Research Questions

and

Discussion
RESEARCH QUESTION ONE
HOW ARE THESE EDGES BEING USED?

All dwelling units have an exterior spatial zone, which is under the occupants' control. Spatially, this area may range from only a doorway threshold to a large alcove. In this study, the occupants of the unit are clearly controlling these zones for their own purposes, but these edges also have roles in the retirement communities' peer group structure. These uses can be broken down into four primary categories:

- Utilitarian
- Decorative
- Communicative
- Social

PRELIMINARY TYPOLOGY
Based upon the findings from the research methods employed, the following preliminary typology of edge uses has been created.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE TWENTY ONE – A TYPOLOGY OF USES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utilitarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next section of the report will describe the four typology categories and their associated themes.

UTILITARIAN USES
Utilitarian uses are basic, practical uses for the doorway areas. The two themes that emerged from the findings are Convenience and Storage. These themes were apparent in all four research settings.

Convenience

Definition: Using the doorway area as a place to put things temporarily to avoid stooping or to keep the hands free while operating the door.

One of the basic, practical manipulations of the unit's edge in retirement communities is to create a package shelf for the convenience of older people. Residents clearly stated they like having a shelf or a piece of furniture next to their door as a place to put things down as they unlock the door. In fact, this use was the primary catalyst for installing a shelf in several early apartment buildings for
older people (Zeisel, Epp and Demos, 1977). Residents also like to have an elevated place for the newspaper or a package to be delivered, so they do not have to stoop over and pick them up from the floor. Thirteen percent of the apartment survey respondents specifically mentioned providing a table or keeping the shelf clear, so they could have a place for deliveries. This need also influenced the type of items placed outside their door. Display items were selected, so there was still room left on the shelf or the table. Specific quotes from the surveys and interviews that support this theme include the following:

- “I like the shelf to be clear for my paper.”
- “One advantage of Punch and Judy is they do not take up to much space and you can still put your groceries down when you open the door... It is a handy shelf.”
- “And that is just utilitarian, people want places to leave something—packages.”
- “A table for a temporary resting place is necessary. I keep the top bare so I can plop stuff while looking for keys, etc.”

This theme also appeared in the assisted living interviews and observations. One resident mentioned keeping the shelf clear for her newspaper. Moreover, one resident, who did not have a shelf or a recessed alcove, was happy he lived at the end of the hall, so he could place a table there for the delivery of his newspaper without blocking hall traffic.

Storage

Definition: Using the doorway area as a place to keep items to be used later and do not fit inside the unit.

Another, basic practical use of the doorway alcoves was for storage. The larger alcoves provided a place to keep things that did not fit in the dwelling unit or were preferred to be kept outside. Sometimes, this need was due to aging in place. For example, one resident described relocating a bookcase into her doorway alcove when medical staff requested a clearer path to her bedroom door. Another medical necessity, mentioned by residents, which motivated using the doorway alcove is finding a parking place for walkers, rollators, and electric scooters. One resident informally interviewed expressed regret over disassembling her doorway display because she started using an electric scooter and needed a place to park it. Transportation devices are frequently found outside the doors of the apartment and assisted living units since they are not always necessary inside the unit and frequently take up much needed space. Assistive mobility devices appeared in 11% of the 102 doorways photographed (See Figure Seventeen).

Photographs of the apartment doorways revealed that some residents view their doorway alcoves as a foyer and stored convenience items that are typically found in a front hall such as coats, overshoes, umbrellas, umbrella stands, and coat racks (See Figure Eighteen). Twenty-four percent of the apartment doorways photographed displayed some type of practical item of this nature.

Compared to past homes the residents have lived in, most retirement apartment units are much smaller in size. In 1998, AAHSA's Continuing Care Retirement Community Industry Profile reported the average independent dwelling unit in CCRCs to range from 432 square feet to 1040 square feet. Assisted living dwelling units typically fall in the smaller range of the scale. One of the most difficult things to do when moving into a retirement community is scaling back one's possessions to just the
essentials (Bourenstrom & Pastalan, 1975). Having made the first cut before packing the moving van, it is understandable that it can be even more devastating to find that some items do not fit once you arrive. Thus, many residents saw the larger entry alcoves as a place to keep items that were important to them, but did not fit in their units. This is particularly true of the apartment residents who had a deep alcove. Use of the alcove for storage was mentioned by 14% of the respondents in the apartment setting with deep alcoves and none in the apartment setting with shallow alcoves. Some clear indicators of the need for storage are the following interview and survey quotes:

- “Well the main thing is my grandmother’s sewing cabinet which I did not have room for it here, but I wanted to have available.”
- “I brought more furniture than I had room for in the apartment and my grandmother’s card table fit nicely in the alcove.”
- “I have the smallest living unit available…and needed extra storage space badly.”
- “My granddaughter was helping me pack, she said, ‘you have so many put-about.’ You know those little things that are very nostalgic, little treasures, artwork, it is a nuisance when you have no place to put them. And yet I think that is part of decoration.”

The need for storage of important objects was also true in the assisted living settings. A frequent theme that emerged from the interviews was the dismay a resident would express about moving into
assisted living and having to scale back his/her possessions even more. This was particularly true when it came to important collections. Five of the eight assisted living residents interviewed specifically mentioned the difficulties of scaling back their possessions and the importance of the items they had left. The following quotes from the interviews support this theme:

- “It was my idea to put them there because I did not have room.”
- “I got lots (of turtles) in storage this is nothing…I would put more out if I could.”
- “So people are much more limited and (you have), less chance to inhabit your own space.”
- “I had given away so much.”
- “And that made me so mad that they let me move over here and get rid of most of my things.”

**DECORATIVE**

Decorative uses of the unit’s edge relate to the embellishment and adornment of the area by the occupant. The primary themes that emerged from the data include Hallway Improvement, Dynamic Displays, Continuity with the Past, and Individualization.

**Hallway Improvement**

*Definition: Using the doorway to improve the hallways and to create variety and interest for other hall users.*

Residents consider themselves to be responsible for making the retirement community more attractive. The displays were clearly seen as a key aspect of creating attractiveness. One resident stated in the survey, “Some want to add to the beauty and interest—a few do not (hence nothing at their doors).” Sixteen percent of the apartment survey respondents mentioned this trend as a primary motivator for personalizing their doorways. In addition to the qualitative data, a statistically significant relationship was found between being satisfied with the apartment décor and feeling the doorway displays had a significant impact. The following survey quotes support this theme further:

- “To help make the entire hallway and building more attractive.”
- “Because I wanted to contribute to the attractiveness of the hall.”
- “They make the hallway more interesting to travel through.”
- “To add some interest to the cold line up of closed doors and names only.”
- “I hope the doorways would have a positive effect on prospective residents.”

