steeped in a long Japanese art tradition, while the Japanese school has "enriched the native sources of expression", (Terukazu 1961)[128] and renewed itself through its contact with Western aesthetics. Because of this, the main difference between the two schools today is the techniques, rather than the materials.

While Japonism is connected to arts and crafts at the end of the twentieth century, and so to speak intervening with and extending the Arts and Crafts Movement, contributing to the development of Art Noveau, the interest in Japanese art and culture is still present in the West. For example as shown in an exhibition in Paris in 2010 named "Art Brut Japonais" showing artworks created by disabled Japanese youths, with several interesting and exotic paintings and small sculptures. The present interest in Japanese traditions appears in different settings in Paris, for instance the furniture store named "Omote" located close to Montparnasse. Obviously the name refers to Omotesando, a fashion street in Tokyo that is also called "the architecture street", because of its many unusual and playfully designed buildings. Among several well known fashion firms the French jewelry firm Cartier is also represented in a building in Omotesando.

One photo removed
MIH Photo: 35 (left) Exhibition poster, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 36 (middle) Furniture store, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 37 (right) A Cartier store, Omotesando, Tokyo, June 2010

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Not at least, a French interest in Japanese art today was also revealed in one of the most precious French treasures of culture; The Castle of Versailles, where a considerable exhibition of the Japanese artist Takashi Murakami was arranged from September to December 2010. The cartoon or Manga inspired plastically formed artworks of Murakami made a considerable visual and cultural contrast to Ludwig XIV's French baroque castle from the seventeenth century. Murakami's plastic and bright colored sculptures were placed in several halls on the second floor of the castle, including probably the most famous one; the Hall of Mirrors, and a large golden sculpture was placed in front of the façade towards the Gardens of Versailles.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 38 (left) "Tongari-Kun" (2003-2004) by Takashi Murakami at "Murakami Versailles", November 2010
MIH Photo: 39 (middle) Japanese tourists watching "Flower Mantango" (d) (2001-2006) by Takashi Murakami in the "Hall of Mirrors" at "Murakami Versailles", November 2010
MIH Photo: 40 (right) "Oval Buddha" (2007-2010) by Takashi Murakami, at "Murakami Versailles", November 2010

Murakami was invited to exhibit his works in Versailles in 2010, after the American artist Jeff Koons in 2008 and the French artist Xavier Veilhan in 2009, and as pronounced in the catalogue; "…to examine the Chãteau de Versailles, and to allow it to examine itself." (Bousteau and Lavrador 2010)[129] As described in the catalogue, the exhibition of Murakami in Versailles represents a meeting between east and west, and between today and yesterday. According to Murakami, his art also represents a meeting between the three dimensional decorative elements in the chateau, which gives the castle a sense of authority, and the contradictory "superflat" philosophy of post war Japan. As mentioned above, Murakami created his superflat manifesto in 2001 in the exhibition called "Superflat". Although his flat art expressions lacks the perspective, texture and handmade traces of European art, Murakami claims that people in France have been able to understand and interpret Japanese art at a higher level ever since the Japonism period. (Bousteau and Lavrador 2010) Although Murakamis works are in one sense "super up to date", they also carry features of the past, as in the

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[129] Page 5

Manga tradition, rooted in the picture books of Hokusai in the nineteen century, (Meech-Pekarik and Weisberg 1990) the works of Kano Eitoku, a classical Japanese painter form the sixteenth century, and from traditional Buddhist iconology and mythology. Additionally Murakami is also inspired by European culture, for instance in his sculpture named "The Emperor's new clothes", which is a homage to the Danish fairytale writer H. C. Andersen. (Bousteau and Lavrador 2010)

As described in the catalogue Murakami is one of few international recognized Japanese artists, and many compare him with Andy Warhol because he managed to transform Japanese pop culture into high quality art expressions along with the development of the Manga culture, and through this he also contributed to the development of a new Japanese aesthetic. In addition he is also compared with Warhol because of the similarities in their way of producing art, in a factory like environment with several employees working as his assistants. By the way, it is interesting to notice that Murakami himself, in spite of the Japanese interest in French art, first learned about the Versailles Castle in France through a popular Manga in the seventies and eighties called "The Rose of Versailles" by the Japanese Manga artist Riyoko Ikeda, a story that also was adapted in a Japanese musical. Murakami estimates that over 20 percent of the Japanese population may have gained their knowledge on Versailles from this Manga. (Bousteau and Lavrador 2010)

To make a short summary; after the "opening of Japan" in the 1850s, a "Japan fever"; the Japonism developed in Europe and spread to America, along with other European Modernist styles, although Paris was still the leading city within the development of art and Modernism. Also Japanese artists were influenced by the development of Modernism and studied for a year or two in Paris. After World War II, New York took over the leading position in the art development. Today French Impressionism and Post Impressionism are still very popular in Japan. In western countries Contemporary art is dominating the art scene, particularly represented by Contemporary American art, secondly Contemporary German art. Only a few artists from other countries are recognized as equal to contemporary American and German artists in the West, among these is the Japanese artist Takashi Murakami.

2.1.8   Cultural capital, economic capital and conspicuous consumption

Corporate art can undoubtedly reveal cultural interest within a corporation, as well as reveal corporate taste. It can also reveal different levels of consumption, and what Veblen describes as conspicuous consumption, (Veblen and Mills

1994) as high quality and recognized art is obviously expensive to purchase. Possessing art in corporations may also be initiated by the desire of what Habermas describes as possessing status symbols, (Habermas 1988) on display for clients and visitors and in a similar way that the former bourgeoisie; and today many "newly rich" and "super rich" people show their expensive residences, cars and yachts, and as discussed below by purchasing expensive art. Thus also coprorate art can undoubtedly signalize high capital, both in respect of cultural capital and economic capital, as high quality art is also expensive.

2.1.8.1   *The contradictory interests of art and business*

There are several conflicts and contradictory interests between art and business. Although some business schools, for instance BI in Norway, show a considerable interest in art, and have started educational programs in the administration of art and culture, as well as doing research on art and business, the interest from the Norwegian art field seems limited. In fact many artists are critical of connecting with business at all, as art is considered to be autonomous and non commercial. How then, does the art field respond to corporations that support and collect art? This is an interesting counterpoint worth paying attention to. As Martorella claims, in its essence, visual art in corporate settings is "the coming together of antithetical pursuits." (Martorella 1990)[130] While corporations are quasi-rational with bureaucratic structures, artists are critical and creative.

Paradoxically, and in spite of the art field's traditional resistance and rejection of the business world, the latter continues to value and buy art on a large scale, also sometimes as patrons who provide opportunities to young artists to develop their artistic styles. As claimed in my Bachelor Thesis on the legitimization problems of visual art, the relation between art and business represent a "mutual exchange of power". (Hagen 1990) While the art field provides symbolic power attractive to business, to the degree that artists become role models within the business field as discussed in chapter 3.1.2.4, the business sphere provides economic power, which on the material level is attractive to the art field, although this is denied by most artists; who claim their art to be non-commercial. Still art is continuously offered for sale in various exhibitions, art galleries and art fairs, and the contradictory features of art, being both autonomous and non- commercial; not made for sale and at the same time exhibited for sale; prepares the ground for conflicts. As also described by Bourdieu, art is "a commodity not made for trade". (Broady 1985) According to Karlsten, Walter Benjamin was fascinated by Marx's analysis of the production of goods, and particularly the fetish character of commodities. To save the art from being reduced to a commodity with a fetish

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[130] Preface, page xi

character, he argues for an art criticism that will awake the self consciousness of, and fulfill the work of art as "the midwife" of the art. (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991)

In spite of the "eternal" conflicts in values and interest between the art world and the business world, the mutual trade relation between art and business seems unavoidable, as professional art is often too expensive to buy for ordinary people, or too big to hang in ordinary dwellings, while the business world usually has more money to buy expensive art, and more space to hang large sized art. By this the "eternal spiral" of power-exchange between the art world and the world of business continues, although most artists reject the existence of this commercializing mechanism. Instead visual artists continue to create art autonomously and independent for the future purchasers of their art. Additionally, many contemporary artists are still idealistically engaged in social and political matters as they were in the seventies, while others have become more narcissistic.

Some artists however, openly acknowledge the commercial feature of art, and take open advantage of the business factor of their art. Among these are world famous contemporary artists such as the British artist Damien Hirst and the American artists Jeff Koons and Richard Prince. As described by Crane; while traditional artists are concerned with other values, Hirst, Prince and Koons are more like entrepreneurs, with a lot of assistants who make the art on commission for the artists who may have as many as 80 – 130 assistants employed. (Crane 2010) While the art world used to be "a society", it has become "an industry" where the producers of art are no longer "art-thinkers" but "art-workers". Today super-rich collectors buy art from these artists at the most important art fairs and auctions, such as The Armory Show in New York, Frieze Art Fair in London, Art Basel Switzerland, and Art Basel Miami. According to Crane there are about 100 000 super-rich people in the world that use art as luxury goods. Art and fashion has become more equal, and Koons, Hirst and Prince have become brands, which is also an important aspect of fashion. (Crane 2010) According to David Halle, such art may also be bought unseen, and on the Internet, for instance at Saatchi Online, with about 65 000 artworks, serving about 80 000 clients who can also vote for the best pieces of art. Many of the new super-rich buyers are not even conscious about their own art preferences, and can buy Jeff Koons' "Red Balloon Dog" simply "because they love dogs", or because it reminds them about a dog they once had. (Halle 2010) Most of the collectors do not collect art because of its money value, but "just because they like it", although they do not always know why they like it. As described by Halle; 22 of

25 sample collectors in the Armory Show in New York buy art because they like it. The largest collectors only buy art they like. (Halle 2010)

Super-rich private collectors that buy expensive art "just because they like it" without knowing why, have obviously a low consciousness of art, and appears to look at art as a luxury article, similar to luxury cars and yachts. In that case, the art of artists in the genre of Hirst, Prince and Koons are luxury articles that contribute to display the social position, wealth and power of the owner in the term of conspicuous consumption. One could also question the actual art value of such art. According to the French philosopher Jean-Francois Lyotard, a great part of our culture today is marked by eclecticism, and by appearing as kitsch, the artist may "throw something together" in accordance with the taste of the "art-lover", which pleases the artist, the gallery owner, the critic and the public. As claimed by Lyotard;

> …this "whatever" reality is the reality of money: in the lack of aesthetical criteria it becomes possible and desirable to measure the artistic value of art in the value of money. (Lyotard 1986)[131]

One could ask, in this genre mentioned above where art has become an industry, and others than the artist himself are producing the artworks, where is the art factor? What is the essence of being an artist, if it is not for creating his or hers own artworks? It is true indeed, that also the old European masters had assistants working for them on their large scaled paintings, but these were pupils of the master, working on the artworks to learn the skills of painting and the paintings were usually one of a kind not mass produced. Today the industrial aspect of some of the art created by assistants has the expression of mass production. Art within the "Hirst, Prince and Koons genre" which have become luxury articles of consumption, drawing super-rich people to popular art fairs, exhibitions and Internet auctions can also be regarded as "populist art", because it has become a trend for super-rich people to buy such art so as to be equal to and able to compete with the other super-rich. In other words, many of the super-rich may not be interested in art per se, but only in the luxury value of art in order to display their own wealth and power.

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[131] Page 86 (My translation)

2.2 VISUAL ANALYSIS OF ART COLLECTIONS

2.2.1 Introduction

As presented in chapter 2.1.2 and discussed through the previous chapters; during my examinations of corporate art and architecture, I observed different qualities of corporate art collections that I regarded as relevant for my project. To repeat these qualities are: 1) Personality; corporate taste and the "zeitgeist" of corporate cultures, 2) Gender; the gender aspect that is embedded in art and art collections, 3) Pure art; the conspicuous absence of art that may be experienced as offending, 4) Spaces of art; diversities in how and where corporations display their art and art collections, 5) Territorial art; the territorial dimension of art and art collections, 6) Capital; cultural capital and pecuniary strength, (which sometimes appear as conspicuous consumption). In addition I also describe the dominating styles of each collection that influence the personality and other qualities of the collections, and contribute to make them comparable also in light of the time period and society in which they are founded. The analysis and interpretations of the art collections also implies perspectives that are coherent with semiotic "reading" as well as iconographic and iconological analysis and interpretations, as shown in my analysis of the graphic prints in chapter 2.1.1. Therefore I also make a brief summary of these coherences in chapter 2.2.7.1.

2.2.2 Norwegian art collections

2.2.2.1 Telenor Art Collection

The headquarters of the Norwegian telecommunication corporation Telenor, the Telenor Centre which is located at Fornebu near Oslo, is known for emphasizing contemporary art that is integrated in the architecture, and the first artwork that appears when entering the great plaza is the French conceptual artist Daniel Burén's "92 pillars on Telenor Torget". The roughly two meter high and similar coloured pillars are spread all over the plaza in linear rows, and become a dominating element in the total visual expression. They give the plaza both a mysterious character with associations of ritual places and a playful character due to the bright colours of the pillars, which make you tempted to run and play tag between them. The other conspicuous art work on the plaza is the American conceptual artist Jenny Holzers "Installation for Telenor", a moving red LED-display strip, appearing like a constantly running digital news strip placed on the top of the glass wall on the facade of the headquarters north building.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 41 (left) South-West side of "92 Pillars on Telenor-torget", by Daniel Burén (2002), Fornebu, Norway, January 2008
MIH Photo: 42 (middle) North side of "92 Pillars on Telenor-torget", by Daniel Burén (2002), Fornebu, Norway, January 2008
MIH Photo: 43 (right) North-East side of "92 Pillars on Telenor-torget", by Daniel Burén (2002), Fornebu, Norway, January 2008

The Telenor art collection was founded in 1998, and consists of more than 700 works of Contemporary art. It also includes a series of large monumental artworks commissioned for the new headquarters that was completed in 2002, and which are integrated as fixed installations both inside and outside of the buildings. The art is spread all over the headquarters in receptions, lobbies, cafeterias and public areas, while smaller pieces of art are hanging around on walls in the headquarters open planned office areas, and where they fit in. The monumental size of the new art acquisitions contributes to make the collection appear as visual and present. The collection mainly consists of Contemporary art created by recognized artists from Norway, Scandinavia and the international art scene. The artworks represent different techniques; such as floor decorations, mosaics, video art, photo installations, sculptures and painted surfaces based on the principles of murals. The recognized and high quality art makes the collection appear to have a high museum quality. Among the artists represented in the collection are; Daniel Burén (France), Liam Gillick (Britain), Peter Halley (USA), Richard Wright (Britain), Jenny Holzer (USA), Maria Miesenberger (Sweden), Torvald Moseid (Norway), Olav Christopher Jenssen (Norway), Jon Arne Mogstad (Norway) and Jone Kvie (Norway). (Volle and Schjønsby) In respect of gender, the art collection appear as rather masculine both because of the monumental and overwhelming size of many of the artworks which in the terms of Duncan "dwarfs the spectator", (Duncan 1992) and because mostly male artists are represented in the collection, as it appears in the catalogue on the art acquisitions for the new headquarters. Symptomatically eight of the presented artists are males, while only two are female. (Volle and Schjønsby)

Telenor's emphasize on high quality and international recognized Contemporary art reveals the knowledge on art and cultural capital among the decision makers.

The monumental and conspicuous appearance of the art collection also reflects a corporate culture marked by high cultural consciousness and economic strength. This also reflects the zeitgeist of the Norwegian society today; as a mature oil-state with high income, high level of democracy, individualism, high personal freedom, high security and finally; a government and politicians who support art economically, which is also regulated by law. As Norway has experienced a high growth in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) during the last decades, all these national features have expanded and Norway has managed to get through the economic recession in 2009 without too much damage to the national economy. The flexible and artist-like way of organizing the work at Telenor underpins the impression of a corporate culture that is harmonious to the zeitgeist of the society which is marked by high individualism and a high level of freedom. As purchasing high quality art is rather expensive, it reflects the current wealth in Norway, characterized by a new richness in a greater part of the population, where people can afford a consumption of goods and luxuries that was unthinkable some decades ago. In other words, the wealth that makes the acquisition of high quality art in a partly state owned corporation possible, also characterizes the Norwegian society and the mentality of most Norwegians at the present time.

Photographs removed

Telenor/J. Havran Photo: 44 (left) "The path leading to Nietzsche's house" (2002) by Olav Christopher Jenssen, Telenor HQ Fornebu, Norway
Telenor/T. Sandberg & F. Serck-Hanssen Photo: 45 (middle) "Conciens Lobby" (2001) by Liam Gillick, Telenor HQ Fornebu, Norway
Telenor/J. Havran Photo: 46 (right) "Half an Angel" (2002) by Maria Miesenberger, Telenor HQ Fornebu, Norway

Like most corporations Telenor usually avoid displaying art that may be experienced as offensive by employees and visitors. However some artworks are experienced as quite controversial and contribute to discussions among the employees. For instance Jenny Holzers running text strip which by many is experienced as controversial and close to being offensive because of the content of the text; a conversation about sexual abuse. According to employees they have become more used to the artwork over time. But there have also been some

occasions when artworks have been experienced as too offensive, and have had to be removed from the public area; among other a painting by the controversial Norwegian artist Bjarne Melgaard, discussed in chapter 2.1.5.3, that was considered to be experienced as blasphemous. The high quality of the art collection also communicates pecuniary strength, and makes the corporation appear as solid and reliable, which is "good for business". But the art collection that is accessible to all employees and visitors also communicates the emphasis on human values.

2.2.2.2   *The Statoil Art Collection*

The art collection in the headquarters of the Norwegian oil corporation Statoil, located at Forus, near Stavanger, mainly consists of contemporary Norwegian and Nordic art.[132] According to the president and CEO Helge Lund, the collection is more than twenty years old, but the year of founding seems unclear. This means that in the beginning the artworks were most likely purchased by accident. The art collection received a consultant to manage the collection in 1998, (Jenssen and Våga 2008) and the quality has probably increased after the consultant was brought in to the higher quality that the collection represents today. Collecting art seems to start by accident in many corporations. Perhaps it starts because someone in the management likes to decorate their office or the board room. The purchasing process may be accidental for a while, until someone suggests that they should systematize the art as a collection and from then begins to purchase artworks more consciously. As the headquarters of Statoil was built between 1975 and 1993, it seems reasonable to assume that the corporation started to collect art at around 1985, which is also harmonious to the age estimation of the collection made by the president and CEO in 2008; of "more than twenty years".

The art collection is integrated in the headquarters, and placed in most of the public areas; in corridors, staircases, meeting rooms, offices, coffee bars and cafeterias. It is highly visible and contains high quality art in different sizes and techniques; such as paintings, drawings, prints, photography, sculptures, installations and crafts; for instance some large sized ceramic jars, and several large sized paintings with rough brush strokes and bright colors. An interesting feature of how the collection is displayed is that some areas are prepared to house particular works of art which makes the room adapt to the art, the opposite of how art usually has to adapt to the room. Another practice is that a number of works made by the same artists for instance art made by the Norwegian artists Lage Opedal and Eivind Blake, are often gathered in the same corridor or office

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[132] "Nordic" usually refers to Scandinavia; Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland.

area, which creates a coherent display of the works of single artists. The different actions that are taken to arrange the art collection shows great thoughtfulness in respect of the collection. The headquarters also has some outdoor art represented by sculptures placed in atriums in the middle of the building complex.

In addition to including artworks of recognized Nordic artists, the collection also includes artworks created by younger artists, who are not yet as recognized as their established artist collogues. The selection of high quality Contemporary Norwegian and Nordic art shows a national and regional consciousness, which may reflect that the collection developed during the same period as Norway developed to become an oil-state. In the period approximately between 1970 and 2000, the Norwegian society was marked by a focus on national interests, partly because of the oil and partly because of the resistance against membership in the European Union. In other words, the zeitgeist of the period was marked by protecting national interests, such as the development of the national oil industry, and also to keep Norway outside of the EU. Additionally the consciousness of art and culture in the society has increased in Norway during the last decades and particularly after Norway has become a mature oil-state. But already in the nineteen seventies Norwegian artists gained a legal right to negotiate with the government in respect of issues such as compensation for the use of copyrighted art, public grants and the use of art in public buildings. As the zeitgeist of the Norwegian society between 1970 and 2000 was marked by national concern, economic growth and an increased interest in art and culture, this has probably also influenced the corporate culture of Statoil. Thus the collection reflects both the corporate culture and the zeitgeist of an "early-oil-state" underpinned by the Nordic dimension of the collection.

The limitation to Nordic art also reflects independence and the courage to create a collection with a personality that distinguishes itself from other contemporary corporate collections. Also employees seem to appreciate the art collection because it contributes to a feeling of ownership of the corporation, and both employees and visitors experience the art as exciting. As pronounced by Statoil:

> Art connect feelings and rationality in a way that give us unique opportunities of learning; development, amusement and creativity. (Jenssen and Våga 2008)

Although Norway has a high level of gender equality in respect of education and employment, and laws to regulate gender equality, females are still repressed within many areas, particularly in leading positions. According to Statoil, gender

equality is an important part of their employee policy, with 35% female employees, and 26% female leaders. In harmony to what is demanded by the law, the board of Statoil also has a 40% female representation.[133] Still, due to its many large sized artworks with a raw and masculine expression the art collection of Statoil appears as more masculine than feminine, although several female artists are also represented in the collection. This reflects that although the number of female students is equal to males, still most recognized artists are males and male art expressions seem to be encouraged and recognized more than female.

Symptomatically, the cover of the new book on the collection, "Pieces of energy" that was published by the corporation in 2008, (Jenssen and Våga 2008) is decorated by the artwork "Car crash" from 2007, created by one of the male artists represented in the collection, Eivind Blaker. The artwork on the cover of the book is depicting a yellow taxi, presumably a New York taxi in high speed colliding with another car, and with the word BRANG written in large red capital letters. In its expression the artwork is a paraphrase of the artworks of the American Pop artist Roy Lichtenstein, and similar to other artworks created by the same artist. For example another artwork presented in the same book depicts an explosion with large red capital letters BOOM. By rapidly counting the artists represented in the book, there are about 82 male artists and 36 female artists, which mean that a little over the third of the included artists are female, which show the dominating male representation in the collection, although it does have a relatively large quanta of female artists compared to other art collections. As mentioned, female representation is partly regulated by laws in Norway, and as Statoil is partly a state owned corporation the state may indirectly have an influence on the art collection, at least in respect of the use of money. Actually the name Statoil refers to "the oil of the state of Norway". The industry itself, oil production, is traditionally a male dominated industry. According to Statoil, 22% of the leading engineers are female,[134] while the amount of female employees working directly with oil emissions is probably lower. In other words, a masculine dominated art collection may reflect the male domination within the industry underpinning and signalizing that "this is a man's world". Thus the art collection may also reflect a male dominated corporate culture.

Statoil does not seem to display offending art. But obviously the collection contains some paintings that may be on the border of being offensive to some visitors or business partners. Among other, some paintings by the female Norwegian based artist Pâivi Laakso, who as mentioned in chapter 2.1.5.1 claims

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[133] Statoil Annual report, 2007
[134] Statoil Annual report, 2007

that her nude paintings were not included in the corporation's art book because they were advised by an anthropologist to exclude nude paintings in their book on the collection;[135] "Pieces of energy", (Jenssen and Våga 2008) as they could be offensive to some people. In addition the recent art acquisitions presented on the corporation's website also include art of the controversial artist Bjarne Melgaard, who as discussed in chapter 2.1.5.3 often draws on images of the pornographic mass culture, although seemingly not in the presented works. In addition the collection contains an artwork by the Norwegian artist Torbjørn Rødland named "Crucifixion"; a crucifix sculpture with a Christ figure seemingly made of light brownish balloons while the cross looks like twisted sausages and may potentially offend some employees or visitors.[136] Incidentally, an interesting aspect of such art expressions that obviously "makes fun of" Christian symbols, which I am not going to follow up here, is how the Western society and in this case the Norwegian society, legitimizes the mocking of Christianity, while the same society forbids the mocking of other religions, because that is regarded as offending people from other cultures. As the collection consists of high quality art, it also communicates pecuniary strength, although Contemporary Nordic art is not as expensive as internationally recognized art. Statoil is a core corporation in providing Norway with high income from the oil field through extraction of oil on the Norwegian continental shelf and therefore is able to buy more expensive art. At the same time the corporation has an obligation to be moderate, because it is partly owned by the Norwegian state, and to be extravagant in the use of money is probably not desirable. However revealed by my informant; today Statoil does consider purchasing more recognized international art, which may or may not be a good idea, because by abandoning the tradition of collecting Nordic art they are also abandoning the features that give the collection its genuine character and personality today.

2.2.3   US art collections

2.2.3.1   The Oracle art

My informant at Oracle headquarters in Redwood Shores, California, claim that they do not have an art collection in their headquarters. But they do have some art expressions, mostly medium and small sized decorative prints and several copies of the prints that are placed accidentally in some corridors and public areas. Due to the small sized and limited number of works, the art appears as rather invisible. The artworks seem to be made mostly by local and amateur

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[135] Aftenposten, 11.09.2010
[136] http://www.statoil.com/no/About/ArtProgramme/Elements/ArtCollection/Pages/NewArrivals.aspx (02.28.2011)

artists. There is no outdoor art at the Oracle headquarters, but there are a couple of decorative groups of natural stone and water. Although many large scale corporations in the USA have great art collections, the lack of an art collection also provide signals that can be interpreted. In this case it may reflect a change in the general interest of collecting art in US corporations. The headquarters was built between 1989 and 1998, and according to one of my informants an American art advisor, the popularity of collecting art in US corporations declined significantly from around 1990. Oracle moved into their present headquarters in 1989, and as revealed by my Oracle informant, the corporation experienced an economic down turn in the beginning of the nineties marked by an economic recession in the USA which reached its lowest point in 1991.[137] Because of this, the lack of a visible art collection may be explained by the economic crisis which made many corporations in the USA not prioritize owing an art collection. To the extent that this is the case at Oracle, the lack of a visible collection may reflect the zeitgeist of the society in the USA in the nineties, which may also have influenced the corporate culture of Oracle, seemingly with a lack of art interest.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 47 (left) Graphic print, Oracle HQ, Redwood Shores, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 48 (middle) Graphic print, Oracle HQ, Redwood Shores, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 49 (right) Corridor with Graphic prints, Oracle HQ, Redwood Shores, California, June 2009

However, the headquarters do have some distinctive architectural lobby decorations, appearing as different but visually related installations. The decorations in the circular lobbies are integrated into the interior design, and consist of the same types of materials; light and dark wood, steel, glass, plastic laminate and honed polished stone in different colours. In some lobbies there are glass installations created by the Napa Valley based glass artist Gordon Huether.[138] Although the lobbies are designed with much of the same materials, they are used in different ways in reception counters, columns and decorative

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[137] http://www.indexmundi.com/united_states/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)
[138] http://www.thewavemag.com/printarticle.php?articleid=25386 (01.29.09) and
http://www.gordonhueter.com/index.php?section=04.Portfolio (09.29.10)

floor patterns, and in large geometrical installations. There are also several seating groups and cafeterias in the lobbies and reception areas.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 50 (left) Lobby, Oracle HQ, Redwood Shores, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 51 (middle) Lobby, Oracle HQ, Redwood Shores, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 52 (right) Lobby, Oracle HQ, Redwood Shores, California, June 2009

While the lack of a visible art collection communicates a rather low interest in visual art, the high quality lobby decorations reveal a consciousness about signalizing "high quality" to the surroundings. The lack of an art collection in the public rooms makes a contrast to the lobby decorations and the overwhelming architectural expression of the headquarters. However because of the low number of artworks, which are seemingly made by locals and amateurs, the art alone does not communicate economic strength although the decorated lobbies and the emphasized architecture do. The modest expression of the displayed art is not a masculine quality; on the contrary, being quiet and modest is rather a typical feminine feature, in respect of the contradictory gender qualities described by Bourdieu; hard-soft, large-small, dominant-dominated, etc. (Bourdieu 2000) The artistic architectural decorations in the lobbies are masculine in size, but they also appear in soft shapes and light expressions, which gives them the appearance of rather mixed in respect of gender. As most of the prints represent abstract expressions with bright colors, they are hardly offending to anyone.

2.2.3.2   *The HP Art collection*

My informant at the headquarters of HP in Palo Alto, California, claims that they do not have an art collection. But actually they do have a large number of artworks made in different techniques and sizes, hanging around in corridors, staircases, meeting rooms, group rooms and cafeterias. HP moved into the headquarters in 1960, and apparently the art collection at the headquarters is mainly regional, created by Californian artists. The size of the artworks varies from large to medium, but many are rather large. The collection includes several techniques, such as paintings, drawings, prints and photographs. Many of the artworks seem to represent Pattern painting, a style or a movement that developed in the USA in the early nineteen seventies, and was practiced particularly by Californian artists. According to Martorella, people-oriented corporations purchase art from local artists more often than client-centered

corporations. (Martorella 1990) In that perspective, an interesting aspect of the HP collection is as expressed by my HP informant, that the founders of HP also emphasized human values more than material values, and in that sense they were more people-oriented than client-centered, as they apparently also purchased most local or Californian art.

Although some of the Pattern painters were also connected to the New York art world, the style seemed as described by Crane to lack a major constituency, and the main supporters of the style were regional museums and corporate collectors. Pattern painting seems to be popular among corporate collectors. In a study of 183 US corporations Crane found that Pattern painting was the second most preferred art style after Figurative art in corporate collections. (Crane 1987) Some of the Pattern painters were influenced by female crafts, such as quilts and Navajo blankets, while others were occupied by non-Western art. (Atkins 1997) Thus a characteristic feature of the HP art collection is the focus on geometrical shapes and patterns. But although many artists within this style were engaged in feminine crafts and quilts, the Pattern art at HP appear as masculine and technologically oriented. Another characteristic feature of the HP collection is that there are several series of artworks, each with a similar technique and type of motif, for instance a series of Pattern paintings, series of geometrical prints or series of photographs, as the line of window photographs in the cafeteria, taken inside of an old building with an iron and glass roof as in an old railway station, exhibition hall or port facilities.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 53 (left) Painting, HP HQ Palo Alto, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 54 (middle) Painting, HP HQ Palo Alto, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 55 (right) Painting, HP HQ Palo Alto, California, June 2009

Although the main impression is that the art collection mainly consists of geometrical patterns, there are also some interesting images with a more free expression made in mixed techniques. Due to the great number of large sized art, the art collection appears as present and visible. Still the employees usually do not pay much attention to the art, as it is not focused on or commented, but are regarded more like a part of the interior, or as mentioned by employees; placed on the wall "just to take up space". As described by an employee in respect of how employees and visitors talk about the art:

> I can't say a lot of them comment. Some of them comment on the lobby and initial entry (it looks a bit different as it's customer-facing) but up on my floor I do not hear much about the artwork, more about the condition of the room than the work on the wall.

In other words, the art collection of HP seems to be underestimated by employees, although many of the works can be identified within a particular style, and has high visibility. In addition, many of the art works have dynamic and interesting expressions.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 56 (left) Series of art prints, HP HQ Palo Alto, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 57 (right) Series of art prints, HP HQ Palo Alto, California, June 2009

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 58 (left) Art in employee cafeteria, HP HQ Palo Alto, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 59 (right) Photographs in employee cafeteria, HP HQ Palo Alto, California, June 2009

As mentioned, the corporation moved into the headquarters in around 1960, and the geometrical art expressions may reflect the high-tech orientation of the corporation at that time. Presumably the society in the post World War II America was marked by the space race between USA and the Soviet Union, which escalated after the Soviet Union's launching of Sputnik 1 in 1957. Thus the art collection with its technological expressions may reflect the zeitgeist of the US society after World War II, and probably also the corporate culture of HP. In addition, the headquarters of HP has little outdoor art, but there is one interesting outdoor artwork or more correctly two; the mosaic wall decorations on each side of the entrance of the old headquarters building, today the HP labs, which is laid in a pattern that actually also lends associations to space and space

technology. In other words, the HP art may catch the zeitgeist of both the US society, the corporate culture of HP; and probably also the corporate culture of similar high-tech industries that developed in the last part of the twentieth century in Silicon Valley.

Although the art collection is quite comprehensive, it does not seem to contain art that is known internationally. The quality of the art collection is average when seen as a whole, although it also seems to include some high quality art. Therefore the art collection itself does not signalize a very high level of economic capital, although strong economy is probably also a premise for the acquisition of several artworks in the collection. Similarly it signalizes a moderate art interest. Due to the relatively large sized artworks, the geometrical content and the dynamic and technological abstract expressions, the collection appears as convincingly masculine. But the geometrical art expressions are hardly experienced as offensive by any employees or visitors.

2.2.3.3   *The Chevron Art collection*

The Chevron art collection in Chevrons headquarters in San Ramon, California mainly consists of international, mostly primitive and antique arts and crafts, collected from the countries where they operate, which means more than 30 countries around the world including North America, the Middle East, Central Asia and countries such as Venezuela, Kazakhstan, Indonesia, Korea and Angola. In addition the collection also includes some contemporary American art and some outdoor sculptures in the park and in the atriums of the buildings. The corporation moved their headquarters from San Francisco to San Ramon in 2002, to a campus built around 1985. This means that the collection was most likely established between 1985 and 2002, and obviously it has grown to its present size and quality during the last decades.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 60 (left) Ceramic Vases, Chevron HQ, San Ramon, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 61 (middle) Asian Vase, Chevron HQ, San Ramon, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 62 (right) Asian Textile, Chevron HQ, San Ramon, California, June 2009

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 63 (left) Chinese Textiles, Chevron HQ, San Ramon, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 64 (right) Textile, Chevron HQ, San Ramon, California, June 2009

The collection is integrated in the headquarters, and is displayed in corridors, staircases, meeting rooms, offices and other public rooms. The works vary in form, size and material, from textiles, ceramic jars, Asian wood reliefs to Aboriginal paintings from Australia. Although the art collection is international, and the corporation has information labels on each art object, most of the artists are by the nature of the works not well known. The objects in the collection reflect the national diversity within a corporation that has many employees from all around the world. The collection contributes to create a particular atmosphere, where employees from various parts of the world may feel at home due to the global and ethnic character of the collection. As described by an employee; "the art collection improves my well-being at work, and strengthens my feeling of belonging to the company". By underpinning the diversity embedded in the globally operating corporation, the collection seems to reflect corporate values such as; integrity, trust, diversity, and partnership, and thus it also reflect the globally oriented spirit of the corporate culture.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 65 (left) Outdoor sculpture, Chevron HQ San Ramon, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 66 (middle) Print on aluminum plates, Chevron HQ San Ramon, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 67 (right) Sculpture in outdoor atrium, Chevron HQ San Ramon, California, June 2009

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 68 (left) Asian Woodcut, Chevron HQ, San Ramon, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 69 (right) Aboriginal painting, Chevron HQ, San Ramon, California, June 2009

An interesting aspect of the multi ethnic representation of the Chevron collection is the similarity with the American society that is also marked by high diversity and a "multi ethnic population", although the diversity in the American society also represents social problems. Still, the USA today emphasizes equality and tolerance between different ethnic groups. Thus the multi ethnic representation of the objects in the Chevron collection may reflect a core value of the corporate culture, as well as of the American society. In respect of gender, the collection appears as mixed representing both masculine and feminine art expressions and art objects. A great part of the collection are textiles and home utilities; such as blankets, robes and vases, which in accordance with traditional schemata for gender values; as described by Bourdieu and others, (Bourdieu 2000) the collection is to a high degree connected to female and home activities. The art collection appears as large and visible, and the carefully arranged objects contribute to give the Chevron headquarters a warm and harmonic atmosphere. The acquisition of art objects is made by an art committee, advised by an external art curator. As primitive and antique art is rather expensive in acquisition, the collection signalizes high economic capital. But it also signalizes cultural and human values, art interest and cultural capital.

2.2.3.4   *The JPMorgan Chase Art Collection*

The JPMorgan Chase bank, headquartered in New York, has one of the world's largest corporate collections, consisting of more than 30 000 pieces of art spread in 450 locations. The collection was established in 1959, by the president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, David Rockefeller. It is dominated by contemporary post World War II art, with a large number of Contemporary American art as well as international art. Over 100 nations are represented in the collection that is integrated in the corporation's world headquarters and other office buildings, in corridors, open common spaces, receptions, lobbies, meeting rooms and offices. It contains a great number of techniques; paintings, drawings, prints, photography, sculptures and installations, and lately some historical corporate artifacts and banking utilities are also included in the collection. The collection

has a high international museum quality, and a great number of world famous and internationally recognized post World War II and contemporary artists are represented in the collection, among others; Joseph Albers (Germany-USA), Jean Dubuffet (France), Adolph Gottlieb (USA), Joseph Beuys (Germany), Andy Warhol (USA), Donald Judd (USA), Jasper Johns (USA), Robert Motherwell (USA), Joseph Kosuth (USA), Nam June Paik (South-Korea), Roy Lichtenstein (USA), Ed Ruscha (USA), Bruce Nauman (USA), Jeff Koons (USA), Gilbert and George (Britain), Alexander Calder (USA), Julian Schnabel (USA), Jenny Holzer (USA), Cindy Sherman (USA), Maya Ying Lin (China-USA), Keith Haring (USA) and Jean-Michel Basquiat (USA). (Erf, Roe et al. 2008)

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 70 (left) "Marilyn", by Andy Warhol (1968), JPMorgan Chase HQ, NY, June 2009
MIH Photo: 71 (right) Painting, unknown artist, JPMorgan Chase HQ, New York, June 2009

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 72 (left) "Phil" by Chuck Close (1980), JPMorgan Chase HQ, New York, June 2009
MIH Photo: 73 (right) "Turbulence" by Adolph Gottlieb (1964), JPMorgan Chase HQ, New York, June 2009

The internationally oriented collection may both reflect the globalization of the American society today as well as American business life, with corporate branches and employees spread all over the world and which presumably also has lead to more internationalized corporate cultures that are marked by the global transactions of money and labor as described by Sassen and others. (Sassen 2008) As the headquarters is placed in a metropolitan environment, the possibility for outdoor art is limited, but in 1972 a well known sculpture created

by Jean Dubuffet was placed in front of the corporations Wall Street office at One Chase Manhattan Plaza, in the business district of Manhattan. (Martorella 1990) In respect of gender, the collection as a whole appears as masculine rather than feminine. According to Duncan, the post World War II American art was marked by an aggressive masculine coding, (Duncan 1992) and a great part of the artworks in the collection belongs to the post World War II art styles, among other several works within Abstract Expressionism, Pop art and Neo Expressionism. As described in chapter 2.1.4 female artists such as Audrey Flack, had problems with being recognized within the male dominated Abstract Expressionism, and it is still difficult for female artists to be recognized equally alongside male artists. As in many other corporate collections the gender representation in the JPMorgan Chase collection seems to be dominated by male artists. In the catalogue "Collected Visions", from an exhibition of the JPMorgan Chase collection in Dubai in 2008, 46 male artists and 14 female artists are presented. In other words, about a fourth part of the represented artists are female. This also reflects the gender situation in the post World War II society. In spite of the women's liberation movements that have struggled for gender equality in the last part of the twentieth century, female artists still have a long way to go before they are equally represented in art museums and art collections. The representation of gender in the collection also reflects that there are less professional female artists in the society than male artists, in spite of that an equal number of females and males are educated within the visual arts in most Western countries today.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 74 (left) Historical bank objects, JPMorgan Chase HQ, New York, June 2009
MIH Photo: 75 (right) Photo by Robert Mappelthorpe, JPMorgan Chase HQ, New York, June 2009

As with most corporations JPMorgan Chase also seems to avoid displaying offending art in their art collection. That does not mean that some artworks may not be challenging and contribute to discussions, for example the graffiti like style of the Afro-American artist Jean-Michel Basquiat. The collection also has

art works made by artists that on other occasions have created art with a content that some may find offensive, for instance by the British based and collaborative artist partners Gilbert and George discussed in chapter 2.1.5.1. As described in the exhibition catalogue "Collected Visions" from 2008 their works; "…combines visual playfulness with conceptual rigor and addresses a wide range of social issues, taboos and artistic conventions." (Erf, Roe et al. 2008)[139] Many consider Gilbert and George to be controversial, as they often push the limits towards offending or a blasphemous content in their art, such as bodily fluids and crucifixes, but at the same time the "shocking themes" in their art is modified by a humoristic approach. The collection also contains some works by another artist that many consider as controversial; the American art photographer Robert Mappelthorpe, also discussed in 2.1.5.1. However the included images of Mappelthorpe depicting flowers in vases are hardly experienced as offensive by anyone. The same is most likely the case also with the works of Gilbert and George, as seemingly none of their artworks with a potentially "shocking" content seems to be represented in the collection.

The art collection of JPMorgan Chase was established in 1959, still in the Post World War II period, while the world was occupied by "rebuilding the world", and the zeitgeist of many societies was marked by the eagerness of restoring the damages from the war and to "restart" the society. Most likely this also influenced many corporate cultures. The interest in contemporary post World War II art indicates that also the JPMorgan Chase art collection reflects the zeitgeist of the Western culture in this period, and of the following decades. Many artworks in the collection represent Abstract Expressionism which as claimed by Braadland formed a contrast to the Realistic Soviet art in the same period that was also marked by the cold war between the USA and the former Soviet Union, described in chapter 2.1.5.1, along with other abstract styles that evolved in the wake of Abstract Expressionism, such as Pop art and Minimalism. (Braadland 2008) The cold war lasted until the demolition of the Berlin Wall in 1989. But the post war abstract art in the US also represent a contrast to the former Nazi art preferences, as abstract art was condemned by the Nazis, and considered as degenerated, while they worshipped Romantic art, such as the art of the German painter Caspar David Friedrich, who they held up as representing "the true German spirit". (Hinz 1980) Because of this many European artists fled to the USA before World War II, and inspired their American colleagues in the degree that USA got a leading position in the international art world for several decades. As described by Crane;

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[139] Page 54

> The decades following World War II were unique in the history of American art. Prior to that time…the country had never before produced art styles that influenced artists in other countries, particularly those of Europe. Beginning with Abstract Expressionism, New York became the acknowledged center of the avant-garde art world, disseminating styles that were widely imitated by foreign artists… (Crane 1987)[140]

Although the art collection is represented by a wide range of international artists, a great part of the collection represents American post World War II artists, who have contributed to create new international art styles during the last half century. An interesting aspect of the collection is that it also includes artworks created by foreign artists within art styles that are obviously influenced by the post World War II American art styles. The art collection of JPMorgan Chase is one of the greatest, most famous and most impressive corporate collections in the world. It is also listed among 62 international corporate collections on "The best collections" list in the International Directory of Corporate Art Collections.[141] Obviously it contributes to form the identity of the corporation, and to signalize cultural and human values. The impressive and comprehensive collection also signals high economic capital as the high quality art has high economical value. But it also signals high art interest and great knowledge on art, and the exceptional quality of the collection also reveals high cultural capital among the decision makers.

2.2.3.5   *Davis Wright Tremaine LLP Art Collection*

The US law firm Davis Wright Tremaine LLP (DWT) has about 3000 employees in five offices; Seattle, Portland, Bellevue, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The firm is mainly operating within the USA, and in China. The law firm is a bit smaller than the other corporations in this study, and it is not the world headquarters of a large scale corporation as in the other cases. Still I have chosen to include this law firm, as it has an interesting and considerable art collection in their San Francisco office that was established in 1991. It consists of over 100 works of contemporary art, mainly Northwest American art (about 70%). But the collection also has some art from abroad (about 30%), and a couple of ethnic artworks. The collection represents several techniques, such as paintings, etchings, woodcuts, sculptures, photography and mixed media which are mostly large to medium sized. The artworks are displayed in the most common spaces; conference rooms, offices, corridors and cafeterias. According to my informant the employees are interested in art, and like to have a variety of art to look at, or

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[140] Page 1
[141] http://home.earthlink.net/~corporate.directory/id4.html (01.24.2011)

as pronounced; "something that is visually interesting". The art in the collection is of high quality, revealing cultural capital among the decision makers and it is also listed among 62 international collections in "The best collections" list in the International Directory of Corporate Art Collections.[142] Because of its high quality, it also reflects pecuniary strength.

Photographs removed

S. Locke Photo: 76 (left) Sculpture by Ann White, DWT LLP San Francisco office, June 2009
S. Locke Photo: 77 (middle) Painting by Charles Arnoldi, DWT LLP San Francisco office, June 2009
S. Locke Photo: 78 (right) Installation by Seiko Tachibana, DWT LLP San Francisco office, June 2009

An interesting feature of the collection is that it was established in 1991 in a time period when the USA was marked by an economic crisis. After a high GDP growth at the end of the nineteen eighties the US economy declined in a recession at the beginning of the nineteen nineties.[143] So did corporate collecting. While collecting art had been popular among corporations in the nineteen eighties, the interest declined after 1990. Although it may be logical for corporations to stop purchasing art when the national economy is weak as this often influences a country's business life as well, obviously some businesses think differently or they may be less influenced by the national recession. Purchasing art is also a matter of human values and therefore times of crisis may potentially also be a good time for purchasing art as a factor of motivation and encouragement. The slogan of the firm is "Defining success together",[144] and reflects a corporate culture marked by a desire for collaboration. As the DWT collection seemingly also contains Pattern painting which as mentioned above was particularly practiced in California, it may also indicate, as claimed by Martorella, that the more local or "close" the art is, the more people oriented is the corporation. (Martorella 1990) As the collection is friendly and inviting, it contributes to create a calm and optimistic atmosphere, but it also has several experimental and colorful artworks which makes the collection exciting. A calm and optimistic atmosphere is by the way also the typical spirit of San Francisco, a city that is known for its diversity, relaxed atmosphere and high tolerance.

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[142] http://home.earthlink.net/~corporate.directory/id4.html (01.24.2011)
[143] http://www.tradingeconomics.com/economics/gdp-growth.aspx?Symbol=USD (01.31.2011)
[144] http://www.dwt.com/Offices/SanFrancisco (01.24.2011)

The Flower Power Movement developed in San Francisco in the late nineteen sixties around the Haight and Ashbury streets, particularly after "the summer of love" in 1967, and connected to musicians and bands such as the Grateful Dead, Country Joe and Janis Joplin, who lived in the area at that time. San Francisco is also known for high tolerance to gay people, and has an area dedicated to homophiles, the Castor area. Within visual art, a particular style developed in San Francisco in the post World War II period between the 1940s and 1960s initiated both by an attraction and a repulsion of the Abstract Expressionism in New York, called the Bay area Figurative style, that was depicting landscapes from the Bay Area and still life paintings, as in the works of Richard Diebenkorn, Paul Wonner and Wayne Thiebaud, the latter known for his paintings of pies and cakes.[145] Due to the high tolerance to diversity, the city is also overflowed by homeless people from other parts of the USA. Because of this and the economic recession in the latest years, San Francisco has also become marked by poor and homeless people, and certain areas are marked by high crime.

Among the artists represented in the DWT collection is the Los Angeles based Charles Arnoldi, who seemingly is working within Pattern art, creating large scaled paintings of different patterns with bright colors and rough brush strokes. Among the other artists in the collection are the Japanese artist Seiko Tachibana, and the South Californian artist Ann White. Although the collection contains contemporary art, it has a rather light and refined expression, the opposite to many other contemporary collections with mostly monumental and raw art expressions. In respect of gender, both the harmonic atmosphere, the representation of female artists and several feminine as well as masculine coded art expressions makes the collection appear as rather mixed. The art in the collection also appears as none offending.

2.2.4   Japanese art collections

2.2.4.1   *Panasonic Electric Works Art Collection*

In Japan several corporations keep their art collections gathered in internal art museums located within their headquarters, or in external museums located outside of the headquarters. Panasonic Electric Works has their art collection gathered in an in-house art museum in their headquarters in Tokyo. The museum named the Shiodome Museum Rouault Gallery opened in 2003, the same year as the completion of the corporation's present headquarters building. The art museum is located on the fourth floor of the building and it is easily recognizable

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[145] In 2009 I had the great pleasure of visiting a Thiebaud exhibition in San Francisco together with Howard Becker.

when entering the floor by the escalator or elevator. The central location makes it also easy accessible for employees who like to visit the museum.

The core of the collection consists of approximately 200 artworks by the French artist Georges Rouault, who is also the source for the name of the museum, which according to the museum is the only museum in the world that actually wears the name of Rouault. (Masuko, Hagiwara et al. 2010) In addition to the works of Rouault, the collection also contains about 50 works made by other artists, such as glass paintings made by the Japanese artist Yasuhiko Kida.[146] The style of Rouault's works is within a variation of late French Fauvism, mostly from the first part of the twentieth century, 1900-1940, and the collection includes paintings, drawings and graphic prints, all in small to moderate sizes, created by Rouault during these decades. Rouault was among other things concerned with colonial issues, and his works are characterized by rough black paintbrush contours. His works are also described as grotesque, and some, such as Duncan claims that he depicted decadent and morally monstrous women. (Duncan 1992) But as Rouault's works are often more humoristic than shocking, they are presumably not experienced as offensive, compared with the more shocking variants of contemporary art today. A striking quality of the works of Rouault is by the way how the rough, black or dark colored paintbrush strokes of the artist are reminiscent of the paintbrush strokes in Japanese calligraphy, particularly in large scaled calligraphy as exhibited in the old Buddhist temple with the Rock Garden in Kyoto (photo 81). Because of the rough, dark and heavy expression that characterizes the works of Rouault, and in spite of the relatively small to medium sized artworks, the collection appears as rather masculine.

Photographs removed

MIH Photo: 79 (left) Front cover of Ambroise Vollard: "Réincarnations du pére Ubu" (1932), by Georges Rouault, in "Georges Rouault pour Ubu", Panasonic EW Shiodome Museum, Tokyo, 2010
MIH Photo: 80 (middle) Exhibition poster "Georges Rouault pour Ubu", Panasonic EW Shiodome Museum, Tokyo, 2010
MIH Photo: 81 (right) Calligraphic work, the Rock Garden, Kyoto, June 2010

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[146] http://panasonic-denko.co.jp/corp/museum/en/collection/ (02.15.2011)

The collection also reflects the general Japanese interest in the Western world and Western art, particularly in French Impressionism and styles in the wake of Impressionism, as here in Fauvism. The preference of Impressionism and early twentieth century French art seems to be a common preference for several corporations that collect art in Japan, as several corporate collections contain French art from the same period. The admiration of the early modernist French styles may be characterized as nostalgic, and seemingly this nostalgic admiration of early French modernism applies to a great part of the art interested people in Japan, which reveals a nostalgic zeitgeist in the Japanese society. One factor that may have contributed to this is the fall in the GDP growth in Japan after 1990,[147] which was worsen by the global economic recession that also marked the Japanese economy in 2009.[148] Although Japan in many ways represents an "ultra modern" and high tech society, it is also characterized by a lot of present and visible features from the old Japanese culture, such as the great number of Buddhist temples and Shinto Shrines, that appear "everywhere" between high tech and modern buildings. Thus parallel to being ultra modern and forward oriented, Japan carries strong nostalgic values and traditions from the past mixed with an ultra modern innovative culture. Obviously the common Japanese interest in early modernist French art also reflects a yearning for foreign impulses, that were temporarily put aside during World War II.

Besides its permanent collection, the Shiodome museum also arranges thematic exhibitions, as in the spring of 2010 in an exhibition called "Georges Rouault pour Ubu". This exhibition displayed Rouault's illustrations to texts made by the famous French art dealer Ambroise Villard, a central figure in the early twentieth century French art world, gathered in the book "Réincarnations du Père Ubu" from 1932. In this exhibition the museum also displayed art borrowed from the Idemitsu Museum of Arts and various other private collectors. (Masuko, Hagiwara et al. 2010) The early twentieth century collection and the in-house art museum at the headquarters of Panasonic Electric Works communicate pecuniary strength. Not at least, through the corporations emphasis on the art museum which is functioning as an independent museum led by a managing director, a professional art curator and others to support the museum, it signals a distinguished art interest, with a high emphasis on art historical knowledge, which also implies high cultural capital among the founder and leaders.

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[147] http://www.indexmundi.com/japan/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.25.2011)
[148] http://www.tradingeconomics.com/Economics/GDP-Growth.aspx?Symbol=JPY (02.01.2011)

2.2.4.2   Idemitsu Kosan Art Collection

The art collection of the Japanese oil corporation Idemitsu Kosan consists of approximately 15 000 items,[149] gathered in an in-house art museum in the headquarters of the corporation. The Idemitsu Museum of Arts was established in 1966 to display the collection of Sazo Idemitsu, the founder of the Idemitsu Corporation Ltd. founded in 1911.[150] The museum is located on the ninth floor of the headquarters of Idemitsu Kosan in Marunouchi, Chiyoda-ku, in Tokyo. The collection mainly consists of historical and antique Japanese arts and crafts such as textiles, porcelain, ceramics, Japanese painting and calligraphy, including two National Treasures, and fifty-one important Cultural Properties.[151] But it also contains arts and crafts from China, Korea and Eastern Asia, and some modern art, among others by the Japanese artist Kosugi Hõan, the French artist Georges Rouault and the American artist Sam Francis.[152] Through a temporarily loan arrangement with the Munch Museum in Oslo, the museum also exhibit paintings by the Norwegian painter Edward Munch. It is an interesting connection between Munch and the Idemitsu Museum of Arts, as Idemitsu Kosan has been an important supporter of the Munch Museum in Oslo, Norway. In 1993 the corporation contributed economically to the rehabilitation and extension of the Munch Muesum, and as a part of the agreement the Idemitsu Museum of Arts has been borrowing three artworks of Munch every year during the last fifteen years, and because of this, several of Munch's masterpieces have been exhibited in the Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Tokyo.[153]

In 2007 the corporations Norwegian branch; Idemitsu Petroleum Norge, donated four million Norwegian kroner to the Munch Museum in Oslo, with the purpose of doing research, and to realize the conservation and exhibition of the "Scream" and "Madonna",[154] two of Munch's most famous artworks that were stolen some years ago, but which were found and returned with insignificant damages to the Munch Museum a couple of years later. The Norwegain branch of the Idemitsu Kosan, Idemitsu Petroleum Norge is also one of the sponsors of the Munch Museum.[155] Another interesting connection between Munch himself and Japan in general is that Munch, who as mentioned in chapter 2.1.7.3 similar to many of his artist colleagues at the end of the nineteen century was highly inspired by Japanese art, and particularly by Japanese woodcuts, such as the works of

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[149] http://www.idemitsu.co.jp/museum/english/index.html (02.15.2011)
[150] http://www.idemitsu.com/company/history.html (01.19.2011)
[151] http://www.idemitsu.co.jp/museum/english/index.html (02.15.2011)
[152] http://www.idemitsu.co.jp/museum/english/index.html (02.15.2011)
[153] http://www.idemitsu.no/csr.aspx (12.29.2010)
[154] http://www.idemitsu.no/csr.aspx (12.29.2010)
[155] http://www.munch.museum.no/ (12.29.2010)

Katsushika Hokusai who became popular with his "Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji" from about 1825, in the Edo period. (Terukazu 1961)

MIH Photo: 82 (left) Idemitsu Kosan HQ, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 83 (right) Tea House, Shogun fortress, Kyoto, June 2010

The Idemitsu Museum of Art also arranges thematic exhibitions along with their permanent collection, and in the spring and summer of 2010 they arranged an historical exhibition on the Tea Ceremony; in Japanese "chanoyu", displaying antique porcelain cups, teapots and other objects that are crucial for performing the traditional tea ceremony, such as the painted folding screens; in itself worth studying, paper scrolls, vases for flowers and so on. As described in an exhibition brochure at the museum:

> The characteristics of items carefully selected and prepared for the interaction of people through tea drinking clearly reflect the sensitivity and the aesthetics of the host of the ceremony.[156]

In other words, one might say that the objects used in tea ceremonies also reveal the taste of the host, and probably also his or her pecuniary strength functioning as status symbols, similar to aesthetical objects in the Western world. Similar to the corporation's core collection, most of the objects in the exhibition were arts and crafts from Japan and China. As mentioned in chapter 2.1.7.3, the Asian continent mainly represented by China and the Chinese dynasties, had a significant influence on the development of Japan and the cultural traditions of Japan through history, although many of the originally Chinese traditions have been transformed into genuine Japanese traditions, for instance the custom of tea drinking that was imported from China by Zen priests during the late twelfth century. (National Museum 2008) As described in the exhibition brochure at the museum:

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[156] Foreword, by Idemitsu Museum of Arts, (probably the foreword of the exhibition catalogue).

It is our aim to see how our aesthetics developed through tea drinking, looking back from the viewpoint of beauty of function, and also searching for the distinctive qualities of Japanese art.[157]

The Japanese tea ceremony developed in the Muromachi period between 1392 and 1573, where the wealthy "Daimyo"; feudal lords, practiced a tea ceremony that included expensive imported utensils. Simultaneously another tradition developed, where tea was enjoyed in humble settings. This tea ceremony was developed to its highest level by the tea master Sen no Rikyu in the fifteen hundreds. The tea ceremony plays a significant role within Japanese art and culture, as the Japanese expressions "wabi" and "sabi", that describes the uniqueness of the Japanese aesthetics, is rooted in the tea ceremony and the objects used in the ceremony. (National Museum 2008) While "wabi" refers to simplicity and quietness, "sabi" refers to the beauty of age, patina, or something that is dignified by use or by the irregular marks of the craftsman. In art books wabi sabi is often interpreted as "flawed beauty",[158] and as described by the Tokyo National Museum: "This aesthetics can be seen in the irregular shapes and surface textures of vessels used in the tea ceremony." (National Museum 2008)

The emphasized collection of art and crafts reveals high cultural capital and a strong interest in the development of Japanese and East Asian culture, although it also includes some Western art. The many antique arts and crafts objects from Japan, China and East Asia that are included in the collection, reflect a national and regional interest that may have emerged in the post World War II period, and which presumably also marked the Japanese society during that period, as most countries that were involved in World War II were in a stage of rebuilding the society. In other words; as the art collection reflects a national and nostalgic interest, it may also reflect the zeitgeist of the Japanese post World War II period which presumably also marked corporate cultures in Japan at the time. As mention above, the decline in economical growth in Japan during the last decades may also explain some of the nostalgic notions in the Japanese society today.[159] In respect of gender, the collection consists of both masculine and feminine objects, the latter particularly connected to the many home utilities, represented by textiles, clothes, ceramic pottery and porcelain. As the art collection includes a lot of feminine as well as masculine features, the collection appears as mixed. The collection of Idemitsu Museum of Arts is described in many tourist guidebooks and maps of Tokyo. Through this it is well known and visited by a

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[157] Foreword, by Idemitsu Museum of Arts, (probably the foreword of the exhibition catalogue).
[158] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wabi-sabi (12.28.2010)
[159] http://www.tradingeconomics.com/Economics/GDP-Growth.aspx?Symbol=JPY (02.01.2011)

lot of people from Japan and abroad. As antique art and crafts are expensive in acquisition, the collection also communicates high pecuniary strength.

2.2.4.3   Bridgestone Art Collection

Similar to several other corporate collections in Japan, the Bridgestone art collection is gathered in an in-house art museum. The Bridgestone Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, named after the founder Ishibashi Shojiro, is located on the second floor of the corporation's headquarters in Tokyo; the Bridgestone Building. The founder was inspired by the Museum of Modern Art in New York when he founded the museum. Translated, the name Ishibashi means "stone bridge", which means that the name of the corporation, Bridgestone, is based on this family name. (Curatorial-Department 2009) Conveniently the name also refers to road surfaces consisting of bridge stones, as Bridgestone is a tire manufacturer originally producing tires for automobiles. Presumably Bridgestone is known by people all over the world, in as much as they have cars or vehicles that need tires. The art collection that opened in 1952 the same year as the completion of the headquarters building, includes over 1800 artworks, and consists of a variety of ancient twentieth century and contemporary Japanese and Western art, the latter particularly represented by French Impressionism, Post Impressionism and Fauvism. The represented techniques are paintings, drawings, prints and sculptures. Among the ancient sculptures are also Hellenistic marble sculptures and Greek jars. Among the older European painters the Dutch Rembrandt van Rijn and the French Jean A. D. Ingres are represented, and from the late nineteen century a large number of French artist representing Realism, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism and Fauvism, such as; Gustave Courbet, Honoré Daumier, Édouard Manet, Edgar Degas, Paul Cézanne, Claude Monet, Auguste Renoir, Paul Gauguin, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri Matisse, Georges Rouault, and the Dutch Vincent van Gogh. Additionally also works of early abstract painters are included such as the Russian painter Vasily Kandinsky and the Swiss-German Paul Klee, the cubists painters Pablo Picasso and Fermand Leger, and some surrealist painters such as the Russian Marc Chagall and the Italian Giorgio De Chirico. The collection also contains an early work by Jackson Pollock. (Curatorial-Department 2009)

One photo removed
MIH Photo: 84 (left) Outdoor sculpture, Bridgestone Building, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 85 (right) Bridgestone Building, Tokyo, June 2010

Although the museum opened in 1952, the acquisition of art is usually a continuous process in most art collections and museums, which means that artworks are purchased over time. In this case, the founder of the museum actually started to collect early twentieth century Japanese art before World War II, while he extended his collecting to include French Impressionist and Post Impressionist art after the war when many Japanese collectors were selling out artworks from their collections in order to restore their assets as mentioned in chapter 2.1.7.3. (Curatorial-Department 2009) Additionally, as claimed by Jacobson, incidents in the global economy some decades later led to a strong yen in the nineteen eighties, and may also have led to a growth in the art acquisition from the West, particularly in respect of styles such as Impressionist and Post Impressionist art, and also some contemporary American art. (Jacobson 1993) However as many Japanese artists went to France and Paris to study art before and around 1900, these also brought the interest of early European Modernism back to Japan, and made the Japanese artists adopt what is called a Western-style of painting. Thus maybe the most interesting aspect of the Bridgestone art collection is that it also includes a great number of Japanese painters from the Impressionist period, who are clearly inspired by French Impressionism and the following styles. (Curatorial-Department 2009)

Several of the Japanese painters spent a year or two in Paris and France during the Impressionist and the following periods, such as Asai Chu, who studied in Paris for two years from 1900 to 1902, and whose work is clearly marked by French Impressionism. The works of Okada Saburosuke who also studied in Paris in the beginning of the nineteen hundreds, is particularly interesting because he combines the European style with Japanese traditions, as in an Impressionist inspired painting depicting a Japanese woman wearing a kimono. (Curatorial-Department 2009) Other Japanese artists who came to Paris around

the nineteen twenties, such as Saeki Yuzo, also created an interesting mix of the French and Japanese styles of that period. Yuzo is depicting outdoor cafés and ordinary places in Paris in paintings that includes depicted posters and signs with roughly painted black text pinned up on the café walls and written in European characters. This gives his paintings an interesting expression, as the roughly painted characters also are reminiscent of Japanese calligraphy and roughly painted Japanese signs.

