

URBAN DESIGN AS A MECHANISM FOR
FACILITATING AND SUSTAINING SOCIAL CONTACT

A Thesis

Submitted to

The Faculty of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfilment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of City Planning

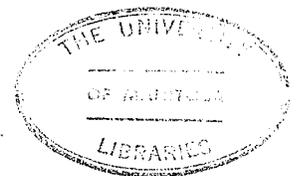
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INTRODUCTION

Alienation has become one of the more pervasive characteristics of modern man. It is present in many North American urbanites and this can be said to be undesirable. Alienation is not good because it results in unhealthy and unhappy people.

Alienated people are lonely.¹ The loneliness which characterizes alienation is not the acute and temporary type produced by the loss of a significant object. Rather, it is a much deeper loneliness. People carry with them the feeling that they actually do not belong, that they are not really a part of things. The anxiety that results is very great and people go to lengths to try to reduce its effects. Some turn to alcohol and others to drugs.² Many become addicted. If the loneliness is particularly extreme, mental illness may result. People may lose touch with reality and suffer from such problems as neurosis or psychosis.

Alienated people experience deep frustration.³ They carry with them a continual sense of opposition between their own wishes and desires and the wishes and desires of those around them. They

¹William W. Meissner, "Alienation in Psychiatric Perspective," ed. William C. Bier. Alienation: Plight of Modern Man. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972), pp. 68.

²Ibid.

³Herman Lantz, "Number of Childhood Friends as Reported in the Life Histories of a Psychiatrically Diagnosed Group of 1,000," Marriage and Family Living, 18, 1(May, 1956), p. 108.

also feel that their wishes, desires and ambitions are being denied by others. The continuing frustration which results leads to either a feeling of helplessness and hopelessness or rage. When the former feeling predominates, people may resort to any number of pathological forms of behavior to alleviate the sense of frustration -- again they may turn to drink or take drugs.⁴ When the latter, rage, dominates the type of behavior manifest is more rebellious. People may enter into senseless acts of violence - some of the more common being assault or vandalism.⁵

Alienation, it appears, can result in unfavourable consequences. In this thesis an attempt is made to solve the alienation problem. A theory as to the cause of alienation is advanced in the first chapter and a method by which alienation can be reduced or eliminated is discussed in the second.

Alienation is posited to be the result of the lack of meaningful social contact between people, the type of contact which can be found in good friendships. Friendships are a sign of healthy human relationships.⁶ They are a source of satisfaction and pleasure to people and they help people to lead happier and more complete lives.⁷ Where friendships are lacking, alienation seems to appear. Where there are friendships, the likelihood of alienation is much reduced.

⁴Meissner, p. 68.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Richard A. Kalish. The Psychology of Human Behavior, (Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1973), p. 245.

⁷Ibid., p. 246.

Urban design is a complex discipline which includes aspects of aesthetics, engineering, economics and so forth. In a narrow interpretation of the term, urban design can be used as a mechanism to help the formation of friendships. Friendships have the greatest probability of developing between people who are similar and who live close to each other.^{8,9,10} By designing environments for given groups of people, similar people can be attracted to a certain area and, as a result, the likelihood of friendships forming between them can be increased. The creation of residential nuclei of homogeneous people is proposed as a major means of combating alienation.

Alienation is a very complex problem and the above is by no means the only way of dealing with the difficulty. Friendships are also able to develop outside of residential environments, and urban design can foster friendship formation in other areas. It is possible, for instance, by designing for a wide range of leisure and recreational activities, to attract similar people, because of common preferences, to certain facilities. Friendship formation can thus be encouraged and alienation opposed in this manner. It is, however, impossible to discuss in this thesis all the ways in which urban design can be used to encourage friendship formation in the

⁸Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 34.

⁹Herbert J. Gans, People and Plans, (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 152.

¹⁰Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Friendship and Social Values in a Suburban Community: An Exploratory Study," The Pacific Sociological Review, 2, 1(Spring, 1959), p. 9.

city because of the volume of work involved, therefore, the discussion will centre on the residential environment where the probability of friendship formation appears to be the greatest.

Critics of both the suburban and inner city environments abound. Suburbia has been depicted as a cold, dreary, sterile place in which to live, where everything is standardized, and where people can lose their individuality.^{11,12,13,14,15} The inner city, with its high density apartment living, has been seen by many to be equally as undesirable but for different reasons.^{16,17,18,19} Many do not find the traffic and the noise at all appealing. These environments, however, do have their benefits. They are good in the sense that they can provide a setting where certain people can form

¹¹Ada Louise Huxtable, "Clusters Instead of Slurbs," New York Times Magazine, (February 9, 1964), pp. 37-44.

¹²John Keats, The Crack in the Picture Window (1956).

¹³Catherine Marshall, "What's Happening to our Homeowners?" Suburbia Today (July, 1964).

¹⁴Stanley Rowland, Jr., "Suburbia Buys Religion," Nation, 183, 4(July 28, 1956), p. 78.

¹⁵William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1957).

¹⁶C. A. Doxiadis, "Urban Environment and Housing for Man," ed. Vasily Kouskoulas, Urban Housing (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1973), p. 10.

¹⁷Pearl Jephcott, Homes in High Flats, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1971), p. 1.

¹⁸Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Families in High Rise Apartments, Toronto (May, 1973), pp. 2, 9, 12, 13.

¹⁹Anthony Sutcliffe, "Introduction," ed. Anthony Sutcliffe, Multi-Story Living (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1974), p. 3.

friendships. People will choose an environment over another according to their needs and preferences. Similar people, because of this process, will move towards one environment over the other, increasing the probability of friendship formation. This process, however, in North American urban areas is not operating at its most efficient level. Urban environments, especially residential, have continued to follow very general patterns and designs. As a result, enough environmental choices whether suburban or inner city, have not been provided and similar people have not been encouraged to get together as well as they could be. More choices can be provided by designing for nuclei of homogeneous people and for facilities which would cater to people of similar interests.

In Chapter Three, examples as to how the alienation problem can be solved through use of the preceding method are presented.

CHAPTER I

THE THEORY

Alienation

The idea of alienation is not one which is new to man. The theme of outcastness, estrangement and loss, is an archetypal theme present throughout human life and history. Keniston has written that:

Adam and Eve were estranged from God and outcast from Eden and since then in every tradition known, themes of irrevocable loss of former closeness abound in myth, literature, history and life.¹

Formal discussions on the subject began as long as 150 years ago. It would be thought that a concept which has been so popular and which has received so much attention over the years would have a clear-cut, well-formed definition. This, however, is not the case. Alienation remains one of the most common and yet one of the vaguest concepts there are.² The problem appears to be that there are many different types of alienation and there is yet no consensus as to one definition which would fit all.³ Man, it seems, can be alienated

¹Kenneth Keniston, "The Varieties of Alienation: An Attempt at 'Definition'," ed. Ada W. Finifter, Alienation and the Social System (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972), p. 32.

²Igor S. Kon, "The Concept of Alienation in Modern Sociology," Social Research, 34, 3 (Autumn, 1967), p. 507.

³Irene Taviss, "Changes in the Forms of Alienation: The 1900's vs. The 1950's," The American Sociological Review, 34, 1 (February, 1969), p. 46.

from almost anything - himself, his work, other people, his God.^{4,5} Each type of alienation has largely been dealt with separately and definitions have been formulated accordingly.

The alienation of concern to this thesis is the alienation of people from other people. There is no suitable definition in the literature for this type of alienation, but one can be developed using a method put forward by Keniston.⁶

Keniston's system, to define the various types of alienation, can effectively handle old or new variations. According to Keniston, all alienations have one thing in common - the feeling of an absence or loss of a previous or desirable relationship.⁷ Where he feels they differ are in the following four ways:

1. In their focus. There has to be an alienation from someone or something;
2. In what replaces the previous relationship;
3. In what mode the alienation is manifest; and
4. In the agent of the alienation.⁸

By asking questions which pertain to the above differences about the alienation of people from other people an acceptable definition can be achieved.

⁴John Rowan, The Social Individual (London: Davis-Poynter, 1973, p. 233.

⁵Keniston, p. 33

⁶Ibid., pp. 32-45.

⁷Ibid., p. 34.

⁸Ibid., p. 34.

1. What is the focus of the alienation?

People are alienated from other people. Considering the number of people who are present in urban areas the list could be endless - people could be alienated from their next-door neighbour, the mailman, the grocer, and so forth.

2. What replaces the lost or absent relationship?

People withdraw into their own personal worlds. They seek satisfaction by elaboration of parts of their selves.⁹

3. How does the alienation manifest itself?

People become detached from other people.¹⁰ They tend to become impersonal and indifferent in their dealings with other people.¹¹ They appear not to care. In more extreme cases, pathological behaviors such as drinking and taking drugs may be exhibited. People may withdraw completely and suffer from some form of mental illness.

4. What is the agent of the alienation?

People themselves are their own agents. They are the ones who make the turn inward.

The alienation, then, of concern to this thesis can be defined as the alienation of people from other people which leads to the withdrawal of people into their own personal worlds, which, in turn, results in their becoming indifferent or uncaring towards others or exhibiting anti-social or pathological behaviors.

The above type of alienation can be found in contemporary North American cities. Many authors have written about the impersonality and superficiality of human relationships in these urban areas.

⁹Meissner, p. 55.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 55.

¹¹Ibid., p. 64.

Wirth has felt that the relationships among many North American city dwellers to be "largely anonymous, superficial and transitory."¹² Simmel viewed urbanites as uncaring and withdrawn, possessing a "blasé attitude."¹³ Alexander has seen most of their relationships as being unsatisfying and trivial.¹⁴ Some also, like Alexander, have felt that the alienation of people from other people, if it is extreme, can result in social pathologies.¹⁵ Alexander has mentioned schizophrenia and delinquency.¹⁶

The above type of alienation can be said to be on the increase. Gerson has written that complaints of feeling lost, separated and alienated are more frequent now in North American cities than in the past.¹⁷ Riesman has argued that the trend towards the isolated, lonely and alienated character-type in society has been increasing with time.¹⁸ The results of occasional surveys in cities across the United States have also supported this assumption.¹⁹

¹²Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," The American Journal of Sociology, 44, 1 (July, 1938), pp. 1-24.

¹³Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," rev. ed. edited by Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Cities and Society (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), p. 638.

¹⁴Christopher, Alexander, "The City as a Mechanism for Sustaining Human Contact," ed. William R. Ewald, Environment for Man (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1967), p. 61.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 68-73.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁷Wolfgang Gerson, Patterns of Urban Living (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 23.

¹⁸David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950).

¹⁹"Report of the Harris Poll." The Washington Post, 7 December 1972, p. 413.

In the introduction, alienation was said to be undesirable. Its presence in North American cities and the trend towards increase, thus, must be viewed as an unfavourable condition. The cause of this alienation of people from other people is the subject of discussion in the following section.

Meaningful Social Contact

Modern urban society has more contact and communication in it than any other society in human history. People have contact with more people than they ever have had in the past. The problem is that these contacts have not been of the type that people most require. They have not been meaningful.^{20,21}

What is meant by the phrase "meaningful social contact?" The intimate contact that Alexander writes about is very similar to meaningful social contact and the terms could almost be used synonymously. Alexander defines intimate contact as "that close contact between two individuals in which they reveal themselves in all their weaknesses without fear."²² He characterizes the above relationship as one "in which the barriers which normally surround the self are down," and one which is demonstrated in the best marriages and all true friendships."²³

²⁰Wirth, p. 1.

²¹Alexander, pp. 61-62.

²²Alexander, p. 62.

²³Ibid.

It is felt, however, by this author, that his definition and his characterization are too rigid. In his definition, he states that for an intimate contact to occur individuals must reveal themselves in all their weaknesses. It can be seriously questioned whether this is ever the case. It certainly would be the exception. In defining meaningful social contact, then, a slight modification has been introduced -- meaningful social contact is seen as that contact between two individuals in which they reveal themselves in many of their weaknesses without fear.

In his characterization, Alexander sees the relationship between two individuals as one in which the barriers which normally surround the self are down. Again it can be seriously questioned whether this is ever the case. It would be difficult to prove one way or the other, as many of an individual's barriers are unconscious. A person would not know for sure himself if they were down or not. It can, however, be reasonably assumed that some would have to be down if a person was to be able to talk about things of a personal nature.

He also sees the relationship as occurring only in the best marriages and only in true friendships. It is felt that, once more, he is being too restrictive. In this thesis, as a result, good marriages and all friendships are included in the characterization.

What evidence is there that lack of meaningful social contact results in alienation? Unfortunately, the evidence which is available lends support only to the extreme version of the hypothesis, that is, that the extreme lack of meaningful social contact is

related to the extreme forms of alienation. Evidence for the milder version does not exist because the necessary research has not been carried out. On the basis of the evidence for the extreme version, however, it can be inferred that a relationship also exists for the milder.

Faris and Dunham, in the 1930's, studied the distribution of mental disorders in Chicago.²⁴ They found that many schizophrenias (mental disorders characterized by loss of touch with reality) had their highest rates of occurrence among hotel residents and lodgers, and people who lived in the rooming house district of the city. In other words, among those people who were most alone. These people have been shown by many to have very few friends.²⁵ Anonymity and isolation are instead the rule.

Langner and Michael studied the incidence of mental disorders on Manhattan Island in New York City.²⁶ They found that people who reported having fewer than four friends had a significantly higher chance of mental disorder than those who reported having more than four friends. People who appeared to have the fewest number of friends had the greatest likelihood of mental illness.

²⁴R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, Mental Disorders in Urban Areas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 82-109.

²⁵Ibid., p. 7.

²⁶T. S. Langner and S. T. Michael, Life Stress and Mental Health (New York: 1963).

Herman Lantz did research on a group of 1,000 men in the United States Air Force.²⁷ The men had been referred to a mental hygiene clinic because of emotional difficulties. He found that the men who reported having the fewest number of friends were those that were diagnosed as mentally ill. Those that reported having many friends were diagnosed as being normal.

D. M. Fanning studied the health of the wives of British armed forces personnel stationed in Germany in the late 1960's.²⁸ He found the frequency of neurosis in the women to vary directly with the level that their apartment unit was located on. The higher the level the greater the frequency of neurosis (neurosis is a psychological disturbance characterized by prolonged high levels of anxiety which reduces a person's efficiency in dealing with reality). Fanning attributed his results to the fact that the social isolation of the women increased with height.²⁹ The higher the level the women lived in the greater their isolation from people, the fewer the friendships, and therefore the greater the incidence of neurosis. The fact that Fanning found a low level of neurosis in women who worked and could get out and have contact with many people served to further strengthen his argument.

²⁷Lantz, pp. 107-108.

²⁸D. M. Fanning, "Families in Flats," British Medical Journal, 4, (October-December, 1967), pp. 382-386.

²⁹Ibid., p. 383.

There exists a correlation between low socio-economic status and high rates of mental disorder and delinquency.³⁰ Langner and Michael have found that people in the lower socio-economic groups tend to have fewer friends than the people in the highest socio-economic groups.³¹ A connection between the above factors cannot be ruled out.

The evidence does seem to indicate that there is a relationship between the extreme lack of meaningful contact and the extreme forms of alienation.

Alienation has been said to be due to the lack of meaningful social contact between people, and evidence has been presented which lends credibility to this hypothesis. The question which inevitably follows is, why do people lack meaningful social contact?

Primary Group Relations

Lack of meaningful social contact can be attributed to the breakdown in primary group relations in North American society.

A primary group can be defined as "a small group of people characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation."³² It is primary in the sense that it is fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual.

³⁰Arnold M. Rose and Holger, R. Stub, "Summary of Studies on the Incidence of Mental Disorders." ed. Arnold M. Rose, Mental Health and Mental Disorder. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1955, pp. 102-104.

³¹Langner and Michael, p. 286.

³²Charles H. Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), p. 23.

Primary groups have been the mechanism by which meaningful contacts have been encouraged in the past. In recent times, however, their effectiveness in this role has been declining. The two most important primary groups are the family and the children's play group. The waning influence of the primary groups can be emphasized by taking a closer look at these two groups.

The Family: Today's family still serves as a mechanism which facilitates and maintains meaningful social contact among its members. Its impact, however, on an individual member's overall number of meaningful contacts has been much reduced. The average modern family contains four members, two of which are adults. As a result, the average family is likely only able to provide one meaningful contact for each of the parents and one for each of the children. By virtue of the definition of meaningful social contact, meaningful contact between children and adults is not possible. There is no mutual revealing of the self between children and adults. Children are likely to be open with adults and eager to talk about many of their concerns but the process is not likely to work in the other direction. Children, because of their age and maturational levels, are not usually taken into confidence by adults. Therefore, the number of meaningful contacts which are to be found in the nuclear family can be said to be correct as presented above. The extended family of previous years on the other hand contained many adults and many children. A number of meaningful contacts could be present under one roof.

There is evidence that many households do not even contain two adults but only one.³³ Many people are either single, widowed, divorced, or separated. It is likely that under these circumstances these people would not have one meaningful contact as home.

The Children's Playgroup: The United States and Canada have recently reached zero population growth. People in North America over the years have been having fewer children. The average number per family is now somewhere in the neighbourhood of 2.3.^{34,35} This reduced number of children has been causing problems for the children's playgroup.

In the past, when families were larger, there was a greater number of children in any given area. Children had easy access to many other children of similar age. Playgroups, as a result, tended to be large and these playgroups could encourage a large number of meaningful social contacts. Today, children of similar age are not as easily accessible to each other as they once were. The playgroups tend to be smaller and it follows that they encourage fewer meaningful contacts.