Only one respondent to the apartment survey felt the displays affected the hall negatively. Six percent of the open-ended responses to the question, “explain why do the displays impact the hallway either negatively or positively,” produced negative responses. Examples of these responses include the following:

- “…It could be junky if we all hung stuff out. An occasional piece is eye-catching but a hall full would not be neat or fetching. Keep décor for the interior.”
- “One or two have too much stuff in a small space.”

114
Objects on display were also selected because they were interesting or appealing. Forty-seven percent of the survey responses from both apartments related to this theme. Moreover, this trend was more prominent in the apartment setting with shallow alcoves and shelves. Sixteen percent specifically mentioned attractiveness as the reason for selecting items to display in the community, which had shallow alcoves with shelves compared to 2% in the community with larger alcoves. Residents selecting items for appearance may view this area primarily for display and are much more concerned with objects having attractive qualities. Representative answers from the apartment residents in response to the survey question, "Why did you select these items to display?" include the following:

- "I try to put out items others might find interesting."
- "Conversation pieces, gifts, travel purchases, the season, humor, some to please grandchildren."
- "Often I display items I picked up on recent trips – unusual items bring the outside world closer."
- "Items should be pretty, dramatic or welcoming."
- "They were seasonal."

**Dynamic Project**

**Definition:** Using the doorway display as a continual project by changing it more than once a year.

Some residents considered creating a display to be a constant project and frequently change what is at their doorways. Of all the apartment residents surveyed, 43% reported changing their doorways with the seasons. Twenty-nine percent of the respondents never changed their displays. A consistent theme from the surveys and interviews was that residents craved variety in their lives and used their doorways to respond to that desire. The following quotes support this theme:

- "Well, just for change."
- "I really do not know - it is likely to be the season and if they are an artist they change easily. The plants, change the wall hanging—some people do it a lot."
- "I change it frequently—I do not know, I have always enjoyed rocks."
- "To add variety for others and myself."

This pattern of regularly changing the doorway displays is much more apparent in the apartment settings, but it is also evident in the assisted living settings. Informal staff interviews confirmed that some doorway displays do change seasonally in assisted living. One assisted living resident specifically mentioned she purposely changes her display seasonally.

I change what is on the door every season. In the fall, I put corn and in the spring, I put this out (holds up artificial leaves). We do not have any competition. I think it is just fun.

One of the assisted living settings was originally photographed in earlier pilot work for this study and then was re-photographed four years later. After verifying the same residents were still in residence it was clear that the assisted living displays had also changed (See Figure Eighteen). However, it was anecdotally reported that these changes occurred with less regularity. More information would need to be gathered to determine the exact difference and frequency.
The dynamism of the displays also makes a statement to other residents. Changing a display often was seen as a sign of creativity, traveling and even a sign of the occupant’s energy. The following quotes about what apartment residents learned from others’ displays illustrate this connection:

- “Their taste, creativity, style, culture, uniqueness, awareness, and energy.”
- “Shows their interests in collecting.”
- “They tell me the resident is happy and creative.”
- “Now some people are creative and you are always looking to see what they are going to put out next.”
- “You kind of spot the people that travel a lot. They have unusual things out there. And also they are apt to change.”

Continuity

Definition: Using the doorway as a means of maintaining a historical link to past décor or as a place to display items that were prominently displayed in past homes.

Residents also mentioned that having a display area allowed them to maintain continuity with their past décor. Frequently, this comment would relate to special objects which have always been on display in their past homes and are now on display in their retirement community homes. Quotes from apartment residents that support this trend include the following:

- “I was glad I had a spot to display church plates and artifacts from churches my husband had served....I always used to hang them in the dining room.”
- “I have always had door decorations and the shelf gives me an opportunity to share favorite items.”
- “I wanted to share some artifacts given to me by...”
- “I collect Japanese art and have always displayed it.”
- “The American flag was nearly always flown daily from my porch. Now, I display it (a small one) on the ledge on all national holidays.”
Definition: Use of the doorways to create distinguishing characteristics that set one's doorway apart from others.

Residents also saw the doorways as a way of expressing individuality. A positive outcome of individualization was increased wayfinding. In Community One's apartment setting there is a variety of alcove configurations, light sconce designs, and carpet colors. Each apartment floor has a different combination of light sconces and carpet colors. However, the primary, distinguishing features are the items residents place in the alcoves and the changes made to the alcoves. The apartment setting in Community Two has no variety in architectural features except for four doorways that do not have shelves. All doors, walls and carpets are the same color and style. Similar to Community One, the primary differences are the items residents place in the doorway alcove. Twenty-one percent of the apartment respondents mentioned individuality as a benefit to the doorway displays. Five percent of the apartment respondents indicated that personalizing the doorway was motivated by a need to increase wayfinding.

- "It makes one realize there are individuals living in the apartments."
- "It individualizes my apartment making it easier to find."
- "Blank doorways are a pain."
- "I am told it helps some people be sure they are at their own apartment."

Interestingly, residents of both assisted living settings never explicitly mentioned wayfinding as a motivator to placing items outside their doors during the interviews. More research would have to be conducted to find out if they view these displays as an aid for wayfinding. However, several residents did indicate placing items outside the door made it more distinctive, which is a tacit reference to wayfinding. In fact, one resident was quite proud of her doorway display and said, "It is like no one else's. I will tell you that." One apartment resident mentioned the benefits of individualization in assisted living:

I travel to the Health Center (assisted living setting) and I find it very interesting to see what is outside. This room has china elephants and on this side is a collection of turtles. My feeling is what I have seen and there are exceptions, ... everybody is a collector and these are things that...and these people have been around. And they want to display the things they have collected.
COMMUNICATIVE USES
Residents use the doorways as a vehicle for communication. Either the occupant or other residents of the community may initiate these exchanges. In most instances, this is a one way exchange of information for the benefit of the occupant (e.g., colored dots expressing a newspaper preference). However, the community also benefits from the information conveyed in the displays (e.g., knowing a pet is in residence for people who may be allergic).

