

# COMMUNICATION YEARBOOK 6

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edited by  
MICHAEL BURGOON  
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International Communication Association



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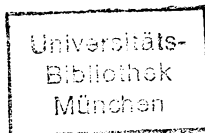


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## THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION

*Communication Yearbook* is an annual review. The series is sponsored by the International Communication Association, one of several major scholarly organizations in the communication field. It is composed of 2,500 communication scholars, teachers, and practitioners.

Throughout its 33-year history, the Association has been particularly important to those in the field of communication who have sought a forum where the behavioral science perspective was predominant. The International Communication Association has also been attractive to a number of individuals from a variety of disciplines who hold communication to be central to work within their primary fields of endeavor. The Association has been an important stimulant to the infusion of behavioral concepts in communication study and teaching, and has played a significant role in defining a broadened set of boundaries of the discipline as a whole.

The International Communication Association is a pluralist organization composed of eight subdivisions: information systems, interpersonal communication, mass communication, organizational communication, intercultural communication, political communication, instructional communication, and health communication.

In addition to *Communication Yearbook*, the Association publishes *Human Communication Research*, the *ICA Newsletter*, and *ICA Directory*, and is affiliated with the *Journal of Communication*. Several divisions also publish newsletters and occasional papers.

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## 25 ● Office Technology: A Report on Attitudes and Channel Selection from Field Studies in Germany

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**T**HE purpose of this chapter is to explore possible impacts new technologies of office communication might have on the structure of organizational communication.<sup>1</sup> Rapid progress in microelectronics has produced a variety of new technical communication channels for office use. Some of them, such as viewphone, video conferencing, integrated text, and fax services, are expected to enter the commercial arena of office communication in the distant future. Currently, other new channels are being implemented or are about to be introduced, such as telecopy services (fax, facsimile), telephone conferencing, computer conferencing, electronic messaging, and videotext. Their diffusion, however, is not yet much advanced.

Our research focuses on some new technologies of this latter group, mainly on new electronic channels for written (text) communication. These new media will enrich the spectrum of existing channels in organizational communication (face to face, telephone, classic mail, telex, and sometimes telecopy contacts).

Availability of more facilities allowing electronic mediation of information will change the patterns of organizational communication. These changes and their possible consequences deserve scientific attention. Most people spend a remarkable proportion of their lifetime working and communicating in organizations or communicating with organized institutions. It is widely accepted that our construction of social reality as well as the

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modes of relating to each other depend to a substantial extent on communication experiences made in everyday life (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Therefore, possible structural changes in organizational communication patterns caused by new office communication technologies could affect persons' way of life. Furthermore, quality of social life also depends on the effectiveness and efficiency of organizations. As far as those are affected by new office technology, indirect impacts on the way of life may occur.

## MAJOR PROPOSITIONS ON IMPACTS OF NEW OFFICE COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY

To simplify, speculations about expected consequences the availability of new text-oriented electronic media would produce can be divided into three contrasting groups. They represent different schools of thought about functions of technologies and organizations in society.

### Proposition I: Revolutionary and Advantageous Changes in Office Communication

According to this position new electronic text media would not only replace the old text communication channels mail and telex and thus enable written organizational communication to become faster and more efficient, but this technological development would also substitute the new media for a large proportion of oral communication in organizations, especially of telephone and face-to-face contacts regarded as particularly time-consuming and costly. Assuming a task-oriented, rational perspective on organizational communication, a diminution of face-to-face and oral communication in favor of telecommunication and written information is believed desirable, since most verbal communication tends to be a prolix nuisance.

The phone also shares a problem with all speech communication: the information density of speech is very low. Generally, the electronic transmission of speech requires about 60,000 bits per second. These 60,000 bits of speech carry about the same information as 15 characters of written text. . . . But you can transmit 15 characters directly as text by transmitting only 120 bits of information, rather than 60,000 bits of speech. If you insist on transmitting speech you are transmitting 500 times too many bits. And these bits have to be paid for. In a very fundamental sense, speech is not an economic medium of communication. (Marill, 1980, p. 185; see also Merrihue, 1960, p. 179; Turoff, 1973)

New electronic text media seem to share all the desirable properties necessary to overcome the shortcomings of oral communication. They are

fast, they document the information content, they are asynchronous, and they provide these qualities at low cost and over almost any distance between sender and receiver (e.g., Uhlig, Farber, & Bair, 1979; Panko, 1980).

New structural configurations for innovative organizational decision making could emerge (Witte, 1976; Szypperski, 1979, p. 161ff). By means of new communication technologies, decentralized autonomous groups could pursue their work effectively without risking organizational disintegration (Witte, 1977, 1980). Thus organizational functioning could become more independent of location restrictions (Goddard, 1971), even including "working at home" (Goldmark, 1972). Ultimately, the technological development would lead to a more effective reconciliation of individual needs and organizational demands.