The impact of both the family and the children's playgroups with respect to number of meaningful social contacts has been much reduced. There is evidence that the influence of lesser primary

³³Ruth Glass and F. G. Davidson, "Household Structure and Housing Needs," Population Studies, 4 (1951), pp. 403-404.

³⁴Canada Year Book 1974 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974), p. 148.

³⁵The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac 1972. (New York: The New York Times Company, 1971), p. 483.

groups has also declined.³⁶ What is the reason for the breakdown of primary group relations and the resulting consequences?

Individual Autonomy

The breakdown in primary group relations is the result of the growth of individual autonomy in North American society. People, because of the available wealth, are able to provide for their own material needs. Women can work and support themselves (many women even support families). Teenagers, as young as sixteen years, can work and make their own living. Senior citizens, because they receive a pension from the Government and other sources, do not have to rely on kin to see them through their old age. People have become autonomous. This was not the case in previous years. People were not able to live as easily on their own as they do now.

People have recognized the fact that they have the ability to provide for their own needs and this has given them a feeling of independence. Primary relations as a result have not been given the same prominence as before because they have been perceived as not being as necessary for survival purposes. From a material point of view this is certainly true. Primary relations, because they have not been given as much attention as before, have tended to break down.

Industrialization

Industrialization has been the factor which has influenced the growth of individual autonomy. Industrialization has resulted

³⁶Alexander, p. 74.

in increased productivity which, in turn, has resulted in increased wealth.³⁷ It is to this increased wealth that the autonomy of the individual can be attributed. People now have the money which enables them to provide for their own needs.

In the preceding chapter, a theory as to the cause of alienation has been presented. The major elements of the theory are summarized in Fig. 1.

In the Introduction, it was stated that alienation was an undesirable element. Following from that argument, a means of reducing and eliminating alienation must be found. By working from the theory, a method can be developed and it is this method which is to be discussed in Chapter II.

³⁷Walter T. Wallibank, Alaster M. Taylor, and George Barr Carson, Jr. 5th ed. Civilization, 2, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1965), p. 164.

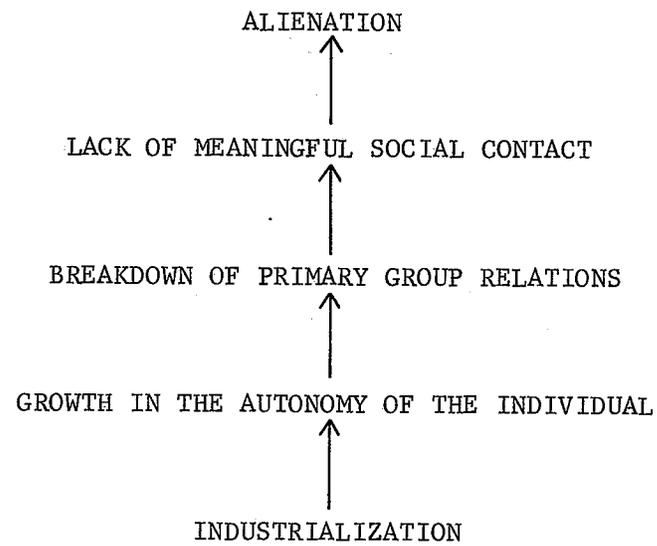


Fig. 1. Summary of Theory as to Cause of Alienation.

CHAPTER II

THE METHOD

In looking at the theory it soon becomes evident that it is only possible to influence two elements in the causal process -- primary group relations or meaningful social contact. Industrialization is obviously here to stay and it would be difficult and impractical to attempt to influence individual autonomy. Self-sufficiency and independence are highly valued in society and tampering would certainly draw heavy opposition.

If primary groups could be strengthened or new ones created, or if meaningful social contact could be encouraged so that there would be no lack, alienation could be affected in a positive way. Attempts at the former have been made in the past and they have not met with much success.¹ The force which has been breaking primary groups apart has proven to be too strong. It appears that there is no other alternative but to work with the remaining element. Meaningful social contact must be encouraged in some manner so that alienation can be reduced or eliminated.

It will be remembered that it was stated earlier that meaningful social contact was that type of contact which could be found in friendships. It follows, then, that if friendships were encouraged so would be meaningful social contacts. Friendships can be encouraged by means of urban design.

¹Alexander, p. 87.

Friendship Formation

There are two conditions which are necessary for friendship formation. If both conditions are not present there will be no friendship. The conditions, however, are not sufficient. Their presence does not guarantee friendship. The most that can be said where they are present is that the likelihood of friendship is high. The conditions are:

1. People must meet frequently and under casual circumstances.^{2,3}
2. They must have an actual or a perceived similarity.^{4,5}

To be more explicit, people have to see each other often, almost every day, or they will never get down to talking about things that are of a personal nature and important to them. If people only see each other once in a while, they find they have so many things to talk about, that they never really get down to essentials. The conversations tend instead to center around trivia -- sports, the weather, who got married. There is no mutual revealing of the self in these situations. On the other hand, people who see each other often have the opportunity to exhaust the discussion of trivia and their conversations can focus on important personal matters.

²Ibid., p. 62.

³Festinger, p. 34.

⁴Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Friendship and Social Values in a Suburban Community: An Exploratory Study," The Pacific Sociological Review, 2, 1 (Spring 1959): pp. 8-9.

⁵Herbert J. Gans., People and Plans (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 152.

People also have to meet in casual and informal circumstances where they can be relaxed and be themselves. The circumstances must be such that a structured role situation does not prevail. A specific role situation, such as would be found at work, provides rules about how to act and what to talk about. This is detrimental to friendship formation. People must be free to act and to talk about what they wish or again there will be no mutual revealing of the self.

The second condition which is necessary is that the people must be, or at least feel themselves to be, similar to each other. The feeling of having something in common with another person creates a feeling of nearness and liking towards that person. The other person is not perceived as a threat and as a result whenever the two people are around each other the barriers which surround the self will be reduced. People will be able to talk of personal matters.

The first condition is involved in facilitating friendship. Before friendship can develop, people first have to be brought together. The second condition is concerned with sustaining the friendship. Once people have been brought together they must have something in common to keep them together.

The urban environment can be designed to help to provide for the above necessary conditions. By designing for proximity, it is possible to help to satisfy the first condition and thus to facilitate friendship. By designing for homogeneity it is possible to help to satisfy the second condition and thus to sustain friendship.

Facilitation

Friendship can be facilitated by designing for proximity. This means that through urban design people are placed close to each other with respect to physical and functional distance. Physical distance can be defined as the separation between two points according to a standard linear measure.⁶ Functional distance, which is slightly more difficult to define, takes into consideration how the actual design and positional relationships in the environment affect contact between people.⁷ It probably can be best explained by an example.

The people in the houses in Fig. 2(a) and (b) are physically the same distance apart; however, functionally the people in the houses in Fig. 2(b) are closer. The people in Fig. 2(b) will have a higher probability of contact because their front entrances face each other. All other conditions are held constant.

⁶William Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment, (Reading, Mass.), Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1970), p. 48.

⁷Festinger, p. 35.

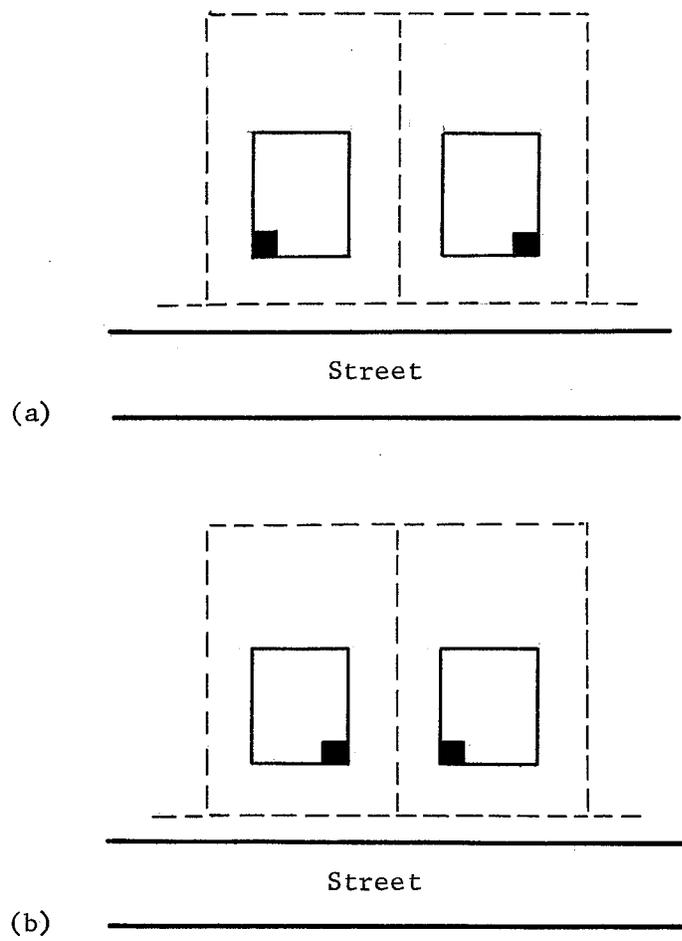


Fig. 2. Example of Functional Distance.

People who are located close to each other with respect to physical and/or functional distance have a greater likelihood of frequent casual meetings and therefore there is a higher probability of friendship formation. There is evidence to indicate that this is the case.

Physical Distance

Festinger et al studied two residential developments in Boston in the late 1940's which housed students going to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.⁸ The students were married veterans who were very similar in their socio-demographic characteristics and backgrounds. One of the developments, called Westgate, was composed of new detached and semi-detached units. The other called Westgate West was made up of apartment units located in remodeled buildings which formally served as barracks for U.S. Navy personnel. Units in both projects had direct access to the outside. Entrance to the apartment units was by means of an exterior walkway (Fig. 3).

Festinger et al found a relationship to exist between physical distance and friendship. If people were located near each other with respect to physical distance, friendships tended to develop between them. If they were not located near each other, friendships did not tend to develop between them. People who were physically near had more frequent casual encounters, the converse was true for those physically distant.

Festinger et al asked the people in the apartment development Westgate West who their friends were and then recorded where these people were located in the project.

⁸ Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

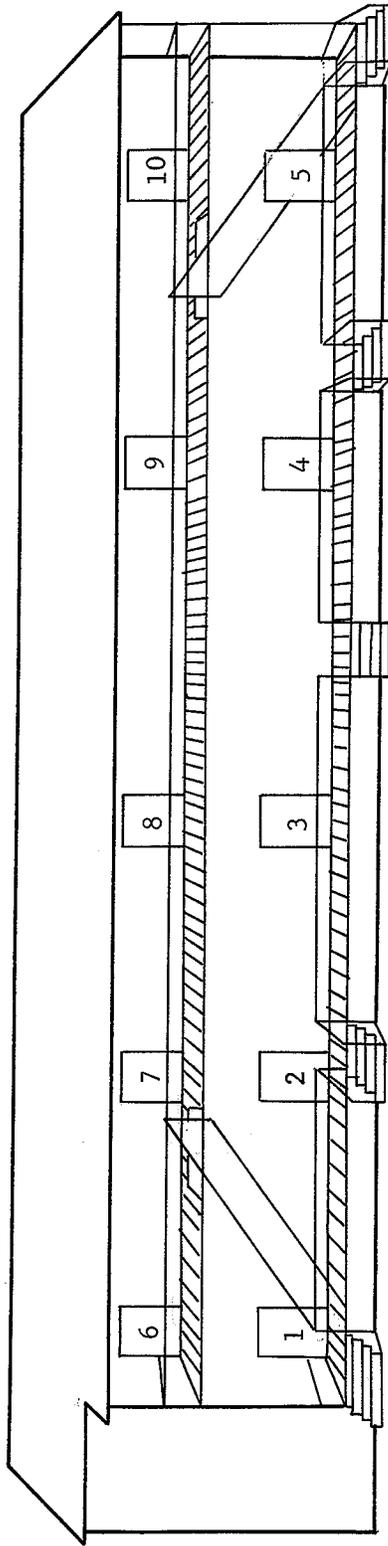


Fig. 3. Schematic Diagram of a Westgate West Building.

Source: William Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1970), p. 171.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Units of approximate physical distance	Total number of choices given	Total Number of possible choices	$\frac{\text{Choices given (2)}}{\text{Possible choices (3)}}$
1	112	8 x 34	.412
2	46	6 x 34	.225
3	22	4 x 34	.162
4	7	2 x 34	.103

Table 1. The Relationship Between Friendship Choice and Physical Distance on One Floor of a Westgate West Building.

Source: Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 38.

Table 1 summarizes the data for all buildings in Westgate West on friendship choices given to people who lived in the same building and on the same floor as those who chose them. As can be seen, most of the friendship choices were given to those who lived near the choosers. 41.2% were given to next door neighbors, while those living four units away received only 10.3% of the choices.

In column (1), Festinger et al speak of units of approximate physical distance, each unit being the equivalent of the physical distance separating any two neighboring doorways (about 22 feet). For example, apartments 1 and 2 in Fig. 3 are one unit apart, and apartments 1 and 3 are two units apart. In column (2), the total number of choices given to persons living at each distance away from the choosers is presented. Here a problem arises, however, there are more possible one-unit choices than two-unit choices, more possible two-unit choices than three-unit choices, and so forth.

As a result, a correction process was employed and is shown in column (3). In column (4) the percentage of choice at each distance that was actually made is indicated. Thus, 41.2% of the $8 \times 34 = 272$ possible one-unit choices were made.

The researchers obtained similar results when they looked at people living in the same building but on different floors (Table 2).

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Units of approximate physical distance	Total number of choices given	Total number of possible choices	$\frac{\text{Choices given (2)}}{\text{Possible choices (3)}}$
S	14	2×34	.206
1S	39	6×34	.191
2S	20	8×34	.074
3S	14	7×34	.059
4S	4	2×34	.059

Table 2. The Relationship of Friendship Choices Between Floors of a Westgate West Building to Physical Distance.

Source: Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 40.

The columns in Table 2 are essentially the same as those discussed above. The only difference is the 'S' in column (1). 'S' is the symbol for stairway. Thus 2S would indicate a physical distance of 2 units and a stairway.

Again, by looking at column (4), it can be seen that where there is the smallest physical separation there can be found the greatest number of friendship choices. The inverse relationship

is very evident. 20.6% of 68 possible choices are made at S-units while only 5.9% of 68 possible choices are made at 4S units.

The same procedure that was followed in Westgate West was also carried out in Westgate. Fig. 4 is a diagram of a typical pair of courts in Westgate. Each of the letters in the diagram represents a different unit. The unit with letters b, c, d, e, f, h, i, j, k, and l are arranged approximately in rows. In this way they are somewhat similar to a floor in Westgate West. The units lettered 'a' and 'm' face into the street and, as a result, are left out of this grouping.

Festinger et al found that the inverse relationship which was discovered in the Westgate West also held true for houses arranged in rows in Westgate (Table 3). The greatest number of friendship choices were given to people who lived next door -- 27.1% of the 96 possible choices. The proportion decreased with increasing physical distance to the low point of .000 choices to people living four units away.

(1) Units approximate physical distance	(2) Total Number of choices given	(3) Total Number of possible choices	(4) <u>Choices given (2)</u> <u>Possible choices (3)</u>
1	26	8 x 12	.271
2	6	6 x 12	.083
3	2	4 x 12	.042
4	0	2 x 12	.000

Table 3. The Relationship of Friendship Choices Among the Houses in a Row in Westgate Courts to Physical Distance.

Source: Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 43.

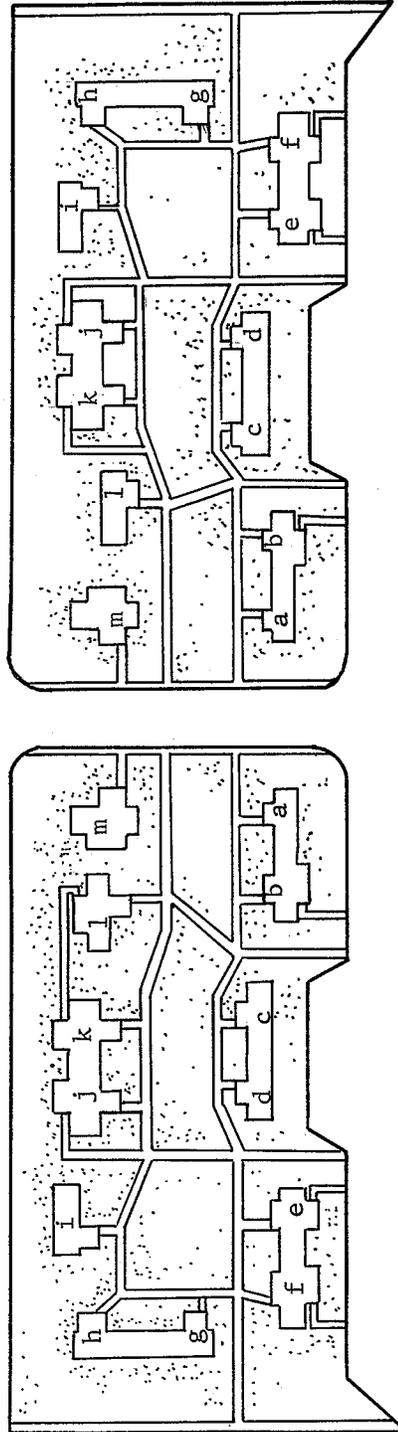


Fig. 4. Schematic Diagram of the Arrangement of the Westgate Court.

