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Telecommuting: A Case Study

Introduction

Today it takes an act of courage to suggest that our biggest factories and office towers may, within our lifetimes, stand half empty, reduced to use as ghostly warehouses or converted into living space. Yet this is precisely what the new mode of production makes possible; a return to cottage industry on a new, higher, electronic basis, and with it new emphasis on the home as the center of society.¹



¹ Alvin Toffler's view of the future, although extreme even when he expressed it more than two decades ago, was not entirely unreasonable. No one today is predicting that entire cities will become ghost towns when people begin to work from their homes. But many believe that modern technology and the changing nature of work are making it increasingly desirable for large segments of the population to work at home through telecommuting, the process of substituting telecommunication for physical commuting.

² Articles in the popular media and in trade journals have enthusiastically extolled the virtues of this new "mode of production." A headline in an office technology magazine described telecommuting as "A Feeling of Euphoria."² A writer for a regional magazine in California went even further, claiming that with telecommuting,



¹ Alvin Toffler, The Third Wave (New York: William Morrow, 1980) 210.

² Lee Teschler, "Business Technologies," Modern Office Technology and Industry Week Supplement Sept. 1991: 1.

“the winner is . . . everyone . . . The city as an employer wins. . . . The city as an environment wins. . . . Telecommuters win. . . . Even telemanagers win . . . Some even claim it’s like being born again!”³

³ Other articles, and much of the research on telecommuting, have been decidedly more reserved. A contributor to Management World stated, “Dramatic advances in office technology, which may seem to offer exceptional lifestyle conveniences, can represent a minefield.”⁴ Margrethe Olson, a professor at NYU who has written many articles on the subject, concluded, “Based on existing research, we cannot predict that telework [telecommuting],⁵ as defined and practiced today, will become a prevalent form of work organization—in the future.”⁶

⁴ Yet actual statistics indicate that telecommuting is practiced by an increasingly significant portion of the work force. Statistics on telecommuting are difficult to compare since there is not a single widespread definition of the telecommuter; while some researchers use the term to include workers who operate their own businesses out of their homes, others define telecommuters as workers who bring extra work home with them from the office at night. Nonetheless, numerous sources seem to agree that by the beginning of 1992 there were approximately 5 to 6 million telecommuters working full time from their homes in the United States.

⁵ Furthermore, a variety of corporations and government agencies have experimented with telecommuting, including GTE, Travelers Insurance, AT&T in coordination with the state of Arizona, the Washington State Energy

³ Jack M. Nilles, “How to Plan for and Supervise Telecommuters,” Western City Feb. 1991: 3.

⁴ James E. Challenger, “Telecommuters Risk Becoming Invisible Workers,” Management World Winter 1992: 8.

⁵ Margrethe H. Olson uses the terms telework and telecommuting interchangeably in “Organizational Barriers to Professional Telework,” Homework, ed. Eileen Boris and Cynthia Daniels (Urbana: U of Illinois, 1989) 216.

⁶ Olson 226.

Office, the state of California, Pacific Bell, Bell Atlantic, Illinois Bell, J. C. Penny, Apple Computer, and most recently, the federal government.⁷

^{¶6} Clearly, even though telecommuting appears to be a growing phenomenon, the issues, problems, and benefits associated with it are still not fully understood. The purpose of this paper is to examine telecommuting from the perspective of a single telecommuter through the use of a case study. It is hoped that the level of detail made possible by a case study will give a fuller understanding of the sometimes conflicting findings cited in research and popular literature.

^{¶7} Jim McElroy, Sr., the subject of the case study, was chosen because of his extensive experience with telecommuting under a variety of different circumstances. He received a master's degree in mechanical engineering from Northeastern University in 1972 and presently is Eastern U.S. and European Business Manager for MicroModule Systems (MMS) of Cupertino, California, "the largest fully merchant manufacturer of multichip modules in the industry today," according to a company brochure. Data were gathered from the case study through a full-day interview and observation period. A list of the questions that were used as the basis of the interview can be found in appendix 1.