Such prospects are, of course, attractive. They nourish expectations of a rapid development of market demand for new communication technologies.

#### Proposition II: Modest Changes of Organizational Communication

However, one quickly thinks of an analogue to the above predictions. The Management Information System (MIS) euphoria of the 1960s and early 1970s made many similar promises which, for the most part, remained unfulfilled. That movement was also driven by a rational approach trying to match demand and supply of information in organizations with the help of upcoming new information technology (Argyris, 1971; Kirsch & Klein, 1977; Feldman & March, 1981). Therefore, one hesitates to accept fully the view of a technological revolution of office communication.

Skepticism derives from two interrelated sources. Social psychological and related research underline the functional importance of nonverbal aspects in face-to-face communication. Developing a "social meaning" and establishing social relations would require face-to-face contacts (Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967; Argyle, 1969). In organizational communication requirements of that kind are manifold — for example, developing trusting relationships among members, coordinating the information for performance of complex and dynamic tasks, creatively solving complex problems, motivating members, and evaluating performance.

On the other hand, recent economic theory of organization shows that firms are concerned mainly with situations heavily involving these functions and, thereby, with sensitive communication problems. The emergence of business organizations can be explained by market failure considerations. Those economic exchanges (transactions) are carried out within the firm which would be too complex and too expensive for market

coordination (Arrow, 1974; Williamson, 1975; Picot, in press). Market exchange principally demands the possibility of codifying goods, services, and conditions involved. Whenever this is not feasible (or only at extremely high costs), and if the intended exchange should still take place, the parties involved integrate and build some kind of (hierarchical) organization (firm). Thus, the internal organization of business firms handles the more complicated transactions of an economy. Typically, these internal transactions call for an information exchange which only to a lesser degree can be translated into, for example, written codes. Consequently, symbolic interaction and social presence — that is, oral and face-to-face communication — are inevitable and most important requisites for successful goal achievement in organizational communication. In the field of communication with other locations and organizations, the new technologies could also replace the old text media which, according to this theory, cover a larger proportion of the whole external communication. Thus transactions with the environment could be facilitated.

Given this picture, and assuming that at present channels are selected according to their specific strengths, the second proposition would expect that new communication technologies will substantially replace existing text communication channels (mail and telex) and will only marginally affect channels of oral communication (telephone, face to face). However, to that extent organizational communication could become faster and better organized. Taking the organization as a whole, these changes would be incremental rather than revolutionary. In addition, development of future markets will be relatively slow.

### Proposition III: Social and Economic Hazards

Yet one may also have reason to argue that there are dangers involved with the upcoming new communication technologies. The business world could widely adopt the first proposition's expectations, hoping for a more rational control of organizational behavior. It could design organizational communication systems, making extensive use of the new technologies and permitting transmission of task-oriented information almost exclusively through new technical channels. Consequences could be harmful in several respects: Coordination of complex tasks and solving of difficult problems would decline. Even if a Tayloristic redesign of jobs had been undertaken in advance, adaptability to external change would decrease while an increase of external control over individuals could be expected. In any case social structure of organization and need fulfillment of members would suffer, since there would be less chance of developing trusting social relations. That is why isolation of individuals could increase. Similar arguments are advanced by Weizenbaum (1980a, 1980b) regarding social impacts of information technology. Furthermore, depending on accessibil-

ity of the new communication technologies, one could fear a widening gap between information rich and information poor within large organizations and among industries or countries (Katzman, 1974).

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to explore the empirical justification of expectations delineated above in more depth, one should try to answer the following questions.

1. What general attitudes do managers show toward new office technologies in general? Answers to this question could point to problems or changes new office communication technology will face when entering organizations.
2. What determinants influence the choice of communication channels? In concordance with Pye and Young, we believe the "next step forward in the hierarchy of predictive methodologies is to take individual selection acts and seek the empirical determinants of choices" (Pye & Young, 1980, p. 7). Improving our empirical knowledge about channel decisions will result in a better understanding of to what extent new channels will replace old ones. Reflecting our earlier discussion of socioemotional and rational functions of organizational communication, it seems useful to subdivide this problem into two components (Communication Studies Group, 1975, p. 18):

2a. Cognitive (rational) determinants of channel selection

2b. Affective (emotional) determinants of the selection act.

Answers to these questions will help us in clarifying what task-oriented as well as affective conditions channels — in particular new text-oriented electronic media — are likely to be accepted as a communication tool in organizations. Only then we can tackle the following question:

3. What potential for substitution between channels can be observed in organizational communication, and what changes in communication patterns do people demand?