Source: Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 42.

The evidence to this point has only considered the relationship between friendship and physical distance within a building or a secluded residential area. Festinger and his fellow researchers found that it also held true for other situations. Table 4 summarizes the friendship choices given by the people of Westgate to people living anywhere in the two projects. Table 5 summarizes the friendship choices given by the people of Westgate West to people living anywhere in the two projects. In the order given, the categories in column (1) in both tables approximate a continuum of physical distance. It can be seen that the greater the physical separation there is between any two points in the communities, the fewer the friendship choices received.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Location of person chosen	Total number of choices	Total number of possibilities	Choices given (2) Possible choices (3)
Own court	143	1076	.133
Adjacent court	51	2016	.025
Other courts	47	6794	.007
Westgate West	17	17,000	.001

Table 4. Friendship Choices Given by Westgaters to People Living Anywhere in the Two Projects.

Source: Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 45.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Location of person chosen	Total number of choices made	Total number of possibilities	Choices given (2) Possible choices (3)
Own buildings	278	1530	.182
Own quadrangle	49	4000	.012
Other buildings	66	23,200	.003
Westgate	33	17,000	.002

Table 5. Friendship Choices Given by Westgate People to People Living Anywhere in the Two Projects.

Source: Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 45.

Other studies have been carried out which have produced findings similar to those of Festinger and his associates.

Whyte studied the town of Park Forest in Illinois.⁹ He also found an inverse relationship to exist between physical distance and friendship. People who lived closer to each other physically had a greater probability of being friends with each other.¹⁰ What he did was to map out which homes in Park Forest participated in various types of get-togethers, assuming that the people who spent time together to be friends. He discovered the get-togethers to be predominantly among those who lived physically close to each other. (Fig. 5)

⁹William H. Whyte, The Organization Man (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1957).

¹⁰Ibid., p. 373.

P.T.A. Bunco Party 

Surprise Baby Shower 

Valentine Costume Party 

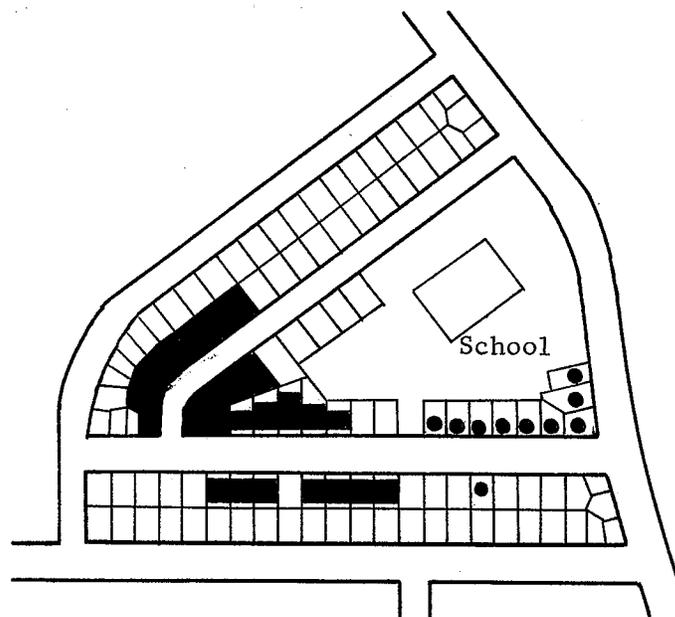


Fig. 5. Sample of Social Grouping in Park Forest, Illinois, in 1953.

Source: William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man, (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1957), p. 374.

Timms analyzed a new middle-class housing development near an Australian provincial capital.¹¹ He, too, found an inverse relationship between friendship choices and physical distance. Table 6 summarizes his findings. It shows the relationship between the ratio of actual to possible friendship choices made by the women in the development and straight-line distance. Most of the choices were given to women who lived within 100 yards of the respondent. The fewest to those living more than 500 yards away. Women who lived within a radius of 100 yards of the respondent, according to Timms, were more than ten times as likely to be chosen as friends as those living more than 400 yards away.¹²

Distance in yards	Actual choices given	Number of possible choices	Choices given Possible choices
100	156	703	0.22
200	105	1120	0.09
300	67	1046	0.06
400	17	556	0.03
500+	6	586	0.01

Table 6. The Relationship Between Friendship Choices and Physical Distance in Waratah.

Source: Duncan Timms, The Urban Mosaic, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 11.

¹¹Duncan Timms, The Urban Mosaic (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

¹²Ibid., p. 11.

Timms, in his writing, touches on an item of great interest to this thesis. He draws a connection between physical distance, friendship and alienation. He writes:

The emphasis given to social participation in Waratah poses a problem for those in a less advantageous position [position referring to the physical positioning of units in the project]. To a large extent the esteem accorded to a Waratah woman is a function of her participation. Those who are socially isolated tend to exhibit alienation. The spatial patterning of the population, as reflected in a map of demographic potential [demographic potential Timms interprets as a measure of aggregate accessibility], reveals a close relationship with the patterning of alienation. Those women who are physically isolated tend to be socially isolated and they respond to their frustration by rejecting their rejectors.¹³

The evidence presented above clearly shows that a relationship exists between physical distance and friendship and that the relationship is inverse.

Functional Distance

A similar relationship exists between functional distance and friendship. It will be remembered that in the discussion of Westgate, in the Festinger et al study, that it was said that most units faced into a court except end units lettered 'a' and 'm' (Fig. 4). People in the end units would come and go whenever they wished and not pass in front of neighboring units facing into the courts. This was not the case for people in the other units. The positioning of the Units was such that the people in the end units had fewer casual meetings with neighbors than other court members. They were functionally distant from the other units.

¹³Ibid., p. 12.

Table 7 indicates the number of friendship choices given to people living in each unit position for the six large courts. The data for two of the end units which do face into the courts have been excluded.

It can be seen that the people living in the end units received the fewest number of friendship choices. Those living in the interior of the courts received a significantly higher number. The mean number of choices received by all inner units was 1.56 while the mean number for the end units was only .60. People who were functionally distant did not receive as many friendship choices as those who were functionally close.

Research in Westgate West produced similar results. It will be recalled that each apartment building had an exterior walkway on each floor giving all units direct access to the outside (Fig. 3). As can be seen, short stairways lead to the lower floor walkway while longer stairways at each end of the lower walkway connect to the upper platform. The stairway on the left is located directly in front of the doorway to unit 1 and near the door of unit 7. The stairway on the right passes near the doorway of unit 5 and between the entrances of units 9 and 10 on the upper floor.

The above are functional details of design which have an influence on friendship formation. The results are summarized in Table 8.

1. House position	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
2. Total number of choices received (1)*	4	9	7	10	11	6	13	11	9	8	10	9	5
3. Mean number of choices received (.25)*	.67	1.50	1.17	1.67	1.83	1.00	2.17	1.83	1.50	1.33	1.67	1.50	.83

Mean number of choices received by all inner houses facing into the court (b-l) = 1.56

Mean number of choices received by all end houses facing the street (a and m) = 0.60

*Total and mean not including the end houses facing into their courts

Table 7. The Number of Friendship Choices Received from Their Court Neighbors by People Living in Each House Position in the Six Large Westgate Courts.

Source: Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 47.

1. Apartment position	1	2	3	4	5
2. Choices given to upper floor	13	5	8	6	11
3. Choices received from upper floor	14	3	12	4	15

Table 8. The Number of Friendship Choices the Lower-Floor People Give to and Receive from People Living on the Upper Floors of the Westgate West Buildings.

Source: Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 50.

The end units on the lower floor give more friendship choices to upper-floor units than do any of the other lower floor units. End units average 12 choices, each to upper-floor units, while the three middle units average only 6.3. The end lower-floor units also receive more choices from the upper-floor than do any of the remaining lower floor units. The end lower floor units are functionally closer to the upper floor units than are the other lower floor units. There are more meetings between people in these units because of the circulation pattern and, as a result, there is a higher number of friendship choices exchanged.

Functional distance also appeared to be related to friendship formation in a study carried out by Kuper.¹⁴ Kuper studied a working class housing development outside of Coventry in England. The project was composed of semi-detached units (Fig. 6).

¹⁴Leon Kuper, "Neighbour on the Hearth," ed. Harold M. Proshansky, Environmental Psychology, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 246-255.

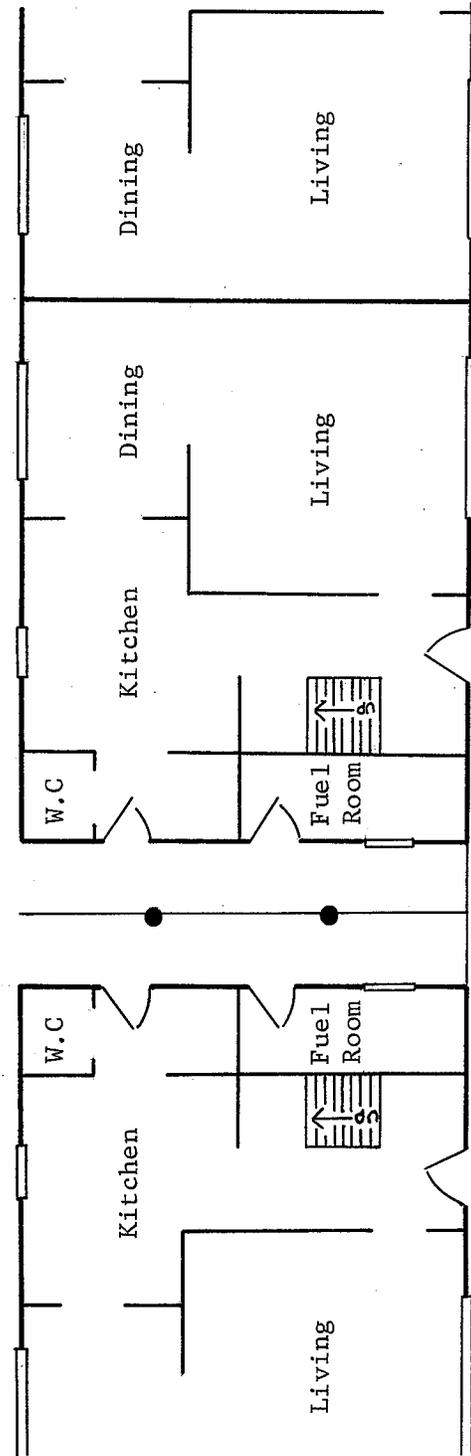


Fig. 6. Ground Floor Plan of Adjacent Houses in Coventry, England.

Source: Leo Kuper "Neighbour on the Hearth," ed. Harold M. Proshansky, Environmental Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 250.

A family in a given unit was located physically near two other units. One of the units was immediately on the other side of a party wall while the other unit was located a few feet away across a small walkway. Physically, a family was about the same distance from two other families. Functionally, however, because of design, a family was located closer to the family across the walkway.

The links with the party wall neighbors were primarily auditory. The people only saw each other occasionally. Kuper found that the side neighbors had the most frequent meetings because their side doors faced each other.

They often encountered each other when they were coming in or going out of their units. He also found that they were the most likely to become best friends. Michelson comments on the Kuper study and he states:

... the placement of doors brought people together all on their own "turf," where they could talk, wave to each other, and eventually initiate more complicated forms of social relationships. Such a means of turning neighbour relations into something more definite wasn't present to the same degree with the party wall neighbours in this instance. Even though the party wall neighbours were almost always known to the residents of the sub-division, they were considerably less likely than side neighbours to be either best friends or the objects of sociable relations.¹⁵

The people who were located close with respect to functional distance had the greatest probability of becoming best friends.

Findings by Caplow and Foreman support those of Kuper.¹⁶ Their study involved 50 semi-detached units in a University of Minnesota residential area and a relatively homogeneous group of students.

¹⁵Michelson, pp. 175-176.

¹⁶Theodore Caplow and Robert Foreman, "Neighbourhood Interaction in a Homogeneous Community," The American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), pp. 357-366.

It can be seen from Fig. 7 that the unit layout resembles that studied by Kuper. They found friendship to follow lines set by the location of the front doors. People who had doors opening out on the same sidewalks had a higher probability of being friends with each other. Other people's doors may have been physically closer, but if their front door did not look out on the same sidewalks the chances of friendship were less.¹⁷ The people who had doors opening on the same walks were functionally closer than those people who had doors which did not.

Robert K. Merton in a study of a planned industrial town in the United States found functional distance to be important in the formation of "personal ties."¹⁸ Of eighty-two friendships reported by respondents with people located in dwellings across the street from them, Merton found that 74% involved cases in which both the respondent and his friend lived in street oriented dwellings; 22% involved cases in which either the respondent or his friend lived in street oriented dwellings, and only 4% of the friendships involved individuals of which neither member lived in street oriented dwellings.¹⁹ How close people were functionally did affect friendship formation.

Whyte has made observations which highlight the relationship between functional distance and friendship, suggesting a strong relationship between the two. He has stated that people who have

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 362-363.

¹⁸ Robert K. Merton, "The Social Psychology of Housing," ed. Wayne Dennis, Current Trends in Social Psychology (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1951), pp. 163-217.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 208.

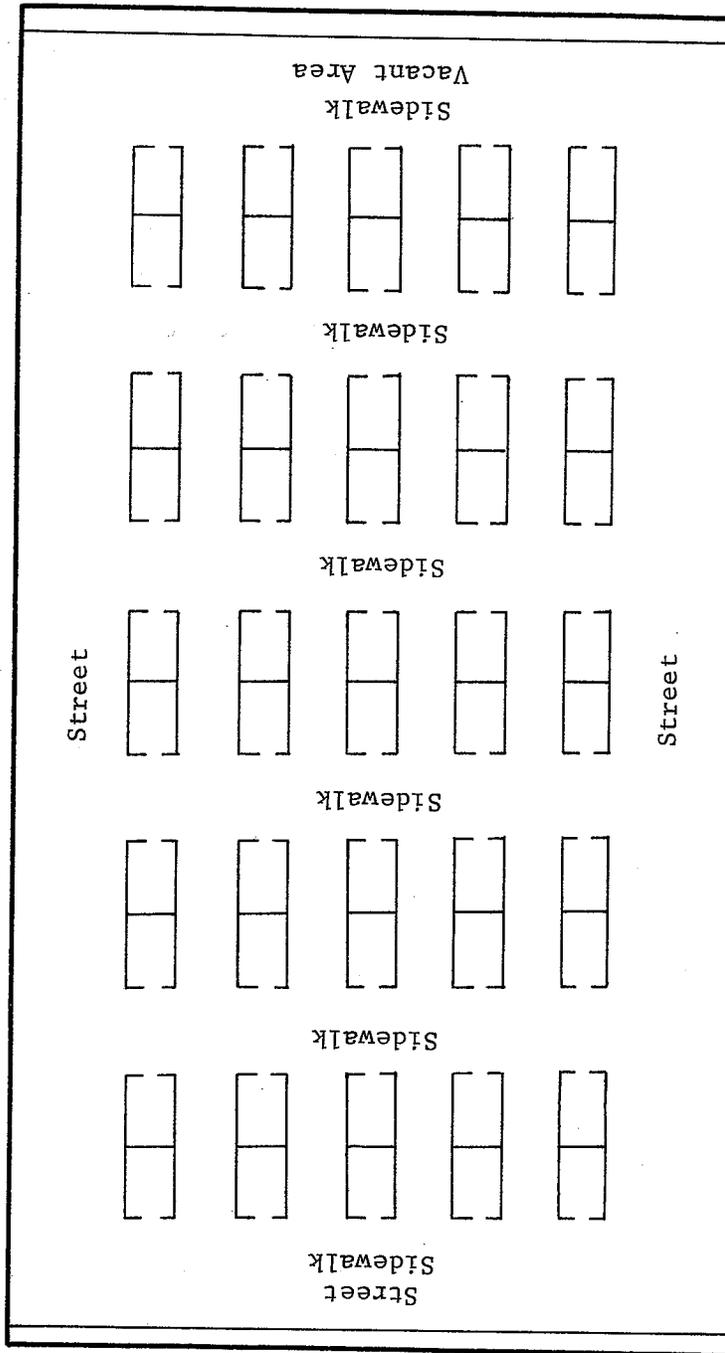


Fig. 7. Plan of a Sample Block in University Village.

Source: Theodore Caplow and Robert Foreman, "Neighbourhood Interaction in a Homogeneous Community," The American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), p. 361.

adjacent driveways are more likely to become friends.²⁰ He feels this is due to the fact that "where they [the driveways] join, make a natural sitting, baby watching and gossip centre and friendship is more apt to flower here than across the unbroken stretch of lawn on the other sides of the houses."²¹ They have more frequent casual encounters and friendship has a higher probability of forming.

Whyte has also found that family friendships tend to go along and across the street rather than over the backyards.²² This he attributes to the fact that homeowners spend a large amount of time working on their front lawns. They, as a result, have frequent meetings with neighbors doing the same thing. People appear to make friends with those in back of them only when activity for some reason is directed towards the backyard.²³

The evidence presented above indicates that friendship has a greater probability of developing between people when they are located physically or functionally close to each other. This is due to the fact that there is a greater likelihood of the first necessary condition being satisfied; there is a greater likelihood of frequent casual meetings between people. People cannot help but encounter each other because of their physical or functional nearness. The populations in the examples were homogeneous groups. The people

²⁰ Whyte, p. 379.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 379-380.

²² Ibid., pp. 380-381.