Japan was closed for nearly 300 years in the Edo period from 1603 to the last part of the eighteen hundreds, and as mentioned in chapter 2.1.7.3, after the opening of the country Japan participated in the World Exhibition in Paris in 1867. By going to Paris at that time, Japanese artists found a city that had become the heart of the art development, and the cradle of new and progressive art styles, starting with Realism and its politically engaged artists, among others Courbet who was engaged in the 1871 Paris Commune, and later was held responsible for the destruction of the Vendôme Column, "…which Napoleon III had doted upon". (Harvey 2003)[160] Realism was followed by the then rebellious Impressionism in the eighteen seventies, together with the appearance of Modernism, the symbolic "superstructure" of the new art styles in the coming century. No wonder that Paris and the art development at that time made a great impression on artists from the long locked Japan.

Due to the diversity of the collection, where the expressions spans from soft and light to rough and dark expressions, the collection appear as rather mixed in respect of gender, in spite of that there are less female artists represented in the collection than males. Seemingly the art collection of the Bridgestone Corporation consists of art that most people experience as decent and none offending. The interest in early Modernism represented by French Impressionism, Japanese Western style painting from the Impressionist period and styles that developed in the wake Impressionism, makes the Bridgestone art collection reflect a nostalgic interest in earlier styles, similar to several other Japanese collections, and reflect what seems to be a common "zeitgeist" within Japanese corporations. As mentioned above, the nostalgic interest may be a result of the relatively low economic growth in Japan during the last decades, but an interesting aspect of the nostalgic tendencies is that it is concentrated both on national and foreign art. Presumably the time period in which the collection was established in a museum, in 1952, the early post World War II period, may also have led to a particular nostalgic interest in pre war art, both national and Western. This interest may also reflect the corporate culture and the zeitgeist

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[160] Page 328

within Japanese corporations also in the nineteen fifties. The high museum quality collection of Bridgestone has a considerable size, and signals high economic capital. The emphasis on the collection, with its diversity of styles and world famous epoch making artists, also communicates high cultural capital.

2.2.5   French art collections

2.2.5.1   Cartier

The art collection of the French jeweler firm Cartier is displayed in an external art museum; the Foundation Cartier pour l'art Contemporain, that was established in 1984 by Alain Dominique Perrain, the president of Cartier International, (Cartier SA). In 1994 the collection moved from its first location in Chãteau de Montcel in Jouy-en-Josas south west of Paris to its present location, a new museum building designed by the French architect Jean Nouvel, and located near Montparnasse in Boulevard Raspail in Paris. (Charles, Lassée et al. 1998) Similar to several other external corporate art museums it has an interesting architecture consisting of steel and glass walls, and large glass sheds, placed in a garden where nature and trees are integrated in the architecture. The name of the corporation stems from the Cartier family, and Louis-Francoise Cartier, who founded the jewelry firm in Paris in 1847.[161] The Cartier family owned the firm until they sold it in 1964. In 1972 the firm was bought by a group of investors in collaboration with Joseph Kanoui,[162] and in 1973 the successful collection "Les Must de Cartier" was developed by the president of Cartier Robert Hocq in collaboration with Alain Dominique Perrain, who became the head of the Directorship of Cartier International.[163]

Cartier has been known and recognized for its watches and jewelry through the whole twentieth century. The company's first watch bracelet for females was produced in 1888,[164] and the first wristwatch for males in 1904.[165] Cartier is historically known for serving royalty, stars and celebrities all over the world. Among other Richard Burton presented the then famous 69 carat pear shaped "Cartier diamond" to Elizabeth Taylor in 1969, which was renamed the "Taylor

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[161] http://www.cartier.fr/#/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps?selectedYear=1847:/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps/1847 (01.06.2011)
[162] http://www.cartier.fr/#/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps?selectedYear=1972:/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps/1972 (01.09.2011)
[163] http://www.cartier.fr/#/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps?selectedYear=1973:/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps/1973 (01.09.2011)
[164] http://www.cartier.fr/#/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps?selectedYear=1888:/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps/1888 (01.09.2011)
[165] http://www.cartier.fr/#/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps?selectedYear=1904:/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps/1904 (01.09.2011)

Burton" diamond.[166] Cartier has branches all over the world, and according to Cartier; in 2001 New York named the place at 5th Avenue and 52. Street the "Cartier Plaza".[167] As the Cartier jewels and watches are also arts and crafts, they are often exhibited in art museums, where Cartier shows historical objects from their production, such as in 2009, in the exhibitions; "Story of… Memories of Cartier creation" in the National Museum in Tokyo, "Cartier Treasures- King of Jewelers, Jewelers to Kings" in the Palace Museum in Beijing, and "Cartier and America" in Legion of Honor – Fine Arts Museum in San Francisco.[168]

MIH Photo: 86 (left) Foundation Cartier, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 87 (right) Foundation Cartier, Paris, November 2010

Today the art collection at Foundation Cartier consists of over 1000 contemporary artworks created by more than 300 artists. It includes paintings, sculptures, video art, photography, installations and films, and represents contemporary artists from different countries and different generations such as Joseph Kosuth (USA), César (France), Louise Nevelson (Russia-USA), Barry Flanagan (Britain), David Lynch (USA), William Eggleston (USA), Raymond Depardon (France), Jeff Wall (Canada), Walter Niedermayr (Italia), Daido Moriyama (Japan), Rainer Fetting (Germany), Gilbert & George (Britain), Liza Lou (USA), Jean-Michel Othoniel (France), Xavier Veilhan (France), Jean-Michel Alberola (Algeria), Christian Boltansky (France), Frédéric Bruly Boabré (Ivory Cost), Seidu Keita (Mali) Bodys Isek Kingelez (Congo) and Takashi Murakami (Japan). (Charles, Lassée et al. 1998)[169] It is interesting to note that the collection contains a relatively high quantity of art photography and films since it

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[166] http://www.cartier.fr/#/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps?selectedYear=1969:/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps/1969 (01.09.2011)
[167] http://www.cartier.fr/#/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps?selectedYear=2001:/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps/2001 (01.09.2011)
[168] http://www.cartier.fr/#/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps?selectedYear=2009:/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps/2009 (01.09.2011)
[169] http://fondation.cartier.com/?_lang=fr (01.06.2011)

also seems to be a high interest of photography in general in France, and particularly in Paris, where a great photo festival is arranged in November every second year; a biennale, with exhibitions on art photography in "every" museum, galleries and public places including the new National Library.

Another interesting aspect of the collection is that 10 of the 59 artists presented on the collections website at the present time are Japanese artists, which indicates a considerable interest in Japanese art. However, an interesting aspect of the Cartier collection is that it seems to be relatively "global", including artists from East Asia and Africa along with artist from the West; France, USA, Germany, England, Italy and other Western countries. The representation of African artists is particularly interesting, since France until about 1960 had several colonies among the African states. Due to this there is a close connection between France and several African states, and the French influence is still present in most of these states as they use French as their principle language. The represented African artists come from states such as Mali, Niger, the Republic of Congo and the Ivory Coast, all French speaking.[170] Thus the Cartier art collection can also be described as global and not dominated only by Contemporary American or Western art that dominates the international art scene, as pointed out by Quemin and others, (Quemin 2008) and discussed in chapter 2.1.7.2. In respect of this, the Cartier collection partly seems to oppose the common trend as a museum of contemporary art.

In an art historical perspective, primitive African cultures affected the development of Western art at the late 1800s and beginning of the 1900s and particularly the development of Cubism. Or more correctly; Cubist painters, such as Picasso and Braque were inspired by primitive cultures, similar to several Post Impressionist artists such as Cezanne, Gauguin and van Gogh. Picasso was particularly inspired by African masks, which appears in his famous and epoch making work "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon" from 1907, (Lynton 1989) which is regarded as the first Cubist painting and which today is located in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Cubism also prepared the ground for the development of Functionalism in architecture and design. Today the interest of primitive art is displayed in an upcoming exhibition at Foundation Cartier called "Vaudou", in English "Voodoo", starting in April 2011, showing objects from the collection of Anne and Jaques Kercharche; a dedicated collector of primitive arts, who also was an initiative maker to the museum of primitive arts in Paris; the Quai Branly Museum that opened in 2006.[171] The African representation in the art collection

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[170] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fransk (01.20.2011)
[171] http://fondation.cartier.com/?_lang=fr (01.06.2011)

is also interesting in light of the fact that a great part of the world's diamonds come from Africa, also much of the gold, and obviously; for a jeweler, the access of both gold and diamonds is crucial.

The collection was founded in a time period that was marked by a growing industrial globalization. The time was also marked by high economic growth in France, which reached its peak in 1988-89.[172] After a down period, the GDP in France reached a new height in 1994-95, at the same time that the new art museum of Cartier was erected. Obviously corporations as well as the society are marked by changes in the national economy, which means that both economical variations and globalization may contribute to establish the current zeitgeist of a society, and mark corporate cultures. As mentioned above, other factors, such as the political and technological development also influence the society in different time periods, and particularly in the last decades after the emergence of the Internet, which has contributed to a further globalization by an information exchange practically "without borders", including the exchange of cultural knowledge. This means that the Internet has also influenced the zeitgeist of the last couple of decades. In that perspective the global orientation of the Cartier collection, including artists from regions that have been weakly represented in Western art museums and collections, may also be explained by the growing globalization, and transparence in the flow of information, and a growing interest for art from developing countries.

In respect of gender, 41 of the artists presented on the website of the collection are male artists, while 18 are female artists.[173] Although the gender of the artists behind all the presented artworks on the foundations website are not included in my "counting", the number of female versus male artists seems reliable, as there are usually more male artists in any art collection. In a catalogue of the collection that appears to be from 1998, about 180 of the represented artists are male, while only 35 are female artists. Symptomatically, in a photograph in the same catalog that includes several artists, there are nine male artists and one female. (Charles, Lassée et al. 1998) Still, the number of female versus male artists that are represented on the website of Foundation Cartier today, 18 out of 59,[174] indicate that the representation of female artists in the collection may have increased during the last decade. This impression is underpinned by the website of the Cartier Corporation, where the corporation states that they became an active

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[172] http://www.indexmundi.com/france/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)
[173] http://fondation.cartier.com/?_lang=fr (01.06.2011)
[174] http://fondation.cartier.com/?_lang=en&small=0 (01.13.2011)

member of "Women's Forum; for the economy and society" in 2005.[175] The forum encourages women in business life, and in 2006 Cartier contributed to found an annual award in collaboration with the forum and other supporters; the Cartier Woman's Initiative Awards. Five female entrepreneurs, one from each continent, are awarded every year. The award consists of $20,000 grants, coaching support and an exclusive trophy designed by Cartier.[176] In spite of the seemingly extended representation of female artists, and that several artworks appear as feminine, the collection as a whole appears as more masculine than feminine, consisting of art that tends to appear with what Duncan and others describes as masculine codes; large sized, monumental and raw. (Duncan 1992)

Although most of the art seems to represent non offending art, some artists in the collection are known for pushing the limits of being non-offending, such as Gilbert and George, mentioned above. The museum also arranges several temporary art exhibitions, and a photograph by the controversial American art photographer Robert Mappelthorpe from the exhibition "À Visage décovert", or "With uncovered face" in 1992, which is included in the 1998 catalogue, (Charles, Lassée et al. 1998) although he does not seem to be listed among the artists in the collection today. Additionally the collection has artworks that indicate sexuality and prostitution, such as the American art photographer Nan Goldin's "The Ballad of Sexual Dependency" from 1982-95. (Charles, Lassée et al. 1998) However none of the current artworks seems to be directly in the category of art that people find offensive, unless one artwork by Gilbert and George, depicting two flying red crucifixes, named "Yellow Crusade" from 1982 (Charles, Lassée et al. 1998) are experienced as blasphemous by some spectators.

2.2.5.2   *Société Générale*

The art collection of Société Générale was established in 1995, by the completion of the corporations' new headquarters in La Defense, the business area west of Paris, which provided a lot of space for visual art. The collection consists of contemporary art, spanning from the 1970s and up to the present time represented by more than 300 works in different techniques and sizes, such as paintings, sculptures and photographs. Additionally the collection includes 700 lithographic prints and screen prints in several editions. It includes works of French and internationally recognized artists such as Pierre Soulages (France), Pierre Alechinsky (Belgium), Andy Warhol (USA), Zao Wou-Ki (China), Antoni Tapies (Spain), Barry Flanagan (Britain) and Thomas Ruff (Germany).[177] The

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[175] http://www.cartier.fr/#/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps?selectedYear=2005:/la-maison-cartier/a-travers-le-temps/2005 (01.09.2011)
[176] http://www.womens-forum.com/index.php/main/projects/5 (01.09.2011)
[177] http://www.societegenerale.com/art (01.11.2011)

artworks are integrated in the headquarters of Société Générale, and spread around in common areas, corridors, group rooms and meeting rooms in the headquarters. Some of the works, such as Barry Flanagans "The Elephant" creates "landmarks" within the headquarters and makes people gather around the sculpture before lunch.

The art collection has been developing bit by bit, into a collection representing a wholeness that according to Société Générale also shows how the corporation as an art collector has developed towards art patronage.[178] The corporation is expanding the collection by acquiring about ten new art works every year. The strategy for acquiring new art is either to buy works from new and highly rated upcoming artists, who are in the process of building an international career, and from more famous established artists. Each artwork is judged by a committee of experts within contemporary art. The final decision to purchase the art is taken by an acquisition committee that consists of members from the General Directorate of Société Générale.[179] It is interesting to notice that the art collection of Société Générale is established in a time period when the corporate interest in collecting art had declined in USA. But while the USA was marked by an economic down period in their GDP, with only a moderate growth through the nineties, France recovered from a down period in 1993 to a new economic height towards 2000.[180] This may enlighten the founding of the art collection of Société Générale in the nineties. La Defense, the new business area where the headquarters is located is marked by culture, innovation and a future ideology, including a large number of modern sculptures created by world famous artists such as Alexander Calder (USA), Juan Miro (Spain), Richard Serra (USA), Vassilakis Takis (Greece), Yaacov Agam (Israel), César Baldaccini (France) and many others.

The development of the business area La Defense was a strong national ambition supported by General de Gaulle that appeared in the post World War II period. It started with the erection of the National Center of Industries and technologies; the CNIT in 1958, an exhibition hall designed by the French architects Robert Camelot, Jean de Mailly and Bernard Zehrfuss, shaped like a large triangular shell, long known as "the futuristic building" of La Defence. (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009) The CNIT triangle was the starting point of the urban and futuristic business district in the former rural area. Many consider La Defense to be a symbol of France's entrance into the modern world; not to be confused with Modernism, and today the area is filled with modern skyscrapers,

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[178] http://www.collectionsocietegenerale.com/ (01.13.2011)
[179] http://www.collectionsocietegenerale.com/ (01.21.2011)
[180] http://www.indexmundi.com/france/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)

many with a rather futuristic architecture, and a large number of fascinating and contemporary monumental outdoor sculptures. Undoubtedly the futuristic atmosphere that characterizes La Defense, and the innovative and future oriented ambition of the area also affect many corporations located in La Defense.

As the Société Générale collection contains art from the seventies and up to the present, and artworks created by young artist that are in the stage of developing their artistic career, it is both looking at the present time and the immediate past, and forwards toward the future. According to the corporation, the integrated collection contributes to make employees and business partners meet the "irregular shapes" of visual art on a regular and pedagogical basis, by participating in monthly conferences, weekly meetings and theme collaborations. Art comments are also provided in virtual galleries and videos, lined up in different spaces of the headquarters. The displayed art has a museum quality, and artworks from the collection are often lent out to art museums in major cities in France where the external audience can visit parts of the collection. Due to this, the corporation has joined in mutual partnership with external art museums and fairs, such as the FIAC[181] in Paris in October 2010, located at the Grand Palais, where an artwork of the collection was presented for 18 hours every day, presented and commented by the artist who had created the work. During the art fair, Société Générale also offered a special tour in the collection, which is usually reserved only for employees.[182]

In respect of gender, there are a lot more male than female artists represented in the collection. In the artist index on the corporation's website, there are approximately 155 male artists and 52 female artists listed.[183] In other words, also the art collection of Société Générale seems to be male dominated, as about three out of four listed artists are males. In spite of several feminine art expressions within the collection it appears as mainly masculine, both because of a great number of relatively large sized art, and because a great part of the artworks appear with a raw expression and what Duncan and others describe as masculine coded. (Duncan 1992) Seemingly none of the presented artworks in the collection appear as offending. Due to its high quality; the collection also signalizes both cultural capital and pecuniary strength. As claimed by a French informant, corporate collections are not as usual in France as in the US. If that is the case, one may wonder if this is due to the overall present art and culture in the French society, evolved through the centuries and representing most of the art

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[181] "Foire Internationale d'Art Contemporain"
[182] http://www.societegenerale.com/coulisses/quinze-ans-d%E2%80%99engagement-pour-l%E2%80%99art-contemporain (01.13.2011)
[183] http://www.collectionsocietegenerale.com/ (01.13.2011)

styles in the Western culture. Obviously, in a country loaded with such a heavy cultural baggage as France, which also was the cradle of Modernism and the first Modernist art styles such as Impressionism and Cubism and which dominated and influenced the development of visual art in the Western world practically until World War II; art, may not be the most prioritized subject in French corporations. In that case the collection of Société Générale is an exception.

2.2.6   Comparing the included art collections

It seems plausible to claim, similar to Martorella, that there are different corporate taste cultures. (Martorella 1990) These taste cultures express themselves in the corporations' art collections; as well as in the lack of an art collection, as is seemingly the case with Oracle. Obviously the corporate taste culture is a part of the corporate culture as such, and the values expressed in these cultures which are as described by Schein, often based on the values of the founder or central leaders. (Schein 1999) Although these values primarily represent the personal values of the founder, they are also marked by the time and society in which the founder lives, and which contributes to form his or her values as described by Hofstede. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) This means that the time and society in which the values are implemented into the corporation affect what become corporate values, both indirectly through the founder, and directly by where and when they evolve. As a result of this, an art collection may reflect the spirit or the zeitgeist of the corporate culture, as well as of the society where it is established. Sometimes it may also reflect a common corporate culture within equal types of industries. (Martorella 1990)

In Matrix 2 at the next page I compare the qualities of the included art collections, based on visual observations, conversations and documents. The interpretations here are not exhaustive, and represent suggestions on how art collections can be interpreted, and not as the only way of interpreting art collections. Here the observed and interpreted qualities function as categories that are compared in the analysis.

Matrix 2: Observed qualities of corporate art collections

	Time and style	Personality	Gen-der	Pure art	Spaces of art	Territorial dimension	Capital
Telenor	**1998 (2002)** Contemporary monumental Norwegian & International. High-museum quality art	High art interest Reflects a mature "oil-state" level of wealth	Mascu-line	Non offending (A few controversial artists)	Integrated in HQ	National and International	Economic capital, Cultural capital
Statoil	**1985 (?)** Contemporary Norwegian & Nordic High-quality art	High art interest Reflects an "early oil-state" national interest	Mascu-line	Non offending (A few controversial artists)	Integrated in HQ	National and Regional	Economic capital Cultural capital
Oracle	**1989** Graphic prints and Non professional art	Low/no art interest Invisible art Reflects economic recession?		Non offending	Integrated in HQ	Local	
HP	**1960 (?)** Pattern & Decoration, geometrical Average quality art	Medium art interest, Reflects post WWII interest in technology and innovation.	Mascu-line	Non offending	Integrated in HQ	Local and Regional	Economic capital
Chevron	**1985 (?)** Primitive/ antique global/ethnic arts and crafts High-quality art	High interest in global/ethnic culture. Reflects human interest & diversity.	Mixed	Non offending	Integrated in HQ	National and Global	Economic capital Cultural capital
JPMorgan Chase	**1959** Contemporary Post WW II avant-garde, High-museum quality art	High art interest. Reflects post WW II national interest and international orientation.	Mascu-line	Non offending (A few controversial artists)	Integrated in HQ	National and International	Economic capital Cultural capital
DWT	**1991** Contemporary, Pattern & Decoration High- quality art	High art interest. Reflects human & future interest in times of recession.	Mixed	Non offending	Integrated in HQ	National and International	Economic capital Cultural capital
Panasonic EW	**2003** Early 1900 French art, Fauvism, Post Impressionism. High-museum quality art	High art interest. Reflects nostalgic interest in early foreign modernism	Mascu-line	Non offending	Internal art museum in HQ	Foreign (and national)	Economic capital Cultural capital
Idemitsu	**1966** Japan-East-Asia antique/ethnic arts and crafts, High-museum quality art	High art interest. Reflects post WW II nostalgic interest in national & regional cultural traditions	Mixed	Non offending	Internal art museum in HQ	National and Regional	Economic capital Cultural capital
Bridge-stone	**1952** Early 1900 Japanese-French-Western Impressionism & Contemporary. High-museum quality art	High art interest. Reflects post WW II nostalgic interest in early foreign & national modernism	Mixed	Non offending	Internal art museum in HQ	National and Foreign (Inter-national)	Economic capital Cultural capital
Cartier	**1984** Contemporary French & global. High-museum quality art	High art interest. Reflects a contem-porary & global interest	Mascu-line	Non offen-ding (A few controversial artists?)	External art museum	National and Global	Economic capital Cultural capital
Société Générale	**1995** Contemporary French and international, High-museum quality art	High art interest. Reflects a contemporary & future interest	Mascu-line	Non offending	Integrated in HQ	National and International	Economic capital Cultural capital

2.2.6.1   *Personality; comparing the personality of the art collections*

As mentioned above, the personality of the collections relies on the founder, leaders and the corporate culture, which is also often influenced by when and where the corporation is established. All the included corporations have high

quality art collections, except Oracle that seemingly has no art collection, and HP that does not seems to emphasize the art collection although it has an average quality. Four of the oldest collections from the fifties and sixties; HP, JPMorgan Chase, Idemitsu and Bridgestone are marked by the post World War II period in different ways. While the HP collection reflects a post war national interest in high tech and future innovation, which may have been reinforced by the space race between the US and the Soviet Union, JPMorgan Chase collected Contemporary art such as Abstract Expressionism, Minimalism, Pop art and the following abstract styles, which is claimed to be encouraged in the US in opposition to the figurative art that was the dominating style in the Soviet Union. Or as one could also add; in opposition to the Romantic figurative art ideal of the Nazis. Also the Idemitsu collection reflects the post war period by its concentration on national and regional arts and crafts, while the Bridgestone collection reflects the post war period through national art from the early twentieth century. In the post war period Bridgestone also purchased a lot of early modernist European art. The emphasize of the early twentieth century art, as well as antique arts and crafts, makes these two Japanese collections reflect a nostalgia which is also the case with the relatively new collection of Panasonic Electric Works that is mainly concentrated on early twentieth century French art. This means that all three included Japanese collections actually reflect nostalgia in different ways, by looking back to the times before World War II.

The collections of Telenor and Statoil reflect different phases of an evolving oil-state; the early and the mature oil-state. The early oil-state collection of Statoil reflects a national orientation and presumably a need of national protection in an early phase of a crucial change in the Norwegian society. Oracle claims that they have no collection, which may reflect the economic recession at the time of erecting the headquarters, or simply a lack of art interest. Opposite to Oracle, the Davis Wright Tremaine collection was established in a time of economic recession in the US society which may reflect optimism, future belief and focus on human values. The Chevron collection reflects an interest in global primitive, ethnic and antique arts and crafts, and thus it shares some similarities with the Idemitzu art collection that also consists of ethnic and antique arts and crafts. It is also interesting to notice that both these corporations are oil corporations. Similar to the collections of Telenor, Statoil and Davis, Wright, Tremaine, the collections of Cartier and Société Genérale are relatively new art collections consisting of contemporary art, and include a lot of works made by young and living artists. These five collections are the newest collections in the study, that also more than the others reflect the society of our time in Norway, the USA and France, modern

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corporate cultures that may diverge from earlier times, for instance in the case of Telenor, with its extremely free organization of work.

2.2.6.2 *Gender; comparing the gender aspect of the art collections*

In light of the gender codes described by the art historians Gade, Duncan and others, (Gade 2001) (Duncan 1992) and the contradictory gender dichotomies described by Bourdieu, such as large-small, strong-weak, active-passive, etc. (Bourdieu 2000) discussed in chapter 2.1.4, art collections that appear as masculine are often dominated by monumental and large sized artworks with a raw and unrefined expression and may have sexual motifs or undertones without being directly pornographic, although the latter is often avoided in corporate collections. Masculine collections may also contain artworks with a technical expression that is depicting "masculine objects" such as cars and vehicles. In opposite, harmonious with the gender dichotomies a "feminine" collection would represent artworks of a smaller size with more refined art expressions, and depicting female interests and activities, for instance home oriented expressions. The gender representation among the artists contributes to underpin the gender of a collection and as it appears, all of the included collections are dominated by male artists, although the percentage of male versus female artists diverges. Still, not all of the collections appear as entirely masculine, and even though there are more males than females represented in the collections males may also create feminine art expressions, as well as females may create masculine art expressions. However because of the dominating male representation and male expressions, one cannot claim that any of the included collections are entirely feminine. Thus I characterize the collections with both feminine and masculine features as "mixed". Based on the features mentioned above, seven of the 11 collections that are analyzed here appear as mainly masculine, while four appear as mixed, among these two collections consisting of mainly primitive, ethnic and antique arts and crafts, Chevron and Idemitsu, which are both oil corporations. But while Idemitsu concentrates on national and regional art objects, Chevron concentrates on global art objects. The other two mixed collections are the Bridgestone collection, with a lot of medium sized artworks mostly created in refined techniques, and many with a refined feminine and colorist expression rather than monumental and raw, although there are also several clearly masculine art expressions in the collection. The fourth collection that appears as more mixed in respect of gender and gender dichotomies is the Davis Wright Tremaine collection that also has many medium sized artworks that appear as refined in respect of techniques and visual expressions.

2.2.6.3 Pure art; comparing the absence of offending art in the collections

None of the included collections seems to contain openly offending art, in respect of an improper sexual, religious or violent character, although Telenor has had to remove art with such content, for instance an artwork created by the controversial artist Bjarne Melgaard mentioned in chapter 2.1.5.3, and the headquarters still has an artwork that many experiences as provocative; Jenny Holzers digital text strip on top of the north building. Seemingly Statoil have some works depicting nude people, which they are advised by an anthropologist not to include in their new art book, and among recent acquisitions they also have some works created by Melgaard, and a crucifix created by Torbjørn Rødland, which may potentially be offending. JPMorgan Chase seems to have a few artworks made by artists that in other contexts are regarded as controversial, such as Gilbert and George, and Robert Mappelthorpe. But seemingly none of their artworks displayed in the collection are of an offending character. Also Cartier has, or has displayed art made by these artists; Gilbert and George and Robert Mappelthorpe, but seemingly none of the artworks in the collection are directly offensive, except for an artwork by Gilbert and George that contains two flying crucifixes that may be experienced as blasphemous by some, and some art with indirect sexual content. While both of the two Norwegian corporations seem to have art that may be experienced as offending or as blasphemous, none of the three Japanese corporations seems to have such artworks in their collections.

2.2.6.4 Spaces of art; comparing where the corporations display art

While all of the art and art collections in the Norwegian and American corporations and one of the French collections, in total eight, are integrated in the corporate headquarters, in the meaning of, being spread around in common areas, meeting rooms, corridors and offices, all of the included Japanese collections are gathered in internal art museums, located within the corporate headquarters. Obviously internal corporate art museums seem to be more common in Japan than in Norway, the USA and France, which may be due to cultural differences. Only one of the included corporations, Cartier in France, has an external art museum. It also seems less usual to have a corporate collection in an external art museum in the West than in Japan, where this appears in several situations, as for instance the Suntory art museum in Osaka, located in a separate building outside of the corporate headquarters similar to the Foundation Cartier. In the USA however it seems to be more usual with personal art museums founded by retired corporate founders, leaders and their mates, for instance the Guggenheim Museum and the Getty Centre, where personal art collections are opened to the public in great museum buildings, presumably in order to preserve their

reputation for the future as great business magnates who also emphasized human values.

2.2.6.5   *Territorial; comparing the territorial dimension of the art collections*

In my analysis of the territorial dimension of the included art collections the term "local" refers to a limited area within a state or a country, for instance North California or North of Norway. The term "regional" refers to a larger geographical area or a cluster of states such as the Nordic countries or Scandinavia which usually includes Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland, or the North States in the USA. Here I also use the term "global" to include "every country on earth", as the term "international" is often used to describe a cluster of industrialized countries, as claimed by Quemin and others (Quemin 2008) discussed in 2.1.7.2. For collections that include art from one specific foreign country, such as France, I use the term "foreign", as art from one particular foreign country is not the same as international, global or regional art.

As we can see, all of the collections contain some national art in combination with art from abroad. Seemingly Oracle with its occasional art, here not considered as "a collection", and HP which contains local art, or art mainly from the same state. Both of these corporations represent high tech industries. Two of the collections consist mainly of national and regional art; Statoil and Idemitsu; which are both oil corporations. Both Chevron and Cartier have global art, as in the meaning of including art also from developing countries, and countries in the South, such as African states. One of the Japanese corporations, Panasonic Electric Works has as the core of its collection, art from only one foreign country, France. Also Bridgestone has a great quantity of art from one foreign country, France. But the Bridgestone collection also contains national art and art from several other countries, such as antique objects from Greece and from the US, and among other, one Abstract Expressionist painting by Jackson Pollock. Obviously the content of an art collection can reveal to what degree corporations have their focus on people or clients; or whether they prioritize employees and their work environment or the brand factor of art. According to Martorella, corporations can be characterized as either client-centered or people-oriented through their art collections. While people-oriented corporations use more quality art from local artists, the client-centered corporations prefer art from nationally known artists. (Martorella 1990) In addition to national art, five of the twelve corporations also have a considerable amount of contemporary international (or global) art; Telenor, JPMorgan Chase, Davis Wright Tremaine, Cartier and Société Genérale. Two of these corporations, JPMorgan Chase and Société Genérale are banking corporations, which is an interesting aspect in light

of the findings of Martorella; that the more international oriented art, the more client-centered the corporation, (Martorella 1990) which may be a crucial quality for banking corporations.

2.2.6.6   *Capital; comparing the communicated cultural and economic capital*

As most of the included corporations have a high quality art collection, except for Oracle and HP, the founders and leaders in these corporations are most likely to possess a certain cultural capital, for instance by being "art lovers". High quality art also implies high economic capital, which is a presumption for purchasing such art. High quality art may also represent consumption of luxuries, to signal power and wealth. It is usually the founders and leaders who make the final decision about which artworks and styles that should be purchased, although most corporations also use an art committee, curators or art advisors when they decide what to purchase. According to one of my informants, an American art advisor; "art committees are the norm". But sometimes also the interior designer, the architect, corporate representatives, and staff who will be using the facility are involved in the acquisition process. But the experience of my informant is also that "the collections are always dictated by upper management". This means that the art collection as such, the number of artworks and the represented styles, rely on the cultural capital of the decision makers. Still the collection also becomes a part of the corporate culture, and signalizes cultural capital to the surroundings. Due to the correlation between high quality art, high economic capital and high cultural capital I could have left out the right column in the matrix, but I decided to keep it in order to visualize that not every corporation with high economic capital chooses to have a high quality art collection, as for instance Oracle. Some may also have art that signals average economic capital, for instance HP, as the quality of the collection is also average. In corporations that lack an art collection that can signal economic or cultural capital, there may indeed be other factors that do this, such as the architecture, as in the case of Oracle. In the ten other corporations included here, the art collections signal both high cultural capital and high economic capital, independent of national belonging.

2.2.7   Summary and a tentative conclusion

As we have seen, all these eleven art collections are founded after World War II. Four of the art collections are founded in the fifties and sixties, two in the US and two in Japan. Seemingly these collections reflect the zeitgeist of the post World War II period in the two countries in different ways, as it appeared in the different societies and corporate cultures. The HP collection is reflecting a national high tech focus probably initiated by the space race between the US and

the Soviet Union, while the JPMorgan Chase collection seems to reflect a national encouragement of abstract art, developed in the forties and fifties in New York, and supported as a contrast to the figurative art in the Soviet Union, as well as it was opposing the Nazi preference of Romantic art. Both of the two post war Japanese collections reflect nostalgia, Idemitsu by focusing on ethnic and antique national and regional arts and crafts, Bridgestone by focusing on early twentieth century Japanese and French art, and as we have seen, Japanese artists were strongly influenced by French art in the decades around 1900. All these four otherwise different collections share a basic national interest, which may be explained by the founding in a post war period, although the nostalgia in the post war Japanese collections diverges from the post war US collections.

The other seven collections are founded between 1984 and 2003, among these the collection of Panasonic Electric Works, which equal to the other Japanese collections also reflects nostalgia, and makes this become a common feature of the three included Japanese collections which diverge from all of the other collections. Another feature that distinguishes the Japanese collections from the others is that they are all gathered in internal art museums in the headquarters of the corporations. All the Norwegian, US and French corporations except for the Cartier Collection are integrated in the headquarters, in common areas such as corridors, meeting rooms and offices. All the Norwegian, US and French collections consist of contemporary art, except for Chevron, that mainly consists of primitive, ethnic and some antique arts and crafts which also makes the collection appear only partly as nostalgia, as many of the objects are apparently not antiques, opposite to the Idemitsu collection that mainly consists of antique objects. All of the contemporary collections appear as masculine, due to an over representation of male artists and also that the collections are dominated by monumental, raw masculine styles and content, except for the DWT collection in San Francisco, that are rather mixed in respect of gender. Also two of the Japanese collections are mixed in respect of gender, the antique Idemitsu collection and the early modernist Bridgestone collection, due to a mix of masculine and feminine expressions, moderate to small sized works at Bridgestone, and the focus on home utilities at Idemitsu. The latter is also the case at Chevron, where the collection includes a great number of home utilities, and makes the collection appear as mixed in respect of gender. The early modernist Panasonic EW collection is masculine, due to the raw masculine style, and motifs.

All the collections mainly represent non offending art. Still, some of the contemporary collections contain, or have displayed art that is controversial and

potentially offensive to some, or they contain art from artists that have made offending art on other occasions. This seems to be the case with both of the two Norwegian collections, Telenor and Statoil, one of the US collections, JPMorgan Chase and one of the French collections, Cartier. In Norway this may be explained by an extreme freedom of speech and a liberal attitude to content that may be regarded as offensive in other cultures, for instance with religious or sexual content that can be experienced as blasphemous or improper. In both the JPMorgan Chase and the Cartier collection the potentially offending content applies to art created by Gilbert and George, Robert Mappelthorpe and a few other controversial artists, but seemingly the artworks that are included in or displayed by these collections are not offensive, unless as mentioned above; some find the depiction of "flying red crucifixes" in an artwork by Gilbert and George in the Cartier collection as blasphemous.

Symptomatically four of the contemporary collections are international, or transnational, in the meaning of representing industrialized countries; Telenor, JPMorgan Chase, DWT and Société Générale, while one of the contemporary collections, Cartier, also includes many artworks made by artists from developing countries, and thus the collection may be considered as more global. Still all the contemporary collections have in common that they are multinational. Seemingly only two of the collections can be considered as global, including art from developing countries. As well as Cartier, this is also the case with Chevron, that similar to Cartier also collect art from the South, including Africa. An interesting aspect in respect of this is that both of these corporations are in different ways connected to extraction of raw materials from these countries, such as oil, diamonds and gold.

As several of the corporations represent the same type of industries; high tech, banking, oil and gas, it may also be interesting to compare the types of corporations and their art collections, as in Matrix 3 below. Additionally to look at the collections in respect of the economic situation in the current societies when they were established, as it appear in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in each country, estimated by the International Monetary Fund, (IMF)[184] presented by Index Mundi,[185] based on equivalent data from the IMF.

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[184] http://www.imf.org/external/index.htm (02.25.2011)
[185] http://www.indexmundi.com/ (02.25.2011)

Matrix 3

	High-tech		Banking		Oil & gas		Other types	
	Corp	Art	Corp	Art	Corp	Art	Corp	Art
No (2)	**Telenor 1998 (2,683)**	Contemp inter-national			**Statoil 1985 (5,354)**	Contemp national/ regional		
US (4)	**HP 1960 (?)**	Contemp national	**JPM Chase 1959**	Contemp inter-national	**Chevron 1985 (4,137)**	Primitive antique global	**DWT 1991 (-0,234)**	Contemp inter-national
Jp (3)	**Pan EW 2003 (1,414)**	Early Foreign modernism			**Idemitsu 1966**	Antique national/ regional	**Bridge-stone 1952**	Early inter-national modern-ism
Fr (2)			**Soc.Gén. 1995 (2,248)**	Contemp inter-national			**Cartier 1985 (1,799)**	Contemp global

In the matrix above I have applied the GDP value of the time of foundation of each collection. GDP values from before 1980 are not included here, mostly because older data from the world economy seems to be collected and presented differently in different sources, while data collected after 1980 are presented in a comparable way.

One interesting aspect is that the oil corporations share some similarities; Chevron and Idemitsu collect primitive, ethnic or antique, arts and crafts, while Statoil collect national and regional art, similar to Idemitsu. Both Telenor and HP collect contemporary art, and the two banking corporations, JPMorgan Chase and Société Générale also collect Contemporary international art. As we have seen, the economical situation in the society may also influence how corporations collect art. It appears that six of the seven new collections founded between 1984 and 2003, are founded in times with relatively high economic growth, as indicated in the matrix above (only new collections are included); Statoil presumably in 1985, where the Norwegian GDP was at a high peak, while the Telenor collection was founded when the GDP was temporarily going down after a peak in 1997, but still the growth was in a high plus level.[186] Presumably the Chevron collection was founded around 1985, when the GDP curve in the US was rather high.[187] The Panasonic Electric Works collection in Japan was founded in 2003, while the GDP curve was pointing upwards. [188] The Cartier collection was founded in 1985, also while the GDP curve was pointing upwards, and was relocated in the new museum building in 1995, when the curve was at a peak after a down turn in 1993. The collection of Société Générale was also founded in 1995, when the French economy was on the same peak.[189] Hovever, the seventh of the new collections, the Davis, Wright, Tremaine collection in San Francisco, is opposite to all the other new collections founded in an economic down period in 1991. As corporate collecting declined in the US after the

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[186] http://www.indexmundi.com/norway/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)
[187] http://www.indexmundi.com/united_states/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)
[188] http://www.indexmundi.com/japan/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)
[189] http://www.indexmundi.com/france/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)

nineties, it is interesting that this firm founded their collection at that time. Since art is often connected to human values, this might be explained by an interest or a business strategy; to invest in human values.

To look at the national GDP is indeed not enough when examining the correlation between art investments and corporate economy. Besides to fully understand why corporations start collecting art, and when, one needs a lot more information, also on the corporate economy, leaders and so on. However as the focus on this study is to interpret the collections and not to reveal economical implications for collecting art, which it would probably be within an economical research project, I presume that looking at each country's GDP curve gives an indication of the economic situation in the current countries, which may also influence and reflect the situation among most corporations. As discussed above, conditions in the society also influence the zeitgeist of a time period, which in turn influences corporate cultures, and although many corporations lose interest in collecting art in times of economic recession, a few may do the opposite, to strengthen the human relations in the firm which may also be a survival strategy. Although the GDP rate does not seem to influence the type of art collections as displayed in the matrix above, it is striking how the new collections with Contemporary International art are founded in a time with an average growth. The collections of Statoil and Chevron that presumably are both founded around 1985 in a time with high economic growth both in Norway and in the US, focus on respectively Contemporary regional art and International primitive ethnic art. Although they are not exhaustive, the different features of corporate collections that are discussed and analyzed above in the perspective of the flanèur, based on theory and empirical examinations, shows the comprehensive social signals that can be embedded in corporate art collections, and which is more multiple facetted than we may observe at the first glance. Across cultures the social signals may as we have seen sometimes be similar in different cultures, and sometimes they diverges, as I will discuss in the final chapter.

2.2.7.1   The Iconography, Iconology and Semiotics of the art collections

In the following I will make a brief examination of the qualities analyzed above, and how they relate to Iconography, Iconology and Semiotics. As it appears both visual art and art collections have many layers of meaning. Art collections may be analyzed and interpreted by looking at each collection as "one unit"; or here as a group of artworks. As advised by Panofsky, the art historian should examine what he or she regard to be the inner meaning of the artwork, or the groups of artworks that he or she is occupied with, and every historical relevant document that reveals the personality of the artist, the nationality, the time period and the

current society with its political, poetical, religious, philosophical and social tendencies. (Panofsky 1980) As each art collection contains artworks created by several artists, it is not possible to base the interpretations on one single artwork. Instead I base my interpretations on each collection as a whole, or in terms of Panofsky; on the "group of artworks" that constitutes each collection.

The Pre-iconographic description of an art collection which intends to reveal the primary meaning of the collection, implies features such as the size of the collection, the number of artworks, what type of art is included, what type of materials and techniques dominate the collection, what are the main expressions and motifs, where is the collection displayed or how does the surrounding environment appear. In semiotic terms, these features are signs that constitute the denotation of the collection, like letters in a word. The Iconographic analysis that establish the secondary or conventional meaning of a collection, implies an analysis of the dominating styles, which time period they represent, and the territorial dimension of the collection; based on the nationality of the represented artists, which labels the collection as national, regional and so on. The time, style and territorial dimensions of the included artworks constitute the "image" of the collection that makes basis for what I label as "personality". The Iconographic image also makes the basis for allegories and pictorial narratives on the collection, including expressions of gender, based on the dominating expressions and content of the artworks, as well as it may tell if the collection is offending or not. The iconographic analysis of an art collection also tell about economic capital, because it is generally known in most societies and time periods that high quality art indicates high economic capital. In semiotic terms, these features correspond with the communicative signs that makes basis for what Barthes describes as the connotation of images, here applied to art collections.

An Iconological interpretation of an art collection that reveals its inner meaning represent the symbolical values of the collection, and is, besides of the iconographic analysis based on "something else" than the art collection itself. In terms of Panofsky, an Iconological interpretation requires a "synthetic intuition" and knowledge on "the essential tendencies of the human spirit" that is present in a particular time and society influenced by psychology and a certain "weltanschauung", or philosophy of life. These features that may influence the creation of an art collection, seems to be coherent with the "zeitgeist" of a particular society or culture. While the features of a particular society influences the artist in his or hers creation of the artwork, the features of the current society also influences the founder of an art collection and the decision makers, as well as the corporate culture. Therefore a comprehensive Iconological interpretation

should include a study on the personality of the founders or decision makers of each art collection, as well as of the time period and society in which the collection is founded. Thus it should also include a deeper study on the political, poetical, religious, philosophical and social tendencies within the particular society. Here I only briefly include some of these elements as making a complete Iconological interpretation of each of the included collections would be too extensive. A comprehensive Iconological interpretation however, is very suitable for an in depth study of a single case, or a very small number of empirical cases.

However, several of the qualities of the collections that are analyzed above also implies the symptom of "something else" than the art collection itself, and shows how features of the current societies influence art collections founded in different time periods and societies. Therefore the interpretations above are also in one sense Iconological, although my methodological approach does not primarily apply Iconology as a basic research method. An Iconological interpretation may also include the gender situation in the current society, which varies in different cultures where particular gender values and norms are collectively learned. As we have seen most corporations avoid artworks that contain motifs opposite to the dominating social norms and values in a society, for instance of pornographic and blasphemous nature. Also these social norms and values are "something else" than an art collection, although the current social norms and values are applied in most corporate collections. The same is the case with the cultural capital of the founders and decision makers, which is also "something else" than the collection, although it may be included in an Iconological interpretation of the collection, as a part of the founders or decision makers' personality and philosophy of life. Some of the qualities that appear in the analysis above can be summarized as follows within Iconography and Iconology:

Matrix 4: The Iconography and Iconology of art collections

	Pre-iconographic	Iconographic analysis	Iconological interpretation
Time and style	Materials, type and size, art expressions	Art history, definition of "isms" and styles	The society and time period of the creation of the art
Personality		The total expression; nostalgic, future oriented etc.	The "zeitgeist" of the current society and corporate culture
Gender	Size, motifs and art expressions	Masculine, feminine or mixed	The gender situation in the society and among artists
Pure art	Content or motif	"Pure" or offending art	Norms and values in the current society
Spaces of art	Integrated, internal or external museums	Corporate trend	Tendencies in the society and among corporate founders and decision makers
Territorial dimension		Geographical origin of the art, local, national, regional etc.	Dominants and tendencies in the art world
Capital		Estimate of the economic capital of the corporation	Cultural capital and values of the founder and decision makers

3   The Business Perspective on Visual Art

3.1   OBJECTIVES OF COLLECTING ART

3.1.1   Why do corporations collect art?

As pronounced in my second research question, I also examine the objectives of collecting art. Even though most corporations are competitive, it seems that many corporations, independent of their national origin, have several objectives in common by purchasing art, often affiliated to corporate values and visions. The most distinguished objectives of collecting art are pronounced as; 1) to create a desirable work environment for employees, to contribute to increase creativity and innovation through the emphasizing of culture and human relations, 2) the brand factor, art collections integrated in the corporate brand for the sake of identity, public relations and image, and 3) collecting and supporting art as a part of corporate social responsibility (CSR), philanthropy and human values.

Although many corporations have relatively clear conceptions of the objectives of collecting art, the real benefits are difficult to reveal, even when many employees claims that the cultural and decorative aspects of art reinforces their comfort and well being at work, and contributes to creativity. If the art collection contributes to increase the comfort and creativity of employees, or if it makes the employees "feel" more comfortable and creative, one benefit is gained. But in turn increased comfort and creativity are expected also to increase the productivity of the business which is the core purpose of good human relations within corporations, although this is often a hidden objective. To what extent art actually increases productivity is uncertain and relatively hypothetical. That also applies to the benefits of the brand factor of art, as well as of the social responsibility factor where one of the objectives of supporting art is to gain a good reputation. To search for evidence of the real economical benefits of corporate art needs longitudinal quantitative data from many corporations. Such data should also be collected before and after introducing art into the business, for if possible to measure the potential economical effect of art. In other words, one must look beyond the cultural and human value of art and look for

economical benefits that can be addressed to the art collection; both internal, in respect of increased productivity, and external, how the brand factor of art and the CSR and goodwill factor of purchasing and supporting art contribute to the economic benefits. Even then, the result may be uncertain. As also Martorella claims, it is difficult to reveal the real gain of an art collection:

> In reality, little is known of art's actual ability to fulfill its stated objectives such as enhancing recruitment efforts or encouraging creativity, but the educational efforts of an administrator contribute to raising the level of cultural sophistication of its employees. (Martorella 1990)[190]

3.1.2 To create a desirable work environment

3.1.2.1 *To increase the well being of employees*

In my examination of Norwegian corporations in my Master Thesis, many employees reported that the art has several positive effects, such as contributing to their well being, inspiration, job satisfaction, creativity and personal satisfaction. (Hagen 1999) The positive experiences were often connected to their education, social background and personal art preferences; or in other words, they were connected to cultural capital. (Bourdieu 1995) Some experienced that the art was purchased mainly for the well being of the employees, and as expressed by an employee in a financial business, where the art collection mainly consists of figurative National Romantic art:

> The art can contribute to develop aesthetical consciousness, and by being non-provocative and of high quality it makes me happy, and makes the company a good place to work. (Hagen 1999)[191]

While naturalistic and Romantic art often instantly can provide good feelings among employees, contemporary and abstract art can be experienced as strange and difficult to understand and relate to, at least before people get used to it. Later on, when the employees become familiar with the abstract artworks, these art expressions can make them feel satisfied and proud of the art. (Hagen 1999) Obviously art collections and art in corporate buildings can be experienced on the same terms that Østerberg uses to characterize architecture; as a relief or a burden, (Østerberg 1998) as mentioned in chapter 2.1.5. Although most employees are positive about the art at their workplace, they also experience

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[190] Page 42
[191] Page 38

some disadvantages, for instance when the art is experienced as offensive or depressive, or in other ways that contribute to disturb their comfort and well being at work; or with the term of Østerberg; if it is experienced as a burden. As some corporate employees in Norway express, they can be provoked and irritated by some artworks. However there is a distinction between provocative and offending art. While provocative art can engage and contribute to create interesting discussions among employees, which is not negative, offending art can be experienced as unacceptable, usually because of a sexual, religious, violent or political content, and as described in chapter 2.2.2.1 sometimes such art has to be removed. It may also be contradictory experiences with provocative art. An executive manager in a Norwegian corporation included in my Master Thesis told me about his attraction to an artwork in the collection that was considered to be provocative. While he was engaged by the artwork, and found it interesting, many of the employees regarded it as offensive, and demanded for it to be removed. (Hagen 1999) Another disadvantage that employees may complain about, is the money spent on art, which may be experienced as provocative for employees who would have preferred that the corporation raised their wages than spend money on art. (Hagen 1999) (Martorella 1990)

Some claims that there has been a shift in the focus of collecting art among corporations during the last decades, from being a promoting tool to become more personal focused, which also seems to impact on the attitude of employees to art at work. As described by Harry Quadracci, the founder of Quad Graphics; "Art has transformed our workplaces into works of art".[192] The conception is that because art makes a corporation special it makes the employees feel special, which makes people want to work there. Thus an objective of collecting art may also be the desire for attract new and highly qualified employees.

The employees' access to art in their workplace varies with type of business, corporate culture and type of building. For practical reasons it may not be desirable to hang paintings on the walls in a dusty production hall, although factory buildings may be decorated with art integrated in the architecture and sculptures may be placed in a park outside of a factory. Office buildings and headquarters have normally few such practical obstructions for displaying art, except for the problems that may appear in the new open planned and glass walled office buildings which actually lack walls where they can hang art. Headquarters and corporate offices are also embedded with people in different job positions. Although traditional work hierarchies have changed in many corporations there are still hierarchical structures left to organize the work,

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[192] http://home.netcom.com/~the-iaa/directoryofcorporateart/id13.html, (08.27.2008)

spanning from executives and consultants to secretaries. Such hierarchies may also be reflected in how art is displayed. Although many corporations have art in most offices and common rooms, from executive offices and client-centered spaces, to ordinary employee work areas, art may still be displayed in a hierarchical manner, as also discussed in chapter 2.1.6.1. As Martorella claims, many newer headquarters in the US from the mid seventies have their own executive floors which are expensively furnished and decorated with artworks from well-known artists that are placed in spaces designed especially to display expensive and important art. (Martorella 1990) While the executive areas of many corporate buildings are provided with important and expensive art, work areas of the employees may have less expensive art, such as prints and posters for decorative purposes. Also Solhjell claims that the cultural and economic value of the art collection declines with the distance from the ritual rooms, which means that employees in lower job positions have lower quality of art in their offices and work areas. (Solhjell 1995)

3.1.2.2   *The creativity and innovation factor of art*

While older businesses often prefer to communicate their age, stability and reliability by collecting nineteen century art, oriental rugs and antiques, newer corporations often collect contemporary art to communicate that they are "creative and innovative". (Martorella 1990) This seems to be a common "mantra" for many corporations that are collecting art today, and an important objective pronounced by many corporations is; "to stimulate creativity and innovation" among the employees. Seemingly it also exists as a particular conception that challenging artworks will stimulate and motivate the employees to become more creative and productive. (Martorella 1990) (Hagen 1999) The "creativity and innovation mantra" of corporate art seems particularly affiliated to newer collections of Contemporary art, similar to the architectural mantra described by the American architect Peter MacKeith in respect of the new glass walled and open planned architecture of new corporate headquarters which is also expected to increase creativity and innovation, (MacKeith 2005) as discussed later in chapter 4.1.5.

In other words; many corporations believe that art can increase creativity by being intellectually stimulating and contribute to diversity in thinking. Since the stimulation factor of art particularly seems to be connected to Contemporary art, this may sometimes imply art that is provocative and leads to discussions, which might appear to some as the opposite of avoiding offending art. Still some prefer Contemporary art just because of its ability to provoke, as they believe that this can "…trigger creative thinking and imaginative problem solving" and become;

"…the device to stimulate change and creative thinking." (Martorella 1990)[193]
An executive in a Norwegian corporation included in my Master Thesis,
complains about the fact that their art is too kind, and not challenging enough.
She likes art that gives her thoughts and reflections. Another executive describes
that he gets more inspired by challenging and provocative art, and has more of
that kind of art at home. He also express that he often prefers art that is disliked
by others. (Hagen 1999) As mentioned in chapter 2.1.5, Michael Klein, the
former chief curator at the art collection of the Microsoft Corporation, points out
that the art may well be provocative and make people passionate for or against an
artwork, because this only shows that "the collection works". (Stanger 2007) As
also reported by Martorella:

> A curator in Seattle reported feeling a sense of accomplishment when he
> overheard two executives arguing vehemently over an abstract painting
> in the employee cafeteria. The curator thought it made excellent use of
> their work time. (Martorella 1990)[194]

Seemingly art may contribute positively to discussions and engagements among
employees, while art that crosses the border and becomes offensive also becomes
a negative burden to some employees that may also contribute to de motivation.

3.1.2.3 *The educational aspect of corporate art*

Many corporate art consultants and directors consider the educational role of art
to be an important objective of the corporation's art collection. They provide
information on the artist, and publish catalogues and brochures on the collection.
They also arrange internal lectures on art, tours of the art collection and visiting
external art galleries that make the employees more familiar with Contemporary
art. Educating the employees also diminishes the criticism of purchasing art, and
justifies the art collection by its humanizing effect on the workplace. (Martorella
1990) As mentioned in chapter 2.2.3.2, corporations can be characterized as
client-centered or people-oriented, and according to Martorella, the more
education that is given on art within a corporate art program, the more people-
oriented is the company. The role of the art educational programs is often to
convey a notion of change symbolized by offering art to all employees, that
makes art become "a facilitator for social change". (Martorella 1990)

When the founder of the Norwegian chocolate factory Freia in 1923 ordered 12
large paintings from Edward Munch, the main objective was to decorate the

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[193] Page 38 and 39
[194] Page 39

women's dining room in order to improve their work environment and to give them good art experiences besides their wages. (Freia 1988) However, an unpronounced objective for the art was as mentioned in chapter 2.1.5.1, that high quality art would have an educational effect and improve the dining manners of the female employees. This notion is similar to the beliefs of Ruskin, Morris and other members of the Arts and Crafts Movement who believed that art experiences had an educational effect that could help people manage their lives. They also considered art and an aesthetical environment as important premises for education and for developing good manners. (Eng 1918)

3.1.2.4 *Artists as role models; flexible and artist-like organization of work*

According to Martorella, the creativity and innovation belief that is ascribed to the art can also be seen as an "imperative" where flexibility, diversity and creativity are part of the corporations' methods of being competitive in new and deregulated markets. (Martorella 1990) An interesting connection between art, creativity and corporations is that artists to a great extent seem to have become role-models for people within the new businesses with their new flat leader structures and new and flexible ways to organize work. As characterized by Olins, instead of "white-collar" workers employees in the new businesses have become "T-shirt workers" that can work wherever and whenever they like. (Olins 2004) Or in what the American social economist Richard Florida strikingly describes as the "no-collar" workplace. (Florida 2002) The "free and creative" attitude may be encouraged by the lifestyle of artists, who are represented in many corporate offices through their anticipated "creativity boosting" artworks. As described by Florida;

> At some small high-tech and design firms, the ambience can seem downright raucous: bold wall-sized artwork and posters, broken surfaces with exposed pipes and beams, lounge areas and play areas, blaring rock music. (Florida 2002)[195]

Also the German sociologist Valerie Moser claims that artists have become role models within the modern businesses. In her study she describes that artists have become role models for the modern business life in Berlin, (Moser 2008) where the traditional lifestyle of artists, with their free social practice, habitus and long history of job precariousness, are adopted by young people within the new economies who prefer working on short term projects and to be hired on short term contracts instead of being permanently employed. This new lifestyle is far more flexible than regular employment, but at the same time it is also far more

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[195] Page 122

precarious as with artists. According to Moser, analyzing the field of art can therefore be instructive for identifying larger trends and emerging commonalities between the art world and the business world. (Moser 2008) The notion of creativity is by the way also reflected in the recruitment of new employees, as many corporations seek "creative persons" in their job offers advertisements.

3.1.3   The brand factor; art integrated in the corporate brand

3.1.3.1   Art collections integrated in the corporate brand

In many corporations today the art collection is closely related to branding, and some corporations include the art in their brand, as a part of their public relations program. Thus art may be ascribed a similar function as the logo and visual profile of which the main task is to communicate desired messages to the external world; to customers, clients, business partners, competitors and the public. The tradition of using art as a part of the public relations program has developed during the twentieth century parallel to the growth of corporate art collections. According to Crane, leading business executives in USA in the seventies claimed that their corporations supported the arts partly as a social responsibility activity, and partly due to self interest; the latter both in respect of improving the work environment for their employees and as a part of their public relations program. (Crane 1987) She is questioning why corporations select art as "a vehicle for public relations", and mentions one hypothesis; that the arts have been used as a medium of communication with the middle class who consider the arts as expressions of the human condition, representing social values and beliefs. As the former president of CBS has expressed, quoted in Crane; the essential values of the public;

> …are most clearly evident, and in some instances evident only, in the arts – in music, the drama, and the dance, in the architecture and design and in the literature of the people and of the times. (Crane 1987)[196]

Art collections may also give status to existing and emerging corporations in their efforts to create, improve or change their images. A common objective of high quality art collections is that it shall communicate that the corporation represents the same high quality. (Hagen 1999) As Martorella reports from an American bank:

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[196] Page 8

> The primary objective for our program is to provide high-quality art consistent with our desire to project the bank as a leading, progressive and successful institution. (Martorella 1990)[197]

Another example mentioned in chapter 2.1.3 is a Norwegian finance corporation included in my Master Thesis, which mainly collect and display naturalistic and National Romantic Norwegian art from the late nineteenth century, to express that they are financially stable and reliable, as National Romantic art in Norway is particularly expensive. A third example is described by the former curator of the art collection of Microsoft Corporation, Michael Klein. According to Klein the art collection of Microsoft should reflect the profile of the company, which is that Microsoft is a young corporation that employs a youthful workforce. Thus the collection consists mainly of contemporary art made by living artists.[198]

Showing high quality also affects where the art is displayed. Serving as a reference for the customers and external business partners, the most important and valuable part of the art collection is often displayed in areas for business and customer contact, such as in "…executive reception areas and main corridors trafficked by high-powered clientele." (Martorella 1990)[199] As mentioned by Shirley Reiff Howarth in the International Directory of Corporate Art Collections, corporations have become more knowledgeable and selective when purchasing art. The function that is ascribed to the art collection has changed from being a promotion and selling tool to reflect internal cultural values:

> The art collection is now viewed as a part of the company's overall image...The art, rather than being used to promote and sell, is used instead to reflect the corporate culture and what is unique about that particular company.[200]

The human relation aspect of corporate art may also be used by some corporations as a cover up for undesirable activity, for instance within industries marked by pollution and harmful emissions. According to Martorella this may be initiated by a desire to offset criticism of production and practices which can harm the environment, for instance oil and tobacco companies and production that can lead to cancer. In such cases the art collection, reflecting human values and social consciousness, may contribute to suppress critics and improve the image of the corporation. (Martorella 1990) As described by Crane, also the

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[197] Page 30
[198] http://home.netcom.com/~the-iaa/directoryofcorporateart/id13.html, (08.27.2008)
[199] Page 31
[200] http://home.netcom.com/~the-iaa/directoryofcorporateart/id13.html, (08.27.2008)

German artist Hans Haacke has argued that corporations have been seeking to influence liberals of the middle class by supporting art that was considered as "high culture", and thus they hoped to avoid liberal criticism. (Crane 1987)

3.1.3.2 Art as economic investment

The common conception of that corporations collect art to invest money may be a myth more than reality today, if art investment is considered as a way of "storing money", although the myth may be valid among private collectors and small businesses. In large global corporations however, often with 2-300,000 employees, the art collection can hardly be considered as the money box that can save them from economic disease in times of crisis, as in the global economic recession in 2009. According to Martorella, most corporations do not willingly discuss art as a money issue either. On the contrary, many are sceptical of using money on art, and purchasing art has to be justified to their shareholders and employees who would rather have preferred a raise in their salary. (Martorella 1990) By making art perceived as beneficial to employees, and showing good will by helping local artists, this contributes to justify corporate art investments. Although the value of art may rise, art investments are potentially unpredictable, and many corporations express that they do not consider art as an investment. As claimed by Martorella it is rather the art dealers that focus on the investment potential of purchasing art. (Martorella 1990)

Although the investment factor of purchasing art may be low, the corporations have become smarter in avoiding art that will not last. The increased use of art curators and art advisors have improved their ability to choose important expensive art that also represent a potential investment; not in the meaning of the potential for earning money, but to make sure that it is not a wasted use of money. One aspect of considering art as a useful economic investment is that high quality art displayed in lobbies and atriums contributes to improve the status of a corporate building, which means that corporations can achieve a higher rent for letting out available offices in buildings with high quality art. Sometimes it also improves the image of an undesirable neighborhood. (Martorella 1990) Through a selective art acquisition, high quality corporate art similar to high quality architecture and art museums such as the New Museum on Bowery street at the Lower East side of Manhattan, can also contribute to the gentrification of former undesirable areas. According to Crane, powerful businesses and real estate developers in New York, together with the tourist industry have benefited from the expansion of cultural activities. The arts infrastructure, consisting of galleries and related services has led to a gentrification of several areas of

Manhattan, for instance the Soho district where property values have increased after the creation of an artistic community in the area. (Crane 1987)

3.1.4   Corporate social responsibility; philanthropy and human values

An important objective of collecting art is to display the corporation's emphasis on human values. Due to the supportive aspect of collecting or sponsoring art, it may also be seen in light of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and corporate giving based on philanthropic traditions, although it is not necessarily considered as giving. As claimed by Jacobson;

> Philanthropy is a charitable act, an act of mercy. Patronage and sponsorship of the arts are, in their purest forms, a kind of educational stock with a high-yield cultural return. (Jacobson 1993)[201]

It is a distinction between sponsoring art by supporting art activities and art education economically and art patronage. While some corporations collect art accidentally or by purchasing high quality art from various artists, some become patrons collecting art mainly from a limited number of selected artists. As described below, in chapter 3.1.4.1, Becker claims that corporations have become the new patrons of the art world today. (Becker 1984) Others do both, and supporting art by giving is still a significant practice among corporations. Martorella describes how corporate gift-giving in the US increased in the 1930s, by a new belief in "corporate responsibility", after the social and industrial crisis in the beginning of the century. To contribute to a healthy society was in the self-interest of corporations, and insured the corporate profit. (Martorella 1990) Due to this many US corporations today support and collect art as a part of their philanthropic program.

