

A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
MENTAL HEALTH AND RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT

by

Richard W. White

B.A., University of Pennsylvania
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(September, 1957)

D
Head, Department of City and Regional Planning

Thesis Advisor

Author

47 Inman Street
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts
August 19, 1957

Professor John T. Howard
Head, Department of City and Regional Planning
School of Architecture and Planning
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Professor Adams:

I submit herewith A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
MENTAL HEALTH AND RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENT as my thesis in par-
tial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master
in City Planning.

Respectfully yours,

Richard W. White

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47 Inman Street
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts
August 30, 1957

Mr. Ralph Walker
Voorhees, Walker, Smith and Smith, Architects
101 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Walker:

I am pleased to take this opportunity to send you a copy of my Master's Thesis, "A Study of the Relationship between Mental Health and Residential Environment," which was completed as a recipient of the Voorhees, Walker, Smith and Smith Research Fellowship in the Department of City and Regional Planning at M.I.T.

As you will see in reading the thesis, it has not been possible to resolve the subject into readily applied rules for the design of residential environment; mainly, because our knowledge of the effects of physical environment on mental health is still very limited. In effect, the thesis represents a subjective analysis of available literature on the subject. There has been an attempt to develop material which can give the designer a background of awareness and sensitivity to individual human needs.

I feel that I have personally gained a great deal from the pursuit of this thesis topic, and I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the opportunities which the award of this fellowship has made possible.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. White

RWW:aha

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank the committee of the Voorhees, Walker, Smith and Smith Fellowship for having made this thesis topic the subject of award.

I wish to thank also the members of the faculty of the Department of City and Regional Planning at M.I.T. for their helpful guidance and criticism in writing this thesis. I am especially indebted to Lawrence K. Frank. He has provided me with much information and guidance in considering mental health and many of the ideas incorporated in the thesis are the result of discussions between us. I would also like to thank Professor Greeley and Professor Rodwin for their help in reading and criticizing the thesis in its final stages.

ABSTRACT

Title: A Study of the Relationship Between Mental Health and Residential Environment

Author: Richard W. White

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING
AUGUST 19, 1957, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN CITY PLANNING.

Objectives: To indicate ways in which residential environment seems to affect mental health and theorize how changes or improvements in residential environment might prove beneficial to mental health. For city planners and architects, this thesis may have some value in providing background information of assistance in planning residential environment.

Procedure: A) Identification of forces influential on mental health which seem to be related to residential environment; assumptions as to the nature of relationships. This phase generally deals with basic psychological needs of the individual and ways in which they may be met by environment. B) Placing basic needs into American middle class context and considering how they apply to individual family members as well as the family as a unit for the purpose of developing specific criteria (ideas, suggestions, assumptions) as to ways in which residential environment may assist in meeting these needs. C) Applying criteria developed for family members and family as a unit to two residential environments: packaged communities (Levittown, Park Forest) and public housing as a means of evaluating these environments in meeting human needs.

Conclusion: Present knowledge concerning relationships between residential environment and mental health is inconclusive; no one has been able to conclusively demonstrate that a relationship does exist although many authors express the opinion that such a relationship must exist.

In effect, this thesis has attempted to itemize some of the aspects of livability of residential environment which, in turn, are assumed to be beneficial to mental health. Certain principles underlying livability considerations may be seen: a) accommodating changing patterns of family life, increasing mobility, increasing nucleation of family relationships; b) attention to the human dimensions of housing needs, especially basic psychological needs; c) recognition that there is a range of variation in individual human needs which is best met by providing for an element of freedom of choice and variety in residential design.

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INTRODUCTION

From the point of view of the author, this thesis represents more than a research effort to gain more knowledge of the subject. It has also represented a struggle to achieve a vantage point from which the view of mental health would be useful to planning and architecture. This struggle has created a certain element of hazard for my own mental health which was not improved with discovery that the mental health movement tends to be controversial, embryonic, and in an unresolved state. On the other hand, discovery of convincing research which is being conducted, engendered a healthy respect for a field which is subtle, complicated and in which, in general, the planner is not qualified to assume the role of amateur psychiatrist.

Having looked squarely at these limitations, I have come to feel that my efforts must accept without proof (for as well as I have been able to discover, none exists anyway) the ideas and assumptions of those working in mental health research as to what forces influence mental health. The ideas which others have advanced are based on a general sensitivity to factors affecting mental health. In some cases, the ideas presented are based on some clinical evidence; more often, they are the hunches of people who have worked extensively with mental health problems. In almost no case are they backed up with convincing statistics or irrefutable evidence. From a

philosophical point of view, these limitations, once faced, have not proved as disturbing as might be expected. It has still been possible to make a defensible thesis out of the relationship between mental health and residential environment, but in a general rather than a specific way. The aim of this effort is to organize some of the concepts taken from mental health and indicate in some detail their application to present problems in the design of residential environment. Although, quantitatively, the magnitude of these relationships is unknown, on the basis of recent and authoritative mental health thinking, these seem to be relationships which are considered important ones to which planners and architects should be paying attention.

Rather than developing positive proof of the negative effects of environment on mental health, it seems that a more persuasive argument might be made in the application of positive principles for the improvement of the design of physical environment. Such an improved environment, once in existence somewhere, might do a more effective selling job for good planning and design than extensive proof that what we now have in the way of residential environment is harmful. Therefore, in this thesis, I hope to emphasize ways in which the kinds of residential environment currently being planned may be improved and how this planning may profit from previous experience. Since many of these residential design decisions are presently made without much consideration of their effects on mental

health, the ideas presented here, although formative in state, should prove helpful.

Statement of Thesis

This thesis shows that of the forces believed to influence mental health, many are either partly or wholly related to physical environment and other aspects of residential environment.¹ Methodical consideration of influences on mental health related to residential environment provides a means of evaluating specific residential environments for their adequacy in promoting mental health.

After defining the specific items of consideration to be taken up and the limitations within which they will be considered, it will be possible to proceed to a more detailed application of these considerations. First, evolving specific criteria by which to evaluate residential environment and, secondly, applying these criteria to specific residential environments as a means of evaluating them.

In outline form, the major items of consideration in this thesis appear as follows:

- I. Mental Health - operational definition
- II. Factors considered to be influential on mental health which seem to be related to residential environment
 - A. Satisfaction of basic psychological needs of the individual
 - B. Dissatisfactions and conflicts sensed by individuals according to their role in family life

¹The term residential environment is used in order to include some non-physical considerations (such as management policies in public housing).

- C. Standards of services and facilities necessary to assist family development

III. Limitations of the applicability of this thesis

- A. Assisting "normal" family life
- B. Two specific residential environments: public housing and packaged communities¹

In detail, these same items are as follows:

I. Mental Health. (A more detailed discussion of the mental health movement will be found in Appendix A). A recent book, Evaluation in Mental Health,² by the Public Health Service devotes a long chapter to "Theoretical Considerations" but deliberately avoids giving a definition of mental health. Indeed, it quotes one author as saying:³

Mental health as a scientific concept does not now exist. A frank recognition of the relativity of mental health will do much to improve both research and its application It is a value judgment, with all of the potentialities for variation and change implicit in such a relative entity.

¹The term packaged communities will be used to refer to large-scale suburban residential developments such as Park Forest and Levittown.

²Subcommittee on Evaluation in Mental Health Activities. Evaluation in Mental Health, Washington, 1955, pp. 1-29.

³James W. Eaton, "The Assessment of Mental Health," American Journal of Psychiatry, LIX, No. 2, (August, 1951,) p. 82.

Such definitions as can be found in mental health literature are usually quite general and give little attention to quantitative criteria by which mental health might be scientifically measured. A sampling of these definitions follows:

The mentally healthy person is one who is developing towards personal maturity. Maturity is reached in the same degree as the individual can independently and in a fruitful way overcome his internal conflicts, can realize his own aims in life and responsibly live in fellowship with others.¹

One might say that positive mental health means more robust, broader and more productive living . . . It may be seen that the seriousness of positive mental health is measurable by the extent to which one's capacities are used. It shows up in greater productivity, richer living, increased satisfaction, and better human relations.²

This second definition is adequate for the purpose of indicating the general meaning of the term as it will be used in this thesis. By comparing these and other definitions, the general meaning regarding mental health is found to be similar. In general, the concept is intended to convey the idea that mental health is not

¹Ove Lundbye, "What is the Aim of Mental Hygiene?" World Mental Health, VIII, No. 2 (May, 1956), p. 82.

²George W. Stevenson, Mental Health Planning for Social Action, New York, 1956, p. 207.

only the prevention of psychiatric disorder but the promotion of a positive state of well-being and productive living among human beings. The precise causes of most mental disorders are unknown. A number of factors are thought to be influential and presumptive prevention attempts to eliminate or ameliorate as many factors as possible which are thought to contribute to psychiatric disorder.

II. Factors considered to be influential on mental health which seem to be related to residential environment

A. Satisfaction of the basic psychological needs of the individual. An early attempt to outline basic psychological needs of the individual was that of the social psychologist, W.I. Thomas.¹ He described four basic "wishes" of the individual as being the wish for new experience, the wish for security, the wish for recognition and the wish for response. A recent effort by Dr. Alexander Leighton² to identify environmental causes of psychiatric disorder in terms of the frustration of basic psychological needs is more extensive than Thomas's system but shows a surprising similarity which would seem to indicate the validity of Thomas's original thinking. In considering the basic needs outlined by these authors, it is possible

¹W.I. Thomas, Social Behavior and Personality, Editor, Edmund H. Volkart, New York, 1951, pp.111-144.

²Alexander H. Leighton, M.D., "Psychiatric Disorder and Social Environment" Psychiatry, XVIII, No. 4, (November, 1955), p. 367.

to see a distinction between those needs which seem to relate to residential environment and those which do not. These needs and the assumptions which they suggest are as follows: a.) the need for security may include physical security and gives rise to the assumption that residential environment producing a high level of frustration and irritation (extreme over-crowding, situations where housekeeping is extremely difficult or exhausting, lack of privacy) will be detrimental to mental health; conversely, residential environment which is conducive to amenity and convenience in family living may be assumed to assist psychological stability; b.) the need for obtaining recognition seems to apply to specific situations such as the adolescent's need to obtain recognition and acceptance by his peer group and the ways in which physical environment may influence the process; c.) the need to express creativity, spontaneity and volition (expressed by Thomas as the need for new experience) leads to assumptions about recreation facilities, especially for children and adolescents; d.) the need to feel membership in a definite human group (expressed by Thomas as the need for response) leads to assumptions as to ways in which residential environment may thwart or assist the social processes necessary to fulfill this need. In addition to these general needs, a specific one is the child's need for contact with a wide cross-section of different kinds of people as a condition for healthy personality development.

Other needs (outlined by Leighton) include: the need for sexual satisfaction, the need to express hostility, the need to express and secure love, the need for a sense of belonging to a moral order and being right in what one does, the need of the individual to orient himself in regard to his place and the place of others in society. Of these remaining needs, only the last one (orientation in society) suggests a relationship to residential environment.

Residential environment may play a large part in fulfilling this need since it does usually define the individual's status in society. At the same time, it may be a source of dissatisfaction and conflict for the individual where it fails to support the status to which he aspires. Considered in a broad sense, racial discrimination and poverty (which in turn help to determine the individual's residential environment) may be seen to be potential sources of such conflict. These are vast topics in themselves which are beyond the immediate concern of this thesis.

In a more specific sense, consideration of this need will be given in examining the dissatisfactions and conflicts sensed by individuals and families (see following section). Among these dissatisfactions are those arising out of social values which may attach to different kinds of residential environment. An example is the stigma of charity associated with public housing.