²³ Ibid., pp. 381.

were very similar and the second necessary condition had a high probability of being satisfied across the groups discussed. The majority of friendships, however, were between those who were close to each other with respect to physical or functional distance. Their proximity aided friendship formation. The urban environment can be designed in such a manner as to place people physically or functionally near to each other and, as a result, to facilitate friendship formation.

Sustainment

Friendship can be sustained by designing for homogeneity. This means that an urban area is designed in such a manner as to attract people who are similar with respect to social class and/or life style and/or stage in life cycle and/or value orientation. If similar people are attracted to an area the likelihood of satisfying the second necessary condition is greater and therefore so is the likelihood of friendship. The four above components can be related to friendship formation and the urban physical environment. The discussion will focus on each of the components separately.

Social Class

Social class is defined in many different ways by many writers.^{24,25} All definitions imply ranking. What differs is the basis for ranking. Some rank according to economic considerations,

²⁴Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology, 4th ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 154.

²⁵Harry M. Johnson, Sociology: A Systematic Introduction (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960), p. 469.

others according to prestige, others according to distribution of power. The most suitable definition for the purposes of this thesis is one which has been advanced by William M. Dobriner and discussed in Henslin's Introducing Sociology.²⁶ Industrialization is seen as having resulted in availability of material goods and services. The goods and services, however, are not equally distributed among the population. Some people receive more than others, some people receive less. The people who share basically the same position in the system of allocating goods and services are said to be members of the same social class. Those who receive more are considered to be members of a higher social class, and those who receive less, the members of a lower social class.

The great value of Dobriner's definition is that it is possible to distinguish as few or as many class levels as desired or necessary.

Social Class and Friendship

A relationship can be said to exist between social class and friendship. Friendship is much more likely to develop between people of the same social class than between people who differ in class. Dissimilarity of social class is more likely to result in conflict.

The majority of friendships occur between people who are of a similar social class. Williams has written that:

²⁶James M. Henslin, Introducing Sociology (New York: The Free Press, 1975), p. 24.

Friendships are disproportionately found between persons of similar ethnic background, religious affiliation, socio-economic position and age²⁷ (Italics mine)

People prefer to make friends among those of their own class. Keller has stated:

There is little doubt, for example, that people prefer to make friends among their own kind and that reciprocity of choices is greater between persons of the same status²⁸

Gans has added substance to Keller's statement by writing that:

. . . studies of social life have shown that people tend to choose friends on the basis of similarities in background, such as age and socio-economic level;²⁹ (Italics mine)

Children tend to form friendships with children of their own class. Studies have shown that who children prefer in school and who they associate with show the "selection of social class equals for various trends of intimate interaction."³⁰

People who are of a similar social class form friendships. If people differ in class, this is generally not the case.

Gutman, in commenting on Gans' study of Levittown makes the point that working-class wives, when they moved into Levittown, had a difficult time forming friendships with neighboring women.³¹

²⁷Williams, Jr., p. 9.

²⁸Suzanne Keller, "Social Class in Physical Planning," International Social Science Journal, 18 (1966), p. 503.

²⁹Gans, People and Plans, p. 152.

³⁰Bernard Barber, Social Stratification (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957), p. 65.

³¹Robert Gutman, "Population Mobility in the American Middle Class," ed. Leonard J. Dubl, The Urban Condition (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 174.

Most of the neighboring women were middle class. The working class women were not able to talk about the same things as the middle class women. They had not attained the social skills necessary to interact on a free and easy basis. Friendships did not develop.

The women were not the only ones who encountered difficulties. On the whole, working class residents did not form friendships with their middle class neighbors but instead "went their own way most of the time."³² They actually tended to withdraw from their middle class neighbors. Michelson, in his discussion of Gans' study of Levittown, draws the following conclusions with regards to the above:

. . . after the frenzied period of settlement had ended, when middle class residents had time to search past their neighbors for friends with similar interests, the working class residents withdrew into themselves, since they lacked the ability for or practice of this type of behavior.³³ (Italics mine)

Dissimilarity of social class according to Keller could result in conflict between people. She has written that:

. . . mixing [of social classes] may actually lead to hostility and conflict rather than to a more interesting and varied social life. That the better off no matter how defined or measured refuse to live side by side, not to say cooperate in community clubs and projects, with those they consider inferior to them, and those whose conceptions of privacy and friendship, sociability and neighbouring are opposed will soon find themselves pitted against each other in resentment or withdrawing into loneliness.³⁴

³²Herbert J. Gans, The Levittowners (New York: Panther Books, 1967), p. 170.

³³Michelson, p. 121.

³⁴Keller, p. 504.

Evidence seems to indicate that there is a greater probability of people forming friendships with members of a similar social class than with members of a dissimilar class. The second necessary condition has a greater likelihood of being satisfied in the first instance.

Social Class and the Urban Environment

There is a relationship between social class and urban environment. People of different classes tend to live in different parts of the urban environment. Working class people, for example, tend to live in working class residential areas, while the upper class live in more expensive upper class areas. These areas are characterized by their own particular features.

The upper class areas are characterized by large houses, large lots, and wide streets with boulevards, as can be found in the Wellington Crescent area of Winnipeg (Fig. 8(a)). Lower class areas, on the other hand, have smaller houses on smaller lots fronting on narrower streets, as can be seen in many parts of Winnipeg's North End. (Fig. 8(b)). People of different classes tend to utilize different aspects of the urban environment. Upper class people, for example, center their leisure and recreational activities around their homes while the middle class use available community facilities.³⁵

People, because they differ in social class, have different needs and preferences. It is possible to design the urban environment to cater to their needs and preferences and thus to attract

³⁵Lyn H. Lofland, A World of Strangers (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 191.

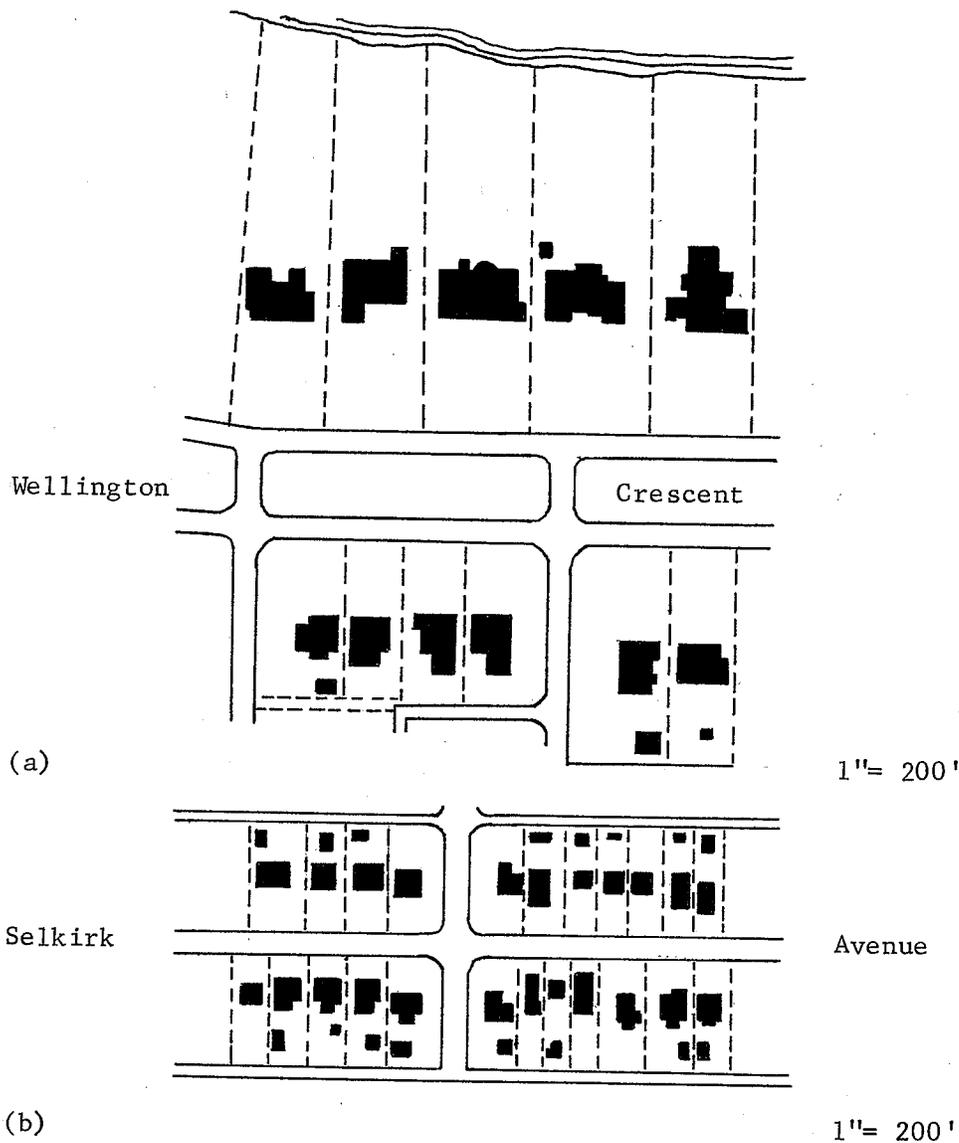


Fig. 8. Diagram of an Upper and a Lower Class Residential Area. (a) Portion of Wellington Crescent, (b) Portion of North End Winnipeg.

Source: Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Topographic Mapping of Metropolitan Winnipeg -- Areas K-8 and O-8, compiled by Western Photogrammetry Ltd., May 1967.

....., Street and Lot Mapping of Winnipeg -- Areas A-31 and A-40, January 1969; Area B-43, June 1963 and Area B-44, January 1970.

people of certain classes to certain areas of the city. In this manner, the probability of satisfying the second necessary condition can be increased.

There is evidence that the quality of people's dwellings is related to their social class.³⁶ The upper class live in larger and more expensive homes than the middle class, and the middle class live in higher quality homes than the working class.

Michelson has written that:

. . . the quality of people's dwellings is directly proportional to their social class as viewed in terms of occupational prestige.³⁷

He states that:

Professionals, proprietors and managers, for example, live in more expensive homes and maintain them better than do clerical workers for another example, who in turn are a breed of unskilled workers in this respect.³⁸

The upper class need the large homes for entertainment and recreational purposes. They prefer the large dwellings with spacious grounds because they cater more to their needs. For the middle class very large homes are not necessary. They pursue most of their recreational activities in facilities provided by the community. They do entertain at home but not at the same level as would the upper class. Any designing for large expensive homes in an area, then, would serve to attract higher classes into the area and not the lower classes.

³⁶Michelson, p. 114.

³⁷Ibid., p. 114.

³⁸Ibid., p. 114.

There is evidence that different aspects of the urban environment are emphasized by people on different levels of the social class hierarchy.³⁹ The findings are in relation to residential environment. The lower class is very concerned about having a safe and secure home.⁴⁰ The dwelling unit has to provide security against human threats, such as violence to the self and possessions, and non-human threats, such as weather or vermin. The middle class, on the other hand, even though concerned with safety and security, stress also other aspects when selecting a dwelling unit -- aesthetics, suitability of the living room for entertaining, or the size of the recreation room.⁴¹

The middle class generally emphasizes location as one of the important features of their residential environment. The middle class makes use of community facilities - parks, pools, community centres, libraries and so forth, and therefore they prefer to be located reasonably near to these activities. The lower class does not place the same degree of importance on location. It is not a prime consideration when evaluating a residential environment because they do not tend to make great use of these facilities. Their leisure time is spent mainly in pursuits centered around the home.⁴²

³⁹Ibid., p. 115.

⁴⁰Lee Rainwater, "Fear and the House as Haven in the Lower Class," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 32, 1, (January, 1966), p. 24.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 24.

⁴²Ibid., p. 24.

It is possible to design an environment which will meet the needs and preferences of one of the above groups. That group will be attracted to the area which is more suited to them.

Generally, indications are that there is a relationship between social class and the urban environment. Quality of housing and location are two areas where a relationship can be found and this information can be used to advantage.

Life Style

Michelson defines life style as:

. . . a composite of those aspects of the roles a person strongly emphasizes.⁴³

Every person plays many roles at any given point in his life. A role can be defined as "a pattern of behavior associated with a distinctive social position."⁴⁴ For example, at one point a person could play the roles of father, architect, professor, alderman and so forth. Each one of the preceding are distinctive social positions and each has a pattern of behavior associated with it. Each person, however, perceives and interprets each role differently and values one role over another. The roles that are valued over and above others are the ones that are emphasized. It is the combination of the emphasized roles which will determine life style.

Life style is a separate category and should in no way be

⁴³Michelson, p. 24.

⁴⁴Broom and Selznick, p. 18.

included with social class. The two are closely related as life styles tend to vary between classes but they also can and do vary within classes.⁴⁵

Life Style and Friendship

Friendship has a high probability of developing between people who have similar life styles.

Gerson has cited the example of those whose life style is familistic,⁴⁶ that is, stressing the socialization of children above all other pursuits. Their lives center around their children. If these people are located near to each other friendships tend to develop. Contacts are facilitated by their proximity and their children. Friendships are sustained because since life styles are similar the people have much in common. The likelihood of the satisfaction of the second necessary condition is greater.

If people's life styles differ, friendship formation is not as likely. Gans in his study of Levittown talks about a group of well-educated women with specialized tastes who moved out of the city and into the suburb.⁴⁷ They found that they were unable to form friendships with other women in the suburb because of the great difference in the style of living they were used to and the style of living of the suburban women. They did not want to talk about or do the same things as the other suburban women. As a result they led a relatively isolated social existence.

⁴⁵Michelson, p. 113.

⁴⁶Gerson, p. 83.

⁴⁷Gans, The Levittowners, p. 227.

A study by Berger has produced findings which support Gans' observations.⁴⁸ In his study of suburban auto workers, Berger discovered that two families broke up due to circumstances which could be attributed to life style. The families moved into the suburb and into a new way of life. Life styles in the suburb were more local and familistic, those of the newcomers were more career - oriented (the women also worked). The wives in the two families had difficulty maintaining friendships in the area. They became socially isolated and withdrawn. The pressure eventually became so severe that the marriages broke up and the women returned to their old style of living in the city.

Keller discusses a local cosmopolitan distinction in life style. She defines the local oriented type as one who "concentrates on the immediate local area for satisfaction of basic needs - social, personal and material,"⁴⁹ and the cosmopolitan type as one who "uses local facilities, services and contacts in a much more limited and less exclusive way, essentially looking to the wider society for those things."⁵⁰ When people with a local and cosmopolitan type style are brought together the likelihood of friendship is not very great.

⁴⁸Bennett M. Berger, Working Class Suburb: A Study of Auto Workers in Suburbia (Calif: University of California Press, 1960).

⁴⁹Suzanne Keller, The Urban Neighbourhood: A Sociological Perspective (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 160.

⁵⁰Ibid.

Gans writes that:

. . . cosmopolitans are impatient with locals and vice versa; women who want to talk about cultural and civic matters are bored about conversations with home and family - and again, vice versa; working class women who are used to the informal flow of talk with relatives need to find substitutes among neighbours with similar experience.⁵¹

These people will endeavour to seek out people of a similar life style so they can develop a friendship.⁵²

Darke has written that differences in life style could even result in hostility:

. . . a very close mixture of people with different life styles tends to lead to polite coolness or outright hostility between neighbours.⁵³

Conflict, it appears, could be more probable than friendship under certain circumstances.

Life Style and Urban Environment

There can be said to be a relationship between life style and urban environment. There are life styles whose very existence depends on the presence of certain features in the urban environment. Some life styles will thrive in certain spatial arrangements and cease to exist in others. Michelson has written:

. . . among many such groups an emphasis of a life style which includes very strong, frequent and intense interaction with a large number of relatives seems to require that they live in some arrangements of buildings, streets, and open spaces (or the lack of them) that promotes the easy availability of person to person.⁵⁴

⁵¹Gans, p. 166.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Jane Darke and Roy Darke, "Planned Paradise," Habitat, 17, 1 (June, 1974), p. 38.

⁵⁴Michelson, p. 66.

A detailed study of the West End of Boston was carried out in the late 1950's and the 1960's.⁵⁵ The West End was an older portion of Boston which was scheduled for urban renewal. The area was made up primarily of five-story walk-up apartments, tiny backyards and not set back from the narrow winding streets.

The people in the area possessed their own life style which was very person-oriented. Their relations with each other were very casual and easy. They were always available for frequent get-togethers. Kinship was also very important. Relatives kept in close contact with each other.⁵⁶

The urban environment provided the setting where the above life style could be expressed. The number of residential units in the area was high and they were located close together. Many people who were friends or related could live near each other as a result and the person-oriented way of living could be realized.

Housing, however, was not the only aspect of the environment which was important. The pattern of streets also helped to maintain the life style.⁵⁷ People from their homes could see people walking by on the streets and were close enough to them to initiate contact with them if they wished. The buildings were located close together and it was easy to converse from one apartment to another. There were many local commercial facilities in the area and when women went to do the daily shopping they ran into

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 67.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 67.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

acquaintances.⁵⁸ The combination of building type (apartment) and the siting of the buildings relative to each other, the streets and the commercial facilities, supported the expression of the person-oriented life style.

Young and Willmott studied Bethnal Green located in the East End of London and obtained results similar to that of the West End study.⁵⁹ The density of the area was again high but the life style different slightly - the emphasis was on the extended family with interaction focusing on the family matriarch - "Mum." It was at "Mum's" place that the family used to meet regularly. She baby-sat the children while mothers worked. She helped her young out when they ran into difficulty. This family-centered life style depended again on the environment for support. People had to live near each other, just like the people in Boston's West End.