Written Communication

Definition: Use of the doorway area to promote written exchanges of information.

The doorway displays provide a means for members of the community to initiate exchanges of written communication with the occupants of the dwelling and visa versa. Apartment doorway alcoves are also convenient places for community residents to leave notes for the occupant. A few residents preferred to facilitate written exchanges by providing a small box to place messages, a pencil and a pad of paper for others to use. This type of message center was identified in 5% of the apartment doorways photographed in Community One. One resident interviewed identified this trend by saying, “Upstairs there is a lady with a scratch pad and pencil, so you can write notes.”

Another clear form of communication is the creation of signs. The most frequently observed type of sign found in the apartment settings’ photographs was an indicator that a pet is in residence. Nine percent of the apartment doorways had some type of pet alert. This trend was primarily motivated by Community One’s administrative rules, which requests residents post some type of sign when they have an animal. The intent is to warn others who might be allergic to animals and to notify the cleaning staff of the animal’s presence. However, residents are extremely creative with how they decided to alert others. One resident took pictures of her cats and hung them up in frames outside her door with their names printed below. Another resident hung up a sign with the words “chat lunatique” which is French for crazy cat. She put “Cat Box” below for those who cannot read French. Signs also appeared in the assisted living setting. These varied from requests to “not be disturbed by visitors” to wishing others a “happy new year”. Community Two’s assisted living setting had several “stop signs” up to deter wandering residents from entering the wrong unit. These signs may be more necessary when the building is directly connected to the skilled nursing portion of the community.

Visual Communication

Definition: Manipulating the doorway area to visually convey information.

Visual communication is primarily an occupant-initiated exchange of information performed by manipulating the alcove’s contents or features. One example is the use of the doorway light. Both of the apartment settings have a wall mounted light at each unit’s door, but only one of the apartment setting’s lights are under the resident’s control. These lights appear to be turned off the majority of the time. One resident stated that when she is expecting visitors, it is her
custom to turn the light on. Accordingly, this light provides a signal to visitors that she is at home and expecting their arrival.

Another form of visual communication found in the apartment units promotes interdependence. At Community Two's apartment setting, everyone has a buddy, who is supposed to informally check-up on the health of another resident. To avoid having to receive a call everyday, one resident has arranged to create a signal by manipulating a small object in her alcove. The following paragraph explains the system:

I will tell you what that little bell is. We have at [community name] a buddy system... That bell when I get up in the morning to start my day I move which says, “I am okay do not worry about me.” That is what that bell is for. When I go to bed at night, I put the bell in the back. When I get up in the morning, and I am okay I move it back to the front. But, all of us who live independently at [community name] have someone who is dedicated as our buddy—another resident who checks everyday to see if you are okay. If you have a system like this, they do not have to bother to come in and ask if you are okay. That's what that bell is for.

Another form of visual communication found in one community is the use of colored dots placed on the door frame to help newspaper delivery people know which papers to leave. Each newspaper is assigned a different color. This dot was never mentioned in any of the interviews or surveys, but it would also provide other residents a visual clue about the occupant’s reading preferences. Additional information is needed to know if residents pay attention to these dots.

Self-Expression

Definition: Using the door as a place to make a statement about themselves or their past lives.

Self-expression is another form of communication, which is more latent since it requires more information to process and verify. Objects in the alcoves are often selected because they are an “expression of me.” Eighteen percent of the apartment survey respondents indicated objects were selected because they reflected themselves when asked what was the motivator for choosing objects to display. Moreover, 37% of the thematic responses to the survey question, “Why did you personalize your doorway?” indicated the motivator to personalize related to some type of individual reflection. Clearly, residents have a perception that the objects on display have importance for the occupant and are not just decorative. One resident stated, “They would not put something out they did not like...something that really had some significance in their lives.” Several residents supported this sentiment as evidenced in the following quotes from surveys and interviews.

- “you long for it to be a part of yourself. I am not going to change mine. I like it too well.”
- “Oh don't you think it is their personality out there...Oh I think so.”
- “It is part of my home and makes a first impression of me.”
- “Oh I think it fit and made a statement.”
- “The way they are letting people know what they are like inside and my guess is that everyone is advertising the sort of person they are”

119
The following quotes illustrate the minority opinions of a few residents who did not see the importance of the objects as self-expressions:

- “I think people do not make use of it as much as they should. It does not make a statement of their lives or their interest as a whole.”
- “Um, just something that catches my eye – a lot of it looks like nothing to me; some of them are nice.”
- “My son and daughter-in-law who are not crazy about cats. Gave me this little plaque, so I could put it in my office. Attention, warning crazy cat. I put it up because I already had it but people... have asked me about the French, ‘why is it in French?’ Similar to you of course. It was a false lead. There may be a lot of false leads.”

The connections between what people put on display and their lives were primarily discovered during the interview process. When questioning one resident about her display she immediately said, “Do you want me to tell you my stories.” These life stories were frequently interwoven with mentions of the displayed objects and the significance in their lives (See bio-sketch section of the report for more information). For example, one resident who described a lifetime of being a naturalist and a novice geologist has a bowl of rocks and a walking stick at her apartment entrance. Sometimes the connection was extremely clear at first glance, in other cases it required some explanation by the resident. One resident, who immigrated to America after World War II, assembled a collection of figurines that symbolized America and its neighbors. On her shelf are Indian figures symbolizing the first Americans; Mexican figures symbolizing our southern neighbors; Canadian mounties symbolizing our northern neighbors and Amish figures representing, “the people in the middle.”

In some cases, the opportunity for self-expression and identity appeared to provide a form of self-actualization. This trend was found in the assisted living settings when residents had relocated from another part of the retirement community. One quote about the experience of moving through the retirement community came from an apartment resident:

> I think people, partly, when people come into a retirement community like (community name) where the emphasis is do something and enjoy yourself, ... they are more apt to get rid of things and not live in the past unlike many places when you get to retirement. And, I think when you get to assisted living, then you cannot do anything else (not able to do things), so then your possessions are very complicated (From the conversation, resident implied items were much more meaningful and difficult to part with).

Some assisted living residents, echoed this sentiment by talking about the importance of displaying their self-identities with their possessions. Moreover, others would talk about their displays and their happiness in the same frame of reference.