Definition of Telecommuting

^{¶8} Because the term has been applied to entirely different groups of workers by different researchers, a precise definition of the term is necessary before comparing research on the subject. According to Jack Nilles, who is credited with originating the term,⁸ telecommuting is "the physical decentralization of work by moving the work

⁷ Shari Caudron, "Working at Home Pays Off," Personnel Journal Nov. 1992: 40; Dori Sera Bailey and Jill Foley, "Pacific Bell Works Long Distance," HRMagazine Aug. 1990: 50; Teschler 1; Julian Weiss, "Commuting at the Crossroads," The World and I Dec. 1992: 83.

⁸ See margin note in Nilles 3.

to the workers instead of moving the workers to the work.”⁹ He considers it to be a form of telework, which is “any form of work-related substitution of telecommunications for travel. Such as picking up the phone to talk to someone instead of making the trip to see him/her.”¹⁰

⁹ Neither of these terms limits such work to the home office. Telecommuting can alternatively take place from a satellite office, “a relatively self-contained organizational division that is physically located away from the central office,”¹¹ or from a neighborhood office, created when “the performance of most or all of the central office functions are performed at several regional locations.”¹² Employees might work with other people from their company at a neighborhood office, but they don’t necessarily work with people from their group there. Although satellite offices are common today (as in the case of a branch of a bank),¹³ neighborhood offices remain largely a future possibility.

Popular Press versus Research Literature

¹⁰ While neither the popular press nor the research literature is unanimous in its respective findings on telecommuting, there are enough similarities within each group to make useful a comparison between the two. In the following section, reports from companies that have experimented with telecommuting are included with the popular press, since both groups tend to base their findings on nonscientific surveys of employees and provide little or no empirical data to back up their findings.

⁹ Nilles 3.

¹⁰ Nilles 3.

¹¹ Reagan Mays Ramsower, Telecommuting: The Organizational and Behavioral Effects of Working at Home (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1985) 19.

¹² Ramsower 20.

¹³ Ramsower 22.

^{¶11} The popular press generally cites two primary benefits of telecommuting: increased productivity and greater work satisfaction. The latter is typically attributed to telecommuters having greater freedom and flexibility in their workday. This factor, in addition to telecommuters facing fewer interruptions at home than at the office, is thought to explain the productivity increase.

^{¶12} While it is hard to measure worker satisfaction, many sources cite numbers supporting the increased productivity. Pacific Bell found through a survey of managers that 64 percent thought telecommuting could increase productivity.¹⁴ Control Data employees who telecommuted claimed productivity increases ranging from 5 to 100 percent, with an average increase of 35 percent.¹⁵ Managers at Bell Atlantic reported increases of up to 200 percent.¹⁶ Summarizing the overall findings of corporate telecommuting experiments to date, Jack Nilles claimed that “the average telecommuter effectiveness typically increases 15 percent or more in their supervisor’s estimation, if both supervisor and telecommuter are properly trained.”¹⁷

^{¶13} Although receiving less emphasis than worker satisfaction and productivity, other benefits are often reported by popular media, including the ability to employ previously unemployable workers (mainly the physically disabled), reduced employee turnover and absenteeism, and reduced costs for the employer. An article in Western City reported that the state of California realized a savings of \$990,000 for the 150 people in its telecommuting pilot project.¹⁸

¹⁴ Bailey and Foley 51.

¹⁵ Ronald A. Manning, “Control Data Corporation: Alternative Work Site Programs,” Office Workstations in the Home, ed. Board on Telecommunications and Computer Applications, Commission on Engineering and Technical Systems, and National Research Council (Washington: National Academy, 1985) 45.

¹⁶ Weiss 85.

¹⁷ Nilles 4.

¹⁸ Nilles 5.

^{¶14} Costs also represent one of the drawbacks cited by the popular media, however. In some cases, part of the savings realized by an employer is due to increased costs for the employee. Telecommuting necessitates using the home phone for business calls, an expense that sometimes is not picked up by the employer. In addition, some telecommuters are responsible for purchasing their own office equipment. Overall, though, the popular media view most of the problems commonly associated with telecommuting as being obstacles that can be overcome, not as fundamental flaws with the system.