B. Dissatisfactions and conflicts sensed by individuals according to their role in family life.

Examination of dissatisfactions and conflicts of individual family members will reveal that some of them may, at least in some measure, be modified or ameliorated by residential environment. The background for the dissatisfactions to be considered are writings which attempt to make a subjective analysis of contemporary American life¹ and studies which concern themselves with the relationship between culture and personality.²

Since both of these sources offer little evidence on the basis of controlled investigation, this phase of consideration in the thesis is primarily a process of speculation. It is included, however, because it does seem to offer some interesting ways of considering the adequacy of residential environment.

Dissatisfactions and conflicts may be considered to generally arise where the individual experiences a discrepancy between his beliefs and the reality of his situation or between the things to which he aspires and the degree to which he achieves them.³ Although beliefs and aspirations will vary somewhat from individual to individual, they are generally felt to be conditioned by widely held

¹See: Lawrence K. Frank, Society as the Patient, New Brunswick, 1948, Erich Fromm, The Sane Society, New York, 1955, Karen Horney, The Neurotic Personality of Our Time, New York, 1937.

²Marvin K. Opler, Culture, Psychiatry, and Human Values, Springfield, 1956.

³Committee on the Family, Integration and Conflict in Family Behavior, Topeka, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1954, p. 15.

beliefs among a cultural group.

A simple example of this line of reasoning may be illustrated in the case of old age. Beliefs which emphasize the importance of the individual's future tend to conflict with the reality of the older person's situation where his future is dimming. Since the elderly person is conditioned to believe, himself, in the importance of the future, he senses a discrepancy between his belief and the reality of a situation in which he feels the lack of status and prestige which our society accords to those with important futures. This line of reasoning paraphrases studies which have examined the effect of cultural beliefs on mental health. (Quite independently of any considerations of residential environment). Their value is for the insights they provide into individual human dissatisfactions. Considering that there may be some validity to these insights, it becomes apparent that the residential setting of the individual can intensify or modify dissatisfactions which may be caused by other considerations. Thus, the elderly person may tend to feel neglected and isolated because of social and cultural attitudes. If, in addition, his residential setting is an institution where he is cut off from community and friends or run-down housing in a marginal area of the city, his potentiality for feelings of dissatisfaction and conflict may be greatly intensified.

Potentialities for conflicts peculiar to the roles of housewife and husband will also be described and the influence of residential environment on these potentialities for conflict suggested.

The observations on American middle class life and the beliefs which attach to it which form the basis for some of the points of discussion in this thesis are discussed more fully in Appendix B. They are based on a three year study of mental health in American middle class families.¹ This study has attempted, by somewhat sophisticated techniques, to ascertain middle class values. The study has also developed a limited amount of empirical evidence (through clinical investigation of families) to support the idea that conflict engendered by cultural values is associated with the appearance of symptoms of psychopathology in family members.

C. The influence of services and facilities designed to assist family development.

This third area of consideration constitutes an expansion of the assumption previously made: that improvement in the convenience and amenity of family living will improve the psychological stability of the family by enabling family members to better relate to each other. This phase of consideration will be for services and

¹ Study being conducted by Drs. Florence Kluckhohn and John Spiegel at the Harvard School of Social Relations under a grant from the Public Health Service.

facilities at the neighborhood and community level which can assist family life. Among the items which fall under this heading are: social and recreation facilities, routine health care, counselling service and welfare assistance (in meeting crises in family life).

In order to better understand the needs of the family and its members, it is necessary to consider the dynamics of family growth. One way of conceptualizing this process is to divide, chronologically, the stages of development of the family from the union to death of the marriage partners (the family life cycle) and to examine the ways in which both the needs of the family and its individual family members develop during various stages of the family growth.¹ This approach will be roughly followed in the body of the thesis in examining the needs of the individual family members.

The experience of sociologists, social caseworkers and students of family life will form the background for estimating the services and facilities necessary to assist the family.

III. Limitations of the applicability of this thesis.

A. Assisting "normal" family life.

The measures herein proposed to maintain and promote mental health are designed to assist "normal" (i.e. not suffering

¹Emily M. Duvall, Family Development, New York, 1957. Presents a thorough discussion of the family life cycle and development needs.

from mental disorder) families and individuals to grow and develop in ways conducive to mental health. Emphasis will be on ways of assisting family members to have more satisfying relationships with one another. Among these relationships, particularly important ones are mother-child, adolescent-parent, father-family and housewife-family. Also important are ways of assisting the individual to find healthy satisfactions from his role in the family (assisting healthy personality development in the child for example) and for assisting the family to pass through all of the phases of its growth and development in such a way that life will be satisfying and rewarding.

Not included as a consideration is the rehabilitation of those afflicted with mental illness. This is an area of complex technical considerations with which others, who are better qualified must deal.

B. Two specific residential environments: public housing and packaged communities.

These are two areas of residential environment in which planners and architects are presently called upon to make decisions. Further knowledge on which to base such decisions seems desirable. Furthermore, the examples of these kinds of residential environment already in existence provide a basis for judging effectiveness and profiting from previous experience. Where new communities are built

complete in one operation, human problems may stand out more clearly than in cases where gradual growth and adjustment occurs.

Although the evaluations will, necessarily, be critical of some aspects of these environments, the intention is to consider good as well as bad qualities and to offer constructive criticisms as to ways in which the design of this environment may be improved in future efforts.

The above items constitute the framework within which assumptions, ideas, suggestions and standards of family service will be advanced. The first section will examine needs and conflicts of individual family members in a sequence roughly approximating the stages of growth in family life. This examination will yield a number of items of consideration related to physical and residential environment. In the final section these criteria will be applied to specific environments as a means of evaluating them.

Children

In examining aspects of residential environment related to mental health in children, consideration will first be given to those aspects which affect parent-child relationships. Perhaps the most basic and well-established of the principles underlying efforts to promote mental health is the idea that early childhood experiences, primarily within the family, are crucial in determining the future mental health of the individual. Psychiatry has learned that individuals will give up almost anything in order to achieve a sense of emotional security and that, when denied this, they will resort to unbelievably distorted forms of behavior. A stable family environment in which love and emotional warmth exists is considered a basic need for the child's emotional security.¹

The question is to what extent physical environment may contribute to the psychological stability of family life.

A basic assumption of this thesis is that an improvement in the physical quality of residential environment will effect greater convenience and amenity of living and enable family members to have more satisfying relationships with each other, provided that other conditions of family life are favorable. An

¹In some family situations where basic conflicts or incompatibilities exist, the best solution, from the point of view of promoting mental health, may be a dissolution of the family. This does not conflict, however, with a goal which seeks to enhance relationships within families which are basically compatible.

example is the housewife; by reducing the burdens of housekeeping and providing occasional opportunities for relief from the duties of child care, she may be enabled to give more loving and relaxed care to her children. The consequent improvement in the mother-child relationship will assist the healthy development of the child.

By contrast, over-crowding may result in a lack of privacy for family members with a high frequency of inter-personal contact and the danger of provoking irritableness of family members who seem to get in each other's way.¹ Without going into a listing of all of the specific circumstances (which occur throughout the thesis), it may be generally assumed that residential environment which is irritating or frustrating because of inadequacy or inconvenience will act as a negative influence on the quality of family life and the family's psychological stability.

Social case work histories² reveal a number of instances where an improvement in the physical quality of residential environment results in an amelioration of the social problems of the family.

It seems likely also that positive elements of community environment, such as adequate social and recreation facilities for

¹Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, Basic Principles of Healthful Housing, New York, 1954, p. 16 ff.

²Daniel J. Ransohoff, "Today's Housing Program, The Community and Social Case Work," Marriage and Family Living, XVII, No. 2, (May, 1955), pp. 156-161.

the joint participation of family members and services and facilities which assist the family in meeting its various needs, will enhance family living.

A second general area of consideration is for the ways in which residential environment may assist the healthy personality development of children. Although childhood has always been a period of physical dependency, the sense of the child's dependency and isolation from outside influences has probably been intensified in the mobile, nuclear family because mobility implies some discontinuity of social contact. For the occasional child, whose home life is unhappy and where the choice of relationships within the family is limited, opportunities outside of the home for guidance and inter-personal contact may become important factors in assisting the child to find healthy solutions to his problems. For this reason, residential environment should provide social and recreational facilities at the neighborhood and community level; particularly where family mobility is a prominent characteristic.

There is a strong likelihood that persistent parental anxieties and problems will impair the healthy personality development of children.¹ The child, in turn, is likely to emerge as an emotionally handicapped adult prone to pass on to his children, in turn, certain emotional handicaps. In this way, the process may continue indefinitely.

¹Leighton, p. 367.

Anxieties originating from some problem within the family (a problem of child raising, adjustment to married life, etc.) may often be the result of fairly minor difficulties which can be resolved if counseling service is available at an early stage to help parents with a problem as it comes up. Minor problems, if neglected, however, may become major ones. Where serious difficulties exist within the family, the need for counseling resources outside of the family is especially pronounced. Such resources, in addition to acting as a necessary safety valve for individuals caught up in troubled family relationships, are the chief means of attempting to deal with and resolve serious problems.¹

A principle found generally in mental health literature which applies especially to children has been stated as follows:²
(emphasis mine)

For optimal development, the person must, especially, in the formative years, interact with a fair cross-section of people so that suitable balances of sentiment patterns can be achieved. If the opportunity for developing a variety of these relationships is limited, or if the range of associates is weighted with persons who themselves suffer from psychiatric disorders, damaging consequences to the personality may occur. Thus, it is assumed in this frame of reference that socio-cultural situations which interfere with this opportunity to inter-act with a fairly large number of different kinds of other people foster psychiatric disorder.

¹Dorothy Barclay, "Preventative Health for Young Minds," New York Times Magazine, February 14, 1954, p. 44.

²Leighton, p. 376.

The child's need in healthy personality development is for contact with a sufficient variety of people and experiences to constitute a normal range of experience. From these experiences he learns about the world around him and develops appropriate attitudes, actions, and reactions to surrounding environment. When the child's experience is limited, he is placed at a disadvantage in developing into a mature adult.

This need has been chiefly cited in pointing out the harmful consequences of environment where the residential composition varies within very narrow limits as to size of family, income and social position. When a new community is isolated at the same time that its residential composition is limited, this problem may be valid. To the extent that residential composition is a function of the sizes and kinds of dwelling units available, some variety of sizes and prices in dwelling units would help to avoid situations in which an entire community consists of families very nearly identical as to size and social and economic background. Under the latter circumstances, the optimal development of children is considered to be jeopardized.

A final mental health idea relating to children is a need for opportunities to express creativity, spontaneity and volition. This need, in relation to adolescents and adults, will be discussed in the way it is incidentally fulfilled in relation to satisfying

other needs. For example, the adolescent is giving vent to spontaneous expression at the same time that he is trying to fulfill the need of acceptance of his peer group. For children, however, this need may exist in an almost abstract sense in relation to their forms of play.

Satisfaction of this need reinforces the generally felt desirability of out-door play spaces for children and raises the question as to whether indoor spaces can ever serve as an adequate substitute. A dwelling unit in contact with the ground with some yard space accessible to it seems to offer significant advantages. First, children will have a healthy setting and freedom in play opportunities which such outdoor space represents. Secondly, such an arrangement presents the opportunity for casual parental supervision. At the same time that the mother can feel at ease about the children's safety, she can, if she wishes, visit with neighbors while checking, occasionally, on the children.

Consideration of creativity, spontaneity and volition directs attention to the character and detail of play spaces available to children. One aspect of this consideration is for elements in the physical environment which are stimulating to the child's imagination and for areas which are sufficiently unregulated to allow for a certain sense of freedom and retreat. The child needs opportunities to be able to grub and get the feel of materials around him.

It is interesting that Professor Kevin Lynch's (M.I.T.) studies of childhood memories of the city¹ revealed preferences for overgrown vacant lots, thick brush and almost any other area except the playgrounds. These are elements of city environment which provide irregularity, contrast and a certain sense of retreat apparently psychologically necessary and desired by children.