- “Well I wanted to show that was where I lived or rather that is where an artist lived.”
- “It just seemed right. It just sort of fell together. I am happy.”
- “But people like me who do anything especially like me do put something out.”
- “I would put more stuff out there if I could. I do more if I could. I like to put things out.”
Loss of possessions after moving into a retirement community and especially into assisted living was a theme that was mentioned in five out of eight interviews with assisted living residents. Items placed on display and items inside the suites were very important to these residents. Furthermore, the compression of living space into one room also places more importance upon the transition zone from public to private that the edge provides. Thus, placing objects outside in the doorway alcove also marked one’s territory. The following quote is an assisted living resident’s response to the question, “how important is that space?”

It is my space. I like the door—I do not like when staff come unannounced. They come when I am in the middle of doing things. I feel like I am a little invaded. After all I only have one room.

SOCIAL USES
Doorways also served important social purposes, which helped to form bonds among the residents in both communities. The primary social themes are Group Membership, Camaraderie, and Discovery of Similar Interests. Although several themes in Communicative Uses are also present in Social Uses the primary difference is these social uses relate to the formation of group and their dynamics and customs. Social uses have an inherent scale issue. Some social uses are reflective of group membership into the entire retirement community, at the largest scale. Some social uses are more reflective of smaller scaled groups such as “cliques”.

Group Membership

Definition: Use of the doorway display to express membership in the community.

One of the interesting themes that emerged from the research is how these doorways also reflect community. One apartment resident expressed this by stating, “The variety is important. A stranger can tell we are a community and individuals.” This comment clearly reflected that the displays not only individualize the setting, but also demonstrate that residents belong to the wider community. As a cohort, the residents that live in both communities share some similar characteristics. The majority of the residents are in their early eighties (with a range of 23 years separating the youngest and oldest respondents in the apartment survey). Almost all of these residents’ lives have been impacted by major world events such as the Great Depression and the second World War. For example, using the average respondents’ age eighty-three as a benchmark, a person would have been born in 1918. They would have been eleven years old when the stock market crashed and twenty-three when the United States entered into the second World War. Thus, most these residents were of similar ages when they lived through these landmark 20th century events.

Almost, all of the residents in these two retirement communities have had the experience of going to college and have pursued advanced degrees. This is a strong indicator of either coming from a financially secure background or being able to obtain a scholarship (considering they would have entered college during the Depression years). Many have been teachers or professors at colleges or the spouses of teachers. Several of the residents interviewed mentioned changing career paths to help with the war effort during World War II. This group is well traveled and many residents have lived in multiple places around the United States. Moreover, several residents have lived abroad or
traveled extensively abroad. Thus in these two retirement communities, residents often shared the same careers, hobbies and interests.

Doorway displays provide an opportunity to latently demonstrate that residents are members of the same socio-economic group. Examples include displaying art purchased abroad or very unusual artifacts and antiques. For example, several residents displayed antique washstands or tables. “Disposable furniture” was rarely seen in these apartment alcoves (e.g. only one photograph showed a piece of press board furniture). In keeping with the aesthetic sensibilities of this upper level socio-economic group, residents would often display very modern items such as sculptures or other “high art” objects.

Several residents stated in their interviews that there was no competition between residents about the displays. However, it was clear that many residents put an effort into having something different that would stand-out. The importance of this effort demonstrates an emphasis on reflecting membership into the primary socio-economic group who live in these retirement communities. Examples of expressing a desire to be seen as different, creative or clever were often conveyed in the surveys and interviews:

- “...you would feel stupid not to put something out. You like to have something good.”
- “But people like me who do anything, especially like me, do put something out.”
- “Well we try to put something out a little different.”
- “Well it fit and I think it makes a statement.”
- “I wanted something distinctive.”

Group membership themes were evident in the apartment settings from the photographs, interviews and the surveys. Assisted living residents also appeared to support this trend. Similar to the apartment resident, it was evident from the items placed on display that assisted living residents had also traveled, or had an interest in the arts. For example, residents who enjoyed quilting would hang quilt pieces outside of their doors and were recognized by others residents as being quilters.

Residents clearly made judgments about the types of items placed in the displays and these judgments extended to the occupants of the units. The following quotes demonstrate this relationship.

- “And it makes the people interested in who is in there rather than...and notices a person.”
- “Well yeah - people will say why did you put that out. That I am afraid does influence how they feel about people.”
- “Some people want it to look very simple or stylish. And other people want it homey and remind them of home, nostalgic...All of them do reflect the people.”
Camaraderie

Definition: Use of the doorway to reinforce friendships and membership in the community.

Membership in the community group is frequently reinforced with actions that involved the unit's edge. Residents often expressed their enjoyment on receiving positive comments from other residents about their displays. When questioning residents about their displays during the interviews, they would always mention the items which have received positive compliments.

- “Occasionally, people will come to me and ask me where I come from and where I got the shells.”
- “Oh, everybody loves them. If friends visit, they will bring them by to show them.”
- “We have had a lot of compliments.”
- “Well sometimes, people particularly remark about my owls.”

Apartment survey answers also reflected this trend. For example, one resident regularly posted quotations outside her door and she frequently received positive feedback from others about these quotes. Furthermore, in Community Two's apartment setting, respondents said, a primary catalyst for creating a display is to reciprocate for enjoying what other people have placed outside their doors. Thus, manipulating the unit's edge played a role in reinforcing friendships. Eight percent of the respondents to the apartment survey specifically indicated that the displays promote friendships.

One resident described in her interview how customs relating to celebrating important days reinforces group membership. An example of this tradition that involved the unit's edge was the celebration of birthdays in the apartment setting in Community Two. On a resident's birthday, it was customary for other residents to place flowers and cards on the display shelf. For example, one resident said her entire shelf was covered with birthday gifts and greetings just a few days ago.

Camaraderie was less apparent among assisted living residents. It was clear from the interviews that long term assisted living residents knew one another, and some were familiar with the items that others had placed outside their door. However, four of the eight residents interviewed indicated they are friendly with the other assisted living residents, but maintained stronger friendships elsewhere. Thus, it is possible that several residents viewed assisted living as something temporary and do not invest themselves with the other residents. Moreover, residents may not feel comfortable with one another when they have been requested by administration to move into assisted living. One resident called the other assisted living residents, “the people I eat breakfast with.” However, further research would need to be conducted to gain more detailed information about this issue.
Discovery of Similar Interests

**Definition:** Use of the doorway area to discover similar interests.

Both of the retirement communities studied have well over two hundred residents, so it is not possible for all of the residents to have strong communal bonds with one another. Accordingly, in each of these settings, there are smaller groups of residents who regularly associate with one another due to common interests or backgrounds. The doorway displays provided residents with an opportunity to advertise their interests to others and supports the formation of these smaller groups. Forty-three percent of the apartment survey respondents indicated they had learned of another resident’s interest from looking at his/her display. The following quotes from the interviews and surveys illustrate this trend further.