^{¶15} For example, one problem with telecommuting is convincing managers to trust employees they cannot see: “There’s still plenty of people who think, ‘If I can’t see ‘em working, they’re not working.’”¹⁹ The media point out that this obstacle can be overcome by good management, emphasizing that the growing trend in management for all workers (not just telecommuters) is toward management by objective, not by supervision: “There is no magic here. Effective telemanagement is simply effective management. The difference is that in the office you can say you’re managing by objectives . . . but telemanagers must do it that way.”²⁰

^{¶16} By simply following sound policies, then, the popular media emphasize that telecommuting can provide employees and employers with tangible and significant benefits and with few drawbacks. Furthermore, if problems do come up, they are easily overcome: “Where the results are below expectations, find out why. Most can be fixed. Make the necessary changes. Keep going through this process until telecommuting seems to be just business as usual.”²¹

^{¶17} While supporting some of the claims made by the popular press, most research-oriented publications claim that telecommuting results in serious problems for both the employee and the employer, many of which have no simple solutions.

¹⁹ Weiss 85.

²⁰ Nilles 6.

²¹ Nilles 7.

^{¶18} One such problem is that telecommuters lose face-to-face contact with coworkers that cannot necessarily be replaced by other means of communication: “Telecommunications technologies can provide substitutes for face-to-face interactions, but the extent to which these substitutes provide satisfaction levels comparable to those supplied by face-to-face interactions remains largely unexplored.”²² Perhaps because of this lack of face-to-face communication, another researcher found that telecommuting reduces the level of interaction between employees.²³

^{¶19} A more serious problem cited by researchers is that telecommuting can threaten a worker’s advancement in the company. Several researchers commented that workers who are not in the office tend to become invisible and therefore suffer reduced chances of promotion. Reagan Ramsower, the author of one of the most comprehensive studies on telecommuting to date, wrote that, “as a telecommuter, their job will offer little hope for advancement.”²⁴ A management trade magazine agreed, warning:

Employers do not usually take into their confidence people they rarely see, and usually don’t view them in the same light as workers they see every day. The individual can become as indispensable as an on-call consultant who is not considered a co-worker, but a resource. The loss of visibility impacts greatly on personal advancement.²⁵

²² Arthur P. Brief, “Effects of Work Location on Motivation,” Office Workstations in the Home 66.

²³ Olson 224.

²⁴ Ramsower 85.

²⁵ Challenger 8.

^{¶20} Furthermore, researchers question the benefits cited in popular sources, especially the increase in productivity claimed by many telecommuters. In a preview to a collection of corporate literature on telecommuting, Ramsower commented:

It should be noted that the results and conclusions stated in the following discussion are based upon very limited and often subjective information taken from the popular literature. The author could not find a single case in which an empirical organizational experiment of telecommuting was undertaken and publicly reported. Therefore, this discussion should be viewed as one that espouses the currently-held beliefs about telecommuting, which are largely without substantiation.²⁶

^{¶21} Even if the increased productivity claims can be substantiated, though, some researchers believe that telecommuters get more done simply because they work longer hours. Since productivity is often measured in terms of the standard eight-hour workday, not in terms of the actual time spent working, this is a real possibility. A popular source verified that “several participants worked regularly beyond the normal eight hours a day because it was convenient and easy to do at home.”²⁷ Ramsower added, “There is little evidence in this study to suggest that full-time telecommuting can increase productivity by increasing performance. Productivity can only be increased for full-time telecommuters by decreasing their labor costs.”²⁸

^{¶22} The overall impression of telecommuting given by research is that it is far from the euphoria that the popular literature portrays it as, particularly in the case of full-time telecommuting. Ramsower concluded, “Full-time

²⁶ Ramsower 12.

²⁷ Nelson Phelps, “Mountain Bell: Program for Managers,” Office Workstations in the Home 36.

²⁸ Ramsower 90.

telecommuting produced many negative organizational and behavioral effects” and added, “Generally, these results do not support the contention that full-time telecommuting is likely to become a widespread work alternative.”²⁹

Case Study Background

^{¶23} Jim’s experience with telecommuting began in 1985 when he was managing a design group at Digital Equipment Corporation. While at Digital he telecommuted parttime solely to supplement the time he spent in his office (which was located about 45 minutes from his New Hampshire home). Digital had no official telecommuting program at the time. The company simply let individual managers decide whether telecommuting was right for their employees. Jim explained that his boss utilized telecommuting primarily to get more work from his employees: “He figured the longer you worked, the more you got done.”



^{¶24} Although Digital had no official telecommuting program, it loaned telecommuting employees a computer terminal and a modem at no charge, and it paid the phone costs associated with using the modem. This equipment enabled Jim to access his electronic mail (e-mail) from home, and the time he spent working at home was primarily devoted to reading and replying to e-mail messages, of which he received about 100 a day. He explained that since he was often at meetings during much of the day, the time he spent at the terminal in the evening was often the only time he could catch up on his email.