When some were required to move from Bethnal Green into Greenleigh, a low density development of semi-detached units, it was found that there they were unable to maintain their previous life style. Greenleigh was a suburban environment and quite different from what they were used to. Their life style could not exist in the new environment because the distance between family members was too great. The people had no choice but to move away or to adopt a new style of living.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Michael Young and Peter Willmott, rev. ed. Family and Kinship in East London (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962).

One further point should be made about the West End study of Boston. People were required to move because of urban renewal. Old structures were to be torn down and luxury apartments built. An interesting thing was observed after redevelopment. Most of the people even though they were promised space in the new apartments moved to parts of Boston which were known for their high densities and mixed land uses.⁶⁰ They returned to an environment where they could live the style of life they desired.

A relationship appears to exist between the urban environment and life style. Certain life styles will tend to be supported by certain environments and will not survive in others. It is possible to design an urban area which will cater to the expression of a certain life style and therefore will serve to attract people of a similar life style. The probability of friendship formation will be increased as a result.

Stage in Life Cycle

Michelson has advanced a definition for stage in life cycle. He has stated that:

Stage in life cycle refers to where a person stands in the sequence of childhood, marriage, childbearing and later life.⁶¹

People are, at any given time in their lives, in a life cycle stage. People when they are growing up and with their parents are in one stage. When they become teenagers, they enter another.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 70.

⁶¹William Michelson, "Potential Candidates for the Designers' Paradise," Social Forces, 46, 1 (September, 1967), p. 191.

When they marry and have children, they enter yet another, and so forth. Stage in life cycle can be related to friendship and the urban environment.

Stage in Life Cycle and Friendship

A relationship can be said to exist between life cycle stage and friendship. There is a higher probability that people who are in the same life cycle stage will form friendships. Gans found this to be true. He has written that:

. . . young people have little in common with older ones, and unless they want surrogate parents prefer to socialize with neighbours and friends of similar age.⁶²

Gans also reports the case of a woman who had difficulty making friends in her area until she became pregnant and thus moved into a life cycle stage similar to the other women around her. He has quoted the woman as saying:

I had to push a little at first, to get people to talk to me, but now there is no problem. There isn't much coffee klatsching here. We are all too busy cleaning. But I'm pregnant, and the gal next door just had a baby too, so that made for a common interest.⁶³

Many elderly persons support projects solely for senior citizens because they can form social relationships with people of their own age.⁶⁴ Michelson has stated that:

. . . segregated age groupings provide a more complete social environment for older people despite potentially morbid aspects. It insulates them from external barbs and it provides a significantly greater pool of age mates from which to draw friends.⁶⁵

⁶²Gans, The Levittowners, p. 168.

⁶³Ibid., p. 52.

⁶⁴Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Housing the Elderly (Canada, July, 1967), p. 7.

⁶⁵Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment, p. 108.

Friendship is able to develop because the people have much in common.

The argument is not that projects should be located in such a manner as to completely isolate the elderly from other age groups. The elderly should be provided with ample opportunities for contact with people of different ages and these opportunities should be easily found nearby.

Do friendships develop when people differ in life cycle stages? The question is difficult to answer because of lack of evidence. Indications are, however, that if the difference is extreme, close friendship is not likely. Michelson has pointed out that with respect to the aged, young people shy away from contact, let alone friendship. He has written that there is:

. . . a social stigma which younger people attach to the aged en masse. They typically recoil from contact with them and react with great impatience to their imperfections.⁶⁶

Stage in Life Cycle and Urban Environment

Michelson has written that with respect to stage in the life cycle, the childraisers, the old and young childless and the elderly have "marked implications for the physical environment."⁶⁷ There exists a relationship between life cycle stage and physical environment.

The childraisers generally need and prefer a suburban environment. Michelson states that:

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 110.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

The original desire to move to suburban locations which, among other things, feature single family housing, is almost always put in terms of being a good place to raise children.⁶⁸

Wattel found that this was the greatest reason people had for moving to Levittown.

There are certain aspects of the suburban environment that appeal to the childraisers:

1. There is plenty of green space for children to play in. The space is easily accessible from the dwelling unit;
2. Children are within seeing and shouting distance of the parents;
3. There is separation from neighbours because of the predominant detached dwelling unit type. Children can make noise and not bother neighbours.⁶⁹

Childless adults, young or old, prefer a residential environment different from that of the childraisers. Their space requirements are not that great so they are attracted to smaller dwelling units. A survey of residents in the metropolitan areas of the United States in 1965 revealed that:

. . . the overwhelming majority of those wishing to change to an apartment from a detached dwelling do not have children at home, a direct contrast to the rest of the population the majority of which are living with children in their households.⁷⁰

The study also found that many childless adults wished to exchange a relatively large lot for less private open space.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 99.

⁶⁹ Harold Wattel, "Levittown: A Suburban Community," ed. William M. Dobriner, The Suburban Community (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), p. 290.

⁷⁰ Michelson, Designers' Paradise, p. 193.

⁷¹ Ibid.

They did not need the large lot and it required taking time for maintenance which they were reluctant to give.⁷²

Abu-Lughod studied apartment and row-housing units in several eastern U.S. cities.⁷³ She found that most of the people living in the units to be either older couples or young people without children. The people were attracted to the environment which best suited them.

The aged are also attracted by certain features of the environment. In a residential environment their concern is primarily for privacy and centrality.⁷⁴ They wish to be well located with respect to community services and facilities. They need only a small dwelling unit. They have no need for large houses and large lots. Indeed, the maintenance required would be too demanding.

Meyerson et al have written that a person's life cycle stage will determine largely that person's environmental needs and preferences.⁷⁵ It will help to influence a person's choice of environment. It is possible to design an environment to cater to these needs and preferences and as a result to attract similar people into an area where friendship has a higher probability of occurring.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment, pp. 104-105.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 110.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 131.

Value Orientation

Value orientation is a somewhat difficult term to define. It can best be described as a dominant value or a dominant group of related values.

Michelson views values as "conceptions of what ought to be." Kalish defines them as "beliefs about what are desirable and undesirable goals."⁷⁶ Consensus seems to be that values are abstract goals which are held by each and every person. Not all persons of course hold the same goals. The goals that people hold serve to provide them with rules and guidelines for their behavior.

Value Orientation and Friendship

Kalish has stated that people seek and make friends with people who have values similar to their own. He gives the following examples:

The college student who is satisfied with a 'C' average usually makes friends among others with similar values. The political, liberal or conservative becomes friendly more easily with others of similar political beliefs; the accounting major tends to have relatively more friends interested in business than teaching.⁷⁷

He states that there are exceptions to the rule but that there does exist a strong tendency for people to select friends with similar values.

Gans, about the Levittowners, has written:

. . . they wanted neighbours and friends with common interests and sufficient consensus of values to make for informal and uninhibited relations.⁷⁸

⁷⁶Kalish, p. 340.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 342.

⁷⁸Gans, p. 167

People, it appears, do prefer to make friends with those who have similar values. If values differ, it is not likely that people will form friendships. Kalish feels that instead their differences will lead to misunderstanding and disagreements.⁷⁹

Gans echoes Kalish's sentiments. He feels that instead of friendship, withdrawal or even conflict will result.⁸⁰ He gives the following example with respect to child rearing values:

. . . when children, who are being reared by different methods come into conflict, disciplinary measures by their parents will reveal differences in rewarding and punishing. If one child is punished for a digression and his playmate is not, misunderstandings and arguments can develop between the parents.⁸¹

He states that differences about house and yard maintenance, and about political issues can have similar consequences. Although it does not appear impossible that people who differ in values can form friendships, the likelihood can be said to be much reduced.

Value Orientation and the Urban Environment

Jonassen was one of the first people to entertain the idea that a particular environment articulated directly with specific values. In the late 1940's, he did a study of Norwegians in New York City.⁸² The Norwegians valued a life which was semi-rustic

⁷⁹Kalish, p. 342.

⁸⁰Herbert J. Gans, "Planning and Social Life: Friendship and Neighbour Relations in Suburban Communities," ed. Harold M. Proshansky, Environmental Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 503.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 503.

⁸²C. T. Jonassen, "Cultural Variables in the Ecology of an Ethnic Group," The American Sociological Review, 14, 1 (February 1949), pp. 32-41.

and nautical. When the first immigrants settled in New York City they chose a residential environment which corresponded to their value orientation. They remained in that environment until its character changed. When the semi-rural qualities of the environment disappeared, they moved to a nearby environment where the qualities they desired were present. As indicated by Fig. 9, the move did not occur only once but many times. The move was always away from a more urban environment to a semi-rustic one.

Values are implicit among the reasons people advance for moving from one residential environment in a city to another. Ross studied the reasons why people moved from a peripheral area of a city to a more centralized one and vice versa.⁸³ He found that the centralizers moved for convenience.⁸⁴ They valued convenience and moved to a location in the city which would provide it. The decentralizers emphasized aesthetic reasons.⁸⁵ They valued the beauty of the suburban environment.

To show a further relationship between value orientation and the urban environment, Michelson has found that the value orientations of instrumentalism and individualism are related to preferred lot size. According to his findings, the more instrumental a person's

⁸³H. Lawrence Ross, "Reasons for Move To and From a Central City Area," Social Forces, 40, 1 (October, 1961), pp. 261-263..

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 263.

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 262-263.

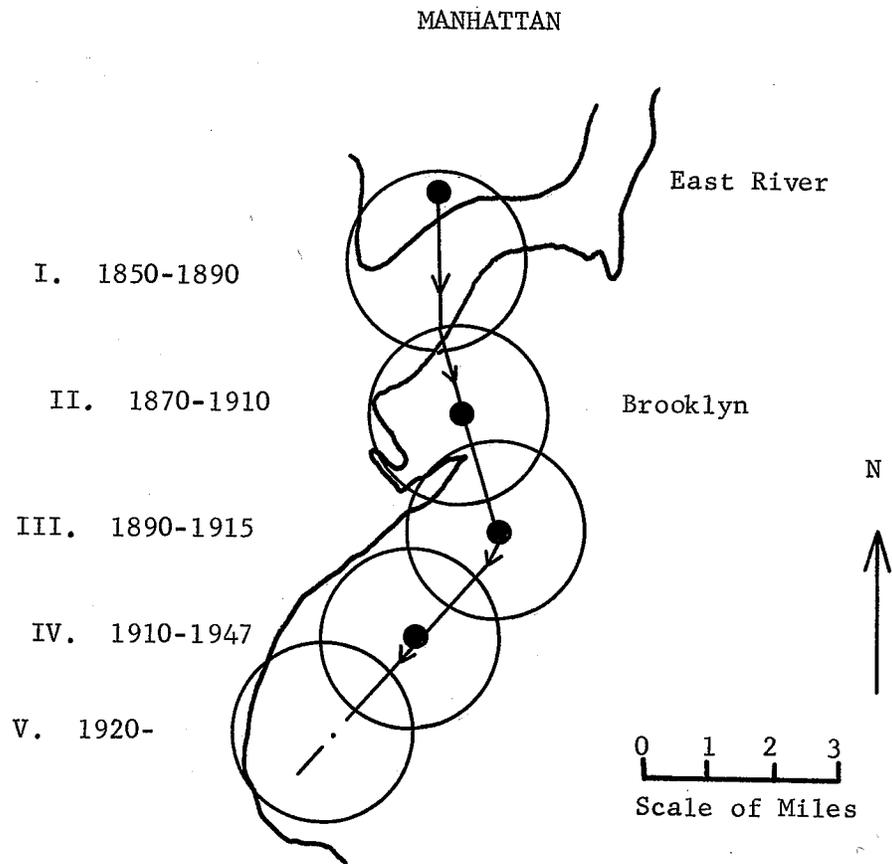


Fig. 9. Movement of Norwegians, 1850-1947.

Source: C. T. Jonassen, "Cultural Variables in the Ecology of an Ethnic Group," The American Sociological Review, 14, 1 (February 1949), p. 38.

values turned out to be, the smaller the lot size desired.⁸⁶ People with an instrumental value orientation value the chance to use available services and facilities. They are always on the move, always going places and doing things. The reason for wanting a small lot is very evident. The larger the lot the more upkeep required. This takes time away from what they actually want to do, that is, "getting around."

People with an individualistic value orientation on the other hand prefer large lots.⁸⁷ These people value their privacy more and attempt to insulate themselves to a degree from others. They generally spend a large portion of their time around the home so upkeep is no problem. They enjoy working in their own yard.

Evidence indicates that relationships exist between value orientations and the urban environment. It is, therefore, possible to design an area to attract people with a particular value orientation.

In the above chapter, the conditions necessary for friendship formation were outlined. The means of helping to satisfy the first and secondary necessary conditions were discussed. By designing for proximity, by bringing people close with respect to physical and/or functional distance, the likelihood of frequent casual meetings and therefore friendship formation can be increased. Evidence indicates that friendships form between people who are

⁸⁶Michelson, p. 143.

⁸⁷Ibid.

located close to each other. Friendship formation is less probable as distance between people increases.

By designing for homogeneity, by designing an area to attract people who are similar in social class and/or life style and/or stage in life cycle and/or value orientation, the probability of the people having something in common and friendship resulting can be increased. The evidence which is available indicates that friendships develop when people are similar with respect to the above categories. When people differ, friendship appears not as likely and instead conflict may result.

MODEL

From the above discussion, it is possible to construct a model by which the alienation problem can be solved (Fig. 10).

For a friendship to form, at least one component from either side of the model must be present -- one for facilitation and one for sustainment. For example,

$$A(1) + B(1) = \text{Friendship Formation.}$$

If representation from either side of the model is lacking there will be no friendship formation. For example,

$$A(1) + A(2) \neq \text{Friendship Formation.}$$

$$B(1) + B(2) \neq \text{Friendship Formation.}$$

The model is additive. Providing one component is present from either side, the greater the number of components present, the greater the probability of friendship formation. For example, the probability of friendship formation is greater if:

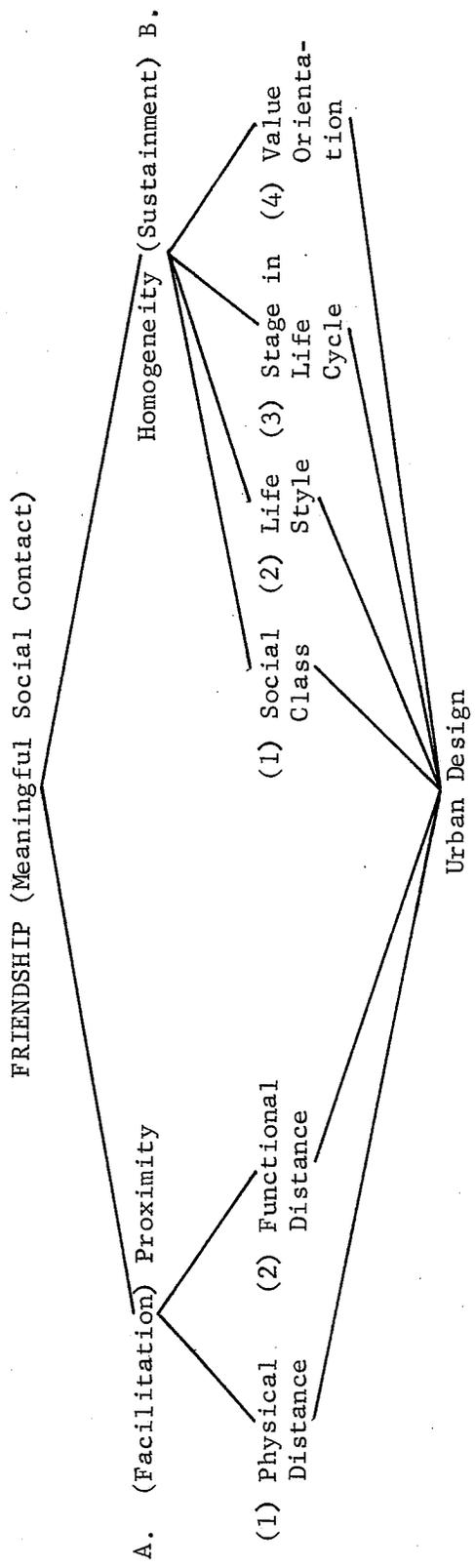


Fig. 10. Urban Design as a Mechanism For Facilitation and Sustaining Meaningful Social Contact.

$$A(1) + A(2) + B(1) + B(2) + B(3) + B(4)$$

than

$$A(1) + B(1) + B(2)$$

than

$$A(1) + B(1)$$

The probability is greater because the likelihood of the satisfaction of the necessary conditions is greater.

The components have been assumed to be of equal strength. Therefore:

$$A(1) + B(1) \approx A(2) + B(2) \approx \text{Friendship Formation.}$$

It should again be mentioned that if the necessary conditions are satisfied there is still no absolute guarantee that friendship will result. The probability of a friendship forming, however, can be said to be high.

The model may give the impression that the method opposes the current trend of mixing groups of people who differ in their characteristics, and that it advocates instead the segregation of similar people into highly homogeneous areas. This is not actually the case. The argument is that friendship can be encouraged by providing for any number of the four components of the right-hand side of the model. The probability of friendship formation simply increases with the number of components present. An area can be designed to provide for only one of the sustainment components as for example, in the model condition $A(1) + A(2) + B(3)$. Mixture still remains possible with regards to components $B(1)$, $B(2)$ or $B(4)$.