In urban environment, these elements seem to occur as a natural result of the city's growth process. In designs which envision a complete community to be built at one time, however, these elements may not occur unless they are specifically provided for by the designer. Ingenuity in the design of recreation areas for children is needed to provide facilities which will stimulate the imagination of children and provide the equivalents of irregularity and contrast found in the urban environment.

¹Alvin K. Lukashok and Kevin Lynch, "Some Childhood Memories of the City," Journal of the A.I.P., XXII, No. 3, (Summer, 1956), p. 145.

Summary

Considerations which may assist parent-child relationships include: social and recreation facilities inviting the joint participation of family members; adequate residential standards to avoid negative influences (such as overcrowding) and to assist family life (facilitating housekeeping) which will, in turn, help parents to give more wholesome child care and training; availability of counseling services for assisting parents with problems and questions concerning family life.

Considerations which may assist the healthy personality development in children include: facilities presenting opportunities for inter-personal contact outside the home; opportunities to meet and have inter-personal relationships with a fairly wide cross-section of people; opportunities to express creativity, spontaneity and volition particularly in terms of play.

Adolescents

Adolescence is a transitional stage between childhood and adulthood. It is a period of physical change and social learning in which the individual seeks a sense of independence at the same time that he seeks acceptance from his peers.

Whereas childhood is family-centered, adolescence extends its interests beyond the family in an effort to achieve a sense of independence. Because acceptance is of vital importance for the adolescent's sense of security, there attaches to it a certain sense of anxiety. He is apt to go through periods of critical evaluation of self and surroundings and periods in which he makes tentative overtures for friendship. Several aspects of residential environment seem to be involved in assisting the adolescent to have good relationships with his peers. First, the opportunity to meet adolescent contemporaries must exist in the physical environment. In situations of physical isolation or too great a social discrepancy between the individual and his surroundings, the difficulty of making this transition will be intensified. Fleming has noted:¹

"difficulty in transition from a relatively narrow circle of the child to the wider group membership of the adult is most marked in the case of segregated children from self-centered homes and from single-sex boarding schools or residential institutions."

¹Charlotte M. Fleming, Adolescence - Its Social Psychology, London, 1949, p. 240.

Dr. Donald Klein of the Wellesley Human Relations Service¹ related the example of a low-income, middle class family moving into Wellesley Hills. The family located in a neighborhood where the social and economic status was significantly higher than their own. Their son went to a school in which all of the other students were from higher income, middle class families. In this situation, he was not accepted by his school-mates and developed serious personality difficulties which subsequently brought him to the Human Relations Service for assistance.

In this example, a pattern of social discrepancy of a dwelling unit and its surroundings was coupled with limited alternative choices of social interaction and both patterns appeared to be fixed, to some extent, by the residential environment. The difficulty in this situation seems to be the element of singularity in the boy's position. Even if only a few other individuals of similar background had been available as companions, the boy's difficulties might have been avoided. Under these particular circumstances, the only reasonable choice for the family was to move to another neighborhood.

¹A private agency providing counselling and psychiatric services to Wellesley Hills families referred to it by religious and social welfare agencies in the community.

A second influencing condition on the need of the adolescent for acceptance by his peer group is the nature and quality of the physical environment. These considerations determine the circumstances under which social contacts of the group will occur. If no specific facilities are provided in the community and if accommodations within the dwelling unit are not provided to facilitate such meetings, several consequences seem likely. The adolescent who does not make contacts easily with contemporaries may tend to withdraw further. Lacking adequate space at home in which to entertain friends, his inclination may be to refuse the invitations of others.

The majority of adolescents, however, are likely to seek contact with each other in spite of the lack of specific accommodations. Part of the need of growth in adolescence is for a sense of independent adventure and widening horizons. Unless facilities are provided, group activities may be left to drift into channels which have an unwholesome influence on their activities. Such channels may be illicit or cheaply commercial, but, from the 'teen-agers' point of view, offer the necessary element of excitement.

Sheldon Glueck's extensive research studies of delinquency seem to substantiate the idea that adolescent activities may be

influenced by the facilities provided for them. His statement of this idea is as follows:¹

The recreation preference of delinquents are for risky and adventurous outlets ... opportunities need to be created not only in the home or school, but in the community, for adventuresome yet socially harmless physical activity ... as diversions from the anti-social expressions of the strong drives of this body type, keeping in mind that mesomorphic boys typically 'live by action.'

Glueck goes on to say that the kinds of recreation facilities provided must take account of differences in physical prowess and temperaments. Recreation standards which do not take into account these variations will be appropriate for only a portion of the potential users. A further need is for some variety in accommodations which facilitate a sense of casual contact in an informal, co-educational setting. Such facilities will assist the development of wholesome activities involving 'teen-age boys and girls and are more likely to be used than facilities which are overly rigid and formal.

A second area of consideration is for the way in which residential environment may assist the adolescent to have a good relationship with his family. Just as the adolescent needs the sense of acceptance of his contemporaries, he has need for acceptance from his family. Parental acceptance, in adolescence,

¹ Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Gluede, Physique and Delinquency, New York, 1956, p. 261.

however, must be based on mutual understanding and acceptance between parents and adolescents coupled with an acknowledgment of the adolescent's sense of independence. The period of the adolescent's self-appraisal of his acceptability to others does not stop with himself but extends to his parents and surroundings as well. He is apt to feel a certain amount of concern as to whether his parents' views seem sufficiently progressive, as to whether their interest in social participation seems sufficiently high.

If his home surroundings are comfortable and of the kind in which he can take pride and in which he can entertain his friends, the process of mutual acceptance between parents and adolescents will be assisted. In the case of a family from humble circumstances, where sufficient space may not exist within the dwelling unit, the need may be met by community facilities which accommodate adolescents' activities.

The individual adolescent within the home has a need for a sense of privacy and for opportunities to withdraw socially in the process of social learning and growth. This need is probably best met if the adolescent has a room of his own. Besides being a quiet place where he can study and do his homework, such a room will serve as a kind of buffer in trying periods of family relationships.

Facilities designed to accommodate adolescents' social activities within the dwelling unit need to allow for the fact that such activities are likely to have a noisy, rough-and-tumble quality which will tend to interfere with adult activities unless provision is made to separate them in the design of the dwelling unit. When space is inadequate within the dwelling unit, there may be a resulting tendency to channel the adolescent's activities solely in the direction of the peer group with a drifting apart of relationships between adolescents and parents. Evidence that limited space within the dwelling unit causes adolescents to spend less time at home resulted from sociological research on housing conducted in Stockholm, Sweden among 200 families who kept activity records for an eight-day period:¹

The activity records allow rather interesting statistical comparison. Thus, it has been possible to show the effect of overcrowded housing conditions on the leisure-time activities of adolescents. The smaller the size of the apartment, the greater is the tendency of this age group to spend their evenings outside their house.

Since physical dependence of adolescent on family is minimized, ties within the family are likely to develop and be maintained mainly on the basis of mutual interests. Community facilities for social and recreation activities which encourage

¹Svend Riemer, "A Research Note on Sociological Home Planning" American Journal of Sociology, XLVI, No. 6, (May, 1941), p. 872.

joint family use, along with other activities, will assist adolescent-family relationships.

A final need which applies specifically to the adolescent is the need for a sense of responsibility. This may be to look after some need of the group or to take care of a certain part of its possessions. It is through this sense of responsibility that the adolescent learns desirable standards of care which he should accord to his possessions. According to Fleming:¹

"Loss of morale in times of adult stress, in unemployment, disablement, bereavement or war has been shown to be greatest among those who have had least experience of such contributory functioning. Those adolescents with a responsible home life, a successful career, a skilled trade or definite commitments and loyalties to church or club behind them, are more able to face unruffled the vicissitudes of adult life."

The adolescent's sense of responsibility is largely a function of the nature of his inter-personal relationships. Residential environment, according to its nature, can assist this process by providing opportunities to undertake responsibilities of a physical nature. The existence of such opportunities would become part of an optimum living pattern.

In the immediate residential environment, one can see how these opportunities vary between families living in apartment

¹Fleming, p. 47.

buildings and those living in detached dwellings or between rental housing which is tenant-maintained and that which is management-maintained. In the larger community, social and recreation facilities which provide a background conducive to programs and projects involving some responsibility toward the community and in which adolescents may participate, will also assist the fulfillment of this need.

Summary

Considerations designed to assist the adolescent in his relationships with peers include: community facilities which accommodate adolescent activities; avoidance of physical or social isolation in residential environment; recreation facilities designed to accommodate varying physiques and temperaments; variety and informality in facilities designed to promote casual (co-educational) social contact.

Considerations designed to assist the adolescent in his relationships with his family: residential environment in which the adolescent can take pride; accommodation of adolescent activities within the dwelling unit so that they do not interfere with adult activities; providing the adolescent a room of his own within the dwelling unit;

Considerations designed to assist the adolescent to assume responsibility: residential environment which encourages the adolescent to assume responsibility in upkeep; community projects in which adolescents may participate.

Woman-Housewife-Mother

Whereas the psychological needs of childhood seem to be in the realm of such subtle considerations as influences on personality development and forces motivating the unconsciousness, literature devoted to the role of housewife-mother outlines problems of a more concrete nature. Leading writers point, in vigorous fashion, to dissatisfactions with the role which American women are expected to assume. A consideration of some of these attitudes may be interesting for the relationships to residential environment which they suggest.

One such dissatisfaction is with the role of housewife and certain feelings which seem to attach to it. Margaret Mead has observed: ¹

If we consider the complaints about home-making, the chief complaint might be identified as isolation. Men have left the home, grandparents and maiden aunts and widowed cousins no longer live together in the same house -- and the wife remains at home all alone. This boredom and loneliness of doing alone the jobs that were once done either in chattering groups of women or by a whole family working together is one thread that runs through women's discontent.

Other writers have remarked on the frequency with which women refer to themselves apologetically as being "just a housewife,"²

¹Margaret Mead, "What American Women Want," Fortune, XXXIV, No. 6, (December, 1946), p. 173.

²Carle C. Zimmerman and L.F. Cervantes, Marriage and the Family: A Text for Moderns, Chicago, 1956, p. 357.

during an interview. Mass advertising seems fond of depicting the housewife as the inmate of a mild form of penal institution in which she must struggle to protect herself against drudgery and dishpan hands.

For some women, a sense of conflict may exist between marriage and career. Many women, before marriage, have had interesting jobs, careers, and educational experiences. After marriage, regardless of training or temperament, the woman is usually expected to take on the role of housewife, which, by comparison, may seem demanding and uninteresting. At the same time that the woman's education prepares her for interesting career experiences, it may neglect her training for the role of housewife. The typical feminine attitude toward preparing for the housewife role has been characterized as being, "I'll do that when I have to."¹ When the time arrives, the difficulties resulting from her inefficiency and newness at the job are likely to be noticeable.

To the extent that these conflicts and dissatisfactions are valid considerations, it seems fairly apparent that the quality of the residential setting will either enhance the housewife's role or intensify its dissatisfactions. The following ideas suggest ways in which residential environment may assist the housewife to avoid negative feelings.

¹Florence R. Kluckhohn, "America's Women," ed. O.H. Mowrer, Patterns for Modern Living, Part I: Psychological Patterns, Chicago, 1952, p. 132.

Availability of nursery and child care facilities within the community will provide the basis for either occasional or regular relief from the duties of child rearing and family care. Some mothers who might otherwise become irritated or resentful at the constant demands of child rearing may be assisted in relating more positively to their children. In addition, such facilities make it possible for housewife-mothers, who so desire, to undertake activities outside the home. For some, this may take the form of a part-time job, for others, the need may be met by social and recreation activities within the neighborhood and community.

Provided that community space were available, housewives might jointly undertake to meet some of their domestic needs. Facilities might accommodate such activities as cooperative nursery and child care facilities or group home care activities such as laundry, sewing, dress-making, nutrition. By taking some of these activities (at least partially) outside the individual residence, they might be seen less as chores. Besides offering opportunities for companionship, such a change might help to generate new interest in these activities. Such facilities could assist the housewife in feeling herself more a member of an important group and generally help enrich her domestic way of life.