Having shed some empirical light on these questions we will, finally, be able to draw some general conclusions with respect to the above propositions about impacts of new organizational communication technologies.

## SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD STUDIES

The above research questions are included in a larger research program sponsored by the German Department of Research and Technology. This project aims at an assessment of impacts of new office communication technology on organizational structure and job characteristics evaluating the new teletex technology in several field experiments (Picot & Reichwald, 1979).

## Teletex Technology

Teletex as a new electronic communication service of Western European and many overseas countries will be officially opened during the next three years, starting in 1982. The teletex system belongs to the family of electronic mail or electronic messaging systems. It integrates features of electronic information and word-processing devices with an advanced and comfortable electronic telex machine. Main characteristics are listed below.

- by means of electronic storage (mail basket) and automatic dialing, the functions of word-processing (typewriting) and text communication operate independently.
- accessibility and compatibility to the nationwide and worldwide well-established telex system, increasing the new service's attractiveness as a communication tool for the business world and for public administration.
- high transmission speed: 2400 bit/sec., more than thirty times faster than the old telex system; transmission of a keyboard's standard repository of symbols.
- simple standard layout (CCITT standards) with a mandatory printer and a modest storage capacity so that the device could be affordable on a large scale (quick market penetration and surmounting critical mass limits); screen and other additions only optional.

## Sample

The field consists of four suborganizations in two large private companies (insurance and electrical manufacturing) with some thirty locations throughout West Germany and West Berlin. Eighty teletex stations (preliminary versions of the teletex-technology allowing internal organizational use only between one organization's stations) were installed in this field, supplemented by telecopy (facsimile) facilities.

Participants in the investigations are 640 users having access to these stations, of whom 40 percent are technical and scientific personnel and 60 percent hold positions in business, finance, and other administrative functions. A breakdown by hierarchical level shows that approximately 50 percent are lower-level managers, 40 percent middle-level managers, and 10 percent high-level managers. Included in the study are 150 operators, especially secretaries.

## Method

In order to answer our questions and to control other factors as exactly as possible, we had to develop a rather complex package of research instruments containing some twenty different tools. These range from expert interviews and various questionnaires for managers and secretaries over simply structured self-report measures (checklist-crossing in order to assess certain frequencies of information and communication) up to objec-

tive measures (counting of mail, telex, and teletex contacts, etc.). More detailed information about the research instruments is available on request.

## RESULTS

The following results represent some first analyses of the data collected in the field. As collection of data was completed only very recently, the preliminary character of the reported findings should be stressed.

### Attitudes Toward New Office Technology in General

Based on attitudinal questionnaire data ( $n = 629$  users and 147 operators) we found an interesting tension between a favorable general attitude toward technological innovations in offices (Proposition I) and a skeptical view of the specific personal consequences to be faced when technological change in offices occurs (Proposition III).

On one hand, a large majority of managers and secretaries (80 percent) articulate a positive opinion on new office technology in general, especially on its contribution to more effective task performance. A majority (52 percent) do not fear substitution of their labor or major dequalifications of jobs. At the same time, higher educational requirements to be met in order to cope with technological changes are expected (70-80 percent).

On the other hand, there exists a widespread fear of unfavorable consequences for respondents' own work situation. Most (60 percent) are afraid of increasing impersonal work atmosphere, augmentation of written communication, and growing bureaucratic structures, all caused by new office technology.

These findings seem valid, since they were obtained in an organizational environment already well equipped with decentralized office technology allowing individuals to base their judgments on analogous experiences.

Following the first preliminary results from a factor-analysis (PCA with VARIMAX-rotation) no clear attribution was to be found whether the expectation of increasing written communication would be related to the expectation of increasing impersonal cooperation or to the expectation of better task performance. (The preceding factor-analysis as well as all following were computed by the SPSS subroutine "FACTOR." Further details about these analyses are available on request.)

## Choice of Communication Channels

## COGNITIVE DETERMINANTS OF CHANNEL SELECTION

In a first step we put together a list with possible work-related problems faced by organizational communication. These requirements had been collected from textbooks and discussions with practitioners. The list was extensively pretested, leaving twenty-one items which seem to have general significance as criteria shaping the process of organizational communication.

Then we asked managers to evaluate each requirement's general work related importance on a three-point scale. Figure 25.1 shows the results.

Unambiguity, speediness, exact wording, and reaching somebody seem to be the most important criteria to be met in order to solve communication problems in organizations. On the other hand, confidentiality and protection from faking do not play the role one would expect when following public debates in Europe.