- “I learned that she has the same interests as me.”
- “And the woman next door on this floor also has a piece she has quilted. She’s a quilter, a serious quilter. Little pieces. And she has done amazing things. That is definitely her.”
- “(The doorway’s) promote friendships”

The analytical findings from the apartment survey also indicate that there is a significant relationship between the positive impact of the displays and knowing others in the apartment buildings (.294, p < .01). Furthermore, the larger doorway alcoves, which offer a greater opportunity for personalization, had an even stronger relationship (.562, p < .001). These findings strongly indicate that the doorways helped to reinforce and promote other residents getting to know one another.
RESEARCH QUESTION TWO
WHAT INFLUENCES THE USE OF THESE EDGES?

While the previous section reviewed various uses for the unit's edge in retirement communities, this section will examine a number of influences that impact how these edges are used. Five primary influences will be discussed. These include the following categories: Architectural, Administrative, Peer Review, Care Level and Normalization.

ARCHITECTURAL INFLUENCES

Architectural influences on the use of the unit's edge are the limitations and opportunities that different spatial configurations and architectural features provide. Architectural influences played a significant role in how these doorways areas are used. The primary themes for architectural influences are Amount of Space, Architectural Features, Boundaries, and Electricity.

Amount of Space

Definition: The specific impact of the amount of space outside the unit's door, which is separate from the public corridor that is under the control of the unit's occupant.

Regardless of the care level or the community, if space was provided for personalization, it was used in all four settings (See Table Thirteen as an example). The larger the space provided; the more items that are placed in the area and greater amount of object variety. This is clear from the significance levels reported for the mean number of items on display in the assisted living setting at Community One that had two architectural styles of doorways – both recessed alcove style doorways and hallway style doorways (See Figure Eight). The alcove style had 4.29 mean number of items while the hallway style had 2.75 (p = .010). Therefore, the amount of space did make a difference in the number of objects displayed in the same setting. The assisted living setting at Community Two with larger alcove spaces and built in shelves, has a mean number of objects on display at 8.25, which is even higher. Comparing both apartment settings, the mean number of objects increased when more spaces is provided. Community One's deep alcoves had 10.26 mean number of items on display while Community Two's shallow alcoves had 6.94. However, this mean number difference was not found to be significant.

Wherever larger alcoves were used, apartment residents perceived the spaces as providing storage. This is evident from the 14% of the survey respondents who mentioned storage as a primary reason for personalizing the larger alcoves in Community One's apartment setting. Comparatively, none of the respondents in Community Two's apartment setting, which have shallow alcoves, mentioned storage as a reason for object choice or placement. The additional wall surfaces and floor areas provided in the larger alcoves also encouraged larger items such as tables and more frequently items were hung on the wall. Shallow alcoves with a built-in shelf appear to be viewed as a place to display items or a place to temporarily place items. This finding is supported by the greater number of decorative display oriented themes provided from Community Two's apartment survey compared to the more storage and utility oriented themes provided from Community One. Finally, the larger display areas in Community One also have a stronger significant relationship with knowing one's neighbor better. Thus, it can be inferred that larger alcoves may also provide more space for meaningful personalization.

125
Architectural Features

Definition: Impact of architectural features provided in the doorway area.

The impact of providing a shelf versus not providing shelf in the same amount of space in apartment settings requires additional study. The results of this impact was not possible to determine in the current study since these research settings had different sized alcoves. What can be determined is that the larger spaces without a shelf did impact the number of items displayed and the types of objects on display. Deeper alcoves without a shelf had 10.26 mean number of objects on display while the shallow alcoves with a shelf had 6.94 mean number of objects. The apartment setting with larger alcoves also had more variety in the types of objects on display. This trend is evident from counting the number of object categories present in each architectural type. The shallow alcoves with a shelf had a mean of 4.63 object categories, while the deeper alcoves had a mean of 8.53 (See Table Sixteen). The larger alcoves without a shelf created a natural need for residents to provide their own horizontal surface for utility or personalization resulting in increased variety and number of objects displayed.

The impact of providing a shelf versus not providing shelf within deep alcoves was possible to determine with the two assisted living settings since both architectural types existed. Comparing both assisted living settings that have doorways with deep alcoves, the presence of a shelf did increase the number of objects that were on display significantly. The difference between the mean number of objects in deep alcoves without a shelf versus deep alcoves with a shelf was 4.39 (p < .05). Additionally, the mean number of object categories also increased by 4.64 categories in the similar sized alcoves when a shelf was provided. Therefore, it can be inferred that providing a shelf in assisted living settings does increase the amount of personalization and the types of objects possible to display.

Boundaries

Definition: Impact of how definitively each display area is defined architecturally.

Another clear advantage of alcove entryways is the distinctive boundary within which a resident can personalize without straying into the community space of the hallway. Doorway alcoves which shared space with other doorways or hallway doorways without a clear architectural separation frequently created an ambiguous line. The result is that some residents are not sure where they can personalize. One apartment resident, pointed out this architectural limitation in her interview:

That's right — they couldn't (personalize the area) and then if it's right next door to someone else, and sometimes it does not go with what ever the person has next door. So people are much more limited and have less chance to inhabit their own space.

Two of the three assisted living residents who had hallway style alcoves mentioned they had to get permission to branch down the hall from their doorways with personal objects. Comparably, the two assisted living residents interviewed in the same community, who had alcove doorways,
did not mention having to receive permission to personalize. Thus, the lack of a boundary appears to be an issue worthy of further investigation.