The tradition of corporate giving also varies in different countries. While philanthropy and corporate giving rests upon old traditions in the US, it has been practically none-existent in Norway up to the present. The difference between Norway and USA in respect of corporate giving can be explained by different political systems. In Norway almost all education, culture, health services and social welfare are mainly financed by the state, while many of these services in the US to a great extent are financed by private means and donations. In the latest years however, the attention in respect of more philanthropic activity has increased also among Norwegian corporations, not at least in the case of supporting the arts. But Norwegian corporations still have a long way to go to reach the value of donations and support provided by US corporations. On the

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[201] Page 9

other hand, the Norwegian state is among the most distinguished supporters in respect of long term giving and emergency aid to developing countries and on occasions of natural disasters.

Unlike Norway, where most art museums are financed by the state, many of the famous art museums in the US are founded and supported by corporate founders and corporations. Jacobson describes that in the nineteen thirties particularly two corporations set the precedence for others to get involved in visual arts: "The Rockefeller Center real estate development group", and "International Business Machines", IBM, both located in New York. (Jacobson 1993) As mentioned above, Jacobson rejected that supporting art should be regarded as a philanthropic matter, as she claims that patronage and sponsorship of the arts are more to be considered as a kind of educational investment, giving a high-yield cultural return. (Jacobson 1993) Others claim that corporate supporting of art is a considerable part of corporate philanthropy. As described by the American economist Charles Clotfelter, the current President of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York, Reynold Levy,[202] claims that no one contributes as much to the arts as the committed American corporations. In addition to grants and economic support they lead other like-minded firms, foundations and suppliers to join the case with their support. They can invite colleagues to performances and openings, and respond to invitations to fundraising events such as dinners, sports events and theatre parties. They can also arrange corporate meetings in art spaces and invite to art events and advertise the event or their associations with an art organization in the media and on billboards, and thus promote "the bona fides" of both the corporation and its cultural partner. (Clotfelter 1999)

The corporate part of the private support of arts in the US has grown remarkable. In 1964 about $16 - $21 million, or only 5% or less of the corporate contributions was allocated to the arts. In 1977 the contribution had grown to $100 million, or 6, 5% of the total corporate gifts. In 1994 companies had given $875 million to the arts, which represented 12% of the total gifts. It was also observed by the Business Committee for the Arts that about 55% of all US businesses offered cash donations to arts organizations in 1994. (Clotfelter 1999) Also Martorella points out the quantity of philanthropic support of the arts in the US, as many corporations believe that supporting the arts gains the business, by communicating their human values. The corporate gift-giving to the arts was $350 million by 1981, or approximately 12% of corporate gifts, and by 1987 the corporate support had reached $500 millions. (Martorella 1990) Based on

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[202] http://bigthink.com/reynoldlevy (05.12.2011) Levy was formerly the head of the AT&T Foundation.

numbers provided by Martorella and Clotfelder, the increase of the corporate support for the arts in the US from 1964 to 1994 seems to be:

Matrix 5

1964	$16-21 millions	5% of corporate giving
1977	$100 millions	6,5% of corporate giving
1981	$350 millions	12% of corporate giving
1987	$500 millions	
1994	$875 millions	12% of corporate giving

According to Martorella the significant growth of corporate support to the arts in the nineteen eighties, can be addressed partly to the continuing construction of new headquarters in the US during the post-war period, and partly to the boom of the financial services industry between 1974 and 1986. The boom occurred coincidently with an increasing awareness of art, particularly post World War II and Contemporary American art, within the corporate art world. (Martorella 1990) The boom is also reflected in the growth rate of the GDP in the US which is at its highest peak in 1984.[203] As mentioned above, also the corporate interest in collecting art declined after 1990, which is supported by the table. Although the table lacks information on the art quantity of corporate art giving in 1987, the table does indicate that the percentage of giving in respect of supporting art has stagnated in 1994.

3.1.4.1 Corporate patrons

Corporate patronage represents an interesting field between supporting art and corporate giving, which also enlightens the antagonism between art and business. On the one hand, corporate support may be a welcoming contribution for a "poor artist". On the other hand patronage can contribute to the development of some selected artists, and neglect others. Thus corporations today may have a crucial impact on the development of the art world. (Becker 1984) Unlike Europe the USA had no aristocracy or a single religious institution such as the Roman Catholic Church that could figure as patrons like those in Europe before the entrance of Modernism. Until the beginning of the twentieth century the nation was weak, and the support of cultural institutions and museums was controlled by the local elites. According to Zolberg the tradition of supporting art did not appear in the US before the country had become a strong state and a major world power in the beginning of the twentieth century. (Zolberg 1990) But because of the tradition of corporate patronage in the US that developed through the 1900s, it may also be a connection between corporate patronage and the internationally dominating position of Contemporary American art today, as it appears in the

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[203] http://www.indexmundi.com/united_states/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.02.2011)

most important international art galleries and art fairs such as Art Basel and Frieze Art Fair in London, as showed by Alain Quemin (Quemin 2008) and Femke van Hest, (van Hest 2008) and discussed in chapter 2.1.7.2.

Becker describes how corporations have become the new patrons, developed in a similar way as the patronage of the church and the sovereigns. When the Italian and French merchants and business men began to collect art in the 17-1800s, the Paris Salon arranged art exhibitions to present artists who they could consider for economic support. The aim was to show the appropriate cultivation and taste for their social positions. (Becker 1984) According to Veblen, this appropriate cultivation and taste was also a "mark of the master". (Veblen and Mills 1994) With the entry of modernism in the late 1800s, and the new parole "Art for the sake of art", which came with the Impressionism and the following new styles the former patronage system broke down and was replaced by a new system of dealers, galleries and critics. (Becker 1984) Today the galleries are often specialized within certain styles, and support new artists that show enough talent to be part of their stable of artists. Each gallery has its own circle of buyers and collectors, who recommends the gallery's exhibitions to other potential buyers. The gallery then tries to convince new buyers to become art collectors by appealing to the acknowledgement they will get by showing their good taste and art connoisseurship to others. (Becker 1984) According to Becker, the motives of the art collector spans from art snobbery and economic speculation, to a genuine interest and engagement with art; or it may also be motivated by a collect-mania. (Becker 1984)

Due to the essential antagonism between art and business, there are several interesting paradoxes related to art and art patronage. By collecting art corporate collectors also contribute to the sustainability of the art world. Corporate collectors as well as art museums which are often founded and supported by corporations or corporate founders, are playing a significant role for the maintenance of the production and development of visual art. The founder of MoMA, the Museum of Modern Art in New York; one of the most important museums of modern art in the world, which opened in 1929, was Abbey Aldrich Rockefeller, the wife of John D. Rockefeller jr., who was the director of Standard Oil and J.P. Morgan US Steel Company in the early nineteen hundreds,[204] and the developer of the Rockefeller Centre.

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[204] John D. Rockefeller jr. was also affiliated to several other companies, as GE, RCA, NBC, RKO, Associated press, Times Inc. and Chase National bank, now J.P. Morgan Chase.

One photo removed

MIH Photo: 88 (left) Eksterior, Museum of Modern Art, New York, Mars 2007
MIH Photo: 89 (right) Interior, Museum of Modern Art, New York, Mars, 2007

Abbey Rockefeller was also the mother of Nelson Rockefeller, who became Governor of New York and Vice-President in the USA, and David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Board of Directors and Chief Executive Officer of the Chase Manhattan Bank N.A. and Chase Corporation, and Chairman of the Rockefeller Group Inc.[205] Both of the brothers were members of MoMA's board of trustees, where Nelson Rockefeller was president from 1939-1941 and 1946-1953, and David Rockefeller was an active leader from 1962-1972, and 1987-1993.[206] By collecting and supporting art to the extent of the corporations affiliated to the Rockefeller family, these corporations are significant patrons of our time.

As described by Becker, patrons have different objectives for collecting art. The German conceptual artist Hans Haacke showed how corporate leaders describe their relationship with collecting art in his exhibition; "On Social Grease" at the John Weber Gallery in New York in 1975. The exhibited installation consisted of a series of 6 text-based photo-engraved magnesium plates mounted on 76 x 76 cm aluminum plates, each with a quotation from newspaper interviews and speeches on art made by six corporate leaders and celebrities. (Grasskamp, Nesbit et al. 2004) Among other the following statements which are also quoted in Becker; (Becker 1984)[207]

Nelson Rockefeller:[208]

> My appreciation and enjoyment of art are aesthetic rather than intellectual. I am not really concerned with what the artist means; it is not an intellectual operation – it is what I feel. (Haacke 1975)[209]

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[205] Wikipedia, (06.27.2008)
[206] D. H. Stapleton and K. Rose, 2004, Rockefeller Archive Center.
[207] Page 105-106
[208] Museum of Modern Art, Trustee. In 1975 Vice President of the USA

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Frank Stanton (CBS):

> But the significant thing is that increasing recognition in the business world that the arts are not a thing apart that they have to do with all aspects of life, including business – that they are, in fact essential to business. (Haacke 1975)[210]

Robert Kingsley (EXXON):

> EXXON's support of the arts serves the arts as a social lubricant. And if business is to continue in big cities, it needs a lubricated environment. (Haacke 1975)[211]

As mentioned above, the degree of corporate patronage varies in different countries. According to Martorella, the rapid growth of corporate art patronage in the US which increased heavily in the 1980s occurred simultaneously with the retrenchment of government institutions and museums, the boom of the financial services industry, and the growing consciousness of corporate art, and because of this, many corporations in the US today rival art museums. In respect of patronage, Martorella claims that art can be seen as an interdependent process between the artist and the corporation as a patron. Thus she is questioning the interdependence between modern corporations and contemporary art, and the influence of corporations on the development of art and art styles. (Martorella 1990) In the case of the American art world, Crane describes how a major element in respect of the expansion of the art market from the middle of the nineteen sixties, was an infusion of government and corporate funds. While only three corporate collections were registered between 1900 and 1919, 16 were registered between 1940 and 1959, and 76 corporate collections were registered between 1960 and 1979. (Crane 1987)

According to Martorella, corporate art collections can be seen as "a social product", and as a major concern for sociologists. Although an artwork is produced by an individual artist, both the production and dissemination needs consultants and managers who like it and buy it, for display in corporate buildings. This means that the art support system, including patrons and markets influences the content and the development of styles within visual art both by supporting selected styles and the careers of selected artists. As described by Martorella:

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[209] Page 116
[210] Page 117
[211] Page 120

> The world of the marketplace, including critics, dealers, museum
> curators and patrons, affects career opportunities, genre and styles.
> (Martorella 1990) [212]

And further:

> The marketplace, together with the collector, defines levels of taste and
> connoisseurship; these in turn encourage certain styles to emerge and
> proliferate. (Martorella 1990) [213]

As discussed in chapter 2.1.5.1 the development of art styles may also be
political, as described by Braadland, who claims that encouraging the
development of Abstract Expressionism in the USA in the post World War II
period was a consequence of denying figurative art encouraged by the Soviet
Union, and formerly the Nazis. (Braadland 2008) Also corporate collections may
be influenced by public politics, as the managers affiliated to art investments
sometimes are politicians, for instance Nelson Rockefeller, who as mentioned
above was the Governor of New York from 1959-1973, and Vice President in the
US from 1974-1977.[214] In Norway several major corporations are partly owned
by the Norwegian state, which means that politicians may influence the
acquisition of art in these corporations indirectly, for example the art collection
of Telenor that was established to decorate the new headquarters of the
corporation, where a former Norwegian minister of culture was engaged in the
planning process. This means that corporate support of art on some occasions
may be intertwined with governmental politics or political parties.

3.2   ANALYZING OBJECTIVES OF COLLECTING ART

3.2.1   Introduction

In the following, I examine the business perspective of corporate art in Norway,
the USA, Japan and France, which means the objectives of collecting art as this
is expressed by some of the corporations included in my study. However, as the
amount of information I have on each corporation varies, and some do not
consider their art as a collection, while others seemingly have no pronounced
objectives for purchasing art, I make explicit that I focus mainly on corporations
for which I have enough information to include in an analysis of the objectives of
purchasing art. This means that not all of the collections are equally included in
the following analysis. As discussed above, it seems to be three common main

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[212] Page 10
[213] Page 6
[214] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nelson_Rockefeller (02.03.2011)

objectives for collecting art. To repeat, these objectives are; 1) to create a desirable work environment for employees. This objective includes comfort, creativity, innovation and education. 2) The brand factor, art collections integrated in the corporate brand, for the sake of public relations, and 3) collecting and supporting art as a part of corporate social responsibility (CSR). This objective includes giving, sponsorship and patronage.

3.2.2 Norwegian corporations

3.2.2.1 Telenor

As discussed in my Master Thesis, several Norwegian corporations that possesses an art collection describe that the major objectives of the collection is to increase the comfort and well being of their employees, and to increase creativity and innovation. (Hagen 1999) A similar objective is also described in the guidelines of the Telenor Art Collection;

> Telenor needs creative and innovative performers. We believe that a diversity of light, colors, forms and art in the working environment helps increase creativity. Art is about sensing, dreaming, experience and reflect(ion). These are all important qualities for people that create new ways of doing things. [215]

This means that creativity and innovation is a major objective for the art collection at Telenor. The corporation believes that art increases creativity and innovation. An interesting aspect of Telenor considering art as a "creativity booster" is the extremely flexible organization of work that is practiced at the corporation's headquarters, which also reflects an "artist lifestyle and way of work", as this is described in artist myths, discussed in chapter 3.1.2.4. The organization of work is flexible in several ways. The headquarters of Telenor has 1) no regular desks for employees, who can choose a new desk to work at every day. 2) The employees are free to decide where they like to work, and can work from their private homes if they want to. 3) They can also work at what time they like, as long as they fulfill their duty of work. 4) The chief executive officer also works together with the employees, although he also has his own office. 5) The architecture is harmonious with the flexible organization of work, and has open planned work areas. Although one cannot claim that Telenor's art collection has led to this flexible and "artist like" principal for organizing the work, the artist myth may have influenced the way they organize work in respect of the efforts that are made to increase creativity. In other words "the artist way" may play a

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[215] Telenor Art Collection – guidelines, January 2008

role in the corporate ideology that makes the basis for such ways of organizing work. As stated in the guidelines for the art collection;

> Since 1998, Telenor has been committed to enhance the role that architecture, design and the visual arts play in ensuring aesthetic well-being and profiling. The Telenor Art Collection is a key element in this effort.[216]

Employees at Telenor say that the art collection contributes to their well being in a similar way as the emphasized architecture of the headquarters, and contributes to make a pleasant working environment. The employees mainly experience the art collection as inspiring, but some artworks are also experienced as provocative, and have led to debates among employees. For instance Jenny Holzers digital text strip, where the text contains statements about sexual abuse is described by employees as "a depressive message from a mother to her child". Although this artwork may disturb some employees, the corporation confirms its provocative content, as stated in their website; "…a neon-red LED-display shows provocative statements streaming across the main façade in Jenny Holzers text installation."[217]

As mentioned in chapter 2.2.2.1, some artworks have also had to be removed, for instance an artwork made by the controversial artist Bjarne Melgaard, because the artwork had a religious content that could offend people from foreign cultures, or be experienced as blasphemous. Although most corporations avoid displaying art that can be experienced as offensive, as this is not good for business, as well as possibly be a burden to employees, Jenny Holzers text-stripe is listed among the corporation's major works of art, together with Daniel Burens pillars and a giant aluminum child sculpture made by Maria Miesenberger. It appears that an important objective of the collection is also to create a museum like art experience; "...like walking through a museum of international contemporary art", where "art can be inspiring and encouraging, as it can be disturbing and provocative".[218] Indeed art experiences in museums may sometimes be disturbing and provocative, or at least particular exhibitions can be. But at the same time the corporation also states that;

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[216] Telenor Art Collection – guidelines, January 2008
[217] http://www.telenor.com/en/about-us/culture-and-art/art-at-work/print/y (02.14.2011)
[218] http://www.telenor.com/en/about-us/culture-and-art/art-at-work/print/y (02.14.2011)

> We like to care for our people by surrounding them with art. Our vision is to inspire people with museum quality art, located not in a museum but in the office buildings…[219]

In other words, a contradictory dilemma occurs when the intention is both to take care of the employees, to make them feel well at work, and at the same time, exposing employees at work to disturbing and provocative art. The question is then, should art at work be disturbing and provocative? As described by one of my informants, an American art advisor, "large corporations prefer "safe" art expressions which are not political or make people feel uncomfortable." Still the art may well lead to discussions, and as revealed by another informant, also an art advisor, some corporations encourage discourses about their art among the employees through e-mails and publications, which may be a way to get feedback on how employees experience the art, and whether some are offended or not. However, in respect of the educational aspect of the Telenor collection, both employees and visitors get information about the collection through exhibitions and guided tours, for instance groups and school classes. There is also an information plaque beside each artwork, with a presentation of the artist and the current artwork. In addition, Telenor provides information on the art collection on the Internet, and in various publications.

According to Telenor, the art collection is integrated in the corporation's visual profile, and the international recognized art shall contribute to strengthen the corporate identity and its visual communication to the surroundings. Telenor also reveal a belief in how the art collection can contribute to both inter-personal and inter-cultural communication, an ability that is often ascribed to art, particularly by art teachers, as mentioned in chapter 1.1.4. As pronounced by Telenor:

> Artistic expressions and imagery are gaining an increasingly strong position in the communication between people and between cultures. The Telenor Art Collection forms an integral part of the Telenor group's visual profile.[220]

The art collection of Telenor shall also signalize that the corporation is innovative and creative; qualities that are considered as an advantage in respect of business partners and customers, as well as in the recruitment of new employees. As described by Telenor;

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[219] http://www.telenor.com/en/about-us/culture-and-art/art-at-work/print/y (02.14.2011)
[220] Telenor Art Collection – guidelines, January 2008

> Telenor's art collection shall communicate innovation and creativity as well as support Telenor's core values, with particular emphasis on: be inspiring…The art collection shall reflect the times in which we live, be inspiring, challenging and forward-looking.[221]

As described in chapter 3.1.3.2, an art collection integrated in a corporate building can also improve the status of rental offices, as in the case of Telenor, where a considerable part of the headquarters facilities today is let out to other firms. To contribute to a strong profile, Telenor also lends out art to professional museums and galleries, as this increase the value of the collection. The collection is lead by the Board of the collection, who must approve every important decision about the collection, such as lending art to museums. The board consists of representatives from the facility management, the communication department, other departments and the corporation's art curator, and reports to the President and CEO of Telenor.

Telenor has developed cultural concepts within music and visual art for Scandinavia, Europe and Asia, under the label "The Telenor Culture Programme", and as stated on their website; "We do not just sponsor culture, we create culture".[222] Since 1995 the corporation has awarded outstanding performances within the arts, such as music, film, theatre, literature and visual art, with "The Telenor International Culture prize", and 250,000 Norwegian crones, or 50,000 USD. In 2010 the prize was won by the Danish-Icelandic artist Olafur Eliasson, and in 2009 by the Norwegian actress Liv Ullman. From 1995 three visual artists have been awarded, including a photographer.[223]

3.2.2.2 Statoil

A major objective of the art collection of Statoil is that the collection shall contribute to improve the work environment for the employees. As described by to my informant, the art shall stimulate the employees through a beautiful and pleasant work environment. The art collection shall be a source of reflection, inspiration and creativity, and as pronounced by the Human Relation Manager (HRM) of Statoil, Jens R. Jenssen;

> We are building our collection because we believe in art, and the appreciation of art, is a natural part of a good life and a good working

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[221] Telenor Art Collection – guidelines, January 2008
[222] http://www.telenor.com/en/about-us/culture-and-art/culture-programme/print/y (02.14.2011)
[223] http://www.telenor.com/en/about-us/awards-and-recognitions/print/y (02.14.2011)

environment – a source of reflection, inspiration, pleasure and creativity. (Jenssen and Våga 2008)[224]

The art collection is expected to unite feelings and rationality, contribute to learning and development and at the same time; having fun. As pronounced by Jens R. Jenssen; "Art connect feelings and rationality in a way that give us unique opportunities of learning; development, amusement and creativity."[225] According to my informant, the employees enjoy the art collection. Some employees experiences are also presented on the corporation's websites, describing how employees experiences the art; "Each time petroleum engineer Berit Moltu passes Per Kleiva's Midsummer night in the office corridor in Stavanger, Norway, she gets an energy boost".[226] She describes why she likes that particular artwork as following;

> Because it's one I'am confronted with every day…and I smile when I pass it in the morning on my way to work…To me, the fence represents the distinction people tend to make between "them" and "us"…In our new more open modes of work, we cut across such dividing lines. That requires us to break down the fences which enclose us…I am also fascinated by the aesthetic quality of the picture. I think it's Kleiva's clean lines which attract me…It also has a touch of western Norway and since I am from this region myself, it's my "personal" landscape.[227]

She also reveals that; "I think art can contribute significantly to job satisfaction, and that our art collection helps to improve the work environment", and additionally; "Art can create pride and be an identity-builder in the workplace".[228] There is no doubt that art can create positive feelings, but we should also have in mind how art is experienced does, in accordance to Bourdieus findings, also rely on peoples education and social position, (Bourdieu 1995) which is also shown in my Master Thesis on corporate art in Norway. (Hagen 1999) In this case the employee is an engineer, which implies a high education.

As described by my informant, Statoil has increased its emphasize on the educational aspect of art, and considers the art collection as a source of development and learning. The collection is built on these four pillars; to

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[224] Page 11
[225] http://www.statoilhydro.com/no/aboutstatoilhydro/sponsorships/artprogramme/pages/art.aspx (08.26.2008) (My translation)
[226] http://www.statoil.com/no/About/ArtProgramme/Passions/Pages/MyChoiseBeritMoltu.aspx (01.15.2010)
[227] http://www.statoil.com/no/About/ArtProgramme/Passions/Pages/MyChoiseBeritMoltu.aspx (01.15.2010)
[228] http://www.statoil.com/no/About/ArtProgramme/Passions/Pages/MyChoiseBeritMoltu.aspx (01.15.2010)

educate, impart knowledge, exhibit art and awarding art through the art award founded in 2007. As described by Statoil, the leaning concept of the art collection consists of "art walks"; regular guided tours for employees and others, "art talks"; learning sessions integrated in art exhibitions, "art spotlight"; particular learning events connected to particular issues of contemporary art and "art impulse", which is an integrated part of the corporations internal leadership programs and other internal learning programs.[229] The educational aspect of the art collection has been reinforced during the last years, an initiative that is supported by the employees, who ask for more lectures and courses, and for a better access to the art collection.

As described by my informant, an important objective of the art collection is also to strengthen the identity of the corporation, and to show that the corporation is modern and innovative, and a pleasant place to work. As told by the HR Manager Jens R. Jenssen;

> The art programme is one of the tools that contribute to defining our corporate identity with our values as the framework. We work systematically to form and develop a performance-oriented corporate culture based on our core values; courageous, open, hands on and caring. For us, it is therefore natural to acquire and display art that send signals about innovation, experimentation, diversity, openness and respect. (Jenssen and Våga 2008)[230]

The collection shall also make Statoil appear "as a corporation that owns art", and some of Statoil's representation facilities outside of the headquarters are used as galleries to show art created by selected artists. To highlight the art collection, Statoil receives groups and school classes. The art has become a part of the "spirit" of Statoil, and most visitors experience the art collection as exciting. By purchasing Norwegian and Nordic art, to display to foreign visitors and in the corporation's branches abroad, Statoil is also an ambassador in promoting Norway and the Nordic culture globally, to other countries. But the collection is at a stage of further development, and at the moment Statoil is considering a more "brave" art acquisition, for instance by purchasing installation art. The decisions about purchasing art are made in close collaboration with the HR Manager, and the corporation is also considering whether they shall transform the collection into a foundation, and raise the budget for purchasing art.

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[229] http://www.statoil.com/no/about/artprogramme/elements/learning/learningandcommunication.aspx (01.15.2010)
[230] Page 12

Corporate giving has been practically none existent in Norway up to the present, although sponsorship activity, such as sponsoring sports events and athletes is not new. But this is changing, as corporations more and more also support the arts, in a similar way that they support sports, through sponsorship. So far corporate art support in Norway is modest compared with other countries. Still, one way of supporting art as claimed by Statiol, is that they purchase contemporary art, created by living artist, and particularly by young and upcoming artists. Statoil has also established an annual music award and a visual art award of about half a million Norwegian kroner, or 100,000 USD, that is awarded to young and promising visual artists every second year.

3.2.3   US corporations

3.2.3.1   *Oracle*

It is claimed that Oracle has no art collection, and seemingly visual art is not emphasized in the headquarters, although architecture seems to be highly emphasized. Oracle focuses on and supports three main areas; education, protecting the environment and enriching the community, including medical research and healthcare. Seemingly, supporting art is not emphasized in the corporation's description of their CSR activity.

3.2.3.2   *HP*

According to my HP informant, the corporation does not put so much effort in collecting art. The reason for this is, when the founders, William (Bill) Hewlett and Dave Packard started the company in 1939, it was important for them to keep the work environment as simple as possible, because they decided to focus on human values rather than material values. Obviously, at that time visual art was not regarded as to represent human values. Although there is little emphasis on art, the artworks have information labels on the wall. But the employees do not usually pay much attention to the art, and do not talk particularly about it. Still, as described by my informant: "It is nice to have images such as photography on the wall to look at, for instance during meetings". While some employees are not interested in art, others are. As told by an employee;

> I love art and fully believe it helps contribute to a room: the feeling, the atmosphere, and the mood. We are at work so much that even a softer color can help. I used to walk around the building a lot for my old job and I loved seeing the art on the walls (it also helped me know my way around the building).

Obviously some employees emphasize the creativity factor of art, although this is seemingly not considered to be an objective of the HP collection; "I believe art, photography, even listening to my music helps with my creativity." Art is also considered to increase the home-feeling of the workplace; "We spend so much time here that it is things like art that make the building look more like "home", and a nicer place to work – more comfortable, less corporate". According to my informant, most of the employees at HP are not concerned about the art collection as a factor for creating corporate identity. Still some are aware of the lack of concern about the public relation factor of art:

> I think art plays a role in the sense that you want people to remember your identity, your company and your workplace… A lot of success for a company can be connected to its marketing methods and I see art at a company as one of those marketing tools…

From 1969 the main objective for HP is to perform good citizenship, but supporting art or art education is seemingly not emphasized in their CSR activities. As pronounced by HP, the corporation shall;

> Meeting the obligations of good citizenship by making contribution to the community and to the institutions in our society which generate the environment in which we operate.[231]

3.2.3.3   Chevron

The main objectives of the Chevron art collection are to create a pleasant work environment, and to reflect the diversity within the corporation. According to my informant, a central idea of the art collection is to show the diversity of the global branches, both in respect of where the branches are located, and as a gesture to the great amount of employees from different countries who are working in the headquarters. By displaying art from the countries where they operate, Chevron wants to show their inclusive policy, and make people from various parts of the world feel at home. This applies both to employees from different countries and to visitors from abroad. An educational aspect of the collection is that all the objects have information labels on the wall, describing where they come from, and the former function of the objects. Although not all Chevron employees are particularly interested in the art, my informant made an interesting observation about an artwork that was first disliked and was moved to another place in the headquarters. Moving the artwork led to massive protests among employees

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[231] http://www.hp.com/hpinfo/globalcityzenship/environment/commitment/hp_environmental_history.pdf (10.09.2009)

working in the department where it originally was placed. This is an interesting phenomenon that describes how people often do not see the value of something before it is gone.

The corporate responsibility program is built on the corporation's values and vision, named "The Chevron Way", which is; "…to be the global energy company most admired for its people, partnership and performance".[232] Chevron participates in a great number of global CSR activities within three main areas; basic human needs, education and economic development, and sponsor projects to improve health, infrastructure and education, included cultural activities such as folkloristic dance and youth programs for visual art. An important goal is to create human energy, by enabling the environment for successful community engagement and economic development, and the corporation supports education and culture programs in several developing countries such as Congo and Venezuela.[233]

3.2.3.4   JPMorgan Chase

As described in the catalogue "Collected visions", the art collection of JPMorgan Chase started as an experiment in 1959 in the former Chase Manhattan Bank, when David Rockefeller was the president of the bank. But soon the collection became a model for all corporations, as the prototype of corporate collections. (Erf, Roe et al. 2008) Collecting art became a strategic plan, and as described by Erf et al., an:

> …innovative benchmark of Rockefeller's leadership was an external
> advisory Art Committee to help guide the company as it
> institutionalized its art program. (Erf, Roe et al. 2008)[234]

The committee included the art historian and director Alfred H. Barr and art curator Dorothy Miller from the Museum of Modern Art, the art curator and director James Johnson Sweeney from the Guggenheim Museum, the art curator Robert Hale from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the director Perry Rathbone from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the architect Gordon Bunshaft from the Skidmore, Owings and Merrill architects who had designed the new headquarters. Actually it was Bunshaft who first initiated the idea of complementing the simple and modern architectural design of the headquarters with contemporary art. Additionally the art historian and former curator of the Art Institute of Chicago, Katharine Kuh played a significant role as the art

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[232] From the brochure: "Accounting & Finance Opportunities", Chevron Corporation 2006
[233] From the brochure: "Engaged Communities", Chevron Corporation 2006
[234] Page 19

advisor of the First National Bank of Chicago, today included in JPMorgan Chase. (Erf, Roe et al. 2008)

As discussed in chapter 2.1.8.1 visual art and the corporation represent contrasting qualities. While art is subjective, intuitive, personal and free in expression the corporation represents the objective, logic, hierarchical and follows an established protocol. Still the art may be beneficial to the corporation, and an important objective of the JPMorgan Chase collection is to challenge its audience "…to be open to diverse, new ways of thought and expression, cultural and intellectually". (Erf, Roe et al. 2008) All the artworks have labels on the wall, to describe the artwork and the artist, as the art shall contribute both to learning and to create a pleasant work environment to employees. In respect of learning, the corporation sometimes invites artists to talk about their own artworks in the collection. As revealed by a representative of the corporation, quoted in Jacobson;

> The collection would also provide enjoyment and education for members of our staff and visitors, and serve as means to give encouragement to contemporary artists. (Jacobson 1993)[235]

According to my informant, the art is a part of the corporate branding. As also expressed by the founder of the collection David Rockefeller, quoted by Haacke in his installation "On Social Grease" in 1975, mentioned in chapter 3.1.4.1:

> From an economic standpoint, such involvement in the arts can mean direct and tangible benefits. It can provide a company with extensive publicity and advertising, a brighter public reputation, and an improved corporate image. (Haacke 1975)[236]

Although the value of art may rise, art investments are potentially unpredictable, and many corporations express that they do not consider art as an investment, an attitude that is also expressed by my informant at JPMorgan Chase, who says that the bank is rather donating art, instead of selling out art, if something leaves the collection. Another informant, an American art advisor, also reveals that corporations rarely sell artworks from their collection, and as reported by Jacobson;

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[235] Page 50
[236] Page 118

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> … the bank has never sold a work from its collection, a fact that makes it a trustworthy place for important art to go, as prestigious and probably safer than many museums. (Jacobson 1993) [237]

Supporting art is one of several activities included in the social responsibility program of JPMorgan Chase. The objectives of supporting art are described by David Rockefeller who was also the former Chairman and CEO of Chase Manhattan Bank and the Chairman Emeritus at The Museum of Modern Art;

> Beauty is not of course, a solution to the pressing problems of hunger, poverty, and strife that plague the world today, and the love of beauty cannot and should never reduce one's sense of responsibility to one's fellow man. On the contrary, I believe that creative possibilities presented by beauty in art should inspire us to seek at least equally creative approaches toward achieving a harmonious society.[238]

An interesting aspect of this statement is that it is similar to the thoughts of Ruskin and his like-minded described in chapter 1.1.1, who meant that art alone was not the solution of hunger and poverty problems, but art could contribute to educate people as a way to prevent hunger and poverty. (Eng 1918) Another interesting aspect, is that it also relates to what Max Weber call the "ethics of Protestantism", and the "spirit of capitalism", describing how wealthy people, through an ethical norm are obliged to provide charity to the less benefited. (Weber 1981) An early progressive strategy of the collection was to acquire art objects in the countries where the firm does business. The corporation believes that sharing art with their employees and the public can significantly enrich the cultural life where their branches are located, and encourage people to think differently. As expressed by the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer at JPMorgan Chase & Co., Jamie Dimon:

> We believe that supporting the creation of art – and sharing it with our employees as well as the public – can significantly enrich the cultural life of the communities where we do business. Art encourages people to think about things differently, to accept different points of view and to express their own ideas. (Erf, Roe et al. 2008)[239]

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[237] Page 50
[238] http://www.jpmorganchase.com/cm/cs?pagename=Chase/Href&urlname=jpmc/comm... (11.13.2008) (2004 Catalogue: JPMorgan Chase Art Collection)
[239] Page 7

The corporation is actively supporting several educational programs in art, such as providing grants to integrated art education lead by the Museum of Modern Art in New York. As described in their Corporate Responsibility report in 2007; "Because we believe creativity unleashed via art and self expression is a critical component to quality learning, we invest in arts education programming".[240] A new education experience at MoMA is the annual program for New York City public school children: "JPMorgan Chase Exploring the Modern". As described by the corporation;

> Both have collections that challenge traditional definitions of art and believe art creates an environment for dialogue and learning. Through the experience of seeing and actively discussing the issues and ideas raised by art, youth are encouraged to develop their critical thinking skills by learning how to talk and think about things differently, to accept different points of view, and to articulate their own views and ideas.[241]

JPMorgan Chase supports art both in general, as well as specific artists either by collecting works from selected artists, or by sponsoring them. The corporation supports arts and culture, to; "increase community access to rich cultural resources that foster creativity, promote self-expression, celebrate diversity and strengthen our environment".[242] They also sponsor; "…art exhibitions and performances that enhance the quality of life in the communities we serve",[243] to enrich these communities. The collection lends out art to art museums and arranges educational activities. As described by the corporation;

> …the program administers an active museum loan program, originates travelling exhibitions, provides educational programming for internal and external audiences, and supports the firm's global philanthropic and sponsorship activities.[244]

In 2004 JPMorgan Chase sponsored the reopening of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, after a renovation period. Apparently there are close bonds between the corporation and the museum, as many of the members of the board of the collection come from the museum. As described on the corporation's website;

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[240] JPMorgan Chase Corporate Responsibility Report 2007.
[241] http://www.jpmorganchase.com/cm/cs?pagename=Chase/Href&urlname=jpmc/comm.. (11.13.2008)
[242] http://www.jpmorganchase.com/cm/cs?pagename=Chase/Href&urlname=jpmc/comm.. (11.13.2008)
[243] http://www.jpmorganchase.com/cm/cs?pagename=Chase/Href&urlname=jpmc/comm.. (11.13.2008)
[244] http://www.jpmorganchase.com/cm/cs?pagename=Chase/Href&urlname=jpmc/comm.. (11.13.2008)

> As you know, we enjoy a distinctive history with MoMA through our shared connection with David Rockefeller. David initiated our own art collection in 1959 when he was president of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Key MoMA members were also called upon to build what has become the JPMorgan Chase Art Collection.[245]

Artworks from the collection are also displayed in tour exhibitions, for instance an exhibition with artworks by Jean-Michel Basquait in 2005. The corporation also arranged a traveling exhibition in 2008, named "Collected Visions" to Istanbul and Dubai, displaying 70 artworks from the collection.

3.2.3.5   DWT LLP

According to my informant, the art shall be engaging; "The people in the company are interested in art, and like to have a variety of art to look at, something that is visually interesting". Many corporations prefer to collect art from particular artists, and as described by the International Directory of Corporate Art Collections, also the Davis, Wright, Tremaine collection includes several artworks made by the same artists, and thus the firm supports the current artists indirectly.[246]

3.2.4   Japanese corporations

3.2.4.1   Panasonic EW

The art collection of Panasonic Electric Works in Tokyo is gathered in an art museum located in the headquarters of the corporation. The museum is conducted as an independent museum, with its own management, and supported by Panasonic Electric Works. The Panasonic Electric Works Shiodome Museum Rouault Gallery is a collection that is mainly concentrated around the French early twentieth century artist Georges Rouault, and is the only art museum in the world that wears the name of the artist. (Masuko, Hagiwara et al. 2010) It is located on the fourth floor of the headquarters building and it is easily recognizable when entering the floor by the escalator or elevator. The central location makes it easy for employees to visit the museum, which was also a major idea in placing the museum inside of the headquarters; to offer easily accessible art experiences to the employees. But still, according to my informant, the museum experiences a relatively low interest among employees to visit the museum. Only 13% of the visitors are employees, and they have also noticed that

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[245] http://www.jpmorganchase.com/cm/cs?pagename=Chase/Href&urlname=jpmc/comm.. (11.13.2008)
[246] http://home.earthlink.net~corporate.directory/id4.html (01.24.2011)

the vast majority of the visitors are more mature persons over 40-50, and that about 60% of the visitors are female.

The low percent of employee visitors, 13%, means that the audience of the museum is mainly public visitors, who constitute approximately 87% of the audience. Although some of these external visitors may also represent business partners and the like, most of the visitors are obviously public people, as the museum is also open for the public audience. The locality on the fourth floor is easily accessible from the corporation's show rooms on the lower floors, where the corporation exhibits their products, and has many public visitors. Obviously the easy access to the art museum makes it appear as a factor in public relations. One of the objectives of the collection was also to offer art experiences to the society or as expressed by the museum, the works of Georges Rouault;

> …have been collected by the company as part of its cultural contribution to society. The museum aspires to create a new cultural space befitting its location in the twenty-first century urban setting of Shiodome.[247]

While a selection of the core collection, the works of Rouault, is permanently on display, the museum also arranges special exhibitions based on the works of the artist, for instance the "Georges Rouault pour UBU" in 2010, based on his illustrations in Ambroise Vollard's book "Réincarnations du Père Ubu" from 1932. (Masuko, Hagiwara et al. 2010) The museum also arranges exhibitions connected to the manufacture of Panasonic Electric Works, such as "Architecture and living", and "Life and design". As described by the museum; "By introducing new perspectives on space and material, we strive to enrich our everyday lives."[248] This also reflects efforts harmonious to corporate values concentrated in the corporation's slogan; "Ideas for life". The museum arranges various cultural events with the objective of "stimulate both the intellect and the senses", and;

> Through a broad variety of cultural pursuits, our aim is to create an environment which provides an oasis of inspiration for visitors within a busy urban surrounding.[249]

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[247] http://panasonic-denko.co.jp/corp/museum/en/ (02.15.2011)
[248] http://panasonic-denko.co.jp/corp/museum/en/ (02.15.2011)
[249] http://panasonic-denko.co.jp/corp/museum/en/ (02.15.2011)

3.2.4.2   Idemitsu

The Idemitsu art collection is gathered in the internal Idemitsu Museum of Arts in the headquarters of the Idemitsu Kosan Corporation in Tokyo. As described by the corporation, the museum is; "…a public interest incorporated foundation that is not part of the consolidated corporate structure,"[250] which means that the museum is considered as an independent institution supported by the corporation. Among the objectives of the Idemitzu collection, is to collect Japanese art objects both with the purpose of educating people today, and to preserve the art for new generations. As pronounced by the founder, Sazo Idemitsu;

> A museum is an art piece created by the people, therefore the presence of Japanese originality and beauty is essential. Its most important duty is to continue its collection of art masterpieces, not only for the education of the present but for the preservation of the artworks for the coming generations.[251]

In light of the public orientation of the museum, Idemitsu arranges events in the museum, such as the "Music in the Museum by Idemitsu", which; "…provide readily enjoyable experiments of fine arts, music and other arts".[252] The concerts are planned in the hope that the collection will deepen the experience of music, and "…that they will gain an intimate experience of the ways in which art can be a close and colorful presence that enriches our lives."[253] The Idemitsu Museum of Arts has a branch museum, the Moji in Kitakyushu, but Idemitsu also sponsors art exhibitions outside of the museums. Idemitsu has a broad CSR program, through which they conduct an active exchange with local societies, that contribute to enrich regional communities. As a part of the CSR activity, Idemitsu also supports culture, art and education, and among other they have arranged the Children's Art Contest in the Hokkaido Branch Office and Hokkaido Idemitsukai, awarded with a Grand prize and 20 awards for excellence.

3.2.4.3   Bridgestone

The founding of the Bridgestone art collection was initiated when a friend of Ishibashi, the founder of Bridgestone, the Japanese artist Sakamoto Hanjiro returned to his home in Kurume, after studying art in France, where he had developed his Western style of painting. He encouraged Ishibashi to collect paintings from the Japanese artists Aoki Shigeru, and before World War II he also started to collect art from Fujishima Takeji. Already at this point Ishibashi

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[250] Idemitsu Group CSR Report 2010, page 22.
[251] http://www.idemitsu.co.jp/museum/english/honkan/index.html (12.29.2010)
[252] Idemitsu Group CSR Report 2010, page 22.
[253] Idemitsu Group CSR Report 2010, page 22.

started to systematize his collection of art. After World War II, he also started to collect Western art, when Western art that was brought to Japan before the war started to appear on the art market in Japan, provided by people who started to sell out art in order to restore their assets after the war, (Curatorial-Department 2009) as mentioned also in chapter 2.1.7.3. The collection was concentrated on Impressionist and Post Impressionist paintings, and the following early twentieth century styles. An important objective of the art collection, was that it "…should not be kept private but should contribute to the society as a whole." (Curatorial-Department 2009)[254]

Inspired by the Museum of Modern Art in New York on a trip to the metropolis in 1951, Ishibashi decided to found a museum with his personal collection in the corporate headquarters that should be open to the public, similar to MoMA in New York, where he observed a diversity of people in all ages enjoying the art exhibitions. The museum opened in 1952. Four years later Ishibashi used his private funds to found the Ishibashi Foundation with a legal framework to ensure that the Bridgestone Museum of Art should remain as a public art institution also in the future. Ishibashi wanted to show that the high quality of the collection constituted its public value, although it was built by an individual collector. Based on the founders creed of the collection; "For the welfare and happiness of all mankind", the museum has, since its founding in 1952 "…expanded its collection, research, exhibition and education and outreach activities under each successive president of the foundation and director of the museum". (Curatorial-Department 2009)[255] During the last decades the collection has started to purchase art also from the last half of the twentieth century, such as Jackson Pollock's Number 2 from 1951, which was bought for the fiftieth anniversary of the Ishibahi Foundation. According to the Bridgestone Museum of Art: "Works of art and the museum that houses them are meaningless without the people who visit and enjoy them", (Curatorial-Department 2009)[256] a statement that shows the public attitude of this internal corporate art museum.

3.2.5   French corporations

3.2.5.1   *Cartier*

An objective of the Cartier art collection, since 1994 gathered in the Foundation Cartier Museum of Contemporary Art, is to support contemporary art; which shall reflect the image of a young and dynamic firm. As described by Alain-Dominique Perrain, the President of Cartier, quoted in Jacobson;

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[254] Page 9
[255] Page 9
[256] Page 9

> I choose to help contemporary art by creating a foundation since I wanted to continue giving Cartier the image of a young firm, full of life and dynamic, by associating it with a living art. (Jacobson 1993) [257]

According to Jacobson, Perrain considers Cartier's patronage activity to be a part of their public relations, as the international publicity given to the Foundation Cartier also represent an advertising campaign for Cartier. (Jacobson 1993) As pronounced by Perrain, quoted in Jacobson;

> … a company may choose between patronage and sponsoring, like between public relation and publicity. It is solely a problem of strategy. I think that for a company, patronage is a better means of communication than sponsoring, being more intellectual and qualitative since it is linked to culture just by semantics. (Jacobson 1993)[258]

According to Jacobson, Perrain regards patronage as an extra strategic choice, where the strategy of Cartier; to be a patron of contemporary art, rests upon an economical defensive policy of promoting culture. Unlike how the state, the church and the businesses have manipulated culture to mask their plunders through memorable times, Jacobson argue that "…a more open mutual relationship between culture and corporation is emerging". She also claims that "Cartier, among many businesses…practices enlightened corporate good citizenship". (Jacobson 1993)[259]

3.2.5.2 Société Générale

The main objective of the art collection of Société Générale, is to enliven the workplace for the about 6000 employees that are working in their headquarters in La Defense. The corporation wanted to make a pleasant workplace for the employees that is human, enriching and dynamic in respect of innovation. As described by the corporation;

> Its mission was to bring art to the heart of the company to enhance the living environment for employees and strengthen their pride of belonging to the group, sharing common values such as creativity and innovation.[260]

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[257] Page 34
[258] Page 18
[259] Page 35
[260] http://www.societegenerale.com/coulisses/quince-ans-d%E2%80%99engagement-pour-art-contemporain
(01.13.2011)

Although the main purpose of the collection is to improve the work environment for employees, it has grown to become an important source for public relations. From lending out artworks from the collection so other could see it for the first time in 2000, to its position as an internal communication power today, as the art collection has also become "a PR trust for clients". Also in 2004 the corporation displayed a part of the collection to the public as a part of the corporations communication strategy, to enable the collection "…to shine in innovation terms as a contemporary art player" and "…to develop a different way of talking to customers, and of communicating about the group's activity."[261] With the art collection Société Générale also aims to show that they are a bank that is "turned towards the future".

Today artworks from the collection are often lent out to art museums in major cities in France, and as mentioned in chapter 2.2.5.2, the corporation has joined into mutual partnership with external art museums and fairs, such as the FIAC[262] held in Paris in October 2010 at the Grand Palais. During the art fair Société Générale offered a special tour in the collection located in the headquarters, an opportunity that is usually reserved for employees.[263] In addition to the human relation objectives, another objective of the collection is to show social responsibility by supporting art, which is one of the citizen values of Société Générale, both in respect of the internal and external public. The support is also described as patronage, and as expressed by an artist in an interview with a communication officer of Société Générale;

> In general, there are two ways of artistic patronage. The first one I like least aims to be a communication tool. It is especially suitable for companies in the field of fashion or creativity. The second is a sponsorship of social nature: it enables employees to have access to culture within the company.[264]

The same artist expresses that "the Société Générale is great because the staff meet some of today's art in its buildings".[265] As described on the website of the corporation, an important aim of the collection is also "…to illustrate Societe Generale's commitment to contemporary art".[266]

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[261] http://www.collectionsocietegenerale.com/ (01.21.2011)
[262] "Foire Internationale d'Art Contemporain"
[263] http://www.societegenerale.com/coulisses/quinze-ans-d%E2%80%99engagement-pour-l%E2%80%99art-contemporain (01.13.2011)
[264] http://www.societegenerale.com/coulisses/une-collection-qui-se-transforme-en-legendes (01.13.2011)
[265] http://www.societegenerale.com/coulisses/une-collection-qui-se-transforme-en-legendes (01.13.2011)
[266] http://www.collectionsocietegenerale.com/ (01.21.2011)

3.2.6 Comparing the objectives of collecting art

Matrix 6 shows the objectives of collecting art in the included corporations where such objectives are expressed; based on informal conversations with key informants and employees, a few questionnaires from random employees, books, catalogues and other corporate publications, including corporate websites.

Matrix 6: The corporation's objectives of collecting art

	Desirable work environment	The brand factor	CSR art support & activities
Telenor 1998/2002	Creative and innovative work environment. Increase the well being of employees. A diversity of light, colors, forms and art helps increase creativity. (Some may disturb/provoke). Educate employees and visitors through exhibitions and guided tours.	Included in the corporate brand. To strengthen the corporations identity and visual communication to the surroundings. Communicate innovation and creativity and support the corporations core values, with emphasis on: be inspiring	Supporting new art. An annual award in various types of arts, one type every year. Receive visitors and school classes.
Statoil 1985	Make a good work environment, art is a source of reflection, inspiration, pleasure and creativity. Connect feelings and rationality that give unique opportunities of learning; development, amusement and creativity. The art is a part of the spirit of Statoil. Emphasizes the educational aspect of art. Learning events and art lectures	To strengthen the corporate identity and make the corporation appear as modern and innovative. The art is a tool that contributes to define the corporate identity with its values as framework. Acquire and display art that send signals about innovation, experimentation, diversity, openness and respect.	Supports Nordic art by purchasing art from young Nordic artists. Dedicating certain areas to particular artists. Visual art award every second year. Receives groups and school classes.
Oracle (1989)	(No art collection)		
HP (1960)	No pronounced objective.	Not pronounced.	Not emphasized
Chevron 1985 (?)	To make a pleasant work environment. Increase the well being, and make employees feel at home. Reflect the diversity of the employees and visitors from countries where they operate.	To communicate diversity.	Supports diversity in culture as gesture to foreign employees and visitors. Sponsor cultural activities and youth programs for visual art in communities where they operate.
JPMorgan Chase 1959	To enrich cultural life, stimulate creativity, Challenge its audience to be open to diverse, new ways of thought and expression, cultural and intellectually. Contribute to inspiration and increase the well-being of employees. Emphasizes the educational aspect of art.	The art collection is a part of the corporate brand, and contributes to the corporate identity.	Purchases art to support art from where the firm does business. Supporting the creation of art and sharing it with employees and the public can significantly enrich the cultural life of the communities where they do business. Long support of visual art, artists, art exhibitions and art education. The art program administers an active museum loan program.
DWT LLP 1991	The art shall be engaging and visually interesting to employees.	(No information)	(Apparently: Support art by purchasing several artworks from the same artists).

Matrix 6 (continuing): The corporation's objectives of collecting art

	Desirable work environment	The brand factor	CSR art support & activities
Panasonic EW 2003	Internal and easily accessible art museum. To offer easily accessible art experiences to employees, Cultural events to stimulate both the intellect and the senses. Enrich the everyday life of people,	(Open to the public)	Cultural contribution to society by offering art experiences. To create a new cultural space in the location in the twenty-first century urban setting of Shiodome. An oasis of inspiration for visitors from a busy urban surrounding.
Idemitsu 1966	Internal and easily accessible art museum. Arrange cultural events in museum, and concerts in hope of that the collection deepens the experience of music, and gain an intimate experience of how art can be a close and colorful presence that enriches our lives.	(Open to the public)	Continue to collect art masterpieces for the education of the present and the preservation of the artworks for the coming generations. Supports culture, art and education. Art contests for children.
Bridge-stone 1952	Internal and easily accessible art museum.	(Open to the public)	The art collection shall not be kept private but contribute to the society as a whole. For the welfare and happiness of all mankind. To expand the collection for research, exhibition, education and outreach activities.
Cartier 1984	External art museum. (Open to the public)	Give Cartier the image of a young firm, full of life and dynamic, by associating it with a living art. Patronage of contemporary art as part of the public relation, as a better means of communication than sponsoring, being more intellectual and qualitative. The international publicity given to Foundation Cartier represent an advertising campaign for Cartier.	Patronage as a contribution to good citizenship. An extra strategic choice, to be a patron of contemporary art as an economical defensive policy of promoting culture.
Société Génerale 1995	Enliven the workplace for the employees. Make a pleasant workplace that is human, enriching and dynamic in respect of innovation. Strengthen the pride of belonging to the group, sharing common values such as creativity and innovation.	An important source of public relation, a PR trust for clients. Shine in innovation terms as a contemporary art player. Develop a different way of talking to customers, and communicate about the group's activity. To appear as innovative and turned towards the future.	Show social responsibility by supporting contemporary art, including patronage. A citizen value both in respect of the internal and external public. Mutual partnership with external art museums and fairs.

3.2.6.1   A desirable work environment

As Oracle seemingly does not have an art collection as such, and I have not been able to get relevant information from HP in respect of their objectives of collecting art, only 10 of the collections are analysed here. In addition I only have limited information about the American Davis Wright Tremaine LLP, which means that in a part of the analysis below, only two of the US corporations are included; Chevron and JPMorgan Chase. Although several of the

corporations talk about their art collections in related terms, it is interesting to observe that they use different words to express their objectives of collecting art, and the different ways of talking about the collections seems to make a pattern. Five of the ten corporations state in similar ways that the art collection shall contribute to increase the well-being of the employees (Telenor), create a good work environment (Statoil), make a pleasant work environment and make people feel at home (Chevron), increase the well-being of employees (JPMorgan Chase) and make a pleasant workplace (Société Générale). Four of these five corporations; Telenor , Statoil, JPMorgan Chase and Société Générale, all with contemporary art collections, also express that their collection shall contribute to creativity. Only one of the included corporations, Telenor, express that their art collection also includes art that may be disturbing and provocative, an interesting statement that seems to oppose to the statement mentioned above; that the art collection shall "increase the well-being of employees". Still, to disturb and provoke is hardly the main objective of the Telenor art collection.

All the three Japanese collections are gathered in an internal art museum. An interesting observation is that two of the Japanese corporations, Panasonic EW and Idemitsu, express that the art collection shall "enrich" people's life. Both these corporations have art collections that are characterized as nostalgic in the visual analysis above and both also arrange cultural events in their art museums. This may reveal an interesting connection between 1) an internal art museum, 2) a nostalgic art expression and 3) cultural events in the museums, which apparently creates intimate experiences in an atmosphere loaded with art and culture. As described by Idemitsu, cultural events such as concerts are arranged;

> …in the hopes that audiences will find their enjoyment of the music deepened by the Idemitsu Collection, that the music will provide opportunities for appreachiating the Idemitsu Collection, and beyond this, that they will gain an intimate experience of the ways in which art can be a close and colorful presence that enriches our lives.[267]

Apparently these events are arranged both for the employees and the external audience, who by "writing in on postcards" can receive free tickets to the cultural events. The interesting aspect of these intimate internal events of art and culture, which seems to include employees as well as people from the external audience, also for free, is that it reveals a notion of belonging, in terms of a family-affiliation, both connected to the corporation and the museum. In other words, the context and the events; internal art performance in a nostalgic art atmosphere,

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[267] Idemitsu Group CSR Report 2010. Page 22.

seems to catch the essence of desirable family values. Also JPMorgan Chase and Société Générale, both banking corporations that expect that art shall lead to creativity, also expresses this objective; that the art shall enrich people's life, which is obviously a different and more comprehensive desire than expressed in the phrase "to increase the well-being of employees".

Another interesting observation is that only the two US corporations Chevron and JPMorgan Chase express that their collections shall "contribute to diversity", both in respect of the value of diversity among employees and people in the community, and by reflecting diversity in thoughts. It is also an interesting emphasis on diversity that is expressed particularly by the two American corporations Chevron and JPMorgan Chase, which may be explained by their national belonging, and the multiethnic population in the USA. JPMorgan Chase also express a high emphasizes on the educational aspect of art, and has a long and broad tradition for supporting art educational programs. The educational aspect of the art collection is also expressed by the Norwegian corporations Telenor and Statoil. According to my informant, Statoil has become more aware of the educational value of art, and plan to expand their initiatives in respect of this.

3.2.6.2   *The brand factor of art*

The most striking differences in how the objectives of collecting art is expressed, is that none of the Japanese corporations describes their art collections in terms of public relations and branding. But at the same time all the Japanese collections are gathered in museums that are open to the public. Particularly the Norwegian and French corporations emphasize the public relations value of their art collections. As mentioned above, I lack information on some of the US collections, DWT and HP, but as HP do not seem to pay much attention to their collection, they probably do not emphasize the public relations value of their collection either. The US corporations which seems most conscious about their art collection as a part of the corporate branding, is JPMorgan Chase, who as described by my informant looks at their collection of contemporary art as a part of the corporations branding and corporate identity without pronouncing this particularly to the public. While the JPMorgan Chase collection is among the oldest collections included here, the four "younger" Norwegian and French collections of Contemporary art are founded between 1984 and 2002. Still the Norwegian and French corporations talk about their collections rather differently. Both Telenor and Statoil express that their art collections shall strengthen their identity, and make the corporations appear as innovative. In addition, Telenor also want to appear as creative. Similar to the two Norwegian corporations, also

Société Générale express that their art collection shall make the corporation appear as innovative and turned towards the future. An interesting observation then is that Cartier expresses some different objectives. Through their contemporary collection and patronage, Cartier likes to appear as being intellectual and qualitative, and with an image of a young firm full of life and dynamic. Besides that the four "younger" Norwegian and French collections represent different types of industries, it is an interesting aspect that the Cartier collection seems to diverge somewhat from the other three by seemingly being more "global", in respect of including art from developing countries. Two of the other "younger" collections of Contemporary International art, Telenor and Société Générale seem to include mostly art from Western industrialized countries, and as discussed in chapter 2.1.7.2 the "internationality" of such collections are actually more trans-national than international, to the extent that they exclude art from developing countries.

3.2.6.3   CSR related art support and activities

The included corporations support art and art activities in different ways, some as a part of their Corporate Social Responsibility program. Both the two Norwegian corporations express that they support contemporary art, Statoil by purchasing art from young Nordic artists, and by arranging annual art awards, Statoil awards visual artists more often than Telenor. Both receive visitors, groups and school classes. Both the two corporations Chevron and JPMorgan Chase support art and culture activities in the society and where they operate abroad. Although several of the corporations support education for needy groups in general, only JPMorgan Chase express explicitly that they support art education, which underpins their position as one of the oldest and greatest art collectors among the included corporations. A striking feature among the included corporations is that all the three Japanese corporations express in related ways the public commitment as an important objective of their art collections; "cultural contribution to society" (Panasonic EW), "…education of the present and preservation …for the coming generation" (Idemitsu), and "…shall not be private but contribute to the society" (Bridgestone). All of these collections are also as we have seen, open to the public, while the other collections, except of Cartier, are not open to the public, although some arrange organized tours for visitors, and lend out artworks for special exhibitions. An objective of the Cartier collection is, like the Japanese collections, to contribute to good citizenship and the collection is gathered in an external museum open to the public. A particular objective for the Cartier collection is to contribute to the society through patronage, which usually refers to supporting selected artists, although this is a bit unclear as they proclaim to be "a patron of contemporary art". Also Société

Générale mentions supporting art through patronage, but not as clearly expressed as by the Cartier collection.

It also appears like several others of the included corporations support selected artists, although this is not expressed as "patronage". Seemingly the US firm Davis, Wright, Tremaine purchase several artworks from the same artists. As mentioned in the visual analysis above, this firm also seems to have art representing Pattern painting, that was particularly practiced by Californian artists. As revealed by one of my informants, an American art advisor;

> Many corporations are supporting the local arts communities, and because of this they decide that a certain percentage of the collection shall be from the area where they are located, or from within a 50-100 mile radius.

Also Statoil purchase several artworks from the same artists, and dedicate certain areas in the headquarters to these artists, where several of their works are displayed together. JPMorgan Chase also has several artworks from the same artist displayed together, for instance silk screen prints by Andy Warhol. Also the HP collection has several series of artworks by the same artists, including Californian Pattern paintings, photographs and graphic prints displayed together. Several of the corporations express that they are purchasing art, also by the same artists, as a way of supporting art. Several also lend out art to museums, or collaborate with art museums as a contribution to the society. Some, particularly the Japanese collections also collaborate with other corporate collections, for instance by lending out art to thematic exhibitions; in 2010 the Panasonic EW collection in the Shiodome museum borrowed artworks from the Idemitsu collection for their thematic exhibition "Georges Rouault puor Ubu".

The traditions and expectations of corporations to perform Corporate Social Responsibility diverge from culture to culture, and may be based on bids that are embedded in different religions. Independent of religion, it also seems related to what Weber calls "the spirit of capitalism" that obliges wealthy people to help the needy, as mentioned briefly in chapter 3.2.3.4. In countries with a Protestant Christian faith, this also reflects "the ethics of Protestantism". (Weber 1981) Supporting art as an action of social responsibility may be to support younger artists who often live by poor means in the beginning of their careers, and some through their entire career. By supporting art as well as education, healthcare and actions to save the environment, the objective is as expressed by one of my informants: "to give something back to the society".

3.2.7   Summary and a tentative conclusion

As we have seen, the collected information and analysis above on how the corporations describe their objectives of collecting art, some interesting patterns emerge in respect of how they express their objectives in conversations and corporate publications such as brochures, books, catalogues, and websites, and which seems to vary also in respect of cultural belonging. The utterances that are forming the patterns are expressed linguistically, with small variations that seem to reflect cultural embedded attitudes. Analyzing the utterances also implies elements of discourse analysis, which as described by Alvesson and Sköldberg includes; "all kinds of language use (speech acts) in oral and written social connections, that is, utterances and written documents", (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000)[268] as mentioned in chapter 1.3.4.5. As described by Alvesson and Sköldberg an important premise of discourse analysis is that people are constructing their social world through their language, and select which words to use and which to reject. The selected words make a mode of expression that influences ideas and responses. (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000) By using certain words to describe the objectives of their art collections, the corporations also signal their culture as well as the culture of the society where they are located with its traditions and values.