In a next step we asked users to rate the six channels available to them (telephone, face to face, mail, telex, telefax, teletex) on a six-point scale ("1" being the highest rating) considering each channel's ability to fulfill the requirements mentioned above. First and still preliminary factor analyses (PCA and VARIMAX-rotation) of the data for each channel show that there might be four major factors involved when evaluating task-oriented functions of communication channels:

- Factor A: *Promptness* comprising items "speediness," "comfort," "capability of quick response," "transmission of small information volume"
- Factor B: *Complexity* comprising items "resolving disagreements," "transmission of unambiguous content," "transmission of difficult content," "certainty of reaching the wanted receiver"
- Factor C: *Confidence* comprising items "confidentiality," "protection from faking," "identification of sender"
- Factor D: *Accuracy* comprising items "exact wording," "capability of documentation," "easy processing by receiver," "transmission of large information volume"

These factors explain between 90 and 100 percent of the answer variance depending on the type of channel. Their order of contribution to variance explanation changes from channel to channel. Factor C, however, never exceeded a third rank.



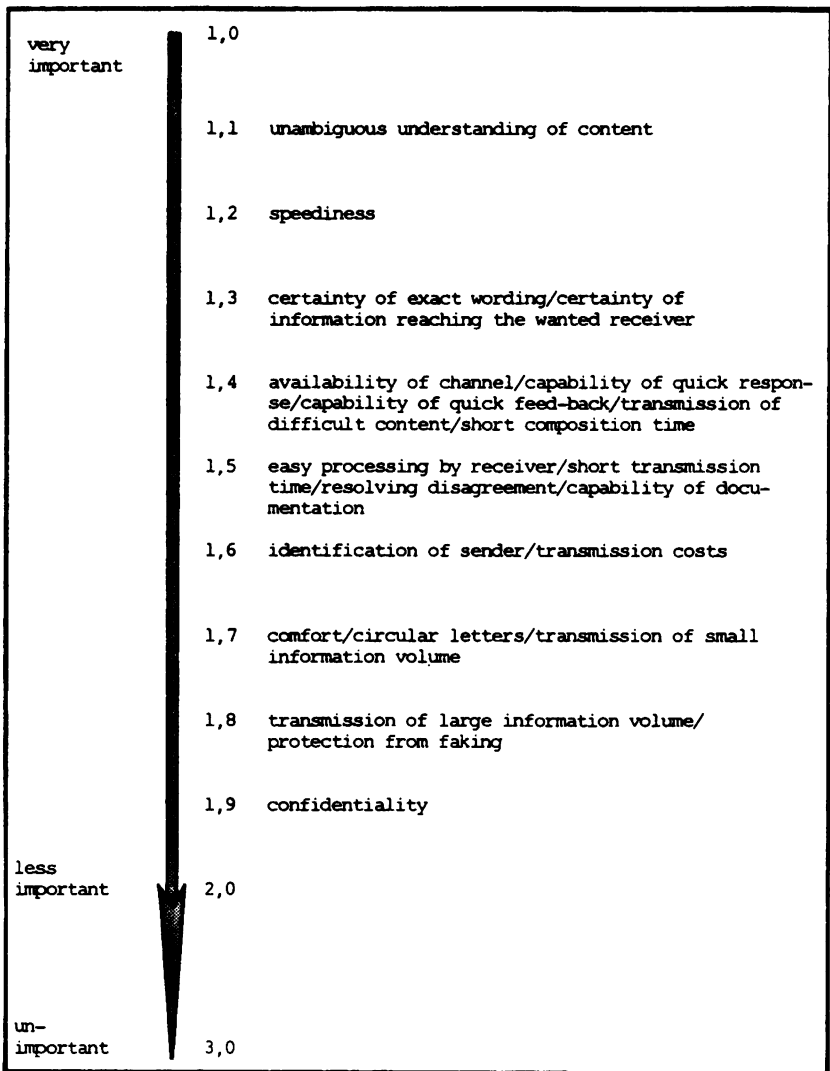


Figure 25.1. General evaluation of communication requirements by users (n = 477).

It is our contention that managerial promptness, semantic complexity, interpersonal confidence, and administrative accuracy represent four basic problems to be overcome by organizational communication. According to these factors we listed the communication requirements and their mean ratings with regard to each channel. This should allow us to find out possible channel preferences with respect to the four basic dimensions.