CHAPTER III

THE DESIGN

In the following chapter, examples as to how the method can be implemented will be presented. The discussion will focus on the suburban and inner city residential environments, but will touch on how the process can be used outside of these areas.

Before an environment can be designed according to the above method, it is necessary that two things be known:

1. The component characteristics of the group being designed for; and
2. How the characteristics relate to the urban environment.

The component characteristics of five groups have been identified and their characteristics have been related to the urban environment. Three of the groups will be discussed in relation to the suburban environment and two in relation to the inner city. Social class will be held constant across all the groups except for the fifth, which is associated with the discussion as to how the method can be used outside of a residential area. The argument for the method will remain strong even without bringing in differences due to social class.

Suburban Environment

GROUP A

The component characteristics of Group A are:

1. Social Class - middle
2. Life Style - familistic

3. Stage in Life Cycle - childraisers
4. Value Orientation - individualistic

The above component characteristics can be related to the urban residential environment as follows:

1. Social Class:

Findings are that:

- (a) Middle class dwelling units must provide more than safe, adequate housing. Units must be suited for entertainment and recreational pursuits.¹
- (b) The quality of dwelling units must be reasonably high.² The units must look as if their dollar value is middle class. If units are cheap or too expensive, they will not generally be taken up by middle class people.
- (c) The middle class is concerned about the aesthetics of their residential environment.³ The unit and area must be attractive.

2. Life Style:

The life style for Group A is familistic, with a high valuation on family living. Marriage usually occurs at a young age and children arrive shortly thereafter. Great stress is placed on the socialization of children. It has been found that people with a familistic emphasis in their life style prefer a suburban residential environment.⁴

¹Rainwater, p. 24.

²Michelson, p. 114.

³Ross, p. 262.

⁴Bell, pp. 68, 159.

3. Stage in Life Cycle:

Members of Group A belong to the child-raising stage of the life cycle. Findings are that:

- (a) The majority of people in the child-raising stage prefer the suburbs as a place for raising children.^{5,6}
- (b) Childraisers prefer a detached or semi-detached dwelling unit.⁷
- (c) Childraisers need a reasonably large dwelling unit. There are usually four or five members in a North American family, therefore a three-bedroom unit is required in the majority of cases.
- (d) Childraisers prefer that their dwelling unit have direct access to the outdoors.^{8,9} They desire an exterior connection between their unit and the ground.

4. Value Orientation:

People with an individualistic value orientation place a great emphasis on privacy. They may be very sociable but they dislike the idea of other dwelling units being located only a few feet away from their own. Findings in relation to the urban environment are that:

⁵Ibid., p. 86.

⁶Gerson, p. 79.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Michelson, p. 100.

- (a) People with an individualistic value orientation prefer large lots.¹⁰
- (b) A detached dwelling is more conducive to an individualistic value orientation.¹¹ The preference of the people of this orientation will lean toward this type of dwelling unit.
- (c) People prefer to have non-residential land uses located a distance away.¹²

From the information which has surfaced so far, it is possible to begin the design of a residential environment which will attract members of Group A. Major preferences such as a suburb as a location, detached dwelling unit, large lot and others have been revealed. So far the process, however, has only considered the right-hand sustainment portion of the model. Friendship must also be facilitated. Components from the left-hand side of the model must also be accommodated. Available research on physical and functional distance related to the emerging design should be incorporated. For the detached unit, suburban-type of environment, the following are findings related to physical and functional distance.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p. 142.

1. Physical Distance:

Timms has discovered that many friendships tend to form within easy walking distance of the dwelling unit. The closer people are located to each other in the suburb, the higher the probability of friendship developing between them.¹³

2. Functional Distance:

Research has indicated that people can be placed functionally near each other in the suburb in the following ways:

- (a) By means of adjacent driveways.¹⁴
- (b) Through the local circulation pattern (pedestrian and vehicular).¹⁵
- (c) By having their units orienting on the same street.¹⁶
- (d) By having major doors of different units orienting towards each other.¹⁷
- (e) By the location of their lawns.¹⁸

Enough information has now been made available to enable the design of a residential environment for Group A (Fig. 11). The design in Fig. 11 is not, by any means, the only possible design for Group A. Even though a designer is, to a degree, bound by the

¹³Timms, p. 11.

¹⁴Whyte, pp. 379-380.

¹⁵Caplow and Foreman, pp. 262-263.

¹⁶Merton, p. 207.

¹⁷Merton, p. 208.

¹⁸Whyte, pp. 380-381.

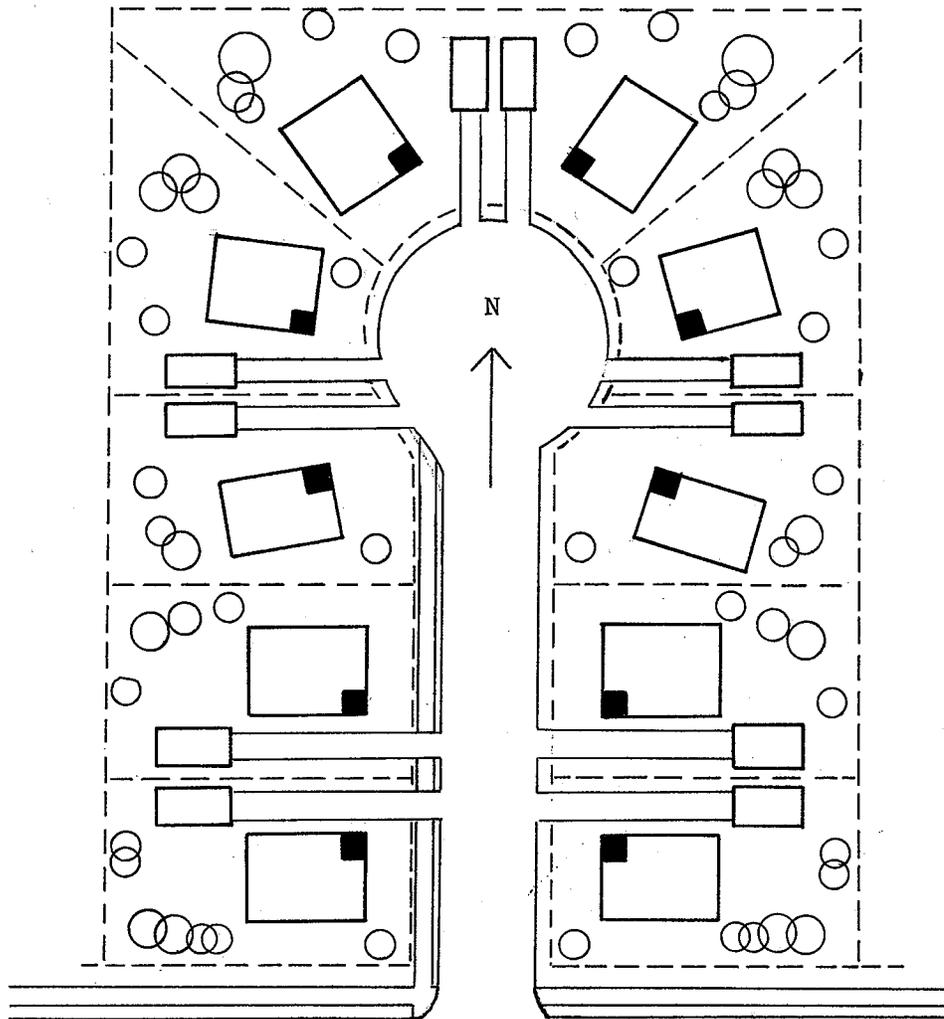


Fig. 11. Planned Residential Environment for Middle Class Persons with Familistic Life Styles, Children and an Individualistic Value Orientation.

needs and preferences of a given group, there still exists an opportunity for the exercise of creative talents. There are probably many designs which could be found to accommodate a set of research findings.

Please note that all components of the model have been provided for in Fig. 10. The design fits the model situation:

$$A(1) + A(2) + B(1) + B(2) + B(3) + B(4)$$

The likelihood of friendship formation, can, as a result, be said to be great.

A₍₁₎: The people are located physically close to each other. The greatest distance between any two units is only 70 yards.

A₍₂₎: Functionally, the people are brought close together by means of adjacent driveways and by the orientation of the major entrances to the units. The units are paired with respect to preceding.

People are also brought functionally near by the way the units are grouped. The six upper units and the four lower units are arranged in such a manner that the units orient towards each other.

The vehicular and pedestrian circulation patterns also serve to bring people near. All must use the same sidewalk or roadway when coming or going. People will invariably encounter one another.

B₍₁₎: The dwelling units are in the \$50,000 range and they look typically middle class. The houses do not look extremely expensive or very low in price. They, as well as the surroundings, are physically attractive. The yards can be used for recreational purposes and the units come with large family and living rooms which are ideal for entertaining friends.

B(2): The environment is suburban.

B(3): The environment is suburban and the dwelling units are detached. The units are of a reasonable size -- 3 bedroom and basement with approximately 1100 square feet of floor area. The orientation of dwellings is unequal, but this is taken into account and unit layouts are varied accordingly. The units have direct access to the outdoors. Children have plenty of room to play because of the large lots, which incidently are not to be fenced. Landscaping provides for the necessary outdoor privacy for each family. Traffic in the cul-de-sac will be local and not very heavy. The cul-de-sac will also have an appeal as a safe area in which to raise children.

B(4): The lots are large, approximately 6,500 square feet, and non-residential land uses are not located directly in the area. As was mentioned earlier the dwelling units are detached.

The above type of suburban residential environment is suited to the needs and preferences of Group A and should serve to attract members of the group, above the members of other groups, and encourage friendship. A different suburban environment, however, must be designed in order to attract members of other groups, for example Group B. It is not likely that members of Group B will be attracted to the Group A type environment because their component characteristics, and hence their needs and preferences, differ greatly. Friendship formation must be encouraged by means of a different design.

GROUP B

The component characteristics of Group B are:

1. Social Class - middle
2. Life Style - career-oriented
3. Stage in Life Cycle - married childless adults
4. Value Orientation - instrumental

The above component characteristics can be related to the residential environment as follows:

1. Social Class:

Findings are the same as for Group A (see p.72).

2. Life Style:

People who have chosen this career-oriented life style devote the majority of their time, energy and money on "getting ahead in the world." They are extremely achievement-oriented and tend to have their lives revolve around their work. Findings are that:

- (a) People with a career-oriented life style prefer to be located near a business area of the city.¹⁹
- (b) People prefer to be located near their place of work and their job "contacts".²⁰

3. Stage in Life Cycle:

The members of Group B are married adults but without children. Their children have either grown up or they have never had children. These people generally:

¹⁹Bell, p. 86.

²⁰Ibid., p. 159.

- (a) Prefer smaller dwelling units.²¹ With only two in the family they have no need for a large amount of space.
- (b) Prefer a smaller lot size.²² Again, they only require a small amount of space themselves and they do not want to be concerned with the extra maintenance required for a large lot.

2. Value Orientation:

People with an instrumental value orientation have been found to:

- (a) Prefer small lot sizes.²³
- (b) Prefer to be located near community services and facilities and other non-residential land uses.²⁴

It has also been found that:

- (c) Duplex or row-housing dwelling types are conducive to the expression of the instrumental value orientation.²⁵ Indications are that people with this type of value orientation will be attracted to the preceding dwelling types.

²¹Michelson, Designers' Paradise, p. 193.

²²Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment, p. 101.

²³Ibid., p. 142.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., p. 143.

As was the case for Group A, it is now possible to begin the design of a residential environment which will attract members of Group B. Major preferences, such as small lot, small dwelling unit, duplex and row-housing dwelling types, and a good location have surfaced. The available research with respect to components of proximity can now be considered in relation to the type of design which is beginning to emerge, that is -- duplex row-housing.

1. Physical Distance:

People in a multiple unit housing project were found to form friends with those who were located physically near to them, either next door or immediately up a set of stairs from them.²⁶

2. Functional Distance:

In multiple-unit developments, research has indicated that people can be placed functionally close to each other by:

- (a) Their sharing a common stairway or landing.²⁷
- (b) A stairway being located near the entrance to units.²⁸
- (c) The sharing of common parking facilities.²⁹
- (d) The local circulation pattern.³⁰

There is now enough information available to enable the design of a residential environment which will attract members of Group B and which can serve to facilitate and sustain friendship.

²⁶Festinger, p. 39.

²⁷Whyte, p. 380.

²⁸Festinger, p. 48.

²⁹Whyte, pp. 379-380.

³⁰Caplow and Foreman, pp. 262-263.

Fig. 12 is an example of a design of a residential environment for Group B which meets the model condition:

$$A(1) + A(2) + B(1) + B(2) + B(3) + B(4)$$

Also, please see Fig. 13.

A₍₁₎: People are located very close with respect to physical distance. At the very least four families are located within 50 feet of any unit.

A₍₂₎: Functionally, people are brought near to each other by the sharing of common landings and common stairways. In each four-unit combination, people living in the top two units must share a landing and a stairway. People in the lower units also share a "landing" between them but have their own stairways. All four units share a common landing level with the parking area.

Every four-unit combination also shares a common parking area. Frequent casual encounters will also be encouraged here.

The pedestrian circulation pattern will serve to place people of different four-unit combinations in contact with each other. People have to walk near other units when entering, leaving or moving around the development.

B₍₁₎: The dwelling units are condominium units in the \$35,000-plus range. They, as well as the landscaped surrounding area are aesthetically appealing.

B₍₂₎: The above-type of project (duplex row-housing units) is of sufficient density that it would very likely be economical to locate the development near suburban business areas.

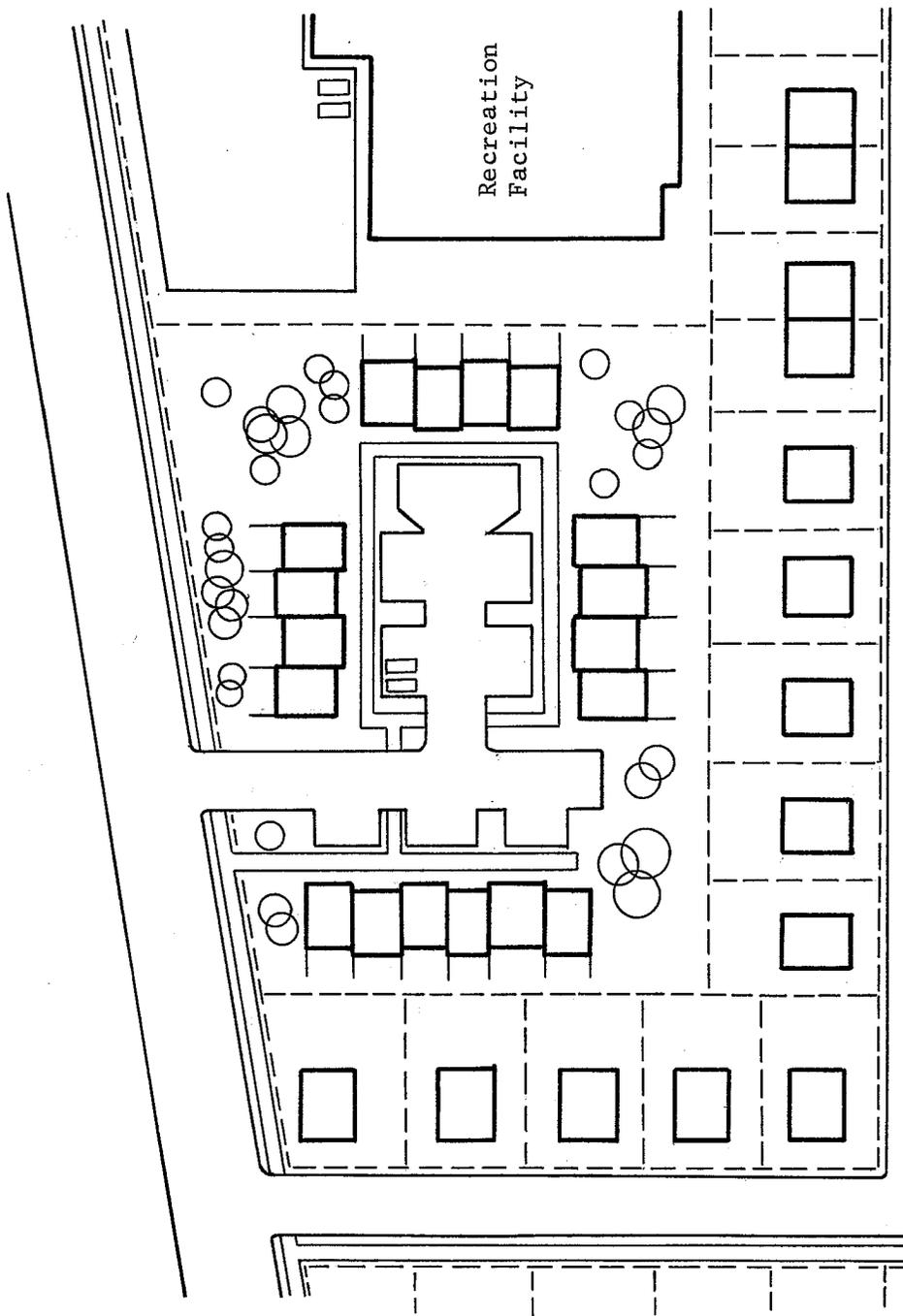


Fig. 12. Planned Residential Environment for Middle Class Persons with Career-Oriented Life Styles, No Children and an Instrumental Value Orientation.