Other activities at the neighborhood level may include mild social and recreation activities. Here the need is for residential environment which will enhance the character and forms of these activities by providing interesting places to walk and interesting things to see, pleasant places where mothers may gossip and children may play. Residential environment needs to consider circulation patterns and accommodations at the pedestrian scale and to consider ways of providing some variety and psychological uplift in the visual environment. These seem to be elements which have been forgotten or overlooked in many designs.

A second general area of consideration is that of mother-child relationships. Housewife-mothers who harbor feelings of dissatisfaction, even though they may not always be consciously formulated, are handicapped in developing wholesome relationships with their children. They may seek to escape the sense of confinement which they feel in the role by neglecting their children and seeking to avoid their responsibilities as a mother as often as possible, or they may go to the opposite extreme and try to compensate for feelings of loneliness and lack of purpose by developing a possessive attitude toward their children. In this attitude they are likely to wish that their children would never grow up; to seek to keep their children dependent as long

as possible and to be over-protective in their attitude toward them. According to Florence Kluckhohn:¹

.... It is only the particular responses which differ. Some women confine their interests to the home, endure isolation and a feeling of being left out of things, give up activities and tasks and more because their feelings of a mother's obligations are strong. Consciously, they may not even be aware of the frustrations which inevitably result. Yet, how often these women make known to highly perceptive children their unconscious feelings and give them uneasy awareness that mother deserves so very much because she herself has given up so much for them.

For the overly possessive mother, especially, the period when children are growing up may prove vaguely dissatisfying because she no longer feels the strong sense of being needed which she did when the children were babies. Without understanding why, she may become bored and irritated. At the same time, because of her sense of responsibility as a mother, she may have a sense of guilt at her own discontentment and desire for escape.

Although these would seem to be more than surface problems, they do suggest the need to consider the ways in which residential environment may assist the mother to relate in positive fashion to her children.

¹Kluckhohn, P. 105.

The most challenging and physically difficult period in family life for the housewife-mother comes with the arrival of small children. It has been estimated that the housewife must put in as much as 12 hours a day seven days a week when the children are well; when they are ill or there is a new baby it is more likely to be 14-20 hours.¹ The demands which children make in terms of added housekeeping duties come at a time when the children themselves demand a great deal of constant attention. Aside from being very busy, the mother is tied down to the home and adult companionship is minimized.

For the housewife-mother occupied with the business of caring for babies and small children, the residential setting may be especially important. Dwelling units accessible to the ground and childrens' out-door play space will provide opportunities for casual social contact among mothers who can still keep a watchful eye on children as they play. In this way, mothers may be allowed some freedom and diversion from household demands. In addition to this freedom provided by the residential setting, nursery and child care facilities will provide the basis for an occasional change of scene for those housewife-mothers who may desire it.

³³Della D. Cyrus, "Why Mothers Fail," Atlantic, LCXXIX, No. 3, (March, 1947), p. 59.

The burdens of this period of family life will also be reduced if the dwelling unit is designed for efficiency in housekeeping and child care and if appropriate play space for children is provided. Play areas require adequate space, durable finishes and sturdy equipment which allows for the rough and tumble activity in which children naturally engage. If such areas are provided, children will be less likely to get under foot and upset the housekeeping processes.

Too many situations established by the physical environment place the mother in a negative, punitive relationship with her children. If suitable play spaces are not provided for children and designed so that the child can play freely, the mother may feel constantly called upon to tell the child what not to do or to punish him for having done the wrong thing. In elevator apartment buildings, the mother may feel that she has no choice but to let her older children go out on their own with many admonitions about their behavior. Consideration of the safety of children (in residential designs) both while playing and on their way to and from school will also help to eliminate the necessity of a negative attitude of worried concern on the part of the mother.

A third general area for consideration is the way in which residential environment may assist the housewife in having satisfactory inter-personal relationships and social life.

As was demonstrated in the Festinger studies of Westgate (M.I.T.)¹ the dynamics of group relationships and opportunities for friendship formation (important particularly for the housewife) are very much related to the positioning of dwelling units in space. Aside, however, from an awareness that such a phenomenon does exist, our knowledge of ways to use this principle to foster optimum group relationships seems to be still limited.²

In some cases, the design of residential environment seems to promote only one dominant pattern of social interaction. Where this dominant pattern proves unsatisfactory for an individual (even though it is one of maximum group participation) and no alternative pattern of social participation is available, the individual may be faced with a serious adjustment problem. On the other hand, environment with no sense of structure or design, presenting an ambiguous situation to the individual, may prove equally as troublesome as one presenting too little choice.

¹Leon Festinger, S. Schachter and K. Bach, Social Pressures in Informal Groups, New York, 1950.

²A study of Tasker Homes, a public housing project in Philadelphia would seem to indicate that other factors, such as residential composition and morale of the residents were negative influences against any form of group activities. This was in spite of the fact that dwelling units were grouped around small courts which were undoubtedly intended by the designer to promote social integration among court members. Ref., Anthony F. Wallace, Housing and Social Structure, Philadelphia, 1952.

In spite of our limited knowledge about these matters, it does seem possible to avoid negative circumstances in our designs. Some balance in anticipated patterns of social interaction and some element of choice of social participation for the individual, will avoid the difficulty inherent in providing the individual with only a single choice.

A final consideration for the housewife-mother is for opportunities to be able to maintain the feminine aspects of being a glamorous female and to develop a playful "chum-like" relationship with her husband in which housekeeping burdens are approached on a cooperative basis with a re-division of labors. Nelson Foote has referred to this process as follows:¹

Home versus career tends to evaporate as a dilemma when each is seen as a desirable casting on occasion, lightly assumed and lightly doffed, rather than grimly restrictive, and exclusive. So, likewise, the roles of siren and hausfrau; a playful attitude makes it easier to don one or the other as appropriate, as in childhood costuming and pretending. To be sure, such a solution is not reached simply in the head; time on the job must be short enough, and time at home long enough, for the demands of both to be met with credit.

The previous suggestions are calculated to enhance the duties of housekeeping and motherhood sufficiently to make them attractive to those who wish to undertake them. At the same time,

¹Nelson N. Foote, "Family Living as Play," Marriage and Family Living, XVII, No. 4, (November, 1955), p. 293.

the burdens of these duties are lightened so that the housewife-mother who seeks experiences outside of the home in business or community activities is assisted in satisfying her sense of self-fulfillment at the same time that she boosts her feminine ego.

AND THE WORKING HOUSEWIFE-MOTHER

There is a growing trend in the United States for women to work. Recent figures¹ indicate that there are currently 28,000,000 women in the labor force. In spite of the fact that there are arguments both for and against the virtue of work and career for women, this growing trend of working women, (many of whom are wives and mothers)² creates special needs which are important if family living is to be facilitated. The role of housewife-mother extends through a number of phases of family living. In considering the needs of working housewife-mothers, it will be indicated how these needs change at various periods in the life of the family.

The period just after marriage and until the arrival of the first child is a period of adjustment, experimentation and learning.

¹Source: Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Columbia University gave this figure in a talk before the American Orthopoychiatric Association, see New York Times, March 9, 1957.

²According to Dr. Ginzberg, two out of five mothers with school age children held down jobs last year.

Many wives who have worked previous to marriage continue to work during this period. By adhering to simple patterns of cooking and housekeeping, this period is usually managed without any great inconvenience to the family.

The likelihood is that the dwelling unit in which the young married couple first settles will continue to serve them until the arrival of children creates greater space demands. Since this period of family living is probably the most temporary of any of the phases of family life, situations which require a minimum of investment in house furnishings will be to the advantage of the young family when they move into more permanent residential environment.

When the working housewife continues to work after the arrival of small children, her reasons are likely to be financial. She may desire to assist the family income at a time when medical expenses are high or begin saving some money against the future. For a young married couple, with or without children, residential environment which has a high degree of built-in equipment and furniture and community-owned facilities (laundry facilities, for example) will relieve the family's economic burdens. Otherwise, families may be faced with the expense of investment in items of furniture or major appliances at a time when such a demand would create an economic strain.

When the mother of pre-school children continues to work, she faces the triple burden of outside work, house work and child care. Such a program places huge burdens on the woman which, unless planned for and assisted, may create tensions for her and, in turn, for her family. Under these circumstances, the chances of maintaining family equilibrium are greatest when the woman is least burdened with housekeeping and economic worries and can use her remaining free time to be in close contact with her family. Ease and efficiency in housekeeping and community nursery facilities are close to absolute necessities. Other services whose provision will assist the working housewife-mother include: housekeeping aids, visiting nurse service, community kitchens which prepare a warm meal on a cooperative basis and special care for babies and children where needed.

These same facilities will prove adequate as well for the period after the last child has started to school; marking the time when the housewife-mother is left completely alone in the house. At this point, many women feel themselves free to take up an interrupted job or career, often on a part-time basis. For those who desire it, this may prove to be a helpful diversion as well as a source of extra income.

SUMMARY

Considerations intended to enhance the role of housewife-mother: residential environment designed to lighten the burdens of home and family care; opportunities for group activities and social contact at the neighborhood level; architectural and site design which is not monotonous or boring.

Considerations intended to assist mother-child relationships: dwelling unit designed for efficient housekeeping and child care; availability of baby sitting and nursery services; adequate and appropriate play spaces for children.

Consideration intended to assist housewife-mother to have satisfactory inter-personal relationships: residential environment calculated to provide some choice in patterns of friendship formation.

Considerations intended to assist working housewife-mothers: services and facilities which minimize the time required for routine housekeeping duties -- allowing remaining free time to be spent enjoying family life; reducing economic stress of young married couples by providing built-in equipment and services.

Husband-Father

The role of husband-father within the family has been undergoing a gradual change in which the father is becoming a more active participant in the everyday matters of family living on a basis of greater equality with other family members.

The modern picture of father is that of the enthusiastic young man barely out of his teens, interested in his wife and children, who likes his home and likes to work around it. He enjoys helping his wife with household duties and with the routine care of the children. He even likes to care for them for an evening if his wife needs or wants to go out by herself. We should like to believe that fathers like this are replacing the older types. But facts seem to show that modern fathers do not really understand their role much better than their predecessors did.¹

This trend leads to consideration of the husband-father's general integration into family life and residential environment.

There seems to be some concern with the extensive absence of the father from the home and neglect of his role as a family member.² An opposite point of view³, however, tends to bemoan his increasing presence in the home and consequent domestication

¹O.S. English, "The Psychological Role of the Father in the Family" Social Case Work, XXXV, No. 8 (October, 1954), p. 323.

²Mental Health and Community Planning, talk presented at the 1955 Annual Conference of the American Society of Planning Officials, Montreal, Canada, September 28, 1955, and for later publication, pp. 5.

³Russel Lynes, "The Man in the Grey Flannel Apron," Pageant, XII, No. 12. (June, 1957) p. 66 ff.

as a violation of the masculine identity. This latter attitude, when compared with serious writing defining the optimum role of the father within the family¹, does not seem to be well-founded. Increasing participation of the father in home and family life, rather than weakening masculinity, may help to propogate it by the increased contact it affords the father with his children. Relief from the traditional concept of a stern, authoritarian father figure may be afforded by a more contemporary conception of father as a resource for human counsel and interaction with other family members.² A fostering of increasing integration of the father into the home and family seems desirable for the well-being of both family and father.

Such integration may assist the father in dealing with his own tensions and relating in more positive fashion to other family members. Part of his need at home is for a change of pace from his daily vocational strivings and for opportunities to relax and recuperate.

Residential environment may assist this process by providing facilities and accommodations for a sufficient variety of activities to suit individual interests. These activities may

¹English, p. 329.