\textbf{Electricity}

\textit{Definition: Limitations and opportunities of having electrical outlets and lights in the display area.}

Electrical outlets, lights and switches also impacted the doorway usage. Electrical outlets had the very practical use of providing the residents with a place to recharge batteries for electric scooters. In addition, outlets outside the residents’ doors allowed the placement of small lamps and in one case a re-circulating water pump for a waterfall. The apartment setting with shallow alcoves (Community Two) did not have any convenience outlets in the alcove area; therefore, no electric items were found on the shelves. Wall mounted light sconces controlled by wall switches located in the alcove were used as a means of welcoming visitors in Community One. They also served the purpose of providing residents with the opportunity to illuminate the keyhole as needed when returning to their apartments versus always leaving the light on. Community Two had light sconces that are under the control of motion detectors. One drawback of the wall-mounted switches was their location in Community One, which occasionally impacted how residents personalized their doorways. Sometimes residents would just cover over the
switch while other times they worked their display around it. Thus, electrical outlets and switched lights provided an opportunity for increased variety in the doorways while the placement of these items also impacted the display (See Figure Nineteen).

ADMINISTRATION INFLUENCES

Both communities were selected for the study based upon their highly positive attitudes about personalization. Accordingly, it is not possible from this data set to determine how personalization might differ in settings with more stringent administrative rules about the permissible uses of the doorway alcoves. In this study, administrative staff were questioned informally about the use of doorway alcoves and in most cases personalization was encouraged within reasonable boundaries. It should be noted that both of these retirement communities have a double tier of administration which will be described in further detail below. One tier is the organization’s administrative policies and the second tier is the residents’ self-governing policies. Both of these organizations set boundaries for personalization which will be described in the following paragraphs.

Administrative Rules

Definition: Impact of the administrative rules and policies enforced by staff members.

In both communities, assisted living settings appear to have more restrictions on doorway uses compared to the apartments. Some staff members expressed concerned about things looking cluttered or crowded, but all interviewed saw the positive benefits of having doorway displays. One staff member expressed concern that the Fire Marshall may request the removal of live plants and wreaths being displayed for the holidays. The assisted living residents’ comments also shared a diversity of staff attitudes towards hallway personalization. One assisted living resident mentioned in her interview that she requested permission to decorate further down the hall from her doorway and received approval. Another assisted living resident stated that she brought several things to display but only received permission for two objects. When I interviewed another assisted living resident, I was surprised to find she had artwork down the hall and across from her unit’s doorway alcove. Her reply was, “They say it is okay, so I do it.”

Apartment buildings appear to have much less administrative involvement over limiting the personalization of doorway alcoves. However, both of the apartment settings studied had very clear architectural boundaries for the doorway alcoves. Residents appeared to have freedom within those boundaries. This was particularly true in the apartment setting with deeper alcoves where residents would sometimes change the color of walls or add a permanent shelf (See Figure Twenty). In the shallow alcove apartment setting, most items were applied to the alcove and could be easily removed without changing the integrity of the area. Administrative rules did motivate what some residents decided to put on display. One community asked residents to make up their own name tags for their doors and they discouraged the use of titles such as Doctor or Ph.D. for egalitarian purposes. This same community also requested that resident put up some type of sign to warn people that a pet was in residence. More research is needed to assess how residents perceive such administrative instructions regarding how to label themselves (and their possessions) in the display areas.
Definition: Impact of resident run committees on doorway displays.

Both communities have strong resident committees that establish policies for the community. As both communities evolved, residents committees have fully taken over the review of hallway décor. These resident organizations supervise the placement of art and furniture in the public areas of the community. Some residents described confrontations with these committees over items they wished to donate for public displays, but wished to have near their dwelling units. In both apartment settings, residents could do anything they wished within reason to their own alcoves, but if they branched down the hallway then they needed permission from a resident committee. However, there appears to be some gray area to these policies. In the apartment setting with shallow alcoves (Community Two), residents could donate artwork to the committee and the committee would make an effort to hang the pieces near their doors if it was requested. Before these committees and rules were established, it appears that some of the founding residents branched out to some of the small sitting areas and down the hall. It also appears that a few residents have branched down the hall and added items such as travel pictures. A few respondents indicated that this behavior was now discouraged. The apartment setting with the larger alcoves (Community One) was decorated by a committee, which purchased artwork specifically for the hallway. This artwork was more anonymous compared to the other setting which used donated items from residents. However, in this community, residents did not appear to branch out of their clearly defined alcoves. One couple explicitly acknowledged the decor rule system as a part of community life.

(wife) I happen to be on two committees. I am on the art committee and the house committee. The art committee feels strongly that people should not be putting pictures across the hall because what suits one person for personal reasons may not be something that is pleasing as a decorative object. Not the personal spaces just along the wall. When it comes to the general hall space we think the quality should be very good. So, the house committee was created in part. Oftentimes when you come from a house you have items you may want to make as a gift or a loan. Now, we have decided it all should be a gift since it gets very complicated with estates otherwise. So, there has to be lid put on with what is accepted.

(husband) And I think it is important in a place like this, which is a community and we all impinge on one another. I think it is important to follow this convention. Otherwise, many people want to spread themselves, their ego and their importance or whatever.

(wife) You gain a lot when you come here but you also give up a lot.

(husband) It's that kind of a place.
**Informal Peer Review / Peer Pressure**

**Definition:** Informal peer pressure, which influences how doorways are used.

Residents also described how informal peer pressure influenced what was placed in the doorways. Sometimes this was a form of positive reinforcement and sometimes it was a form of censure. Positive examples include the compliments residents receive for items placed in the doorways. One apartment resident surveyed indicated she always receives positive comments about the quotations she places on her door. Negative examples include direct references to not liking what people put outside. A few residents spoke about the critique of objects during the interviews. Residents also would discourage others from placing anything of monetary value outside their door. In one community, a theft had occurred, and the residents discouraged placing things in the alcoves that are valuable. An example of one apartment resident’s interview that supports the peer pressure theme follows:

(Resident)...and I think — people have a lot to say about what people put out on the front.

(Researcher) Tell me more about that?

(Resident) Well yeah - people will say, “why did you put that out?” That I am afraid does influence how they feel about people.

(Researcher) Really?

(Resident) Well you could put out a little—Kind of — if you put a little if it is real cutesy or a very modern piece of sculpture all of them do reflect the people — I think the other residents make judgments about what they like and do not like.

(Researcher) Is this a topic of conversation?

(Resident) Occasionally — I would say it is more—well sometimes admiring. I think it is maybe more questioning or critical. Uh-huh. What ever they have—if they have quite a beautiful piece. Most people do not put fine things in the hall. I have not looked out here. Only in this building, I have not looked at the others.