Table 25.1  
Task-Oriented Evaluation of Communication Channels

Item Factor	Channel					
	Telephone (n = 326)	Face-to-Face (n = 316)	Mail (n = 337)	Telex (n = 328)	Fax (n = 332)	Teletex (n = 324)
Speediness	1.3	4.1	4.2	2.2	2.1	2.2
Comfort	1.4	3.6	3.5	3.0	2.6	2.9
Transmission of small information volume	1.7	4.7	3.5	2.0	2.4	2.5
Capability of quick response	1.4	2.9	4.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
Short composition time	1.3	3.4	3.9	2.8	2.7	3.0
Short transmission time	1.6	4.4	4.2	2.4	2.4	2.3
A Promptness						
weighted average	1.4	3.8	4.0	2.5	2.4	2.6
rank	1	5	6	3	2	4
Resolving disagreement	2.1	1.2	4.0	4.0	3.8	3.7
Unambiguous understanding of content	2.6	1.6	2.6	3.2	2.7	2.8
Transmission of difficult content	3.0	1.5	2.8	3.8	3.0	3.1
Certainty of reaching the wanted receiver	1.6	1.3	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.0
B Complexity						
weighted average	2.3	1.4	3.1	3.5	3.1	3.1
rank	2	1	3	6	3	3
Confidentiality (during transmission)	2.9	1.3	2.3	4.4	4.2	4.1
Protection from faking (during transmission process)	3.6	2.2	2.1	3.2	2.5	2.8
Identification of sender	2.8	1.5	1.9	3.0	2.5	2.7
C Confidence						
weighted average	3.1	1.7	2.1	3.5	3.1	3.2
rank	3	1	2	6	3	5
Capability of documentation	5.1	4.9	1.5	2.1	1.6	1.7
Certainty of exact wording	4.0	3.2	1.6	2.2	1.7	1.7
Easy processing by receiver	4.3	4.2	2.0	2.4	2.1	1.8
Transmission of large information volume	4.3	3.2	2.2	3.3	3.1	2.2
D Accuracy						
weighted average	4.4	3.9	1.8	2.5	2.1	1.8
rank	6	5	1	4	3	1

Scale: 1 = very good; 6 = very bad.

Table 25.1 condenses the results, also showing what order of channel preference was found if communication problems associated with one of the factors occur. When looking at the rankings the distances represented by the differences of the means should be kept in mind.

These rankings reflect managers' perceived effectiveness of channels with respect to each of the four basic communication issues. Tasks whose complexity or social characteristics (e.g., leadership) demand clarification and development of interpersonal relationships (Factors B and C) seem to require face-to-face contacts. In situations involving urgency, comfortable transmission, and less complex contents (Factor A), the telephone is preferred, followed at some distance by electronic text media and face-to-face contact. In communication situations where the information is well defined and subject to more or less programmed documentation or processing on the receiver's side (Factor D), text media are preferred, followed by face-to-face contact and telephone.

Though these results are produced by quite deviating methods, they are consistent with other theoretical and empirical literature of the field (Short, Williams, & Christie, 1976, p. 62ff; Johansen, Vallée, & Collins, 1978, p. 390f; Schulman & Steinman, 1978; Johansen, Vallée, & Spangler, 1979, p. 21ff; Rice, 1980).

### AFFECTIVE DETERMINANTS OF CHANNEL SELECTION

The affective side of channel selection was covered by a pretested list of sixteen adjectives facing affective as well as cognitive components of attitudes. We asked managers to rate each of the six channels with respect to these items on a five-point scale, and we asked them to fill in the questionnaire in an emotional, affective way. After analyzing the data in factor analyses (PCA with VARIMAX-rotation), we came up with the following results — almost identical for all suborganizations investigated.

There are five basic factors (dimensions) describing and guiding emotional judgments of communication channels in organizations. These factors are the same for all channels, explaining between 87 and 100 percent of the answer variance. Their order of contribution to variance explanation changes from channel to channel.

- Factor I: *Stimulation* comprising items "active," "creative," "happy," "energetic"
- Factor II: *Comfort* comprising items "simple," "quick," "comfortable"
- Factor III: *Dependability* comprising items "exact," "secure," "reliable"
- Factor IV: *Formality* comprising items "standardized," "bureaucratic," "regular"
- Factor V: *Privacy* comprising items "confidential," "personal," "secret"

We suggest that these factors represent relevant, mainly affective aspects of channel evaluation.

Table 25.2  
Affective Evaluation of Communication Channels  
(n = 241)

Factors		Channel					
		Telephone	Face-to-Face	Mail	Telex	Fax	Teletex
I Stimulation	weighted average	2.6	2.3	3.1	3.3	3.5	3.1
	rank	(2)	(1)	(3)	(5)	(6)	(3)
II Comfort	weighted average	1.4	2.4	3.3	2.4	2.1	2.3
	rank	(1)	(4)	(6)	(4)	(2)	(3)
III Dependability	weighted average	2.5	2.1	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.9
	rank	(6)	(5)	(1)	(4)	(1)	(1)
IV Formality	weighted average	4.0	4.1	2.9	3.1	3.2	3.2
	rank	(5)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(3)
V Privacy	weighted average	2.3	1.5	2.0	3.8	3.9	3.3
	rank	(3)	(1)	(2)	(5)	(6)	(4)

Scale: 1 = appropriate; 5 = by no means appropriate.