²Duvall, p. 53.

include joint social and recreation participation with other family members and individual or group interest activities (hobbies and avocational interests, adult education, social activities, recreation, civic and religious participation). Beside the need for facilities to accommodate such general activities, a special consideration is for residential environment which is inviting to activities around the house. For many husbands, ownership of a detached dwelling unit with some yard space will form the basis for continuing masculine interest and activities. In addition to maintenance and home repair, opportunities are provided for gardening and lawn care, home workshops, building projects such as patios and out-door barbecue pits. Current influences such as the prospect of increasing leisure time and growing interest in "do it yourself" activities provide opportunities which may be capitalized upon in the design of residential environment to assist the integration of the father into the family.

A second area of consideration is for the general availability of adequate housing. The father, as provider for the family, feels himself under a certain obligation to provide adequate housing. Under normal conditions, where housing supply is adequate, this may involve no special problems. In writing of housing conditions which seem characteristic of low income families, Dr. Raymond Sletto has theorized about a sense of obligation regarding the provision of

adequate residential accommodations as follows:¹

How can characteristics of a house be sources of intense and persistent dissatisfaction?

For this to happen, perceived discrepancies between the house as it is and as the individual wants it to be must impinge upon values central to personality organization. Housing characteristics may contribute to personality disorganization, if they disrupt cherished habits, if they appear as barriers to attainment of desired goals, if they seem to affect adversely one's status in social groups, if they are considered wrong or improper, if they give to negative mental states.

Negative mental states associated with such dissatisfactions may include feelings of guilt over failure to provide adequately for one's family, feelings of inferiority from the thought that other's judge one adversely, feelings of frustration since wants are not satisfied, feelings of resentment towards society ... feelings of anxiety or chronic fatigue from worrying about the possible effects of housing upon the safety, health, status or behavior of family members.

This is a rather sweeping suggestion of the consequences of poor housing. Intense and persistent dissatisfaction of the kind anticipated would seem most likely to occur in housing of low income families where the physical quality of the housing is low and the alternative choices limited. Yet, the dissatisfactions anticipated by Dr. Sletto may represent a greater sensitivity to

¹Raymond F. Sletto, Ph.D., The Relationship Between Housing Standards and Mental Health, Univ. of Minnesota, 1946, p. 27.

certain values than might actually exist among the residents of such housing.

Perhaps the most valid area for potential conflict between aspirations and achievement is likely to occur where families aspiring for upward social mobility are frustrated because of such considerations as discrimination, shortage of housing supply or economic unavailability of housing; all of which may limit the opportunities of the individual to satisfy his aspirations. In this sense, availability of adequate housing may be assumed to assist the husband-father to satisfactorily fulfill his role of family provider.

Summary

Assisting husband-father to play an active, useful role in family life; recreation and social facilities for individual and joint family use; opportunities for husband-father to exercise his masculine interests in home care and family activities.

Assisting husband-father to fulfill his role as family provider; reasonably adequate and available housing supply.

Old Age

Examination of the social and psychological aspects of aging will help to clarify the kinds of residential environment and facilities needed by the aged and give further reasons, in terms of promoting mental health, for undertaking programs to fulfill these needs.

The stages through which the aging process passes are three:¹ the first, called involution, begins around age 45. This period is characterized by a diminution of physical vigor and sexual activities which may not become a final state until some twenty years later. The second stage comes around age 65 and is marked by vocational retirement. The final stage, senescence, is one of physiological deterioration of the bodily processes which may occur at different ages for different individuals.

A general area of consideration is for the ways in which residential environment can assist the individual to adjust to the period of involution. It is during this period that children are leaving the home, sexual activity is beginning to decline and retirement is approaching. There is a certain sense of anxiety which may accompany the gradual realization that "one is not getting any younger."

¹Lewis Mumford, "For Older People --"Not Segregation but Integration" Architectural Record, CXXIX, No. 5, (May, 1956), p. 191.

Havighurst characterizes this reaction in regard to physical change as follows:¹

These insults to the self usually strike us in vulnerable places. We express it by saying we do not like to grow old -- but what we really mean is that we have invested a great deal of emotional capital in our physical attractiveness and this investment is going bad on us.

The period of involution is, potentially at least, a precarious one for the individual's emotional equilibrium. The adjustment required in this period is for a balance between an appropriate sense of fulfillment of life goals and some sense of satisfaction and compensation from other activities outside the major fields of endeavor.²

Long before the time when the individual becomes a member of a "golden age" or "senior citizens" club, the groundwork should be laid for a smooth transition into old age. Considerations previously mentioned for assisting the father's integration into family and community apply here as well. Opportunities to assume a proprietary interest in home surroundings, to develop avocational interests, to develop an attitude of pleasurable participation in

¹Robert J. Havighurst, "Flexibility and the Social Role of the Retired," The American Journal of Sociology, LIX, No. 4 (January, 1954), p. 309.

²Robert J. Havighurst, "The Social and Psychological Needs of the Aging," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, LXXIX (January, 1952), p. 11.

matters of recreation, social activity and civic responsibility within the community can all assist this process.

A further consideration is for the ways in which residential environment may influence feelings of neglect or isolation among the aged. Because Americans tend to place a great deal of emphasis on the future (see Appendix B), those within or approaching the old age category may begin to sense a diminution of their status and prestige. Instead of being revered and looked up to for advice and counsel, as the aged are in some cultures, the elderly person in American culture may be led to feel that his usefulness has become limited.

A specific hazard faced by the husband is the so-called "retirement shock" of diminished status associated with compulsory retirement. The wife may make an easier adjustment since the element of transition in her role in the home occurs gradually with the growth and departure of children. Partly because her transition to old age is more gradual, she tends to outlive her husband. Ultimately, in old age, there is the difficulty of adjusting to the loss of loved ones.

Because of the emphasis on family mobility, the aged are coming to live more and more in separate households from their children. Maintenance of a separate household by the aged at a time when sources of income may be limited, has forced some of

them into housing of poor physical quality and into situations and locations where feelings of isolation and neglect may be intensified.

In cases where efforts are being made through government or private agencies to provide housing for the aged, care must be taken to prevent a sense of institutional isolation in the residents for whom the housing is designed. Lewis Mumford has remarked on this problem from his own observations:¹

One of the most generous quarters for the aged I have seen is the old Fuggerei in Augsburg, built in the sixteenth century, composed of one story row dwellings, giving privacy to each old couple, with a handsome chapel and a fountain. But this "city for the aged and poor" is set apart from the rest of the town; though it has beauty and order, it lacks animation; at best it is only a handsome ghetto. The objection against this solution was indignantly put to me by an old man in another comely quadrangle for the aged near Manchester, a modern building set in ample grounds looking inward on a spacious grassy close, also with a little chapel where the dead rested before burial. At first glance the peace and beauty of this spot seemed ideal -- but the inmates knew better. They now had, alas, only one occupation; remaining alive.

When the bell tolled, it tolled not only for the departed; it ominously summoned those who were left. "All we do here," said my informant bitterly, "is to wait for each other to die. And each time we ask ourselves: 'Who will be next?' What we want is a touch of life. I wish we were near the shops and the bus station where we could see things.

¹Mumford, page 192.

Mumford's observations make clear the importance of site selection which will not intensify the sense of isolation. At the same time that the elderly desire housing which will permit them independence of action,¹ it is clear that residential environment which makes them mutually accessible to their friends and relatives and to community facilities and services will help to minimize feelings of isolation and neglect. Safety in circulation on foot, as in the case of children, and some small scale shops and stores at the neighborhood level are important items of consideration in designing housing which will accommodate the needs of the elderly.

Perhaps of even more importance than site accessibility, is the nature of the housing facilities themselves. Studies which have attempted to discover what the elderly themselves consider to be ideal solutions to their housing needs begin to show that these needs vary considerably according to family situation and their relative state of dependency.

Many elderly people have indicated a preference to continue to live in their old homes.² In some circumstances, this may be an impractical or unwise solution; however, when the couple or

¹Hertha Kraus, "Older People Have Special Housing Needs," Journal of Housing, VII, No. 1 (January, 1950), p. 17.

²Wilma Donahue, Housing the Aging, Ann Arbor, 1954, p. 27.

individual are in relatively good health and continued residence in a familiar neighborhood allows for continued social contacts, such a solution may prove quite satisfactory. This solution will be facilitated if some variety of dwelling units exists in the neighborhood so that elderly couples may find accommodations suited to their income and space needs.

A study of retired educators¹ reported the desire of one elderly man (age 82) for "a central building housing about 150 old people and with offices, special rooms such as auditoriums, clubrooms, classrooms, parlor, library, music room, infirmary, kitchen and dining room." The preference of this elderly man was that of an individual whose wife was dead and who wished to escape loneliness in the companionship of others. For still others among the elderly who desire a greater degree of independence in their living arrangements, the need for companionship may be met by a day care center for older persons where they can meet together for various activities and find not only companionship but equipment and facilities for their use.

Efforts to discover and accommodate differing needs of the aged would not only assist them in finding satisfactory accommodations, but would also minimize the effect of stereotyped, institutional

¹Donahue, p. 32.

solutions which might, in some cases, negate the beneficial effects which such accommodations might otherwise have.

More imaginative solutions which will assist social processes among the elderly are desirable. A good example of such thinking is the suggestion of Hertha Kraus¹ for companionship apartments, spacious enough to accommodate a "pseudo" family of seven or eight elderly people who were generally agreeable to the idea and desired the companionship of others. Such apartments might have individual rooms for each "family member" as well as common kitchen and dining facilities. Special services such as housekeeping and laundry services would be provided.

In an effort to minimize the institutional aspects of housing for the aged, Mumford² has suggested that in a neighborhood unit of six hundred people, no more than thirty or forty people should be accommodated. These he would group into apartments of from six to a dozen units.

A final consideration is the need for security in the physical environment. This has been stated by Hertha Kraus as follows:³

¹Hertha Kraus, "Housing Older Citizens," Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, LLXIX (January, 1952), p. 134.

²Mumford, p. 193.

³Kraus, p. 127.

People living alone or with elderly spouses fight a constant depressing struggle with environmental hazards: difficult stairs, poor lighting or heat, inconvenient kitchens and bathrooms which grossly overtax the capacity to deal with daily needs. Malnutrition and neglect of personal care and cleanliness may result for some, while others are filled with increasing anxiety and guilt. But even a convenient home may be lonely because of its inaccessibility for relatives and friends.

This need becomes more acute with advancing old age.

An important consideration is for safety and convenience. The need for safe pedestrian circulation paths is obvious. Attention should also be paid to ways of minimizing physical exertion. Dwelling units which eliminate the climbing of steps are desirable. Attention to design details in the residential environment which minimize opportunities for accidents and falling is also important.

With increasing dependency upon others in advanced old age, more attention and services become necessary. According to a report of the Federal Security Administration¹, one of the strong fears of old age is a lack of care in case of critical illness. Such anxiety will be minimized in an environment in which provision for care has been made. Such provision requires the

¹Federal Security Administration, Program for an Aging Population, Washington, 1950, p. 21.

grouping of dwellings in sufficient proximity to allow for the economic development of services. Such services might include the providing of cooked food, housekeeping assistance and attendant nursing aid where needed. Where a sufficient number of elderly people are located within a residential area, it is desirable to provide a local clinic for them which can provide counselling as well as medical care.

Summary

Assisting the individual to adjust to the period of involution: residential environment providing meaningful experiences in home and community.

Assisting aged to avoid negative feelings of isolation and neglect: availability of decent housing; site selection, residential composition, and residential units, which do not create isolation (institutional or other).

Assisting aged to feel secure in physical environment: providing for convenience and amenity of aged by providing appropriate services and facilities (health, clinics, day care centers).

Periods of Crisis and Transition

Although previous sections have considered the needs of individual family members; periods of crisis and transition will be studied for the ways in which they affect the family as a unit.

