

RICHMOND LAKES HOUSING STUDY

PRIVACY & SOCIAL INTERACTION
AT THE NEIGHBORHOOD LEVEL

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RICHMOND LAKES HOUSING STUDY

Privacy and Social Interaction for Medium
Density Housing

A Practicum

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INTRODUCTION



Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the theoretical implications of the concepts of Privacy, Territoriality and Personal Space as they relate to the design of medium density housing developments and to illustrate how privacy levels can be maintained while at the same time providing the opportunity for individuals or groups to seek and achieve a desired level of social interaction with others.

The underlying theme of this practicum is that the physical environment and human behavior are inter-related to the point of being viewed as inseparable and that people have the ability to adapt to, modify, or alter the physical environment, changing its character to suit their particular needs at a given point in time. We can no longer apply the functionalist dictum that an environment causes certain behaviors to occur. It must be recognized that behavior cannot be evaluated or understood independent of its environmental context and that behavioral changes are the result of an interaction between individuals or groups and their environment.



Historically, the social sciences have often treated or studied human behavior in isolation of the surrounding situations in which the particular behavior in question is being assessed. Similarly, the design professions have been traditionally pre-occupied with the creation of physical space, often placing little emphasis on the effects of their design on the behavior of the individuals who will ultimately occupy this space.

What is required then, is a reciprocal perspective - "an ecological approach"- which recognizes that people have the ability to impact on their environment and conversely that an environment acts on and has the ability to influence human behavior. Recent trends in environmental design appear to reinforce such an approach whereby the living and/or working environment contains a high degree of flexibility, allowing for the manipulation and alteration of that environment in response to a change in the way the space is perceived by an individual or group. The notion of flexibility, while a recent ⁿovation in our



society, has long been practiced by other cultures such as the Japanese who, with their movable room partitions are able to alter the basic living unit to accomodate an increase in the number of inhabitants or a change in the use of the space as the needs of the occupant are latered.

It, therefore, seems desirable that people become the agents for change as opposed to being the recipients of environmental influences with the result that the environment becomes a positive extention of the personality of the individual or the group. Territory and personal space for example, as will be discussed in further detail in subsequent chapters, imply an active use of the environment and not merely a reaction by people to surrounding environmental factors.

Another important aspect of the ecological approach is that the physical environment and human behavior change over time and under different circumstances and that such change is, by nature, dynamic. As an example, territories may become altered by a change in ownership or a change in public taste. Likewise, personal space might expand or contract as social values and customs change.



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Privacy, the central focus of this study, has been traditionally viewed as an excluding process - "being alone" or "getting away" from others which has resulted in the creation of living environments which discourage interaction between residents. It, therefore, seems desirable that privacy be viewed as a dynamic process in which forces to be with others and forces to be away from others are both present, with one force dominating at one time and the other being stronger at another time, ^tThe inference being that it is undesirable for individuals or groups to be alone too often or for too long a period of time and conversely for people to be with others too much and for too long.

As a general principle, design professionals should attempt to design responsive environments which recognize the openness and closedness of privacy needs and which permit easy alteration between a state of separateness and a state of togetherness. Environments that emphasize, either very little interaction, or a great deal of interaction are too static and will not be responsive to changing privacy needs. A door, for example, permits the



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regulation of social interaction. Opening the door signifies a desire to be in contact with others while closing it represents an impermeable barrier.

The emphasis of this presentation revolves around the concept of privacy and that an understanding of privacy mechanisms is central to the analysis of the inter-relationships between the physical environment and human behavior. Further, the concepts of personal space and territoriality are viewed as mechanisms used to achieve desired levels of individual or group privacy.

Altman (1975) suggests that privacy is an interpersonal boundary process by which a person or group regulates interaction with others. By altering the degree of openness of the self to others, a hypothetical personal boundary becomes more or less receptive to social interaction with others. Privacy is, therefore, a dynamic process involving selective control over a self boundary, either by an individual or a group. (Altman, 1975)

Such factors as past experience,



availability and type of physical space, and general personal characteristics of the individuals are the catalysts by which a series of mechanisms are set in motion to determine the self boundaries and the desired level of privacy.

Personal space, defined as the space immediately surrounding the individual, is one of these privacy regulating mechanisms. Privacy levels can be altered by the individual changing his or her distance or orientation to others. Through such manouvers, the individual can regulate the level of interaction. "... living close and maintaining face to face orientation markably increases the opportunity for touch, detailed visual contact, ability to smell the other person and the ability to feel bodily heat. At greater distance, richness of communication drops dramatically, so that personal space serves as an effective personal boundary control mechanism." (Altman, 1975, p.8)

Verbal behavior is another example of a privacy regulation mechanism. WHAT AND HOW people say things to others affects the



degree of accessibility to individual territory. Verbal behavior then, as a boundary control mechanism, can affectively maintain an achieved level of privacy having the ability to restrict or encourage contact with others. The optimum condition for social interaction is directly related to a balance between achieved privacy levels and desired privacy levels. Should the balance between achieved and desired privacy levels be disrupted, additional boundary control mechanisms may be required. For example, an individual may increase personal space or distance from others or may introduce physical barriers to clearly delineate personal territory. Conversely, when achieved privacy levels exceed desired levels the individual may attempt to remove physical barriers to increase the opportunities for social interaction.

The following chapters will examine in greater detail the interrelationships between privacy, personal space and territory as they relate to the design and development of exterior living environments.



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Chapter (I) will explore the theoretical implications of the concept of privacy as it relates to individual and group behavior associated with social contact while chapter (II) will focus on the importance of the concept of personal space as an intergral behavioral control mechanism used to achieve certain levels of privacy. Chapter (III) will address the issue of human territorial defense and the need for clear boundary separation between private and public space to facilitate positive social interaction between individuals and their living environments. Chapter (III) will also address the issue of distance between and proximity to others and the effects of such on the type and quality of interaction that is likely to occur. Chapter IV will outline the design criteria and guidelines for development that will be applied to the case study of Richmond Lakes Townhouses. Chapter V will outline the study area, it's constraints and opportunities. Chapter VI will be the physical redesign of a portion of the Richmond Lakes Townhouses development, applying the design guidelines to show how privacy levels can be maintained.



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territories delineated and personal space
enhanced in a manner which promotes a high
degree of social contact with others
without jeopardizing the individuals control
over space.

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PRIVACY



CHAPTER 1 Privacy

A review of the pertinent literature relating to the concept of privacy (Chapin, Bates, Goffman, Rapoport, Proshansky, Simmel, Sommer, Hall) clearly indicates a general consensus on several important issues:

A.) Privacy is an interpersonal boundary control process which paces and regulates interaction with others.

B.) Desired privacy levels and achieved privacy levels are two important aspects of privacy. Desired privacy is a subjective statement of an ideal level of interaction with others. How much or how little contact is desired at a given moment in time. Achieved privacy is the actual degree of contact that results from interaction with others. If the desired privacy is equal to the achieved privacy, an optimum state of privacy exists. If achieved privacy is lower or higher than desired privacy a state of imbalance exists.

C.) Privacy is a dialectic process which involves both a restriction of interaction and a seeking of interaction. "... we become what we are not only by establishing boundaries around our selves but also by a periodic



opening of these boundaries to nourishment, to learning, and to intimacy... it is essential that a person be able to set boundaries for himself, but freely, so that he can raise the boundaries again and remove himself from them." (Simmel, p.81)

The dialectic nature of privacy suggest that social interaction is a continuing interplay between a variety of forces which allows people to come together and to move apart. Simply stated, there are times when people want to be alone and times when people want to be together. Privacy, then, is a synthesis between being in contact with others and being out of contact with others with opportunities and desires for social interaction changing over time and with circumstances. Simmel continues...

" The idea of privacy as a dialectic process means that there is a balancing of opposing forces to be open and accessible to others or to be closed and shut off from others and the net strength of these competing forces changes over time." (p.83)

D.) Privacy is an optimizing process in which exists an optimal degree of desired



access of the self to others at any moment in time.