Telenor, Statoil and Société Générale express clearly that their collection shall contribute to increase creativity among employees and make the corporation appear as innovative to the surroundings. These expressed objectives represent what I call the "the creativity and innovation mantra of art collections". It is striking how the objectives of all the Japanese corporations are expressed in terms of social concern; "to enrich people's life", or founded "for the welfare and happiness of all mankind", and shall "contribute to the society". The Japanese collections are also located in internal art museums open to the public. They express a notion of nostalgia and (at least two) arrange intimate cultural events that give an impression of family experiences. Seemingly these common features of the Japanese collections reflect a family oriented culture, which also influence corporate founders, leaders and cultures. In the history of several Japanese corporations presented in corporate publications, websites and corporate museums; such as the Panasonic Museum in Osaka, speak about how the founder and his wife in the early days took care of the employees as they were considered a part of the founder's family.

Also JPMorgan Chase and Société Générale, both banking corporations, describe objectives of their collections in terms of "enrich" the workplace or cultural life

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[268] Page 203

where they do business. None of these collections are accessible to the public audience although they both collaborate and lend out artworks to museums and art fairs where art from their collections are displayed to the public audience. It is interesting that two US corporations, Chevron and JPMorgan Chase proclaim that an objective for their art collections is to reflect and encourage "diversity" as this term also seems to be closely connected to the ethnic and social diversity in the American society and the diversity between the different countries and cultures where they operate and do business. "Education" is particularly expressed as an objective by JPMorgan Chase and more modestly by the two Norwegian corporations, and in general terms by others. Telenor, Statoil, JPMorgan Chase, Idemitsu, and Société Générale express that they "support" art, while Cartier emphasizes the word "patronage", which usually implies support of a few selected artists. Société Générale also uses the term patronage, but apparently less emphasized. Cartier is also the only one of the included collections that is gathered in an external art museum. Others may also support art but are described in other terms. Obviously "support art" signals an active attitude to art that can imply various kinds of art support, from economic support to artists, art education, art activities, exhibitions and art awards, to purchasing art from selected artists, particular styles or art acquisitions in general. It is also interesting to note that all the corporations that pronounce that they "support art" in different ways, except for Idemitsu, have collections of Contemporary art that are integrated within their headquarters. In other words, it seems to be a connection between collecting Contemporary art and supporting art actively.

PART III:
Architecture and Corporate Headquarters

4 The Flâneur Perspective on Architecture

4.1 THE VISUAL APPEARANCE OF ARCHITECTURE

4.1.1   Architecture, what does it look like?

Architecture is by its nature complex and has many layers of potential interpretations both in respect of functionality; how it is used, and of architectural form; how it looks. Also Walter Benjamin claims that there are two ways of approach to architecture; by using it, or to look at it, or as he specifies; tactical and optical. While the tactical approach is achieved through the habit, the optical approach needs concentration. (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991) The optical approach may be to judge the size, the height, the colour or the building materials, or it may be to judge whether the building represents a rectangular prism, a cube or a cylinder. It may also be to look at the size and placement of doors and windows, and which kind of roof the building has. Not at least it may be to identify the style of the building, and to recognise features of architectural styles, or how features of architectural customs within a culture manifest in the building. For instance the style of the house I live in, built around 1962, is apparently influenced by Norwegian medieval farmhouses and food storehouses, the latter usually placed on pillars to keep the rats away. The second floor of my house is a bit wider than the first floor just as in the old food storehouses. The narrow veranda that runs along one of the long sides of the second floor is similar to what was called "svalgang" or cooling porch in the medieval Norwegian farm houses. In this example the architecture has borrowed features of Norwegian medieval farm architecture, and borrowing features from earlier architectural customs and styles, is obviously a practise that is quite usual in many cultures.

4.1.2   Visual qualities; interpretation of architectural form

Many interpretations of architecture are based on traditions within the history and theories of art and architecture, and some through external disciplines such as social sciences. In a communicative perspective corporate architecture represents cultural utterances that can reveal information about organizations, similar to visual art and as discussed in chapter 2 and in my Master Thesis in Sociology.

(Hagen 1999) Being a sociologist and a visual artist, I am interested in architecture both as a social phenomenon and as expressions of architectural form. By architectural form I mean the design and the visual appearance of a building, which usually implies aesthetical judgements. But here I do not focus on the aesthetical aspect of architectural form. Instead I base my interpretations on the visual appearance and communicative potential of architectural form. My approach is, with reference to Benjamin; to look at architecture. By looking at architecture and to observe what it communicates, or how it may be interpreted, my main perspective is as described in chapter 1.3.3 the perspective of the flâneur. (Benjamin and Karlsten 1991) Here as I am not an architect, but a visual artist, this also implies the evaluating gaze of an artist looking for applied meaning expressed through abstract or figurative features of the architectural form, and for meaning applied unconsciously to the architectural form.

During my visual examinations of corporate headquarters, which also made me more aware of architecture in general, I observed several visual qualities of the architecture that I decided to examine more closely. These qualities are; 1) architecture with a recognizable form that seems to symbolize its content, or other recognizable objects and phenomenon, 2) architecture with a form that appear as gendered, 3) transparent and glass walled architecture with open planned work areas, 4) architecture which is interacting with natural environments, 5) architecture that seems to borrow identity from an area, or give identity to an area, 6) architecture that is communicating cultural capital and pecuniary strength, including architecture that appears as spectacular in size and form, and which sometimes leads to ethical dilemmas. To get a deeper understanding of these observations, I discuss the different qualities in light of applied theory, before the visual analysis of the included headquarters in chapter 4.2. For empirical examples I include photographs of corporate headquarters, office buildings and public architecture in general, for example churches, museums and concert halls.

4.1.3   Symbolism; ducks and objects in architecture

Trough the history of trademarks and logos, signs have often been given the form of, or been visually related to the product or type of company it represents, such as the bakers pretzel outside the bakery. A similar tradition appeared within architecture in the late nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, represented by a type of buildings which later became known as "ducks", after a road stand selling ducks in Riverhead, New York from 1931, "The Big Duck", which was actually shaped like a duck; the very product it was selling. (Izenour 1985)

One photo removed

Internet/Wikipedia Photo: 90 "The big Duck", Riverhead, New York[269]

Buildings that are shaped like the product they are selling, even if it is a hot dog or a bottle of milk, were all classified as "ducks" by the American architects Robert Venturi and (his wife) Denise Scott Brown in 1968, (Izenour 1985) based on an analysis that they presented later together with their architectural colleague and co-author Steven Izenour in the book; "Learning from Las Vegas: the forgotten symbolism of architectural form". (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)[270] In the same book they also focus on "decorated sheds", which basically refers to buildings with a front façade prepared for signs. As described by Izenour;

> A duck is a duck; it can also be a hot dog, a milk bottle or an elephant. A duck is a building whose function, structure and material are secondary to its representational quality or sculptural form. The building usually looks like what it is selling. Ducks are as old as the Trojan Horse, but only recently have they been rediscovered by architects, artists and architectural historians. (Izenour 1985)[271]

Venturi et al. define ducks and decorated sheds in these two manifestations;

> 1) Where the architectural systems of space, structure and program are submerged and distorted by an overall symbolic form. This kind of building-becoming-sculpture we call the <u>duck</u> in honor of the duck-shaped drive in, "The Long Island Duckling"…
>
> 2) Where systems of space and structure are directly at the service of program, and ornament is applied independently of them. This we call the <u>decorated shed</u>. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)[272]

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[269] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Big_Duck (05.21.2008)
[270] Henceforth the co-authors Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour is mentioned as Venturi et al.
[271] Page 64
[272] Page 87

More specifically they describe these two types of buildings as;

> The duck is the special building that is a symbol; the decorated shed is the conventional shelter that applies symbols. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)[273]

As specified by Izenour;

> Ducks are sculptural and three-dimensional – the building is the sign. Decorated sheds, on the other hand, are two-dimensional approximations of ducks….Classic vernacular examples of the decorated shed are the false front on a western store or the golden arches on a McDonald's of the 1960s. (Izenour 1985)[274]

The authors look at both kinds of architecture as "valid", claiming that;

> Chartres is a duck (although it is a decorated shed as well), and the Palazzo Farnese is a decorated shed", although they are also critical to ducks: "…but we think that the duck is seldom relevant today, although it pervades Modern architecture. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)[275]

According to Venturi et al., Gothic cathedrals have been considered as weak because of the lack of an "organic unity" between their front and sides. While the front functions as a two-dimensional screen for propaganda, the back consists of masonry systems. These two principals reflect the contradiction between image and function, which they claim is typical for decorated sheds and because of this the Gothic cathedral is also a decorated shed, announcing the hierarchy of saints and Christian mythology on the front screen. In addition, the building behind the front facade of the cathedral is also a duck, because it is shaped like a cross. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977) In other words, it is no coincidence that Christian cathedrals and churches have a ground plan shaped like a cross that is communicating the Christian faith. But seemingly there are also other ways to interpret the cross shape of the church, as mentioned by the American psychologist Rudolf Arnheim, who talks about the church as "a path" for the "pilgrimage to the sanctuary at the altar", where the crossing is "…a dwelling place for the worshiper on his way to the altar". (Arnheim 1977)[276] When the worshiper reaches the crossing, he has reached the cupola, the image of the sky

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[273] Page 87
[274] Page 64
[275] Page 87
[276] Page 89

and "the dwelling place of the divine power". (Arnheim 1977)[277] Arnheim claims that architectural symbolism where the shape of a building carries a conventional meaning was particularly present in the "medieval mind" that tended to see messages in every shape, and among other things how "the cruciform church" was representing the cross. (Arnheim 1977)

However, the high raised churches and gothic cathedrals stretch themselves in a sacral movement towards heaven, and as one might say; another way of showing people the way to God. As described by the Norwegian architect Christian Nordberg Schultz (1926-2000),[278] they bring "…the heavenly and earthly spheres together in one complex tale". (Norberg-Schulz 1980)[279] Also the Italian philosopher and author Umberto Eco mentions the "divine creative energy" of the Gothic churches and how the emphasis on the vertical was identified as "elevation of the soul Godward" to an extent that even in the Neo-Gotic churches of Manhattan, surrounded and miniaturized by skyscrapers, still have the same value today, because "they are still "read" on the basis of codes that permit one to recognize them as distinctively vertical". (Eco 1997)[280]
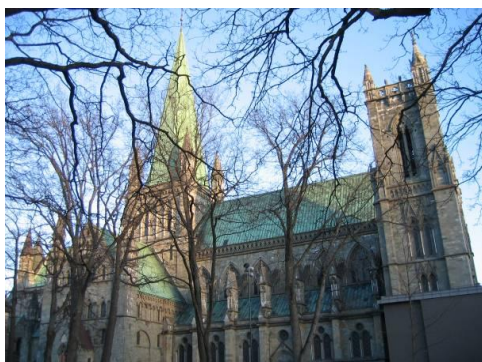
MIH Photo: 91 (left) The Nidaros Chatedral, Trondheim, Norway, April 2009
MIH Photo: 92 (right) The front facade of the Nidaros Chatedral, Trondheim, Norway, April 2009

Similar to the Christian mythology that appears on the front screen of cathedrals, other buildings with signs, added as decorative communicative elements may be considered as decorated sheds, for instance the Scottish Parliament Building in Edinburgh from 2004, designed by the Spanish architect Enrich Miralles,[281] and to which is added a decoration of repetitive black and brown shapes that I first thought of as pistols. My thoughts were; "what are all those pistols doing here?"

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[277] Page 90
[278] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Norberg-Schulz (05.13.2011)
[279] Page 111
[280] Page 189
[281] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scottish_Parliament_Building (04.05.2010)

Later a tourist brochure explained to me what the decoration was all about. It is symbolizing fishing boats turned upside down, to show the Scottish connection to the sea. However, according to Miralles' widow the forms are window curtains pulled back, while Miralles himself, who was fascinated by forms with different meanings, said that through this form he would evoke a Scottish icon, namely the Scottish painter Henry Raeburn's painting from the 1790's; "Reverent Walker skating on ice."[282] The decorations however, made of timber and granite are associated by people as tools, like anvils, hairdryers, hammers and guns.[283] So perhaps my pistol association was not so silly after all, and particularly not in light of that the famous actor Sean Connery, who was born in Edinburgh in 1930 and has become a Scottish "icon" through his figurative role of James Bond, which certainly deals with guns. Perhaps then the "pistols" on the Scottish parliament actually have something to do with the Bond figure? After all, Connery is called "the greatest living Scott", and was knighted in 2000.[284]

MIH Photo: 93 (left) The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh, July 2009
MIH Photo: 94 (right) The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh, July 2009

However, the architectural duck which I am most interested in here is of course a metaphor that refers to a building "shaped like its business", and functions as "the ultimate sign" of the business, communicating its content totally. Ducks in its original meaning are vernacular buildings that by many will be characterized as kitsch; nevertheless, some may be charming too. In my opinion the most interesting aspect of the ducks today is how this old vernacular idea is transferred in to high quality architecture mentioned by some as Neo Vernacular architecture. Similar to that of high quality architecture with unusual form also the most simple vernacular ducks or buildings with form fragments of the product can become "landmarks", not always because of their size, but because of an unusual and easily recognizable shape. In Norway a place called "Hjulet", in English "The Wheel" located at the edge of a lake by the former main road

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[282] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scottish_Parliament_Building (04.05.2010)
[283] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scottish_Parliament_Building (04.05.2010)
[284] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sean_Connery (04.05.2010)

south of Oslo, is a well known landmark for people in the Oslo region. It consists of a small building from the nineteen thirties that was selling car tires, with a large advertising sign formed like a big black rubber tire, formerly known as "The Askim-wheel", referring to the producer of the tires.[285] The vernacular commercial wheel has kept its position as a landmark, in spite of its size, and as many will claim, kitsch look.

MIH Photo: 95 (left) "The Wheel" and lake, South of Oslo, Norway, September 2010
MIH Photo: 96 (right) "The Wheel" South of Oslo, Norway, September 2010

The American architect James Wines claims that Venturi opened the eyes of the designers and made them see the parallels between the communicative imagery in historic vernacular civic and religious architecture and contemporary commercial structures in his book "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture". (Venturi 1977) While commercial structures had been excluded from consideration by orthodox modernists, he opened a new horizon by making architects aware of the potency that is inherent in the architecture of signs and symbols. By this, he also revealed the deeper implications on the iconography of popular culture which could be found in American main streets and commercial strips. (Wines and Jodidio 2000) According to Venturi et al., the communicative function of architecture was disregarded throughout the first half of the twentieth century, but in respect of the functionalist maxim; "form follows function", they claim that "communication", architecture as language, can also be considered as an aspect of the architectural function. (Venturi and Scott Brown 2004)

Many claim that Venturi et al. by arguing for the communicative function of architecture and their conception of architecture as sign, contributed to the development of Post Modernism, the style that succeeded Modernist architecture in the nineteen sixties and seventies. As claimed by the American architectural theorist Charles Jencks;

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[285] http://www.nostalgisiden.net/32674832 (09.15.2010)

> Modern architecture died in St. Louis, Missouri on July 15, 1972 at 3,32 pm (or thereabouts) when the infamous Pruitt-Igoe scheme, or rather several of its slab blocks, were given the final coup de grace by dynamite. (Jencks 1991)[286]

The incident refers to a block project that was constructed in accordance with the ideals of modern architects as well as the ideals of Le Corbusier, with fourteen storey buildings, "streets in the air" and safe from cars. But as it turned out, the complex was not safe from crime, and was vandalized before it was decided to tear down the blocks with dynamite in 1972. (Jencks 1991) The "death of Modernism" was also the "birth of Post Modernism", although many claim that Post Modernism started to develop already in the nineteen sixties. The Post Modern style has been subject to innumerable discussions, it has been admired, loved and hated by architects and professionals within other disciplines, as well as by people in the public. Today it is claimed that Post Modernism is dead, while Neo Modernism is born. Jencks describes that already in 1986 the style was claimed to be "old hat", just at the time when many of the largest architectural practices in the world were actually "shifting to a Post Modern mode". In 1989 the style was declared as "bimbo architecture" by leading English architects, who before the beginning of 2000 declared that they could not "…go to the Millennium Ball wearing the threadbare rags of Post Modernism". (Jencks 1991)[287]

According to the German architecture historian Heinrich Klotz, Post Modern architecture is "appropriate" to the extent that it has its own purpose. He claims that by looking at architecture merely as a system of communication, one does not see the artistic quality of architecture, as architecture is not only a vehicle for narrative meaning. (Klotz 1986) He also claims that in Post Modern architecture, the internationalism of Modern architecture has been replaced by regionalism, and the geometrical abstraction has been replaced by a tendency of pictorial and fictional presentation of architecture. Post Modern architecture also replaces the symbolic meaning of architecture "as a machine" with a multitude of other meanings, into a narrative gestalt of the architecture. (Klotz 1986) Due to this Klotz does not acknowledge Post Modern architecture as a product of the creative ability of the architects' imagination, but rather as belonging to the world of fantasy. Instead of perfectionism, Post Modern architecture represents improvisation and spontaneity as well as the interrupted and non-perfect, and it also contributes to regain memory in opposition to Modern architecture that

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[286] Page 23
[287] Page 9

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aimed to liberate from history. He mentions the decade between 1960 and 1970 as the most decisive for the development of Post Modernism, referring to the buildings of the American architects Robert Venturi and Charles Moore. (Klotz 1986)

Klotz also mentions Post Modern architecture as "labor style", in addition to labeling it as "regionalism" as mentioned above, which is interesting in respect of the duck architecture that is actually based on vernacular architecture. However opposite to Klotz, Wines express that the ducks display a fantasy in creating buildings, which he apparently does not consider to be negative, and is similar to what can be seen in the new imaginative architecture that has emerged in the last decades made possible by new technology and digital tools. In our time new technology has made former impossible constructions possible, and made way for a new potential in applying fantasy to architecture. As Wines puts it: "Form follows fantasy not function, for architecture that cannot offer fantasy fails man's needed dream."[288]

Charles Jencks names buildings with imaginative and fantasy form as "iconic buildings". The Canadian architect Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao that opened in 1997 represent such an iconic building, with a new and ground breaking fantasy form which soon was mentioned by other architects as only "The Bilbao". The emergence of several other new imaginative buildings around the world after its completion was named by architects and critics as "the Bilbao effect". According to Jencks, Gehry has contributed to opening a door to new ways of thinking architecturally other than square and right angled buildings named by many as "the dumb box" filled with taboos and constraints of decorum. (Jencks 2005) According to Jencks; "There has been a paradigm shift in contemporary architecture…" where "…the simple, brute forms of Modernism have had their day."[289] The Bilbao museum and other of Gehry's architectural works are related to his former pavilion, the "Fish structure" that opened in Barcelona in 1989, with a curved grammar worked out and made possible with the Catia software program. As expressed by Gehry, quoted in Jencks:

> This is where I used the computer to perfect the building for the first time. And it was playing with the fish and getting the structure built in Barcelona. That fish opened the door and from then on, I had the

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[288]http://www.co.suffolk.ny.us/Home/departments/parks/World%20Famous%20Duck%20Architecture.aspx (05.21.2008)
[289] http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/atoday/stories/s248345.htm (05.25.2008)

beginning of a language that I could play with and build. (Jencks 2005)[290]

The critics and public characterize the Bilbao museum by using form-metaphors based on recognizable associations such as a fish, a sequined mermaid, a window box, a Constructivist artichoke, a narcissistic swan and even as a duck. (Jencks 2005) Most of these figurative characteristics refer to objects without any relation to the content except of the Constructivist form. However, the architectural form of the Bilbao Guggenheim has many similarities with forms that are expressed also within Cubism, one of the most important periods of early Modern art; and which later had considerable impact on visual art as well as on architecture and design. In other words, the Bilbao Guggenheim Museum is closely related to the architectural ducks described by Venturi et al. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)

MIH Photo: 97 (left) Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, from the Seine, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 98 (right) Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, November 2010

Although the original ducks were mainly representing vernacular commercial businesses, cultural buildings can indeed represent ducks as well, similarly to Christian churches and cathedrals. The new library in Paris, the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, designed by the French architect Dominique Perrault, and completed in 1995, (Thiel-Siling and Bachmann 1998) also represents a duck, symbolizing its contents by the four towers of the building structure that are easily recognizable as four open books. Similarly, the ground plan of the "Grieghallen" concert hall in Bergen, Norway, named after the Norwegian composer Edward Grieg, is shaped like a concert-piano, symbolizing the content of the building. The concert hall is designed by the Danish architect Knud Munk, who won the architectural competition with the concert-piano shaped building. The Grieghallen concert hall was opened in 1978, and the public comments of the concert hall, were that it was a monstrous building, which looked like a gigantic bunker. (Gjerstad, Staalesen et al. 2000) While it may be difficult to

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grasp the whole concert-piano form from the street, Bergen is surrounded by high mountains, two of them respectively with a cable car and a gondola cable that take tourists to the top of the mountains to see the view of Bergen, and from where one can see the concert-piano shape of the building from above. As the shape obviously symbolizes the content of this building, the Grieghallen is also a duck, in the terms of Venturi et al.

One photo and one illustration removed

Internet Photo: 99 (left) "Grieghallen", The Grieg Music Hall, Bergen, Norway[291]
Internet Illustration A: (right) Ground plan of "Grieghallen", Bergen, Norway[292]

4.1.3.1   Symbolic form-metaphors

Architecture with recognizable figurative form or form fragments that are symbolizing the content or other objects or activities appears in several variations, and is often subject to creative nicknaming and form-metaphors. As mentioned above, the architectural duck is a metaphor, or rather a "meta-metaphor" originally referring to sculptural buildings "shaped like its content" or the represented business, where the architecture becomes a sign that is communicating the content of the building to its surroundings. Although many are critical of "duck architecture", as also Venturi et al. partly express, I find the duck architecture and what I will mention here as "duck-relatives" interesting, because of these buildings' ability to communicate messages through their form. I use the term "duck-relative" to describe architecture based on the duck idea, but without being entirely an architectural duck in the original meaning of the term. Instead this is architecture with recognizable form fragments of the product or the activity it represents, or psychological qualities of the product or activity it houses. These buildings also distinguish from the "decorated sheds", on which signs may be applied regardless of the architectural form. In the "duck-relatives" one or more recognizable objects are integrated as a part of the architectural form, and contribute to create the total form of a building.

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[291] http://www.hotelbergen.com/gfx/imagestore/grieghallen.jpg (08.19.2008)
[292] http://www.grieghallen.no/gfx/map_parking.gif (08.19.2008)

Architectural form can also symbolize other recognizable objects or phenomenon, often based on cultural values or distinctive territorial features, such as a particular landscape, biological or natural phenomenon. A building "shaped like its content" and symbolizing its content directly, for instance the concert hall shaped like a concert-piano can also be associated with other objects with no relation to the content, for instance a ship. This means that buildings with a recognizable figurative form can be interpreted both as a "sign of the business", and as a sign of external objects or phenomenon, for example a sail, an iceberg or a flower, although it is a concert hall. All these variants of architectural form; ducks, duck relatives and architecture that are symbolizing external objects or phenomenon independent of the content, contributes to add symbolic meaning to architecture, which is interpreted and characterized by people through form-metaphors based on their own associations, independent of the intention of the architect. As expressed by Jencks; "…people inevitably see one building in terms of another, or in terms of a similar object; in short, as a metaphor". (Jencks 1991)[293] He claims that this is particularly the case when we see unfamiliar buildings, which we try to match with our former experiences. He describes how the first pre-cast concrete grills that were used in buildings were called "cheese-graters", "beehives" and "chain link fences", while some years later, as these pre-cast concrete grills were often used in parking garages, people started to express that "this looks like a parking garage," (Jencks 1991)[294] when they appeared in other buildings. At that stage the form of the concrete grills had obviously been assimilated in most people's imagination as a typical garage structure.

Architecture also creates signs through metaphors, as described by Jencks; "From metaphor to cliché, from neologism to constant usage to architectural sign, this is the continual route traveled by new and successful forms and techniques". (Jencks 1991) Metaphors as such are linguistic expressions used both in our everyday life and within theory to highlight and illustrate a phenomenon, often by creating mental pictures. In its nature metaphors are expressions with similarities to the phenomenon we like to describe. According to the American linguists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson; "…the only similarities relevant to metaphor are similarities as experienced by people." (Lakoff and Johnson 1980)[295] In other words, metaphors have no meaning unless they are expressions that are familiar to most of us. When people make metaphors of architectural form, this is another way of understanding the building other than within the limits of architectural theory alone. And as "buildings are for people", particularly public buildings, form-metaphors seem inevitable to lay people who

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[293] Page 40
[294] Page 40
[295] Page 154

are not architects or historians of art and architecture, or have any insights in these disciplines relating to architecture. Also Østerberg points out how the experience of architecture is depending on knowledge within the history of art and architecture. (Østerberg 1998) Without such insight people will make their own visual interpretations followed by form-metaphors, based on recognizable objects that they can see in the architectural form.

Although some form-metaphors may be vicious or malicious, which can be the case at the start of a controversial building project, where many people offer resistance to the project; most form-metaphors are good-natured. In my opinion, they can be "love expressions", even when they are humoristic, as many such form-metaphors are. As we know, humor can be both good-natured and vicious at the same time, and sometimes these qualities are mixed in a metaphorical interpretation. Nevertheless, most of these form-metaphors are harmless, although they might be painful to the designer, who is running the risk of being made a fool of, not unlike most people in creative occupations. Therefore the architect too has to "resist resistance". We all know that buildings that are criticized when they are built often become beloved icons, for instance the American architect William L. Pereira's Transamerica Pyramid in San Francisco, which after it was completed in 1972 became a landmark highly recognized by most people.[296] Another example is the WTC Twin Towers in New York, designed by the American architect Minuro Yamasaki and completed in 1973. The towers were criticized by many, but after they were destroyed in 2001 they became beloved icons to most people, highly recognized for their art of architecture and engineering. This by the way, makes me think of the famous statement of the Norwegian author Henrik Ibsen; "only the lost last forever"[297] from his play "Brand" from 1866, which is also a metaphor to illustrate that we do not always appreciate what we have, before we lose it.

Independent of how people interpret architectural form, metaphors is often used within architecture to name and describe the conceptual thinking behind architectural projects. As described by the Norwegian architect Elisabeth Tostrup in her analyzes of architectural competitions in Norway; "The role of a metaphor in a text is to strengthen the message of the speaker..." by possessing to the receiver; "...a figurative meaning analogous to the literal meaning". Thus "The speaker creates a frame of reference by simply presenting an image". (Tostrup 1999)[298]

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[296] http://www.transamerica.com/company_profile/about_the_pyramid/ (09.26.2009)
[297] (Evig eies kun det tapte)
[298] Page 125

Tostrup also describes how metaphors are used by the jury in architectural competitions, for instance "the chess metaphor" that was used in the architectural competition of the Bank of Norway in 1973, looking at the construction unit in the bank as a chessboard. The chess board metaphor was also related to the negotiations between the bank and the planning authorities; as a preliminary game between the negotiators, involving preservation of existing buildings and the need of open spaces and other demands. According to Tostrup, architectural metaphors such as the chess metaphor, is an "...embellishing metaphor which acts in contrast to the trivial". (Tostrup 1999)[299] Tostrup also points out the tendencies for people in creative occupations such as architects to identify with, and humanize their products, referring to the Estonian-American architect Lois Kahn, and his "talking with the bricks". Although metaphors contributes to a broader imagination of the building; "It places the project in an atmosphere of artistic creativity and originality..." which makes the work appear "...with its own identity". (Tostrup 1999)[300] Presumably due to this, architectural metaphors may also be characterized as spatial poetry. But although metaphors are "crucial for architectural work", they can also function as a smoke screen and private mystification for architectural projects, and thus contribute to "the cult of paternal elitism". (Tostrup 1999)[301]

Sometimes a metaphoric name given by an architect matches with most people's associations of the architectural form, who in the next turn makes form-metaphors based on the conception of the architect. Or they may as we know, mismatch, and instead be a product of peoples own experiences, transferred to the building. Metaphors based on our own experiences, such as experiences of art and architecture is according to Lakoff and Johnson a matter of "imaginative rationality". (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) By that we understand one kind of experience in the terms of another. This means that our former experiences represent a source for making new metaphors, which contributes to new understanding, as described by Lakoff and Johnsen; "New metaphors are capable of creating new understandings and, therefore, new realities." (Lakoff and Johnson 1980)[302] They also claim that metaphors are not only a matter of language, they also form "conceptual structures", not only based on the intellect, but as they put it; "...it involves all the natural dimensions of our experience, including aspects of our sense experiences: colour, shape, texture, sound, etc." (Lakoff and Johnson 1980)[303] These dimensions are structuring our aesthetical

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[299] Page 126
[300] Page 131
[301] Page 131
[302] Page 235
[303] Page 235

experiences, which mean that when applied to art or architecture, each medium "picks out" specific dimensions among all our natural dimensions of experience. By that art and architecture is a matter of imaginative rationality. However we also create aesthetic experiences in our everyday lives, whenever we notice new coherences outside of our "conventionalized mode of perception" and thought. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980)

Metaphors can also be used by professionals in disciplines other than architecture and art history to describe and highlight different qualities of architecture, for example by the Norwegian sociologist Per J. Otnes in his description of Utzons church in Copenhagen, (Otnes 1996) linguistically making pictorial descriptions of the church, which in turn give the reader mental pictures of the building from the outside and inside, without actually seeing it. When approaching the church from the outside, he wonders whether the building is a small power plant or a mill, and simultaneously it gives associations of a dove or a swan. On top of the towers of the church, which at the first glance seems like chimneys, is placed a form reminiscent of a big grey cat or a panther, facing west and resting like a sphinx. (Otnes 1996) In his description Otnes also reveals information about the materials and colours, which contributes to support the visual imagination, however it is the form-metaphors he uses that actually give the reader the main frame for establishing the mental picture of the church. If he only had talked of the building as yellow or grey or that it was made of bricks or concrete we do not get a mental picture of the building, in the best case scenario we see yellow bricks. But speaking of it as a small power plant, or as a dove, we immediately start to make a mental picture of the whole building. Otnes also uses form-metaphors in his description of the inner room of the church, together with descriptions of form and materials. He describes how the vault of the nave prevails like a gigantic wave, unbroken over the entire room, and which like a breaker or billow is "white-washed all over". (Otnes 1996) As for the description of the exterior of the church, the white washing wave metaphor give a more complete mental picture of the room, than the description of materials and colours alone.

Among other theoreticians who use metaphors to describe different kinds of phenomenon, is the Organizational theoretician Gareth Morgan in his descriptions and analysis of work organizations, briefly mentioned in chapter 1.3.5.1. He looks at organizations in different perspectives by using metaphors such as; the organization as a machine, an organism, a brain, a culture, an inner prison, and so on. According to Morgan, metaphors, or mental pictures are not only tools of interpretation, they are also frameworks for action, as using mental

pictures provides an insight that would not be possible without them. Due to the close relationship between mental pictures and action he claims that our imaginative ability is the most important tool for creating and developing organizations. (Morgan 1992) All in all, the use of pictorial metaphors expressed linguistically is not unusual within science. Many scientists, including Einstein are known for this. According to the American psychologist Howard Gardner, Aristotle regarded the ability of making metaphors as "the sign of the genius". (Gardner 1994) The language used in different disciplines, is full of metaphors based on pictorial terms. For instance, we "see" things in "perspective", although what we see is not visual but what we understand, expressed linguistically. As also the Austrian-Hungarian philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein has expressed; a picture is a fact, while a logical picture of a fact is a thought. (Jenks 1995)

4.1.3.2   *Ducks and duck relatives, symbolizing the content*

Among the most famous examples of corporate architecture that are symbolizing their business visually, without being a duck, but what I mention as a duck-relative with recognizable fragments of the business integrated in the architecture, is the Chrysler building in New York, an Art Deco skyscraper designed by the American architect William van Alen and completed in 1930. (Thiel-Siling and Bachmann 1998) It might not be visible from the street below, but the top of the Chrysler building is actually decorated with fragments of giant car radiators, reflecting the automobiles that were produced by the owner; the Chrysler Motor Company.

MIH Photo: 100 (left) The top of the Chrysler Building, New York, March 2007
MIH Photo: 101 (middle) Detail from the top of the Chrysler building, New York, March 2007
MIH Photo: 102 (right) Street view of the Chrysler Building, New York, June 2009

In the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles completed in 2003, Frank Gehry based the shape of the building on imaginative music forms. By that he made the symbolic content of the building impact on the exterior. (Jencks 2005) The

building has many similarities to his Bilbao Guggenheim, and similar to "the Bilbao" the Walt Disney Concert Hall has not avoided metaphorical characteristics such as; fishes making love, a couple making love in a bed with disordered bed-linens, the skirt of Marilyn Monroe blowing up in the wind, the top of a waste-paper basket and the arch of Noah. (Jencks 2005) By being based on imaginative music forms, this is also a duck relative that is symbolizing the content indirectly or psychologically.

MIH Photo: 103 (left) The Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, June 2008
MIH Photo: 104 (right) The Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, June 2008

4.1.3.3 *Architecture symbolizing external objects and phenomenon*

While graphic profiles and logos, as well as visual art, often consist of dynamic shapes and colors, much traditional architecture is based on pure geometrical and right angled forms, particularly the square and rectangle, and sometimes a circle or a triangle, for example the Flatiron building in New York.

MIH Photo: 105 (left) The Flatiron Building, New York, March 2007
MIH Photo: 106 (right) The Flatiron Building, New York, March 2007

Interesting enough, this building from 1903, designed by the American architect Daniel H. Burnham and originally named the Fuller Building after the founder of the Fuller Company George A. Fuller, got its everlasting nickname from what

people associate with the form, a flatiron. The twenty two floor building is regarded as the first skyscraper in New York, and at the time of its erection it was claimed to be the tallest building in the world. (Thiel-Siling and Bachmann 1998)

The industrial and technological interest of the twentieth century has marked Modern architecture through characteristic form remnants from factories and vehicles, such as turbines, derricks, ocean liners, rockets and space stations. The Machine Age influence on the twentieth century is still present in architecture today. According to Wines and Jodido, the visions of many contemporary architects seem like the sketch of a Russian Constructivist made in 1920. He claims that the celebration of high tech features has become synonymous with a progressive look in architecture. (Wines and Jodidio 2000) Although the style of the buildings may be characterized as High-tech, the Lloyd's building in London, designed by the British architect Richard Rogers and opened in 1986[304] appear as "the ultimate architectural machine", or "a culmination of the Machine Age" in architecture, although it may not be considered as such by architects. Visually the building appears as a huge machine or a power plant with a mixture of vertical metal pipes following the walls from the bottom to the top, and with rows of gigantic and polished "steel turbines", or something like that, probably hiding stair cases between the floors, and following the same movement upwards along the walls.

MIH Photo: 107 (left) Lloyds Building, London, March 2010
MIH Photo: 108 (right) Lloyds Building, London, March 2010

If not a culmination, at least it is a continuation of the much discussed Georges Pompidou Centre in Paris from 1977, which is also designed by Richard Rogers,

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[304] http://www.lloyds.com/About_Us/The_Lloyds_building/History_of_the_building.htm (04.03.2010)

here in collaboration with the Italian architect Renzo Piano and others.[305] According to Wines and Jodido, the reduction of what he mentions as "polemic architecture" has separated the architectural form from the content, in order to make architecture useful for "appropriation by hacks". (Wines and Jodidio 2000) Nevertheless, architecture with recognizable form features from industry and technology may also represent architecture that is "objectified" by adding independent external form expressions to the architecture with no connection to the content. There are also several examples of similar machine and technological looking architecture erected in 1970 - 1990 in the former Soviet Union, as documented by the French photographer Frédéric Chaubin in his book "CCCP: Cosmic Communist Constructions Photographed". (Chaubin 2011)

MIH Photo: 109 (left) The Pompidou Centre, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 110 (right) The Pompidou Centre, Front façade, Paris, November 2010

The Sydney Opera house that was designed by the Danish architect Jørn Utzon and opened in 1973, gives several form associations such as a lotus flower, waves, shells, turtles making love and sails on the harbor. It has become an Australian icon, and an architectural landmark. The architectural form of the opera has no directly symbolic connection to opera or music, unless maybe the rhythmic repetitions of form, which can relate with associations to musical rhythms. Besides, associations with biological natural forms are harmonious to humanistic artistic activity such as song and music. The objects, however that can be associated to the form of the building are more external objects and phenomenon than objects that are symbolizing opera. Utzon himself has described the form of the building as follows:

> Instead of making a square form, I have made a sculpture – a sculpture covering the necessary functions… If you think of a Gothic church, you

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[305] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centre_Georges_Pompidou (04.03.2010)

are closer to what I have been aiming at. Looking at a Gothic church, you never get tired, you will never be finished with it – when you pass around it or see it against the sky… Something new goes on all the time… Together with the sun, the light and the clouds, it makes a living thing.[306]

The new and white marble Oslo Opera house designed by the Norwegian architect agency "Snøhetta" and opened in 2008, is literally built in the water of the harbor basin. It has already become the new landmark of Oslo. As with the Sydney Opera house it is difficult to see any direct reflection of opera and music in the Oslo Opera house, even though the size and bright white color communicates that it is a magnificent building with brilliant things inside.
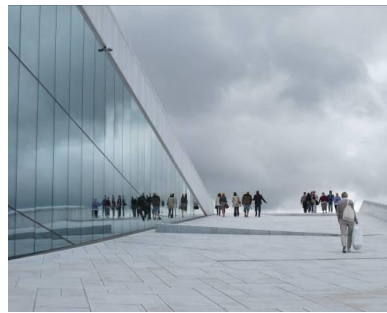
MIH Photo: 111 (left) The Oslo Opera house, Oslo, Norway, August 2010
MIH Photo: 112 (right) The Oslo Opera house, walking on the roof, Oslo, Norway, August 2010

The inclined plans provide the architecture with a dynamic expression, while the straight lines contribute to add a formal and technical expression of the architecture, rather than reflecting humanistic activity, as in the form of the Sydney Opera house. The white Oslo Opera house is mostly associated with natural forms and phenomenon, such as snow, ice, icebergs and a snow covered mountain plateau, relating to Norwegian and Nordic winter and Arctic areas. As the building is literally placed in the water, it can also lend associations to a toad, watching half above and half under the membrane of the water, waiting for an insect. Seen from the west facade it may remind of the form of a toad, where the big glass wall is representing the eyes between the inclined plans representing the bended legs of the toad. Such form metaphors may come to be, but so far people have been busy celebrating the new building by walking on the roof, which is the basic idea of the architecture. Due to its iconic character and the location by the harbor, several claim that the new Oslo Opera house can be compared with the Sydney Opera house.

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[306]http://www.sydneyarchitecture.com/ROC/QUA01.htm (05.21.2008, quotation from Kerr, 1993)

Although some of the new and imaginative buildings demonstrate great fantasy, Jencks claim that they would be unthinkable without reference to Le Corbusiers chapel "Notre Dame du Haut" in Ronchamp from 1950. (Jencks 2005) Also this building has been exposed to different metaphoric characteristics, such as two folded hands, a boat, a hat and a duck, with no connection to a church. Instead the building gives several other form associations. In many ways also skyscrapers as such are imaginative "fantasy buildings" that are seemingly breaking all the rules of physics with their proportional relationship between the ground plan and their height. In respect of form, skyscrapers have in common that they are stretching themselves against the sky, and according to the American architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable, they mirror men's fantasies about building themselves into Heaven, like the Tower of Babel. (Huxtable 1985) As mentioned in chapter 1.1.1, the first skyscrapers were built in Chicago at the end of the nineteen century and were named the Chicago Style. New technology and the combination of industrialization, business and real estate made it possible to create these vertical buildings, which short by after emerged in New York and other cities, and soon became "the American office building", (Huxtable 1985) competing with one another to be the highest and most spectacular.

MIH Photo: 113 (left) The Sony Building, former AT&T HQ, front façade, New York, June 2009
MIH Photo: 114 (right) The Sony Building, former AT&T HQ, street view, New York, June 2009

One of the newer skyscrapers with features of recognizable objects is the former headquarters of AT&T in New York, today the Sony Building, designed by the American architect Philip Johnson and completed in 1984. The skyscraper has become well known due to its Baroque pediment on the top, and is considered to be the first Post Modern building in New York, often mentioned as a masterpiece

of Post Modernism. (Thiel-Siling and Bachmann 1998) When completed, critics and the public soon created nicknames for the building such as the "Chippendale highboy", and joked about placing a cigarette in the opening on the top of the building.

In San Francisco the Transamerica Corporation Building called the Transamerica Pyramid, designed by the American architect William L. Phereira, met a lot of public resistance when it was erected in 1972. Today the building that gives the impression of associations to a rocket has become one of the most famous landmarks in San Francisco. Another corporate skyscraper with a shape that gives several form associations is the Swiss Re headquarters, the British architect Norman Foster's bulled shaped tower in London from 2004. According to Jencks this is "…the most original and elegant skyscraper ever produced in Britain". (Jencks 2005)[307] This building has also been exposed to a riot of form-metaphors, such as a bullet, a rocket, a spruce cone, a gherkin, a finger, a Russian "Matruska" doll, a cigar and of course as a phallic symbol; a penis. The last association is almost inevitable.

MIH Photo: 115 (left) The Transamerica Pyramid, San Francisco, May 2008
MIH Photo: 116 (right) The Swiss Re HQ, London, March 2010

By the way, the most obvious form-metaphor for most skyscrapers is as one of phallic symbols competing for their height. Harmonious to male macho myths, skyscrapers, as well as males, are "always competing", about having the biggest car, the biggest boat and the biggest muscles. Feminists claim that a man's car is the symbolic extension of his penis. Personally I experience skyscrapers as

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"needle-architecture", due to the proportional relation between the ground space and their height. With that view, Manhattan and other big city centers with concentrations of skyscrapers are "pin cushions". But the skyscrapers are at the very least impressive, and represent great art forms of architecture and engineering. Due to their overwhelming size and expression, they may give impressions likened to nature, as being among high mountains, although not as frightening and dramatic as nature can be, but as urban "points of sublime", an allegory to dramatic landscapes in Romantic art, (Kant and Hammer 1995) although people living with skyscrapers every day may be blinded to such experiences, similar to people living among high mountains. Actually comparing skyscrapers with mountains is not so unusual. Otnes describes the tower of the central post building in Oslo, "Postgirobygget" as; "…brownish as the Dovre Mountain, with the shape of a veritable Romsdalshorn",[308] while he describes the tower of the Oslo Plaza Hotel nearby with its bluish glass façades as; "…at least as monumental as Glittertind". (Otnes 1994)[309] As also expressed by a photographer in La Defense, the business and skyscraper area on the outskirts of Paris, and what the buildings have meant to him;

> I see the buildings as mountains; they're a real source of inspiration. I had my artistic education in La Defense…After 25 years of working in Les Mureaux (a suburb west of La Defense) in industry, I became a professional photographer. It's partially thanks to La Defense. (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009)[310]

4.1.4   Gendered architecture

Seen with the eye of an artist, as well as with the eye of a sociologist, gender appeared as a distinctive quality of the architecture when I visited one of the corporate headquarters for the first time. It was the clear masculine and feminine form qualities that appeared in the architecture that caught my interest, and which made it relevant also to include gender in my examinations of architecture. Obviously gender represents a problem within architecture as well as within visual art, since most well known architects and visual artists are males. Until 2011, the Pritzker Architecture Award was only given to two women in 33 years; the Iraqi-British architect Zaha Hadid,[311] who won the prize in 2004, and the Japanese architect Kazujo Sejima who got the prize together with a male colleague in 2010.[312] The other 31 laureates are male. Hadid's expressions are

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[308] Romsdalshorn in the West of Norway is one of my childhood's mountains, a 1555 meter high peak that I watched every day during my childhood and early youth.
[309] Page 19 (My translation). Glittertind is the second highest mountain in Norway.
[310] Page 111
[311] http://www.pritzkerprize.com/ (02.20.2009)
[312] Aftenposten, 03.31.2010.

dynamic and exiting, and of high quality, which it should be to qualify for the prize. Her architecture appears as brave and dynamic with both masculine and feminine qualities; for example her Ski jump tower in Innsbruck that has clear feminine features, which is particularly interesting, since ski-jumping has been recognized only as a male sport until recently, and female ski-jumpers have fought for many years up to the present to gain the right to participate equally with males in public and international ski-jumping games. It is also interesting that architecture designed by female architects does not necessarily appear as entirely feminine, but may be masculine or have masculine qualities as I will discuss below.

MIH Photo: 117 (left) New Museum, New York, June 2009
MIH Photo: 118 (right) Zaha Hadid's Ski Jump Tower, Inbruck, Austria, July 2010

As mentioned above, Kazujo Sejima won the prize in 2010 together with her male Japanese architect colleague Ryue Nishizawa for the New Museum in New York.[313] The New Museum is shaped like stabled boxes, and is not particularly feminine, unless one look at stabling boxes, for example "shoe boxes" as feminine, as females, in accordance with traditional gender roles are expected "to clear away the mess at home". Another option is to relate the architecture to the female body, by looking at boxes as containers, a metaphor for the female womb, (Mulvey 1992) or to the Pandora's Box metaphor, as Pandora was the first female in Greek mythology. Actually Pandora originally possessed a ceramic jar, while the conception of Pandora with a box is claimed to stem from the Dutch philosopher Erasmus von Rotterdam's mistranslation of the myth in the fifteen

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[313] Aftenposten, 03.31.2010.

hundreds, by using the Latin word "pyxis" which means box, while the original Greek "pithos" means jar.[314]

As mentioned, most great and epoch-making architects have been males. Like the laureates of the Pritzker Award, and in any book on architecture most of the architects spoken of are males. Where female architects are mentioned, they are often presented together with their architect husband or an architectural colleague. The Norwegian art historian Wenche Findal describes how female architects have been almost invisible within the history of art and architecture, although women have been educated within architecture since the end of the 1800s. According to Findal, up to 1999 female architects in many countries had to ally themselves with male colleagues, or only use the initials of their surname to prohibit revealing their gender when relating to an employer or participating in architecture competitions. (Findal 2004)

Bourdieu claims that the "masculine domination" in the society makes women adapt to limitations achieved through their experiences which is also establishing the feminine habitus, incorporated by the institutional relations of dominance and exploitation between the sexes. (Bourdieu 2000) According to Findal the masculine domination can be transferred to architecture, in respect of female architects' selection of patriarchal models, repetition of conceptual thinking and a lack of the individual need to expose themselves. (Findal 2004) Even if the male domination within architecture is in the process of change, and an increasing number of female architects, sometimes around 50%, are educated in schools of architecture, the change comes slowly. It appears that architecture is still a male dominated profession, both in respect of male architects and masculine form expressions. When discussing the gender aspect of architecture, I make very explicit that there are two dimensions of gender within architecture which I raise here; 1) the gender of the architect and 2) gendered architectural form expressions, which are both interrelated and individual. While the dominating male form expressions are coherent with the long lasting male domination in architecture, gendered form expressions as such, either they are masculine or feminine and in some instances androgynous, these may be created by male as well as female architects.

According to Bourdieu both males and females have incorporated the way they perceive and evaluate the historical structure of the masculine order through unconscious schemata. He claims that masculine domination leads to "symbolic violence" of the dominated, which makes females use categories constructed by

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[314] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pandora (10.06.2010)

the dominants and lead to a systematic self criticism and self-contempt, and thereby looking at feminine qualities as undesirable and less valuable than masculine qualities. (Bourdieu 2000) The "andocentric conception", stating that masculine values and qualities are above feminine values and qualities, has also defined our common social conception on objectivity equal to the masculine conception. This "common objectivity", which in its essence is masculine, is admitted by all and forming a practical consensus; a "doxa" in the meaning of practices. He also claims that the symbolic violence is a product of a historical reproduction maintained by males and social institutions; the family, the school, the church and the state. (Bourdieu 2000) Transferred to architectural form, it is the masculine domination that decides the proper and "objective" architectural form expressions, both for male and female architects. As mentioned in chapter 4.1.3.3, the nineteen hundreds architectural expressions have been largely dominated by the fascination of the Machine Age, from Le Corbusier, seeing the building as a machine, to Richard Rogers who is almost literally "building machines." The male values and fascination of machines is reflected also in the professional life where occupations within technology and electronics are still dominated by male employees.

According to Bourdieu the same kind of work is valued differently depending on the sex of the person who performs the work. (Bourdieu 2000) As a result of this, female architects may have to adapt to masculine form expressions to be taken seriously as architects, in the same way that female leaders often have to adapt to male leader styles. This can be illustrated in the model below, and make basis for further examinations, based on the anticipation or a hypothesis stating that "male architects are overrepresented within architecture, and both genders are making architecture with mostly masculine form expressions".

Matrix 7

	Masculine architectural form expressions	Feminine architectural form expressions
Male architects	XXXX	XX
Female architects	xx	x

Matrix 7 shows how most architecture is made by male architects (upper case), and mostly with masculine form expressions, although male architects also create architecture with feminine form expressions. It also shows how female architects make architecture with mostly male form expressions. However, this is a hypothesis that I am not going to follow up here, but seen with an artist's eye, an interesting aspect of gender in architecture is how it is reflected in architectural

form expressions. Although the human aspect of being an architect and the suppression of female architects is most important in a social and political context, it is the architecture, the form and function of the building environment most of us are confronted with every day. It is the users and the public who are interpreting the form expressions of architecture consciously or unconsciously, and who may experience differences in the impact that masculine versus feminine architecture may have.

4.1.4.1   Gendered form expressions in architecture

Architectural expressions can most certainly impact on our life and well-being. As Østerberg claims, architecture can be experienced as a burden as well as a relief, dependent of our knowledge and interest in architecture, (Østerberg 1998) and which may be the case also in respect of masculine versus feminine form expressions. However, how should we define male and female form expressions? According to Bourdieu the masculine and feminine fields are organized by their contradictions, such as hard-soft, strong-weak, large-small, qualities that are always homologue to the distinction between the masculine and feminine, of which the alternative expressions are dominant/dominated, over/under, active/passive and so on, (Bourdieu 2000) as also described in chapter 2.1.4.

The Argentinean-American architect Diana Agrest claims that such contradictory dichotomies defining the masculine and feminine gender have been developed within the scientific discourse since the sixteenth century where nature was gendered as female and passive, while the active exploitation of nature was masculine. She looks at the equivalence between nature and the female as a key to understanding the struggle for power, claiming that "...power is gendered male, making possible the displacement of the double image of woman/nature". (Agrest 1996)[315] After the scientific revolution, the following industrialization and technological progress, nature, or "the virgin earth" was "subdued by the machine" to exploit the goods of the nature. According to Agrest this was a process which "privileged the mechanistic over the organic", (Agrest 1996)[316] by controlling, dominating and violating nature as female, and simultaneously excluding women from the dominating social and economical ideology and practices. This approach to nature rested upon a double system factually related to science, and symbolically related to the machine, the transcendence of male functions that according to Agrest has contributed to a "...world of metaphoric

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[315] Page 53
[316] Page 55

and analogical relationships, ranging from the body to the entire universe”. (Agrest 1996)[317]

The dichotomy between the male and female, machine and nature manifests also within the social and cultural field for example “architecture-nature” and “city-nature”. The latter expressed in the American urban grid, based on President Thomas Jefferson’s “one-mile grid”, or actually the “Cartesian grid” with its unit squares. Agrest describes the “gridding of America” as the creation of the real modern city, and is harmonious to the ideas claimed by Le Corbusier in his “Plan Voisin” for Paris from 1922, and his plan for “The City of Tomorrow” from 1929. (Agrest 1996) With Le Corbusiers idea of the building as a machine; and the introduction to the Machine Age, the following architects were “building machines”, and one might wonder if “the machine” is the ultimate male expression within architecture.

Obviously conceptions of gendered form qualities are based upon gender myths, as if they were biological facts. Therefore to interpret soft, organic forms as female, and hard, technical forms as male, is also problematic, as it is reflecting old conceptions of gender roles, and reinforces clichés about males and females. Although a cliché, soft and organic forms also seem to have been repressed equally to female architects, since rectangular and straight angled architecture has been the dominating expression within Modernism, except for a few circular buildings and Le Corbusiers church in Ronchamp from 1950. However during the last decades there has been a change to more soft and organic architectural expressions, starting with Post-Modernism with elements collected from classical styles, for instance the Baroque. An interesting aspect of Post Modernism is that it seems to carry more feminine features than Modernism. The Egyptian-American literature critic Ihab Hassan points out the contrasting gender qualities of Post Modernism and Modernism. While labelling Modernism as genital and phallic, he labels Post Modernism as androgynous and polymorph. Similarly he labels Modernism with “distance” and Post Modernism with “involvement”, features that are also reflecting masculine versus feminine values. (Hassan 1986)

Based on this, although problematic in respect of gender myths, soft, curved and organic form expressions are identified here as feminine, (although this is a cliché), while hard, rough or straight-angled and technically oriented form expressions are identified as masculine (which is also a cliché). In other words, I use these contradictory gender dichotomies described by Bourdieu when defining “the gender of architecture”, in the way they are assimilated and integrated in the

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Western culture up to the present time. (Bourdieu 2000) Using established and incorporated conceptions of gender qualities to interpret "the gender of architecture" is very much similar to using metaphors to describe other qualities of architecture, because they are also to a large extent clichés. When both types of contradictory qualities are represented in the same building, hard-soft, large-small, active-passive and so on, the architecture may also appear as androgynous.

With respect to masculine architecture, the Dutch architect Aaron Betsky claims that vertical forms in architecture, either it is the Cathedral of Chartres or an American grain silo, is a form we associate with male power, because of their phallic connotations. This male power can be religious, secular or economic, as symbolized in the skyscrapers. (Betsky 1995) Also the Swedish architect Sven Hesselgren talks of how male potency and power, as well as the magic and the sacred is embedded in vertical form, such as an obelisk, a pylon, a pile, a pyramid, a pagoda, a church spire, a campanile and a tower. He is looking for a similar female expression, suggesting that domes of churches and other buildings with cupolas are symbolizing the female breast. (Hesselgren 1985) By the way, an interesting example of "a breast shaped building" is Fullers experimental dwelling the "Dymaxion House" from 1945.[318] Just the idea of a dwelling shaped like a female breast makes this building interesting, as females as such are expected to dedicate themselves to home activities. It is easy to understand how vertical buildings and towers can be interpreted as phallic symbols, but as pointed out by the Canadian architectural historian Alessandra Ponte, the phallic symbol can also be embedded in the ground plan of architecture, such as in "Oikema: Fragments d'un monument grec" by the French architect Claude-Nicolas Ledoux from about 1780,[319] and the English architect Sir John Soane's drawing from 1779 of a mausoleum or "National Monument" from 1779. (Ponte 1992) Both these are drawings of the ground plan of a building that has a literally and easily recognizable phallic shape.

As a consequence of the historical domination of male architects, architecture has also been dominated by male proportional systems. According to Betsky, the male proportional system of the Renaissance is clearly reflected in the Vitruvian man, showing how the male body when stretching out the limbs could define perfectly a square and a circle. In his "Ten books of architecture" from 27 – 23 B.C., which became "the bible for all future architects", the Roman architect Marcus Vitruvius made the measurements of the male body subject to a rigid taxonomy. Based on this, the Italian architect and philosopher Leon Battista

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[318] http://users.design.ucla.edu/~djvmc/24/bucky/house.html (10.06.2010)
[319] http://ilepotentielle.blogspot.com/ (09.30.2010)

Alberti developed a system of values and spaces in his text "De Architectura" from 1486, which has contributed to create what the American art historian Svetlana Alpers call the notion of "visual control". (Betsky 1995) It has been created many versions of the "Vitruvian man", the most famous is created by the Italian Renaissance artist Leonardo da Vinci in 1507. In 1521 the Italian architect Cesarino applied sexual overtones to the figure, an erected penis, and by that he manifested the male dominance in the architectural proportional system of the Renaissance. (Betsky 1995) Seemingly most literature on Renaissance architecture contains aspects of visual control, with a core of female discrimination, which the Danish architect Anne Ørum-Nielsen, referred to by Findal, consider to be "...the iconographic self reflection of the patriarchy", where both the physical and symbolic order makes basis for the male universe, where visual and pictorial representations are marked by the male self and world conception. (Findal 2004) Although Modernism by challenging the social order also created new possibilities for female architects, who for the first time were more or less accepted, for instance at Bauhaus, Functionalism, with the "form follow function maxim" contributed to manifest the masculine domination in the architecture of the last century; through an aesthetics built on the machine metaphor. (Findal 2004)

According to Findal architectural form as such has no clear reference to gender, in the meaning of feminine architecture made by women. (Findal 2004) This is harmonious to my model above, as male architects can make feminine form expressions as well as masculine expressions, although they are most likely to do the latter. Findal claims that it is not enough to read architecture as anthropomorphic form, to find symbols representing gender distinctions which can be ascribed to female architects, as the visual, observed by the eye, is not enough. She is referring to the German philosopher Martin Heidegger who claims that to separate the eyesight from other senses, is to remove the spectator from the material world. (Findal 2004) Indeed architecture is too complex to only be judged by the eyesight. Nevertheless, our eyes can observe patterns visually which other senses will not observe. We cannot smell or hear architectural form, although we can feel it to a certain degree. However only our eyes can actually see the architectural form and the entire form of a building, and it is legitimate to study one or a limited number of aspects of a phenomenon as long as one is aware of the complexity of the phenomenon as a whole, in this case architecture. Additionally, when we interpret and make judgements on what we see, we also use other tools such as our knowledge, experiences and learned skills in the material world.

However, some qualities which seem to be typical for female architects through the last century, rather than for male architects is a tendency to concentrate on smaller projects, and particularly on dwellings and the inner rooms of private homes, what Findal, referring to the American sociologist and demographer Daphne Spain, mentions as "the room of reproduction", while male architects are more focused on the public sphere, "the room of production", and in making monumental architecture. (Findal 2004) This reflects the masculine domination and the division of labour within the family where women are assigned to manage the "symbolic capital" of the family, by taking care of the aesthetics and the decorative functions at home. (Bourdieu 2000) A similar definition of gender roles as those described by Bourdieau and others is stated by Alberti in his "Della Famiglia", (Book III) from about 1435 – 44, (printed in 1843)[320]:

> ...men are by nature of a more elevated mind than women. The character of men is stronger than that of women and can bear the attacks of enemies better, can stand strain longer, is more constant under stress. ...Women...are almost timid by nature, soft, slow, and therefore most useful when they sit still and watch over things. ...The woman, as she remains locked up at home, should watch over things by staying at her post... (Wigley 1992)[321]

The gendered division of labour starts early. As the Danish-German psychologist Erik Ericsson noticed when observing children playing with building set in the 1950s; boys had a tendency to build high towers in open environments with a lot of action, while girls tended to build rounded and limited environments surrounded by walls and marked gates, and playing role games reflecting harmonic family scenes. (Findal 2004) The connection between the female and the home and household is also established in Greek mythology and the myths of Pandora, which according to the American literature theoretician Ann Bergren "...establishes the analogy between the female body, the ceramic jar and the Greek oikos", (Bergren 1996)[322] the house and household. In the myth Pandora is moulded as a jar by Hephaestus, the male god of crafts. But she is also a building with lips as door, keeping the hope inside, after letting out all the evil forces. Metaphorically, as a male moulded ceramic jar, Pandora is a body, a container and a house. At the same time she is also subordinated to the house where she is enclosed, which is "...moulding her as an image of itself, a domestic container like the jar". (Bergren 1996)[323] While the man works outside of the house, the

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[320] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leon_Battista_Alberti (09.30.2010)
[321] Page 334
[322] Page 80
[323] Page 80

woman stays inside, transforming what the man brings in, whether this is making grain into bread, wool into clothes or sperm into children. According to the myths the differences between the male and female were made by "the god himself", the master architect of the "marital joint". But paradoxically the male design to maintain the difference between males and females, between outside and inside, he uses the outside male world as a model, whether he is an architect, a teacher or something else, and by that he makes the female "a parodic imitation of himself". (Bergren 1996) In other words, female architects have to devote their architectural talent to realize the male design and desire, harmonious to how Bourdieu describes that our common objectivity is in its essence masculine, (Bourdieu 2000) as discussed above in chapter 4.1.4.

Although architectural form may be interpreted as masculine or feminine, underpinned by the gender contradictions described by Bourdieu and others, I am not going further in examining whether female architects make more feminine form expressions or not. The most important here is to focus on how male architects have dominated the architectural field through history, and by that, established masculine form expressions as ideals and models for all architecture either it is made by male or female architects. Due to this feminine architectural expressions have been repressed, in a similarly way to feminine art expressions as well as other feminine qualities, values and skills. Apparently also many architects claim that gender does appear within architecture as both masculine and feminine form expressions, and some architecture may be androgynous, containing both feminine and masculine form, although gendered form expressions are rejected by other.[324]

In spite of a change in favour of female architects, the male domination within architecture may even have become clearer in the latest decades, because of the accessibility to information provided through the Internet and the overall present mass media. The information flow brings us news about large architectural projects around the world, but few of the architects mentioned are women, or they are "invisible". The "bad boys" within architecture are continuing to shape brave and dynamic forms supported by new digital tools, and through that, new possibilities for designing challenging and brave new architecture, such as Gehrys Bilbao Guggenheim and the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles. Apropos my "bad boy" metaphor above; new form expressions may be looked upon as our times "avant garde", and as the American architectural theoretician Mary McLeod puts it, referring to architects such as Frank Gehry, Bernard Tschumi, Peter Eisenman and Daniel Liebskind; "...avant-gardism is a more

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[324] http://architecture.about.com/od/architectureandsex/ss/gender.htm (09.26.09)

polite label for the concerns of angry young men, sometimes greying young men". (McLeod 1996) [325] Even though the braveness of the design of the two Gehry buildings mentioned above is masculine and dynamic per se, as the architecture of the Italian Baroque architect Francesco Borromini, the architecture of both buildings also has clear feminine features represented by soft and curved forms, which is also present in Baroque architecture and the works of Borromini. The combination of braveness and feminine forms makes me think of both buildings as androgynous.