^{¶25} In 1989, the group Jim worked for was transferred to California. He moved with them and became a manufacturing engineer in charge of 500 people. While living in California, he continued to telecommute parttime from home to read e-mail. He never planned on living in California permanently, though, and after spending three years there he moved back to New Hampshire, even though doing so required him to give up his old management position. Since all of his coworkers were still in California, the only way Jim could continue working with them while living on the East Coast was by full-time telecommuting. He arranged to work from a Digital building in Nashua, New Hampshire, essentially using it as a neighborhood office, and took on the position of

²⁹ Ramsower 92.

sales manager (which did not involve any management responsibilities). After the California group separated from Digital to become MicroModule Systems (MMS) in June of 1992, Jim moved out of the Digital office and began telecommuting fulltime from home.

^{¶26} Jim is the only MMS employee who works from his home; while other employees telecommute parttime in much the same manner Jim used to, they all spend their days at MMS headquarters in Cupertino, California. As was the case with Digital, MMS has no official telecommuting program, but it does provide employees with computers for home use.

^{¶27} Jim's current job title is Eastern U.S. and European Business Manager, the same position he took when he first returned to New Hampshire. Although he would have preferred to keep his old management position, he said it would have simply been impossible to manage 500 people from across the country. Some research on telecommuting has suggested remote management is possible under certain circumstances, but because Jim had no experience with it, the issue was not examined in this paper.

^{¶28} Jim's primary responsibilities are in sales, marketing, and applications engineering, which he defined as "helping a customer figure out what technology is best for a given application." In carrying out these responsibilities, Jim works with three distinct groups of people: his coworkers at MMS (primarily other employees of the marketing division), representatives (people hired by MMS to promote its products to potential buyers), and customers themselves.

Case Study Findings

^{¶29} Jim's telecommuting experiences are unique in that he has had experience with three distinct forms of telecommuting: parttime from home, fulltime from a neighborhood office, and fulltime from home. Much of the current research on telecommuting identifies such distinctions as being important to the outcome of telecommuting. In Jim's case, however, direct comparisons between full-time telecommuting and part-time telecommuting are impossible because the nature of Jim's job was different in each case. Furthermore, Jim identified few differences between working at home and working at a neighborhood office. Therefore, the findings that follow apply to his experience both at the neighborhood office and at home, except where noted.

^{¶30} MMS has equipped Jim's office with several pieces of telecommunications equipment, giving him a wide variety of mediums over which he can contact his coworkers, representatives, and customers. This equipment includes a facsimile (fax) machine, a copier, and a personal computer and an ink-jet printer. Since Jim relies heavily on the phone, MMS installed two additional phone lines in his home office (one for fax and modem use and one for a traditional phone). It also provided him with an answering machine.

^{¶31} Most researchers argue that modern technology makes it possible to duplicate the equipment of the office in the home, and in most cases Jim agrees. Although less expensive and not as advanced as the equipment in the office, his fax, copier, and computer are sufficient for the tasks he uses them for. The one exception was his present phone system. He explained that his primitive answering machine (which is almost ten years old) was simply no match for the voice mail system he used at the office (both in Nashua and in California). In addition to being more versatile in its message-handling capabilities (voice mail lets users forward calls to other people within the office), voice mail also has the ability to take a message while someone is on the phone. Since his home office phone does not have this ability, Jim's coworkers insisted he get call waiting so that they could get through when he is on the phone. While this makes it easier for them to reach Jim, his phone conversations are sometimes interrupted two or three times per call by incoming calls. "It's a pain in the neck," he said.

^{¶32} Some of the technology that is available, however, is simply too expensive for Jim to use. Teleconferencing, for example, promises to provide a better substitute for face-to-face conversations than present means of communication. But its cost is exorbitant, and Jim noted that even when he worked in an office, video conferences were rare. Telephone conferences, on the other hand, are utilized by Jim daily. While a telephone conference is no different than a traditional phone call in that both use the same piece of equipment, Jim distinguished phone conferences as being planned phone calls, similar in some respects to a meeting.