**Care Level**

**Definition:** Impact of the residents’ physiological conditions upon use of the doorways.

Eightsix percent of the apartment survey respondents selected the display items on their own. Only one apartment resident mentioned during the interview that her daughter was responsible for items being placed outside in the hall. Two of the eight people who were interviewed in the assisted living settings mentioned a son or daughter helped with placing items in the doorway. One assisted living resident stated a niece placed items outside for her for the holidays. From these pilot data, trailer residents appear to have more assistance with their displays compared to the apartment residents. However, more comparative data would need to be gathered to determine the extent of this trend.
Certainly, many residents in all four settings would require assistance with the hanging of large pictures and the installation of heavy furniture. If this help was required, it was not mentioned by the survey respondents.

Normalization

Definition: Impact of past patterns and customs on the use of the doorways.

A pattern emerged from the photographs and survey data that many of the residents perceived these entry alcoves as an indoor front door. Residents treated the area as a foyer and would select items that they had near the front door in their past homes. Some resident saw this area as an outdoor porch and kept plants in the area. Live plants were found in 11% of the apartment doorways photographed. In fact, 68% percent of the respondents to the apartment survey indicated that the items they put outside their doors had been in their entryways before. In many instances, the practical items associated with the entry foyer were placed outside. Examples include coat racks, mirrors, and doormats (See Figure Twenty One). Mirrors appeared in 9% of the apartment doorways and small entry rugs appeared in 39% percent of the doorways.
Decorative customs also reflected aspects of normalization. One assisted living resident who was informally interviewed had placed a poinsettia on a table in the hallway. His unit did not have a recessed entryway, but it was very near the end of the hall. He told the researcher he was only in assisted living temporarily while he recovered from surgery, so the entire unit had very little furniture. When I asked him why he had placed the poinsettia outside, he replied, “It just seemed like the right thing to do.” One apartment resident mentioned a lifetime of flying the American flag on her porch for the holidays. Now she flies a miniature version. Thus, it was clear the pattern of decorating for the holidays observed over a lifetime also plays a strong role in the use of these indoor front doors.
Research Question Three
What Messages are These Edges Conveying?

Eight primary thematic messages emerged from the study. Some messages were extremely clear and easily understood while others require additional exploration. These eight thematic messages include:

- Who I am.
- This is important to me.
- I am different.
- I am active, energetic, healthy or happy.
- I belong.
- I am contributing to the community.
- This is my space.
- I have a pet.

Eight Primary Messages

Since many of these messages have been revealed in previous discussions, the summary findings will be presented in an abbreviated manner.

Who I Am

"Who I Am" was a message that many of the doorways expressed in a variety of ways. This theme emerged from three primary data sources – the apartment survey, the photographs, and the interviews. When apartment residents were surveyed about what they have learned from viewing others' doorway displays, 58% of the content themes related to "who the occupant was". When asked the same question, interviewed residents would also point out other people's doorways and how they related to a specific person's interests. These residents also indicated that they personalized the area as an expression of themselves.

- "Well many – like my friend with the railroad has done. It is very clear from what he has put out and you will see an amazing collection of locomotives and models on the whole wall, he will tell you about each one."
- "And the women next door on this floor also has a piece she has quilted. She's a quilter, a serious quilter. That is definitely her."
- (Researcher) "Why did you put things outside?" (Resident) "An expression of me."
- (Researcher) "Why did you put things outside?" (Resident) "Well it is for an expression."
- "I like to think the blue jay reflects my personality."

Only two of the nineteen residents interviewed believed the doorways to be more decorative than forms of self-expression.

- "I think people do not make use of it as much as they should. It does not make a statement of their lives or their interest as a whole."
- "...a lot of it looks like nothing to me – some of them are nice."
This Is Important To Me

The message that “items placed on display were significant to the occupant” was clearly picked up by the other residents. Forty-three percent of the apartment resident respondents indicated they had learned about a person’s interests or hobbies. Quotes that demonstrate this message include the following:

- “Well I think they would not put something outside the door unless it was something that they like, and something that really had significance in their lives.”
- “Well it fit, and I think it makes a statement.”

I Am Different

There was a great deal of effort put into these displays to reflect creativity and the need to be seen as different. This is evidenced by the following quotes:

- “My room is not like anyone else.”
- “Well we try to put something out a little different.”
- “Not much because you would feel stupid not to put something out. You like to have something good.”
- “I wanted something distinctive.”
- “It just makes one realize there are individuals living in the apartments and each one has a little different taste in decorating.”

I Am Active, Energetic, Healthy Or Happy

Residents would make judgments about the occupant’s life, outlook and health based upon the displays. The following quotes illustrate how other residents picked-up on this message:

- “(I have learned) their taste, creativity, style, culture, uniqueness, awareness, energy.”
- “They tell me the resident is happy and creative.”
- “And it makes the people interested in who is in there rather than...and notice a person.”
- “Now some people are creative and you are always looking to see what they are going to put out next.”

I Belong

The use of the displays has also become a shared tradition in these communities, as a method to express belonging and a way to judge others. Furthermore, residents would often display objects that are reflective of the upper socio-economic social milieu of these communities. Examples include exotic travel souvenirs, modern tastes in art and heirloom period furniture. Quotes that relate to “I belong” include:

- “She has better taste than her predecessor.”
- “Outsiders often comment on the displays.”
- “It has become customary to have some sort of display for most residents.”
I Am Contributing to the Community

Thirteen percent of the residents surveyed were motivated to personalize their doorways based upon making a positive contribution to the hallway. Some of the residents criticized others for not making an effort.

- “Well it is sort of a friendly thing.”
- “I enjoy other people’s doorways so I wanted to reciprocate.”
- “People who visit remark about them and enjoy the variety as do the residents.”
- “I wanted to contribute to the attractiveness of the hall outside my door.”
- “Some want to add to the beauty and interest – a few do not (hence nothing at their doors).”

This is My Space

Residents also indicated that they personalized the doorways because it was “their space” or “their home.” Ten percent of the respondents to the apartment survey indicated this was the reason they chose to personalize the area. Clearly, residents took ownership of the areas outside their doors. Moreover, one assisted living resident also indicated that she appreciated the doorway alcove as a separation between the public corridor and her one room, private living unit.