MIH Photo: 119 (left) Detail of Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, June 2008
MIH Photo: 120 (right) detail of the deYoung Museum, San Francisco, May 2008

In opposition to Gehrys curved forms in the Bilbao Guggenheim and the Walt Disney Consert Hall in Los Angeles, the deYoung Museum in San Francisco has clear masculine dynamic forms. The museum is constructed to resist earthquake, with a form that is contrasting the two of Gehrys buildings both in shape and colour. The museum was designed by the American Fong & Chan architects, and the Swiss architects Herzog & de Meuron. It opened in 2005, and has a dynamic hard and masculine form, but yet playful and exciting; of course, being masculine is no contradiction to being playful. At the same time the building appears as dark and mystical, and one could say the architecture is well adapted to the content of the building, which among other art expressions houses a large and overwhelming collection of primitive art and crafts as well as ritual objects, connected to ancient superstition and witchcraft. In that sense the architectural form of the museum is symbolizing its content psychologically.

To summarize; the conditions I point out here to show how architecture is gendered, are that architecture has been dominated by male architects as well as masculine form expressions, at the expense of female architects and feminine

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form expressions, although feminine form expressions are not necessarily linked to female architects. However as a consequence of the repression of female architects, most architecture has masculine form expressions, whether it is made by male or female architects. As within visual art, female architects have to a large extent had to adapt to masculine form expressions, either consciously or unconsciously, following their incorporated schemata for objectivity in order to be taken seriously, an objectivity which is in its essence is masculine, as described in chapter 4.1.4. Architecture also reflects the patterns of traditional upbringing and education where the boys are expected to be noisy and dominating "bad boys", and the girls quiet and withdrawn. However it is interesting to observe today how feminine or androgynous form expressions emerge within contemporary architecture, such as the Bilbao Guggenheim and the Walt Disney Music Hall, independent on the gender of the architect.

4.1.5 Transparent architecture; flexible organization of work

Corporate architecture can also reflect new management styles and flexible organization of work. Within the new businesses and technologies there has been a shift in former ways to organize work, from hierarchical leader structures and tight time schedules to flat leader structures and freedom for the employees to work practically "whenever and wherever" they want, similar to the way visual artists organize their work, as this is proclaimed in artist myths, and as described in chapter 3.1.2.4. This is most common within the new technologies, occupied by what Olins calls "T-shirt workers" rather than white collar workers, (Olins 2004) in what Florida calls "no-collar" workplaces with open office design, well designed communal spaces with abundant art and "hang out" spaces. (Florida 2002) The new leader structures and flexible organization of work require transparency within the firms, which is symbolically reflected in the new glass walled and transparent corporate architecture, which has exploded as a principal for corporate architecture in the last couple of decades.

Transparent and glass walled architecture as such is not a new phenomenon, and is formerly mentioned as "curtain walled architecture", starting in the first half and middle of the twentieth century, demonstrated by the Bauhaus architecture and developed by architects such as the German-American architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, in buildings such as the Lake Shore Drive 860-880 Apt. in Chicago from 1951, and the Seagram building in New York from 1958, which he designed in collaboration with Philip Johnson, Ely J. Kahn and Robert A. Jacobs. (Murray 2009) While many of the old glass buildings represent Modernism architecture and what one might call "High Modernism", many of the new contemporary glass walled buildings today represent what is called Neo

Modernism, as they are distinctively different to typical Post Modern architecture. Here I use the term "transparent architecture" to describe the visual differences between curtain walled architecture and the new glass buildings, which obviously has been taken further through a larger variation of form, and with a higher transparency than most of the former curtain wall buildings. An example of the new transparent Neo Modernist architecture is the Midtown Project and Tower in Rappongi Hills, Tokyo from 2007, designed by the Japanese architect Nikken Sekkei.

MIH Photo: 121 (left) The Midtown tower, Rappongi Hills, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 122 (right) The Seagram Building, New York, June 2009

An interesting relation between the new transparent architecture and flexible organization of work is that due to the lack of walls, glass walled architecture to a large extent requires open planned work areas, which is also an important condition for flexibility at work, although flexible work times and open offices are not quite new either, but as phenomenon the new variants of flexible ways to organize work have accelerated in the last decades. Although open planned offices are considered to contribute to creativity and innovation, both through its transparency and by making it easier to collaborate and share ideas, it is difficult to measure to what degree such architecture really contributes to increase creativity and innovation within a company. As described by the American architect Peter MacKeith in his study on contemporary architecture and corporate identity in Finland, it seems as though the new trend of glass walled buildings with open planned work areas has contributed to create a new corporate mantra; creativity, innovation and flexibility, with a desire for making "innovative

thinking" and "positive encounters". (MacKeith 2005) According to MacKeith many see a relation between transparency in economy, politics and business and the semantic equivalent term of incorruptibility, which in its essence refers to a belief in honesty, openness and integrity as desired effects of transparency. (MacKeith 2005) Seemingly such favorable qualities are transmitted into architectural transparence, and makes way for the conception of a connection between transparency, open planned offices, creativity and innovation. But according to MacKeith;

> …the correlation of transparency and flexibility in office planning with creativity and productivity is an illusion. The correlation of open-plan, executive-in-the-open, glass-walled environments with openness, trust, cooperation, and informal brainstorming is an illusion. (MacKeith 2005)[326]

MacKeith explains this by referring to scientific studies that contradict the belief in that open planned offices lead to more creativity and productivity. Although open planned offices lead to positive unstructured communication, it also leads to problems in reflection and concentration, and thus the open planned office should rather be characterized as "the attention-deficit office". (MacKeith 2005) Sennett even claims that flexible and transparent work environments bring indifference to the workplace, founded on impermanence and an extreme mobility of labor and capital. (Sennet 2001) According to a workplace survey made by the American architect agency Gensler in 2008, four modes of work are necessary for a company to achieve top success; 1) focus 2) collaborate 3) learn and 4) socialize. The survey recognizes that places for focused work are necessary, where the employees are not distracted by their surroundings. At the same time a successful company needs places for team work and collaboration, which is easier in open planned offices. According to the survey, top performing and successful companies manage to combine these four work modes, while one-sided focus-work centred companies tend to remain average in success.[327]

Also Florida points out that the new type of workplace is not "universally wonderful". The arrangement of space tends to be traffic-oriented with many common spaces instead of private spaces where the employees can lock the door, and the employees often complain of noise. As described by Florida there is a lack of "acoustical privacy", and in August 2001 the Wall Street Journal ran an article with the headline; "Shut Up So We Can Do Our Jobs!", which described

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[326] Page 33
[327] http://www.gensler.com/#home/2 (09.25.2009)

how people in open planned offices tried to lower the noise by "...wrapping cubicles in extra fabric, hanging sound-absorbing materials on ceilings, and affixing cork wallboards to hallways and conference rooms". (Florida 2002)[328] An interesting aspect of the need of avoiding interruptions and disturbing noise at work is described in an article in the newspaper Aftenposten.[329] It describes how employees working in open planned offices, and particularly young employees who master the new media, uses music provided by streaming services on the Internet, such as "Spotify" and "Wimp" in Scandinavia and Norway, where people have access to most of their favourite music during the working day. Provided with earplugs and headsets they can concentrate on their tasks without sensing disturbing activity and interruptions from the surrounding open planned office. An interesting aspect of this is that the use of music at work can be seen in graphic curves during the day. At Wimp they have observed how the graphic curve that shows the activity of streaming is growing towards lunch time, while it falls when people remove their earplugs for lunch at about 11 AM, before it rises steeply again after lunch, and declines towards the end of the working day at dinner time, at about 18-19 PM.[330] As mentioned in the same article, Wimp's observations are harmonious to the findings of the Norwegian PhD-student Marie Skånland, who among the issues in her PhD-project examines the relationship between music and people's concentration at work, where many of her informants are observing that music heard through earplugs or headsets contributes to build "individual rooms" in large open office areas. The music helps the employees to keep focused on their task, and keep other impulses away. The headset also sends a signal to their fellow employees that they are occupied, and because of this they prevent unnecessary communication.[331] The article points on the disadvantage of open planned offices; the lack of room for concentration and focus on work tasks, which makes employees create their own individual space by using earplugs and music as walls in their personal room.

4.1.6   Archi-nature; how architecture interact with nature

There are several types of interaction between nature and corporate architecture. One is when the headquarters or office buildings are located in a nature based area; another is when such buildings are located in a park. Traditionally parks and gardens have been important status symbols for royalty. Many castles are enclosed by great parks such as The Castle of Versailles, outside of Paris. As described by the landscape architect Annegreth Dietze, gardens and parks were

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[328] Page 127
[329] Linda Ørstavik, Aftenposten 10.31.2010
[330] Aftenposten 10.31.2010; Linda Ørstavik and Sveinung Rindal, Wimp
[331] Aftenposten 10.31.2010; Linda Ørstavik

important status symbols among the bourgeoisie and merchants also in the seventeen and eighteen hundreds, (Dietze 2007) as mentioned also in chapter 1.1.1. The third and newest way for corporate headquarters to "interact with nature", is actually to show environmental responsibility by applying energy saving precautions to existent corporate buildings, or to erect new headquarters and office buildings based on environmental friendly technology or "green" architecture. These precautions vary from ecological and environmental friendly building materials, recycling rain or sewage water, energy saving lightning and led lightning, solar cell panels for collecting energy and growing plants on roofs and walls.

An interesting aspect of the environmental concern, is the impact on architecture, and how new corporate buildings more and more are designed within the principals of sustainable or "green architecture". Additionally most large corporations take several other steps to save the environment, although this may not be reflected in the architecture, such as recycling printer paper and office materials, and precautions to prevent or minimize pollution within industrial production. Recent examples of green corporate architecture is the English architect Norman Foster's Hearst Tower in New York from 2006, considered to be the first green building in New York, where rain water is collected and circulated for cooling the building during the summer and for heating during the winter period.[332] Hearst Tower is also LEED certified, which refers to Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design.[333] Another example is the One Bryant Park Building; The Bank of America Tower in New York, designed by the American Cook and Fox architects and completed in 2009, which at the moment is claimed to be the most environmental friendly building in the world. The 58 storey skyscraper is also the second highest building in New York, and has glass facades that let in a lot of light, and contribute to saving energy on lighting. It keeps the heat out in the summer, saving energy on cooling systems, while cooling otherwise is made by ice batteries.[334] The air gets cleared on its way in and out of the building. Both in the Bank of America Tower and in the Hearst Tower environmental precautions have contributed directly to the architectural design of the building. This also applies to the new headquarters of Sony Corporation in Tokyo, Sony City from 2006, designed for recycling waste heat from sewage water, which will be described later in chapter 4.2.4.1.[335]

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[332] http://www.hearst.com/real-estate/hearst-tower.php (09.26.09)
[333] http://www.usgbc.org/DisplayPage.aspx?CategoryID=19 (09.26.09)
[334] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bank_of_America_Tower_(New_York_City) (04.05.10)
[335] http://www.climatesuccess.org/case-studies/bricks-and-mortar-go-green-at-sonys-energy-efficient-headquarters/
http://www.sony.net/SonyInfo/csr/eco/newspaper/08.html (09.18.09)

It is important to add here, that the environmental concern and responsibility of corporations is motivated by several layers of values and needs, such as: 1) It is useful for everyone "on the planet" to take environmental precautions, corporations included. 2) It is important for the image of the business to show environmental responsibility. 3) It is positive for the employees to promote health and well being through natural activities. Similarly it is also several ways for the corporations to show environmental concern and responsibility, such as 1) through recycling materials and a "green" energy saving architecture. 2) Supporting environmental research and precautions in the society. 3) Taking environmental precautions to prevent or confine pollutant production. 4) By creating a "natural environment" for their building facilities. Although it is useful for "the survival of everyone" to show environmental responsibility, it is also useful because it gives a positive impression of a responsible corporation. The opposite; not showing environmental concern is "bad for business", as the corporation will be criticized and risk losing customers and clients. Thus the new green and environmentally friendly architecture, as well as green parks, contributes to give a positive impression of a corporation, and to strengthen its profitability.

The rapidly growing environmental responsibility and interest in sustainable and green architecture has made way for new ecological technology as well as for exciting form expressions, for instance Renzo Pianos "Tjibaou Cultural Centre" in New Caledonia from 1998, build on the principals of local tribe architecture, using weatherproofed bamboo forming vertical elements where the wind is captured and controlled through adjustable ventilators. By that the wind is used as a natural cooling system. (Wines and Jodidio 2000) There may also often be a conflict between the mission of saving the environment and an admirable commitment to design principals, or to "...convert noble objectives into an equivalent artistic expression".[336] As claimed by Wines and Jodido:

> People will never want to keep an aesthetically inferior building around, no matter how well stocked it is with cutting-edge thermal glass, photovoltaic cells, and zero-emission carpeting. (Wines and Jodidio 2000)[337]

While Le Corbusier viewed the house as a machine, and architects throughout the whole nineteen hundreds were influenced by "the machine age", new generations of environmentally concerned architects look at the earth itself as "the ultimate

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[336] Page 9
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machine". According to Wines and Jodido, the new ecological science provides new insights, and makes an inspiring basis for a new architectural iconography. (Wines and Jodidio 2000) As they predict:

> It can be safely predicted that, because of the urgency and increasing expansion of the environmental movement, architecture will probably change more radically over the next two decades than it has changed in the past 100 years. (Wines and Jodidio 2000)[338]

4.1.7   Architecture and territorial identity

Architecture often becomes landmarks representing a city or a nation, for instance the skyscrapers in New York, Chicago and Hong Kong which contributes to the identity of these cities. By being landmarks and identity factors, corporate architecture can contribute to provide identity to a nation or a region, as well as it can represent international trends. Architecture can represent a territory in several ways. Among these: 1) As a landmark due to its unusual form or size, as for instance the Transamerica pyramid in San Francisco, or the so called "gherkin" in London, the Swiss Re Headquarters. By being unusual, tall or large sized, such architecture "gives" identity to a city or a region, independent of regional or national traditions. 2) By picking up regional or national architectural customs, for instance in the Tjibao Cultural Center in New Caledonia mentioned above, where the architecture is based on regional materials and traditional constructional methods reflecting old traditions of conical architecture in the South Pacific. (Wines and Jodidio 2000) The architects can 3) take or borrow territorial qualities by bringing typical national or regional features, such as nature and climate (ice, flower, mountain, desert) into the architecture, for instance in the new Oslo Opera house, which is reflecting Norwegian and Nordic or Arctic nature with ice and snow.

The third category above is also a variation of symbolism in architecture, reflecting external objects and phenomenon, as discussed in chapter 4.1.3.3. Another example of this category is the Roppongi Hills Mori Tower in Tokyo, a 54 story skyscraper designed by the American architects Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates and completed in 2003. Opposite to many other Tokyo skyscrapers, which often appear as copies of skyscrapers in other cities around the world, The Mori Tower has curved forms, and gives associations with a flower or a plant growing out of its seed, which is in touch with Japanese traditions and the Japanese sentiment of architecture through its imitation of an organic and natural

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form.[339] Unlike the Western ideas of conquering nature, the Zen Buddist vision was to see the universe as a system of interrelated parts, where the Zen Mantra was the symbolic reference to a psychological symbiosis where the mind became a landscape in fusion with nature. (Wines and Jodidio 2000) The architects can also bring features or remnants of national or regional cultural objects into the architecture, for instance the so called "Viking ship" in Hamar, Norway, a large Speed skating arena hall built for the Winter Olympic Games in Norway in 1994, by the Norwegian architects Biong & Biong and Niels Torp AS,[340] and which is shaped like a large Viking ship laid with the bottom up. In all such cases, architecture "takes" or borrows territorial identity from a country or a region. Of course, by reflecting a territorial quality, architecture also pays tribute to the country or the area where it is located.

MIH Photo: 123 (left) The Mori tower, Rappongi Hills, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 124 (right) The Viking Ship Speed Skating Arena, Hamar, Norway, August, 2010

Architecture can also borrow features from foreign countries architectural customs and global trends. Strictly, and as many of us are familiar with, Western architecture in general has borrowed a huge amount of basic elements and architectural archetypes from ancient Greek and Roman architecture, such as the temple gable wall with its columns and saddle roof, as we can see in a large number of monumental buildings, spanning from European royal castles to the New York Stock Exchange. While South European styles have marked Western architecture for over two millenniums, and through different style periods, the

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[339]
http://images.google.no/imgres?imgurl=http://www.tokyoarchitecture.info/Images/Buildings/Roppongi/RoppongiHillsMoriTower-001.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.tokyoarchitecture.info/Building/4061/Roppongi_Hills_Mori_Tower.php&usg=__YPrdjYDGR_8jLcE62HF9taJ9Rjg=&h=400&w=300&sz=15&hl=no&start=1&um=1&itbs=1&tbnid=1VDC3QqTkzKPLM:&tbnh=124&tbnw=93&prev=/images%3Fq%3Dmori%2Btower%26hl%3Dno%26rlz%3D1T4SKPB_enNO362NO363%26sa%3DX%26um%3D1 (02.11.2010)
[340] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vikingskipet (02.25.2010)

Asian influence on Western architecture has emerged during the last centuries, particularly in the late eighteen and early nineteen hundreds. In the nineteen hundreds global trends were articulated in styles such as the International Style in the 1920s, or as in the Arts and Crafts Movement described in chapter 1.1.1 which developed in England after the London World Exhibition in 1851, and spread to the rest of Europe and the USA.

4.1.8   Cultural capital and pecuniary strength

Corporate architecture can reveal cultural capital, which as described by Bourdieu is achieved through education and social background, of which education is the main source. However at the same time as cultural capital grows with education, it also declines with type of occupation. In his room of social positions and life styles, Bourdieu shows how people in cultural and free occupations, such as within education and health usually have higher cultural capital than for instance employers within trade, who on their side, usually have higher income and economic capital than the first group. (Bourdieu 1995) Cultural capital represents cultural knowledge and insight, for instance in architecture and art history. In large work organizations, as in large scale corporations, cultural capital and the interest in art and architecture diverge, and the way such interest is displayed in corporate headquarters, depends on a great many factors, not at least the preferences of the founders and decision makers, and persons responsible for the corporation's properties and fixed assets. While most large corporations are highly concerned about the communicative and competitive function of their headquarters architecture, others may pay less attention to this, particularly smaller businesses. While the communicative and competitive function of architecture make corporations invest in high quality architecture to communicate their solidity and reliability, such architecture becomes what Habermas names status symbols that display the power and wealth of the owner to the public, (Habermas 1988) as mentioned in chapter 1.2.1. High quality architecture also shows pecuniary strength through what Veblen describes as conspicuous consumption, which is an important aspect of manifesting wealth and power. (Veblen and Mills 1994) As he points out:

> The basis on which good repute in any highly organized industrial community ultimately rests is pecuniary strength; and the means of showing pecuniary strength, and so of gaining or retaining a good name, are leisure and a conspicuous consumption of goods. (Veblen and Mills 1994)[341]

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As discussed in chapter 2.1.5.4 Veblen describes how consumption of excellent goods is an evidence of wealth that become honorific for a gentleman, who also needs to cultivate his tastes and become a connoisseur in creditable merits, such as beverages, architecture, weapons, games and dances. Veblen claims that:

> The consumption of luxuries, in the true sense, is a consumption directed to the comfort of the consumer himself, and is, therefore, a mark of the master. (Veblen and Mills 1994)[342]

In addition to high quality architecture, some corporate headquarters are located in green parks, by itself an old symbol of pecuniary strength within mercantilism. (Dietze 2007) The differences in visual appearance, leads to different anticipations on the cost, assuming that some architecture may be more expensive than other out of size, form, building materials and the surroundings. But without architectural or engineering experience it is difficult to assume the costs of a building just by the visual appearance as a small size and simple looking building can be just as expensive as a huge and monumental building if it consists of exclusive and expensive building materials.

4.1.8.1 Spectacular architecture

The desire of being visible and showing one's wealth and power through art and architecture is not a new phenomenon. A great many buildings and artworks from different historical periods all over the world symbolize wealth and power. The pyramids of the Egyptian pharaohs were made to secure their eternal visibility on earth, while the Roman emperors, such as Hadrian, known for his remarkable building activity to mark the borders of the Roman empire at its most powerful, spread out over a large part of Europe, North Africa and Asia. In Europe rich decorated castles, palaces and churches show the overwhelming richness of royalty and papacy through the past centuries, from the Vatican to Versailles. Today we witness how overwhelming richness can result in similar kinds of building activity, for instance in some oil producing countries, or in places which rely on such activities, such as in Dubai. According to the American historian and essayist Mike Davis, Dubai is "the planet's biggest building site", which he characterizes as an emerging "dream world of conspicuous consumption". (Davis 2007) Among these buildings are the spinnaker-shaped and seven star hotel Burj Al-Arab, the Dubai Mall, and the world's tallest building at the moment, the recently completed 828 meters Burj Khalifa. Also Dubailand, the largest theme park in the world, or as Davis puts it,

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[342] Page 45

"the theme park of theme parks", (Davis 2007) is located in Dubai.[343] Davis claims that these new features of the Dubai architecture seems imprinted from the book of Venturi et al.; "Learning from Las Vegas", (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977) when interpreted literally, and where the result is a coupling of the fantasies of Eiffel, Disney, Spielberg and others. (Davis 2007) It is important here to make clear that the Las Vegas described in "Learning from Las Vegas" is, as clarified by Scott Brown and Venturi; "…the commercial strip of c. 1968, not the scenographic Disneyland configurations of Las Vegas today". (Venturi and Scott Brown 2004) [344] Another important remark is that when studying Las Vegas, Venturi et.al. was not interested in Las Vegas per se, but in the symbolism of architectural form, and the Las Vegas Strip as a communication system of which they were identifying three systems: signs (the heraldic), the face of the buildings and the location of service stations, casinos, hotels, ceremonial valets, parking lots etc. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)

The signs and "strip architecture" of Las Vegas has its relatives in other US cities, although with variations in size and content, such as the Sunset strip in Hollywood, forming a visual cacophony of commercial signs, colors and architecture, each more hidden than visible among all the signs. In spite of the visual chaos, or rather because of the chaos, it is also a fascinating phenomenon not at least seen with the eye of an artist or a photographer. As expressed by Venturi in his comments on the American architect Peter Blakes photo of a main street in USA presented in his book "God's own Junkyard" from 1964 that is supposed to be bad;

> But the pictures in this book that are supposed to be bad are often good. The seemingly chaotic juxtapositions of honky-tonk elements express an intriguing kind of vitality and validity, and they produce an unexpected approach to unity as well. (Venturi 1977)[345]

Today Las Vegas is known as a fantasy world for rich people, or for people dreaming of getting rich, with several replicas of world famous architecture, such as the Eiffel tower, Egyptian pyramids and Venetian buildings, the latter represented by replicas of the Rialto Bridge, the Doges palace and the campanile at Piazza St. Marco. By the way, the latter has a long tradition of being copied, for example at Berkeley University of California, where the campanile, the Sather Tower named after the Norwegian founder Peder Sather is claimed to be a copy of the St. Marco campanile in Venice.

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[343] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dubai_Mall and http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dubailand (03.01.10)
[344] Page 8
[345] Page 104

MIH Photo: 125 (left) Signs at the Sunset Strip, Los Angeles, May 2008
MIH Photo: 126 (right) Signs at the Sunset Strip, Los Angeles, May 2008

MIH Photo: 127 (left) Sather Tower, the campanile at Berkeley University California, May 2008
MIH Photo: 128 (right) The campanile at Piazza St. Marco, Venice, August 2009

Copying architecture is not new to date, just think of the Renaissance architecture that borrows features of architecture from the antiquity, and in the name itself means rebirth, and all of the Greek temple gables with their columns on the facades of banks and public buildings built in the last centuries, and not to mention all the New Gothic buildings in western cities, for instance the English parliament buildings. However replicas of famous classical architecture made in our time all over the world is a phenomenon per se. The intention of such replicas today diversifies a great deal from the earlier intentions of copying former styles, and even from Post Modernism, where features of ancient and classical architecture were integrated into new architectural expressions everywhere. While Post Modern, as well as Renaissance and Baroque architects were copying architectural features from the past in order to develop new

architecture for churches, castles and dwellings, the new replicas are mostly connected to leisure and entertainment, related to theme parks, casinos and hotels. Today in these settings we can find replicas of famous buildings from Venice, Egypt and Greek islands all over the world, for instance the Venetian Macao Resort Hotel in China, owned by the Las Vegas Sands Corporation. This hotel is, by the way, not only a replica of Venetian architecture, but "a replica of the replica" of Venetian architecture, as it appears in the Venetian Resort Hotel Casino in Las Vegas.

Making a replica of another replica is not quite new either, according to Venturi et al. the Miami Beach Modern hotel by the highway in Southern Delaware, is related to the Miami Beach Hotel in Miami, which "…alludes to the international stylishness of a Brazilian resort, which, in turn, derives from the International Style of middle Corbu". (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)[346] In Singapore the Marina Bay Sands Casino and Hotel designed by the Israeli-Canadian architect Moshe Safdie is reaching its completion at the moment. The most spectacular part of the building complex is its three 55 story towers inspired by card decks symbolizing the content, with an outdoor 1 hectare park on the roof, the Sands Sky Park, stretching over the top of the three towers, giving it a rather surrealistic architectural expression. Also this building structure is developed by the Las Vegas Sands, which shows its connection to Las Vegas,[347] and in the definition of Venturi et al., a casino hotel formed like card decks is also a duck.

4.1.8.2   *Architecture and ethics*

Within the architectural discourse ethics are sometimes submitted as opposite to architectural form, particularly when the debated architecture has an unusual shape or size, which by some is derogatorily characterized as spectacular architecture in the meaning of being extravagant in human and economic aspirations and costs. Interpreting architectural form and the visual appearance of architecture can sometimes imply an ethical dilemma, as the architectural form as such can be magnificent, and an evidence of great architecture as well as great engineering. Such dilemmas occur from time to time when interpreting and evaluating culture in general. For instance when experiencing the artworks of the Italian Futurists. Many of their art expressions are magnificent, with dynamic compositions and use of colours. However, at the same time most people today do not sympathize with the fascist ideology of the Italian Futurists. Certainly I do not sympathize with their ideas and manifestations, which gives me an ethical dilemma, as it is difficult not to acknowledge their visual art expressions per se.

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[346] Page 8
[347] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marina_Bay_Sands (03.01.2010)

The Italian Futurist art is also acknowledged and has its natural place within modern art history and in most recognized literature on modern art, as well as hanging in the most significant museums of modern art.

Similarly to Italian Futurism, architecture with unusual form or size may on some occasions represent undesirable or totalitarian regimes, erected to display the power of a despotic leader, as in the former Romanian president Chauchesku. Many consider his monstrous palace in Bucurest to be an expression of megalomania rather than a building with recognized architectural qualities. On the other hand, a huge amount of antique and historical buildings which many of us are visiting to experience, are erected by "rather despotic leaders", such as the Coliseum in Rome, erected not only by unpleasant leaders, but to torture and kill people simply for the leaders enjoyment. The appearance of ethical dilemmas that can occur when analyzing architecture and architectural form is known from former studies, such as "Learning from Las Vegas". But according to Venturi et.al.;

> Las Vegas is analyzed here only as a phenomenon of architectural communication. Just as an analysis of the structure of a Gothic cathedral need not include a debate on the morality of medieval religion, so Las Vegas's values are not questioned here. The morality of commercial advertising, gambling interests, and the competitive is not at issue here, although, indeed, we believe it should be in the architect's broader, synthetic tasks of which an analysis such as this is but one aspect.". (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)[348]

By this Venturi et al. recognize that analyzing one architectural quality isolated from others, for instance architectural form, "...is a respectable scientific and humanistic activity". (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)[349] Unusual and high cost architecture may express great luxury and appear as utopian and science fiction like "dream worlds", as in Las Vegas. According to Davis; fantasy architecture and architectural dream worlds are made possible only by the neo-liberalism of today. (Davis 2007) Spectacular and high cost architecture can certainly also appear as conspicuous consumption of goods and luxury, as evidence of pecuniary strength, (Veblen and Mills 1994) or as status symbols displaying power and wealth, (Habermas 1988) whether this means status symbols of regime leaders, nations, private persons or corporations, mentioned in 4.1.8. Such critical views on unusual architecture often reflect ethical problems, which makes

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[348] Page 6
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critics connect ethics to the shape of a building. It is indeed legitimate to criticise ethical problems related to architecture such as high costs, low sustainability, poor working conditions and inaccessibility for people less beneficiary. As told by the Norwegian journalist Åsne Seierstad in an article in the Norwegian newspaper Morgenbladet, a hundred or so international artists have announced a boycott of the new Guggenheim Museum in Abu Dhabi designed by Frank Gehry and planned for completion in 2012,[350] if the museum does not secure acceptable working conditions for the people working on the erection of the museum.[351]

There are many interesting contradictions embedded in unusual and so called spectacular architecture. An unusual shape of a building may be more expensive than a traditional rectangular form. But as mentioned above, the shape is not the only measure of the costs of a building. Unusual architectural form can both be more expensive than traditional form, and it can be less expensive, depending on a lot of other factors such as building materials, principals of construction and localization. However, great architectural projects may lead to many contradictions and dilemmas. In respect of ethical dilemmas, one could ask; what makes architectural form ethical? Is it a risk that architecture with unusual form, by just being unusual becomes suppressed by the anticipation of being unethical? Obviously unusual architecture runs the risk of being judged as undesirable. One could also ask; must architecture be "boring" to be ethical? After all, architecture is also a product of the artistic talent of the architect, which is usually not looked upon as unethical, but rather as a "God given gift", and appreciated in any culture. As Nordberg-Schultz points out, the artistic expression is crucial for architecture, actually it is the "raison d`être" for architecture. (Norberg-Schulz 1992) According to the American psychologists Rollo May and Murray it also needs courage to present new and creative ideas, as architects and others in creative occupations constantly run the risk of being made fools of when launching new ideas, (May and Arneberg 1994) (Rand 1981) as mentioned in chapter 4.1.3.1. Not at least architects, when presenting architecture with unusual shapes, even when the proposed architectural form turns out to become a landmark when the building is erected.

Unusual architectural form, and so called spectacular architecture are often referred to as "iconic buildings", (Jencks 2005) and undoubtedly unusual buildings have a higher potential of becoming landmarks and identity symbols than anonymous buildings. Landmarks such as the Sydney Opera house, the

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[350] http://www.guggenheim.org/abu-dhabi/ (05.13.2011)
[351] Morgenbladet 04.15.2011; Åsne Seierstad; "Lykkelandet"

Bilbao Guggenheim and the Swiss Re Tower in London have all unusual architectural form. One of the first examples of modern architecture with "unusual form" is Le Corbusier's pilgrimage church Notre Dame du Haut from 1953, (Jencks 2005) mentioned in chapter 4.1.3.3 which according to Norberg-Schulz came as a surprise to the modern movement with its plastic and curving forms, taking up again principals from Baroque architecture. In spite of critical voices, the church was soon recognized as being a new dimension in modern architecture. (Norberg-Schulz 1980) This new dimension can also be seen in the visionary drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright, such as in his Huntington Hartford Sports Club/Play Resort and Pittsburgh Point Park Civic Centre from 1947 as well as in his Mile High Office Tower from 1956. (Cleary, Levine et al. 2009) The latter is a one mile high tower, utopian in 1956, while today, the new Burj Khalifa in Dubai, opened in 2010 and designed by the American architects Skidmore, Owings & Merrill is 828 meters,[352] nearly 2717 feet and over half a mile, which shows that architecture today is getting closer to fulfilling Wrights vision of a one mile high tower.

A lot of critical voices are raised against the new building in Dubai, particularly in 2009 parallel to the global economic recession and threat of climate change. Still it represents great architecture and great engineering. Such buildings are challenging the limits of both architecture and the art of engineering, and independent of where they are erected and by whom, they represent material and technological research and experiments which can almost be compared to space technology. A lot of architecture around the world with unusual shape and size has been criticized, only later to become recognized as landmarks and symbols of identity. Most of these buildings have high architectural quality, and their architects are rewarded with prestigious architectural awards. Many of the buildings have not only become local or national icons, but also international ideals within architecture, such as the Bilbao Guggenheim, and are included in architectural theory and in the curriculum of schools of architecture. Even though the access to cultural experiences is unequally divided and leads to ethical dilemmas, great architecture is considered to be a common benefit that often becomes part of the world's cultural heritage.

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[352] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burj_Khalifa (01.20.2010)

4.2   VISUAL ANALYSIS OF HEADQUARTERS ARCHITECTURE

4.2.1   Introduction

When analyzing the visual appearance of corporate architecture some qualities are obvious, such as shape, size and height of the architecture; others are indirectly but intentionally communicated, such as pecuniary strength, to signalize economic solidity and trustworthiness. Other qualities are hidden and need to be interpreted to be taken notice of. In such cases the interpretation is quite similar to how art historians interpret visual art, by trying to read signs and symbols embedded in the artwork which sometimes are created consciously by the artist, and sometimes unconsciously as a result of the cultural influence on the artist. In architecture the hidden qualities can be embedded in the shape of a building, or in other architectural features such as in the building materials, technology and the location. One can interpret the architectural expression as a whole, or look at details of the architecture, such as the shape and size of staircases, doors and windows, qualities that are particularly important for people that use the architecture in their everyday life, for instance people working in an office building. Some interpretations may be in accordance with the intention of the architect or the builder, who may have influenced the architecture in various degrees, while others may diverge. And further, different people will interpret the same architecture differently.

Professional architects and engineers will probably make interpretations based on style, form, materials and technology, while professionals within other disciplines will make interpretations based on their experience, for instance Østerberg in "Architecture and Sociology in Oslo" mentioned above, (Østerberg 1998) discussing how architecture may be experienced as a relief or a burden to people who are using the architecture every day. In that case the quality represents the psychological influence on people. Finally people in general will make interpretations based on their experiences and what they associate with the architecture they see; either it is the shape of a building, or their experiences as users. In the following I focus on how headquarters architecture appears as a whole, with one exception, as I am looking closer at one particular entrance that seems to be embedded with an interesting symbolism. I also look at the surroundings of the headquarters, whether this is a park, a suburban campus, or an urban city environment, as this contributes to create the total visual expression of the architecture.

In chapter 4.1 I describe and discuss several visual architectural qualities that I have observed, either these are communicated directly through the architecture,

or represent interpretations of form and expression related to cultural or social problems such as gender and environmental responsibility, and which I regard as interesting in respect of the architectural discourse. In the same chapter I also illuminate these qualities by discussing them in light of theory, and here I use them as a basis for analyzing the headquarters architecture. These qualities are not exhaustive, and some of them may diverge from qualities that are usually emphasized when architects and art historians interpret architecture. Thus some of the qualities may be recognized and approved, while others may be opposed to. But as any researcher will interpret texts, interviews and other data somewhat differently depending on what they are looking for, as well as on their personal experiences, we all also interpret architecture differently. Thus the interpretations below are some among many other possible interpretations, and are rather suggestions on how architecture may be interpreted.

My analysis and interpretations may also be seen in light of Semiotics, as reading visual signs, and within Iconography and Iconology. The latter implies interpretations of architecture in light of tendencies in the current society, which I to a great extent apply in my analysis. In chapter 4.2.7.1, I briefly show how my visual analysis and interpretations in the following are coherent as those within Semiotics, Iconography and Iconology.

To repeat and make explicit the qualities presented in chapter 4.1.2 and discussed in through chapter 4.1, I define the qualities as following: 1) "Symbolism", architecture with a recognizable form symbolizing its content as architectural "ducks" and fragmented or imaginative "duck-relatives" as well as architecture with a recognizable form symbolizing other objects and phenomenon. 2) "Gender", architecture where the form appears as gendered, which can be masculine, feminine or androgynous. 3) "Transparency", transparent and glass walled architecture, often with open planned work areas. 4) "Archi-nature", architecture that is interacting with nature either visually, by being located in parks or green areas, or as sustainable or green architecture. 5) "Territorial identity", architecture that either borrows features from local or regional architectural customs, or contributes to give identity to an area as a landmark. 6) "Capital", architecture that communicates cultural or economic capital, including "spectacular architecture" presumed to communicate high costs. In addition to the observed and interpreted qualities of architectural form and expression, I also try to identify the architectural style of each headquarters, based on the form and time period in which they were erected, in order to make a better understanding, and to compare the architecture of the headquarters in respect to the conditions in

the society and culture in which they are erected; or the current "zeitgeist", which may also mark the architecture.

4.2.2 Norwegian headquarters

4.2.2.1 Telenor Headquarters

Telenor is a Norwegian telecommunication corporation founded by the Norwegian state in 1855. Today the corporation has more than 40,000 employees in 14 countries. The apparently Post Modern headquarters from 2002, the Telenor Centre is located at Fornebu near Oslo, and is designed by the Norwegian HUS civil architects, Per Knudsen architects, and NBBJ Architects. (Heinisch 2005) Entering the centre for the first time is like coming into a futuristic-utopian plaza, embraced by two long extended, concave bowed and dynamic inclined buildings, with a small and less noticeable building in between. Daniel Burens outdoor artwork, 92 pillars placed in straight rows, forming a grid, also contributes to manifest the futuristic expression of the architecture. It seems as the high quality and obvious expensive architecture of the headquarters also reflects the "zeitgeist" of Norway as a mature oil-state, marked by high wealth.

MIH Photo: 129 (left) Telenor HQ, South building, Fornebu, Norway, January 2008
MIH Photo: 130 (right) Telenor HQ, Fornebu, Norway, January 2008

When entering the centre, soon the north building visually appears as the main building, with a front facade leaning forward, giving the building a dominating and commanding expression compared to the south building, which is leaning backwards and visually subordinate to the north building. In my attempts to analyse the buildings visually, this clear and contradictory active and passive expression of the two buildings soon appear as respectively masculine and feminine, where the north building express masculinity, by its active and forward leaning position. In addition to the north buildings form and size, the continuing movement of Jenny Holzers outdoor artwork, a digital red moving text-stripe on top of the glass wall, contributes to underpin the impression of its active and

dominating position. The respectively active and passive expression of the two buildings represents the same contradictory qualities that according to Bourdieu contribute to organize the masculine and feminine field, such as hard- soft, large-small, active-passive and so on, (Bourdieu 2000) described in chapter 4.1.4.1. The passive and backward leaning position of the south building represents a traditional feminine position. One could also imagine that the red sides of Daniel Buréns 92 pillars turning against the north building are reflecting the male aggression, and that the green sides of the pillars turning against the south building reflect feminine qualities such as fertility and motherhood, as well as an available and serving position, but this is most likely a coincidence.

MIH Photo: 131 (left) Telenor HQ, East edge of South building, Fornebu, Norway, January 2008
MIH Photo: 132 (right) Telenor HQ, East edge of North building, Fornebu, Norway, January 2008

The north building is running out in a dynamic sharp point at the east edge, and by this it is visually manifesting its active masculine expression. In this part of the building the angel of the front wall has changed its direction from forward leaning to vertical, so that the sharp form is liberated from the rest of the building, still connected, but pointing out of the centre. The sharp edge houses a visitor centre, the "Telenor Expo-centre". The outward pointing position of the north buildings east edge, and the function inside of this edge receiving visitors from the public world outside of the centre, serves to reinforce the masculine quality of the north building as males, according to Bourdieu tend to be public oriented taking care of the family's public affairs outside of the home. (Bourdieu 2000) This outward oriented position of males is also illusionary described by the architecture historian Beatriz Colomina, in her studies of architectural photos of the buildings of Le Corbusier. Although they rarely show people in the buildings, the few photos that do, the women are in the interior, and the photo is shot from the back while she is facing the wall or looking at a man, while the men are on the balcony looking out. The same is the case in many of his drawings, where women are inside of the building and the men outside. If not looking into the wall, the women are looking at the men, while the men are looking at the world outside. (Colomina 1992)

Here the gender quality is double highlighted, with the masculine outward pointing position, and with the visitor centre representing the external world, which males "usually deal with". In contrast to the north building, the east edge of the south building appears as a soft curved feminine form, almost like a bowl. As pointed out by Bourdieu, the female role is to be home oriented, occupied with taking care of home affairs. (Bourdieu 2000) The interesting thing is, when entering the south building; it also seems to be the main service building, with a large amount of cantinas, coffee bars, small shops and hairdressers. Again the gender quality is reinforced, as the feminine home orientation also manifest itself inside of the building, since the main supply of care and soft values seem to be taking place here. Even though the north building also has several coffee bars and seating groups, the main impression is that most of the service functions are provided in the feminine south building.

The gender quality of the Telenor architecture does not seem to have been created consciously by the architects, which means that the gendered expressions of the two buildings may be unconscious and coincidental. According to one of the employees at Telenor, the facades are contradictory inclined to get as much sun as possible in the plaza, by making the south building a little bit lower and backward leaning than the north building. This makes sense in respect of the south building, but is not an explanation for the forward leaning facade of the north building, which does not block the sun at any time as it is positioned more or less in a west to east direction. So the explanation regarding the sun is hardly the only reason for the oppositional inclined facades.

With the new headquarters Telenor wanted to create a stimulating environment for creativity and innovation, and at the very least to emphasize human relations by turning the focus of the corporation from hard to soft values. (Heinisch 2005) As mentioned by Bourdieu "hard" is associated with masculine qualities, while "soft" is regarded as feminine. (Bourdieu 2000) These qualities are reflected in many areas of the society, for instance through masculine and feminine occupations, such as engineers and nurses which is also considered to demonstrate hard versus soft values. One might wonder if the changed focus from hard to soft values has contributed to the masculine and feminine qualities of the buildings. Put to its extreme, it is even possible to connect the gender quality to a family metaphor, as the small building between the masculine and feminine building can give the impression of a childlike association "holding its parents arms", as the three buildings are connected with each other by glass covered walking bridges above the ground level. However, the architecture of the Telenor-centre is an interesting example of architectural form where both

masculine and feminine qualities can be interpreted visually; either the gendered form expressions are created consciously or have "become gendered" by a coincidence.

Besides the gendered expression of the architecture, the ground plan of the Telenor centre shows that the two curved main buildings are shaped like two telephone handsets with smaller building structures attached to the uttermost curves on each side. The handset shape of the two main buildings is clearly visible from the air. As the Telenor headquarters houses a telecommunication company, this means that the Telenor Centre is also "a duck", where the form is symbolizing the content of the buildings. One could argue that the attached buildings behind the main structures break the image of phone handsets, but instead they are reminiscent of the rubber devices made to put on the handset to place it on the shoulder. As discussed in chapter 4.1.3, the interesting and fascinating aspect of duck architecture is how this vernacular tradition is transferred into high quality architecture. Even though the duck metaphor originally refers to simple vernacular buildings such as hamburger stands and similar structures, Venturi et al. uses the term to describe large public buildings including cathedrals with an architectural form that is symbolizing the content by being shaped like a Christian cross. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)

Illustrations Removed

Internet, Illustration B: (left) Ground plan of Telenor HQ, Fornebu, Norway[353]
Internet, Illustration C: (right) Ground plan of Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Italy[354]

The shape of the phone handsets was mentioned occasionally in the Norwegian news during the architectural competition prior to the building process, but it does not seem to be mentioned in any of Telenor's publications today. Instead

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[353] http://www.telenorsenteret.no/?action=setLanguage&lang=en&ID=2 (05.25.2008)
[354] http://www.aboutflorence.com/Museums-in-Florence/uffizi-gallery/map-uffizi-gallery.jpg (08.06.2008)

the conceptual name of the project is "Nuevo Uffizi", named after the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, and particularly with emphasize on the plaza. (Heinisch 2005) The Uffizi does indeed have a plaza, and originally the Uffizi Gallery housed offices, as the word Uffizi means office, when translated. Indirectly this name reflects one quality of the content; offices. But offices alone do not describe anything about the product or the activity of the firm. Oppositely phone handsets do, and it can hardly be accidental that the Telenor centre has this particular shape, although it may be created unconsciously by the architects. Nevertheless, a telecommunication headquarters shaped like phone handsets represent a duck, based on what Venturi et al. describe as "the forgotten symbolism" in architecture. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)

Although symbolism is used consciously by some architects, as in the Grieg Concert Hall in Bergen, symbols may be added unconsciously by other architects for later so as to be identified as recognizable symbols by the spectators. For instance Telenor employees experience the architectural form as a ship. As described by an employee:

> When I come with the bus in the morning ... we see the edge of the Expo-centre, which reminds me very much about the sharp point of a boat. We also have two pipes, and I think of a great cruise ship.

Actually, seeing the building complex as a whole, with its concave curved long sides, and the sharp form at the south edge, the ship metaphor also fits the architecture, although it has no connection to the activity of Telenor. The most interesting thing with the ship metaphor is that it symbolizes a common conception among people gathered together within a limited area such as at a workplace, where a lot of people are gathered every day, and presumably "sailing in the same direction". Among the objectives for building the new headquarters was to increase the comfort and well being of the employees, and the ship metaphor also reveals a feeling of security; it is safer to keep together in a protective vessel, than to sail alone. Additionally the shape of the Telenor buildings has another potential interpretation worth mentioning. The concaved curved forms of the two main buildings embracing the plaza may also be interpreted as two embracing arms, welcoming people similar to the Italian Baroque architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini's colonnades at the Plaza of St. Peter in Rome, which also have this function. Embracing arms also have clear similarities to the former Telenor logo, which was abandoned in favour of a new in 2006. The former logo was shaped like an oval form with a circle, which by many was interpreted as a person forming his or hers arms in an embracing movement. As

expressed by one of the employees; "To me it was somebody holding around the earth... yes, it should hold on to people".

The visual similarity between the Telenor centre and the corporation's former logo makes me wonder if the architects also may have been inspired by this, although the similarities may also be a coincidence. Nevertheless, the new logo from 2006, which many claim "looks like a propeller" has become quite popular among the employees who find it more playful than the former. By the way, connecting the new logo to the ship metaphor gives root to a new and playful metaphor, as "a ship needs a propeller to move."

Another quality worth mentioning about the Telenor centre is the transparency, as the facades towards the plaza in both buildings are also huge glass facades. As discussed in chapter 4.1.5, the new transparent corporate architecture often contains open planned offices, followed by flexible organization of work, which is also the case at the Telenor headquarters. In addition to the headquarters open planned offices, the corporation also practices a distinguished flexible organization of work. The employees do not have regular and fixed work places, but find a new place to sit every day, as described in chapter 3.2.2.1. They can also choose to work practically "whenever and wherever" they want, as long as they fulfil their duties at work. This means that the employees do not have to come to the office every day, instead they can choose to work from home. Apparently the coherence between transparent architecture, transparent organization of work, open planned offices and work flexibility is particularly present here.

As mentioned, the Telenor headquarters appears as a utopian plaza dominated by glass, stone and concrete. The concrete and stone give the plaza a rather grey surface. Although environmental responsibility is an important corporate value at Telenor, and the buildings are provided with several energy-saving facilities, such as heating from sea water, the architecture does not interact visually with nature, although it is placed in an area of nature by the fjord. Instead the large grey plaza contributes to the feeling of a rather urban atmosphere where the interaction with nature takes place only indirectly. One does not get "the feeling of nature" when entering the Telenor headquarters. To get this, you have to be outside of the campus. However the headquarters is an example of high quality architecture which by its unusual form is easily recognizable in the area, and may contribute to local identity, and indirectly to national identity, as a signal building of a partly state owned business. In spite of its relative low height, it is visible from relatively far away along the Oslo Fjord. As described by an employee:

"When you drive home late, and you come to Fiskevollsbukta and throw a glace to the right, then you see the red light stripe," (Holzers digital stripe on top of the north building).

Many consider the Telenor headquarters as an architectural icon in the Oslo area. It is also recognized by architects abroad, and the architects have received several architectural awards. A particular quality that is communicated through the high quality architecture is high economic capital. The corporation is partly owned by the Norwegian state, which at the moment is considered to be one of the richest nations in the world, due to oil. Of course money counts independently of the owner, so state ownership is not crucial for high quality architecture. However, the state ownership factor can contribute to high quality by making political decisions about investments in art and architecture, as is the case with Telenor. During the last decade the Norwegian government has increased its emphasis on culture, and given financial support to different disciplines within the cultural field; such as music, dance, visual art, design and architecture. Additionally the Norwegian musician and former Minister of culture Åse Kleveland, was engaged to contribute to the planning process prior to the erection of the headquarters. (Heinisch 2005) Through the high emphasis and focus on architecture and art, as presented in chapter 2.2.2.1, the Telenor Headquarters communicates high cultural capital, and in this case, also indirectly reflecting the Norwegian state.

4.2.2.2 *Statoil Headquarters*

Statoil is a Norwegian oil and gas corporation founded by the Norwegian state in 1972. Today it has about 30,000 employees worldwide, spread in over 40 countries. In 2007 Statoil merged with Hydro, founded as an electric energy company in 1905. Visiting the headquarters of Statoil at Forus outside of Stavanger is like coming into a huge industrial environment. The Statoil headquarters designed by the Norwegian Rambøll Architects was built in six steps between 1975 and 1993, and represents Late Modernism or Structuralism, based on a fixed pattern or modules for later expansion, which allowed the structure to develop over time. It consists of several square and rectangular shaped buildings with red coloured towers between them, which also connect the buildings to each other. Due to the red towers and joined structures, the headquarters appear as a long sealed building with several red watch-towers, which gives the association of a fortress. The low three story building structure covers a large area, which makes it difficult to grasp the whole anatomy of the building at first sight. According to the architects, the buildings structure also

makes "a village of offices".[355] In respect of the time of erection, in the early 1970s, the headquarters seems to reflect the "zeitgeist" of Norway in an early stage of becoming an oil-state, where protecting national interest was strongly emphasized by the population as well as by many politicians, as discussed in chapter 2.1.1, and gives an interesting perspective to the fortress metaphor.

MIH Photo: 133 (left) Main entrance of Statoil HQ Forus, Stavanger, Norway, September 2008
MIH Photo: 134 (right) Statoil HQ Forus, Stavanger, September 2008

Inside, the industrial expression is softened by coloured zones, wood and bricks, and a large number of artworks. In addition, the buildings structure is more open inside with coffee bars and cantinas, internal atriums with vegetation and outdoor art, glass covered corridors between the buildings and pedestrian paths that are embracing the inner courtyards that also contain smaller service buildings. In spite of this, the heavy industrial expression of the architecture seen from outside, and the fortress associations, which also give the impression of military activity makes the Statoil headquarters appear very convincingly as masculine. With reference to medieval villages, for instance Carcassonne in the South of France, medieval villages are in fact placed within and protected by the walls of a fortress. From the outside the architecture has no features that can be interpreted as feminine, and in respect of the industry, this is a man's world. However, an interesting observation is that the new logo of Statoil, a magenta coloured star which is replacing their old logo; a yellow drop of oil on a dark blue background, also adds an interesting feminine feature to the otherwise male visual expressions of the corporation, as the star is similar to a well known Norwegian knitting pattern called "the Selbu Rose" from Mid-Norway. However, unlike the old logo, the magenta star has apparently nothing to do with oil, and breaks with the old idea of signalizing the industry, in opposition to the baker's pretzel, unless, one looks at the star, seemingly made of gems as a symbol of the crown of a drill made of diamonds.

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[355] http://www.ramboll.no/projects/viewproject?projectid=5D200EA6-6019-42DD-9B73-E5070E6BB0B5 (03.01.2011)

The buildings structure of Statoil's headquarters does not appear as transparent, and the offices inside are partly regular offices, and partly open planned. Although the Statoil headquarters complex is built on a former nature's plain, the dominating visual expression is as mentioned industrial, without any visible interaction with nature. As the headquarters of Statoil today consist of a rather low building structure spread over a large area, and almost hiding in the landscape, which also has been an architectural aim from time to time, the architecture cannot be claimed to give identity to the area. Statoil is probably one of the most important corporations in Norway at the present time, and one of the main suppliers of economic income to the state of Norway. Due to the oil production, most Norwegians are familiar with Statoil's location outside of Stavanger, a city that by many are considered as "the oil city" of Norway. The consciousness about Statoil's location near Stavanger contributes psychologically to the identity of the city. Still the headquarters of Statoil is rather anonymous, and the architecture of the headquarters itself is no typical landmark that contributes to national identity, only local. Today Statoil is building a new Oslo headquarters, planned to be completed in 2012, with a far more emphasized architecture. The interesting here, is that this new building also share some similarities with the new Statoil logo, the magenta coloured star, mentioned above. Another interesting aspect of the new headquarters that is designed by the Norwegian architects A-Lab, is its figurative form that according to one of the architects, Odd Klev is inspired by the Japanese game Mikado, where wood sticks are thrown accidentally at a table, thereafter to be picked up one by one. The new office building consists of five rectangular boxes that are seemingly placed on top of each other by accident, pointing in different directions like in the Mikado game.[356]

Both the new logo and the new headquarters architecture shows a new consciousness and a reinforced emphasis on the visual appearance of the corporation, and on the power embedded in the visual profile which may also include other visual qualities such as the headquarters architecture and the art collection. As Statoil is partly owned by the Norwegian state similar to several large scaled corporations in Norway, it may also reflect the increased interest in culture, including art and architecture in the Norwegian government. Obviously Statoil also represent a corporation with high pecuniary strength, as the leading oil industry in a country that has increased its wealth tremendously during the last decades not at least through the contribution of Statoil. However, the increased cultural interest is not embedded in the architecture of the current headquarters in Stavanger. Instead it is the total size of the headquarters that has

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[356] Http://www.aftenbladet.no/energi/olje/1103664/Slik_blir_Statoils_nye_Oslo-kontor.ht (09.03.2010)

evolved step by step parallel with the development of an oil-state marked by pecuniary strength. Seemingly the corporation has also reinforced its cultural capital through these decades, displayed by the new conciseness about their visual profile, their new headquarters architecture and an impressive high quality art collection, presented in chapter 2.2.2.2.

4.2.3   US headquarters

4.2.3.1   *Oracle Headquarters*

Oracle is a US Computer Software corporation founded in 1977 by Larry Ellison, Bob Miner and Ed Oates in Santa Clara California. Today Oracle has about 85,000 employees worldwide. The apparently Post Modern architecture of Oracle Headquarters in Redwood Shores south of San Francisco is designed by the American architects Gensler and Associates, and appear as spectacular, monumental and overwhelming in size and shape when entering the large park-like campus with a big lake in the middle. The headquarters consists of several huge twelve to fifteen story glass buildings, most of them are shaped by a fusion of a cylindrical and prismatic form, except for one building, which has two cylinders and several different shaped buildings behind and outside of the main park area. The company moved to Redwood Shores in 1989, when the first building was completed, while the next ones were built between 90 and 91, and the rest of the buildings between 95 and 98. The high quality and obviously expensive architecture of the Oracle headquarters reflect a high income, although the time of erection was partly marked by economic crisis and a fall in the growth of the GDP in the USA in 1990-91.[357]

MIH Photo: 135 (left) Oracle HQ and goslings, Redwood Shores, California, June 2008
MIH Photo: 136 (right) Oracle HQ and lake, Redwood Shores, California, June 2008

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[357] http://www.indexmundi.com/united_states/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (01.31.2011)

The surfaces of the buildings are covered with glass, as in many other corporate headquarters. A huge cylindrical form merged with a prismatic form makes the visual expression of the Oracle architecture unusual. The idea behind the glass walled cylindrical form is to reflect the water in the lake. However some people claim that the headquarters architecture is shaped like "stacks of databases," which actually often are stored on devices of this particular form. As described on a blog:

> Yes, the architecture of the company looks like its signature product, the Oracle Database, the "stack" is what you will often see in web application or network architecture documents, they look like a series of "hockey pucks" stacked on top of each other.[358]

To the extent that the Oracle architecture "looks like its product" it is a duck, as described by Venturi et al, as a sign that symbolizes the content of the buildings, although this may also be a coincident. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977) The form can also give associations to huge barrels, which also is about "storing something". Another form interpretation is as mentioned by my informant, that they are emerald towers. Additionally, as described in a comment on the blog mentioned above:

> A book I once read mentioned that the towers were designed after stacks of coins..." and "Oracle HQ always reminds me of a stack of CD's.[359]

According to my Oracle informant, the name Oracle refers to "wisdom", but it also means "prophecy". Inevitably the name has associations to Greek Oracles, which also represent wisdom and prophecy, and from whom the ancient Greek leaders received advice on political matters and war strategies. The interesting is, in light of Greek mythology, that the shape of the Oracle buildings, with their merged rectangular and circular ground plan, (the rectangle is actually cut diagonally under the circle), are quite similar to the rectangular temple of Apollo's Oracle in Delphi if merged with the Tholos below. The Tholos in Delphi is a circular temple structure with a circle of columns located beneath Apollo's temple, originally dedicated to the old Earth Goddess. Most likely the Tholos functioned as a gateway that visitors had to pass through before entering Apollo's temple and the "Adyton", the inner chamber with the seat of the

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[358] http://www.web-strategist.com/blog/2007/08/25/silicon-valley-sightings-oracles-emerald-towers (02.17.2009)
[359] http://www.web-strategist.com/blog/2007/08/25/silicon-valley-sightings-oracles-emerald-towers (02.17.2009)

Oracle.[360] Because of this, the Tholos is also mentioned as "The gateway to Delphi".[361]

One photo removed
MIH Photo: 137 (left) Lobby interior at Oracle HQ, Redwood Shores, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 138 (right) Lobby exterior at Oracle HQ, Redwood Shores, California, June 2009

An interesting aspect then of the Oracle buildings in Redwood, which underpin the similarity with the Greek Oracle temple, is that each cylinder is placed upon a circle of columns, where also the main entrance and the lobby of each building is localised. This means that employees and visitors have to pass through the Tholos, a circular room embraced with columns to get into the buildings of the Oracle headquarters as well. In this perspective, the form of the buildings and the entrance through the circular gateway is connected to the symbolic meaning of the name Oracle. While the ancient Greeks collected wisdom and prophecies from the Delphi Oracle, the Oracle Corporation provides digital archives, contributing to the accumulation of global knowledge, which leads to wisdom as well as the ability to "make prophecies". The multiple symbolic connections between the corporations name and the Greek Oracle, and between the new Oracle architecture and the temple architecture in Delphi, also makes the architecture appear as what I have previously mentioned as a duck-relative, because of the symbolic imaginative connections between the name, the shape and the content, either these connections are coincidental or not. As mentioned in chapter 4.1.3, an architecture that is reflecting the content literally or symbolically as the architectural ducks or duck-relatives, is a way of thinking that according to Izenour is as old as the Trojan horse, (Izenour 1985) another figure from Greek mythology, which within data technology also has a particular symbolic meaning; an intruder.

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[360] http://www.hopin.com/history/delphi.htm (08.06.2008)
[361] http://www.secredsites.com/europe/greece/tholos_temple_delphi.html (08.18.2008)

MIH Photo: 139 (left) Oracle HQ with outdoor tables, Redwood Shores, California, June 2008
MIH Photo: 140 (right) Detail, Oracle HQ, Redwood Shores, California, June 2008

The Oracle architecture is dynamic and overwhelming in form and size, which in itself gives it a masculine expression. As mentioned in chapter 4.1.4.1 vertical buildings are often connected to phallic symbols. But the soft rounded cylinder also gives the buildings a feminine quality, which contributes to a more androgynous expression, where masculine and feminine qualities are merged. According to Mulvey the female body is also metaphorically mentioned as a container, where the womb is a container for the unborn child. (Mulvey 1992) In light of this metaphor, the barrel associations mentioned above, may also contribute to underpin the feminine feature of the buildings. One could say that an androgynous architectural expression with both masculine and feminine features of form reflects the change in traditional gender roles which is taking place today, also acknowledged by Bourdieu, (Bourdieu 2000) where the female home orientation and male public orientation may also be in change. In a gender perspective it is interesting to notice how a small but sharp vertical angel, actually the apex of the front edge of the rectangular form behind the cylinder, is pointing outwards and running along the whole height of each cylinder, reminiscent of a sword, a masculine weapon that is ready to protect the buildings against intruders and threats from the outside. Or as we might suggest, keeping with Greek mythology; threats from a Trojan horse?

As well as the several form interpretations, the Oracle headquarters visually appears as though it is interacting with nature. It is built on the site of a former aqua park, the Marine World Africa USA Park connected to the bay, and earlier dolphins and sea lions were swimming in and out of the lake. Today the huge buildings are ringing the lake, which has the nickname "Lake Larry", after Oracle founder Larry Ellison. As mentioned above, the buildings are glass walled and the cylinders are constructed to reflect the water in the lake. The glass in the first two floors is green with a mild reflective coating, while the upper floors have blue-green glass, and a coating of higher reflectivity. The park-like

surroundings reinforces the impression of interaction with nature, and is also inhabited by many Canada-geese, which are allowed to peacefully go on with their reproductive activity, which means that the green grass brinks of the lake, and partly the paths, in places sometimes are covered with tame geese and goslings. There are also outdoor coffee tables, where employees can have their lunch break. Environmental responsibility is one of Oracles corporate values, and besides the headquarters nature friendly visual appearance, the buildings have several energy saving precautions, although this is not directly pronounced in the architecture. Instead the campus appears as a unit where the architecture is integrated into the park, which creates the impression as though the architecture is "interacting with nature".

The glass walled surface makes the buildings transparent. The transparency is reflected in open planned offices inside, surrounded by office units, and the organization of work is mainly flexible. Through its monumentality and unusual form, the Oracle headquarters architecture appears as spectacular and communicates pecuniary strength to bear such high building costs, in other words, high economic capital. The corporation's emphasis on architecture and the connection with Greek mythology and temple architecture also contributes to make the headquarters communicate cultural capital. Additionally, the high quality design and art decorations in the lobbies are another visual feature that characterises the architecture and contributes to underpin the impression of cultural capital. By their high visibility, also from a far distance and from the highway, the architecture appears as a high-raised monumental landmark which gives identity to the area. Although there are many high tech corporations in the region known as Silicon Valley, the architecture of the Oracle headquarters is among the most distinguished office buildings in the area.

4.2.3.2   HP Headquarters

HP is a US technological instrument and business machine corporation founded by Dave Packard and Bill Hewlett in Palo Alto California in 1939. Today it has about 330,000 employees worldwide. Visiting the HP Headquarters in Palo Alto south of San Francisco, the apparently Late Modern architecture of the main building appears as discreet, with a simple, horizontal front facade surrounded by trees and green plants. The headquarters consists of an older building, the former headquarters building which today is housing the HP labs, and several newer buildings, including the present main building and lobby. The headquarters appear as partly hidden behind vegetation, and the buildings have green atriums and outdoor spaces with coffee tables where the employees can have lunch and coffee breaks.