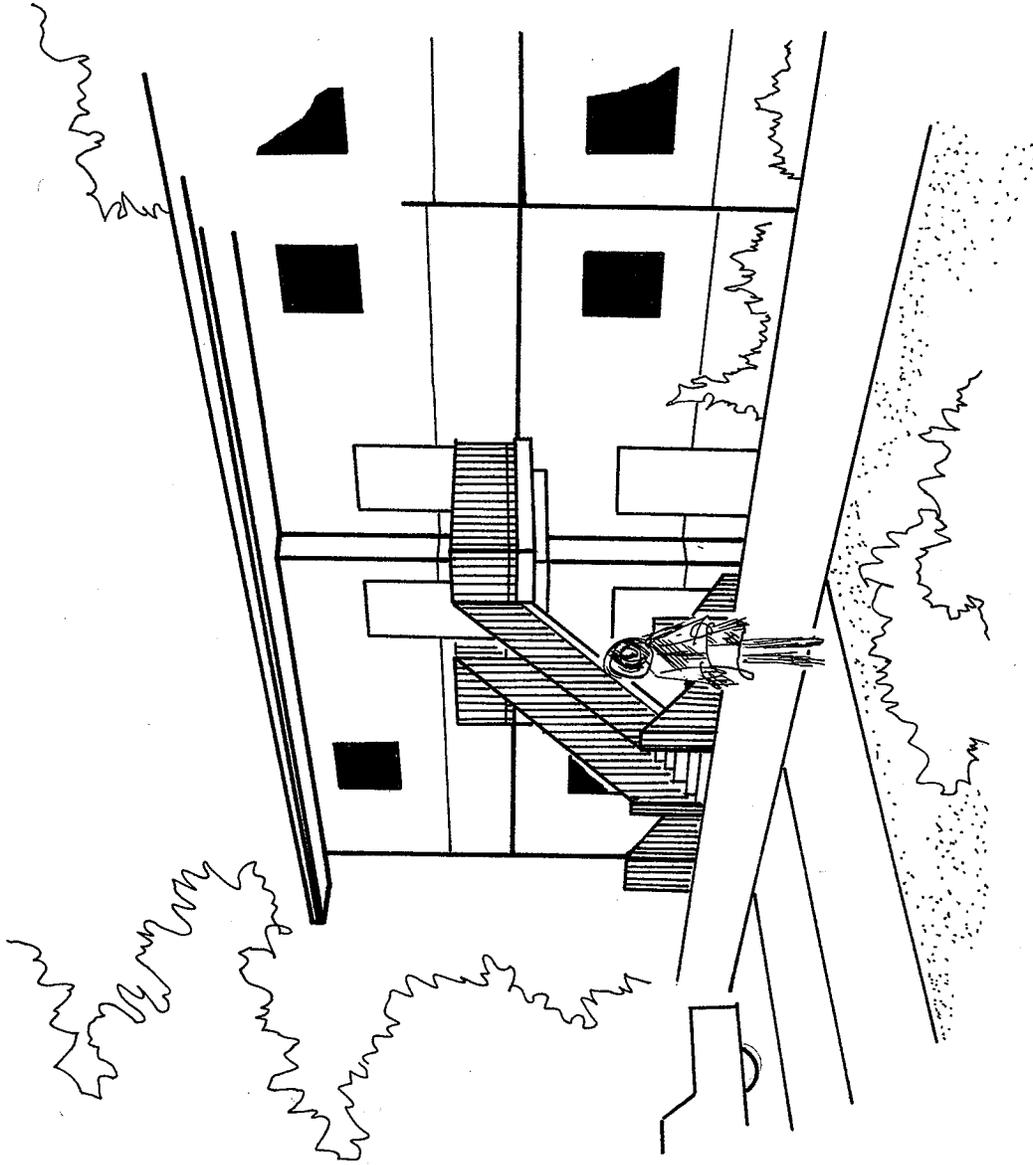


Fig. 13. Drawing of Portion of Duplex-Rowhousing Development.

B(3): The project is composed of 1 and 2 bedroom units of about 675 and 850 square feet respectively.

The project is a condominium so the people do not have to concern themselves about maintenance. This is covered by the strata fees they are required to pay.

People who do prefer a small amount of green space can locate in the ground units. An outdoor private patio is provided. Outdoor privacy for upper units is provided by means of spacious balconies.

B(4): The type of dwelling unit made available is a combination of the duplex and row-housing types.

People who prefer a small amount of green space can reside in the lower units.

As stated earlier, it should be economically possible to locate the project, because of its density, relatively near non-residential land use. It could be placed near community services and facilities such as a shopping centre or a recreational facility.

The needs and preferences of the above two groups, A and B, differ. As a result, it is possible to design an environment which is more suited than another for satisfying the needs and preferences of one group. Members of Group A will more likely be attracted to the first residential environment discussed and the members of Group B to the second.

There are many groups with distinctive characteristics which could be attracted to various areas in the suburban environment. Many of the people who make up the groups are more than likely

already located in the suburbs. The problem is that the suburb does not provide enough choices in order to attract them to certain areas of the suburb. Suburbs generally follow a stereotyped, standard design -- dwelling units, lots, streets, are usually of a very similar size and so forth. As a result, the members of the various groups are spread out and not brought together with their own kind except by means of very chance encounters. Through urban design, members of these groups can be brought together more effectively, as in the above examples, and friendship formation encouraged more so than it is at present.

Of the two groups which have been discussed above, it can be said that there has been some provision made for them in the city. For many groups, however, as in the next example, this has not been the case.

Inner City Environment

GROUP C

The third example refers to a group which would like to locate in the inner city but has difficulty doing so because the type of residential environment they prefer is not really available.

The following are the component characteristics of Group C:

1. Social Class - middle
2. Life Style - cosmopolitan
3. Stage in Life Cycle - childraisers
4. Value Orientation - instrumental

1. Social Class:

Findings are the same as for Group A (see p. 72).

2. Life Style:

People with a cosmopolitan life style claim the whole city as their "stamping ground." They endeavour to make use of the opportunities a city has to offer with respect to available services and facilities. They prefer a central location within an urban area.³¹ Not necessarily at the city center but near to it. A central location makes the city as a whole much more accessible.

3. Stage in Life Cycle:

Members of Group C are in the child-raising stage of the life cycle. Generally, these people prefer a suburban detached or semi-detached unit type of environment for the child-raising amenities it offers, but some, if they had the chance, because of their life style leanings, would prefer to locate in a cosmopolitan setting.³² Their concerns, however, related to child-raising would still have to be satisfied:

- (a) Child-raisers need a reasonably large dwelling unit.
- (b) Child-raisers prefer that the unit have direct access to the outdoors.^{33,34}

³¹Gerson, p. 73.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., p. 79.

³⁴Michelson, p. 100.

- (c) Child-raisers need and prefer voice separation from neighbors. This need can be satisfied with good sound-proofing of party walls, thus a detached or semi-detached unit is not necessary.³⁵
- (d) Child-raisers require easily accessible, safe outdoor and indoor play areas for their children.³⁶

4. Value Orientation:

- (a) People with an instrumental value orientation prefer to be located near community services and facilities and other non-residential land uses.³⁷
- (b) It has been found that apartment dwelling types are very conducive to the expression of an instrumental value orientation.³⁸

Enough information has surfaced, for example central location, apartment, large units, direct access to the outdoors, to enable the beginning of the design of a residential environment for Group C. Findings for physical and functional distance are essentially the same as those listed for Group B (see p.81).

Figs. 14 and 15 are examples of a residential environment which can serve to attract members of Group C.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 99-100.

³⁶Ibid., p. 96.

³⁷Ibid., p. 142.

³⁸Ibid., p. 143.

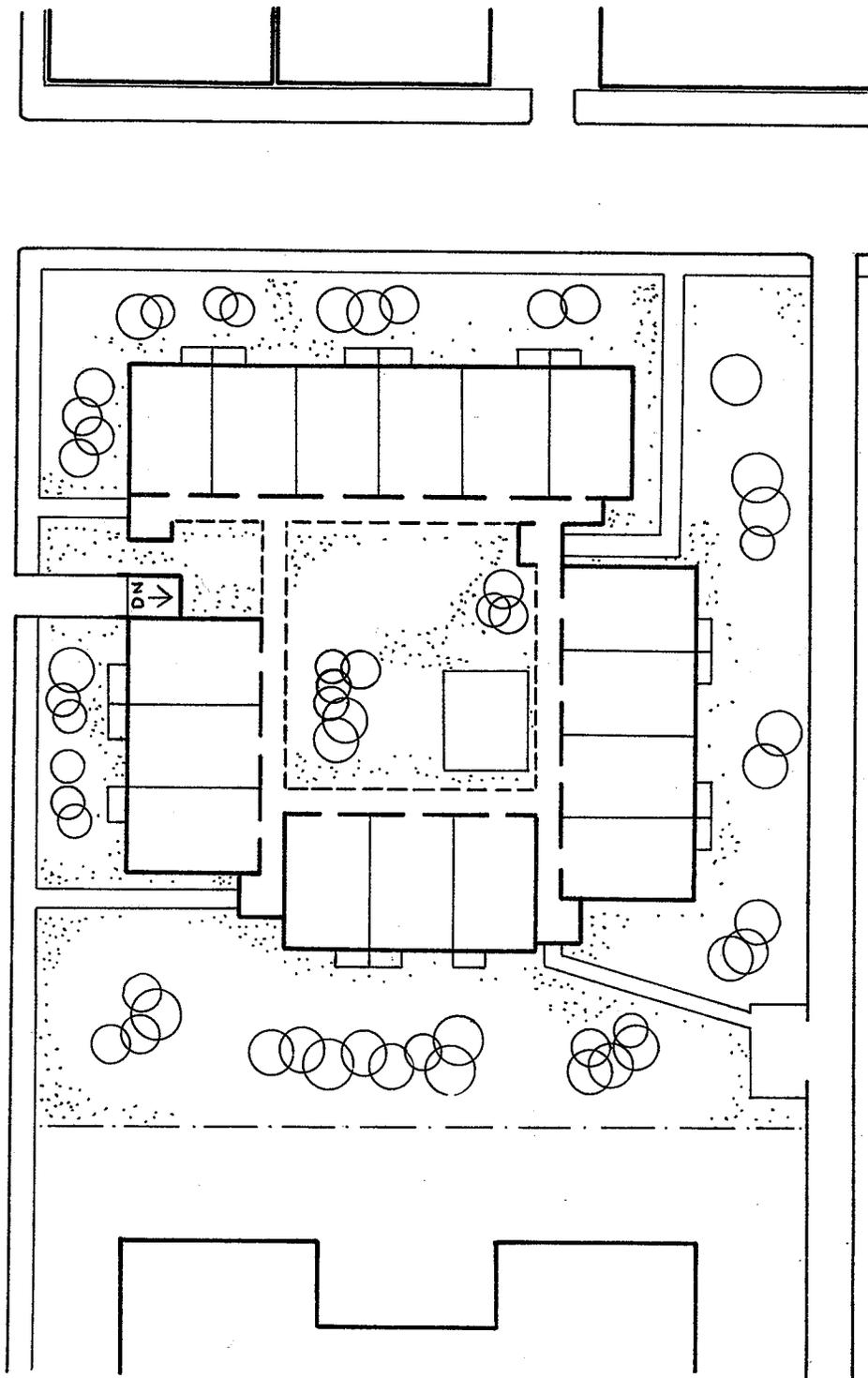


Fig. 14. Planned Residential Environment for Middle Class Persons with
Cosmopolitan Life Styles, Children and an Instrumental Value
Orientation.

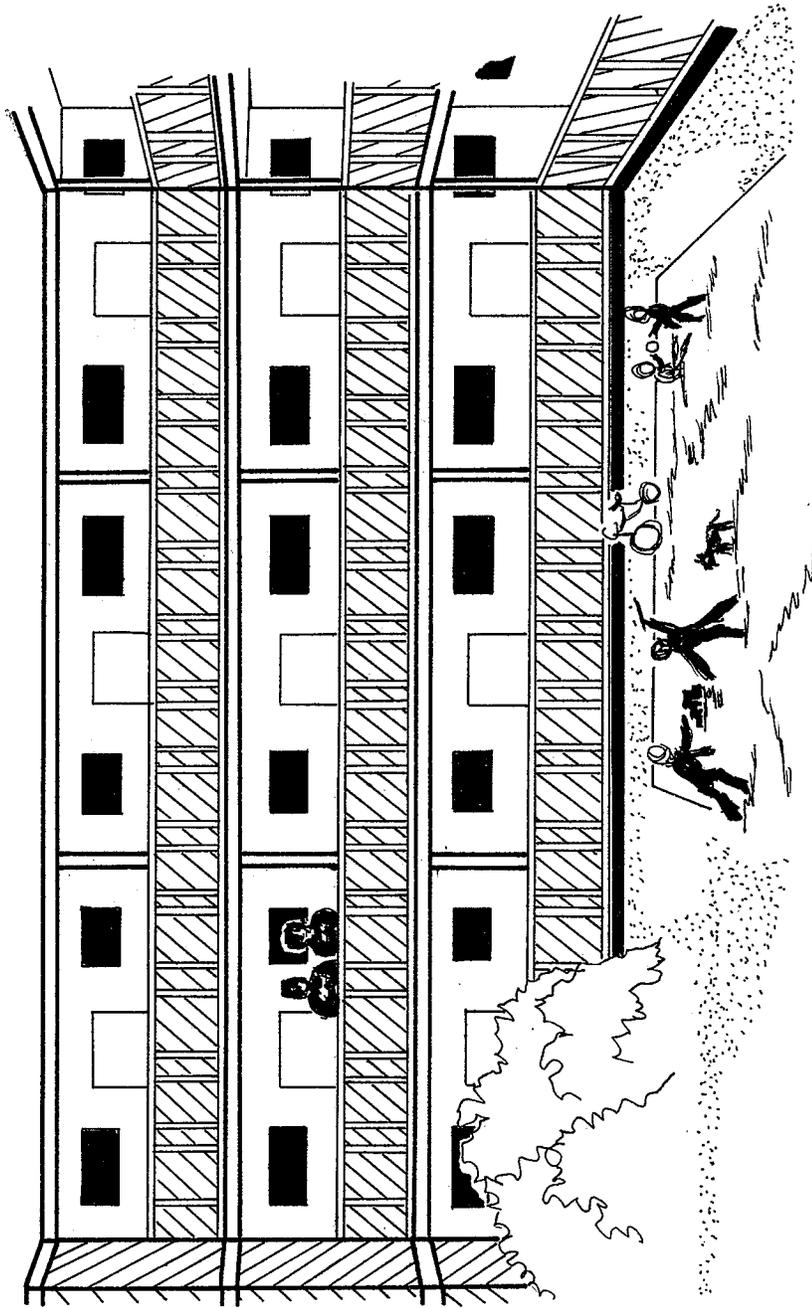


Fig. 15. Drawing of Portion of Family Apartment Development.

A(1): Families in the project are located physically near to each other. Fourteen units are located on each floor and the distance between the entrances of any two units is never greater than 30 feet. Families are also physically near others living on adjacent floors.

A(2): Functionally, families located on the same floor are brought near to each other by the use of a common walkway. Encounters will occur between people at times when they are leaving or entering their units.

Families which live near the stairwells, but on different floors will be brought functionally closer because of the connecting stairways.

A common recreation room is provided and will serve as an ideal place for chance meetings. Contact will also be facilitated in the outdoor play areas. Parents, through their children, will be able to meet other adults in the project. The children make friends with their own age group first and eventually the parents get together because their children are friends.

B(1): The dwelling units are condominium units in the \$45,000 range. The units, as well as the surroundings, are quite appealing aesthetically and evidence an aura of a middle-class housing development. The units are of sufficient size and design that they can be used for entertainment purposes.

B(2): It would not be possible to locate this type of project directly in the city center. The density is not great enough for it to be economical, but it could be located relatively near.

B(3): The dwelling units are very spacious. The project is comprised only of two and three bedroom units at 925 and 1050 square feet respectively. The units are extremely well sound-proofed. The units have direct access to the outdoors by means of exterior walkways and stairways. (This type of design is feasible in most parts of the urban North America but not in all. Climate will be the limiting factor.) Indoor and outdoor play spaces have been provided for the project's children.

B(4): The project is the apartment-type and can be located very near community services and facilities and other non-residential land uses.

The residential environment described above would probably have great success in attracting people with the characteristics of Group C and as a result helping to encourage friendship formation, but it is not likely to attract members of Group D.

GROUP D

The component characteristics of Group D are:

1. Social Class - middle
2. Life Style - consumer-oriented
3. Stage in Life Cycle - single childless adults
4. Value Orientation - instrumental

The component characteristics can be related to the urban environment as follows:

1. Social Class:

Findings are similar to those for Group A (see p. 72).

2. Life Style:

People with a consumer-oriented life style "spend their efforts, time and money on having a good time."³⁹ They patronize the restaurants and night clubs, and entertainment places of all kinds in the city. As Michelson says, "They like to live in the middle of things."⁴⁰ They prefer to be located in the inner city. Their desire is easily explainable as the places they wish to go to are more easily accessible and they can live in the midst of all the action.

3. Stage in Life Cycle:

Members of Group D are childless adults. They are unmarried and very mobile. It has been found that:

- (a) They prefer to locate in the central part of cities.⁴¹
- (b) Their spatial needs are modest and as a result their dwelling units need not be large.