E.) Privacy is an input and output process by which individuals and groups attempt to regulate contacts coming from others and outputs they make to others.

F.) Privacy can involve different types of social units such as individuals, families neighborhoods, communities, mixed or homogeneous groups. This suggests that privacy is an interpersonal event, involving relationships amongst people. Such relationships might include person to person, person to group, group to person, or group to group social units. For example, a family group may want to be alone to discuss a problem, or individual family members may wish to reflect on some matter alone and out of the presence of others. In other words there can be a variety social units involved in privacy. The privacy process may or may not be similar for all these social units.

G.) Certain behavioral mechanisms used to achieve privacy goals. Such mechanisms include:



1. Verbal and nonverbal behavior.

2. Personal space, defined in terms of distance by the space immediately surrounding persons or groups.

3. Territory, the use, possession, and ownership of areas or objects within a geographical locale.

4. Cultural mechanisms such as prevailing customs, norms and values related to behavior exhibited by members of cultural groups.

While it is commonly understood that the boundary control mechanisms may differ considerably across societies, there appears to be a common denominator that individuals or groups can shut off contacts with others at different times and under different circumstances. As Altman states " a viable society can not exist if many members are totally and permanently out of contact with others. But it is also probable that few societies exist where people have no barriers against others. What appears to be different among societies is not the absence of interpersonal boundary processes but the specific behavioral mechanisms by which some degree of control is achieved." (Altman,



1975, p.28). Such control is exhibited in Silber's analysis of the strip teaser which illustrates how a non-private situation may actually exercise interpersonal boundary control.

" The strip teaser would seem to forfeit, by virtue of her professional calling the privacy of her body. She has, it might seem, no private parts, since she has contracted for their public display. But in the blank expressionless face of the dancer one sees the closed door, the wall, behind which she hides an intense, but limited privacy. She wears her fig leaf on her face. With eyes that disclose nothing, least of all an interest in what she is doing or in those who are watching her, she preserves some part of her individuality from public gaze. Some dancers exhibit such powers of withdrawal that they succeed in totally estranging themselves from the audience. Because she does not value the intimate disclosure of her body, because she makes her body available with such utter indifference, that rare dancer may even convey to a stupid and drunken audience



the stark realization that in seeing all they have seen nothing. What is offered publicly to an audience becomes private once again. (Silber, 1971, p. 228)

Within such a theoretical framework it is possible to establish some broad working definitions of the concept of privacy. Weston (1970) defines privacy as the right of the individual to decide what information about himself should be communicated to others and under what conditions. Rappoport (1972) extends this definition to include the ability to control interaction, to have options devices and mechanisms to prevent unwanted interaction-to achieve desired interaction.

Ittleson, Proshansky and Rivelon (1970) maintain that privacy is the result of obtaining freedom of choice or options to achieve goals in order to control what and to whom information is communicated about one's self. Simmel (1950) defines privacy as the control of stimulus input from others, the degree of mutual knowledge and separateness of people from one another. While Schills (1966) extends this definition to include the control of movement of information across a boundary from person to person, person to group,



group to group, or group to individual.

The most practical definition of the concept of privacy, however, is that outlined by Altman. Privacy is defined as "the selective control of access to the self or to ones group." The apparent simplicity of this definition contains several notions that are essential to the analysis of the concept of privacy as it relates to the physical environment.

1. It allows for the inclusion of a variety of social units ranging from the individual to larger groups.

2. It permits analysis of the concept of privacy as a bi-directional process. That is, inputs from the others to the self and from the self to others.

3. This definition implies selective control, or an active or dynamic process, in which privacy can change over time and with different circumstances.

Inherent to this definition, then, is the maintenance of flexibility in the boundary control process influenced by the mechanisms of personal space and territory. While a plethora of studies relating to privacy have been undertaken within the last decade several are of particular interest to this analysis. Weston (1970), for example, categorized four types and four functions



of privacy.

1. Solitude
2. Intimacy
3. Anonymity
4. Reserve

Solitude refers to the state of privacy whereby a person is free and alone from observation by others and, as such, is in the most extreme condition of privacy. The second privacy state, intimacy, occurs when a small group, a husband and a wife for example, separate themselves from outsiders in order to be alone. Anonymity, the third state of privacy, occurs when a person is lost in a crowd; he is in a public place with others present but does not expect to be recognized. An example of anonymity might include going to a movie or walking in crowded shopping centre. Reserve, the fourth state of privacy, includes " the creation of a psychological barrier against unwanted intrusion"(1970,p32.) This stage literally tunes others out. As is evident, the first three states, solitude, anonymity and reserve relate to a single persons desire to be separate from others. The fourth state, however, ^{reserve}intimacy, provides the opportunity for larger groups to become



involved in activities together while minimizing contact with others.

Weston continues his discussion by describing four major functions of privacy.

1. Personal Autonomy
2. Emotional release
3. Self evaluation
4. Limited and protected communication

Personal autonomy refers to the central core of the self and the important issues of self worth, self independence, and self identity. Emotional release permits people to relax from social roles, to be as Goffman maintains "off stage". Self evaluation provides individuals or groups with the opportunity of assessing their experiences, plan strategies for the future and generally stand back from it all and reassess goals and objectives.

The fourth function of privacy, limited and protected communication, provides the opportunity to be alone with another person or a small group of individuals and to share confidences with them. The key to Weston's analysis is that individuals and groups seek a balance between openness and closedness. Too much or too little separation is deemed



undesirable, close relationships cannot be viable without some balanced interplay of the members being together and apart, thereby, sometimes being individuals and sometimes being members of a group but never in either role all the time. Pastaland (1970) extends Weston's analysis and described events that precipitate individuals to seek various forms of privacy.

These include:

1. antecedent social events, such as social relations and role responsibilities.

2. Organismic or personal factors, such as motivation to escape identification and a desire to be free from observation.

3. Mechanisms to achieve privacy, such as physical withdrawal, use of non-verbal behavior and psychological barriers.

4. environmental factors, such as crowdedness, confinement, and environmental arrangement of objects related to the ability of the individual to achieve desired levels of interaction.

Such an analysis leads to the affects of surrounding circumstances, such as the crowdedness of the physical environment, and individual needs in certain situations that trigger various desires for privacy.



Ittleson, Proshnsky and Rivilin (1970) maintain that privacy maximizes freedom of choice in behavioral options and, thereby, allows a person or group to have control over his or her activities. They recognize the importance of individuals or groups maintaining control over space or territory. "... territoriality, thus, becomes one mechanisms whereby a person can increase the range of options open to him and exercise his freedom of choice in given situations." (p.181) Central to Proshansky's⁴ proposition is the idea of control or freedom of choice to pursue or not to pursue interaction, or the ability to regulate self/other boundaries. Kelvin(1973) suggests that privacy be viewed in terms of individual independence, vulnerability, and power that others have or do not have over another person. Privacy, then involves protecting oneself from the influence and power of others. The individual or groups ability to regulate interaction makes the situation less vulnerable.

It becomes quite clear that privacy is not solely a withdrawal process whereby individuals or groups seek isolation and



freedom from external interference. Privacy involves the element of choice; the ability of the individual or group to use social and physical environments to regulate interaction with others. The notion of flexibility and choice recognizes that privacy is a dynamic process which has the ability to change in degree with an alteration of situations which precipitate the need for a level of privacy.

A related feature of privacy is that too much or too little privacy is deemed unsatisfactory and that persons or groups seek optimal levels of social interaction. Smith(1969), Bates (1969), Jourard (1971) Wohlwill (1974) all contend that an optimum balance must be achieved between seclusion and interaction and that the dialectic nature of privacy points to the net level of desired contact with others. The net level can be high or low. Hutton (1972) suggests that Individuals and groups use boundaries or barriers to control access by others whereby access by others is regulated as circumstances change. Thus, boundaries are directly related to territorial definition and defence.