MIH Photo: 141 (left) Main entrance, HP HQ, Palo Alto, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 142 (right) Atrium, HP HQ, Palo Alto, California, June 2009

The old building is designed by the American architect Joe Erlich in 1953, seemingly in a Modern and Late Functionalist style with an interesting architectural entrance. The roof of the entrance is shaped like a flat rhombus with four circular holes hanging out over a low staircase below with the same shape, looking almost like the nose of a futuristic vessel or a science fiction spaceship. The entrance is decorated with mosaic artworks on each side, with motifs that reminiscent of planets in space, and which reinforces the space ship expression. The futuristic look express the starting point of a new technological era, as the founders of HP, Bill Hewlett and Dave Packard who started the company in 1939, are considered to be the founders of Silicon Valley. Metaphorically "the spaceship is pointing forwards towards a new future". By 1960 HP had moved into the new headquarters and simultaneously as if looking forward, the architecture may also reflect the entire zeitgeist of the post World War II society in the USA, and the eagerness of technological development, among other due to the technological space race between the USA and the Soviet Union, initiated by the launching of Sputnik 1 in 1957. By the way, space metaphors are not unusual within new high tech industries. According to MacKeith, the headquarters of Microsoft Corporation in Redmond, Washington is facetiously nicknamed by Bill Gates as "The Borg", referring to a monstrous hive structure in the popular TV-series Star Trek, (MacKeith 2005) based on the American writer Gene Roddenberry's future visions from the 1960s,[362] although opposite to human innovation, the "borgs" represent the evil forces of the universe in the series. However, with its embedded imaginative symbolism, the architectural form of the entrance of the old building represent a duck-relative, symbolizing the position of HP as pioneers and as a leading corporation in the development of new technology. In other words, it is also "pointing out the direction" of high tech industries in Silicon Valley.

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[362] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Star_Trek (09.14.2010)

One photo removed

MIH Photo: 143 (left) Main entrance of the old HQ, (HP labs) Palo Alto, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 144 (right) Detail of main entrance of the old HQ building, HP labs, Palo Alto, California, June 2009

The headquarters of HP is placed on a 50 acre hilltop, and surrounded by green lawns and vegetation between the buildings. The founders were personally interested in nature activities and the benefit of outdoor life and being close to nature, and because of this the campus also includes a wood-like green park, named "Bill and Dave's Groove", used for employee events, such as barbeque parties and games arranged to maintain the well being of the employees. Due to the location of the park and the green spaces between the buildings, the architecture seems to interact with nature. The founders were both engaged in an interest in nature and environmental responsibility is an important corporate value, reflected in the headquarters by several environmental saving precautions.

MIH Photo: 145 (left) Green areas at HP HQ, Palo Alto, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 146 (right) Bill and Dave's Groove, HP HQ, Palo Alto, California, June 2009

According to my informant, the founders decided to focus on human rather than material values, by keeping the interior and offices as simple as possible, and instead putting emphasis on the comfort of the employees. As well as the nature orientation, another feature of the architecture which appears inside of the buildings; are open planned offices. HP were pioneers in using open planned offices, a tradition that was established already in the first HP-owned building in 1942, where they decided to have open work areas instead of individual offices, so that the employees could easily share their ideas. Actually HP was not the very first to use open planned offices, as firms such as the Metropolitan Life

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Insurance Company in New York had open planned work areas already at the end of the 1800s, (Willis 1995) but nevertheless they are pioneers in respect of the more common use of open planned work areas that appeared in the post World War II architecture. The HP headquarters still has open planned offices today, surrounded by small rooms for meetings and individual work. Hewlett and Packard were pioneers also by introducing new and flexible ways to organize work where they encouraged the employees to be involved in decision making. HP was the first company to introduce flexitime in their German operation in 1967,[363] and the first to introduce flexitime in USA in 1973. The purpose was to allow employees more time for their family, leisure and personal business. As pronounced by Dave Packard: "To my mind, flexitime is the essence of respect for and trust in people".[364] Although several of the buildings have large windows to let in daylight, the headquarters is not "transparent" as many of the new glass walled office buildings. But obviously architecture does not need to be glass walled to have open planned offices. As described in chapter 4.1.5, it is also the lack of walls that requires open planned areas today, as there may literally be no walls in the new glass buildings that can lock in offices from the rest of the area.

As the HP buildings are low and partly "camouflaged", they do not represent a high visible landmark, although the corporation has a high symbolic position in the area, not at least due to being recognized as the founders of Silicon Valley. As the architecture is quite anonymous, it does not loudly communicate economic capital, although their position makes it obvious that the corporation represents "the high income division". In other words, it is our knowledge about the firm that tell us more about their pecuniary strength than the headquarters architecture, although the large park-like campus does not particularly communicate poverty either. Employees describe the rather anonymous expression of the headquarters architecture as following; "HP's corporate headquarters are so plain and customary that it's disappointing." And further;

> You would have thought for headquarters that we would have a unique building or something to make us stand out, but we are in fact a very ordinary place...We don't have a fountain, or huge walkway, or flags everywhere, or anything crazy to make it stand out with the message that we are the main hub for all things HP.

Others are less conscious about the architecture, and express that they do not pay attention to the architecture. But in spite of the "ordinary" architecture employees

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[363] http://www.hp.com/cgi-bin/pf-new.cgi?IN=referrer (09.11.2009)
[364] http://www.hp.com/cgi-bin/pf-new.cgi?IN=referrer (09.11.2009)

are proud of working at HP. The corporation is not shouting out messages through the headquarters architecture, and is not as visible as many other high tech headquarters in the area, but as most of us know, they are as competitive as any other. While the space ship form gives the old building a masculine expression, the camouflaged expression of the headquarters where the buildings "hide behind vegetation", are typically masculine too, lending associations to military activity and to a fortress. The most distinguished visual quality of the HP headquarters is, beside of the forward heading spaceship of the old building, the vegetation around the buildings and parking lots, and the wood for employee activities. Similar to economic capital, the architecture of HP headquarters does not particularly communicate cultural interest, except the space ship entrance of the old building. In contrast to the rather anonymous architecture, the corporation displays its cultural interest inside of the buildings, through a relatively large art collection, as described in chapter 2.2.3.2.

4.2.3.3   Chevron Headquarters

The US oil and gas corporation Chevron was founded as the Pacific Coast Oil Corporation in 1879. Today Chevron has about 67,000 employees in more than 100 countries. The apparently Late Modern headquarters of Chevron in San Ramon, east of San Francisco, California, consist of 13 buildings at a 92 acre campus opened in 1985 and located in a large park named the Chevron Park. The campus has housed the Chevron headquarters since 2002 when it moved from downtown San Francisco to the more rural area of San Ramon, because the corporation needed more space for their headquarters, and wanted to gather the employees. The high quality architecture of the buildings erected around 1985 seems to reflect the zeitgeist of an economically strong society, marked by a stabile growth in the GDP. An interesting observation however, is that the corporation moved its headquarters from downtown San Francisco in 2001-2002, in a time period marked by an economic recession in the US.[365] As some claim, businesses often move from high rate office facilities in city centres during times of recession, to less expensive facilities in suburban areas, which might have contributed to the relocation also of the Chevron headquarters.

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[365] http://www.indexmundi.com/united_states/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (01.31.2011)

MIH Photo: 147 (left) Chevron HQ with outdoor tables, San Ramon, California, May 2008
MIH Photo: 148 (right) Chevron HQ with lake, San Ramon, California, May 2008

The buildings are surrounded by trees and green lawns, with a medium sized lake in the middle. The architecture of the buildings is characteristically quiet and harmonious, as they are all equal and square shaped three or four storey buildings, covered with high quality brownish, almost bronze colored terracotta bricks, laid in sets of double overhanging roofs between each floor. In some way the brownish bricks and the double overhanging roofs are reminiscent of Californian shingle houses, which are usually brownish, and the shingles appear as small bricks. Layers of roofs are typical also for shingle houses, which there are many of in the San Francisco Bay Area, and particularly in Berkeley, where several buildings are designed by the American architect Bernard Maybeck, who according to the Norwegian journalist Sissel Hamre Dagsland was strongly inspired by the Arts and Crafts Movement. (Dagsland and Maybeck 2008) The similarity with the Californian shingle houses may be a coincidence, and one could argue that shingle houses are not just a Californian phenomenon, but on occasion when architecture borrows features from local architectural customs, it also adapts to and may contribute to reinforce local identity.

A potential relation between the Chevron architecture, shingle houses and Maybeck architecture has another interesting aspect. According to Hamre Dagsland, he seems to have been inspired by Norwegian stave churches, as the shingle houses have several features in common with stave churches, such as shingles and layers of roofs. In stave churches these are covered with wooden shingles. The German architect Gottfried Semper claims that one of the most significant features of medieval wood architecture in Europe was the steep wooden roofs with its origin in Norwegian stave churches, brought to Normandy by the Vikings, and thereafter to Germany. To illustrate this, Semper refers to a drawing of Borgund Stave Church from the twelfth century. It is also claimed that the Arts and Crafts Movement that inspired Maybeck, borrowed features from the Norwegian Stave Churches. At the World Exhibition in Chicago in 1893, Maybeck was engaged in the Californian pavilion near by the Norwegian

pavilion that was designed like a stave church, and he may also have been inspired by this. (Dagsland and Maybeck 2008)

MIH Photo: 149 (left) Detail, Chevron HQ, San Ramon, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 150 (middle) Detail, shingle house, Berkeley, California, June 2009
MIH Photo: 151 (right) Detail, Lom Stave Church, Lom, Norway, July 2009

Another potential connection is the similarity between the Chevron architecture and Asian pagodas and temples, which usually have several layers of roofs covered with shingles, made of ceramic or wood. As the Chevron buildings, Asian pagodas have a square shaped ground plan. The interesting thing is that Norwegian stave churches also share many common features with Asian pagodas, a phenomenon that is pointed out by several architects. The visual expression of the Chevron Park with all its buildings can also be interpreted as a village with an assemblage of equal houses, only with variation in height. Equally shaped buildings are usual in most villages, independent of time and location, from the primitive hut village and Mediterranean villages, to working class districts in industrialized countries.

MIH Photo: 152 (left) Pagoda at the Toji Temple, Kyoto, June 2010
MIH Photo: 153 (right) The Kiyomizu Temple, Kyoto, June 2010

Unlike many new office buildings, the Chevron headquarters does not appear as transparent, although the buildings have large windows, covering most of the walls on each floor between the double roofs. In particular the roofs make the

visual expression heavy, instead of transparent, which is not necessarily a disadvantage. As mentioned earlier, MacKeith questions the corporate belief in "creativity, innovation and flexibility" that has become the mantra of the new glass walled office architecture, as psychological studies show that closed rooms lead to more creativity than transparent and open planned offices. (MacKeith 2005) This is supported by Genslers study mentioned in chapter 4.1.5, which concludes that a mix of different types of work spaces, where people can focus, collaborate, learn and socialize are necessary for top success.[366] Unlike the new transparent office architecture Chevron headquarters has a traditional, solid and mundane attitude, but it also expresses harmony. It has been said that "when everybody shouts, you have to whisper to be heard". The Chevron architecture is whispering, rather than shouting. The visual expression appears as safe and solid, or heavy and powerful, qualities that also match with masculine qualities, and are usually considered as contradictory to feminine qualities. As described by Bordieau the male and female gender is defined by its contradictions, such as large- small, heavy-light and active-passive. (Bourdieu 2000) Here the contradictions refers to heavy (masculine) opposite to light (feminine), while the power expression represent the dominant (masculine) contradictory to the subordinate (feminine). Related to the village metaphor, one could also say that the masculine power expression may reflect the male role of "protecting the village".

The Chevron headquarters interact visually with nature by being localized in a large green park with a pond. Among the corporate values is environmental responsibility, reflected in several environmental precautions in the headquarters, although these precautions are not communicated through the architecture. The park is experienced by employees as employee friendly, and a lot of employee activities and events are arranged in the park, such as barbeque parties and model speed-boat racing on the lake. The headquarters also has a cafeteria with outdoor coffee tables, where employees can enjoy their lunch. Although the buildings are not spectacular in size and shape, the Chevron headquarters has high quality architecture, made of expensive material, which by itself communicates high economic capital. The consistent form expression and high quality materials also communicate cultural capital, underpinned by the headquarters considerable art collection, presented in chapter 2.2.3.3.

4.2.3.4 JPMorgan Chase Headquarters

The banking corporation JPMorgan Chase or more precisely, the earliest predecessor of the bank was founded by Aaron Burr in 1799. Actually the bank

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[366] http://www.gensler.com/#home/2 (09.25.2009)

has a fascinating pre-history, involving a duel. Burr collaborated with the founder of the Bank of New York, Alexander Hamilton, in establishing a water company, which also formed the basis for The Bank of The Manhattan Company. But after several disagreements Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel in 1804, were Hamilton was mortally wounded.[367] Today the pistols used in the duel are included in the exhibition of historical objects in the headquarters of the banking corporation. During over two hundred years of development, the corporation has collaborated and merged with a number of other banks. The name of the bank today come from some of these fusions; John Thompson established Chase National Bank in 1877, named after his friend Salomon P. Chase, President Lincoln's Treasury Secretary, while J. Pierpoint Morgan established the bank Drexel, Morgan & Co. in 1871, together with his partner Anthony Drexel. A fascinating story of J.P. Morgan is how he contributed to save railroads in financial trouble through reorganization with different actions, a process that was known as "Morganization".[368]

Today JPMorgan Chase & Co. consists of several branches within banking and finances; investments, asset management, security services, insurance, real estate and others, and operate as separate units with various names. The corporation has about 225 000 employees in more than 60 countries. The world headquarters of JPMorgan Chase in New York is a 52 story so called "curtain walled" skyscraper from 1960, designed by the American architects Skidmore, Owings and Merill. The building is erected in the International style, (Erf, Roe et al. 2008) and with its brownish colored glass and steel façade it has many similarities with several other buildings of the style, such as Mies van der Rohe's Seagram building from 1958, located some blocks east of the headquarters of JPMorgan Chase. Obviously the high quality architecture of the headquarters reflects a post World War II optimism and future orientation that also marked the zeitgeist of the time period in the US society, manifested in this at that time "hyper-modern" building.

The International style in the USA was initiated by European architecture in the nineteen twenties, by architects such as Walter Groupies from the German Bauhaus school, forming buildings where the supporting wall was replaced by a skeleton of steel and covered with glass. As claimed by Groupies, the wall in modern architecture is nothing but a blanket or a protection against the weather and the wind, and may consist entirely of glass to let in to the building as much daylight as possible. (Janson and Janson 1978) The most distinguishing character of the post World War II International style skyscrapers is the transformation of

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[367] http://www.jpmorganchase.com/corporate/About-JPMC/document/shorthistory.pdf (12.09.2010, 11.13.2008)
[368] [368] http://www.jpmorganchase.com/corporate/About-JPMC/document/shorthistory.pdf (12.09.2010, 11.13.2008)

glass "from window panes to curtain walls", which according to Willis was "more for fashion than for function", and as described by Shultz and Simmons in 1955, quoted in Willis, the glass walls had "…no financial purpose, except as advertising". (Willis 1995)[369]

One photo removed

MIH Photo: 154 (left) Historical bank objects, JPMorgan Chase HQ, New York, June 2009
MIH Photo: 155 (right) JPMorgan Chase HQ, New York, June 2009

One photo removed

MIH Photo: 156 (left) View of JPMorgan Chase HQ, (2 from the left), New York, March 2007
MIH Photo: 157 (right) Looking out, JPMorgan Chase HQ, New York, June 2009

In the nineteen sixties the pristine glass box of the International style had become the dominating style for modern skyscrapers, although it also had a lot of disadvantages; for instance the costs of heating and cooling. Since the

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skyscrapers had no operable windows, the climate of the buildings had to be artificially controlled. Still these similar looking elegant monoliths, erected by powerful corporations, "…due to the hegemony in the Modern Movement in the American architectural profession", (Willis 1995) [370] dominated the skyscraper architecture from the fifties to the seventies until the International style broke down by the entrance of Post Modernism in the 1970s.

Although the International style originally developed in Europe in the nineteen twenties, it did not reach America before the end of the decade, particularly after Hitler came to power in Germany, which made many of the German architects immigrate to the US. Among these were Walter Groupies, who became the leader of the architectural faculty at Harvard, while his former colleague, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe started practicing as an architect in Chicago. (Janson and Janson 1978) Similar to the Seagram building, and as mentioned above, also the headquarters of JPMorgan Chase appear as brownish, as the color of both the glass and aluminum frames is brownish. (Erf, Roe et al. 2008) As Seagram is a whisky company, the brownish color of the Seagram building is claimed to "shine like a fine Seagram whisky," (Thiel-Siling and Bachmann 1998) and based on this one could imagine that the Seagram building is symbolizing its business. The architecture of JPMorgan Chase has no brownish drink to reflect, but instead the building may give associations to a crystallized mineral or a copper bar. Imaginatively one could suggest that copper has something to do with money, as some coins are made of copper practically everywhere. In that case, the building could have represented a relative of the ducks, with a feature that symbolizes the business. But here the architectural form does not support this association. In other words, it is actually difficult to read any symbol of the business in the architecture of the building.

In respect of gender, most skyscrapers may as discussed above be interpreted as masculine, because of their phallic expression. As this building has no soft curves or other feminine features, it is difficult to claim that it is feminine or androgynous. Instead the simple and right angled form gives the building a masculine technical expression. The masculine expression is underpinned by the relatively dark color of the building, which contributes to a little bit of a heavy expression, in spite of the slim character of the building. Obviously the building is transparent, as the facades are covered with glass. Still the transparence appears as weaker than the transparence of newer buildings with clear glass. The offices inside of the building are both regular and open planned. As described by my informant; "During the last decade, the office occupancy has shifted from

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[370] Page 142

private offices to a more common open work environment for most of the employees". The employees also have flextime in the departments and the types of jobs where flextime fits in, as this is not always the case in banking and finance businesses. According to my informant; "Most of the employees still work from the office, or work in the office during core time". As the headquarters is located in the center of a big city, the architecture does not visually interact with nature. However, JPMorgan Chase is rehabilitating the headquarters to be LEED-certificated, to gain "Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design", which means that the headquarters will be transformed into a sustainable, energy saving and environmental friendly building when the rehabilitation is completed.

Although there are many skyscrapers in the surroundings of the JPMorgan Chase headquarters, the building has features that distinguish it from the surrounding buildings. First and foremost the clean and simple geometrical shape of the tower, which together with the color makes it come forward from the other buildings. Finally the shiny glass façade contributes to a pure and bright architectural expression, and creates a sign of the International style. Still the height of the building is average compared with the other skyscrapers in the area, and because of this, it does not appear as a landmark separated from the other buildings that gives identity to the city. Instead it may contribute to local identity in the district where it is located. No doubt the headquarters of JPMorgan Chase communicate an economically strong business, while emphasizing the architectural style reveals cultural capital, an impression that is underpinned by a museum quality art collection, among the greatest and most impressive corporate collections in the world, presented in chapter 2.2.3.4.

4.2.4   Japanese headquarters

4.2.4.1   Sony Headquarters

Sony Corporation is a high tech electronic industry corporation founded in Tokyo in 1946 by Masaru Ibuka and Akio Morita. Today the corporation has close to 172,000 employees worldwide. Sony Corporation is a business in the Sony Group conglomerate. The Japanese conglomerate industry, called Keiretsu, is a series or group of enterprises with interlocking business relationship and shareholdings, which can be horizontally diversified business groups, vertical manufacturing networks and vertical distribution networks.[371] Sony Corporation is localized in several Tokyo buildings. But the new 20 story headquarters, Sony

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[371] http://en.wikipedia.org/Wiki/Keiretsu (09.09.2010)

City from 2006, designed by the Japanese OÉ Tadasu and Plantec Architects,[372] is an apparently Neo Modern and High Tech building localized in Minato-ku,[373] close to the Shinagawa station where several other Sony buildings are located, including the former headquarters.

As the headquarters was completed in 2006, means that the building was erected parallel to the rise of the new global offensive against climate change, which has accelerated particularly in the last decade, initiated by the ratification of the Kyoto-protocol in 2005,[374] reports from the UN Panel on Climate Change, the Al Gore campaign and others. The threats of environmental damage and climate change are seriously taken into consideration in the new Sony headquarters, where energy saving precautions and technology is integrated in the architecture. The most distinguished feature of energy saving precautions is visually present in the headquarters area; a sewage treatment plant with basins of sewage water from the city is covering a large area and located on the other side of the street in front of Sony City, which is using waste heat from sewage water in the buildings heating and cooling system. Through a heat pump connected to the sewage water plant, the headquarters is claimed to reduce its estimated CO2 emission with 70%, and 92% of its estimated clean water consumption. The heat also stores electricity in a battery at night, which is discharged during the day.[375] An interesting aspect of the new Sony headquarters is that the energy saving precautions embedded in the high quality architecture also reflects what could be called the "zeitgeist of the global society" today, marked by a universal environmental concern. It also represents what may be called a shift in thinking architecture as well as engineering.

Similar to many new office buildings, the Sony headquarters building is also glass walled, with diagonal crossed steel bars forming a cross lined pattern under the glass surface of the building. Behind the bars the walls are partly covered with silver-like boards, apparently sun screens made of a metallic material, which contribute to make the building look less transparent. Instead the building appears like a glass box with another box inside. The double box expression seems to be a double skin curtain wall, functioning as a dynamic and energy saving principal for the ventilation system.[376] In the latest decade this has become more common, for instance in Bonn Post Tower from 2002 designed by the German-American Murphy and Jahn Architects, which has a similar surface,

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[372] http://www.japan-photo.de/e-moj132.htm (09.02.2010)
[373] The suffix "ku" means ward or urban district.
[374] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyoto-avtalen (09.02.2010)
[375] http://www.leonardo-energy.org./print/3586 (09.02.2010)
[376] http://www.yuanda.com.cn/Yuanda/Products/Double-Skinned/20070109290.asp (09.06.2010)

although with a rounded shape and without the diagonal bars.[377] Coincidentally or not, Helmut Jahn was also the architect of Sony Centre at Postdamer Platz in Berlin from 2000.[378]

MIH Photo: 158 (left) Façade of Sony HQ, Minato-ku, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 159 (middle) Entrance to Sony HQ, Sony City, Minato-ku, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 160 (right) Detail of Sony HQ, Minato-ku, Tokyo, June 2010

As the district is urban and more industrial than nature oriented, the connection to the sewage treatment plant for reusing sewage water and the use of double thermo dynamic walls that indicates a sustainable architecture is probably most visible to professional architects and engineers, who are familiar with the principals for the reuse of sewage water and the function of double thermo paned glass walls. Thus the interaction between the architecture and nature is indirect and not communicated by being integrated in a park or a nature area. Although sustainable, it may not appear directly as "green architecture" either, as described by Wines and Jodido. (Wines and Jodidio 2000) As discussed in chapter 4.1.6, principals of green architecture may contribute to new form expressions, for instance in Renzo Pianos Tjibaou Cultural Center in New Caledonia from 1998, where the architecture is based on local tribal architecture, placed and integrated in a nature environment, and using bamboo as one of the main building materials to establish a natural cooling system. (Wines and Jodidio 2000) Visually the diagonal pattern below the utter glass surface of Sony headquarters represents the most visual and recognizable architectural feature that distinguishes the otherwise rectangular prismatic building from other new glass walled office architecture. The diagonal pattern is, by the way, also used in a former building by the same architect, ÓE Tadasu and Plantec Architects; the Sankyo Head

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[377] http://www.emporis.com/application/?nav=building&lng=3&id=100071 (09.06.2010)
[378] http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sony_Center (09.06.2010)

Office Building in Shibuya, Tokyo from 1998, where the pattern appears on the surface of a regular and non transparent wall.[379]

The name Sony was created by combining the Latin word "sonus", which mean sound, and "sonny", which is referring to "small size" or a young boy. An important quality was that the name was easy to pronounce in any language.[380] In other words the name symbolizes something small and boyish that makes sound. The Sony Corporation also has the symbolically loaded slogan; "make believe". However, the symbolic meaning of the headquarters architecture is not obvious, although it has a clear high tech expression. The building structure appears as simple and light with a transparent glass surface. As the shape of the building is a rectangular prism, it has no clear recognizable features that are symbolizing the content or a particular object directly, unless being shaped like a box. However due to the fact that many electronic devices also have the shape of a rectangular prism, such as televisions, DVD-players, digital game devices, cameras and others, one could associate the architecture with such products. Also the steel bars and metallic boards contribute to underpin the high tech expression of the building. Because of the similarity to electronic devices and equipment developed by Sony, the building may be interpreted as a duck-relative. With its high tech expression, the architecture is masculine, reflecting traditional male values and male interests in electronics and technology. By its sophisticated materials and technological features, the architecture of Sony headquarters also signals high economic capital. Ironically pecuniary strength may often be a premise for building sustainable architecture, as it may require complex and expensive technology, although it will be worthwhile in the long run. Although the architecture clearly communicates high technological knowledge and interest, the communication of cultural capital in the meaning of architectural interest and a consciousness about the architectural form is less clear.

4.2.4.2   *Panasonic Electric Works Headquarters*

The Panasonic Corporation was founded in 1918 by Konosuke Matsushita. The headquarters of the Panasonic Group is localized in Kadoma, Osaka. Like many conglomerate industries in Japan, the Keiretsu, the Panasonic Corporation is divided into horizontal business groups, and has 680 consolidated companies.

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[379] http://arch.cside.com/ef-sankyo.html (09.06.2010)
[380] http://www.sony.net/SonyInfo/CorporateInfo/History/ (10.22.2009)

MIH Photo: 161 (left) Panasonic Group HQ and Museum, Kadoma, Osaka, June 2010
MIH Photo: 162 (right) Panasonic Group HQ, Kadoma, Osaka, June 2010

The Panasonic Corporation has nearly 385,000 employees worldwide, and one of the corporation's branches is Panasonic Electric Works, headquartered in Tokyo, a branch that is producing electric heating and lightning systems, and with more than 56,000 employees worldwide. The former name of the corporation was Matsushita Electric Works Ltd. that was changed to Panasonic Electric Works Co. LTD in October 2008, when the Panasonic Corporation gathered all the former branches including the National and Matsushita branches under the Panasonic Corporation brand.[381] In October 2010 Panasonic Electric Works Co. LTD became Panasonic Electric Works SUNX.[382] The headquarters of Panasonic Electric Works is a 24 story slightly curved High Tech office tower in Shinbashi, Tokyo from 2003, designed by the Japanese architect Nikken Sekkei.

MIH Photo: 163 (left) Panasonic Electric Works HQ, Shinbasi, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 164 (right) Ground plan of Panasonic Electric Works HQ, Shinbasi, Tokyo, June 2010

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[381] http://panasonic.co.jp/corp/news/official.data/data.dir/en081001-4/en081001-4.html (02.27.2011)
[382] http://panasonic-denko.co.jp/sunx/e/company/profile/message.html (02.27.2011)

The slogan of Panasonic Corporation is "Ideas for life", a slogan that fits well to the Panasonic Electric Works headquarters building which is built as sustainable architecture with the energy saving technology that was available at the time of erection, and thus it has several energy saving pieces of equipment, such as solar cell panels on the roof, and led lightning. The corporation has received several awards for the headquarters energy saving and sustainable architecture, among these the Excellent Energy Saving Award from the Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry in 2006. The environmental precautions embedded in the high quality architecture of the headquarters of Panasonic Electric Works, also seem to reflect the zeitgeist of the current Japanese society as well as of the global society today, marked by an increasing environmental concern. The building is glass walled, and the main idea behind the design was to make the building appear like a lantern, to light up the district by night through the use of led light and white inclining ceilings inside of the glass wall on the front façade to reflect the light and create the impression of a lantern. As the business of Panasonic Electric Works is electric and lightning industry, the design of the headquarters which makes the building appear as a lantern, reflects the business and the content of the building and because of this the headquarters of Panasonic Electric Works may also be interpreted as an architectural duck, as this is defined by Venturi et al. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977)

Although most office towers reflect masculine qualities through their vertical form, as pointed out by Betsky, (Betsky 1995) the lightly curved façade also gives the building a light feminine quality, although the femininity in this case is weak compared to the otherwise high tech expression of the building, which makes it difficult to characterize the building as feminine or androgynous. In fact it rather appears as masculine with light feminine features. The offices are mostly organized in open planned work areas as in most new glass walled office buildings, while the lower floors are showroom and public areas, among others housing the Shiodome museum of art, with its high quality art collection presented in chapter 2.2.4.1. In spite of the sustainable architecture, the building does not visually interact with nature, as it is localized in an urban area and surrounded by streets and traffic. Instead the sustainable principles are communicated indirectly through the led lightning. However, similar to several other sustainable office buildings, this may only be seen by professional architects and engineers. As the building appears like a lantern in the evening, it may contribute to lighten the area and become a visible landmark at night. In the daytime however, the building is lower than the surrounding buildings, and with its simple form, it does not distinguish itself much from the other office buildings. However the exclusive glass walled lantern communicates a solid

economy, while the emphasized architecture and the headquarters art museum reveal a high cultural capital, although this is less directly interpretable in the relatively plain architecture of the building.

4.2.4.3   Fuji Television Headquarters

The headquarters of Fuji Television Network Inc. founded in 1957, is located in Odaiba, an artificial island in Tokyo Bay. Fuji Television is a branch of the Fuji Media Holdings Inc. and has 1,461 employees as of June 2010.[383] Although this corporation is national, and has a limited number of employees compared to the other corporations in this study, I have chosen to include this headquarters because of the apparent Metabolism architecture that is designed by the Japanese architect Kenzo Tange. The building was completed in 1996, and with an architectural form that most people will characterize as spectacular and strange. The building appears as an airy and open framework, a silvery skeleton instead of a closed form, and with a large silvery ball asymmetrically placed high up in the air on the east side of the building, or at the left side of the building seen from the waterfront of Tokyo.

MIH Photo: 165 (left) Fuji Television Building, Odaiba, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 166 (right) Detail, Fuji Television Building, Odaiba, Tokyo, June 2010

Although the architectural expression is peculiar, it is another aspect of the building that I find just as interesting, and which I have observed in several other new Japanese buildings, such as in the Telecom Centre close by from 1996, designed by HOK Architects, and in the huge and spectacular Umeda Sky Building in Osaka from 1993 designed by Hiroshi Hara. This is what I will call "the gate theme", and as these buildings appear in Japan, it seems natural to connect this architectural feature to the Shinto Torii, the symbolic gate or multiple gates which appear at the entrance of every Shinto shrine, and which

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[383] http://www.fujitv.co.jp/en/about_us/corporate_data.html (02.28.2011)

symbolize the transition between the profane and the sacred. In that case these buildings are heavily loaded with symbolism, referring to the basic belief of most Japanese people, as important as the cross in the Christian culture. Also other architects and authors, such as Charles Jencks, talks about the connection between Japanese architecture and Shinto Shrines as well as of Buddhist temples, and what he mentions as the "…traditional Zen aesthetics of asymmetrical balance", (Jencks 1987)[384] which is also present in the architecture of the headquarters of Fuji Television.

MIH Photo: 167 (left) Tokyo Bay view of Fuji Television Building, Odaiba, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 168 (right) The Telecom Centre, Odaiba, Tokyo, June 2010

MIH Photo: 169 (left) Shinto Torii, Ueno Park, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 170 (right) Umeda Sky Building, Osaka, June 2010

Corporate buildings that inherit the gate theme, which may be borrowed from the Shinto Torii or the Shinto Gate, are not ducks, unless the business represents a transition between values that indirectly represent profane and sacred values in people's everyday life. Instead the gate theme in office buildings may inherit a central symbolism of high importance in the Japanese culture. While the Shinto Gate is present practically everywhere in Japan, the gate is also present in most Buddhist temples, and in historical Japanese architecture, such as in the old Nino

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[384] Page 69

castle; the fortress of the Shogun and at the Imperial Palace in Kyoto. For instance, the emperor had his own sacred gate where only he could pass through when entering the castle, while the rest of his family, guests and servants had to enter through another gate. Also the war monument to remember the fallen Japanese soldiers in World War II has the shape of a large Shinto Torii, symbolizing the transition between the profane and the sacred.

MIH Photo: 171 (left) Gate to the Nino Castle, the Shogun Fortress, Kyoto, June 2010
MIH Photo: 172 (right) Gate at the Kiyomizu Temple in Kyoto, June 2010

MIH Photo: 173 (left) Napoleons Arch of triumph, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 174 (right) Le Grande Arche, La Defense, Paris, November 2010

A similar gate theme is also present in contemporary architecture in Europe, such as the Grand Arch from 1989 located in the business area "La Defense" on the outskirts of Paris, and designed by the Danish architect Johann Otto von Spreckelsen and the French architect Paul Andreu. The Grand Arch is placed on a straight line axis seven kilometers west of Napoleons Arch of Triumph from 1836 in the center of Paris. In Western culture, such buildings may be connected to the Roman emperors' traditions of erecting Arches of Triumph, to celebrate war victories, and which they were passing through to receive the tribute from

the people. Based on the Roman tradition, a lot of classical Arches of Triumph are erected several places in Europe.

An important symbol of the Christian belief is also the Pearly Gate, where the evil people are separated from the good, who are let in to Paradise through the Pearly Gate. In other words, the gate theme is an important symbolic sign in many cultures. Besides the connection to the Shinto Torii, one could imagine that some of the gate shaped architecture in Japan is also inspired by Western and French architecture, as many Japanese people seems particularly interested in French art and culture. As discussed in chapter 2.1.7.3, French Impressionism and Post Impressionism seem to be among the most preferred Western art expressions, highly admired by many art interested people in Japan. Symptomatically the National Museum of Western Art in Ueno Park in Tokyo from 1959 is designed by the French architect Le Corbusier. The interest in Western culture as such, seems to be so rooted in the population that many Japanese people describe themselves as "Westified". However, the national symbolism represented by the Shinto Torii may be embedded in many Japanese buildings shaped like gigantic gates, such as in the headquarters of Fuji Television, which actually consists of several gates, in the same way as the entrances of many Shinto Shrines also consist of multiple Shinto Gates.

MIH Photo: 175 (left) Le Corbusier; National Museum of Western Art, Ueno, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 176 (right) Kurokawa; Pacific Tower, La Defense, Paris, November 2010

An interesting meeting between the Japanese and French "gates" or arch architecture is a building close to the Grand Arch in La Defense called the Pacific Tower from 1992, which is designed by the Japanese architect Kisho Kurokawa, who similar to Kenzo Tange was affiliated to Japanese Metabolism. Additionally several other buildings with the gate theme appear close by the Grand Arch. This makes me wonder; were the architects in La Defense inspired by the arch theme, based on the architectural idea of "buildings communicating with each other", which makes it natural to repeat a theme, or is the arch architecture a contemporary international trend? In Oslo we have also got a new arch building recently; the Price Waterhouse Coopers Building from 2008,

designed by the Norwegian architects A-Lab, although the arch of this building is rather modest compared with the Japanese gate and French arch buildings. By the way, the gate theme in contemporary architecture is also called "bridge engineering", as the gate in a technical sense implies that the engineers have to build a bridge between two towers. In the Fuji Television building there are not one, but several bridges between the two main towers that are forming the multiple gate expression.

MIH Photo: 177 (left) The Grand Arch and Pacific Tower, La Defense, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 178 (right) Price Waterhouse Coopers Building, Oslo, August 2010

Besides the symbolism embedded in gate like architecture, the visual expression of the Fuji Television building with the silver-like metallic surface is futuristic and technological, qualities that are also connected to the content of the building, housing a high tech television company. One could interpret the many corridors through the air as different TV-programs, and streams of signals broadcasted through the air. To that extent the building can be interpreted as a duck-relative, since the similarity between the architecture and the content is imaginative, as in Gehry's Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles, which as mentioned in chapter 4.1.3.2 is based on imaginative musical forms. The steel bridges and columns are also reminiscent of industrial scaffolds or truss work, features of traditional male dominated work, and which makes the architectural expression appear as convincingly masculine.

In a gender perspective, an interesting aspect of the gate theme or arches of triumph is that these structures also may have feminine qualities. By letting male emperors and war heroes pass through the arch as a symbol of conquering the enemy, it may also be interpreted as conquering the female. The gate or the arch is also representing a door, and as pointed out by the American architectural theoretician Jennifer Bloomer, the French word for door, the passage "through which one becomes another" is feminine; "la porte". (Bloomer 1992) Although there is honor to pass through the arch or the feminine door to obtain a change and "become another", Bloomer claims that the career of the American architect

Louis Sullivan, by many considered as the "father of modernism" and the creator of the "form follow function" maxim, declined after his construction of the richly decorated Golden Doorway in the Transportation Building in Chicago in 1893, as many considered his works to be feminine, a view that culminated in his creation of the Golden Doorway. (Bloomer 1992) Here however, the feminine features of the gate are convincingly covered by the otherwise industrial and high tech masculine expression.

The technological and futuristic look of the Fuji Television building may also be explained by the architect Kenzo Tange's engagement in Structuralism and the Japanese Metabolism Movement in the late 1950s and 60s, where the most distinctive qualities was to use advanced technology in flexible and adaptable plug-in building structures, "…based on Buddhist notions of impermanence and change",[385] and reflecting organic growth. Many look at Japanese Metabolism as related to the 1960's London based avant-garde group Archigram, which was fascinated by technology and futurism and among others experimenting with modular technology with a vision of "a glamorous future machine age".[386] The Archigram ideals are claimed to have influenced several later architects, among other Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano in their Pompidou Centre in Paris from 1971, and the fascination of technology and machine architecture is not at least highly visible in Rogers Lloyd Building in London from 1986, as discussed in chapter 4.1.3.3. Due to the connection to Japanese Metabolism that developed in the post World War II period the architecture of the Fuji Television headquarters may also reflect the zeitgeist of the Japanese society at that time, and thus it signals a feature of nostalgia, reflecting the point of time the corporation was founded; 1952, underpinned by the potential relation to the Shinto Torii. It is interesting also to notice that the building was erected during a temporary top in the growth of the Japanese GDP in 1996, before a down turn in 1998, and after a relatively steep fall after 1990.[387] Still, at the same time as the building may reflect nostalgia, the futuristic and high tech expression of the architecture is indeed also pointing forwards.

The connection between the architect and the technological and futuristic architectural movements in Japan and Europe reinforces the masculine and technological machine expression of the Fuji Television Building, and also the plug-in principals, as the entire building look like it is erected with a huge mechanical building kit for children, a popular birthday present for little boys. Also this association underpins the masculine expression of the building, as well

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[385] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metabolist_Movement (07.01.2010)
[386] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archigram (01.07.2010)
[387] http://www.indexmundi.com/japan/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)

as it reveals a playful architecture. Playfulness is, by the way, a quality that is characteristic for a lot of new Japanese buildings, independent of the gender expression, although most of these buildings tend to be masculine rather than feminine. Although located on an island in the bay, including an artificial beach close by, the architecture appears as industrial rather than interacting with nature, surrounded by industrial and office buildings as well as highways. The building is literally transparent and airy, by its many corridors in the air, and one can see through the open grid and truss work expression. But it is not glass walled in the meaning of having plain glass walls covering the whole building. The offices and working areas are gathered in the two main structures on each side of the building; the media tower, near the ball, and the office tower on the other side, while the corridor bridges also houses coffee bars, resting areas and benches.
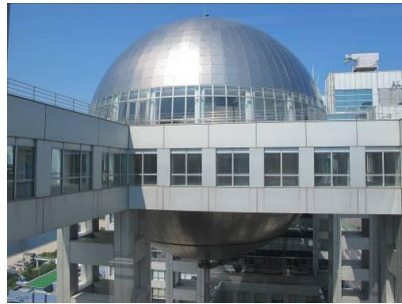
One photo removed
MIH Photo: 179 (left) Interior of the Fuji Television Building, Odaiba, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 180 (right) Detail of Fuji Television Building, Odaiba, Tokyo, June 2010

An obvious visual quality of the headquarters of Fuji Television is the contribution to territorial identity. By the unusual and spectacular form the building has become "the landmark" of Odaiba and as mentioned above, visible from the waterfront of Tokyo. As described in an Internet article:

> Fuji TV headquarters…located on the landfill island of Odaiba, home to a bunch of wild buildings. Not surprisingly, it's often seen on TV. Definitely one of the most recognized and recognizable corporate head-offices in the land.[388]

Some connect the peculiar building with the Fuji Television brand, and as the architecture is described and interpreted in a blog:

> Looking at this building, I would think the Fuji Television brand is innovative and creative. This is a company that isn't afraid to think out

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[388] http://citynoise.org/article/1367 (08.26.2010)

of the box and take risks. They also like to stand out from their
competitors and be an industry leader.[389]

Others are more critical:

> You know, to really know if the image is the reality of the brand you'd
> have to be up to date on their programming and their employee policy
> and all that stuff behind the image. It's interesting because it really
> makes you wonder what a cosmetic image means compared to what a
> company stands for....maybe this TV place is creative, maybe the staff
> and owners are free spirited – it's a tough call.[390]

In several corporate buildings with unusual architecture, one of the objectives by
emphasizing architecture is to contribute to creativity among the employees.
Although it is difficult to measure how architecture influences creativity, no
doubt the Fuji Television headquarters reflect the creativity of the architect and
the builder. The Fuji Television building is open to the public who can visit the
observation deck in the metallic ball, and thus it is visited by a lot of people from
Tokyo and elsewhere in Japan, as well as by tourists from abroad. The advanced
design, and the unusual shape that also reveals a complex construction process
and advanced building technology also makes the building communicate high
economic capital, while the connection to the Japanese culture, the gate theme,
the Metabolism and the emphasis on architecture reveals cultural capital.

4.2.4.4 Asahi Brewery Headquarters

The Asahi Brewery, or more correctly the forerunner of today's brewery which is
producing beer and soft drinks was founded in 1889, and has nearly 16 500
consolidated employees. Playfulness is highly present at the apparently Post
Modern Asahi Brewery headquarters, with the Asahi Tower and the Asahi Beer
Hall located in Sumida-ku, on the east bank of the Sumida River in Tokyo, not
far from Asakusa. The golden brownish 22 story Asahi Beer Tower from 1989
designed by the Japanese architect Nikken Sekkei, symbolizes a large glass or a
mug of beer with white frothing foam on the top. The lower black building
beside the tower, The Asahi Super Dry Hall also from 1989 and designed by the
French designer Philippe Starck, is symbolizing a glass of bear, with a large,
organic golden flame shaped sculpture on the top called the Asahi Flame, or
Flame d'Or. As the form of the sculpture can be reminiscent of a drop, one could
also interpret the sculpture as a drop of beer falling down from the foam on top

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[389] http://www.brandcurve.com/corporate-headquarters-buildings-say-a-lot-about-brands/ (11.17.2008)
[390] http://www.brandcurve.com/corporate-headquarters-buildings-say-a-lot-about-brands/ (11.17.2008)

of the Asahi Tower. Due to the clear connection between the architecture and the content, the building complex is convincingly an architectural duck.

MIH Photo: 181 (left) Asahi Brewery HQ and Sumida River, Tokyo, June 2010
MIH Photo: 182 (right) Asahi Brewery HQ Beer Hall, Tokyo, June 2010

The headquarters architecture is rather unusual, not at least due to the gigantic golden sculpture, which according to the brewery is symbolic of the dynamic heart of Asahi Brewery.[391] Similar to other unusual buildings, the Asahi headquarters has not avoided public nicknaming, and among these is the less flattering nickname "the golden turd", assigned to the sculpture by Tokyo inhabitants. However the interesting thing is, that nicknaming buildings either the nickname is flattering or somewhat malicious, this means that the architecture is not unimportant to people. In other words, buildings that is subject to nicknaming most likely mean more to people in general than buildings that are not credited with such consideration, as discussed in chapter 4.1.3.1. The Asahi headquarters architecture is also an interesting example of how symbolism, represented by the vernacular duck idea; "looking like the content", the ultimate sign of the business, is transferred into high quality architecture.

The high quality architecture of the Asahi Brewery headquarters also seems to reflect an economically strong society and presumable the zeitgeist of the Japanese society at the time of erection in 1989, while the growth in the Japanese GDP was high, before it's down turn after 1990.[392] By its unusual appearance the Asahi architecture has become a spectacular landmark by the Sumida River, visited by many tourists. Actually the whole visual composition of the area is interesting including the ongoing erection of the New Tokyo Tower close by, the 634 meter high "Tokyo Sky Tree" designed by Nikken Sekkei and planned to be

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[391] http://www.asahibeer.co.jp/english/companye/summary.html (09.09.2010)
[392] http://www.indexmundi.com/japan/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)

completed in 2012.[393] The tower represents an important contribution to the architectural composition of the area, and seen from the opposite side of the river on a clear day the architectural composition of the Asahi Brewery headquarters and its surroundings appear almost like a painting by the French surrealist painter René Magritte.

In spite of the tower expression and the braveness of the architecture, which often characterizes male architecture, it is difficult to claim that the architecture is entirely masculine, because of the softening and sculptured features of the buildings, the warm gold and brownish colors, the soft foam on top of the tower, and the irregular prismatic shape of the beer hall with the soft organic sculpture decorating the roof. As mentioned in chapter 4.1.4, the female body is also metaphorically described by Mulvey and others as a container, (Mulvey 1992) and both a mug and a glass of beer are inevitably containers. Additionally, the jar of Pandora, the first female in Greek mythology, is also "a mug" or a container of qualities provided by the female. (Bergren 1996) These containers and Pandora's jar associations contribute to underpin the feminine features of the buildings. As the buildings have both masculine and feminine qualities, the gender expression of the architecture appear as androgynous rather than purely masculine or feminine.

The tower is also glass walled, but not as transparent as many new glass walled office buildings, due to the golden brownish color that makes an obstacle for looking through the wall. Similar to how the Seagram building in New York is said to "shine like a fine Seagram whisky", one may say that the Asahi tower "shine like a fine Asahi beer". The beer hall is in contrast non transparent, a black and visually closed building covered by polished black granite, and with small almost invisible windows like portholes placed in a discrete grid. In spite of the location by the river, the surroundings are also rather urban, with several streets and highways passing by. There is no doubt that the unusual sculptural forms and the exclusive looking building materials communicate pecuniary strength. The particular artistic and sculptural features and emphasis on architecture also communicates cultural capital. On the other hand, some may criticize the corporate taste, by choosing a vernacular idea literally as a model for the headquarters architecture. However that is also an expression of experimental braveness and a product of the Post Modern period when styles were bravely mixed in many new monumental buildings.

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[393] http://www.no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tokyo_Sky_Tree (05.30.2011)

4.2.5   French headquarters

4.2.5.1   *Total Headquarters*

The headquarters of the French oil and gas corporation Total is located in the urban business area La Defense, which is located in a straight lined axis seven kilometers west of Napoleons Arch of Triumph in the centre of Paris. The axis which actually starts near the Louvre, goes through Place de Concorde, continues through the Arch of Triumph, and is ending in La Grande Arche in the centre of La Defense. The Grand Arch, designed by Spreckelsen and Andreu and completed in 1989 was, as mentioned in chapter 4.2.4.3 built as a paraphrase and a reflection of Napoleons Arch in the middle of Paris. Total has about 96,500 employees worldwide. The headquarters of Total consists of five merged towers in variable heights, covered with mirroring bluish glass that are reflecting the sky and which almost make the building disappear. The tower structure of Total headquarters is at the present time with its 48 stories and 190 meters the highest building in La Defense, and the second highest building in France after the 210 meters high Tour Montparnasse in Paris. The headquarters is designed by the Canadian WZMH Architects and the French architects Roger Saubot and Francois Jullien, and was completed in 1985. It was originally built for the former Elf Corporation which merged with Total in 2000. (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009) Due to a new critical view of skyscrapers at the time of its erection, there was a tendency in the nineteen eighties to make skyscrapers disappear and appear as less dominating, and because of this, the form of many skyscrapers were broken into a variety of angels and a lower base, and "…mirrored façades imitated chameleons by endeavoring to disappear in fusion with the sky". (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009)[394] Obviously several architects show this interest in making "invisible architecture", for instance also Dominique Perrault when he designed the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale that was completed in 1995, and according to Tostrup, with an intention to make the buildings disappear. (Tostrup 1999)

Apparently the Total headquarters also represent a Post Modern building, including sculptural features, both by its total continuous form, and by how the two low towers in front of the building, and the roof over the entrance, are topped with white-like glass constructions, which lends association to white foam or white clouds. On a clear day when white dots of clouds and the blue sky are reflected in the building, associations to Magritte's paintings are almost inevitable. Seemingly the high quality and obviously expensive architecture of the headquarters of Total also reflect a time marked by a growing GDP in France,

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as by the time of erection, 1985, the French GDP was on its way to a high peak in 1988.[395] Thus the Total headquarters may also reflect the zeitgeist of a wealthy society.

MIH Photo: 183 (left) Total HQ, La Defense, November 2010
MIH Photo: 184 (right) Detail, Total HQ, La Defense, Paris, November 2010

The white sculptural glass that decorates the roofs of the two low towers and the entrance might be interpreted as oil foam on top of the oil stream, when it is running out of the oil well. In that case, the building structure may represent a duck-relative with fragments of their core product, oil foam made of drops of oil, in the same way as the Chrysler Building in New York with fragments of car radiators, as mentioned in chapter 4.1.3.2. As a large part of oil extraction take place offshore, waves and oceanic weather conditions undoubtedly also creates foam, so the architectural form may also symbolize foaming waves. Actually all the slightly inclined vertical planes on and between the towers and which attach the towers to one another, contribute to give the building structure a continuing soft form, and a wave expression. The white sculptural glass decorations may apparently also symbolize white clouds, on the otherwise airy bluish façade. Thus the form of the building may also symbolize other objects, in this case nature; the sky with clouds. Not particularly a French phenomenon, but the universal nature phenomenon surrounding all of us. Anyway, as the purpose of the mirroring glass façade is to reflect the sky, independent of the color of the weather, the building complex changes color parallel to weather changes. Still, as I presume that the weather conditions in France are considerably better than in

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[395] http://www.indexmundi.com/france/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)

Norway, the color of the building is probably more often blue than grey most of the year, although grey days appear also in France. Then the visual expression changes, and by association, the cluster of towers appear as a cluster of steel bars.

MIH Photo: 185 (left) Total HQ with grey sky, La Defense, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 186 (right) Total HQ with sun reflections, La Defense, Paris, November 2010

In respect of gender, the architecture of Total headquarters is both masculine, because of the high tech expression, straight lines and height. At the same time the lightness of the airy visual appearance, the soft wavy expression of the building structure and the sculptural white glass decorations provides a soft feminine expression to the architecture. Thus the total visual expression seems rather androgynous, containing both masculine and feminine features. The headquarters of Total is, in more than one sense, transparent, as the glass façade almost makes the building complex disappear, reflecting the sky as it is at any time, giving the spectators a sense of looking through the building. Obviously there is little interaction between the building complex and nature, except for mirroring nature in its reflections in the building façade, as the whole area is convincingly urban, marked by stone, steel, concrete and glass. Additionally there are a few trees and some small lawns in front of the headquarters, but not integrated with the headquarters as in a park like campus. Obviously however, by its spectacular form and height, and as the highest building at the present time in La Defense, Total headquarters contribute to the local identity of this business area, which in itself contributes to national identity. Erecting the impressive building structure is also a matter of pecuniary strength, primary at the time of erection the pecuniary strength of Elf, which as mentioned merged with Total in

2000. The corporation's emphasis on the architectural form reveals architectural interest which in itself is reflecting cultural capital among the decision makers.

4.2.5.2   *Société Générale Headquarters*

Société Générale is a French banking corporation founded in 1864, originally to support the development of commerce and industry in France. Today the corporation has about 157,000 employees in 83 countries, and is headquartered in La Defense, the new business area west of Paris. The main part of the new headquarters was designed by the French architects Michel Andrault and Pierre Parat, and completed in 1995. It is placed closely behind the Grand Arch, or more precisely, a little bit south-west of the Grand Arch. The headquarters consists of two 37 stories and 167 meter high twin towers; the northern named Alicante and the southern Chassagne, after the white stone from Chassagne in Auvergne, and the red marble from Alicante, Spain, that is used in the interior design in each of the towers. The twin towers have a smaller cube placed diagonally between the lower parts of their legs, over the main entrance, and join together the two twin towers. As pronounced by Lagard et. al.;

> It is interesting to observe how the banking system stages the heart of its trading activity; the trading room is set like a jewel between the two towers. (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009)[396]

MIH Photo: 187 (left) Générale Société HQ, La Defense, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 188 (right) Detail, Générale Société HQ, La Defense, Paris, November 2010

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[396] Page 59.

The complex also includes a new separate 183 meter high tower from 2008, designed by the French architect Christian de Porzamparc and placed behind the twin towers. Today this third tower visually forms the background of the building complex seen from the front façade. The roof of each tower is also sharply inclined. The surface of the entire complex is covered with bluish reflective glass, where the towers are mirroring each other as well as the surrounding buildings. As many of the surrounding buildings are also covered with reflective glass, the reflections on the surface makes the headquarters appear almost like a monochrome Cubist painting, where the form and various angled planes of the building structure mix with the reflection of themselves and the surrounding buildings. To the degree that the cube above the entrance in the front of the building is "a jewel", one may claim that it has a symbolic connection to the business of Générale Société, as possessing jewels is dependent on possessing money. Some other features of the building may give stronger associations to the business; for instance the vertical slits on top of the towers, which may lend associations to savings boxes or to a money box used to store coins, as the sides of the towers are rounded and shaped like coins, just like the cylinders of the bus drivers moneybag, or at least how the moneybag of bus drivers used to look like at one time. Additionally it can also be interpreted as counting machines for coins. In other words, it is possible to see a connection to money issues in the architecture, at least indirectly. But as such symbolic connections may also be imaginative, as in Gehrys Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles mentioned in chapter 4.1.3.2 the headquarters of Générale Société may be interpreted as a duck-relative, and a possible duck, if the financial connection is the basic idea or clear to people in the public.

MIH Photo: 189 (left) Lunchtime at the Générale Société HQ, La Defence, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 190 (right) Detail of tower, Générale Société HQ, La Defence, Paris, November 2010

By the way, if you happen to sit on a bench in front of the headquarters of Société Générale at lunchtime, you may, similar to how Perec observed people

from a café at Place Saint-Sulfice (Perec 2010) mentioned in chapter 1.3.3, observe the large hordes of dark dressed employees streaming out of the building beneath the jewel for having lunch. As told by an American employee;

> At lunchtime we all leave the office together to go to a restaurant, it's very nice. The offices are totally empty, with the telephones ringing. It isn't like New York where everyone goes and gets a sandwich and brings it back to his desk. (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009)[397]

Unlike New York, or say Manhattan with its mixture of old and new buildings, and a large variation of buildings; office buildings, residential buildings, department stores, hotels, restaurants, theatres, cinemas and museums, the relatively new business district La Defense that was established in 1958 appear more homogenous as a pure business district, although there are residential buildings within the area as well. A particular feature of the area, which makes the stream of people appear so overwhelming at the plaza in front of Société Générale, is because the whole business area is clear of cars and other motor vehicles, opposite to Manhattan with streets and avenues filled with dense traffic. Instead the traffic in La Defense is led outside of the area, and under the ground. The same is the case for the Metro lines and the railway. No doubt the high business factor of the area that is cleansed of traffic, but filled with monumental art, another feature of La Defense described in chapter 2.1.6.5, contributes to establish its own traditions for employee behaviour. Additionally there are probably also other cultural factors that influence how business people behave in Manhattan offices in relation to those of La Defense.

Apparently the architecture of the Société Générale headquarters also seems to be mainly Post Modern. Although the third tower was completed in 2008, the design of this tower seems adapted to the former twin towers, and appears with a similar form expression as these. The high quality and obviously expensive architecture of the headquarters of Société Générale seems to reflect the zeitgeist of the time of erection, marked by a growth in the French GDP in spite of a temporary recession in 1993, and before the major global recession in 2009,[398] which still marks the economy in several countries. As the headquarters consists of several tower structures that are only connected in the lowest part of the buildings structure, the visual expression of the headquarters appear as splintered. This expression is underpinned by how the different planes of the towers are reflecting themselves and each other and as mentioned lends associations to Cubist

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[397] Page 116
[398] http://www.indexmundi.com/france/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)

paintings, and particularly to Analytical Cubism where objects were analyzed and expressed by splintered planes, for instance in Picassos "Ma Jolie" from 1911-12. The splintered expression makes a visual confusion in respect of defining the architectural form. In addition it has both a technical, masculine expression, as well as the rounded forms apply feminine and soft features which totally make the architecture appear as androgynous. The half rounded cylindrical towers may also appear as a container, a metaphor of the female body, (Mulvey 1992) which here may be interpreted as a container of coins. The blue and reflecting glass on the surface also gives the building complex an airy and transparent expression.

As the headquarters of Société Générale is placed in an urban area dominated by concrete, glass and steel, it is difficult to see any connections to nature, unless one considers the lack of cars and motor vehicles replaced by a large number of people moving around and hordes more people by lunch time, to be a tribute to nature. Additionally there are some trees on the large public plaza in front of the headquarters. Obviously the large and tall building complex also contributes to give an identity to the area; in this case it is one of the most visible buildings south west of the Grand Arch. No doubt the basis for erecting the new headquarters is a strong economy. The emphasis on architectural form also reveals cultural capital, together with the corporation's high quality art collection presented in chapter 2.2.5.2. By the way, cultural capital is also expressed in the old headquarters of Société Générale in the center of Paris, located in Boulevard Haussmann close to the old Paris Opera, as well as the old Grand Magazines.

MIH Photo: 191 (left) Former HQ Société Générale, Boulevard Hausmann, Paris, November 2010
MIH Photo: 192 (right) Opéra Garnier, Paris, November 2010

4.2.6   Comparing the architecture of the included headquarters

Matrix 8 below shows the observed and communicated visual qualities that appear in each headquarters including time of erection and style. Here the qualities represent categories in a comparative cross case analysis of the included

headquarters. To make explicit; the symbolic metaphors are partly based on associations made by informants, employees and by people in the public as expressed on websites and in printed publications, and partly based on my own observations. The metaphors implies several figurative form interpretations, some related to the idea of the vernacular duck architecture as described by Venturi et al. (Venturi, Scott Brown et al. 1977) In the definition of gender, I mainly use the contradictory gender dichotomies described by Bourdieau such as large-small, hard-soft, dominating-dominated etc, (Bourdieu 2000) supported by other theory on architecture and gender. Although the gender dichotomies may be clichés, as discussed in chapter 4.1.4.1, they also represent common assimilated conceptions on gender that appears in different ways is architecture, such as hard, straight angled and technical form expressions that tend to be experienced as masculine in opposition to soft, curved and organic form expressions that many experiences as feminine. The other interpretations of transparency, archi-nature interaction and territorial identity as well as economic and cultural capital are as described above also based on observations and informal conversations with informants and some employees, supported by corporate publications and websites. The analysis should also be regarded as "experimental", as the aim is not to obtain final and exhaustive interpretations of headquarters architecture, but rather to suggest alternative ways of interpreting architecture. As it appears there are both similarities and diversities within the categories, and some patterns appear more clearly than others, as discussed in the analysis below.

4.2.6.1 Symbolism

Architectural symbolism seems to be present in various degrees in all of the included headquarters, either this is made consciously and communicated directly, or can be interpreted on basis of the architectural form, independent of national belonging. An interesting aspect in respect of symbolism is the style and time of erection. As it appears in the matrix, four headquarters may be defined as "ducks", in the meaning of reflecting their business; Telenor shaped like phone handsets, Oracle that is claimed to be shaped like stacks of data bases, Panasonic Electric Works, where the building is designed to appear like a lantern, and Asahi Brewery where the buildings appear like a mug or a glass of beer. The headquarters of Société Générale may also potentially be a duck if the building is reminiscent to a money box, although this is not as clear as in the other architectural ducks. That also applies to the headquarters of Total, if the meaning is oil foam on top of the oil stream that runs out or the oil well. Five of these buildings are identified as Post Modern, erected between 1989 and 2002 (08). Six of the headquarters have architectural features that make it possible to

Matrix 8: Communicated and interpreted visual qualities

	Time and Style	Symbolism	Gender	Transpar-ency	Archi-nature	Territorial identity	Capital
Telenor, Fornebu, Oslo (telecom-munication)	2002, Post modernism (mature oil-state)	Phone-handsets **(duck)** Ship	Mascu-line & feminine	Glass walls, open plan-ned, (flexible work)	Urban campus concrete and stone. Nature outside.	Local and national	Economic capital, Cultural capital
Statoil, Forus, Stavanger (oil and gas)	1975-93, Late modernism & Structuralism (early oil-state)	Fortress Village	Mascu-line	Regular walls, partly regular offices	Industrial campus, Nature outside	Local	
Oracle, Redwood Shores, California, (digital archives)	1989-98, Post modernism	Stacks of data-bases **(duck)** Greek temple (duck-relative) Barrels	Andro-gynous	Glass walls, partly open planned, (flexible work)	Integrated in large park with lake & geese, reflecting water	Local, national & regional	Economic capital, Cultural capital
HP, Palo Alto, California (electronic instruments)	1953-60 Post WWII Modernism & Late functionalism	Spaceship (duck-relative) Fortress	Mascu-line	Regular walls, open planned, (flexible work)	Park with vegetation and wood	Local	
Chevron, San Ramon, California, (oil and gas)	1985, Late modernism	Village	Mascu-line	Regular walls, Mostly regular offices	Integrated in large park with lake	Local (Borrow from local customs?)	Economic capital, Cultural capital
JPMorgan Chase, New York, (banking)	1960, Post WWII Modernism & International style	Copper bar	Mascu-line	Glass/ curtain wall	Urban, city (rehabilitate to **sustainable architecture**)	Local and national	Economic capital, Cultural capital
Sony, Tokyo (electronic devices)	2006, Neo modern & High Tech	Electronic device (duck-relative)	Mascu-line	Glass walls	Urban industrial, **Sustainable architecture** (reuse of sewing water)	Local and national	Economic capital (Cultural capital)
Panasonic Electric Works, Tokyo, (electricity-lightning)	2003, High Tech	Lantern **(duck)**	Mascu-line (with light feminine features)	Glass walls, partly open planned	Urban, **Sustainable architecture** (solar cell panels)	Local	Economic capital (Cultural capital)
Fuji Television, Tokyo, (television)	1996, Structuralism/ Metabolism (nostalgia) & High Tech (future)	Shinto Torii Imaginative broadcasting (duck-relative)	Mascu-line	Regular walls (steel)	Urban harbor and waterfront	Local and national (Borrow national customs?)	Economic capital, Cultural capital
Asahi Brewery, Tokyo, (beer & soft drinks)	1989, Post modernism	Mug and glass of beer **(duck)**	Andro-gynous	Glass walls, (weak trans-parency)	Urban river bank	Local and national	Economic capital, Cultural capital
Total, La Defense, Paris, (oil and gas)	1985, Post modernism	Oil foam (duck-relative) **(duck?)** Foaming waves, Sky, white clouds	Andro-gynous	Glass walls	Urban office area	Local and national	Economic capital, Cultural capital
Société Générale, La Defense, Paris, (banking)	1995 +2008 Post modernism	Money box **(duck?)** (duck-relative) Count Machine (duck-relative) Jewel	Andro-gynous	Glass walls	Urban office area	Local and national	Economic capital, Cultural capital

look at them as what I call duck-relatives, similar to the Chrysler building in New York, or Gehry's Concert Hall in Los Angeles, as all have features that are symbolizing the businesses, literally or imaginatively, such as Oracle's Greek temple, HP's spaceship, Sony's electronic device and Fuji Televisions imaginative broadcasting.