Table 25.2 shows weighted averages of the mean ratings of related items for each factor. For instance, the value of 3.3 for mail in Factor II (Comfort) is the weighted average of the values this channel received for the adjectives simple, quick, and comfortable in both organizations. With a value of 3.3 this channel is perceived to be somehow "not comfortable," as on our five-point scale, where five represents the lowest value (not appropriate) and one the highest value (appropriate). Thus values indicate to what extent related emotional aspects are attributed to communication channels. The circled figures indicate the ranking of a channel with respect to the evaluation features represented by a factor.

Whereas face-to-face communication ranks highest associated with Stimulation and Privacy, the telephone is highly preferred for Comfortable communication. Text-media score highest when Dependability and For-

Table 25.3  
Breakdown by Channel and Communication Partner  
(percentages)

<i>Contacts</i>	<i>Channel</i>					<i>Total</i>
	<i>Telephone</i>	<i>Face-to-Face</i>	<i>Mail</i>	<i>Telex</i>	<i>Fax</i>	
Intradepartmental	22	73	5	0	0	100%
Interdepartmental	53	28	15	3	1	100%
External	46	11	32	10	1	100%

mality are involved. Note the remarkable distance between text-oriented media and oral media on factors Stimulation and Formality, and also the by far leading position of the telephone on factor Comfort.

Finally, users were asked for an overall affective judgment on a six-point scale (one ranking highest) how much they liked using each channel regardless of the task or situation involved.

In all organizations popularity expressed for telephone and face-to-face contacts rank highest, with an overall mean value of 1.6 and 2.0, respectively. There is a remarkable affective gap between these two channels and the group of text-oriented channels, the first being mail (4.0) followed by fax (4.1), teletex (4.2), and telex (4.6).

It is interesting to note that the telephone ranks highest above face-to-face contacts. This may be due to its easy availability combined with its effectiveness for promptly carrying out a great variety of day-to-day communication (see also the importance of the telephone when situations with Factors A or II are involved).

#### Potential of and Demand for Substitution

In order to assess the potential of substitution between channels in organizations, we first need information about the distribution of channel use. Using a self-reporting measure, we studied some 16,000 contacts. Roughly, we found the following structure:

average number of contacts per day:	30
external/internal contacts:	43% intradepartmental 45% interdepartmental 12% external
distribution over channels (before implementation of teletex):	39% telephone, 42% face to face, 16% mail, 3% telex/telefax
contacts perceived as urgent:	40%

A breakdown by channel and communication partner for one suborganization is given in Table 25.3; other suborganizations show similar patterns.

These findings underline the enormous relative and absolute significance of oral communication in organizations, also reported by Mintzberg (1973, p. 38ff) and Weinshall (1979, p. 3). If the high proportion of telephone and face-to-face communication indicates that within the organization handling of the more difficult communication problems prevails, the findings seem consistent with Proposition II.

However, according to Proposition I, the high volume of oral communication could also point to a high potential of substitution if a large proportion of tasks, currently handled by oral channels, were efficiently replaceable by new text media (i.e., strongly related to Factor D). We therefore investigated possibilities of substitution between channels.

We asked managers experienced with new office communication technologies to give detailed judgments on possible replacement of their current use of oral and mail channels by electronic text and/or telefax, assuming that their communication partners disposed of the current technologies as well. They had to describe a number of recent communication events chosen randomly, and they had to give substantial reasons for their judgments. Results are presented in Figure 25.2.

Managers' judgments show that new electronic text communication media could replace about 4 percent of business trips, 9 percent of face-to-face contacts, nearly 20 percent of telephone contacts, and up to 60 percent of mail contacts. Thus new text-oriented channels could play a major role in replacing telephone contacts — especially if the high absolute volume of phone contacts is kept in mind — and in replacing traditional mail.

The main reasons managers mention for strictly denying the substitution of electronic text media for face-to-face contacts and business trips are: discussion needed, group meeting necessary, exchange of difficult ideas, and acquisition of background knowledge.

A comparison of perceived actual use of communication channels and wanted use can serve as an indicator of managers' demand for substitution. As Figure 25.3 shows, respondents still want more face-to-face contacts. They want the same decrease of telephone communication before and after experience with the new media. They demand a remarkable decrease of classic mail communication and an increase in use of fast new electronic text media. The latter reflects some good experience with the new channels, which offer relief from clumsy mail services and from the discomforts of other channels.