Altman (1975) defines territory as "... a bounded area that an organism defends and preserves as its own." (p.27) This definition of territory applies equally to the concept of personal space which involves an invisible boundary around the self, intrusion into which creates tensions and discomforts. Furthermore, all manner of social units ranging from individuals to families to neighborhoods to cities and nations, define their existence, in part, by boundaries in the form of walls, fences, rivers and to the natural and man made barriers. According to Altman "... the concept of a boundary (in a broad sense) is a distinction between the self and the non-self... the interface between the self and the nonself." (p.27)

The regulation of boundaries then, is related to the degree of social interaction and is reflected in levels of desired and achieved privacy. When achieved privacy equals desired privacy, an optimum degree of privacy exists. Conversely, when achieved privacy is less than desired privacy more contact occurred than was desired. Hutton (1972) suggests that boundary regulation



includes control over inputs from persons and other external factors outside the self, ranging from zero input on some occasions to maximum input on other occasions. Privacy also includes outputs from the self to others. An individual may seek out , for example, the opinion of another person to help resolve a personal problem.

To summarize the discussion to this point, several key issues relating to the concept of privacy have been emphasized.

A. Privacy is an interpersonal process which may involve a variety of social units ranging from individuals to groups.

B. Privacy is a means of regulating contact with others.

C. Privacy is a reciprocal process involving incoming and outgoing contacts.

D. That privacy is a dynamic process allowing individuals or groups to choose the degree of desired social interaction with others.

E. That an optimal level exists between desired and achieved privacy which will vary according to the social setting and circumstances.



PERSONAL SPACE



CHAPTER 11

Personal Space - 'The Protective Bubble'

Personal space is one of the mechanisms used to regulate privacy and involves a combination of factors including distance and angle of orientation from others.

Sommer (1969) refers to personal space as "an area with an invisible boundary surrounding the person's body into which intruders may not come... like the porcupines in Schopenhauer's fable, people like to be close enough to obtain warmth and comradeship but far enough away to avoid pricking one another. Personal space is not necessarily spherical in shape, nor does it extend equally in all directions... it has been likened to a soap bubble, a snail shell, an aura and breathing room." (p.26)

Goffman (1971) describes personal space as "the space surrounding an individual where within which an entering 'other' causes the individual to feel encroached upon, leading him to show displeasure and sometimes to withdraw." (p.30)

Hall (1966) suggests that there is an interplay between personal distance (the normal spacing which is maintained) and the



social distance (the psychological distance beyond which an individual feels anxious because of a need to be in contact with others).

Implicit to these definitions are several factors associated with the concept of personal space;

A. That personal space is an invisible boundary between the individual and others.

B. That personal space is always a part of the individual. Personal space is, therefore, carried with the individual where ever he goes.

C. That personal space regulation (like privacy) is a dynamic process which allows the individual to permit access as situations change.

D. That personal space is related to interpersonal distance and orientation to others and that undesired interaction can cause the individual to withdraw.

Simply stated, personal space regulation operates in the following way. The self opens to others when interaction is desired and closes when interaction is not desired. As previously stated, privacy regulation is achieved through a series of behavioral mechanisms including verbal and non-verbal



communication and environmentally oriented behaviors related to personal space and territory. Thus personal space is a mechanism used to regulate interpersonal interaction and to achieve a desired level of privacy.

Personal space is often translated into physical distance from others. Hall (1966) emphasized that distance itself is not important; it is the communication cues possible at various distances that lend significance to the concept of personal space.

Studies indicate that individual distance is learned behavior occurring during the early years of life and that this learning is influenced by cultural factors and values related to perceived comfort levels for social interaction. As Sommer (1969) suggests, "when the individual is deprived of contact with others he can not learn proper spacing which sets him up as a failure in subsequent social intercourse--he comes too close and evokes threat displays or stays too far away to be considered a member of the group." (p.29)



The importance of personal space cannot be over emphasized. The level of comfort that the individual feels toward himself directly effects the level of comfort that might be felt by that individual in a group context. Should the individual lack an understanding about accepted spatial separation in a social setting it is unlikely that positive social interaction will occur, thereby, forcing the individual to withdraw, thus, achieving an undesired level of privacy. Conversely, clear definition of personal space or territory can facilitate social interaction providing that all parties are cognizant of comfort distance that sets the individuals apart. The ability of the individual to enter and to withdraw from such interactions is a reflection of that individuals ability to regulate interpersonal boundaries to maintain a certain level privacy and therefore, comfort.



CHAPTER 111 - Territory

" The concept of territory has its roots in the sociological analyses of urban life, beginning in the 1920's (Park, Burgess and McKenzies, 1925; Thrasher, 1927; Whyte, 1943, Yablonsky, 1962; Zorbaugh, 1929)." (Altman, 1975, p.103.) Research was conducted on the functioning of social groups in places such as restaurants, bars and neighborhoods. In all cases, the information generated by these studies clearly illustrated the presence of territories which were demarcated by streets, places on streets.

Stea (1965), defines territoriality as behavior that reflects the desire to possess and occupy portions of space and when necessary, to defend them against intrusion by others. Sommer (1966) refers to territory as an area controlled by a person, family, or other face to face groups in which control is reflected in actual or potential possession rather than evidence of physical combat or aggression. While Pastalan (1970) conceives of territory as a delimited space that a person or group uses and defends as an exclusive preserve. It involves psychological identification with a place, symbolized



by attitudes of possessiveness and arrangement of objects in an area. Becker (1973) refers to territory as a geographical area that is personalized or marked in some way and is defended in some way from encroachment. Goffman (1963) sees territories as areas controlled on the basis of ownership and exclusiveness of use. Lyman and Scott (1967) maintain that territoriality involves the attempt to control space and that these territories can be public, home, interactional or bodily in form. Finally, Sundstrum and Altman (1974) suggest that territoriality involves the mutually exclusive use of areas and objects by persons or groups.

As can be seen from the preceding definitions, several features are common to all. Firstly, they make specific reference to geographical areas or places. Second, they allude to the relationship between ownership of the space and the defense of territory. The third common denominator is that the concept of territoriality seems to imply or involve the personalization of a place either by the use of barriers or other marking devices. People use fences, keep-out signs, dogs, statues, fountains, mailboxes, flower pots and other devices to point out to others that 'their place' begins at such and such a point. Movement by outsiders across or through these boundaries



is perceived as something special, to be done with caution or with permission. Unauthorized movement across territorial boundaries may constitute an invasion of privacy. A fourth quality exhibited by these definitions is that territory can be the domain of both an individual or group. For example, at times we may refer to a single person's space such as a bedroom and at other times we may focus our attentions on the space of a group, such as a family room or the entire home itself. A fifth and final factor common to these definitions concerns territorial intrusion and defense. When a territory has been encroached upon, the owner or occupant of the space may become uncomfortable, angered or anxious resulting in a defensive reaction on the part of that individual or group toward the intruder.

From this description then, it is possible to establish a working definition of the concept of territoriality which synthesizes the definitions previously discussed. Altman (1975) perhaps capsulizes and echos the thoughts and premises involved in this practicum by defining territorial behavior as a "... self/other boundary regulation mechanism that involves



personalization or marking of a place or object and communication that it is "owned" by a person or group. Personalization and ownership are designed to regulate social interaction and to help satisfy various social and physical motives. Defense responses may sometimes occur when territorial boundaries are violated."(p.107)

TYPES OF TERRITORIES

Lyman and Scott (1970) distinguish four types of territories which are appropriate to this analysis of privacy.

1. Public territories
2. Home territories
3. Interactional territories
4. Body territories

Public territories are those areas where the individual has freedom of access, but not necessarily of action. Public territories are open to all, but certain images and expectations of appropriate behavior and of the categories of individuals who are normally perceived as using these territories may modify freedom within such a public place. It is commonly expected that illegal activities will not occur in public places. Since public territories are vulnerable to



violation, policemen are charged with the task of removing lawbreakers from the scene and generally providing surveillance of activities to protect the interests of that public space.

Goffman, in his classic work The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959) suggests that certain categories of persons are accorded only limited access to and restricted activity in public places. It is expected, for example, that children will not be playing in public playgrounds after midnight; that lower class citizens will not live, although they might work, in areas of middle class residence.