All of the headquarters have features that communicate or can be interpreted as symbolizing other objects or phenomena independent of the business; such as Telenor's ship, Statoil's fortress, Oracle's barrels, HP's fortress, Chevron's village, JPMorgan Chase's Copper bar, Fuji Televisions Shinto gate, and Total's foaming waves. One interesting aspect here, is the interpretation of the headquarters of both HP and Statoil as a fortress, as the HP headquarters was built in the post World War II period, presumably with a need of protection, while the Statoil Headquarters was built in an early stage of becoming an oil-state, and presumably also needed protection of its interests. It may be interesting also to notice how the village metaphor used by the architects of Statoil headquarters, match with my village metaphor used to interpret the architecture of Chevron's headquarters, as they are both representing the oil industry. But only one of the headquarters seem to inhabit a symbol of national culture; the headquarters of Fuji Television from 1996, to the extent that the building has an embedded gate theme that may symbolize the Japanese Shinto gate. This building also seems to be based on the ideas of Japanese Metabolism, a significant architectural movement in Japan some decades ago, which makes a double symbolic connection to the national Japanese culture, and thus it may also reflect nostalgia. Architectural symbolism in the meaning of symbolizing the business is most directly communicated in the headquarters of Asahi Brewery, where the architectural form of the tower is created consciously in order to appear like a mug or a large glass of beer, while the lower beer hall beside of the tower may be interpreted as a glass of beer. Here the golden sculpture may also be interpreted as a drop of beer foam falling down from the tower, although the sculpture is described as a golden flame. The close and apparently conscious connection between the architectural form and the business is particularly visible here compared to the other headquarters, and makes the headquarters of the Asahi Brewery appear as the most convincing duck, based on a naive vernacular idea, but also transformed into high quality architecture.

4.2.6.2 *Gender*

In respect of gender, it is interesting to see that while most of the included headquarters in this analysis are interpreted as masculine architecture, the headquarters of Oracle, Asahi Brewery, Total and Société Générale, all designed

mainly between 1985- 95,[399] are interpreted as androgynous. In addition the headquarters of Telenor, completed in 2002 has both masculine and feminine qualities. The architecture of all these five headquarters is also identified as Post-Modern, although some, such as the Japanese writer Haruki Murakami, claim that since Japan has not had any Modernism, it cannot have any Post Modernism, as he revealed in an interview with the Norwegian newspaper Aftenposten recently.[400] Still I have chosen to classify the architecture of some Japanese headquarters as Post-Modern, as they share many similar architectural features with Western Post-Modernism.

As discussed in chapter 4.1.4, most architects are males, and obviously most architecture have a masculine expression independent of the gender of the architect. Since several of the headquarters that are classified as androgynous are designed and erected in the nineteen eighties and nineties, one might wonder if the many women's liberation movements that appeared in the last part of the 1900s in the wake of the political student riots, such as in Paris in 1968; have influenced architects to make architecture with more feminine or androgynous character. In that case, these buildings may also reflect the zeitgeist of the international society at that time, in the wake of the seventies, and particularly in countries where gender equality is emphasized by the population as well as politicians. Or it may also be a result of the Post Modern architects attempt to rebel with the former Modernist style expressions, by adding decorative features such as columns and curved shapes from former styles, for instance the Baroque. Mixing and adding features of architectural styles through the history is after all one of the most significant signs of Post-Modern architecture. But in respect of gender, it is also interesting to notice how Hassan describes the typical features of Post Modernism in opposition to Modernism, as discussed in chapter 4.1.4.1; while he considers Modernism to be genital and phallic, he claims that Post Modernism is androgynous and polymorph. (Hassan 1986)

As mentioned above, many claims that Venturi et al. influenced the development of Post Modern architecture by looking at the building as a sign, and focusing on the communicative potential of architecture with reference to the vernacular ducks. In any event it is interesting to notice how both the newest headquarters included in the analysis; Sony and Panasonic Electric works, which are identified as Neo-Modern and High Tech, and the oldest headquarters built before 1985; Statoil, HP, Chevron and JPMorgan Chase are identified as Modernism, Late

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[399] Although the last Oracle building was completed in 1998, the design was settled by the first building in 1985. Similarly the third tower in the headquarters of Société Générale was completed in 2008, but in a design that adapts to the two former twin towers, completed in 1995.
[400] Aftenposten, 08.14.2010.

Modernism, Late Functionalism and Structuralism all tend to be masculine. The exception is the Fuji Television building from 1996, which seems to be influenced by a variety of styles, such as the masculine and technically oriented Structuralism, Metabolism and High Tech. In other words, it may look like the time and style factor have a large influence on the gender expressions of the headquarters architecture as well as social movements that marks the zeitgeist in the time of erection, more so than national cultural factors.

4.2.6.3 Transparency

All the newer headquarters in the analysis, except for Fuji Television; which means Telenor, Oracle, Sony, Panasonic Electric Works, Asahi Brewery, Total and Société Générale have glass walled architecture, a feature that also may rely on the time of erection, as most of the older headquarters; Statoil, HP and Chevron cannot be characterized as transparent although these buildings have large windows too. Only one of the older headquarters, JPMorgan Chase has glass walled architecture representing the International Style and a type of Modern office buildings called "curtain wall architecture", because the walls were replaced by glass, as a shelter between inside and outside. While the glass in the curtain walled buildings was often dark and tinted brownish to protect the interior from the sun, most glass walled buildings today are more transparent, with new systems for blocking the sun.

Most of the new glass walled architecture today seems to have open planned offices, and as claimed by McKeith, (MacKeith 2005) these buildings are expected to make creative and innovative work environments, as mentioned in chapter 4.1.5. Open planned offices are also a way to signal flexible organization of work. But the HP headquarters diverge in respect of the connection between glass walls and open planned offices by being pioneers in both having open planned offices and flexible organization of work, although the buildings are not glass walled but traditional Modernist buildings with regular walls. It is of course self-evident that office buildings do not have to be glass walled to have open planned offices and a flexible organization of work. The reasons of connecting these qualities is because newer transparent office buildings with glass walls and open planned work areas often house modern corporations with a flexible approach to the organization of work, and at the same time the organizational structure of these corporations are transparent and flat. In many ways this trend reflects the zeitgeist of several modern democratic societies. The headquarters of Telenor is a crown example of the connection between transparent architecture where the transparency follows into the buildings with open planned offices, and to the organization where the employees have few limitations and can work

practically wherever and whenever they like, as long as they do their job. Also the belief in the creativity and innovation factor of such transparent buildings is present at Telenor because as we will see in chapter 5.2.2.1, an important objective of the new headquarters architecture is to create a creative and innovative working environment. (Heinisch 2005)

4.2.6.4   *Archi-nature*

Architecture and nature interact in different ways, both in respect of the headquarters' visual interaction with nature, as in architecture integrated with nature in a park, to a more integrated interaction with nature initiated by environmental responsibility, and implemented as energy saving precautions in the building, for instance solar cell panels and led lightning, to the extent that this appears visually in the architecture. It is difficult however, to compare visually the nature interaction of headquarters located in nature parks with those located in urban areas which usually lack the nature factor. Still it is interesting to notice the emphasis on the park in the US corporations Oracle, HP and Chevron, which are all located in parks on the outskirts of urban areas. Emphasis on the park can rely on different factors; both a genuine interest in nature, which is pronounced clearly by HP, both visually and in their corporate publications. To show nature interest may also be a way to offset criticism, for instance in respect of polluting activities. However it can also rely on the classical meaning of the park as a status symbol for the royalty and bourgeoisie, as discussed by Dietze, (Dietze 2007) and mentioned in chapter 1.1.1. This means that parks can have a similar function as architecture in showing power and wealth. Based on this, it is interesting to note how the Telenor headquarters outside of Oslo which similar to the three US corporations is located in an area of nature, but unlike the US corporations that "includes the park-nature" in their campuses, the Telenor centre creates a merged coherent form like a ship, where the deck, the huge plaza, lies above the water while the buildings form a fence against the surrounding nature.

A common feature of the included corporations seems to be environmental responsibility; emphasized as a corporate value by most corporations today, and of those that I have information on. Most corporations implement energy saving precautions as far as possible in their existing office buildings, and embed such precautions in new buildings. As discussed in chapter 4.1.6, such precautions are made not only out of good will, but also because it is good for business. But as the technology to make effective energy saving precautions has developed during the last decade, it is only the newest or newly renovated buildings that actually have what can be called sustainable architecture with energy saving and environmental friendly technology such as the Sony headquarters from 2006 and

Panasonic Electric Works from 2003. Additionally the headquarters of JPMorgan Chase in New York is at the present time subject to renovation, to make the building sustainable and LEED certificated. In this context I am interested in how sustainable and green architecture affects the architectural form and the visual appearance of the headquarters, and among the included headquarters this seems to be most visible at the headquarters of Sony, much so because of the nearby located sewage water plant. The distinction between sustainable architecture or not, and to what extent it affects the architectural form and expression depends on the time of erection, as the sustainable technology is new and developed mainly during the last decade. Today more and more new corporate buildings around the world is erected as sustainable or green architecture, while older buildings erected before 2000 have to be renovated to obtain the same sustainable quality. An interesting aspect in respect of the environmental concern embedded in the architecture is that it represents a change in architectural thinking as well as within engineering, which also reflect the zeitgeist of the global society as most countries today are occupied with environmental concerns, and how to prevent climate change that represents a threat to everyone.

4.2.6.5   Territorial identity

Corporate architecture can give identity to a local area, as well as to a nation or a region, such as the Nordic countries or the Northern States in the USA, or it can borrow features from local, national or regional architectural customs. As most of the corporate headquarters here are well known within their location, they may contribute to local identity. Still some headquarters seems to contribute also to the national identity because of an unusual size or shape and by becoming an icon or a landmark, for instance the headquarters of Oracle, which with its high raised monumental buildings with unusual form, placed in an otherwise open area; represents a highly visible landmark. Also the headquarters of Total and Société Générale are iconic in size and shape, and contribute to the local identity of La Defense, the business area just outside of Paris, which in itself contributes to national identity. With its unusual and sculptural form, also the Asahi Brewery has become a well known local and national landmark, visited by many tourists from Japan and abroad. Thus the headquarters of Asahi Brewery contribute to the identity of Tokyo as well as Japan. The same applies to the headquarters of Fuji Television that has become a landmark because of its unusual form, visible from the waterfront of Tokyo. The building has become a tourist attraction which is often shown on Japanese TV and is well known in Japan. Thus also the headquarters of Fuji Television contributes to the national identity. In addition the Fuji Television building may also have borrowed features of Japanese culture, represented by the Shinto gate and Metabolism. Another headquarters

where the architecture may have borrowed features from local architectural customs is Chevron, because of the similarities with brown shingle houses in the area, although this may be a coincidence and here a suggested interpretation.

4.2.6.6 Capital

It is usually a connection between economic and cultural capital, as cultural capital is dependent on education, which also characterize corporate people and people in commercial businesses, although people working in the humanistic and cultural field are presumed to have the highest cultural capital, as described by Bourdieau in his room of social positions. (Bourdieu 1995) Architecture is a suitable arena for displaying a desirable representation of the business, such as economic strength and reliability. As most of the present corporations are large scaled and powerful international corporations, most of their headquarters communicate high economic capital through their size or form, except for the headquarters of HP and Statoil, which both have a modest visual expression, and do not shout out messages of high economic capital, although Statoil's new headquarters in Oslo may signal this more than the present one in Stavanger.

Most of the analyzed headquarters also communicate cultural capital through an emphasis on architecture that reveals a particular architectural interest, which also implies cultural capital. These headquarters are Telenor, Oracle, Chevron, JPMorgan Chase, Fuji Television, Asahi Brewery, Total and Société Générale. The cultural capital of Telenor is signalized both by the unusual form of the buildings and by the artworks that is integrated in the architecture. Oracle reflects cultural capital through their emphasis on architecture, also reflected in the lobby design and decoration, and the interesting multiple connections to Greek culture and temple architecture. JPMorgan Chase signals its cultural capital through its pure International style. The Fuji Television building communicates cultural capital both through its connection to Japanese Metabolism, and the possible connection to the Japanese Shinto gate. Asahi Brewery signals cultural capital through emphasis on art and architecture represented by the sculptural architectural form and the Asahi flame sculpture. Total is signalling cultural capital through its sculptural form and emphasis on architecture, and this also applies to the headquarters of Société Générale. It is difficult to interpret cultural capital within the modest expression of the headquarters of Statoil and HP. That may partly be the case also with the headquarters of Sony and Panasonic Electric Works as the plain architecture in these buildings are less clear in respect of revealing cultural capital. In the case of Sony one may say that environmental responsibility also represents a particular kind of cultural capital, but in this context I primarily focus on cultural capital in the meaning of knowledge within

what Hofstede describes as "culture one", (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) mentioned in chapter 1.3.3, for example knowledge on art and architectural styles, literature, theatre, music etc., independent of whether the architecture is sustainable or not, although sustainable architecture will most likely contribute to create new architectural styles in the future. Knowledge within these cultural fields is also among what Veblen talks of as "creditable merits" for a gentleman, as discussed in chapter 2.1.5.4, and cultivation within the cultural field is also "a mark of the master". (Veblen and Mills 1994) Although cultural capital is not always clearly revealed through the architecture of a corporation's headquarters, some corporations with anonymous or plain headquarters architecture, for instance Statoil, express high cultural capital through a high quality art collection, which also shows that there are several ways to signal cultural capital.

4.2.7   Summary and a tentative conclusion

Symbolism seems most consciously pronounced in four of the headquarters; Telenor, Oracle, Panasonic Electric Works and Asahi Brewery. Similar to vernacular ducks, they communicate their business figuratively in various degrees. The business is most clearly communicated in the headquarters of Asahi Brewery, and most linguistically expressed by Panasonic Electric Works. Three of these headquarters represent Post Modern architecture, erected between 1989 and 2002 (08), which means that the time and style factor, presumably including the zeitgeist of each society, with a cultural field marked by the sculptural and symbolically loaded Post Modernism, which seems to have influenced the architecture. Additionally the Post Modern headquarters of Oracle, Total and Société Générale erected between 1989 and 1995/2008, together with the headquarters of HP, Sony and Fuji Television, built between 1953 and 2006 have figuratively recognizable features that may represent the business, and in that case they are what I describe as a duck-relatives, although Total and Société Générale may also be interpreted as ducks. Here the symbolism embedded in the oldest HP building may rest upon former architectural customs, similar to the Chrysler Building from 1930 where the top is formed by fragments of giant car radiators. The architecture of all the included headquarters seems to inhabit a figurative symbolism that represents other objects or phenomena independent of the business. Symbolism that is representing national values seems to be most present in the Fuji Television building from 1996, with its potential representation of the Shinto gate, and a somewhat nostalgic post World War II Japanese Metabolism, and in the entrance of HP, symbolizing the technological interest of the post World War II society in the US, marked by the technological space race between USA and the Soviet Union. The national interest may also be underpinned by the HP headquarters expression of a fortress, which also applies

to the Statoil headquarters in Norway, erected in an early oil-state stage between 1975 and 93, where protecting national interest was emphasized by the population as well as politicians. It is also interesting to notice that all of the Japanese and French corporations appear as sculptural and figurative buildings that are reflecting the business either as ducks, or as duck relatives, with features that reflect or may potentially reflect the business.

Most of the headquarters have a masculine expression, except of Telenor, Oracle, Asahi Brewery, Total and Société Générale which also have feminine features that makes them appear as androgynous, or as in the case of Telenor; as masculine and feminine. All of these five headquarters are erected mainly between 1985 and 2002,[401] here identified as Post Modern, which is also claimed to be more androgynous than Modernist architecture. All of these five buildings have in common that they are sculptural, a feature of Post Modernism that many address to Venturi et al., and their idea of the building as a sign. In addition the headquarters of Panasonic Electric Works from 2003 has light feminine features, although not to the same degree as the previous mentioned. The feminine and androgynous gender qualities may also be connected to the time factor, or the zeitgeist of the international society, as the buildings are erected in the wake of the women's liberation struggle in the foregoing decades. It may also be a result of the Post Modern style as such, by referring to the Baroque, characterized by curved and sculptural forms.

All the headquarters except of Statoil, HP, Chevron and Fuji Television are transparent and glass walled. Statoil, HP and Chevron is built between 1953 and 1985, and the time and style factor may also here represent a demarcation line between transparent and non-transparent architecture, as particularly new office buildings tend to be transparent. Today this transparency is particularly pronounced in glass walled Neo Modern and High tech buildings, here most clearly represented by Sony headquarters from 2006. Opposite, modernist buildings from the 1920-30s and through the sixties, based on the ideas of Bauhaus affiliated architects such as Walter Groupies and Mies van der Rohe, also tended to be glass walled, then mentioned as curtain walled architecture that was particularly present in the International Style, here represented by the headquarters of JPMorgan Chase that was completed in 1960. An interesting aspect here is how the Neo Modern glass walled and transparent architecture picks up features of Modernism. The US corporations Oracle, HP and Chevron are integrated in more or less green parks, while the Norwegian Telenor and Statoil headquarters makes a cohesive form that is separating the surrounding

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[401] Except of the third tower of Société Générale, completed in 2008.

nature from the campus. This difference may be explained by the culture factor, either this is due to a stronger demand for US corporations to show green values, or a higher conciseness about the park value as status symbol, as discussed in chapter 4.1.6. The Japanese and French headquarters are coincidently located in urban areas and are not comparable in respect of corporate parks. But the headquarters of Sony from 2006, and Panasonic Electric Works from 2003, can be defined as sustainable buildings, with energy saving and environmental friendly architecture, which is most visible in the headquarters of Sony. Obviously the time and technological development factor is crucial for sustainable architecture, as the technology for such buildings is new and is still at a developing stage. Sustainable architecture seems influenced by the current zeitgeist in the global society that has led to a new way of thinking within architecture and engineering.

In particular three of the current headquarters contribute to territorial identity; Oracle, Fuji Television and Asahi Brewery, which all functions as visible landmarks through their unusual size and shape. The impression of a landmark is also established because there is no other competitive buildings close by. Similarly the high-rise skyscraper headquarters of JPMorgan Chase, Total and Société Générale are potentially landmarks, but because these buildings are surrounded by other competitive business buildings, they are not as visible as the first mentioned. Still, their size and shape distinguishes them from other buildings, and makes them contribute to local identity and in the case of Total and Société Générale located in the new concentrated business area la Defense, they also contribute to national identity created by this business area. Finally all the included headquarters that are representing large scale businesses may contribute to local identity simply by their presence. One distinguishing feature of the three headquarters labeled above as landmarks, is that the two Japanese headquarters is visually more "unusual" than the Oracle architecture. This may arise from cultural differences, as a distinguished quality by Japanese architecture is the playfulness in respect of creative and innovative thinking, which is pronounced in many newer buildings in Japan. It may also reflect the economic growth in Japan after World War II, although this has declined or flattened out during the last couple of decades.

All the headquarters except of HP and Statoil communicates high economic capital, as large and powerful corporations that make it desirable to communicate reliability and pecuniary strength. Cultural capital on the other hand seems present in various degrees, but is most visually communicated in the architecture of Telenor, Oracle, Fuji Television, Asahi Brewery, Total and Société Générale,

all erected mainly between 1989 and 2002,[402] through a visible emphasize on architectural form. This may also be explained by the time and style factor, or the zeitgeist of the current societies, as all of these headquarters are considered to be Post Modern, and a characteristic feature of Post Modernism is the reflection of previous styles within the history of art and architecture. Knowledge within art and culture belongs to what Veblen talks of as "creditable merits" for a gentleman, as mentioned in chapter 2.1.5.4. In addition to the consumption of luxuries, cultivation within the cultural field is also "a mark of the master", which contributes to manifest the distinction between classes, (Veblen and Mills 1994) and obviously; it may also be good for business.

As some of the included headquarters represent the same type of industry, here defined as high tech, banking, oil and gas and others, it may be interesting to see if the variation of styles may be connected to the different types of industry. Additionally one could also ask; perhaps architecturally emphasized headquarters are erected during economic peaks in the variation of the market and between economical crises? It is well known that several architectural projects have been cancelled for economic reasons, for instance Jean Nouvel's "Tour sans Fin", or the "Endless Tower", a 425 meter and 100 story tower that was planned to be erected in La Defense at the beginning of the nineteen nineties, but was cancelled because of an economic recession, (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009) which reached its low in France in 1993.[403] It may also be interesting to look at the level of growth in each country's GDP, which according to the International Monetary Fund is "…the most commonly used single measure of a country's overall economic activity",[404] and indicate the economic situation in the current country in the time of erection. The numbers in Matrix 9 on the next side are based on data on the GDP growth in the included countries from the International Monetary Fund,[405] as presented by Index Mundi.[406]

The economical variations in a country's GDP are not necessarily coherent with the variations in the economy of corporations, but as the GDP growth influences the current society as a whole, it may also give an indication of the situation within the corporations in the country, which may be influenced by the country's economical situation in various degrees. In respect of architectural styles, it is of course self evident that some styles appear after others in time, such as Post Modernism after Modernism, and new styles evolve in the wake of Post

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[402] Except of the third tower of Société Générale, completed in 2008.
[403] http://www.indexmundi.com/france/gdp_real_growth_rate.html (02.01.2011)
[404] http://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/index.php (02.25.2011)
[405] http://www.imf.org/external/index.htm (02.25.2011)
[406] http://www.indexmundi.com/ (02.25.2011)

Modernism such as Neo Modernism, here represented by the headquarters of Sony, as seemingly the new transparent glass-prisms are regarded Neo Modern architecture. At the same time, some architecture may break this successive order, for instance the headquarters of Fuji television, which apparently both represent a High Tech style that characterizes contemporary architecture, and to former Structuralism and Metabolism. To "look back" also characterizes Post Modernist architecture, but usually Post Modernism looks back to classical and antique styles. However, as we can see, there is hardly any connection between styles and the types of industries included here, as the styles seems to depend on the time of erection, and the dominating architectural style of the current period and culture, or as one may say, the zeitgeist of the current culture.

Matrix 9

	High-tech		Banking		Oil & gas		Other types	
	Corp	Arch. style	Corp	Arch. style	Corp	Arch. style	Corp	Arch. style
No (2)					**Statoil 1975** 1989 (0,998) **1993 (2,787)**	Late modernism Structuralism		
	Telenor 1997 (5,393) 1998 (2,683) **2002 (1,502)**	Post modernism						
US (4)	**HP 1953-1960**	Modernism Late Functional-ism	**JPM Chase 1960**	Modernism Inter-national style				
	Oracle 1985 (4,137) **1989 (3,573)** **1991 (-0,234)** 1994 (4,074) **1998 (4,355)**	Post modernism			**Chevron** 1981 (2,538) **1985 (4,137)**	Late modernism		
Jp (4)	**Fuji Tele.** 1992 (0,819) **1996 (2,637)**	Structuralism Metabolism High tech					**Asahi Brew** 1985 (6,333) **1989 (5,370)**	Post modern-ism
	Pan EW 1999 (-0,141) **2003 (1,414)**	High tech						
	Sony 2002 (0,262) **2006 (2,039)**	Neo modernism						
Fr (2)			**Soc. Gén.** 1989 (4,322) 1991 (1,011) **1995 (2,248)** 2004 (2,253) **2008 (0.091)**	Post modern-ism High tech	**Total** 1981 (0,969) 1982 (2,415) **1985 (1,799)**	Post modernism		

Matrix 9 shows the GDP growth of the time of completion, 4 years in advance, and close periods with significant upward or down turns, as the planning usually starts some years before the erection of headquarters. GDP growth values from before 1980 are not included, mostly because older data on the world economy seems to be collected and presented differently and in different sources while data from after 1980 is presented in a comparable way. Some of the headquarters are built over several years, in building process executed in several stages. While the year of completion is highlighted with bold characters, years in advance of the completion are written in regular characters.

Still there may be some connections between styles and the growth in the countries' GDP, for instance if we look at the Post Modern headquarters, Telenor, Oracle, Asahi Brewery, Total and Société Générale. In Norway the GDP curve was particularly high in 1997, although it sunk a little bit in 1998, four years before the completion of the Telenor headquarters. In the USA the GDP was high four years before the completion of the first building period of the Oracle headquarters. Although the USA had an economic recession in 1990 -91, during Oracle's second building period, it went up again towards the third building period. As we can also see, the GDP curve was particularly high in Japan in the nineteen eighties, when the Asahi Brewery headquarters was erected. The GDP in Japan was lower ahead of and during the erection of the other three Japanese headquarters that represent Neo Modern and High Tech architecture. If, and to the extent that the GDP growth influences the economy of corporations, one may wonder if the Asahi Brewery was more expensive to build than the other included Japanese headquarters, and in that case, if the brewery was better situated because of the positive development in the national economy.

In respect of the French Post Modernist headquarters, we can see that the GDP growth was particularly high in 1989, six years before the completion of the headquarters of Société Générale, a situation that also occurred some years before the erection of the third tower. The pattern does not seem to match for the headquarters of Total, as the French GDP was relatively low in advance of the building process, although it was a bit higher three years before the completion. The headquarters was erected by the former Elf Aquitaine that merged with Total Fina in 2000; all becoming Total in 2003.[407] Still four of the presumably Post Modern headquarters included here seems to have been erected during or shortly after periods with relatively high GDP growth in the current countries, which may indicate a possible connection between national economy, corporate architecture and corporate economy. Obviously strong economy applies to any architectural style of corporate headquarters, and as it appears, the GDP growth in USA was also relatively high before and during the building of the Chevron headquarters. However, it is interesting to notice how the GDP curve in Japan was relatively low before and during the erection of the High Tech and Neo Modern headquarters of Sony, Panasonic Electric Works and Fuji television, while it was high before and during the building of Asahi Brewery. As discussed above, many corporate headquarters signal economical capital through their architecture. But as the focus here is not on economy, I will not go further in this economical analysis although economical conditions are obviously crucial in respect of erecting new headquarters as well as realizing architectural projects,

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[407] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Total_S.A (02.25.2011)

and it may probably also influence the architectural style in respect of the costs. Thus economy may also contribute to decide the architectural style and expression of corporate headquarters, harmonious to the striking title of Willis' book mentioned in chapter 1.1.4; "Form follows finance". (Willis 1995)

4.2.7.1   The Iconography, Iconology and Semiotics of the headquarters architecture

Below I make a brief examination of the analysis and interpretations above, and how it relates to Iconography, Iconology and Semiotics. As shown, architecture similar to visual art has several layers of meaning. But opposite to art collections that consist of many artworks created by many artists, the headquarters architecture usually represent a coherent building structure designed by one or a few architects. Although headquarters may include several buildings they are often designed equally by the same architects, for instance the headquarters of Oracle. If a new building is applied it often adapts to the existing buildings, for instance in the headquarters of Société Genéralé. This means that the expression of the architecture of headquarters may be clearer and more easy to grasp than the expression of an art collection, and analyzing the visual expression of headquarters is more similar to analyzing single artworks.

In respect of headquarters architecture, Panofsky's pre-iconographic description that gives the architecture its primary meaning, includes qualities such as the building materials, the height and size of the building, transparency and the physical surroundings; urban between streets and avenues, on the outskirts of a city between highways, or suburban in a park. (Panofsky 1982) (Fausing and Larsen 1980) In terms of semiotics these features are signs that constitute the denotations of the architecture like letters in a word. The iconographic analysis establishes the secondary or conventional meaning of the headquarters architecture. This implies the time and style factor of the architecture, for instance Post Modernism, as well as features of Symbolism, here expressed in duck architecture and architecture based on similar ideas as the architectural ducks. It may also imply how the architecture is marked by a particular gender expression, based on the dominating form expression of the building, and the current expressions of sustainable architecture, which appear as a "revolution" within new architecture. It may also include the territorial identity of architecture; does the building borrow features from local or national customs, or does it appear as a landmark? Finally it may also include the economic capital of the corporation, in terms of an approximately estimate of the building costs. All these qualities may be interpreted through the appearance of the architecture. The iconographic analysis also establishes the metaphorical and allegorical pictorial stories that are directly connected to the architecture. This may be stories of

typical features and qualities of architecture in the time period and society in which the headquarters is erected. In terms of semiotics, all these features correspond with communicative signs, or the denotations that make basis for what Barthes calls the connotations of an image, here the architecture and what it says. But it also makes basis for symbolic metaphors and pictorial stories used to identify architecture based on figurative interpretations such as a spaceship, a lantern or foaming waves.

Iconological interpretation of architecture reveals the inner meaning of the architecture that also forms the symbolical values of architecture. It is, besides of relying on iconography, based on "something else" than the architecture itself. It requires a "synthetic intuition" and knowledge on what Panofsky describes as "the essential tendency of the human spirit" in a particular time period and society influenced by psychology and a certain "weltanschauung", or philosophy of life. The features of the society that influences the architecture of a particular building represent important elements in an iconological interpretation of the architecture, which seems to be coherent with the features that form the "zeitgeist" of the current society. Thus the features of a particular society or culture that influence the architect may also influence the founder or the decision makers within a corporation, or they may be influenced by different cultures, for example if the architect is Japanese, and the building is erected in France.

A comprehensive iconological interpretation of headquarters architecture should therefore include knowledge on the nationality and personality of the architect, and the time period in which the architect live. It should also include a study on the personality of the founder or decision makers, where and when the architecture is created, as well as the political, poetical, religious, philosophical and social tendencies within the particular society. Here however, making a complete iconological analysis of each headquarters would be too extensive. But several of the architectural qualities analyzed above, implies the symptom of "something else" than the architecture itself, whether the architect is conscious about it or not. This means that the interpretations of corporate headquarters above are also in one sense Iconological, although this is not my main methodological approach. As within Iconology, the interpretations reveal how features of the society influence the architecture that is erected in different time periods and in different societies. An iconological interpretation of architecture may also include the gender qualities of architecture, influenced by the gender situation in the current society which diverges in different cultures, independent of architecture. Reflections on the connection between transparent architecture and flexible organization of work is also "something else", that requires

knowledge within organizational theory and new ways of organizing work based on human relation studies within organizational theories since the early 1900s. Iconological interpretations may also imply knowledge on climate change, including results of scientific research on climate change, and the required technology to build sustainable buildings, which is also "something else" than architecture, but which is applied to new architecture in the design of sustainable and green buildings. Also the interpretation of cultural capital is based on "something else" than the architecture itself, although knowledge on architecture as such may also be included in cultural capital. Some of the architectural qualities above are summarized as follows in Matrix 10, in terms of Panofsky's Iconography and Iconology:

Matrix 10: The Iconography and Iconology of headquarters architecture

	Pre-iconographic description	Iconographic analysis	Iconological interpretation
Time and style issues	Materials, size and height	Architectural history, definition of styles	The society and time period of the erection
Symbolism		Objects and figurative forms as style tendencies in architecture	History, "zeitgeist" and vernacular traditions
Gender	Size and expression	Masculine, feminine or androgynous	The gender situation in the society and among architects
Transparency	Glass walls, open planned offices	Transparent building, transparent and flexible organization of work	Tendencies in the society and corporate cultures
Archi-nature	Park or nature surroundings	Sustainable or green architecture	Knowledge and research on climate change
Territorial identity		Landmark, Iconic architecture or architectural customs	Global tendencies within architecture
Capital		Estimate of the conomic capital of the corporation	Cultural capital of the founder and decision makers

5   The Business Perspective on Architecture

5.1   OBJECTIVES OF EMPHASIZING ARCHITECTURE

5.1.1   Why do corporations emphasize their headquarters architecture?

In my second research question my aim is to look at how the objectives of collecting art and emphasizing the architecture of corporate headquarters are articulated and practiced in each country. Seemingly the most usually pronounced objectives for an emphasized architecture are these three distinct objectives; 1) to create a desirable work environment for the employees, 2) the brand factor; to create a desirable symbolic representation of the business similar to the logo, and 3) to show environmental responsibility through sustainable architecture with energy saving technology integrated in the architecture, or to apply energy saving precautions to older buildings that are renovated to become sustainable and environmental friendly.

5.1.2   To create a desirable work environment

The desire of corporations today, to emphasize the work environment of their employees, is based on experiences and development of knowledge on the significance of the work conditions and environment through more than a century and after the industrialization of societies. While the first businesses were marked by chaos and ad hoc management, theories on the organization of work and working conditions developed through the twentieth century, derived partly from the bureaucracy as this is described by Weber; based on official obligations, power and qualifications, and the calling of the office-holder. (Weber 1990) The development continued in the beginning of the 1900s through what was called "Taylorism", named after the American engineer Fredrick W. Taylor who developed a system that was based on so called "scientific management", mostly known for time studies and extensive work measurements to increase efficiency, but which was considered by many workers as work control. (Thompson and McHugh 1995) Also France got their variation of Taylorism in the beginning of the 1900s, called "Fayolism", after Henri Fayol, who according to Thompson and McHugh "…shared the engineering and management background of Taylor",

(Thompson and McHugh 1995)[408] and through five principals for management, planning, organizing, commanding, co-ordination and control, inspired to the reorganization of railway and engineering companies as well as French department stores.

Already in the early period of experimentation within industrial psychology, management theoreticians were aware of the human relation factors among employees. Already in 1902 the Bancroft Textile Company introduced welfare work, and soon "Welfarism"; "…a paternalistic concern about the well-being of employees in return for loyalty and hard work", (Thompson and McHugh 1995) [409] developed in several companies, and manifested in social projects such as "company towns" where the company provided houses, schools and stores for their employees. But the "Welfarism" was also criticized, among other it was claimed to combine "pity and profit", and in the 1940s wartime factories in England, many workers regarded it to be primarily directed towards profit, and that the real purpose of improving the work conditions for the employees was to maximize the profit of the business. (Thompson and McHugh 1995)

From the mid 1920s to about 1932, some researchers in USA, among other Elton Mayo, Fritz Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson conducted an experimental research project on the work environment of the Western Electric Company's large Hawthorne plant near Chicago. Among other they varied the lightning for test groups of workers, to see how the light affected the performance of work. Surprisingly, the productivity increased in the test groups at every light level, and that was also the case in the control groups, who were not subject to any changes in the lightning at all. This unexpected result made the researchers aware that the research itself had affected the behavior of the employees, as an independent variable that they had not taken into account. It was this insight that soon became known as "the Hawthorne effect" that fully made the researchers and theoreticians aware of the significance of the "the human factor", which later became the core of all theories on human relations in work organizations. (Thompson and McHugh 1995) The new knowledge on the human factor led to a paradigm shift within business management, where horizontal networks were replacing former vertical hierarchies, and today many "post-bureaucratic" organizations have become "fast, flat and flexible"; "...with integrated tasks and collective workers becoming their own supervisors". (Thompson and McHugh 1995)[410]

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[408] Page 42
[409] Page 45
[410] Page 166

By adding the human factor corporations became more employee-focused and more aware of the significance of the work environment, based on the conception that a desirable work environment that contributes to increase the comfort and well being of employees also increases creativity, innovation and in the next turn, the production. In addition, a desirable work environment is expected to strengthen the bonds of the corporation, and the corporations prepare for collaboration through open planned offices and flexible organization of work. Today many corporate headquarters with an emphasized architecture appear as "glass houses" with open planned offices, flexible organization of work and transparently at all stages; from the organization of work to the spaces of work, considered to be creative and innovative work environments. Seemingly the new trend with glass buildings and open planned offices has created a new corporate mantra; creativity, innovation and flexibility, with the desire of creating "innovative thinking" and "positive encounters", although some of these expectations are questionable, as discussed in chapter 4.1.5. (MacKeith 2005) Whether the architecture of offices and headquarters are glass walled or not, it may inevitably influence employees, and as claimed by Østerberg, architecture can lead to relief, as well as a burden, (Østerberg 1998) and the latter is hardly the preference at work. Although most corporations today are employee-focused in various degrees, and concerned about the welfare and work environment of their employees, they do not necessarily connect this to the architecture of their buildings, although some corporations seemingly do so, by looking at the architecture as a factor to improve the work environment.

5.1.3   The brand factor; a symbolic representation of the business

In spite of the competitive skyscrapers mentioned above, which may often have the function as an advertisement of the business as described by Willis, (Willis 1995) not all corporations today seems to be conscious of the brand value of their headquarters and office buildings. However, as claimed by the Spanish architect Alejandro Bahamón and his co-authors Ana Cañizares and Antonio Corcuera,[411] corporations now become more and more conscious about the brand factor of corporate architecture, which makes many corporations emphasize the architecture of their headquarters to an increasingly degree. In their book on corporate architecture, strikingly mentioned as "Building a Brand", Bahamón et al. present several examples on how different kinds of businesses are emphasizing their headquarters, office buildings and stores as a part of their brand. As described by the authors; "…the communicative capacity of architecture provides a great opportunity to incorporate intangible elements into a

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[411] Henceforth referred to as Bahamón et al.

firm's corporate identity". (Bahamón, Cañizares et al. 2009)[412] By regarding New York as the world's financial center, they describe how this "city of skyscrapers" demonstrates how architecture "penetrate the collective imagination" and makes an imprint of a "forest of corporate buildings", many of these iconic and legendary. As expressed by Bahamón et al.;

> Architecture's ability to embody allegory led the pharaohs to build their pyramids in the middle of the desert and the Church to construct gigantic cathedrals, and it is now leading big corporations to commission distinctive buildings that endow them with a sharply defined identity… (Bahamón, Cañizares et al. 2009)[413]

Bahamón et al. describe how architecture may be an element in creating a corporate identity, as a symbolic and representative architecture can contribute to distinguish the corporation from the others in the surroundings. The brand value of architecture represents an investment that increases the visibility of a corporation, and reinforces the reputation of the corporation as well as of the architect, for example the IAC Corporation who engaged Frank Gehry to design their new headquarters in New York. As told by the CEO, Diller, quoted in Bahamón et al. the objective was;

> …to create a building that reflects and facilitates the inventiveness of our business…with the help of Frank Gehry we have constructed a truly distinctive and functional building… (Bahamón, Cañizares et al. 2009)[414]

In this case the building gave publicity both to the corporation and to the architect, as this was also Gehry's debut in New York. By using one of the most recognized international architects to design their headquarters, they also connected their brand to one of the most prestigious international architects of our time. (Bahamón, Cañizares et al. 2009)

5.1.4 Environmental responsibility; sustainable and green architecture

During the last decades we have witnessed the rise of a new global offensive against climate change that has accelerated after the ratification of the Kyoto-protocol in 2005,[415] reports from the UN Panel on Climate Change and the Al Gore campaign. The threats of environmental damage and climate change are

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[412] Page 6
[413] Page 6
[414] Page 7
[415] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyoto-avtalen (09.02.10)

seriously taken into consideration by most corporations today, and environmental responsibility has become a common feature of most corporations, emphasized as a corporate value. Thus most corporations implement energy saving precautions as far as possible in their old office buildings, and build their new headquarters and office buildings with energy saving technology based on the principals for sustainable architecture. Corporate values such as social and environmental concerns are often closely connected to Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Responsibility programs. The precautions and technology that are applied in respect of energy saving lightning, heating and cooling and in addition recycling materials and supporting environmental saving programs in the society represent symbolic values that are expressed by the corporations equally to other idealistic values and attitudes that concerns the business as well as the surroundings. Such symbolic values are also a part of the rites and rituals of the corporate culture, and are expressed in a large number of brochures, booklets and websites published by the corporations. As expressed by the American organizational theoreticians Terrence E. Deal and Allan A. Kennedy, quoted in Thompson and McHugh; "...corporations may be the last institutions in America that can effectively take on the role of shaping values". (Thompson and McHugh 1995)[416]

The idealistic corporate values and "qualitative beliefs" are also often expressed in a variety of corporate slogans, such as "the Delta family feeling," and the amusing slogan of Tandem Computer; "It's so nice, it's so nice, we do it twice". (Thompson and McHugh 1995)[417] According to Thompson and McHugh, slogans and metaphors about doing what is right permeate the working life, and today many of these slogans are connected to social and environmental concern, such as "the way forward", "ideas for life" and "what we value most". As the environmental concern has become a significant corporate value, many corporations put efforts into saving energy and making both their production and building facilities sustainable and environmental friendly. As the technology to make effective energy saving precautions has been developed during the last decade, this means that only the newest buildings are actually built with energy saving technology from the start, but old buildings are also often renovated to become more sustainable. As mentioned above and in chapter 4.1.6, besides of apply energy saving precautions in their buildings, most corporations take a great number of other actions to save energy and protect the environment, and many corporations are awarded for their environmental responsibility activities around the world, such as supporting biodiversity, saving threaten animals, life at sea,

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[416] Page 203
[417] Page 204

the rain forest and supporting research programs. Here however, I focus on how environmental responsibility is embedded in, or applied to the architecture of the included headquarters.

5.2 ANALYZING OBJECTIVES OF EMPHASIZING ARCHITECTURE

5.2.1 Introduction

As I only have limited data on the included corporations in respect of the objectives of emphasizing their headquarters architecture, the analysis below is based partly on information from my key informants, partly on corporate publications and partly on corporate websites, the latter to see how photographs and statements of the architecture appear on the websites. Obviously as presented in chapter 5.1.1, there seem to be three major objectives for corporations to emphasize the architecture of their headquarters. To repeat these are; 1) to create a desirable work environment, 2) the brand factor of an emphasized headquarters architecture and 3) to show environmental responsibility through a sustainable or "green architecture" where energy saving technology is integrated in, or applied to the architecture.

5.2.2 Norwegian corporations

5.2.2.1 Telenor

An important objective of the architectural competition was to emphasize human relations and create a stimulating environment for creativity and innovation. The new headquarters should gather employees from 40 former office facilities spread around in Oslo. As revealed by employees, the high standard of the buildings is experienced as inspiring, and contribute to good behaviour among employees. An important objective that was emphasized in the architectural competition before the erection was to turn the corporate focus from hard to soft values. (Heinisch 2005) The headquarters architecture shall contribute to corporate identity and appear as a signal building, and reflect the leading position of the corporation. Telenor also displays photos of the headquarters' architecture on the "about Telenor" site, the second level of their website, and the headquarters are mentioned in their timeline. According to employees, visitors are impressed by the architecture, particularly foreign visitors, such as people from Japan, and youths, who often express that they would like to work there. The branches in other parts of Norway and abroad are designed by the same standard and architectural principals as the headquarters, to the extent that this is possible. The building complex has energy saving precautions; among other it

has remote heating from sea water. The corporation also wanted to keep the former biotope of the land, by preserving the types of plants and trees that they had to remove during the building process, in order to relocate them in the surrounding areas of nature after the completion of the headquarters. An interesting aspect in respect of nature orientation is that the buildings are also adapted to the topography of the area, along and between two low hill crests.

5.2.2.2   Statoil

Statoil have several activities to increase the comfort and well being of employees, such as sport, art and cultural activities. The headquarters also have several coffee bars and cantinas. As described on their website, Statoil emphasize employee involvement, and aim to "…promote a stimulating work environment" based on their values and a commitment to support the personal and professional development of employees.[418] The architecture of the present headquarters does not seem to be considered as a brand factor, as there are seemingly no photos of the headquarters at the corporation's website, at least not easily found. The architecture is module based, and easy to expand. At the present time, Statoil is building a new Oslo headquarters, planned to be completed in 2012, where the architecture seems to be more emphasized, in respect of its architectural form, and the function as a signal building. The interesting thing here is that this new building also shares some similarities with the new Statoil logo, the magenta coloured star, mentioned in chapter 4.2.2.2. The new Oslo headquarters appears on the architectural model and drawings almost like a star; consisting of five rectangular prisms stabled on top of each other in different directions. According to one of the architects, Odd Klev from the Norwegian architects A-Lab, the architects are inspired by the Japanese game Mikado, where you throw a bunch of wooden sticks randomly on the table to see how they land, thereafter to removing one by one stick at a time without moving another.[419] The visual connection between the new building and the new logo is interesting in respect of how Statoil aim to appear visually in the future. As pronounced by Statoil when announcing their new visual profile in April 2009: "With our new guiding star we will continue to move frontiers".[420] According to the director of communication in Statoil; Reidar Gjærum:

> Statoil is on its way of becoming a new global actor...To be more visible
> without spending huge amounts of money on marketing, it is important
> to create a new identity that communicates an interesting story.[421]

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[418] http://www.statoil.com/no/careers/peoplepartnershipvalues/Pages/Peoplepartnership.aspx (03.01.2011)
[419] http://www.aftenbladet.no/energi/olje/1103664/Slik_blir_Statoils_nye_Oslo-kontor.html (09.03.2010)
[420] http://www.statoil.com/no/about/history/pages/guidingstaracrossnewfrontiers.aspx (12.09.2010) (My translation).
[421] http://www.statoil.com/no/about/history/pages/guidingstaracrossnewfrontiers.aspx (12.09.2010) (My translation).

According to Gjærum, the story they aim to communicate refers to Statoil's engagement and contribution to prevent climate change, through technology, openness and cooperation, how history and the nature have formed the corporation, and not at least, what makes Statoil an attractive partner and employer. Before they changed the logo, the designers were comparing logos of a hundred of the largest energy corporations in the world, with the purpose of making something different. The new logo is inspired by the starry Nordic sky, and as pronounced by Gjærum:

> Our new logo, the star, is inspired by the starry Nordic sky. By that it symbolizes our highest ambitions: Still to focus on the Norwegian continental shelf, international growth, and an active and determined work to develop new solutions for energy.[422]

In spite of that Statoil has a high emphasize on precautions to prevent harmful emissions and damage on the environment, particularly connected to their industrial production, gas and oil, it is difficult to find information on energy saving precautions or steps to save the environment in their Stavanger headquarters. One interesting aspect however, is that the architecture is module based, as mentioned above, and can easily be extended, which is a sustainable quality, and which is presumably also practiced, as the headquarters is built in several steps over a long period of time, between 1975 and 1993.

5.2.3   US corporations

5.2.3.1   *Oracle*

The headquarters of Oracle was built in a former Marine Park with a lake in the middle. In respect of the employee comfort, the Oracle headquarters has a 52,000 sq. ft. fitness center with physical fitness equipment that also includes a heated pool and a sand volley ball court, saunas, aerobic and dance classes. The headquarters also contains several types of cafés and grills, offering different types of food from different countries such as Japanese, Indian, Latin American and Mediterranean food. As described on their website, Oracle look for "…brilliant employees with an entrepreneurial spirit…" who are looking for "…a work culture where innovation is the goal, hard work is expected and creativity is rewarded".[423] Although Oracle seems conscious about their headquarters architecture that is characterized by corporate people as "shining

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[422] http://www.statoil.com/no/about/history/pages/guidingstaracrossnewfrontiers.aspx (12.09.2010) (My translation).
[423] http://www.oracle.com/us/corporate/careers/index.html (03.01.2011)

like emerald towers", the facilities of the headquarters is presented in the forth level of the website hierarchy, together with a photo of the top of two buildings, and with a couple of photographs and a short description of the headquarters in the corporations timeline. In respect of branding and public relations, the number 100 building in the west end of the lake, completed in 1995, has been showcased in leading architectural magazines. Oracle has reduced the energy consumption in the headquarters by reducing the light and upgrading to energy friendly lightning, heating and ventilation and air condition systems. Among other they have installed manually overriding motion sensors during unoccupied hours, using photo-sensor-controlled lobby lights and reducing the light levels in corridors and common areas.[424]

5.2.3.2   HP

An important objective of the old headquarters building that HP moved into in 1960 was to make an attractive and pleasant workplace for the employees. This should contribute to high job satisfaction, and to make the employees perform in accordance with their abilities. An at that time innovative design should also contribute to maximize the creativity of the employees, as well as increasing their comfort and well being. The buildings have large windows to let in a lot of natural light, and the buildings were also air-conditioned.[425] As described in chapter 4.2.3.2 HP were pioneers in using open planned offices, a tradition they established already in the first HP-owned building in 1942, where open work areas instead of individual offices should make it easy for the employees to share their ideas. As pronounced by HP on their website, the buildings was; "designed for versatility" with the effect of "sparkling creativity".[426] HP was not the very first corporation to use open planned offices, as other firms such as the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in New York had open planned work areas in their offices already at the end of the eighteen hundreds. (Willis 1995) However in respect of the new trend of open planned offices that appeared in the post World War II period, they were among the first that introduced this principal. Today the headquarters of HP still has open planned offices, surrounded by small rooms for collaboration and individual work. As described on their website, HP aims to create a work environment that reflects their values, such as; "passion for customers", "trust and respect for individuals", "achievement and contribution", "results through teamwork" and "meaningful innovation." [427]

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[424] http://www.oracle.com/corporate/community/corporate-citizenship-report-2008.pdf (09.16.2009)
[425] http://www.hp.com/hpinfo/abouthp/histnfacts/timeline/hist_50s.html (09.11.2009)
[426] http://www.hp.com/hpinfo/abouthp/histnfacts/timeline/hist_50s.html (09.11.2009)
[427] http://www8.hp.com/us/en/hp-information/about-hp/corporate-objectives.html (03.01.2011)

According to my informant, the founders, Bill Hewlett and David Packard, liked to focus on human rather than material values, by keeping the interior and offices as simple as possible, in favour of emphasizing the comfort of their employees. As mentioned in chapter 4.2.3.2 HP was also pioneers in respect of flexitime, which they introduced in their German branch in 1967 and as the first business in USA in 1973. The philosophy of the founders was radically different from the traditional top-down management of most corporations, by emphasizing employee influence in decision making, and creating a management style known as the "HP-way". The corporation's focus on human values may be illuminated by some rules written by Dave Packard in 1958, which was found in his correspondence file;

> Think first of the other fellow. Build up the other person's sense of importance. Respect the other mans personality rights. Give sincere appreciation. Eliminate the negative. Avoid openly trying to reform people. Try to understand the other person. Check first impressions. Take care with the little details. Develop genuine interest in people. Keep it up.[428]

Due to their role as pioneers in new ways of organizing work, HP is often mentioned as an example within organizational theory, and according to Gareth Morgan, they have created a corporate culture marked by team spirit and a philosophy of human based innovation. A basic principal was to keep the work force together also in bad times, and encourage creativity and job enthusiasm, strengthened by social events where legends and stories on corporate heroes were told, in order to maintain the cultural values of HP. (Morgan 1992)

As mentioned in chapter 4.2.3.2, the founders were both personally engaged in nature activities, and the benefit of outdoor life. Due to this they also wanted to give their employees the opportunity to be in touch with nature during the working day, and included a small green wood on the corporate campus, named "Bill and Dave's Groove". The park is used for employee events, such as barbeque parties and games arranged to maintain the well being of the employees. In spite of a relatively discrete architecture, the corporation has a photo of the entrance of the oldest building, today housing the HP labs, on the second level on their website, HP Fast Facts, and which I as expressed in chapter 4.2.3.2 have interpreted as "the nose of a spaceship pointing forwards to the future". Obviously also HP emphasizes the symbolic value of this entrance, by displaying it on their website. The corporation take several steps to save energy,

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[428] http://www.hp.com/hpinfo/abouthp/histnfacts/timeline/hist_50s.html (11.09.2009)

including precautions applied to their building facilities. In 1975 they installed a solar heating system at their site in Sunnyvale, and constructed a wastewater system in Palo Alto.[429] The open work areas were also created for pragmatic reasons, as the buildings can easily be adapted to other activities if the business should fail.[430] Today similar strategies of the reuse of office buildings are looked upon as a sustainable quality.

5.2.3.3   *Chevron*

According to my informant, the architecture and the park between the buildings is very employee focused. Different activities and competitions are arranged in the park and the lake. The headquarters also contain indoor food facilities and outdoor tables. In respect of the well being of employees, the headquarters also contain a fitness centre. Chevron emphasizes the value of diversity and "human energy", and as described on their website, they offer; a "global and collaborative work experience", and a world of "opportunity, challenge and fulfilment" where employees can "...pursue goals, develop new skills, change career paths, and explore new horizons".[431] Chevron moved their headquarters from a skyscraper in downtown San Francisco to Chevron Park in San Ramon in 2001-2002 because they needed more space. Obviously the corporation do not look at the headquarters architecture as a brand value, as there are seemingly no photos of their headquarters on the corporation's website or it is not easily found. The headquarters has several environmental and energy saving precautions, among other Chevron is testing out four types of solar panels on the roofs of the headquarters buildings, which is included in a sustainability initiative to improve energy efficiency, material flow and the indoor environmental quality of their facilities.[432]

5.2.3.4   *JPMorgan Chase*

In respect of the comfort and job satisfaction for employees, the main goal of JPMorgan Chase is, as described at their website; to be "the best financial service company in the world", and in order to reach the goal the employees are "…committed to creating an open, entrepreneurial and dynamic workplace" that allows employees "to contribute to the best of his or her ability."[433] The corporation offers a wide range of programs to help the employees to "improve their skills", and to "grow in their career". When the bank moved in to the new

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[429] http://www.hp.com/hpinfo/globalcitizenship/environment/commitment/hp_environmental_history.pdf (09.10.2009)

[430] http://www.hp.com/hpinfo/abouthp/histnfacts/timeline/hist_50s.html (09.11.2009)

[431] http://careers.chevron.com/disciplines/index_of_disciplines/meet_our_people.aspx (03.01.2011)

[432] The Value of Partnership, Chevron Corporation 2009 Corporate Responsibility Report

[433] https://careers.jpmorganchase.com/cm/cs?pagename=Chase/Href&urlname=jpmc/careers/employeeprograms (02.28.2011)

headquarters designed by Skidmore, Owings and Merill in 1960, an objective that was pronounced by the president of the bank, David Rockefeller was, as quoted in Jacobson;

> We wanted to get away from the marble columns outside banks and from the image that bankers were glassy-eyed, hardhearted people. So we first determined that we would have a contemporary type of architecture. (Jacobson 1993)[434]

Although their headquarters building is historically interesting, there are no easily found photos of the headquarters on the corporation's website today. However at the present time JPMorgan Chase is building a new investment headquarters at the World Trade Center complex in Lower Manhattan, built by energy saving and environmental friendly principals to achieve LEED certification; Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design. At the present time they are also renovating their world headquarters in Midtown Manhattan, which as described by the corporation will represent "…the largest LEED-Platinum certified conversion of an existent commercial building in the world".[435] As described by the CEO and funding chairman of the U.S. Green Building Council, Richard Ferizzi; "JPMorgan Chase is demonstrating an extraordinary global leadership by connecting their values to their most visible asset – their buildings…" [436] In other words, JPMorgan Chase show environmental responsibility in respect of architecture both in their new building, as well as by upgrading the old headquarters to be energy saving and environmentally friendly. They also make environmental saving precautions in their other buildings, such as reflective roofs to eliminate heat island effects, low-flow fixtures to conserve water, energy-efficient and CFC free heating, ventilation and air condition.[437]

5.2.4   Japanese corporations

5.2.4.1   Sony

Sony describes a general desire to create work environments that enable employees "to fulfill their potential". As pronounced on their website;

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[434] Page 50
[435] http://www.jpmorgan.com/cm/cs?pagename=JPM_Content_C/Generic (10.13.2008)
[436] http://www.jpmorgan.com/cm/cs?pagename=JPM_Content_C/Generic (10.13.2008)
[437] JPMorgan Chase Corporate Responsibility Report 2008

> Sony strives to create dynamic workplaces where human rights are
> respected and equal employment opportunities allow individuals to
> make the most of their capabilities.[438]

The current slogan of Sony is "make believe". A photo that shows the upper
corner of the headquarters building with the name of the corporation is displayed
on their website, at the top of the site called "corporate info", which is placed on
the second level after the main site. Thus the architecture of the headquarters is
seemingly emphasized for its brand value. The new Sony headquarters is
designed and built by the principles of sustainable architecture, by using waste
heat from sewage water in the buildings heating and cooling system. As
mentioned in chapter 4.2.4.1 the sewage treatment plant with basins of sewage
water from the city is covering a large area to the side of the headquarters, and by
a heat pump connected to the sewage water plant, the headquarters is claimed to
reduce its estimated CO_2 emission with 70%, and 92% of its estimated clean
water consumption. The heat also stores electricity in a battery at night, which is
discharged during the day.[439] The energy saving project of Sony headquarters is
developed in cooperation with Tokyo Electric Power, after working together
since 1992.[440]

5.2.4.2 Panasonic Electric Works

The corporation is concerned about their human resources, and offers shorter
working days to employees to increase their job efficiency and arrangements
where senior employees are mentoring young employees. They also like to create
a comfortable workplace, and as pronounced by the corporation on their website;

> We aim to create an environment and a corporate culture that enable
> employees to combine "challenging work" with "fulfilling personal life"
> to "maximize their potential".[441]

As mentioned in chapter 4.2.4.2, an earlier name of the corporation was
Matsushita Electric Works Co. LTD, named after the founder of Panasonic
Corporation, Konosuke Matsushita. According to Morgan, the Matsushita
Electric Company emphasized the bonds between the welfare of the individual,
the company and the nation. The organization is regarded as a collective that the
employees belong to, as an extended family, with patriarchal leaders. (Morgan
1992) The philosophy of the founder was based on seven principals, as described

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[438] http://www.sony.net/SonyInfo/csr/employees/index.html (02.27.2011)
[439] http://www.leonardo-energy.org./print/3586 (09.02.2010)
[440] http://www.leonardo-energy.org/print/3586 (09.02.2010)
[441] http://panasonic-electric-works.net/csr/pdf/report2010.pdf (02.27.2011)

by the corporate museum; "Contribution to Society, Fairness and Honesty, Cooperation and Team Spirit, Untiring Effort for Improvement, Courtesy and Humility, Adaptability and Gratitude". (Kanosuke Matsushita Museum 2010)

As described in an exhibition text at the corporate museum in Osaka, the Panasonic Corporation aims to be "the No. 1 Green Innovation Company"[442] within electronic industries, which is also reflected in the values of Panasonic Electric Works headquartered in Tokyo. With the new headquarters Panasonic Electric Works has created;

> …a new corporate image in the 21st century", stating that "the entire building is an energy-saving system…the entire building is a showroom…the entire building is lightning equipment.[443]

As mentioned in chapter 4.2.4.2 the floors have a two layered open ceiling system with inclined ceilings that create a characteristic appearance of the buildings west side, and makes the building appear like a lantern. The building was constructed to integrate the sales and operation function of the corporation, "…as a strategic business base in the metropolitan area".[444] As stated a comprehensive energy-saving system is embedded in the architecture. Due to the energy saving technology of the building, the corporation has received many awards for sustainable architecture and excellence in lightning and energy saving technology, such as its solar panels on the roof, led lightning, air flow windows with double glass and automatic blind control. Among other they have received the Excellent Energy Saving Award in 2006, from the Japan Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry, as mentioned in chapter 4.2.4.2. It appears that the website of Panasonic Electric Works is on hold at the moment due to reorganization within the corporation, but the building is presented in several websites, with several photographs of the building.[445]

5.2.4.3   Fuji Television

Some connect the peculiar headquarters building of Fuji Television with their brand, presuming that the architecture signals creativity and innovation. The Fuji Television building is open to the public, who can visit the observation deck in the metallic ball called the "Sphere Observation Deck" 123,45 meters above the ground on their own, or as a part of an arranged tour in the building.[446] The

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[442] Konosuke Matsushita Museum Special Exhibition April 19 – June 30 2010.
[443] http://www.ibec.or.jp/jsbd/R/index.htm (02.15.2011)
[444] http://www.ibec.or.jp/jsbd/R/index.htm (02.15.2011)
[445] http://panasonic-electric-works.net/ir/news/pdf/IR101221_en.pdf (02.27.2011)
[446] http://www.brandcurve.com/corporate-headquarters-buildings-say-a-lot-about-brands/

headquarters of Fiji Television is visited by many people from Japan and abroad during the year, and appears as a tourist attraction with several food facilities and souvenir shops. The headquarters is also presented on the corporation's websites in an easily accessible introduction video, as a "creatively designed building", a Tokyo landmark and a tourist attraction that receives over six million visitors every year.[447] In other words, the corporation seems to be conscious about the brand value of their headquarters, and uses the headquarters actively to their advantage within their public relations program. Fuji Television is also occupied with environmental concerns, and as described on their website, they are; "…taking measures to reduce and eliminate greenhouse gases",[448] and support environmental saving activities.