One aim in mental health work has been to identify forces which have a marked influence on emotional disequilibrium with the idea that when such forces are identified, it may be possible to alter environmental conditions in such a way as to eliminate or minimize them. Of particular interest has been the work of Dr. Erich Lindemann of Massachusetts General Hospital, which draws attention to the periods of crisis in family living which may be of some importance for the mental health of family members. Dr. Gerald Caplan has reported on this work as follows:¹ (emphasis mine)

In trying to solve the problem of what pathogenic forces to search for in the community, and how to recognize them, Erich Lindemann, et. al., in their report have developed a concept which has proved of value. They draw attention to the importance of the periods of crisis in the affairs of individuals and groups. The crisis event is usually associated with some sudden discontinuity of the social field of forces, such as the interruption of emotional bonds by separation and bereavement or a period of role transition such as pregnancy, childbirth, moving into a new neighborhood. Individuals and families react to

¹Gerald Caplan, M.D., "Recent Trends in Preventive Child Psychiatry" in Gerald Caplan (ed.), Emotional Problems of Early Childhood, New York, 1955, p. 156.

crisis by a period of emotional disequilibrium. During this period an attempt at adaptation to the new circumstances is being made. Observations at this time show a range of successful and healthy responses, and it may be possible to describe the limits of this spectrum. From these observations it is possible also to define where the range of mal-adaptive responses begin.

Whereas there is a range of healthy solutions to crisis events which is most accessible to families with a high degree of integration and adaptability, the poorly organized family is likely to meet the crisis with an inadequate solution. This solution may create disequilibrium within the family which continues after the crisis situation has passed. The effect upon the family may be continuing demoralization and further crisis. According to Koos:¹

.... there is a tendency for a family once seriously affected by crisis to be more vulnerable in future exposures. Once having been defeated by a crisis, the family appears not to be able to marshal its forces sufficiently to face the next event; there is, in other words, a permanent defeat each time. One aspect of the problem for these families is their lack, ordinarily, of sufficient personal and social resources to help meet their problems.

Among the events which may be of crisis proportions for the family are: child-birth, severe accident or illness, mental illness,

¹Earl Koos and David Fulcomer, "Families in Crisis," Report for the Committee on the Dynamics of Family Interaction, National Conference on Family Life, unpublished mimeographed materials, Washington, May, 1948, p. 14.

death, divorce, desertion, continued unemployment, delinquency, alcoholism, drug addiction, moving into a new neighborhood, or forced eviction from the home.

To some extent, the normal components of community life can be helpful in assisting families to deal with crises. Community designs which are conducive to social inter-action and neighboring among residents will encourage families to assume positions of comfort and assistance to one another in times of trouble. Also potentially helpful are the normal "caretakers"¹ of the community, such as religious leaders, visiting nurses, policemen, teachers and social workers. These community figures can often assist families in times of trouble or direct them to other community resources where they are available. In addition to these more or less usual resources for support of families in times of trouble, the provision of facilities and services specifically designed to assist families might materially reduce the hazards associated with problems of crisis and transition.

With the decline of extended family relationships, the small, mobile family is less adequate than previously for dealing with its own problems. In extended family relationships (which usually contained three generations and some contemporary relatives as well) natural

¹Caplan, p. 158.

opportunities were created within the home for family members to undertake to perform many services for each other, to serve as agents of instruction to each other, and to provide a variety of sources of affection, counsel and reassurance in dealing with life's problems. With the evolution and gradual dominance of the nuclear family, functions traditionally performed within the home have been transferred to outside agencies.

At the same time, a general attitude which emphasizes self-reliance may inhibit the use of community facilities which do exist, with the consequence that many families will tend to by-pass assistance and "muddle through" their problem as best they can.¹ More widespread availability of services to assist the family in normal care as well as at times of difficulties might help such services to become more accepted as an ordinary part of middle-class residential life for the large majority of families. Because of the increasing dependence of the family upon resources outside of the home itself, there is a growing need that such services be provided as a matter of course in community design.

The National Conference on Family Living has attempted to catalog such necessary resources as follows:²

¹Earl Koos, Families in Trouble, New York, 1946, p. 123.

²R.A. Vihlein and E.N. Parker, "Social Welfare," Report for the Committee on Social Welfare, National Conference on Family Life, unpublished mimeographed materials, Washington, May, 1948, p. 2.

Public Health and Welfare Services

1. An efficient county or city health department
2. Hospital and clinic facilities available to all parts of the population
3. Locally administered public social services to provide:
 - a) individual relief and case-work services
 - b) probation services in the courts
 - c) child welfare services
 - d) school counselling and guidance programs
 - e) public recreation programs

Voluntary Services

1. Youth Services - organized recreation, informal education
2. cultural opportunities
3. Case-work services for counseling on personal and family problems, for help in the event of serious illness (physical or mental), and for the particular problems of child care.
4. Community planning of broad caliber to promote and sustain the resources needed above.

The final item indicates the importance which people involved in providing such services attach to the importance of community planning in helping to plan for their accommodation. Where the planner does not have primary obligation in providing these services his awareness of their importance and interest in seeing that they are accommodated in his plans can be of valuable assistance in coordinating efforts to provide them.

A specific area of concern under the general topic of crises in family living is that concerned with periods of transition and particularly the transition involved when a family moves

into a new neighborhood. The importance of this period of transition was revealed in an interview with Dr. Gerald Caplan, (Head of the Department of Mental Health, Harvard School of Public Health). According to Dr. Caplan, records of the Wellesley Human Relations Service, Wellesley Hills, Mass., show that over one-third of its referrals are families which have just moved into the community. Although the Human Relations Service is not, at this point, prepared to explain this phenomenon, it is interested to discover more precisely its relationship to the difficulties which the family may face in adjusting to the new residential environment.¹

This concept of transitional adjustment as a mental health hazard is relatively recent. Because it may eventually develop into a consideration of some importance, it seems worthwhile to consider the ways in which planning of residential environment may be related. It is likely that the extent to which moving may constitute a hazard for the family will vary with its level of education and social acculturation. In the case of a family with emotional insecurity, low level of education and a certain amount of social malaise, the hazard may be intense. For

¹For a discussion of the mental health hazard involved in cultural transition, see Stevenson, p. 195.

families who are part of a pattern of continuing mobility, a question to be considered is whether it is possible to find ways of facilitating their smooth adjustment into new environment.

In this connection, a report by Jane Jacobs presented at the 1956 Urban Design Conference at Harvard University¹ concerning redevelopment activities in New York City is interesting for the questions it raises. These redevelopment activities resulted in the relocation of low-income families into public housing. The neighborhoods from which the families moved contained a number of small store front activities, (e.g., neighborhood shops, religious groups, political and social groups). Equivalent accommodations to those which housed the store front activities did not exist in the public housing to which these families moved, and Mrs. Jacobs observed two developments as a result. First, communication and social contact within the housing project were redirected from the numerous small store front units. The laundries in the basements of apartment buildings became important social centers and the managers of the housing projects became replacements, perhaps reluctantly, for previous figures of public contact in the old neighborhood such as the grocer and druggist.

¹Jane Jacobs, "The Missing Link in City Redevelopment," Architectural Forum, CIV, No. 6 (June, 1956), pp. 132-33.

A second phenomenon which she observed was that a belt of these small store front activities grew up around the periphery of the new housing project. Her conclusion was that the designers of the housing had overlooked important considerations in not providing equivalent accommodations for the store front activities.

An aspect of consideration, not developed by Mrs. Jacobs, is to what extent these small storefront activities represent fulfillment of a need which changes with improvements in the level of education, quality of residential environment and way of life. It might be expected that the ultimate need for the kinds of communication represented by the store front activities would diminish and be replaced by needs for other kinds of facilities. It does not seem possible, in a theoretical way, to resolve the issue one way or another. The question which Mrs. Jacobs example suggests is whether those planning new residential environment can evolve techniques which will enable them to anticipate the needs of the residents of new residential environment with sufficient sensitivity so that their designs will prove to be usable and satisfactory accommodations for the tenants. Such knowledge coupled with some attention to anticipated patterns of circulation and communication in new residential environment could produce designs which would assist families in the initial period of adjustment to new environment.

Summary

Assisting families to achieve stability in spite of growing mobility: minimizing unnecessary mobility by providing greater variety of accommodations within the packaged community; residential environment designed to facilitate adjustment of residents -- anticipating residents' needs, patterns of circulation and communication.

Assisting families to meet crises: clinic facilities for health, counselling, childbirth, and child care, accommodation of social work, probation and child welfare.

Packaged Communities

The previous sections attempt to systematically identify aspects of residential environment important for the well-being of the family and its individual members. These items may be considered to constitute a rough check list. Comparing these points against a specific environment will indicate the adequacies and short comings of the environment in meeting human needs. In a final section containing a summary and conclusions, an evaluation is made point by point. In this section, considerations which seem to have greatest importance will be emphasized.

A fair amount of sociological investigation has been done of large-scale suburban developments such as Park Forest, Levittown and Drexelbrook. Although each of these developments has distinctive differences, they are sufficiently comparable to be dealt with as a topic. Obviously, these developments cannot be considered typical of all suburban communities; rather, they are a relatively new phenomenon which may be expected to grow in importance.¹

A series of interviews with residents in Park Forest² conveys a general impression of satisfaction with many aspects of the environment. The majority of families interviewed were young couples with small children. Their incomes were sufficiently alike

¹William H. Whyte, Jr. has paid particular attention to the large number of transient families in the packaged communities who are employees of large business, institutional or industrial organizations. See: William H. Whyte, Jr. *The Organization Man*, New York, 1957.

²Weiss and Geller, Research Interview Report - Park Forest Survey, Chicago, 1952.

so that they emphasized the likeness rather than the differences. Many expressed the feeling of being "all in the same boat." They liked the fact that their children had plenty of playmates easily accessible and that supervision of play was relatively easy. Many commented on the friendly atmosphere of frequent visiting with neighbors, of helping newly arrived families to get settled and fit in socially. Others remarked on feeling a pride of ownership; husbands exhibited new-found interest in upkeep and improvement of their homes. That the benefits of life in these communities are genuinely felt is evidenced by the willingness of alumnae of the packaged communities to go out of their way to find a similar community when they move.¹

At the same time, it is necessary to realize that investigation of these communities has been done largely during the early phases of their occupancy when the pioneering spirit of the residents was running high. Along with the pioneering spirit, quite likely, go feelings of solidarity and high morale. Many of the interviews remark on the house-wife's vision of how nice it will be when the mud has been replaced with lawns and trees. After the mud is gone, however, indications are that the initial enthusiasm for socialization may be replaced, to some extent, with feelings among the residents of being tired of each other and a

¹Whyte, p. 296.

sense of lack of privacy. Ernest Mowrer has observed:¹

.... the initial stage passes shortly as the individual becomes identified with the specialized activities of the larger community. The symbols of status reassert themselves and class distinctions again appear. Intimacy of association is slowly dissipated except for small clusters. Homogeneity and social integration seem to be characteristic of the initial stages of suburban life.

Although detailed studies of the changes which do occur are limited compared with the great amount of attention which has been given to the early phases, it will be necessary to consider how some of the initial benefits of social interaction diminish later on.

Dr. Leonard Duhl² has expressed concern that when the child's contact is limited to a fairly narrow range of families much like his own and to children very near his own age, he may lack the examples of older children and the variety of circumstances that would enable him to develop a well-integrated personality. This concern would seem to be well-founded in the case of Levittown, Penna., where a 1953³ census showed a decidedly skewed age distribution in which children up to ten years of age

¹Ernest R. Mowrer, in "Living Atop a Civic Mushroom in Los Angeles," Newsweek, XLIX, No. 13 (April 1, 1957), p. 40.

²Duhl, p. 6.