Home territories are those areas where the regular users have a relative freedom of behavior and a sense of intimacy and control over the area. Interactional territories refer to any area where a social gathering may take place in which some type of interaction may occur. For example, clusters of people at a party. The fourth territory, body territory, is synonymous with the concept of personal space in that it includes the space encompassed by the body.

Altman (1975) collapses these four



types of territory into three:

1. Primary territories
2. Secondary territories
3. Public territories

Such a classification refers to how central a territory is to a person or group or how close it is to their everyday lives.

It further coincides with the distinction often made between primary and secondary reference groups. A primary group refers to a husband-wife relationship whereas a secondary group refers to other groups which the individual is in contact with such as a professional association, an athletic team or a social group.

PRIMARY TERRITORIES

" Primary territories are owned and used exclusively by individuals or groups, are clearly indentified as theirs by others, are controlled on a relatively permanent basis, and are central to the day-to-day lives of the occupants." Altman, 1975(p.112)
The home would be considered a primary territory because the identity of the owner is conspicuous, entrance into which by outsiders deemed undesirable. Further, a



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primary territory allows the owner to control access by outsiders, thereby, ensuring that a certain desirable level of interaction is maintained. Other examples of primary territories include the kitchen, bedroom and immediate external living spaces of the home. Should the violation of a primary territory become intolerable to the occupant, it might become necessary for the individual or group to adjust or modify the boundary control mechanism being used to demarcate the territory in question. The resulting behavior or actions, while appearing to resolve the immediate territorial problems, may, in fact, compound the anxiety of the occupant by the placement of unwanted barriers between himself and the surrounding environs. Altman contends that the absence of a primary territory or the inability to regulate others' access may well manifest itself in the loss of self-esteem and self-identity on the part of the individual. In our culture the person who has "no place" is labeled a vagrant and is often a marginal member of the community.



It is important to recognize that primary territories are important to the boundary regulation process and constitute an integral part of the interactional processes related to privacy.

SECONDARY TERRITORIES

Secondary territories are closely aligned with Lyman and Scott's Home and Interactional territories and closely parallels the distinction between primary and secondary reference groups. Secondary territories are less central and not as exclusive as primary territories in that regular users of the space often have relatively free access while maintaining some control of access by outsiders.

"Some secondary territories have a simultaneous blend of public or semi-public availability and control by regular users. Of course, some secondary territories (for example, private social clubs) have rules limiting occupants, but even within the membership there are often informal territories that are controlled by selective people. Secondary territories are the bridge, therefore, between the total and pervasive control allowed participants in primary territories and the almost free



use of public territories by all persons. As such, there may well be confusion regarding secondary-territory boundaries, and the possibility exists for considerable conflict as boundaries are established, tested, and violated." Altman, 1975 (p.114)

Newman (1972) clearly illustrates this potential for conflict in secondary territories in his analysis of crime in urban low-cost housing developments in which he concluded that one of fundamental problems was the design of such semi-public areas as hallways, lounges, entrances to buildings and the immediate street areas. Further investigation led to the observation that in most cases, the high crime rate was in part due to the inability of the secondary territories to become personalized by the residents and that these territories were thus beyond the control of the intended user group. In addition, these spaces could not be easily surveyed by the occupants and were, according to Newman, nondefensible territories. The major focus of this analysis is that there was no apparent gradation of territories. Homes were primary territories, but areas outside the door of one's house immediately became



a public territory. In other words, there were no secondary territories or buffer zones between the private indoor residences and the public zones beyond these primary territories.

Newman suggests that some of the problems associated with a lack of territorial differentiation can be resolved, allowing for more distinguishable secondary territories, through the use of a variety of design techniques including the adjustment of the physical layout of the developments to allow for the opportunity of creating subneighborhoods within the larger complex, creating semi-private entrance ways, using symbolic territorial markers such as walls, stoops, hedges, and the like, using clusters of entranceways and stairways accessible to only small groups of residents, and arranging lighting and windows to permit better surveillance of streets and play areas.

Secondary territories, because of their semi-public quality, often have unclear rules regarding their use and are susceptible to encroachment by a variety of users, sometimes inappropriately and sometimes



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predesposing to social conflict. As Newman maintains, community design must recognize and respond to these issues by not merely providing people with decent housing and ample open space, but rather ~~we~~ must address the quality of these spaces as they relate to the distinctions between primary, secondary and public territories.

In summary, secondary territories are places over which an individual or a group has control, ownership and regulatory power but not to the same degree as over a primary territory. Secondary territories allow for access on an official or casual basis in which the type of user and the size of group may change with time. In addition, the area is not always seen as belonging to one particular individual or group. Because secondary territorial boundaries are often inadequately defined, ownership, either outright or symbolic, becomes ambiguous, and, therefore, the surveillance of the buffer zones between the private and public domain becomes virtually non-existent.

PUBLIC TERRITORIES

The third category of territory, public



allows for free movement and access with the ownership of the space being in the hands of all potential users of the space. Brower (1965) described two types of public territory. The first, occupancy by society of places such as streets and parks in which access is available without restriction. The second, free occupancy settings, such as deserted beaches, have seen fewer restrictions and are open to almost anyone. Lyman and Scott (1967) defined public territories as "those areas where the individual has freedom of access, but not necessarily of action...these territories are officially open to all, but certain images and expectations of appropriate behavior... modify freedom.(p.237) Such facilities as children's playgrounds, beaches, parks are available to all members of society but their use is restricted by laws, and regulations governing the range of activities that can occur. For example, it is against the law that no nude bathing occur on a public beach and likewise that use of a children's tot lot be confined to those activities which are deemed acceptable by the community at large.



The preceding three chapters have concentrated on three central issues related to the inter-personal boundary control process. Privacy was seen as the primary, dynamic interaction process by which individuals regulate contact with others. Personal space, the area immediately surrounding the body, was described as one of the mechanisms used to regulate privacy and involves defined comfort zones, or distance factors. The third issue, territoriality, involves the demarcation and personalization of a place, communicating the notion that the place has a sense of ownership.

Privacy, personal space and territoriality are all dynamic processes which operate in association with each other to regulate desired levels of social interaction. Each having the ability to adapt and change as circumstances warrant. Invasion or encroachment of privacy, personal space or territory solicits a defensive reaction on the part of the threatened individual or group resulting in a significant decrease in the opportunity for positive social interaction.

Inherent to these concepts is the



implicit relationship of the distance of individuals to others and the transition from private to public space. E.T. Hall, in his work entitled The Hidden Dimension (1966) proposed the theory of 'proxemics' for the study of man's use of space as a communication vehicle. The central theme of Hall's theory is that it could be applied to the analysis of spatial zones used by people in different social relationships and settings.

The theory of proxemics identifies four spatial zones used in human interactions;

1. Intimate distance zone.
2. Personal distance zone
3. Social distance zone
4. Public distance zone

The first zone, intimate distance, covers the range of 0-18 inches. According to Hall: " At intimate distance the presence of the other person is unmistakable and at times be overwhelming because of the greatly steeped up sensory input...Sight, olfaction, heat from the other persons body, sound, smell, and feel of the breath all combine to signal unmistakable involvement with another body." (p.110) There are two



phases associated with the intimate zone, the close phase (0-6 inches) inside of which occurs the most intimate contact. As Hall maintains, it is within this zone that such activities as lovemaking, wrestling, comforting and protecting occur. While this zone is pleasant in some situations, such as when one is interacting with a loved one, it can be quite uncomfortable and unpleasant in other situations. An example which is often used to illustrate the intrusion of others into the close phase of the intimate zone is that of the crowded elevator. When people are forced into close proximity to others, they often become immobile and rigid, looking up nervously at the floor numbers or down at the floor perhaps as a signal to others that a violation of personal space is occurring but that an attempt is being made to avoid inappropriate interaction.