^{¶33} Although Jim uses the phone for much of his communication needs, he estimated that he spends just as much time using e-mail. Unlike his home phone system, the equipment he uses for e-mail at home is no different from the equipment he used at the office. In fact, his computer was actually taken from a vacant office at MMS in California.



^{¶34} While using e-mail accounts for most of the time Jim spends on his computer, he also uses it for another form of communication, albeit an untraditional one: spreadsheets. While spreadsheets might not be considered communication in the normal sense,³⁰ they enable Jim to send and receive complicated sales data to coworkers in California. Ironically, the company's present computer network makes it necessary for him to send these files physically by disk instead of electronically.

^{¶35} Not all of his communication is carried out electronically, however. Jim still sends hard copies of documents to the office at times. He also makes use of express mailing services; he estimated that Federal Express stops by his house at least once a week. . . .

Effects of Telecommuting on Communication

^{¶36} Reagan Ramsower reached a number of interesting conclusions regarding the effect telecommuting has on communications.³¹ He found that telecommuters communicate less with workers of all levels (superiors, subordinates, and coworkers) and that the communicating a telecommuter does consists primarily of asking questions related to a current problem. Furthermore, such communication was found to be strictly work-related and of an informational nature; conversational communication simply ceased to exist: "Full-time telecommuters discard any communication needs that are not of this [informational] type."³²

³⁰ Dorothy A. Winsor, "What Counts as Writing? An Argument from Engineer's Practice," College Composition and Communication 41 (Feb. 1990): 58.

³¹ Ramsower 59.

³² Ramsower 73.

^{¶37} Ramsower also found that although telecommuters substitute the phone for face-to-face conversation for asking questions, this does not affect the time periods during which they can get questions answered. Finally, Ramsower found that full-time telecommuters have a need for face-to-face communication: “While it was evident that the telephone moderated their decreased communication, the technology was unable to fully substitute for all communications.” The telephone is, however, “an adequate media [sic] for asking questions and talking to others.”³³

^{¶38} Jim’s experiences supported some of Ramsower’s findings, but in many cases he disagreed, either wholly or in part, to the conclusions reached by Ramsower.

^{¶39} Jim was unable to determine whether he faced reduced levels of communication while working at home because his job in the traditional office was different from his present one. He did find that he now uses the phone to a much greater extent than he did when at the office, and he estimated that he spends as much time on the computer using e-mail.

^{¶40} Contrary to the research findings, Jim uses the phone (and e-mail) for much more than simply asking questions about current problems. Furthermore, he finds that he still has conversational phone calls at home, although “there is less of that.” He stated that there is more time for casual conversation when one is face-to-face with someone.

^{¶41} Jim’s experience also directly contradicted another research finding: that telecommuters found relying on the phone to ask questions does not reduce the times when they can get the questions answered. When he was in the office himself, he could track people down if he needed to, a task that is difficult over the phone. Jim also disagreed with the conclusion that the phone is adequate for asking questions. Many questions, he explained, are best answered using diagrams and sketches, which require using a fax in addition to the traditional phone.

^{¶42} Although not one of Ramsower’s conclusions, some research speculated that telecommuters might increase their communications simply because they are easier to reach at home, where they will not be pulled away from their office by a meeting or other distraction. Telecommuters (including Jim) often use cell phones when working at home so that even if they do have to step out of the “office,” they still can be reached. In Jim’s experience, he found that it was easier for people to get in touch with him at home. In fact, this was a problem in

³³ Ramsower 74.

some cases; forced to use call waiting, Jim finds that many important conversations are interrupted by other calls. However, when he is on the road, Jim said that it becomes much more difficult for people to reach him. When he was a full-time office worker, an inter-office phone mail system made it easier for him to retrieve calls even when he was on the road. The answering machine he uses now requires a beeper to retrieve messages remotely, a device Jim finds so annoying that he never uses it. Instead, he calls home several times during the day and has his wife repeat any messages that are left on the machine.

^{¶43} When asked about his productivity, Jim replied that usually he finds his work at home to be more efficient than his work at the office. “Where it hurts you, though, is that you don’t have all the support services at home.” Although much of the research found that technology has made it possible to duplicate the functions of office machinery and electronics, Jim found that in some cases there still were not viable alternatives. There is no way for telecommuters to have access to their own secretary or copy center at home. While telecommuters themselves carry out many of the tasks traditionally provided for them at the office, doing so requires spending extra time and therefore possibly mitigates any productivity increases. . . .