³Whyte, p. 342 gives figures based on a survey of the Philadelphia Council of Churches.

and adults between 25 and 35 years of age make up the bulk of the population. In as much as residential composition is a function of the sizes and prices of dwelling units, a greater variety of dwelling units would provide the basis for a more balanced pattern of residential composition which would, in turn, assist the child's development.

A related consideration is for the quality of childrens' play areas in the packaged communities. Gruenberg has questioned their adequacy as follows:¹

Moreover, in this restricted atmosphere, children are likely to picture the good life in terms of uniform patterns; and that tends to block invention and experimentation. Because nothing out of the way happens in these quiet, sanitary and standardized surroundings, one wonders what will arouse the imagination of these children. What spiritual equivalent will they find for the challenge and inspiration that an older generation found during childhood in city streets, on farms, in market towns.

Generally absent are the equivalents of contrasting land use and unregulated spaces (vacant lots and buildings, unplanned areas, wild vegetation) which often form the background for children's play activities in urban or rural areas. Here, economy of site design has resulted in control and use of almost all land. It is necessary to recognize the need for planned

¹S.M. Gruenberg, "The Challenge of the New Suburbs," Marriage and Family Living, XVII, No. 2, (May, 1955), p. 135.

equivalents of these urban elements. Designs must find ways of conveying some sense of contrast, of providing areas which suggest a sense of freedom and retreat and elements which are stimulating to the imagination of children.

The role of the housewife in the packaged community presents a certain element of ambiguity. Outwardly, there are indications of a happy adjustment. Studies report a high level of social interaction. Whyte has observed the "out-going way of life" in which neighbors reinforce each others' sense of equilibrium by talking over their feelings and problems.¹

And yet, there seem to be indications that underneath this outwardly happy picture some discontentment may still be lurking. Occasional items may be gleaned from the literature on the packaged communities. An account of Park Forest² quotes some housewives, whose specific circumstances are not given, as saying:

Your husband gets up and goes off in the morning and you're left with the day to spend. The housework is a matter of minutes. I used to think that I had been brought to the end of the earth and deserted.

another said:

I used to sit by the window ... just wishing someone would go by.

¹Whyte, p. 350 ff.

²Harry Henderson, "The Mass Produced Suburbs," Harper's Magazine, CCVII, No. 1342 (November, 1953), p. 28.

William H. Whyte Jr. has given some indication of housewife maladjustment in Park Forest and diagnosed it as a desire for self-punishment:¹

The impulse to self-punishment takes a more pathological form. Barbiturate addiction and attempted suicides are not over average at Park Forest related to national statistics, but there is enough to mock the facade of well-adjusted normality. In the spring of 1955 there was a rush of publicity over the number of women found lifting groceries in the supermarket. Actually, the number was not really very high, the main reason being the merchants' faith in publicity as a deterrent. The news about who the women were, however, was something of a shocker. The average shop-lifter, the police chief told the newspapers, was not a low-income wife; she was usually the wife of a junior executive making \$8,000, she belonged to a bridge club, she was active in the P.T.A. and she attended church. Usually, she had \$50 a week to spend for food and sundries. Perplexed, the police chief and the village chaplain put it down as part of the 'middle class neurosis.' Rarely was there any obvious motive. Perhaps, as some psychiatrists might venture, they stole to be caught --- as if they were asking to be punished for wearing a false face to the world.

While interesting, this analysis seems to use rather limited evidence to support a complicated theory. One wonders whether such measures as suicide, barbiturate addiction and even shoplifting are the consequences of a housewife's vague feelings of discontentment (which, admittedly, may be quite genuine and

¹Whyte, p. 363.

commonly experienced) or whether they are the manifestations of peculiar personality difficulties having their explanation in less simple motivations.

At the same time, the fact that the housewife's discontentment appears as a topic at all, is, perhaps, enough to create the suspicion that an element of dissatisfaction in the housewife's role does genuinely exist in these communities (and perhaps in other settings as well).

Experience of the Wellesley Human Relations Service¹ indicates that the housewife may assume any vague feelings of discontentment which she feels, individually, are peculiarly hers and that neighbors (who make the same assumption and therefore never verbalize their feelings) are better adjusted.

In spite of the fact that the existence of these dissatisfactions is only vaguely sensed, it is interesting to consider ways in which residential environment may help to minimize potentialities for such feelings among housewives.

The extent to which circulation has been thought of as being vehicular to the neglect of pedestrian circulation will influence

¹Reported by LeMoyné White, M.D., M.I.T. Staff Psychiatrist in an interview. Based on his experience while participating in the Wellesley Human Relations Service Activities.

life at the neighborhood level. Interviews with Park Forest housewives revealed a fairly common complaint about the lack of neighborhood shopping facilities. One senses that beneath this expressed desire for convenience, however, is a desire for human scale in daily activities. This was winsomely expressed by one housewife at Park Forest¹ as a wish for some neighborhood place where she could take her child to buy an ice cream cone; in her case, this was only possible by driving to the large shopping center which was some distance away and did not seem as attractive as a leisurely stroll to a neighborhood store from the point of view of housewife or child. Facilities within walking distance of residences will provide welcome opportunities for mother and child to vary the day's routine with a pleasant walk. Absence of pedestrian paths, on the other hand, may suggest a feeling of confinement or impress the mother into the role of family chauffeur -- a role which should be made optional rather than mandatory.

The quality of visual environment will also undoubtedly have some effect on the attitudes and feelings of residents (and especially the housewife since she experiences it for extended periods of time). Although the degree to which it is sensed will probably vary with individuals, there seems to be a generally

¹Henderson, p. 27.

felt dullness and monotony about the visual environment of the packaged communities. Attempts to relieve this monotony by slight variation of finishes and building types seem only to intensify it. Evidence¹ would seem to indicate that a monotonous appearance in the environment will have some deleterious effects on the inhabitants.

There is a need for sensitive site design which provides for variety by respecting and enhancing the natural features of the landscape and by the skillful siting of buildings in varied patterns. There is a need for more variety of (sizes and kinds of) residences. Houses designed to facilitate expansion and modification would automatically provide for some visual variety and at the same time, allow families to remain in the same house over a greater period of time as their space needs changed.

In writing about housewives' neighboring activities in Park Forest, Whyte has also indicated certain problems which arise, with a high level of social interaction. There are likely to be pressures to insure conformity to standards of social action evolved by the group and the threat of ostracization to those who fail to conform. He described the process as follows:²

¹According to Wallace, p. 29, "Psychological and physiological studies have shown that a monotonous repetition of the same stimulus eventually results in disintegration of the organism's ability to make an adequate response and fatigue and disorganization of behavior will ensue."

²Whyte, p. 358.

An unkempt lawn is another symbol of malaise. The state of the lawn is an effect as well as a cause, and in talking to owners of neglected lawns, one gets the suspicion that they have subconsciously used the unkemptness as a weapon to tell the others where they can head in. 'I suppose I should do more about it,' said one resident, waving at a rather weedy expanse outside, 'but my wife and I think that there are more important things in life.'

Reprisal is inevitable. The sanctions are obvious -- indeed, people are often unconscious of wielding them -- but the look in the eye, the absence of a smile, the inflection of a hello, can be exquisite punishment, and they have brought more than one nervous breakdown. And the more social the block, the rougher it is on those who don't fit in.

One obvious alternative which may be resorted to under such circumstances, by the family, is to move away. A question which this illustration raises is whether the benefits to the majority of the socially-organized block must inevitably threaten the stability of less group-oriented families and individuals. Different families require some choice as to social-interaction and group activities in which they become involved. Not all families will fit easily into the "out-going life." It seems likely also that patterns of intense social interaction become somewhat less satisfying after the initial phase of enthusiasm begins to wear off. It would seem important, therefore, to consider the ways in which alternative choices of social interaction may be provided in residential design at the same time that the desirable aspects of social inter-action are not lost.

One prototype solution for this need might be a design in which a module of small clusters of residences is repeated to form a pattern somewhat more neutral in character than defined courts. If this module were small and contained only a few dwelling units, friendship formation patterns would naturally go beyond this basic module. The over-all pattern would be such as to surround each cluster of dwellings with a number of similar clusters, so that an individual living in any one cluster could, if he wished, choose his friends from among a number of surrounding residential groupings.

The packaged communities seem generally well-suited to the role of the husband-father. As family provider, he is likely to feel his function well-fulfilled since this environment is generally considered beneficial for family life. In addition, the sense of moving up socially which is generally found in the packaged communities is likely to enhance his position as a good provider.

A further positive quality of the packaged community is that it encourages the husband-father to take an interest in the upkeep and improvement of his home. Besides the element of wide individual ownership of dwelling units, the presence of a yard and space for storage of tools and of dwelling units in which maintenance and improvement are possible, all serve to encourage a proprietary interest.

A source of concern (which applies to the packaged communities as well as the suburbs generally) is for the extended absence of the commuter-husband. The commuter's schedule in Park Forest has been described as follows:¹

Usually the men must leave between 7 and 8 A.M. Therefore, they rise between 6 and 7 A.M. In most cases, the wife rises with her husband, makes his breakfast while he shaves and has a cup of coffee with him. Then she often returns to bed until the children get up. The husband is not likely to be back before 7 or 7:30 P.M.

This leaves the woman all day to cope with the needs of her children, her housekeeping and shopping. When the husband returns, he is generally tired, both from his work and from his travelling (3 hours a day is not uncommon). Perhaps the most widespread dream is a job nearer the community, and they often make earnest efforts to find it. Often by the time that the husband returns the children are ready for bed. The husband helps put them to bed; as they grow older, they are allowed to stay up later. Then he and his wife eat their supper and wash the dishes. By 10 P.M., most lights are out. For the women, this is a long monotonous daily proposition. Generally the men, once home, do not want to leave. They want to relax or 'improve the property' -- putter around the lawn or shrubbery. However, the women want a 'change.' Thus, groups of women often go to the movies together.

A specific source of concern mentioned by Dr. Duhl² is the effect on the development of children which extended absences of the father from the home may have. Under the influence of

¹Henderson, p. 28.

²Duhl, p. 6.

a predominantly matriarchal society there is some concern that the masculine component in the child's personality may not be sufficiently developed. Closer geographical relationship between the packaged community and sources of employment would assist the father's relationships with his family and especially his children. There is likely to be some automatic correction of this difficulty in the future when availability of leisure time increases. By planning environment in such a way as to assist families to use this time beneficially for human and family development, planners and architects will be able to assist the process.

In considering the items affecting the family as a group, perhaps one of the most important considerations is transiency and the ways in which it may be influenced by residential environment. The precise effects of transiency on mental health are not known, but the element of transiency which requires adjustment to new and different standards of behavior would seem to involve some problems of adjustment. Difficulty in adjustment for the individual seems to be greatest when his level of education is low and the difference in standards to which he must adjust is emphasized. For the transient whose level of education is somewhat higher and for whom the pattern of transiency is familiar, the

hazard is probably greatly minimized.¹ Perhaps the greatest difficulty is the strain involved in giving up friendships and making new ones.

With the limited range of kinds of dwelling units in the packaged communities, there is intensification of the pattern of transiency. A need for more living space or a desire to live up to an increasing family income usually implies a need to move from the community, even where the husband's employment has not changed. In these cases, mobility may be unnecessarily intensified because of the limited variety of residential accommodations available.

Although the trend toward greater mobility of families and individuals cannot be reversed by the design of residential environment, it is possible to consider the ways in which the design of residential environment may better accommodate this trend. Writers who have suggested the idea that packaged communities might be expanded so as to accommodate the family for more of its lifetime seem to do so in a tentative, hesitant way.² In one conversation I had with a psychiatrist currently engaged in research on mental health, he seemed anxious to dismiss

¹Stevenson, p. 195.

²H.L. Wilensky, "Changing Patterns of Family Life," Children, III, No. 5 (September-October, 1956), p. 169.

residential environment as "pretty standardized -- and not much that we can do about that." It seems that there has been a general failure to grasp the essential benefits which might be gained by attempting to design packaged communities which would contain a greater variety of residential units, both as to size and price status, which communities which have grown less rapidly do contain.