The second zone, personal distance, spans the range from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet, with again a close and far phase. The personal distance is characteristically the spacing used by people for general interaction. Intrusion beyond this point makes the



situation uncomfortable for the participants. The close phase ($1\frac{1}{2}$ - $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet) permits the exchange of smell, touch and sight but not to the level of detail possible within the intimate zone. The close phase, according to Hall, is primarily reserved for intimate contact while the far phase permits access by a larger segment of the population. The far phase then, $2\frac{1}{2}$ -4 feet, extends from a point that is just outside easy touching distance by one person to a point at which two people can touch hands if their arms are extended. "Beyond it, a person cannot easily get his hands on someone else" (Hall, p.113) The personal distance zone is the transition area between intimate contact and open, more public behavior.

The third zone, according to Hall's theory, is social distance which ranges from 4-12 feet. It is within the social zone that the majority of business and social contact occurs. If one were to examine the layout of a typical business office and primarily the reception area, it becomes quite apparent the arrangement of the office furniture that this zone



is frequently used. For example, the typical office desk is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. When a chair is located on either side the distance between individuals will approximate 4 or more feet.

In the close phase of the social distance zone, ^(4-7 ft.) visual contact is restricted to the head shoulders and upper body with vocal cues, such as loudness and pitch can be easily detected. It is within this zone that most contact between casual acquaintances occurs, and it is a distance which is comfortably acceptable in public places. Hall observed that people in airports, in public conversation on street corners, or in offices often maintain interactional distances within this range.

The far phase of the social zone (7-12 feet) provides even more flexibility and opportunity for casual interaction. The features of the individual are less pronounced but one can quickly and easily scrutinize the entire body within this distance. Subtle eye contact can convey significant information to others and gestures are easily recognizable. The far phase of the social zone is an



excellent distance for the observation of the opposite sex. In addition, heat touch and smell are often lost within this interaction zone.

The last zone alluded to by Hall is termed the public distance zone which varies from 12-25 feet or more. It is this zone which has the most implication for this study and which will affect this design guidelines to be discussed in the next chapter. Basically the public zone provides the greatest degree and opportunity for social interaction for individuals who do not wish to divulge too much information about the self at a given point in time. It provides for each participant enough space that violation of personal space and privacy does not become an issue which might prevent any type of interaction from occurring. Hall contends that this distance exhibits formality and that the public zone is often utilized in courtrooms where by the location and distance between judge, jury, defendant and attorneys is pre-determined according to level of interaction that is warranted by the occasion.

It might be said that the spatial



zones described above are representative of boundaries around the self that can be opened or closed to others depending on the level of interaction that is desired. The notion of personal distance zones fits comfortably with Sommers concept of personal space, but takes it one step further to recognize the physical movement of an individual closer or further away from an interactional setting or opportunity. By moving away the individual is communicating to others that a higher level of privacy is desired with personal space being the vehicle for achieving this privacy. Conversely, when one moves closer to the situation he is permitting access to the self and increasing the opportunity for social interaction as he passes through the various zones described by Hall. Thus, Hall's distance zones serve to regulate contact with others and allow the self/other boundaries a degree of flexibility and permeability.

An example of how Hall's theory might be applied is illustrated in the following situation. In typical town-house development, similar to the study area in Richmond Lakes, a small private



outdoor space is provided adjacent to the unit and usually accessible from the back door. Further, it is common practice to associate this private outdoor space with a so-called "public open space" which is provided for the recreational benefit of the residents. The concept of providing such an amenity to the development is very noble and commendable but the embellishment of these areas and definition of what is 'private' and what is 'public' is often neglected resulting in a variety of behaviors, including vandalism, deemed undesirable by the residents. As a result of inadequate territorial definition, the private outdoor spaces are seldomly used, surveillance of the public territory declines and the sense of ownership restricted to the interior of the unit. As the opportunity for social interaction decreases, the achieved privacy level exceeds the desired level with the consequence being the creation of an imbalance. The absence of territorial markers, fences, trees, shrubs, flowers, shovels, bar-b-ques, etc. signifies to the outsider that all of the interior



space of the development is 'public' and, therefore, open to the activities associated with public places.

Gradually, residents will begin to personalize their immediate outdoor areas with the placement of flower boxes, door decorations and the like in an attempt to stake their 'turf'. This form of behavior is almost exclusively restricted to the area immediately adjacent to the dwelling unit. The placement of such objects signals to others that this is a private area, intrusion into which is undesirable. However, beyond the space immediately adjacent to the dwelling unit (perhaps 2-3 feet) territorial definition is ambiguous and thus is interpreted as belonging to no one.

An absence of territorial definition conceivably renders the space useless by the individual resident. Surveillance of the space decreases, unwarranted intrusion occurs and the area is taken over by outsiders. The sense of place and ownership is gone.

Given this type of situation, the opportunities for social interaction are



minimized primarily due to an over exposure of the individual to others. The consequence of such an imbalance is reflected in family units and individuals feelings of 'not belonging' to the group. The resulting behavior is clearly exhibited in the high turnover rate of occupants within such developments. It becomes increasingly difficult for people to personalize a space which does not implicitly or explicitly connote a sense of ownership and control.

~~Continuing our discussion then,~~ the gradual introduction of territorial markers signifies to others a desire on the part of the resident to expand their 'living environment to include the exterior space immediately adjacent to their dwelling unit. Such claim to space or territory is most often confined to the "back" of the unit as social custom. While the 'front' is quite often the formal entrance to the house, and is a protective boundary perceived as the area for public presentation and view. Establishing strong physical barriers such as fencing, is generally viewed as an undesirable act by adjacent home owners in the fronts of



units. It is the private space to the rear of the unit which provides the greatest latitude for personalization. Peer pressure does not dictate the style and level of maintenance in the private spaces to the same extent as in the 'front'. This phenomenon is due in part to the proximity of the private space to the public areas and the type and quality of territorial distinction between these zones.

Therefore, if private outdoor space is to be provided adjacent to the dwelling unit, yet facing into a so-called public open space, then adequate territorial definition and separation must be provided to ensure that a desired level of privacy is maintained, concurrently provides the opportunity for social interaction.

Remembering that privacy regulation is a dynamic process, the design problem becomes one of how to provide a flexible environment within which individuals or groups can regulate contact levels to achieve a balance between desired and achieved privacy states.

It is maintained here that the provision of a six foot high 'privacy fence' is not the solution to achieving



such a balanced relationship. The six foot fence is at the opposite end of the continuum from the conditions where there is a total absence of territorial definition. Each condition discourages interaction with others. The lack of privacy barriers confines activities to the interior of the unit while the privacy fence prevents individuals from having the option to observe and partake in activities with others. It is not the intention of this study to advocate the total removal of privacy fences as we have come to know them but rather to suggest that viable options exist which are both practical and economical for achieving behavioral goals and objectives.

What is required is a situation in which adequate territorial definition is provided coupled with appropriate separation-in terms of distance and angle of orientation from others- between public or secondary territories and the private spaces of the residents. It is important to recognize that it is the individual who, within the context of his surroundings, governs the level of contact between himself and others and it is the



quality of the environmental envelope
which becomes the catalyst for positive
social relations.



SUMMARY



CHAPTER IV - SUMMARY OF BASIC CONCEPTS

Privacy has been treated as a dynamic process in which boundaries between individuals and/or groups are either established or removed to facilitate or prevent social interaction. It is further contended that privacy is a reciprocal process which at certain times allows people to come together and at other times allows for solitude and too much or too little contact with others is undesirable.

In order that changes in desired privacy levels can be accommodated, a degree of flexibility must be provided in the design of 'people' environments. Such flexibility would allow individuals or groups to modify or alter the physical surroundings in response to changes in desired privacy states. The removal of barriers, such as six foot fences would communicate a desire to interact with others, thereby providing the opportunity for interaction, while respecting the individuals need for privacy. If privacy is truly a dialectic process then environments should be created which accomodate for people's changing desires for contact with others. Environments that



emphasize too little interaction, such as those which contain no territorial definition, or those which contain too strong a barrier, are static and do not promote responsive changes to desired privacy levels. The design professions should strive for the creation of environments in which individuals have some degree of control over contact with others. It is the position here that we must recognize the fact that people's needs change with time and circumstances and that design should respond to such behavioral idiosyncracies by allowing for a degree of flexibility in our exterior living environments to accommodate changes in the perceived use of these spaces. In other words, the design should allow the same space to serve different functions and have the ability to change with other needs, rather than our changing needs requiring us to seek out another location.