## DISCUSSION

Watzlawick et al. (1967) show convincingly that any human communication process addresses aspects of information content *and* aspects of social relations between sender and receiver. Proportions of content-

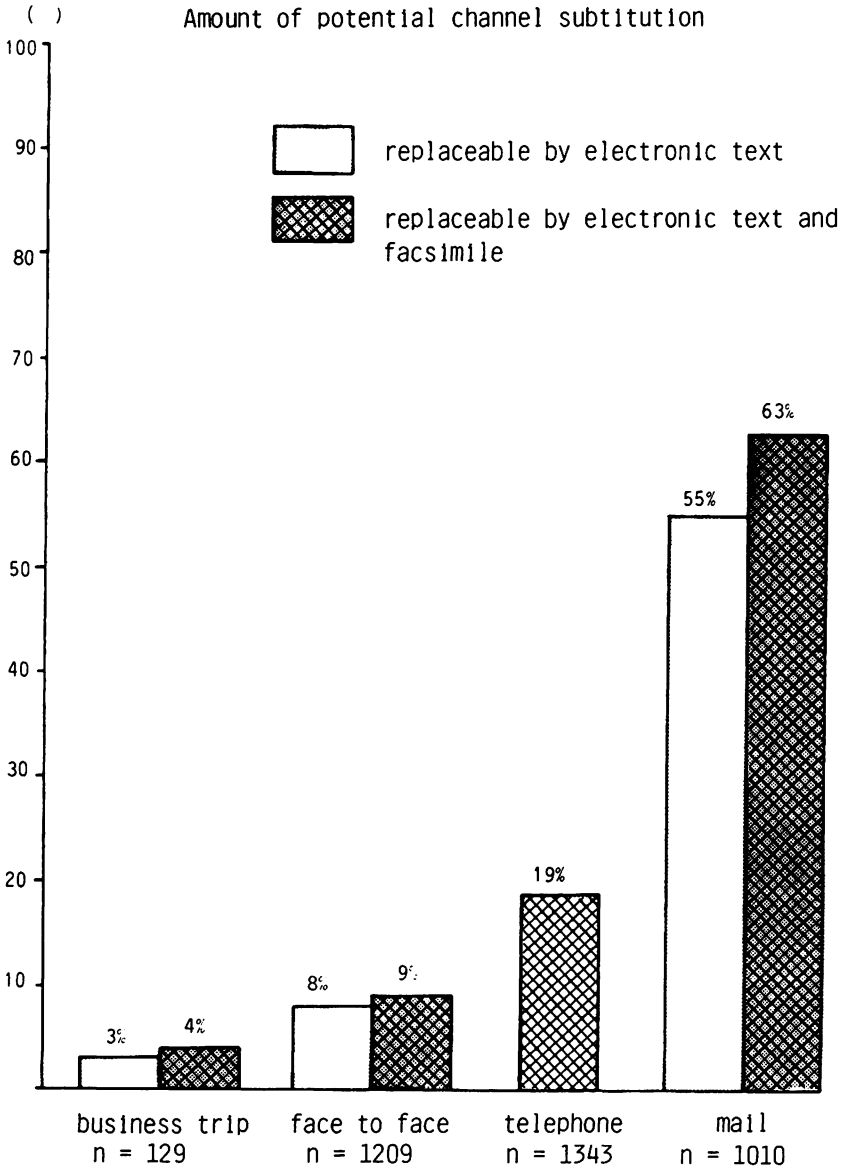


Figure 24.2.

oriented (task) problems and of relation-oriented (interpersonal) issues vary depending on contingencies. The authors further discern between two basic modes of communication: digital (coded) communication, mainly using languages and writing as tools, and analogous (symbolic)