Conclusions and Suggestions

^{¶44}As is true for any case study, the observations cited in this paper cannot by themselves prove or disprove existing research. What they can do, however, is suggest areas where new research may be useful, in addition to pointing to deficiencies in present research.

^{¶45}While Jim’s experiences with telecommuting support to some extent the research done to date, his explanations as to how and why he chooses to use certain mediums of communication reveal that most of the present research has not fully grasped the complexities behind such decisions. Jim often accepts the limitations imposed by certain media in return for advantages they offer over media researchers traditionally identify as ideal.

^{¶46} Furthermore, Jim's experiences with a neighborhood office as compared to his home office illustrate some of the factors behind increased productivity that are not cited in research. While new technology does allow professionals to assume tasks that used to be handed down to secretaries (typing, copying, etc.), doing so requires extra time on the part of the professional. It might be worthwhile to examine whether the increased flexibility afforded to telecommuters is cost-effective; after all, it does not make sense to pay a top executive hundreds of dollars an hour to use a copier when a secretary can do the same task for substantially less.



^{¶47} In any case, it is clear that although telecommuting might be becoming commonplace, a great deal more research remains to be done if this new "mode of production" is to be fully understood.



Appendix 1
Interview Questions



History of working at home:

1. Does or did Digital have a formal work-at-home program?
2. When did you first start bringing work home with you?
3. What was the nature of this work?
4. How much time did you normally spend doing this work? If unable to give a specific value, what was the range of time you might have spent at home?
5. What equipment did you use for this work?
6. How exactly did you use this equipment?
7. Did you communicate with other office workers while you were at home?
8. If so, were these other workers at home also or were they still at the office?
9. Why did you start working at home?
10. What differences did you see in the work you did at home as opposed to the work you did at the office?
11. Were you more productive at home?
12. Did you save certain work for home?
13. Did working at home affect the work you did in the office?
14. What limitations did you see with working from home?
15. Did you use e-mail at the office for the same purposes as e-mail at home?



Background on present situation:

1. How long have you been working full time at home?
2. Whose idea was it to work at home?
3. How have others felt about this?
4. Do other employees at MMS work at home?
5. If so, do they work full time at home?
6. What are some of your general impressions about working at home?
7. How would your work be different if you still worked in the office?
8. How long have you been using e-mail? How did you learn to use e-mail? How did you learn the other software you currently use?
9. What are your day-to-day job tasks?
10. Do you supervise anyone?
11. Do you still have an office in California?

Methods and choices of communication:

1. How much time do you estimate you spend: on the phone? reading e-mail? writing e-mail? using other forms of communication?
2. Do you think the communications you have with the office and others is adequate?
3. How do you decide which medium to use? Is this influenced by who you are communicating with?

4. What are your impressions of each communication medium?
5. How does your use of communications equipment differ from when you worked in an office?
6. Specifically, do you use certain means of communication for different purposes than when you worked at the office?
7. How do you cope with not being able to attend meetings?
8. How does not being able to meet with people face-to-face affect your work?
9. Did you have a voice mail system at your previous location? Did you use its advanced features? Does not having a system with similar abilities affect your present work?
10. Are your other home communication products similar to those you used at work?
11. How do you communicate with your manager?
12. How are you kept apprised of company policies and such? How were you kept apprised of this information when you worked at the office?
13. Do you feel you miss out on information that is traded throughout the office in casual conversation?
14. When communicating with someone in a social manner, what medium of communication do you use? Has this choice affected the time you spend in such communication?
15. How do you ask questions of others (using what communications)?
16. What do you talk about on the phone?

Face-to-face communication:

1. Do you feel more comfortable on the phone or when talking face-to-face?
2. Do you feel comfortable in general in a sales position?
3. What do you substitute for face-to-face conversations?
4. Are you involved with deal-making?
5. How do you decide when to travel?

Interaction with boss:

1. Does your boss supervise and evaluate you and your work?
2. Do you think that working at home has affected your chances of promotion? How would you describe your relationship with your boss (i.e. adversaries, partners, etc.)?
3. How has working at home made you more or less independent of your boss?
4. Has the amount of work you're responsible for changed since you started working at home?
5. What kinds of things do you discuss with your boss?

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