Personal space was described as mechanism used to regulate privacy and involves the distance and angle of orientation of an individual to others.



As with privacy, personal space was seen as a dynamic process in which the size and composition of the "bubble" can change under different social settings depend on the degree of familiarity and comfort that the individual feels towards others.

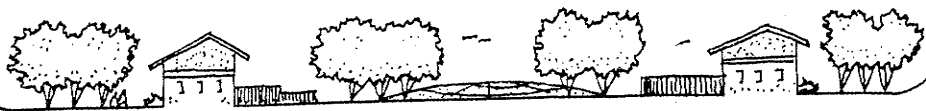
The concept of territoriality was discussed in terms of degree of permanence of ownership and the amount of control exhibited by individuals or groups over the use of the space. Territory was divided into three categories, primary, secondary, and public and that these divisions of territory serve to smooth out social relations and define zones of contact for interaction. We must recognize the importance of territorial definition in our design solutions so as to ensure that infringement does not interfere with desired privacy levels and desired levels of social contact.

Newman(1972) study of urban housing developments was discussed briefly in the preceeding chapter in which was noted



the problem of design of secondary and public territories including entranceways, play areas and hallways. It was implied that these areas were inappropriately designed, consequently rendering these areas indistinctive and beyond the control of the inhabitants. Thus due to unclear definition and distinction of territory, sense of ownership, surveillance and control was lost. It is imperative then that we address the notion of territoriality in such a way as to ensure the primary, secondary and public territories permit appropriate levels of control over the use of space.

The following case study illustrates how medium density housing developments can be altered to accommodate flexibility and provide the opportunity for social interaction.



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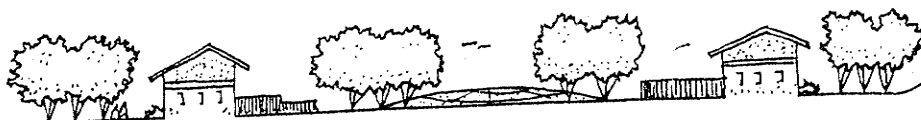


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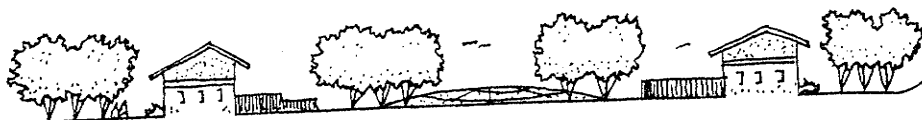
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CASE STUDY



DESIGN GUIDELINES

The following design guidelines provide the framework within the redevelopment of Richmond Lakes Townhouses has been undertaken.

1. Primary, secondary and public territory should be clearly delineated. X
2. All communal space should be easily maintained.
3. Each unit should be clearly recognizable so as not to convey the appearance of row housing. X
4. Options and opportunities should be provided for individual self expression and personalization of unit exterior.
5. Greatest level of separation should occur between adjacent units. X
6. Unit access should remain at ground level.
7. Social interaction should be encouraged through the maintenance of territorial boundaries.
8. Each unit should have a "front" & back yard.
9. Each unit should be owned.
10. Each unit should have sufficient exterior storage space.



11. Each unit should respond (where possible) to climatic conditions.

12. Private outdoor space should be designed for flexibility to accommodate changes in user needs.

13. Open space development should accommodate a wide range of user groups and activities.

14. The use of 6' privacy fences should be discouraged.

15. Open space should complement residences and act as the unifying link for the development.

16. Primary, secondary and public territories should be clearly delineated.

17. Neighborhood identity should be encouraged.



The study area, Richmond Lakes Townhouses, is situated on a 6.6 acre site located in the Fort Richmond district of South Winnipeg. The townhouse complex and adjacent apartment buildings constructed in 1969, under the Limited Dividend Housing Program administered by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Simply stated, a L.D.H. project is privately developed with C.M.H.C. providing 95% of the mortgage financing. C.M.H.C. in turn controls the rate of return to the developer, for a period of not less than seven years, by establishing the rental rates based primarily on operating expences. After the expiration date of the development agreement, the developer is entitled to change the type of tenure ~~from~~ rental to condominium or to sell the project outright.

It is the intention of the Ladco Co. Ltd. to convert the townhouse complex to condominium ownership with an anticipated selling price per unit in the low to mid 40's. The mandate given to this designer was to ^{provide} develop a landscape development strategy that would ^{offer} provide sufficient privacy to the individual units and increase



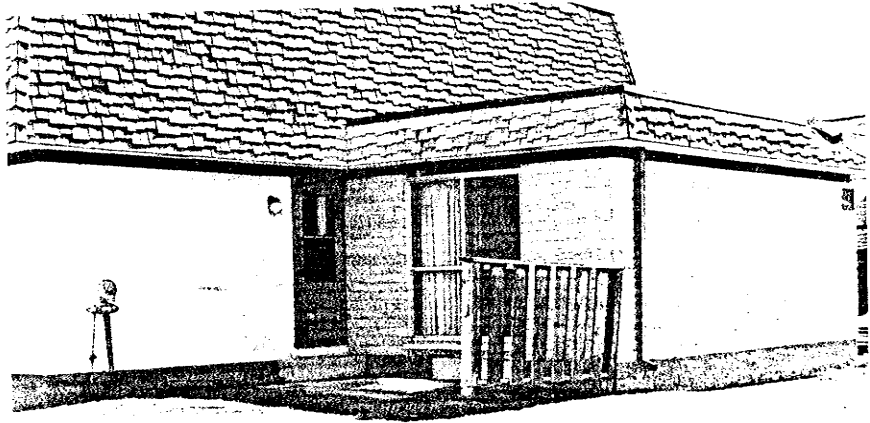
the overall marketability of the
condominium concept with costs not to
exceed a budget of \$2,000.00 per unit.

The following photographs indicate
the style of the existing development
and ^{also} illustrate to some of the problem areas
which have been addressed in the design
segment which follows.

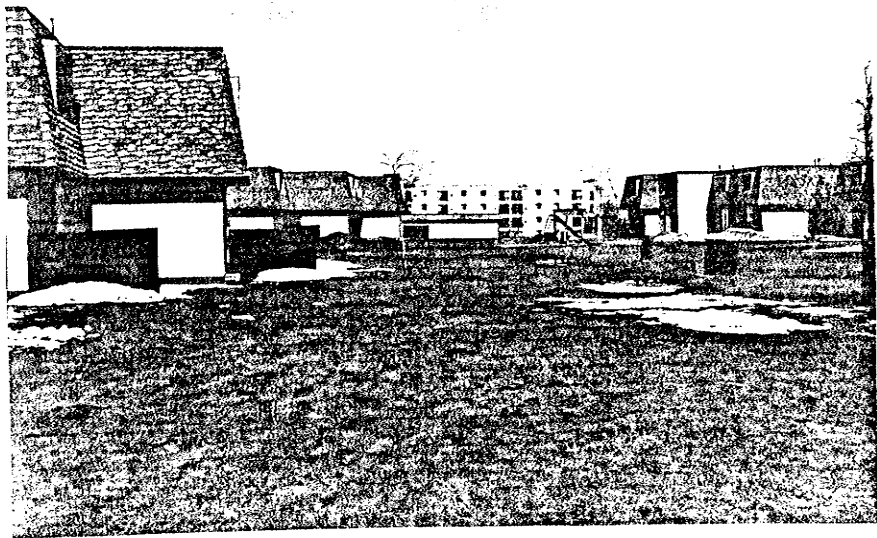
TO INCLUDE DINGS. & COST ESTIMATES.

RECOMMENDATIONS, P.C.E.?