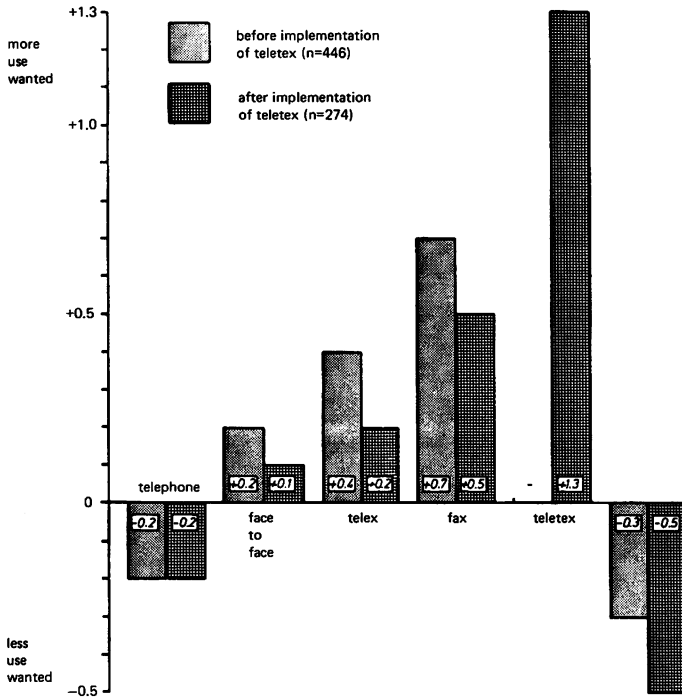


Figure 25.3 Mean differences between actual and wanted use of communication channels.

communication, working with nonverbal signals as means of message transmission, such as gestures, facial expressions, voice modulation, physical and environmental symbols, and other associative analogues (“metacommunication”).

Whereas many matters of content (though not all) can be transmitted by coded communication, most aspects of interpersonal relationship (again, not all) require analogous communication. Coded (digital) information can be telecommunicated in cases where contents are not too complicated in the sense of social, value-oriented interpretation. Analogous communication eludes telecommunication for the most part and thus demands the social and physical presence of partners.

Looking at our research experience we believe these concepts provide a good basis for interpreting our results. Our findings about choice and substitution of channels seem to support assumptions underlying the above authors’ as well as other authors’ views (see Short et al., 1976; Baird, 1977). Referring to these theoretical and empirical foundations, one can predict impacts of new electronic text media confronting socioeconomic needs of organizational communication.



Telecommunication technology in general and new text-oriented media in particular can primarily take over those transfers of information which can be coded and whose content is not too complex. New technologies can carry out those communication problems faster, cheaper, and probably more reliably than channels previously used for that purpose. Hence they could replace old text-oriented channels (mail, telex). As far as telephone and face-to-face contacts were used for handling some of that kind of information exchange, they could also be replaced.

However, theory suggests, and our data indicate, that this type of information exchange does not prevail in organizational communication. The core of intraorganizational activity comprises processes heavily concerned with complicated contents or/and with social relations — for example, coordinating complicated tasks, solving complex problems, developing innovative strategies, monitoring and evaluating hardly tangible performances, and motivating people. Those and similar activities involve complex contents. Moreover, they affect and require trusting social relations. Consequently, they cannot be properly maintained by using telecommunication technology. In this context it is worth noting that in Japanese companies whose efficiency is, *inter alia*, attributed to a high degree of mutual trust and to the sharing of beliefs (e.g., Ouchi, 1980) face-to-face communication is reported to be remarkably high (Pascale, 1978).

Thus, the new text-oriented and technically powerful communication technologies will only partly keep promises — initially expressed in Proposition I — because much of the work-related information supply cannot be properly handled by the new media.

Our data on general attitudes toward new office technology show that some fears of the kind suggested in Proposition III exist. Overenthusiastic deployment of the new technologies, without taking account of the social character of organizational structure and performance, could be harmful. This would not only hinder individuals' need satisfaction, but in many cases the organization's viability would be endangered due to the social lifelessness of its communication structure and to its inability to adapt to change.

Underestimation of these problems can be avoided if an open, participatory planning and implementation strategy of new communication technology for organizations is adopted. Favorable attitudes toward new office technology as such seem to guarantee a fruitful process of communication development.

To sum up, Proposition II seems to provide a good description of possible impacts new communication technologies might produce. The extent of channel substitution outlined above will surely lead to improved organizational coordination and performance. The organization's information-processing capacity increases, thereby facilitating growth and

regional expansion of activities. Some characteristics of office jobs will change along with the changes in text-oriented communication technology and its integration with EDP. However, as far as communication technology is concerned, and if the social and economic needs mentioned above are considered, there will be evolutionary rather than revolutionary impacts on people's way of life.

### NOTE

1. This chapter was presented as a paper at the 32nd Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Organizational Communication Division, Boston, May 2-7, 1982. It is a revised version of a paper presented at the EEC Conference on "The Information Society: Information Technology — Impact on the Way of Life," Dublin, November 18-20, 1981. This chapter draws upon a larger, ongoing, empirical project on office communication (*Bürokommunikation*) sponsored by the German Department of Research and Technology (Bundesminister für Forschung und Technologie). The research team for that study consists of two groups, one at Hochschule der Bundeswehr München, headed by Ralf Reichwald, the other at Hannover, headed by Arnold Picot. Cooperation with and support from the participating organizations (Allianz-Versicherung, Olympia/AEG/T & N, Siemens) are gratefully acknowledged.

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