I Have a Pet

The pet alert message was found in many of the doorways in Community One. Frequently, this message was posted pictorially rather than in the form of written communication. Recognizing a person has a pet was mentioned by 14% of the respondents in Community One. Comparatively, only one doorway photographed in Community Two showed a pet alert.
Research Question Four

What is the Edges’ Influence on Perceptions of the Setting?

As mentioned before, edge personalization influenced residents’ perceptions both positively and negatively, but primarily the perceptions were positive.

Positive Perceptions

The main sources of information for answering this research question are the apartment surveys and the interviews. Assisted living residents were also asked about the use of the spaces outside their doors, but no negative statements were made by these residents during the interviews. Overall, apartment residents saw the displays as a positive aspect of their community. Fifty percent of the apartment survey respondents from both communities viewed the doorways as very positive and 31% percent indicated they had some positive impact. In contrast, ten percent of all respondents indicated the doorways had no impact and 2% indicated the doorways had a negative impact. Quotes that illustrate positive impacts of displays include:

- “The doorways give me insight into the occupant.”
- “It makes one realize there are individuals living in the apartments.”
- “They give the corridor a lived in look.”
- “Promote friendships.”
- “The variety is important. A stranger can tell we are a community and individuals.”
- “Makes the place looked lived-in not sterile.”

Statistical significance was also achieved when measuring the relationship between the positive impact of the displays and how satisfied are residents with the apartment building décor (.324, p < .01). Therefore, it can be inferred that these displays contributed to the positive perceptions of the community by the residents.

Negative Perceptions

As stated above, the numbers of respondents who saw the displays as negative or having no impact is quite low. However, residents who are heavily invested in their communities may not to wish to indicate dissatisfaction; thus, there may be some bias in the respondents’ answers. To add additional support to these findings, the survey needs to be issued to more residents in communities with less personalization, as well as in assisted living settings. However, the open-ended comments and in-depth interviews from this study indicated that only a minority of residents had an issue with some of the displays. In other cases, the need for self-expression versus what is viewed as an appropriate community image conflicted. Some of the resident reacted to what they believed created clutter. The following quotes illustrate these respondents’ issues:

- “Never thought about it, some are fastidious, others are chaotic.”
- “Most of us do not decorate except perhaps at holidays and like the hall uncluttered. It could be junky if we all hung stuff out. An occasional piece is eye-catching, but a hall full would not be neat or fetching!”
• "Tastefully done it adds to the décor. Artificial flowers and pictures detract."
• "I do not know how others feel about the displays. As a whole the displays are okay, but one or two have too much in the small space."
• "Too much clutter would increase the work of the housekeepers, they are discouraged in some residences for the elderly."
RESEARCH QUESTION FIVE
WHAT IS THE EDGES’ INFLUENCE ON SOCIALIZATION?

Key themes that emerged about the effects of the unit’s edge on socialization are Conversation Starters, Group Formation and Group Acceptance.

Conversation Starters
People who move into a retirement community often do not previously know one another. In both retirement communities, several residents had relocated from other states. However, in Community Two, 42% of the residents were affiliated with the local college in some way. Therefore, it is possible several residents knew one another before moving into the community. It was hypothesized, providing residents with a form of self-expression via decorative displays would help to support the creation of social networks both small and large. This is a difficult question to answer definitively, given the limited resources of this exploratory study. The best indicator that displays have an effect on socialization is the strong relationship found between the rating of knowing others in the apartment building and the positive impact of the displays from all apartment surveys (.294, p < .01). To support these findings, the survey would need to be issued at more places, with varying degrees of personalization. In addition, the method of determining how well residents know one another would need to be further refined. Assisted living residents also need to be added to the survey sample. However, there are some clear indicators in the survey data that doorway displays helped residents to start conversation as evidenced by the following quotes.

• “I learned of others’ interests - provided conversation areas - a way of getting to know other residents.”
• “Often it’s a conversation starter and helps to get to know a new resident easier.”

Group Formation
Similar to the idea of conversation starters, displays also helped other residents learn about common interests. It was hypothesized that personalization would also help to form groups of residents with common interests. Similar to what is stated above, the study does not provide enough information to determine if smaller group formation is a direct outcome of personalization. This trend was not identified in assisted living in this study and more research would be required to determine if it exists. However, it is clear from the apartment survey answers, people are aware of other residents’ interests from the displays and it can be inferred that the displays played some role (e.g., 43% of the respondents indicated they learned of a resident’s interests or hobby from the displays). Quotes from open-ended responses to the question “What have you learned from another resident’s display?” further illustrate this connection.

• “She likes the same hobbies as I do.”
• “An appreciation of what is important to them.”
• “She likes exotic things. She likes animals. She reads.”
• “I learned another was a gardener by her changes of potted plants.”

Group Acceptance
Both retirement communities see themselves as intact entities where strong feelings of group membership exist. Doorway displays have become a custom at both retirement communities. Residents who contribute to the displays are noticed. The positive comments received by people who change
their displays often help to reinforce these actions. Thus, the creation of displays helps to reinforce group behavior, as well as indicate group membership. Indicators that residents see themselves as members of a community group are evident in the following statements.

- “Outsiders often comment on the displays.”
- “People who visit remark about them and enjoy the variety as do the residents.”
- “A stranger can tell we are a community and individuals.”
- “Visitors must notice the difference in our interests.”
- “Learned about our various interests.”

The custom of creating a display is highlighted in these quotes.

- “It has become customary to have some sort of display for most residents.”
- “I noticed interesting displays when I arrived and had numerous small items, which I could display.”
- “Recently moved to the apartments – everyone does (create a display)”

Doorway displays are seen as means to contribute to the group and to receive affirmation that you belong to the group. This trend appears in the following quotes:

- “By comments, questions, requests to keep some items longer; pleasure at seeing some again, “Oh you’ve got dear old Don Quixote out again.”
- “To share my treasures with others.”
- “Often I display things I picked up on recent trips. Flowers bring cheer. Unusual items bring the outside world closer.”
- “I have learned “the talents of individual and interests in creating a house atmosphere.”
- “I have bare tree branches in a vase. In October, I hang jack-o-lanterns; in November, I hang pilgrims, Indians, turkeys; in December, I hang ornaments; in January, snowflakes cut out of paper: in February, hearts; in March, shamrocks; in April, jelly beans, eggs, bunnies, chickens; May—pictures of flowers posted on cards. I always have a quotation posted on our door. I regularly receive comments from people walking by about how they enjoy the changing display and quotations.”