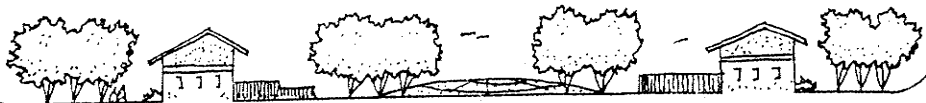


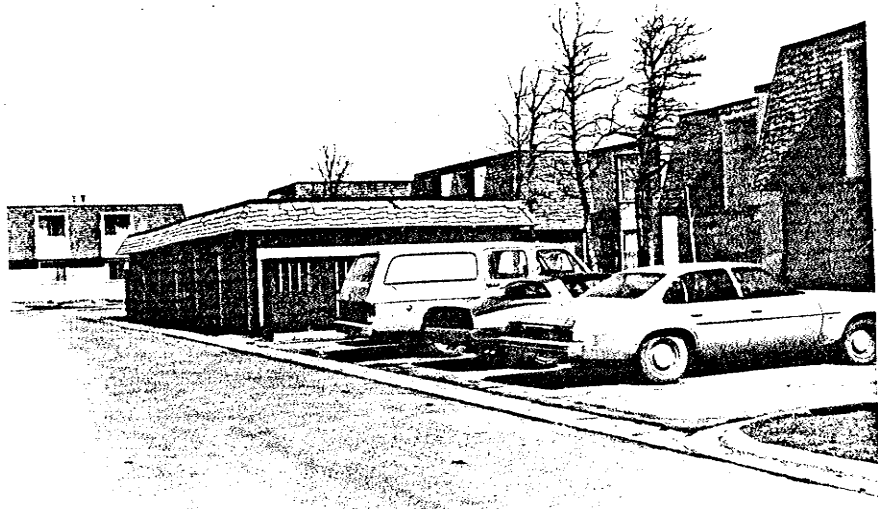


...corner units exposed to activities on parking areas and the street... no opportunity to be alone.

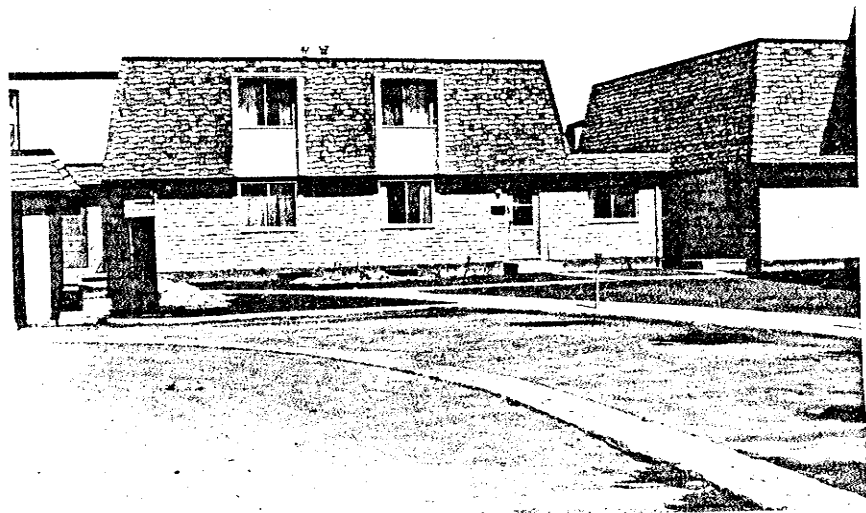


...total absence soft and hard landscape features results in a harsh/formidable social environment.





... asphalt parking areas poorly protected from hot summer sun.



...on coming headlights pose a problem for exposed units...again, no evidence of individual self expression.



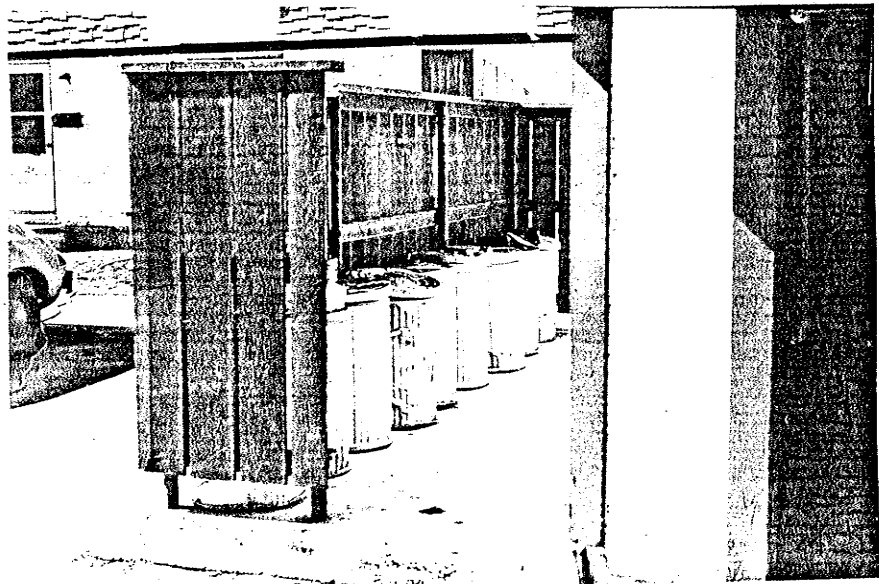


...insufficient separation between street and open space system.



...exterior storage facilities are required for personal objects such as bicycles and bar-b-ques.





...garbage containers conveniently located adjacent to parking garages provides easy access by all residents.

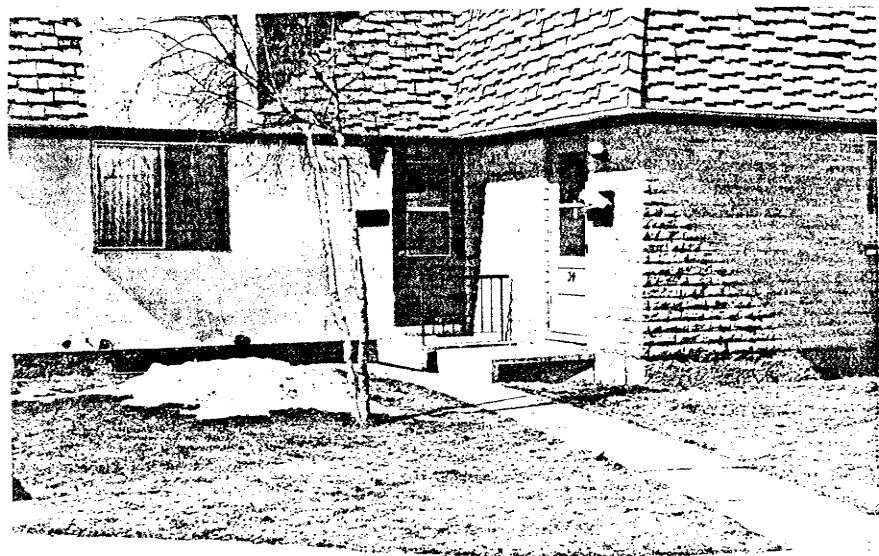


...absence of territorial markers at entrance to development makes the transition from 'outside' to 'inside' awkward.



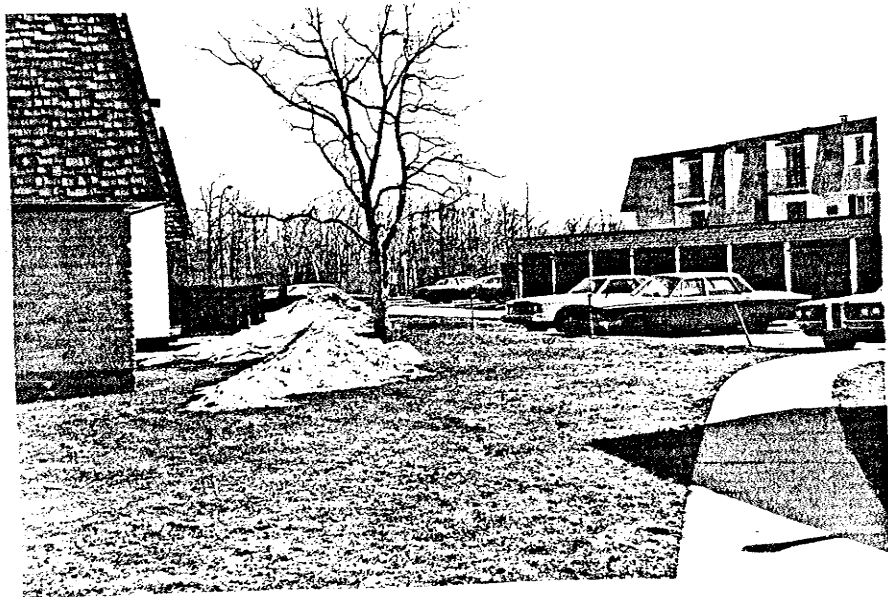


...activities associated with unit interiors
are clearly visible from parking areas...
unit identification absent.