5.2.4.4   Asahi Brewery

Although not connected to the architecture, but as described on their website, the Asahi Brewery; "…offer opportunity to innovative employees" and "encourage them to grow and demonstrate their capabilities".[449] The headquarters of Asahi Brewery has become an attraction because of its unusual form. As mentioned in chapter 4.2.4.4, the Asahi Tower with its golden-brownish glass façade seems to represent a beer mug with foam on the top, while the lower black and sculptural Asahi Beer Hall represent a glass of beer with a gigantic gold colored sculpture on the top, called "the golden flame" and claims to symbolize "the burning soul of Asahi", or as pronounced by the corporation on their websites; "a symbol of Asahi Brewery's dynamic heart".[450] The unusual and sculptural architecture has made the headquarters of Asahi Brewery; the Azumbashi Headquarters Building, become a popular goal for tourist and visitors, and among other it contains food facilities and a restaurant. The corporation has a photograph of the upper part of the Asahi tower on their main website, which means that the corporation emphasizes the brand value of their headquarters architecture. As described on their website, the Asahi Brewery is reducing their carbon emissions and recycles their waste in all their business locations.[451] The corporation also displays great environmental concern and has implemented comprehensive energy saving precautions in their production.

[447] http://www.fujitv.co.jp/en/player/en_playerJ.html?en/headquarters&type=flv (02.27.2011)
[448] http://www.fujitv.co.jp/en/about_us/csr.html (02.28.2011)
[449] http://www.asahibeer.co.jp/english/responsibility/pdf/csr/2010/summary10_e_employees.pdf (02.28.2011)
[450] http://www.asahibeer.co.jp/english/companye/summary.html (02.23.2011)
[451] http://www.asahibeer.co.jp/english/responsibility/pdf/csr/2010/summary10_e_environment.pdf (02.28.2011)

5.2.5 French corporations

5.2.5.1 *Total*

Total emphasizes employee job satisfaction, and makes efforts to optimize the employee relationships through surveys that are conducted every second year.[452] As revealed on their website, they offer "varied and motivating career paths", where the employees can develop their skills through "a wide range of training programs",[453] which can contribute to make employees advance in their job or discipline and as well they can change jobs within the corporation. They also aim to nurture "an attractive working environment".[454] But apparently the statements do not connect the job satisfaction to architecture, although employees may get questions on the buildings facilities in internal surveys. It is interesting to notice that a photo of the headquarters of Total is used on the corporation's website to represent their corporate profile, which means that Total seems to be aware of the brand value of their headquarters architecture.[455] Although the headquarters of Total is the highest building at the moment in La Defense, it is also "invisible", as an aim of the architects, Roger Saubot and Fransois Jullien, was to soften the presence of the building in the landscape, and thus it has been adapted to nature as "invisible", (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009) as described in chapter 4.2.5.1. The architects of Total headquarters in La Defense created an energy efficient building that today is more efficient than many of the other older skyscrapers in La Defense. (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009)

5.2.5.2 *Société Générale*

Société Générale is concerned with the comfort and job satisfaction of employees, although this is seemingly not related to architecture. As described on their website;

> …if you join, you will discover that our human relations policy is focused on developing your skills through career opportunities commensurate with your aspirations.[456]

The corporation also emphasizes the value of diversity among their employees. As mentioned in chapter 4.2.5.2 the towers of Société Générale are called the Tower Chassagne and Tower Alicante, named after the white stone of the French

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[452] http://publications.total.com/2009-rse/beevirtua/beevirtua_en.html#app=1477&adf3-lang=en&ccb3-pageId=0&9557-source=xmlConfs/init.zip (02.27.2011)
[453] http://careers.total.com/front/en_US/web/guest/employeur-total (03.01.2011)
[454] http://careers.total.com/front/en_US/web/guest/employeur-total (03.01.2011)
[455] http://www.total.com/en/about-total/group-presentation-940506.html (02.27.2011)
[456] http://careers.socgen.com/groupe/fr/evoluer/notre-philosophie/notre-philosophie.html (03.01.2011) (Translated by "Google automatic translation tool").

Chassagne and the red marble of Alicante, used respectively in each of the two towers. The third tower erected in 2008 is called the Tower Granite. (Lagard, Coupechoux et al. 2009) The inclined roofs of the towers make them distinguishable from the neighboring buildings, and two powerful beams light up the towers and make them visible at night.[457] The headquarters is not focused on at the corporation's website, but mentioned in their time line, and on corporate news sites, for example the Tower Granite, when it was certified for High Environmental Quality, HQE architecture in 2009, for its integrated energy saving precautions connected to recycling, water and waste, to limit the environmental impact of using the building.[458] The interior of the building is also described as flexible and may be re-arranged harmoniously to changing needs, which is also a sustainable quality.

5.2.6 Comparing objectives of emphasizing headquarters architecture

Matrix 11 shows the objectives of emphasizing the headquarters architecture, based on informal conversations, interviews, questionnaires, corporate publications and corporate websites. The information is limited, as most corporations do not reveal much about their headquarters architecture. As I also experienced, most of my key informants could only provide me with limited information about the architecture.

5.2.6.1 *To create a desirable work environment*

One quality most corporations have in common is that they are concerned about the work conditions of their employees, and make efforts to help employees develop their skills, pursue their goals and fulfill their potentials. But seemingly most of the included corporations are not connecting their concern about their employees to the architecture of their buildings, except for Telenor and HP. Telenor believe that the architecture of the headquarters contribute to increase the comfort and well being of employees, and increases creativity. Also HP emphasizes the comfort and well being of employees as an objective of their headquarters architecture; to make a pleasant and creative work environment, although this objective is connected to the architecture of the old headquarters building, today the HP Labs. Other corporations, such as Statoil, JPMorgan Chase, Sony, Panasonic Electric Works and Total use the words "work place" and "work environment" in their descriptions of the desired work conditions of

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[457] http://www.emporis.com/application/?nav=complex&id=102427 (12.15.2010)
[458] http://www.societegenerale.com/coulisses/la-tour-granite-devient-le-premier-immeuble (01.21.2010)

Matrix 11: Objectives of emphasizing the headquarters' architecture (continues next side)

	Desirable work environment	The brand factor	Environmental responsibility architecture
Telenor (2002)	The architecture shall create a stimulating and creative work environment. Several coffees and food facilities, fitness centre and services such as hairdressers and small shops.	Photos of the architecture on the website about Telenor. Contribute to corporate identity as a signal building. Reflect the leading position of Telenor.	Energy saving precautions. Remote heating from sea water.
Statoil (1975-93)	Promote a stimulating work environment to support the personal and professional development of employees. Coffees and food facilities. Sport, art and culture activities.	Seemingly there is no photo of the present headquarters on the website. (The brand factor seems to be emphasized more in respect of the new headquarters planned to be completed in 1012.)	Module system, to make way for expansion.
Oracle (1989-98)	Offers a work culture where innovation is a goal and creativity is rewarded. Several coffees and food facilities and a large fitness centre for employees.	Indirectly described on the timeline of the corporate website, together with photo-graphs. The objective is also that the towers shall shine like emerald towers. Building nr 100 is displayed in leading architectural magazines.	Energy saving precautions.
HP (1953-60)	The architecture shall contribute to a pleasant and creative work environment, to increase the comfort and creativity of employees. Prepare for collaboration. Prepare for nature employee activities. A work environ-ment that reflects their values.	Photo of the entrance of the old building on the corporate website, second level, P Fast Facts.	Environmental precautions, wastewater system. Flexible use, the buildings can be used to other purposes if the business should fail.
Chevron (1985)	Offers global and collaborative work experience, opportunity to pursue goals and develop new skills. Employee focused campus. Outdoor employee activities. Food facilities and fitness centre for employees.	Seemingly no photos on the corporate website.	Energy saving precautions, and solar panels.
JPMorgan Chase (1960)	Create an open entrepreneurial and dynamic workplace where employees can contribute with the best of their ability.	Seemingly no photos of the headquarters on the website. To change image and appear as less hard hearted through a new type of bank building.	The headquarters is being totally renovated with energy saving precautions to achieve LEED-certificate.

employees on their websites, but without connecting this directly to the buildings or the architecture. Some mention their sports and food facilities when talking about the work conditions. It is difficult to find statements about the corporations' objectives of the architecture in respect of the comfort and job satisfaction of employees, which may be due to a traditional low conciseness about the potential benefits of architecture, although this seems to be changing, in respect of the new headquarters that are erected today. So far it seems to be more usual for corporations to make statements on how their art collections shall contribute to create a desirable work environment, than how the architecture of their headquarters shall contribute to this.

Matrix 11 (continuing): Objectives of emphasizing the headquarters' architecture

	Desirable work environment	The brand factor	Environmental responsibility architecture
Sony (2006)	Create dynamic work places that allow employees to fulfill their potential and make the most out of their capabilities.	A photo of the upper corner of the headquarters building with the Sony name is displayed on the corporate info site, the second level on the website.	Energy saving building. Reusing sewing water.
Panasonic Electric Works (2003)	Create a comfortable workplace and enable employees to fulfill their life and maximize their potential.	Presented on several other websites, because of its energy saving system. Light up the district at night like a lantern. (Corporate website not available at the moment)	Energy saving building. Awarded as environmental friendly building. Solar panels and led lightning.
Fuji Television (1996)		Presented by photos and videos on their website. A tourist attraction open to the public, with food facilities and souvenir shop. Has become a landmark of Tokyo.	Take measures to reduce and eliminate greenhouse gases.
Ashai Brewery (1989)	Offer employees to grow and demonstrate their capabilities.	A photograph of the Asahi Tower decorates the top of their main website. Head-quarters with the golden flame of Asahi, is a tourist attraction and often visited landmark.	Reduces carbon emission and recycling waste in all their locations.
Total (1985)	Create an attractive work environment. Develop the skills of employees.	Photo on the corporation's group presentation site, the third level on their website. Total Tower is the highest tower in la Defense.	Energy efficient building.
Sicièté Générale (1995+2008)	Develop the skills of employees in harmony with their aspirations.	Photographs on the second layer and mentioned on the timeline on the corporate website, and a photo of the architectural model. The towers are named Tower Alicante, Tower Chassagne & Tower Granite	High environmental quality and precautions. Tower Granite is HQE certified. Flexible use in Tower Granite.

5.2.6.2 *The brand factor; a symbolic representation of the business*

It would appear the corporations are conscious about the brand factor of their headquarters architecture, although this differs. To look at how architecture is regarded as a brand factor, I have also examined the websites of the corporations, to see if the headquarters or the architecture is mentioned or displayed in photographs. Here I found that most of the corporations have photos of their headquarters on their websites, except Statoil, Chevron and JPMorgan Chase that appear to have no photos on their websites, unless they are hidden on a lower level of their website hierarchy, and not easily accessible. It is interesting however to notice that these three headquarters are among the oldest included here, mainly erected between 1960 and 1985, although the headquarters of Statoil has expanded until the beginning of the nineteen nineties, in a similar style as the previous. The headquarters architecture is most emphasized on the website of Fuji television in an easily accessible introduction video, and on the website of Asahi Brewery, where a photo that displays the top of the Asahi Tower is used as a decorative element at the top of their main website, while they describe the

architecture of their headquarters on the second level of their website. Also Telenor, Sony, Total and HP have relatively easily accessible photos of their headquarters on the second or third level of their websites; HP displays a photo of the "space ship like" entrance of their old headquarters building, as mentioned in chapter 5.2.3.2, which is interesting, since this is also the part of the HP architecture that I ascribe a symbolic meaning to in chapter 4.2.3.2. Also Oracle and Société Générale have photos of their headquarters on their websites, placed on the timeline, or further down in their website hierarchy.

The variety of how the architecture of the corporations' headquarters are displayed on their websites gives an indication of how they regard the brand value of their headquarters architecture. Here the brand value is seemingly most emphasized by Fuji Television and Asahi Brewery, which are both tourist attractions, while it seems to be least emphasized by Statoil, Chevron and JPMorgan Chase. However, the new headquarters of Statoil may be more emphasized in respect of its brand value, and presumably also the headquarters of JPMorgan Chase after rehabilitation, as the International Style of their headquarters represents an interesting historical epoch within architecture. An objective when it was erected in 1960 was that the building should inform people that the bank was less hard hearted than banks in old classical bank buildings, often erected in stone and concrete, and provided with features of Greek temple architecture; columns and gable roofs. The latter is actually so common that many associate columns and temple gables with bank buildings, which mean that this feature has been assimilated in many people's imagination as a "typical bank structure", similar to how Jencks describes how people associate pre-cast concrete grills with garages, (Jencks 1991) as described in chapter 4.1.3.1.

5.2.6.3 *Environmental responsibility; sustainable and green architecture*
One common obligation that is shared by most corporations today, is the emphasis on environmental responsibility, and steps to prevent climate change and secure biodiversity through energy saving precautions, anti pollution practices and the recycling of materials both in respect of industrial production, by supporting a variety of environmental saving activities and to make energy saving precautions in their headquarters and office buildings. All of the included corporations perform and support environmental saving activities in different ways within these three fields. Here however, I focus on how environmental saving precautions are included in their headquarters architecture as mentioned previously. All of the included headquarters except of Statoil reveal that they have different kinds of environmental saving precautions installed in their headquarters. Sony and Panasonic Electric Works seems to have the most

environmental friendly headquarters, with comprehensive energy saving technology integrated in the architecture. Seemingly also Telenor and the Granite Tower of Société Générale have energy saving technology embedded in their architecture. These four buildings are also among the newest here, completed in 2002 (Telenor), 2003 (Panasonic Electric Works), 2006 (Sony) and 2008 (Granite Tower of Société Générale), and as mentioned in chapter 4.2.6.4, the most environmental friendly technology for buildings, is mainly developed after 2000, and is still at a developing stage. In other words, the newer the building the better energy saving technology is applied.

An interesting aspect of the present headquarters of Statoil is that it consists of modules, and can easily be expanded. A similar objective of the HP architecture is that it may easily be used for other purposes if the business should fail. Also in the description of Granite Tower at the headquarters of Société Générale, it is remarked that the areas are designed for flexible use. Today the possibilities of expansion, reuse and flexibility are also considered to be sustainable architectural values, or as one may say, a return to common old fashioned values, as the headquarters of both Statoil and HP are among the oldest buildings included here, while the Granite Tower of Société Générale is actually the newest.

In addition to the positive effects on the environment, which are indeed good, an interesting aspect in respect of environmental saving precautions in headquarters and office buildings is to how this seems to have become "the new brand value" of corporations, as this quality is looked upon as desirable by most people today. Obviously the new environmental concern has several explanations; such as 1) new knowledge among corporations on the common threat and consequences of climate change, 2) new laws that regulate emission of harmful gases and chemicals and 3) the public opinion that demands corporations to "turn green", which is also a social signal that reflects the "global zeitgeist" of our time. It is interesting to notice how the environmental concern marks most of the large corporations today, as well as most cultures around the world, although the environmental concern started among small protest groups only some decades ago, struggling against strong resistance to be heard.

5.2.7   Summary and a tentative conclusion

As we can see, most of the included corporations are concerned about the work conditions of their employees, although they do not seem to connect the comfort and job satisfaction for employees directly to the architecture, except for Telenor and HP, who consider this to be an objective of their architecture. Both of them have also easily accessible photos of their headquarters on their website; HP of

the entrance of their old headquarters building. Seemingly Statoil, Chevron and JPMorgan Chase have no photos of their headquarters on their websites. These are also among the oldest headquarters included here. It appears that all of the other corporations have photos of their headquarters on their websites, which means that they in a variable degree are conscious about the brand value of their headquarters architecture. Fuji Television and Asahi Brewery seems to be most conscious of the brand value of their headquarters architecture, Asahi Brewery with a photo of the Asahi Tower at the first site on their website, Fuji with a presentation video of their headquarters. All of the corporations show high environmental responsibility, also in respect of their headquarters by energy saving precautions applied to old buildings, or embedded in new buildings. Here Sony and Panasonic Electric Works seems to have the most comprehensive energy saving precautions at the moment, as these are embedded in the architecture of both headquarters. Also Telenor and Tower Granite at the headquarters of Société Générale have high environmental friendly precautions embedded in their architecture. These four buildings are also the newest buildings included here, completed in 2002, 2003, 2006 and 2008, and as mentioned above, the newest and most efficient energy saving technology that can be integrated in architecture, are developed after 2000, and is still at a developing stage. An interesting aspect of the new environmental friendly headquarters is that this advantage seems to become an important new brand value of corporations, as well as the brand value of headquarters architecture as such also seems to have increased during the last decades, as described by Bahamón et al. (Bahamón, Cañizares et al. 2009)

PART IV:
The Influence of Culture

6   Cultural Similarities and Diversities

6.1   NATIONALITIES CULTURES AND MENTALITIES

In my research questions I ask; is it possible to expose cultural similarities and diversities of corporate art and architecture in Norway, the USA, Japan and France by examining different qualities of the visual appearance of art and architecture in corporate headquarters, and the objectives of collecting art and emphasizing the architecture of corporate headquarters. While the visual appearances of corporate art and architecture are analyzed and interpreted in the perspective of the flanêur, the objectives of collecting art and emphasizing the headquarters architecture are analyzed and interpreted in the perspective of the business. In the following I will look at how the similarities and diversities that are revealed within these two perspectives can be related to culture.

In this context culture refers to the culture of the country where each corporation is founded, with common cultural values and customs in respect of art and architecture. As described in chapter 1.3.3, culture is a term with multiple layers of meaning, which appears from the micro level of the society, such as the family culture or class culture, to the macro level, referring to the culture of a society or of a nation. The different levels of cultures are both independent and interrelated, as the culture on the macro level affects cultures on the micro and mezzo level. While Bourdieu is occupied with social classes, and how culture in terms of the arts; visual art, music, theatre, literature and so on manifests in the different social layers, or in the room of social positions in the form of cultural capital, (Bourdieu 1995) Schein has studied the different aspects of corporate cultures. (Schein 1999) Hofstede distinguishes between what they call "culture one", which is referring to the narrower sense of culture including the arts, such as education, visual art and literature, and culture in a wider sense, "culture two", which refers to the society. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)

In this context I suggest that corporate cultures are cultures between the micro and macro level of the society; the mezzo level. In a Micro-macro perspective, Hofstede's culture one, the arts and the educational field seems to be on the

mezzo level, while their culture two, referring to a society, a nation or a region seems to be at the macro level. In the table below, I illustrate how the different layers of culture may be seen in a micro-macro perspective:

Matrix 12

Cultural levels		Cultures within
Micro	Family culture	Social classes, habitus
	Personal groups	Gender, age, friends
Mezzo	Corporate cultures	Businesses and industries of different types and sizes
	The arts (Hc1)	Visual art, architecture, theatre, music, literature etc.
	Education (Hc1)	Educational institutions of different types and levels
	Religion	Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Shinto, Judaism etc.
	Other areas (Media, Healthcare, Law, etc.)	
Macro	The society (Hc2)	Nations, Regions, Ethnical territories

I have also discussed the "spirit" of corporate cultures, which diverges in respect of the founders, the leaders, the society and time period in which they are established and develops. In respect of the time factor, I have used the metaphor "zeitgeist" to describe the spirit or the atmosphere of corporate cultures, which also refers to the mentality within a particular society and time period, as also the mentalities similar to what is described as the zeitgeist changes from culture to culture and over time. The mentality of cultures also affects the members in each culture. Hofstede claims that there is a significant diversity in the mentality of people from different nations. They name this mental diversity as "mental programming", which varies in respect of the different cultures where people grow up. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) In other words, the society and the environment we are brought up in leads to a mental programming that we carry with us through our lives, and which consists of patterns of feeling, thinking and acting, developed from early childhood with the impact of our family, friends, neighborhoods and schools, and continues in the workplace and in the community where we live as adults. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)

According to Hofstede, the keyword for the mental programming is culture. As mentioned above, they distinguishes between what they call "culture one", which is referring to the narrower sense of culture such as education, art and literature, and culture in a wider sense, "culture two", which refers to the society as a whole. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) Hofstede claims that "culture two" affects the way we relate to the narrow sense of culture "culture one". As described by Bourdieu, education, and the cultural and environmental impact in the childhood and adolescence of a person provides different levels of cultural capital, incorporated in each person's habitus, resulting in the person's mental and physical behavior. (Bourdieu 1995) But while Bourdieu is concerned with the

social classes within the society, and how our affiliations to social classes affect our cultural capital, Hofstede talks of culture two as a collective phenomenon:

> Culture (two) is always a collective phenomenon, because it is at least partly shared with people who live or have lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learned. It is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)[459]

Hofstede claims that cultural features are learned, and not inherited through our genes. Thus culture must be distinguished from the human nature, which is what all human beings have in common, inherited from our genes and independent of culture. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)[460] An interesting aspect of this is how we often talk about specific features that characterize people from different countries such as "typical Norwegian", "typical French", and so on. The reason for this may be the embedded differences in the cultural patterns of populations and groups of people from different nations or regions, which according to Hofstede is remarkably stable. Earlier such diversities were often attributed to heredity, both by philosophers and others, because as pronounced by Hofstede; "…they underestimated the impact of learning from previous generations", (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)[461] and the transfer of the same cultural patterns to future generations.

According to Hofstede, cultural differences manifest primary in four ways, as; 1) symbols; words, gestures, pictures or objects that carry a particular meaning within each culture, 2) heroes; real or imaginative persons who serve as role models for good behavior, 3) rituals; collective activities considered as socially essential, such as different forms of greetings and religious ceremonies and 4) values; sets of opposite qualities with a positive and negative side, such as good versus evil, clean versus dirty, beautiful versus ugly, normal versus abnormal and so on. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) While the three first manifestations are practices, the fourth manifestation is the values; the core of the culture, providing the first manifestations that every child learns implicitly. Hofstede considers that children have usually established their basic value system by the age of 10. Because the values are acquired at such an early age, many of the values remain unconscious for the holders. Thus the cultural acquired values are difficult to observe and discuss by outsiders, they can only be revealed by observing how

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[459] Page 5
[460] Also personality diverse from culture, but may be seen as partly inherited and partly learned.
[461] Page 6

people from different cultures behave in different situations. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)

This means that people belong to different groups and may carry several layers of mental programming that corresponds with different levels of culture which may be national, regional, ethnic, religious, linguistic, gendered, generational, social class related, organizational or corporate.[462] (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) The levels of culture that are described by Hofstede, are similar to how I see cultures in a micro-macro perspective. Here it is useful to notice the levels of cultural affiliation, such as the national level that may be crucial when analyzing cultural similarities and diversities of corporate art and architecture. Also the social class and the cultural capital of founders, leaders or decision makers involved in art collections and the headquarters architecture is relevant here. As mentioned above, in her examinations of corporate art collections in the US, Martorella found different taste cultures with specific style preferences. (Martorella 1990) This is harmonious to what I found in my examination of art in four Norwegian corporations, where I looked at the different art preferences as depending on a different "corporate habitus". (Hagen 1999) As described by Schein, it is usually the founders or central leaders of corporations that import their values and visions that decides the development of the corporate culture. (Schein 1999)

Also the gender level is represented here, as in the visual analysis of art collections and headquarters architecture, based both on gender roles and the gender representation within art and architecture, and how the visual expressions of the art collections and headquarters architecture are interpreted as gendered. When examining why art collections and headquarters architecture actually turns out to be gendered, one should also look at the preferences of the founders and decision makers, which may be influenced by a masculine or feminine culture. As claimed by Hofstede, in societies where the culture of the male population differs from the culture of the female population, the opposite genders are not carrying the symbols that correspond with the heroes of the other gender, and do not participate in their rituals. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) As a result of this, the founders and decision makers in respect of collecting art, or who influence the architecture of a new headquarters are also marked by the culture of his or her gender in the current society, which again influences which art or architectural styles that they select for their corporations. In the industrialized societies the symbols and rituals of businesses have traditionally belonged to the male sphere, and although many women participate in the business world today, males are still dominating as leaders and decision makers within the management of

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[462] Other levels can be added.

corporations, which means that corporate values and visions are still mostly decided by males.

According to Hofstede, "nations" as political units are a recent historical phenomenon, introduced in the twentieth century. They are not equal to societies that are organic social organizations with common cultures. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) People are often more affiliated to their group, their tribe or their local society than to their nationality. Still many nations form historically developed totalities, because the system of nations was based on the former colonial system developed through the preceding 300 years. As a result of this, many countries have, or continue to develop a dominant national language, a national educational system and so on. Thus also nationality represents a considerable source for mental programming of their citizens. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) In a survey presented in 1980, on the values of people from more than 50 nations working in the local subsidiaries of IBM, Hofstede found that the effects of national differences in the answers were distinctive, particularly within these four dimensions; 1) Power distance, based on; "social inequality, including the relationship with authority", 2) Collectivism versus individualism, based on; "the relationship between the individual and the group", 3) Femininity versus masculinity, based on; " concepts of masculinity and femininity; the social implication of having been born as a boy or a girl," and 4) Uncertainty avoidance, based on; "ways of dealing with uncertainty, related to the control of aggression and the expressions of emotions." (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)[463] In addition, a fifth dimension mentioned by Hofstede is identified in a study of 23 countries by Michael Bond: 5) Long time orientation in life, versus short time orientation (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)[464]

These different national dimensions may be useful when comparing corporate art and architecture in the current countries. According to the findings of Hofstede, the general scores for these diversities among IBM employees from Japan, France, the USA and Norway are: (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005)[465]

Matrix 13

	Power distance index (104-11)	Individualism index (91-6)	Masculinity index (95-5)	Uncertainty avoidance index (112-8)	Long time orientation index (118-16)
Norway	31	69	8	50	
USA	40	**91**	62	46	29
Japan	54	46	**95**	**92**	**80**
France	**68**	71	43	86	

[463] Page 13-14
[464] Unfortunately France and Norway is not included in Bonds study on Long time orientation.
[465] The table is based on separate indexes presented in the book.

Several features of cultural diversity between people from different nations can be analyzed by these indexes. They indicate that the power distance to leaders seems to be highest among French employees, and lowest among Norwegian employees. This means that Norwegian employees may have more familiar relations to leaders than French employees, while hierarchical structures may be stronger in France. Individualism seems to be highest among US employees, and lowest among Japanese employees. The high individualism among US employees may relay on several conditions; the USA is a democratic country with high personal freedom, the self confidence among Americans may be particularly strong because of their leading position within the Western culture, international businesses and as a military superpower. But as claimed by Morgan, it may also be explained by the American way child-raising, where self confidence is highly valued as a basis for independence and strength, which according to Morgan is obviously also a part of a "we are number one - syndrome", which is also reflected at work, where people are encouraged to assert oneself, applauded by leaders. (Morgan 1992) Finally, it may also be explained by a high competitiveness between people, because of the low security in respect of public health care and social systems. Also Norwegian and French employees are relatively individualistic, which may be explained by the Western culture, marked by democracy, freedom and economic wealth. The relatively low individualism of Japanese employees may be explained by stronger traditions for collectivity in Japan than in Western countries. This is also supported by organizational theories, for instance by Morgan, who claims that Japanese work organizations are looked upon as a collectivity, an extension of the family, as mentioned in chapter 5.2.4.2. According to Morgan this seems to rely on historical factors and, referring to the Australian journalist Murray Sayle; that Japanese corporations combines the cultural values from the rice fields where people had to collaborate because the soil was limited and the rice season was short, with samurai ideals that explains the strong bonds within Japanese corporations. (Morgan 1992)

It is interesting to note that the masculinity index is highest among Japanese employees and relatively high among American employees. Cultural traditions in respect of gender roles are still strong in Japan, which means that the main task for all males is to work, without the same restraints on females, who are more expected to stay at home after marriage and child birth. While the Japanese male role may be understood in light of the Samurai image, the male role in the US may be marked by macho ideals and images of the Cowboy, the Gangster and the Mafia boss, as manifested in Western movies and cowboy icons such as John Wayne and "the Marlboro Man", and recently in the TV series "the Sopranos". In

spite of the Nordic and masculine Viking image, the masculinity index is particularly low among Norwegians, which indicates that gender seems to be less significant for Norwegians than for people from Japan, USA and France. This may be due to the high gender equality ideals in Norway, which is even stronger today than at the time of the IBM study presented in 1980, and regulated by law to secure gender equality within different areas of the society. Also among French employees the masculinity index is lower than for Japanese and US employees, which means that gender may be less important in respect of work to French people than for Americans and people from Japan. The relatively low masculinity index may be due to relatively high gender equality in France, which may be a result of changes in the French society in the wake of the political student riots in Paris in 1968, which contributed to increase the radicalism in French society, already represented by thinkers such as Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, who indeed put a major focus on the suppression of females, in her book about "the second sex". (Beauvoir and Moi 2000) However, the French culture is also often characterized as more feminine than other European cultures, probably because of the development of the French Baroque in the sixteen hundreds as displayed in the Versailles Castle, and the Rococo in the seventeen hundreds, which is characterized as a feminization of the Baroque. Today this particular "French feminism" is displayed in the American film director Sofia Coppola's movie from 2006; "Marie Antoinette", which led to a giant global feminine fashion trend among women of all ages, and which is still present in fashion shops today, in 2011.

The need of uncertainty avoidance is high among Japanese and French employees, and much lower among US and Norwegian employees. High uncertainty avoidance among French employees may be connected to the greater power distance to leaders, which may indicate that traditional hierarchical structures are still strong in France, and gives employees less influence on their jobs, which also includes their job security. Long term orientation is high among people from Japan, and relatively low among Americans. The tendency of greater uncertainty avoidance and long term orientation in Japan may be explained by the long term contracts in the labor market, which was the norm at the time of the study and to a great extent still is. This may also be seen in light of the high masculinity index, as the traditional gender roles have been stronger in Japan up to the present time than in the Western countries. The strong position of the family and family traditions is still present in Japan today, among other expressed by a low occurrence of divorce.

The cultural differences between people from different cultures were demonstrated in a documentary film at a Norwegian TV-channel in 2008. It showed how the Norwegian architect agency Snøhetta, who designed the new Oslo Opera house, and the new library of Alexandria, was negotiating for the Ras Al-Khaimah-Gateway Project in the United Arab Emirates, a conference and exhibition centre in the desert 150 km east of Dubai, which is planned as a part of the development of a new city.[466] While the Nordic architects from Snøhetta argued for a low building in order to integrate the architecture with nature by adapting it to the flat desert surroundings, the Arab leaders and negotiation partners asked for a more visible architecture that was raging high against the sky. They wanted the building to be visible from a long distance, functioning as a signal building for the new city project. While integration with nature was emphasized by the Nordic architects, visibility was emphasized by the Arabs. This particular occasion is of course not an exhaustive evidence of the cultural diversity between Norwegians and Arabs. However on the other hand, Norwegians are known for being modest and humble rather than resplendent, although Norway today is considered to be one of the wealthiest countries in the world, similar to the wealth of the Arab nations, mainly due to large deposits of oil. By the way, the modest and humble attitude of Norwegians is also more feminine than masculine, in accordance with the gender dichotomies described by Bourdieu. (Bourdieu 2000) As expressed in the findings of the IBM study; the gender equality orientation of Norwegians may also contribute to a more feminine attitude among Norwegians than many other nationalities, although the male domination is still present in Norwegian art and architecture, both in respect of the male representation among professional artists and architects, and the masculine coded visual expressions within art and architecture.

The findings in Hofstede's IBM study is relevant here among other because it shows how Japanese people appear more oriented to traditional values than people in Norway, the USA and France, Americans seems more individualistic oriented than people in Norway, Japan and France, while Japanese people are less individualistic and more collectively oriented. Hierarchies at work are strongest in France, while gender has little to say for Norwegians in respect of employment, but much for Japanese people, or in other words, gender equality is strongest in Norway, and weakest in Japan among the countries included here. Based on the IBM study, it is also possible to construct a typology to express the most typical cultural features and mentalities of people from the countries included here; 1) Norwegian individualist and gender equality orientation, 2)

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[466] http://www.snoarc.no/#/projects/21/false/all/image/553/ (02.11.2010)

American individualist, short time and male orientation, 3) Japanese traditionalist, collective security, long time and male orientation, 4) French hierarchy, individualist, security and low male orientation. These nationality based mentalities may be illustrated as following;

Matrix 14

	Job hierarchy orientation	Individualist	Gender	Certainty needs	Long time orientation
Norway	Low	High	Equality	Medium	
USA	Medium	Very high	Male oriented	Medium	Low
Japan	Medium	Medium	Male oriented	High	High
France	High	High	Low male orientation	High	

6.2 SIMILARITIES AND DIVERSITIES IN CORPORATE ART

In the following I will present similarities and diversities that appears first in the visual qualities of the art collections, thereafter among the objectives of collecting art, and which can be related to mentalities and particular cultural features within the included countries, or which may be "cross cultural" and independent of culture. To a certain extent this may also appear as an extended summary of the analysis on the art collections in chapter 2 and 3, applied with the perspective of culture. Just to repeat, the (originally) included art collections are; 2 Norwegian: Telenor and Statoil. 5 from the USA: Oracle, HP, Chevron, JPMorgan Chase and Davis Wright Tremaine. 3 Japanese collections: Panasonic Electric Works, Idemitsu and Bridgestone, and 2 French collections: Cartier and Société Générale. As it will appear, only collected art that represents a collection is included in the following.

6.2.1 The flâneur perspective

As shown in chapter 2.2, by analyzing and interpreting the observed visual qualities of the included art collections in Norway, USA, Japan and France from the perspective of the flâneur, several features contribute to form patterns. As the Oracle art cannot be regarded as a collection, I totally analyzed 11 corporate collections, although the lack of an art collection may also signal messages about a corporation and a corporate culture, as discussed in chapter 2.2.3.1. All of the included collections are founded after World War II. While two US and two Japanese collections were founded in the post World War II period, from 1952 through the sixties, all the Norwegian and French collections were founded after 1984, which also apply to two of the US collections and one Japanese collection

that were founded after 1985. It is interesting to note that all of the "older" collections here are American and Japanese, while all the Norwegian and French collections are "younger". In this context this represents diversity between on the one side the USA-Japan and on the other side Norway-France, that can be illustrated as follows:

Matrix 15

US and Japanese art collections	"Older" collections from the post World War II period (Also also some "newer" collections)
Norwegian and French art collections	"Younger" collections from after 1984

The interesting thing here is that both USA and Japan developed to become the leading countries within high tech and industry after World War II, and because of this the "older" collections may reflect a similarity between the USA and Japan that distinguishes these countries from European countries such as Norway and France. Indeed this may also be a coincidence as the similarities in respect of the "age" of the collections that is pointed out here cannot be generalized, as other Norwegian corporations such as "Norsk Hydro", of which a branch is merged with Statoil, started to collect art in the nineteen thirties, (Hovdenak and Smit 1996) while Freia started to collect art in the nineteen twenties. (Freia 1988) Similarly in the USA, as described by one of my informants, an American art advisor; the Cleveland Railway started to collect art in the beginning of the nineteen hundreds, and both IBM and Progressive in Ohio started to collect art in the nineteen thirties. An interesting aspect of corporate collecting is that it seems to be a phenomenon that appears in limited and separate time periods which may differ from country to country, and at the same time it may be influenced by international trends.

A feature that may be related to culture is that all the Western corporations, except of one, Chevron, collect contemporary art, here labeled "new art", while all the three Japanese corporations mainly collect early twentieth century art, or antique art, here labeled "old art". This means that a similarity between the Norwegian, US and French corporations is that they collect "new art", while the Japanese corporations collect "old art" which also makes the Japanese collections appear with an expression of nostalgia. This may be underpinned both by the Japanese culture, where old traditions live side by side with high tech and hypermodernity, and by the findings of Hofstede, where Japanese people seem to be more long term oriented than for instance people from the USA, and with the highest needs of certainty among the nationalities included here. (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) This may be related to the long term and "life time" job contracts that has been the norm in Japanese industries up to the present, although this is

claimed to be changing. Opposite to nostalgia, "new art" in the Western collections signals a present time and future orientation. Another distinctive feature of the Japanese collections is that they are all located in internal art museums within the headquarters of the corporations, while all the Western art collections, except one, Cartier, is integrated in the headquarters of the corporations.

A third feature that apparently differs between Western and Japanese art collections, is that the Japanese collections seems to be "cleansed" of provocative art, while two Norwegian, one of the US and one French collection seems to contain, or have displayed artworks that may be provocative and potentially offensive, or they include some artworks that are not offensive, but created by controversial artists. Summarized, the observed features that make the Japanese collections diversify from the Western collections in this context are; "old art", an expression of nostalgia, internal art museums and "pure art". Opposite; qualities of the Western collections that diverge from the Japanese are the "new art", future orientation, integrated art and occasionally a few examples of controversial art or art made by controversial artists. To illustrate;

Matrix 16

Japanese art collections	"Old art" (Impressionism/Post Impressionism/Fauvism/ antique art), nostalgia, internal museum, "pure art"
Western art collections; Norwegian, US and French	"New art" (Contemporary), future oriented, integrated in headquarters, most "pure art" but some controversial works

Although this cannot be generalized, as also several corporate collections in the West contain "old art", from the early nineteen hundreds and before, it is interesting to note the interest of early twentieth century art, and particularly French art in the Japanese collections, as this is also underpinned by what seems to be a general interest in such art in Japan.

Another feature that may relate to culture is that one Norwegian, one US and one Japanese collection mainly collect national and regional art, Statoil, HP and Idemitsu. Presumably Statoil started to collect art around 1985, while Norway was in the early stages of becoming an oil-state, and the society was marked by national interests, and thus the collection reflects the zeitgeist of the Norwegian society at that time, as disussed in chapter 2.1.3. Similarly the national and regional character of both the HP and Idemitsu collections may also be related to the time they started to collect art. Presumably both started in the nineteen sixties, while both the US and the Japanese society was still in the post World War II period, when people in most countries were preoccupied with restoring their societies, and the need for protecting national interest was probably at a

high level in both countries. The latter is the case also for the JPMorgan Chase collection, which has an international character, at the same time as it may reveal national interests, because of its great number of artworks from the Abstract Expressionism and the following styles that evolved in New York after World War II, where the abstract styles represented an opposition both to the figurative Soviet art, and to the Nazis preference of figurative Romantic art, as discussed in chapter 2.1.5.1. Here we can also add the Bridgestone collection, which is both national and international, founded in the post war period in 1952 and with an expression of nostalgia, which may also be explained by the time period it is founded. In other words, the similarity between these five collections is that they are founded in periods when the respective societies were vulnerable, when the need of national protection was particularly high, illustrated as follows:

Matrix 17

Norwegian collection	National & regional	Early stage of becoming an oil-state
US collections	National & regional	Post World War II period
	National & International	
Japanese collections	National & regional	Post World War II period
	National & International	

Another quality that may be interesting to compare in light of culture is gender. Most of the included collections appear as masculine, more than feminine, except for two of the US collections; Chevron and Davis, Wright, Tremaine, and two Japanese collections; Idemitsu and Bridgestone, which are all interpreted as "mixed", as the main impression of these collections is that they are both masculine and feminine. Here I use the term "mixed" as "androgynous" is hardly a suitable expression for art collections. The collections of Chevron and Idemitsu, both oil corporations, contain arts and crafts, and many of the objects are connected to female and home activities and represent feminine objects such as textiles made by or for women. Also many of the included works of visual art have feminine qualities; small to medium sized, emphasizing harmonic compositions with soft forms and colors. Here it is particularly interesting that two of the Japanese collections are interpreted as mixed, since as showed in the IBM study, and discussed above, the male orientation in Japan seems to be strong, and one could expect most art collections to be masculine. On the other hand, family values and traditional gender roles are also strong in the Japanese society, and it is possible to see a connection between the mixed gender expressions of the current collections, long time orientation and the needs for certainty, values that the traditional gender roles and the emphasis on the family institution in Japan contributes to maintain. As mentioned one of the US collections; Chevron, contains a lot of female objects similar to the collection of Idemitsu, such as textiles and home utilities. In respect of the mixed collection in

the US, this may reflect that family values are also strong in the US; where similar to the Japanese male orientation may contribute to strengthen traditional gender roles also in the US. Opposite to Japan, the certainty needs revealed in the IBM study among Americans are moderate; the same is the case with long term orientation. Cultural similarities and diversities in respect of gendered art collections and values among the included nationalities can be illustrated as in the following;

Matrix 18

Norwegian collections	2 Masculine	High gender equality, Medium certainty need
US collections	2 Masculine and 2 Mixed	Male oriented, Medium certainty need, Short time orientation
Japanese collections	1 Masculine and 2 Mixed	Male oriented, High certainty need, Long time orientation
French collections	2 Masculine	Low male orientation, High certainty need

In this perspective it is also interesting to notice that all of the Norwegian and French collections appear as mainly masculine, in spite of the low male orientation among people from both of these countries. This may both reflect how slow the change towards gender equality appears in the society, and as shown in the presentation of the respective collections, they are all still dominated by works of male artists, which is also reflective of how the art world itself is still dominated by male artists.

6.2.2   The business perspective

Also in respect of the business perspective of art collections, it seems that there are several similarities and diversities that can be addressed to culture. Seemingly the greatest cultural diversity between the objectives of collecting art is between the Japanese and the Western corporations. While all of the Western collections are integrated in headquarters and office buildings, except for one of the French; Cartier that is gathered in an external art museum, all the Japanese collections are gathered in internal art museums located in the headquarters of the corporations. All of the Japanese corporations express a social concern for "all people" as a main objective for collecting art, including employees and people in the public. Their internal art museums are also open to the public, in order to enrich people's lives, and for the welfare of "everyone". Two of the Japanese corporations also arrange intimate concerts and cultural events in their art museums. The interesting thing here is how this corresponds with findings in the IBM study; opposite to people from Norway, the USA and France, people from Japan are less individualistically oriented, and the most collective oriented people among the four nationalities. As expressed above, Japanese people also seems to be long

term oriented, have a high need of certainty, and also family values are stronger in Japan than in the other included countries. This may be illustrated as follows;

Matrix l9

Norwegian collections	Integrated in the headquarters, To increase creativity and make the corporations appear as innovative	High individualist orientation
US collections	Integrated in the headquarters, To engage and challenge employees, To reflect and encourage diversity	Very high individualist orientation = lowest collective orientation
Japanese collections	Internal art museums, Open to the public, To enrich the life of all people	Medium individualist orientation = highest collective orientation
French collections	Integrated in the headquarters, To increase creativity and make the corporation appear as innovative	High individualist orientation
	External art museum, Open to the public. To appear as dynamic and intellectual	

One similarity between the French and Japanese collections is that one of the French collections, Cartier, is also gathered in an art museum open to the public, although this is an external art museum, functioning as an independent museum, accessible for everyone. Similar to the internal Japanese art museums also Cartier is visited by many tourists. The two Norwegian corporations and one of the French express that an important objective for collecting art is that the art shall contribute to increase the creativity of the employees, and appear as innovative to the surroundings. It is also striking how "the creativity and innovation objective" of the art collections match with the high individualist orientation among people from Norway and France.

Two of the US corporations express that the art shall be engaging and challenging to their employees, and two also express that an important objective is to reflect or stimulate diversity. Both of these; Chevron and JPMorgan Chase, have an international art collection, and both operates in many countries around the world. They also purchase art from the countries where they operate. Here it is particularly interesting to notice the expression of emphasizing diversity, as this both reflects their international orientation, and it may reflect the American society, with a population that is more ethnically diverse than most other populations on earth. Seemingly the brand value of the art collections is most expressed by the Norwegian and French corporations, which like to appear as innovative and future oriented to their surroundings, or as in one case, Cartier; as intellectual and dynamic. One may wonder if also this similarity may rely on the high individualism among people in Norway and France. Most of the corporations support art in different ways by purchasing art, supporting art education, or education and cultural activities in general as part of their social

responsibility program and are collaborating with art museums and other corporate collections which also represent a cross cultural similarity between the included corporations. Some of the corporations diverge in respect of this; JPMorgan Chase that apparently supports art education most directly, while Cartier and Société Générale mention patronage in various degrees, as one of the objectives of their art collections. An interesting aspect of the French corporations' emphasis on art patronage, seen in light of the high job hierarchy orientation among French people in the IBM study, is that hierarchy also presupposes a "patron figure" on the top of the hierarchy.

6.3 SIMILARITIES AND DIVERSITIES IN HQ ARCHITECTURE

Here I will present similarities and diversities that appear in the visual qualities of the headquarters architecture before I present the objectives of emphasizing the headquarters architecture among the included corporations, and how this can be related to mentalities and cultural features within the included countries, as well as it may be cross cultural or independent of culture. In one way this may also appear as an extended summary of the analysis on the headquarters architecture in chapter 4 and 5, including the culture perspective. Just to repeat, the included headquarters are; 2 Norwegian: Tenenor and Statoil. 4 from the USA: Oracle, HP, Chevron and JPMorgan Chase. 4 Japanese: Sony, Panasonic Electric Works, Fuji Television and Asahi Brewery. 2 French: Total and Société Générale.

6.3.1 The flâneur perspective

When analyzing the architecture of these 12 headquarters in Norway, the USA, Japan and France, it is interesting to notice that five of the headquarters, representing all the included nations, are interpreted as Post Modern buildings, Telenor in Norway, Oracle in USA, Asahi Brewery in Japan, Total and Société Générale in France, all basically built between 1985 and 2002.[467] All of these buildings are also marked by a symbolic expression, here interpreted as ducks, and what I have called duck-relatives, with features of duck architecture, which mean that they appear as signs that signal their content. The same five buildings are also interpreted as androgynous or masculine and feminine, in respect of gender. Obviously it is a close connection between Post Modernism and gender, as all of the Post Modern buildings seem to be embedded with both masculine and feminine qualities. This also appears in all of the included countries and

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[467] Tower Granite at Société Générale is built in 2008, but in a similar style as the previous towers.

apparently independent of culture. Post Modernism is also claimed by theorists such as Hassan, to be androgynous or polymorph. (Hassan 1986) In other words, the Post Modernist style, the duck-based architecture and the androgynous or masculine-feminine expression of these five buildings represent a cross cultural similarity between these headquarters. While half of the headquarters in Norway (1) and USA (2) may be interpreted as architectural ducks or duck-relatives, the others are not within these categories, although it is possible to observe that also these headquarters may symbolize other objects. In respect of gender, the three Japanese headquarters that are not Post Modern, but identified as Neo Modern, High Tech and one with features of Modernism and Metabolism, are all interpreted as masculine. Similarly the three Modernist headquarters in the USA are also interpreted as masculine, and one of the Norwegian headquarters that represents Modernism and Structuralism, while none of the French headquarters are interpreted as masculine. This means that the masculine feature of Modernism, Neo Modernism and High Tech architecture is also a cross cultural similarity within architecture.

In respect of appearing as a sign of the business, some diversity may rely on culture, as all of the four Japanese and the two French headquarters seem to be architectural ducks or duck-relatives, as they in various degrees appear as signs that signalize the businesses. At the same time three of the Japanese headquarters appear as masculine, a quality that represent an interesting connection to the IBM study that shows that there seems to be a high male orientation among Japanese employees. The two French headquarters are both androgynous, which also correspond with the IBM study that shows a low male orientation among French employees, although this may be a coincidence, as both of the included French buildings are Post Modern, which as discussed above increases the potential of being embedded with feminine features. The connections between style, embedded symbols and gender in the included countries can be illustrated as follows;

Matrix 20

Norwegian HQ	Duck	Post Modernism	Masculine & feminine	Gender equality
	Other	Modernism	Masculine	
US HQ	Duck	Post Modernism	Androgynous	Male oriented
	Duck-relative	Modernism	Masculine	
	Others (2)	Modernism	Masculine	
Japanese HQ	Duck	Post Modernism	Androgynous	Male oriented
	Duck	High Tech	Masculine	
	Duck-relatives (2)	Neo Modernism/ High Tech	Masculine	
French HQ	Duck/-relative (2)	Post Modernism	Androgynous	Low male orientation

The correlations that appear above cannot be generalized. But still it is interesting to note that both the Post Modern French headquarters are androgynous, and at the same time there seems to be low male orientation among French employees in the IBM study. This applies also to the Post Modernist headquarters in Norway, where gender equality seems to be particularly high. In respect of what I have mentioned as transparency and "new glass walled architecture", it is interesting to observe that eight of the included headquarters are "glass-walled" and appear in all of the included countries. Most of these buildings are relatively new, built between 1985 and 2008, and seemingly the new glass walled architecture today that is particularly represented by Neo Modern buildings, is an international trend that appears in every country, and represents a similar architectural feature that is independent of culture. It is interesting to notice how the Neo Modern glass architecture independent of culture seems to adopt features from Modernism, while Post Modern architecture usually adopt features from older times and before Modernism. No wonder by the way, as the term Neo Modern implies a return to Modernism, similar to the way in which Neo Expressionism within art implies a return to Expressionism.

A cross cultural similarity that will probably appear more in future headquarters architecture is environmental friendly and "green architecture". One of the included headquarters diverge from the other in respect of this; Sony completed in 2006, where the energy saving technology is particularly visible, as the headquarters is located to the side of a large sewage water plant that provides the building with electricity. An interesting aspect of the environmental friendly architecture of the Sony building is that it may reflect the Japanese culture represented by Zen Buddhism, as the architecture of Sony is almost literally entering into a symbiosis with "nature" in the form of biological waste, in order to protect nature and biodiversity. Although the interaction with nature may be more closely intertwined with cultural traditions in Japan than in the other included countries, the tendency today to erect more and more environmental friendly architecture is also a cross cultural and international phenomenon.

In respect of the territorial aspect of corporate architecture, in the meaning of representing a local area, a nation or a region, as well as borrowing features of local, national or regional architecture, eight of the headquarters may in different ways contribute to national identity. This is also a similar feature of these headquarters, independent of culture. Still it is interesting to notice that particularly two of the Japanese headquarters seems to appear more as landmarks than the other headquarters; the Asahi Brewery and Fuji Television, because of their unusual and sculptural form that differs mostly among the included

headquarters. However, the three types of cultural independent qualities discussed above are; 1) new glass walled and Neo Modern architecture, 2) architecture that includes environmental saving precautions and 3) architecture that contributes to national identity. All these features appear in a similar way in all the included countries, although some of the qualities, environmental concern and the identity factor appear stronger in some of the Japanese headquarters; Sony (2), Asahi Brewery (3) and Fuji Television (3). These similarities can be illustrated as follows;

Matrix 21

	Glass walled architecture	Environmental precautions	Contributes to national identity
Norway	x	x	x
US	x	x	x
Japan	x	X	X
France	x	x	x

6.3.2   The business perspective

In respect of cultural similarities and diversities in the corporations' objectives in emphasizing the architecture of their headquarters, particularly a few objectives diverge. As most of the corporations are concerned about the working conditions of their employees, this is a similar feature in all countries, although few seem to relate this concern to their headquarters architecture, except for Telenor and HP who connect this directly to the architecture. In respect of using their headquarters architecture as a brand value, the Japanese corporations seem particularly conscious about this, as they present their headquarters architecture more directly on their websites than the Western corporations. This corresponds with how the architecture of some of the included Japanese headquarters contributes to create national identity as landmarks, although many corporate headquarters in Western countries are also landmarks. Still an interesting feature of Japanese corporations is that architecture and business seems to be more closely intertwined in Japan than in Western countries. This may be explained by the high collective and long term orientation in the Japanese society, as well as high certainty needs, by using architecture to strengthen the identity of corporations as well as the connection to society.

One objective that is shared by most of the included corporations independent of culture is to demonstrate environmental responsibility, as also described above in chapter 6.3.1. This is an objective connected to corporate architecture as well as industrial production that seems to be global and independent of culture, although ideas about architecture that interact with nature is more intertwined

with cultural traditions in Japan than in the other included countries. An interesting aspect of environmental responsibility is that it seems to have become "the new brand value" for many corporations.

The objectives that are expressed directly or indirectly by the included corporations in respect of emphasizing the architecture of their headquarters and the way this relates to culture as well as mentalities in the included countries, here in respect of how the corporations connect their headquarters architecture to the well being of employees, the corporate brand and environmental concern, can be illustrated as follows (each x counts for one headquarters, strengthened by upper case in corporations where the features are particularly present);

Matrix 22

	Well being of employees	Brand value	Environmental concern
Norway	x	x	Xx
USA	x	xx	Xxxx
Japan		XXxx	XXxx
France		xx	Xx

6.4 CONCLUSION

When I started this work my intention was to examine corporate art and architecture in USA, Japan and France, but during the work also Norway was applied after pilot studies here. I wanted to examine how cultural similarities and diversities appeared in corporate art collections and headquarters architecture in each country. In the beginning I had the idea of being an explorer, as I only had vague notions on what I would find. Indeed I had made a study on art collections in four Norwegian corporations in my Master Thesis some years ago. But then the focus was narrower and different. The field I was going to examine this time was "overwhelming" and some did not embrace the idea, while I was deeply encouraged and supported by many others.

In my early pilot study in Norway, when entering the field "as an explorer"; I observed some interesting qualities that I thought were worth looking closer at. The first of these qualities I became aware of was architecture that appeared convincingly as gendered. A similar thing happened in respect of observing art collections. In advance I had realized that architecture and art collections were not directly comparable, as the building structure of a headquarters is one unit, while an art collection represents several units. But when I visited the first collections, I realized that each collection had its own expression, as if it was one unit, which I soon started to think of as "the personality" of the collection, and as

we have seen the personality of art collections diversify a great deal. My early observations helped me to refine my research questions, which have remained practically unchanged through the rest of the study, and have been a useful tool as a corrective and served as a reminder; to put me back on the track when I have lost the direction.

As I am both a sociologist and a visual artist, I had decided in advance of the study that I wanted to examine both the visual appearance of art and architecture, and the objectives of collecting art and emphasizing the headquarters architecture. This became the two basic perspectives of the study, which I soon labeled as "the perspective of the flanéur" and "the perspective of the business", looking at art and architecture from these two views. As I was also looking for similarities and diversities that could be related to culture, this became the third perspective of the study, which in this context is the superstructure of the other two, not to confuse with the Marxian superstructure.

As a theoretical approach to my empirical examination on corporate art and architecture in each country, I have first discussed different qualities of art and architecture in general, supplied with examples. After these discussions, I have presented and analyzed the visual appearance and objectives of 12 (or 11) art collections and 12 headquarters in light of the preliminary theoretical discussions. During the analysis the qualities are treated as variables or categories that have been subject to comparisons. The theoretical discussions and empirical analysis are applied with nearly 200 photos mostly taken by myself, to illustrate and illuminate examples and empirical cases. In respect of this, photography represents a significant part of the project. In relation to indoor art, I have only applied photos from cases where I have been allowed to take photos, or have been provided with photos from the corporation or a contact person affiliated to the business. After discussing and analyzing art and architecture separately through the chapters 2 - 5, I have discussed the perspective of culture in chapter 6.1, including cultural determined mentalities that reflect how culture influences the behavior of people from different countries, as well as looking at particular features of the cultures, before I have seen the findings in the foregoing analysis and interpretations of art and architecture in light of the cultural features in each of the included countries.

In respect of some of the qualities, or here; categories that are analyzed both visually and in comparative cross case analysis, I do see some problems with some of them, for instance; what is actually "gendered" in respect of art and architecture? Here I have used the dichotomies presented by Bourdieu, which are

historically assimilated in the Western society as the "valid gender qualities", which means that they are also clichés, of the kind that women's liberation movements have tried to conquer for generations. However I have also revealed "what everyone knows"; that the greatest amount of represented artists and architects are males, which is still a fact, while the gender clichés are hopefully; fiction, although we should be aware of that "feminine" qualities are also repressed, equally to females. Also the quality labeled as "personality" of art collections is somewhat problematic, as this is also actually a "superstructure" that in reality inherits several of the other qualities, although some of these, such as gender are treated here as a separate quality. Instead the personality of art collections are defined as reflecting the society, the time period and the corporate culture in which they are established, labeled as "the zeitgeist" of that particular time and culture, which is also a well known metaphor.

In the following I will present the main findings and patterns that appear in the study as a whole, based on the most outstanding features in each country put together and illustrated as follows (here some of the most diversified features are highlighted in bold characters);

Matrix 23

	Art collections		Architecture		Culture	
	Visual appearance	Objectives	Visual appearance	Objectives	Mentality	Society
Norway	Contemporary Masculine Integrated in HQ	Well being of employees Brand value Support art	Masculine Urban-industrial	Environmental responsibility	Low job hierarchy **Gender equality** High individualism	**Developing oil-state** High social security
USA	Contemporary Masculine Integrated in HQ	Well being of employees	Masculine **Park campus**	Environmental responsibility	Male oriented **Very high individualism** Low longtime orientation	**World power** Low social security Male values
Japan	**Nostalgic** Mixed Foreign art Museum in HQ	**Public orientation** Support art for society	**Symbolism** Masculine Glass walled Urban-industrial	Environmental responsibility **Brand value**	**Lowest individualism** Male oriented High certainty need High longtime orientation	**High collectivity** Strong cultural traditions Strong family values
France	Contemporary Masculine **Global** Integrated in HQ	Well being of employees Brand value **Patronage**	Symbolism **Androgynous** Glass walled Urban-industrial	Environmental responsibility	Highest job hierarchy High individualism **Low male orientation**	Strong cultural heritage **Radicalism**

This study is, as mentioned, too limited to generalize the findings, as many of the features that are revealed may be coincidental, and not representative for the "population" of art collections and headquarters in the respective countries. Still several interesting patterns have appeared in the theoretical discussions and empirical analyses of the study. In the analysis above where corporate art and architecture is seen in light of culture, I have already compared several qualities among the included cases and nationalities. There are many clear similarities that appear that seems to be relatively independent of culture such as; 1) the symbolism in particularly Post Modern architecture as well as 2) the androgynous gender expressions within Post Modern architecture, 3) the environmental responsibility precautions applied in corporate buildings in all of the included countries, which is a relatively new and striking quality that seems to have become "the new brand value" of most corporations. Another similarity is that 4) most corporations that actually "collect art" also have mostly high quality art, as well as 5) the architecture of most corporate headquarters also represent high quality architecture. 6) Most of the collections are masculine, and represent 7) none offending art. All of the included countries are 8) industrialized with, in general, wealthy economies, as well as all of the included corporations possesses 9) high economic capital. This applies also to 10) cultural capital that are communicated through high quality art collections and high quality headquarters architecture.

The greatest diversity that may rely on culture seems to be between Japan and the Western countries. 1) While most of the corporations in the West collect Contemporary art that mostly represent male artists and appear as masculine, as well as the collections are mostly integrated in the headquarters, Japanese art collections are nostalgic and more mixed in respect of gender and are gathered in internal art museums. 2) While most of the Western corporations emphasize the well being of employees as the major objective of collecting art, Japanese corporations offer art experiences both to their employees and to the public. 3) Within architecture Japan seems to emphasize symbolism more than the Western countries, and use their headquarters more as a brand value than the corporations in the West. 4) Seemingly Japanese people are also more collective oriented and emphasize cultural traditions and family values more than people in the West, which also correspond with the nostalgic and collectively oriented art collections, symbolism in architecture and the emphasized brand value of their architecture.

In respect of each of the included countries, we have seen that 1) Norway has become a wealthy oil state that corresponds with high individualism, high quality art collections and high quality architecture in new headquarters. Norway has

greater gender equality, but this is not reflected in the art collections that seem to be mainly masculine, while it is partly reflected in the architecture of one of the headquarters, although here the feminine features adapt to traditional gender roles, and are subordinated to masculine features. 2) Obviously the "very high individualism" of people from the US corresponds with the superpower position of the USA, which is reflected in mostly high quality architecture and high quality art in corporations that collect art. The male domination corresponds with some contemporary masculine collections, and mostly masculine architecture. 3) The high collectivity of Japanese people and emphasis on traditional and family values corresponds with the public oriented art collections gathered in internal art museums, nostalgia, long term orientation and symbolism in architecture, which is also a brand value. 4) Presumably the French radicalism corresponds with low male orientation, androgynous architecture and global oriented art collections. An interesting aspect here is the emphasizing on patronage, which may correspond with the highest level of job hierarchy among the included countries.

Above all, an interesting observation when studying corporate architecture in the included countries is that contemporary Japanese architecture seems to be particularly brave and playful. The collective orientation among Japanese people that is shown in the IBM study, and pointed out by several authors, also corresponds with my findings within corporate art and architecture, as corporate art collections and headquarters architecture in Japan seems to approach the society at a higher degree than in the Western countries. The notion of collectivity also reflects a necessity in Japan, with a population of nearly 130 million people gathered in a relatively small area. Sadly, while writing these conclusive lines of my study, Japan has been hit by a major earthquake and tsunami. While watching the sad and shocking news on television, it struck me how the collective spirit among the Japanese people is demonstrated by the collective behavior and a rationality marked by great dignity, in the way the Japanese people deal with the catastrophe.

I should also mention how the high quality art collections and headquarters architecture of many of the included corporations visually contributes to create work environments that in principal are coherent with the demands of Ruskin, Morris and their like-minded in the Arts and Crafts Movement of the late 1800s, as described in chapter 1.1.1, although they were actually antagonistic in respect of the industrial development, which they meant led to the decline of the quality of arts and crafts. In our time however, it must be fair to claim that we do have art and architecture of brilliant quality in spite of a high developed industrialism. Or as we might say, because of the Bauhaus school that contributed to change the

resistant of industrial production within arts and crafts in favor of increasing the quality of industrial design as well as it influenced artist and architects in the first part of the 1900s. Although it is difficult to measure the real impact of high quality art and architecture in respect of the well being of employees and the success of a corporation, such environments hardly harm the business, unless the art is particularly offending and people are harmed by a dysfunctional architecture. Therefore, as I have mentioned above, if employees "feel" that the visual environment increases their well being at work that is also a benefit.

Finally, it is time to ask; to what extent does the study answer to my research questions? To repeat, these were; is it possible to expose cultural similarities and diversities of corporate art and architecture in Norway, the USA, Japan and France by examining: 1) the visual appearance of art and architecture in corporate headquarters, 2) the objectives of collecting art and emphasizing the architecture of corporate headquarters? I believe I have answered these questions to a great extent within the approaches I have chosen for the study, and within the frame of time and resources for this project. My approaches are some of many potential ways to approach the issues expressed in my research questions. As mentioned in the introduction, I was not able to get the optimal access to all of the included cases, and to a great extent I have had to rely on corporate publications and websites, particularly in respect of architecture, as most of my informants seemed to have more knowledge on the art collections than of the architecture. In respect of my limited access to the corporations, combined with the fact that the field is overwhelming in its size, my findings are not exhaustive, and indeed not possible to generalize. Still I believe that some of the issues that have been brought forward through the theoretical discussions and empirical analysis and interpretations can make a basis for building theories within the field, and hypothesis that may be used in further empirical examinations.

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