4. Value Orientation:

The findings are similar to those discussed for Group C on p. 88. Group D would likely be attracted by an apartment development located in the inner city of the type in Figs. 16 and 17.

A(1): With respect to physical distance, any one unit is located near many other units in a floor section.

³⁹Bell, p. 148.

⁴⁰Michelson, p. 62.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 104.

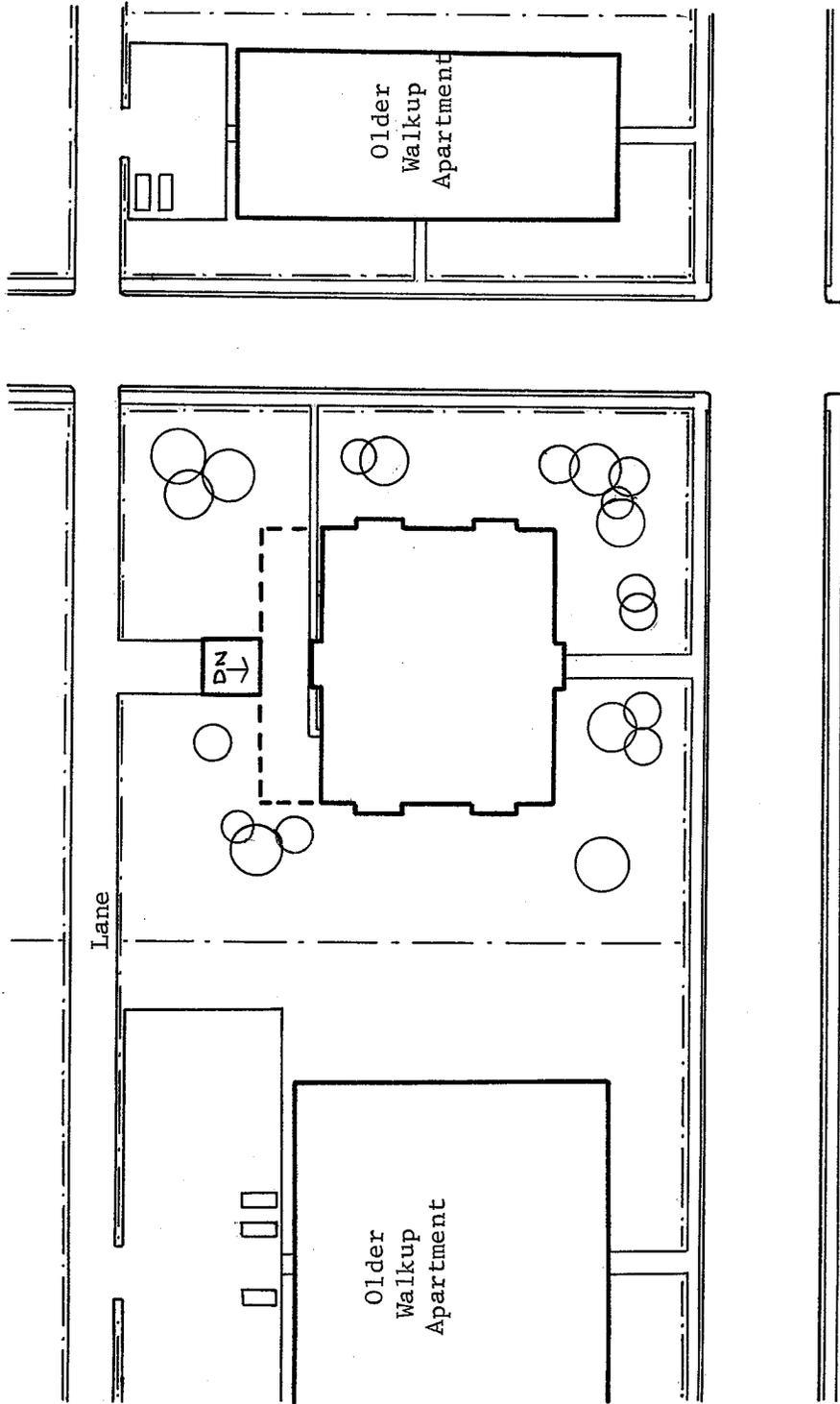


Fig. 16. Planned Residential Environment for Single Middle Class Persons with Consumer-Oriented Life Styles, No Children and on Instrumental Value Orientation.

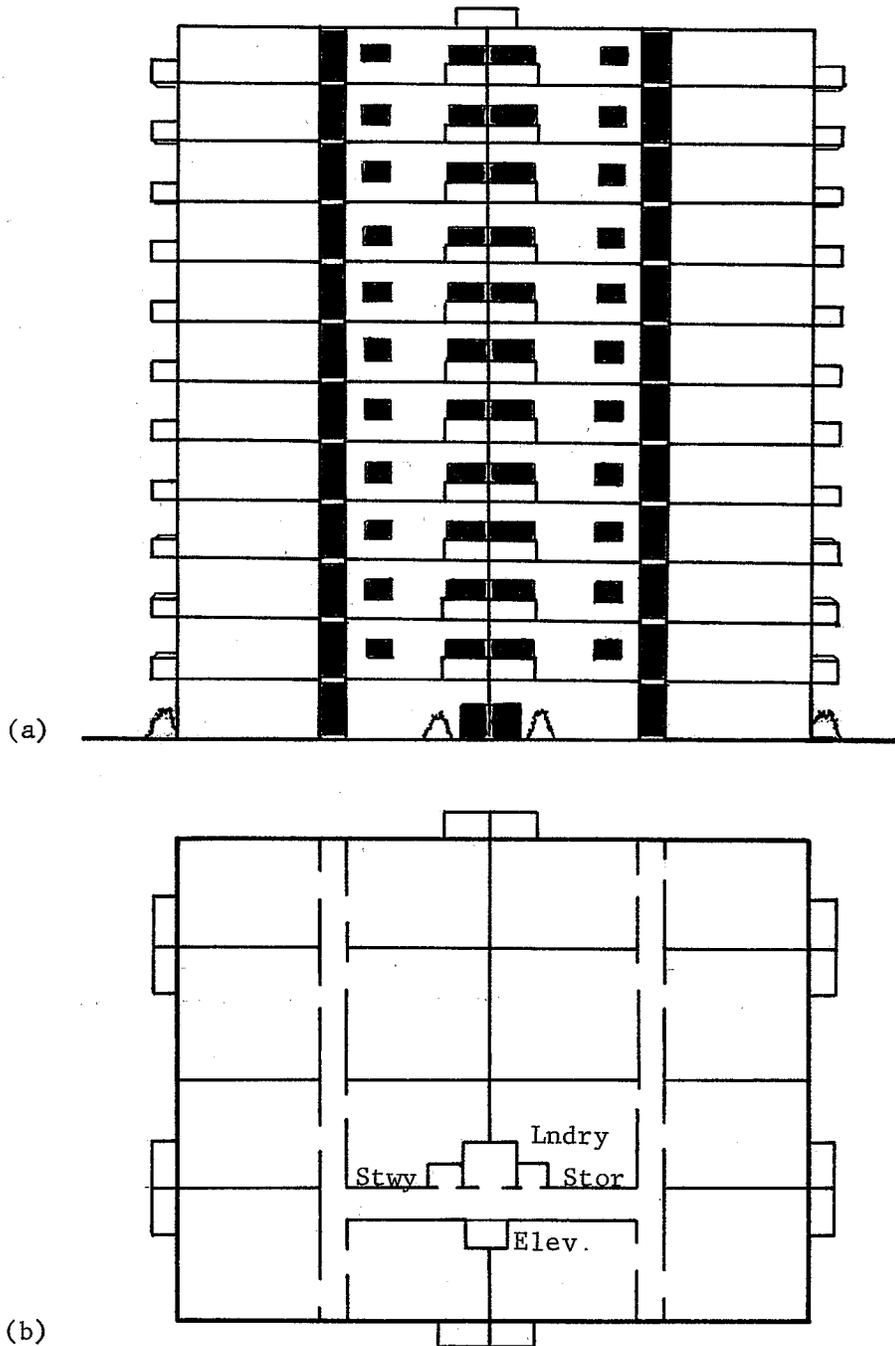


Fig. 17. (a) Drawing of a High Rise Apartment Building
(b) Plan of a Typical Floor.

A(2): Functionally, people are brought closer by their being grouped in the building floor sections. Chance encounters will occur in the hallways as people enter or leave their units.

People will primarily use the elevator when coming and going and will be brought together in this manner.

Laundry rooms are located on each floor. People will have chance meetings when they do their washing.

People of different floors can meet in the recreational amenity areas provided -- sauna, pool, recreation room.

B(1): The apartment block is modern, aesthetically attractive, and comes complete with many enticing amenities -- those discussed above, also plenty of closet and storage space, shag carpets in the units and underground parking. The units are rentals.

B(2): The location of the residential environment is in the inner city.

B(3): The residential environment has a "downtown location". The units in the apartment block are either bachelor or one-bedroom units. The bachelor units are about 520 square feet and the one-bedroom about 620.

B(4): The dwelling unit is an apartment unit located in the inner part of the city and very much in the "middle of things."

Group D will likely find the residential environment described above much more appealing than that which was described in the example immediately preceding, and they are more likely to be attracted to it.

There are apartments in the inner city which do cater to a degree to members of Group D. The apartments are such, however, that since they have two and three-bedroom units, they also attract members of different groups. Floors are generally composed of a variety of different group members. The probability of friendship formation is as a result not as high as it could be. The situation of different group members located on the same floor can not be completely averted but it can be tempered. The design discussed above is a step in this direction. No two-or three-bedroom units are provided and all units are small with respect to floor area. The design is ideally suited for Group D members but will not likely be as attractive to members of other groups. A higher concentration of Group D members in this residential area will likely be the end result.

Friendship Formation Outside of a Residential Environment

The discussion has centered on the design of residential nuclei to attract people with certain characteristics to certain areas in cities and in this manner encourage friendship formation. As most people are aware, friendships can also form outside of the residential environment. The likelihood of satisfying the necessary conditions is not as great but they can be satisfied and friendships can develop. Generally, people meet in a situation which is the result of some common activity or interest and if the meetings are frequent and casual friendship can result. It is possible through use of the method to increase the probability of such meetings between similar people.

Most North American cities provide only a limited opportunity for similar people to meet frequently and casually outside of their residential environments. These opportunities are usually related to leisure and recreational activities. The choices as to such activities present in many urban areas is not very great.⁴² What cities lack in this respect is variety. They do not function effectively in attracting people with certain interests to certain places. If cities were to provide for a variety of leisure and recreational activities, people with common interests would likely frequent the facilities and friendship formation would be more probable. Sidewalk cafes could be provided for the Frenchman and other Europeans who enjoy them, or intimate neighborhood pubs for the Englishman. Bicycle trails could be made available for those who like to cycle, or more varied recreation facilities for those who like to be physically active, or more parks for people who enjoy the amenities they have to offer. Many people would likely use the facilities if they were readily available.

What leisure and recreational facilities can be found in a suburban area? There may be a park near at hand, but not necessarily; a school, with its associated gym facilities; and it is likely there may not be very much more. Obviously, these facilities will cater only to a small number of people. The argument is not as strong against the inner city, because the inner city does cater to many different people, but there is still room for improvement.

⁴²Darke and Darke, p. 37.

Research linking the component characteristics of the right-hand side of the model with certain leisure and recreational facilities is very scarce. Only a small number of studies are available. Hopefully, future research will soon fill the B₍₁₎, B₍₂₎, B₍₃₎, and B₍₄₎ void. It is possible, however, to give a limited example demonstrating the method's utility.

GROUP E

In looking at the component characteristics of Group E, it is found that only two can be related to leisure and recreational activities. These are the social class characteristic, B₍₁₎, and the stage in the life cycle characteristic, B₍₃₎. The members in Group E are in the lower class and in the old age stage of the life cycle. They are either single, married or widowed and if they have had children, the children have already grown up.

Studies have shown that as people grow older, there is a "tendency to shift from leisure pursuits that require considerable physical and even mental ability to more sedentary activities (watching television, listening to radio, reading, playing quiet games, dancing, and pursuing hobbies such as stamp-collecting)."⁴³ Studies have also demonstrated that the lower classes are "less involved in community affairs . . . but they exceed the higher class in radio and television listening-viewing."⁴⁴

⁴³Martin H. Neumeyer and Esther S. Neumeyer, 3rd ed. Leisure and Recreation (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), p. 49.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 160.

By designing a facility which would cater to the above, it would most likely be possible to attract members of Group E. Contact would be facilitated by their physical nearness in the same facility. It could be a small Senior Citizens' Center as shown in Fig. 18. Friendship formation is possible because both sides of the model are accounted for. In this case the components present are: $A_{(1)} + B_{(1)} + B_{(3)}$.

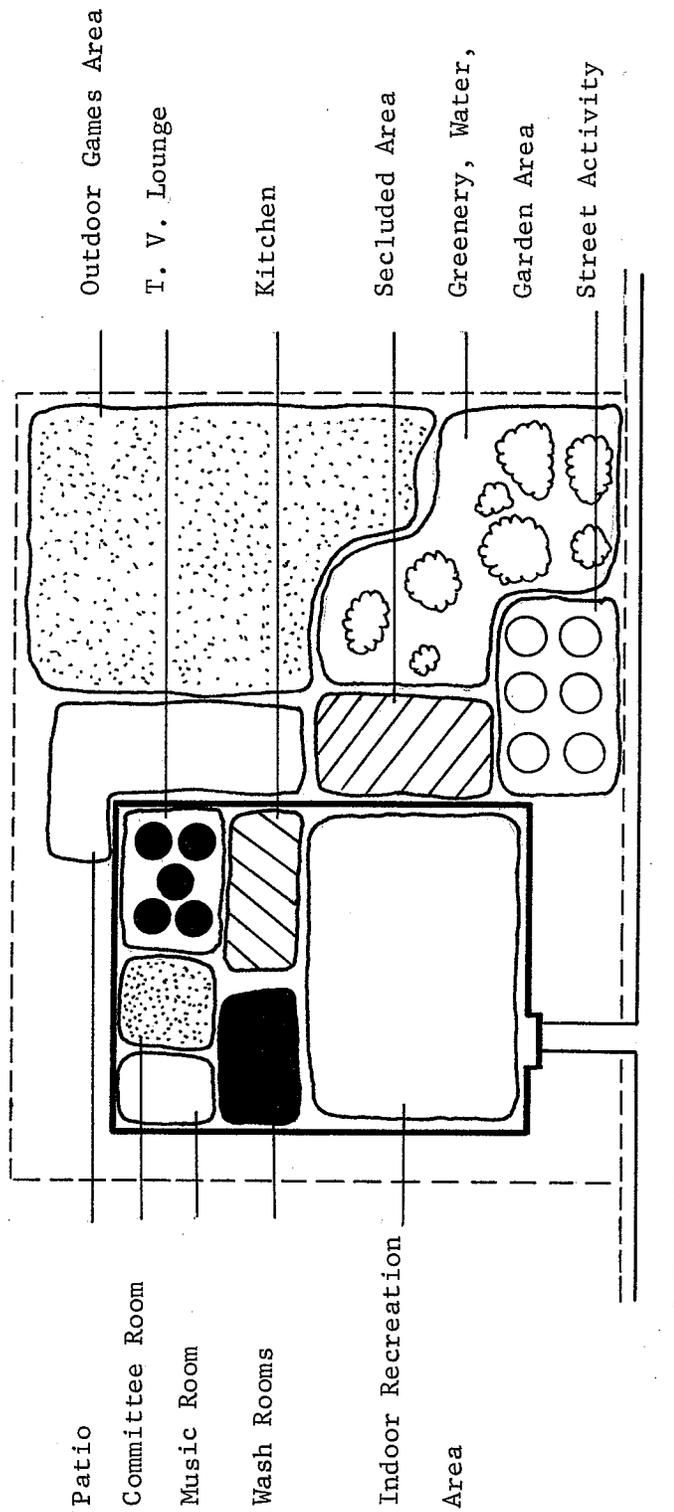


Fig. 18. Site and Floor Plan of a Senior Citizens' Recreation Facility.

SUMMARY

Alienation has been viewed as being undesirable because of the unfavourable consequences it has for people. Alienation has been posited to be the result of the lack of meaningful social contact between people. Lack of meaningful social contact has been said to be due to the breakdown of primary group relations which can be attributed to the growth of individual autonomy. Industrialization has provided the wealth which has enabled people to become materially independent.

Alienation can be opposed by encouraging friendship formation. Friendship formation can help to replace the meaningful social contacts which are lacking due to the breakdown in primary group relations. By designing for proximity and homogeneity, similar people can be brought into contact with each other and the likelihood of friendship formation increased. The process of the North American city bringing similar people together is not operating at its most efficient level. Not enough environmental choices are being provided in the cities to enable very similar people to locate or gather in a certain area. The people tend to remain largely scattered and separated from each other. The overall probability of friendship formation is, as a result, not as high as it could be. It can, however, be greatly increased by using the method discussed. By providing for a greater variety of choices, especially residential, people who are very similar can be attracted to given areas. The majority of examples of the urban design method as presented in Chapter III pertain to the

residential portion of the urban environment because of a restriction as to the type and number of supportive studies available. It is, however, possible to use the approach outside of the residential environment as demonstrated in the example of the senior citizens' recreation facility.

It appears that urban design can be used as a mechanism to reduce the presence of alienation in cities, and thus, to contribute to the health and happiness of the people who live in them.

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