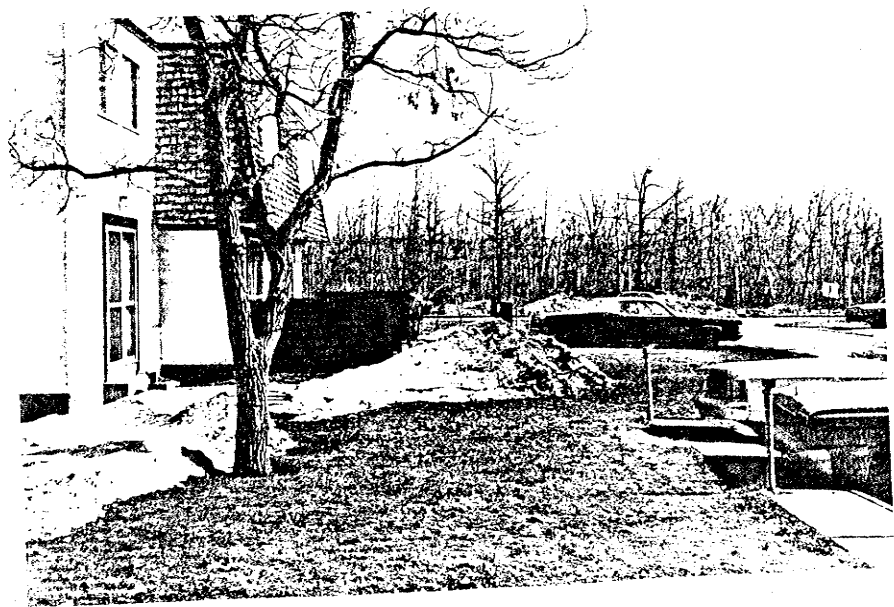


...arrival sequence on 'front' of units
discourages personalization by residents...
social interaction with public restricted.



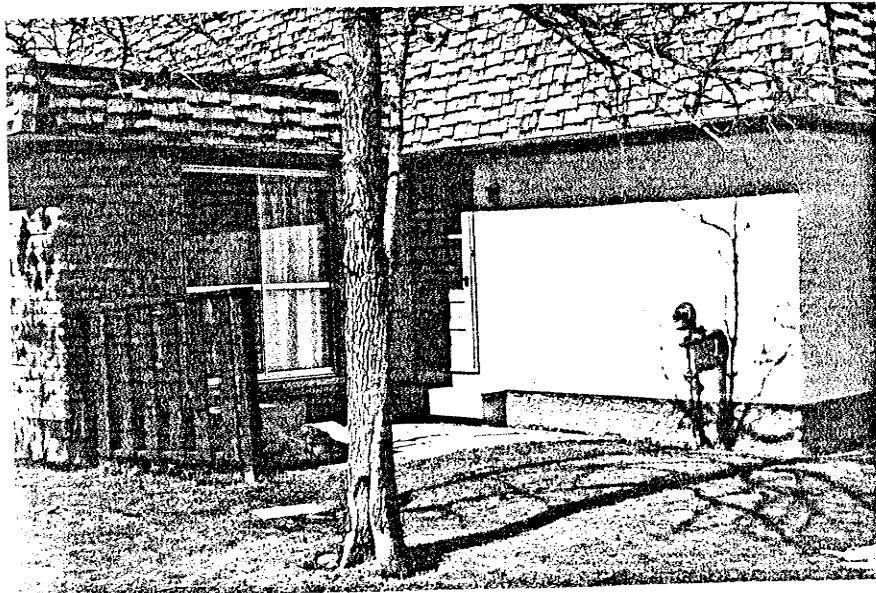


...inadequate separation between vehicle parking and private outdoor space inhibits active use of space.



...south facing units show little relief from summer sun...no territorial definition.





...private space development restricts individual alteration of environment to satisfy changing needs.

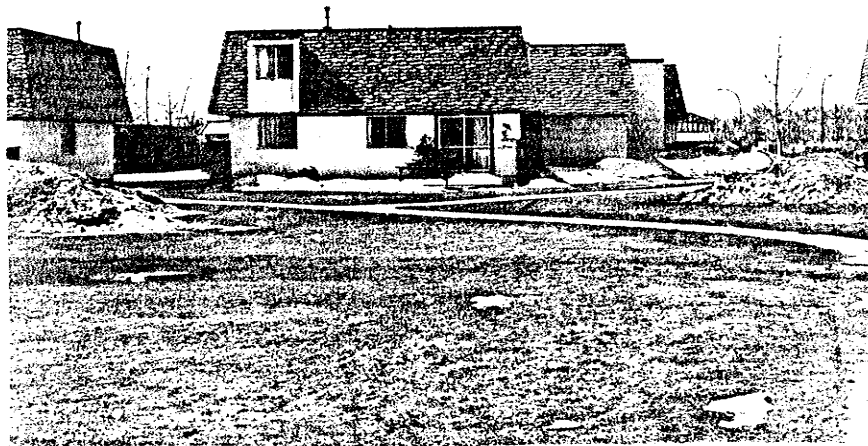


...principle landscape elements are the hydro terminals





... open space provides little opportunity
for private activities...all units over
exposed



..."neighborhood" identity is lost...
private space is absent... no evidence of
personalization



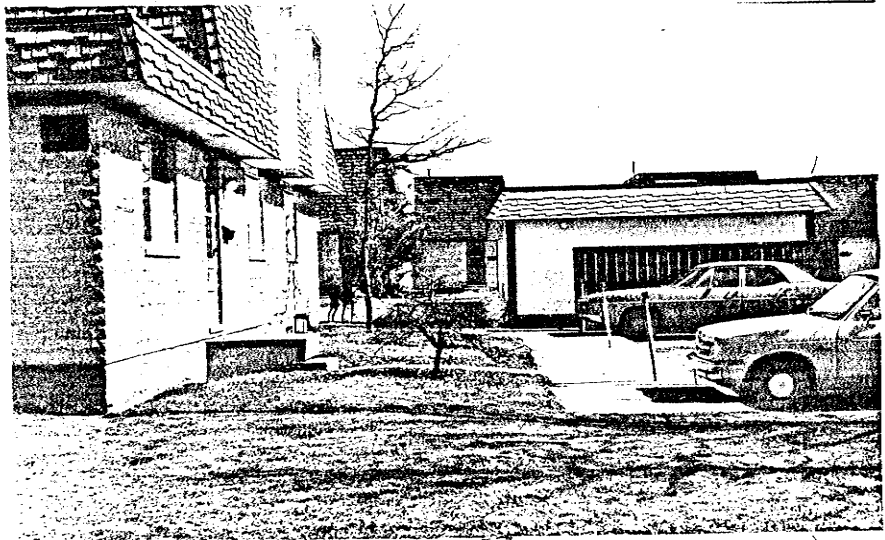


...total absence of distinction and separation between open space and private yards discourages social interaction...space seldomly used...all activities are public... no evidence of personalization.



...lack of separation between public and secondary territories





...Ambiguous territorial definition
discourages personalization of unit exterior
... no sense of entry and arrival... Building
mass becomes the primary spatial indicator.



..." can you tell me how I find Mr. Simpson's
unit."