It is true that such communities could not be expected to reverse the trend toward greater mobility; what they would do, is help to accommodate this trend in a more satisfactory way. Our present packaged communities appear to accommodate transient families predominantly during the period when they are raising children. These same transient families, however, may follow a pattern of mobility throughout a much greater period of family life. It seems likely that packaged communities which were designed to accommodate these transient families through more phases of the family's development, would find willing customers.

Whyte's Park Forest studies convey the general impression, which is confirmed by other research on mobile family living,¹ that organization families, because they are not "rooted" members of stable communities, seek a measure of stability by banding together with other transients. The packaged communities, however,

¹A.L. Schon, "Mobile Family Living," Social Casework, XXXVII (April, 1956), pp. 175-80.

appear to offer this stability to transients for only one phase in the family's development -- although the mobility pattern may continue for a much longer period. Even though the rate of turnover of such communities might be high, if a pattern of similarity of design emerged among a number of packaged communities, the ease with which transient families might adjust to the new community after each move would be increased. With the likelihood of continuing population mobility and growth of packaged communities, planners and architects are faced with growing opportunities to improve this residential way of life.

A final consideration relating to the packaged communities is the extent to which facilities and personnel to assist the family in meeting problems are available. Indications are that there is a greater than average need for such facilities,¹ in the packaged communities. The obvious explanation is that many family problems (childbirth, child-rearing, adjustment of partners to marriage, etc.) seem naturally to center about the period of early married life. Since this is the phase of family life which abounds in the packaged communities, the need for facilities is intensified. One of the dangers inherent in the packaged community pattern is that this need may be either unrecognized or neglected. When this happens,

¹Harry Henderson, "Rugged American Collectivism," Harper's Magazine, CCVII, No. 1243 (December, 1953), p. 82.

the consequence is not simply that an optimal living pattern is threatened, but, rather that a difficult situation may be created in which a family or individual with a problem finds himself isolated from sources of assistance. If only a few of the "caretakers" of the community (usually religious leaders) are present, they may be greatly overburdened and, consequently, hampered in their ability to give the assistance needed. There is a need for greater awareness on the part of the designers and builders of packaged communities that these resources are a vitally necessary part of their plans and to evolve a system of controls which will guarantee that the provision of these facilities is not left to chance.

Public Housing

Public housing is presently subject to much criticism by many people -- including some who had previously been its champions.¹

The following evaluation is intended to be objective; however, many of the criticisms currently directed at public housing will be seen to be supported.

A neat summary of some of the positive accomplishments of public housing has been made by Charles Abrams as follows:²

Did public housing fail completely? No. It provided many things and with a little faith and courage, its sad estate can be salvaged. It proved that large blighted areas are assemblable, replannable and rebuildable. It won public acceptance of large-scale urban improvement and established the legal base for it. It proved slum dwellers were honest folk who, given a chance, pay their rent and keep their bath tubs coal free; that housing bonds are AAA investments; that public provision of shelter is a government duty; that the housing authority mechanism can at last operate without graft. All this is no small accomplishment.

In addition, since public housing selects its tenants on the basis of need, it has generally represented an improvement in quality of residential environment for them. An examination of public housing, however, requires a qualification of this general

¹ see: "The Dreary Deadlock in Public Housing," Architectural Forum, LVI, No. 6, (June, 1957), p. 139 ff.

² Ibid., p. 218.

statement in many ways.

Beginning with children, and following the same sequence of consideration as was undertaken for packaged communities, it will be possible to develop a contrasting profile for public housing.

One of the needs for healthy personality development in children is for opportunities to have contact with a wide cross-section of individuals of varied economic, social and occupational backgrounds. A point emphasized by Elizabeth Wood¹ is that public housing projects become collecting stations for families whose status is that of permanent low income and chronic social disorganization. As these families come to dominate the population of a public housing project, social disorganization may be contagiously communicated among families in much the same fashion as the common cold. According to the theories of psycho-social medicine², when a group's collective resistance against infection is low, the result may be a sick community. If this phenomenon is anywhere near as prevalent as the authors of the concept seem to feel, one can see that public housing, because of its residential composition, constitutes a perfect culture in which to breed the germs of social disorganization.

¹Elizabeth Wood, "Public Housing and Mrs. McGee," Journal of Housing, XIII, No. 11 (December, 1956), p. 427.

²James L. Halliday, Psychosocial Medicine, New York, 1948, p. 154.

There is not simply the danger of limiting the personality development of children, but rather the danger of spreading social disorganization and low morale among all the residents of public housing. This is a danger which is inherent in the present policies by which public housing is determined. Policies designed to achieve and maintain a balanced residential composition in which socially disorganized families do not predominate would help to off-set the danger which their predominance implies.

One of the needs of both children and adolescents is for opportunities (provided by residential environment) for recreation and play. A series of articles in the Journal of Housing¹ devoted to public housing space standards points out repeatedly that the need for children's play space has not been accommodated within the dwelling units. When children are obliged to play within the unit (as is the case on rainy days or with small children living in elevator apartment buildings) they are prone to interfere with housekeeping and get in the way. Frictions are likely to develop in the mother-child relationship. Inadequacy of space standards within the dwelling unit may also affect adolescents, causing them to seek elsewhere for space in which to carry on teen-age activities.

A further difficulty involved in elevator apartment buildings² is the necessity of letting children play outside the buildings without

¹Maxim Duplex, "The New Issue in Public Housing," Journal of Housing, VII, No. 6 (June, 1950), p. 202 ff.

²Many of the points made about elevator apartments buildings in this discussion of public housing apply generally to elevator apartments as a building type.

supervision. A field investigation of Jacob Riis Housing Project in New York City¹ reported that because of this problem, the management of the project adopted a policy of controlling children by fining the parents 50 cents if a child was caught digging up the grass. Confinement within a dwelling unit tending to be spatially minimum or restrictions by management on play out of doors both inhibit the child's need for some freedom and spontaneity. From the child's point of view, both management and parental control is likely to have an edge of nonpermissiveness and reprimand. A further consequence of this policy, according to the report, has been to promote frictions between tenants and the management. Housing environment designed specifically to accommodate children's play would relieve both parents and management of the obligation of assuming an attitude of negative control over children.

An assumption made about the housewife's role is that an improvement in the convenience and amenity of residential environment would, other things being equal, assist her to develop better relationships with her children and other family members. Because public housing design strives for elimination of waste space in its plans, dwelling units generally are efficient in layout, and, therefore, relatively easy to care for and keep clean. Because

¹Anthony F. Wallace, Housing and Social Structure, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Public Housing Authority, 1952, p. 89.

space and equipment standards tend to be minimal, one is led to wonder to what extent the positive benefits which might derive from somewhat higher standards have been sacrificed. The American Public Health Association's publication, Basic Principles of Healthful Housing, speaks of the effect of minimum space standards as follows:¹

The essential concept of a home involves the possibility of that isolation from the world which every human being sometimes craves and needs ... the same concept applies within the home itself ... frequent personal contacts may be the cause of nervous irritation, as detrimental to mental health as is the more obvious influence of contact infection upon physical health.

Unfortunately, we do not know the threshold at which minimum space standards become detrimental. It seems unfortunate that our orientation towards public housing does not dispose us toward error on the side of safety by using higher standards rather than risking the possibility of negative influences by approaching minimal ones.

It is necessary, also, to consider to what extent the benefits of improved living standards within the dwelling (even if they are minimal) may be off-set by failure to provide for convenience and amenity in a community sense. If the site selected for a public housing project is such as to make life for the residents

¹Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, Basic Principles of Healthful Housing, New York, 1954, p. 16.

inconvenient or unpleasant as it relates to the larger community, the benefits of the improvement of living quality in the dwelling unit may be lost.

According to the experience of a social case worker with a private Boston agency, the Columbia Point Housing Project in Boston would seem to be a case in point. Because the site of the project was remote and isolated from services and facilities, including transportation, ordinary needs of everyday living, such as shopping for groceries, became difficult problems for the resident families. Some of these needs have been met subsequently, but in the initial period of moving into the project (which we have reason to suspect is a period of increased family tension in any case), these inconveniences were at their worst. This is, of course, only one example but it does serve to illustrate quite well the hazards of poor site selection.

If one attempts to look beyond the end result, the setting of a specific project, it is undoubtedly true that site selection in public housing is complicated by problems such as limited availability of open land within the city and general hostility on the part of many residential areas to having public housing sites located nearby. Even though the inadequacies in site selection in public housing are probably not the result of oversight, it is necessary to

weigh the limitations on livability which unsatisfactory sites create against the benefits to the residents which were intended in the conception of the public housing program.

Consideration of the special needs of the working housewife-mother seem to be completely overlooked in Public Housing. Actually, the need for such facilities (especially for child care) may be intensified in public housing because of the presence of many families from which the father is absent or incapacitated. In cases where child care facilities are available only on an individual, private basis, their cost may be higher than the income from a part-time job, leaving the relief role as the only alternative for the housewife mother.¹

There is a potentiality in the housewife's role for feeling a sense of isolation and neglect. Aside from the subject of the functional distance of dwelling units (an important consideration discussed elsewhere) the problem of morale in public housing appears to be an important influence in determining the amount of social interaction which occurs among residents. Seely has indicated that there is much reason to think that personality breakdowns are relatively infrequent in groups whose morale is high.² This sense of morale is prompted by feelings of membership in a strong and important group and a feeling of sharing social values.

¹Reported by Charles Abrams on the basis of his familiarity with public housing in New York City.

²James R. Seely, "Social Values and the Mental Health Movement," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLXXXVI (March, 1953), p. 16.

It has been observed that those in need of social service assistance frequently seem to suffer from feelings of shame and inadequacy at being the recipients of "charity." Similar negative connotations seem also to attach to public housing. Dean has characterized these as follows:¹

Public housing has operated under the stress of the American folk belief that any family worth its salt can get ahead and raise the family out of the slums! By this reasoning a slum family is morally inadequate and must not be pauperized by public assistance which makes things too easy. This belief in "minimum charity" is translated into accommodations that are often pared to the bone in room size, equipment, noise insulation, cupboards and floor covering.

Beyond the effect upon standards which this "folk belief" has engendered, it is necessary to ask to what extent it has created a sense of conflict for the tenants between their own feelings that they should be able to help themselves and not require assistance and a situation in which they find themselves the recipients of "charity." Reports of friendship circles in two housing projects, at least, indicate a noticeably low rate of social interaction attributed to a low level of community integration. In reporting the details of one of these projects, the author states:²

The basic physical facilities for good family living would appear to be present. And yet, as a community (as previously defined), Tasker Homes appears weak,

¹ John P. Dean, "The Myths of Housing Reform," American Sociological Review, XIV, No. 2 (April, 1949), p. 287.

² Wallace, p. 78.

dispirited and sometimes sullen. The phrases, 'as soon as I get out of here,' 'most people don't like it here,' 'Tasker is mainly for transients,' 'I'm ashamed to tell my friends I live here,' 'most everyone wants to leave,' suggests a definite lack of morale.

How much the intense dissatisfactions and low state of morale in Tasker Homes is attributable to a stigma of charity attaching to public housing generally and to what extent it may be the result of some individual circumstances of the project is not determined in the study (representing the author's attempt to make a brief evaluation on the basis of a two week field investigation).

A low level of morale and community integration in a project is likely to result in a low level of social contact and neighboring. For the housewife, this may mean an inertia against social or cooperative undertakings which may, in turn, intensify her dissatisfactions.

It is possible to see ways, in terms of physical design, by which the stigma of charity attaching to public housing may be minimized and the sense of community promoted. The institutional quality of the design of public housing is a characteristic which has generally been obvious to most observers. The effect of this institutional appearance may be to symbolize a felt difference between public housing residents and other people by marking the

project as physically different from its surroundings. A housing program which was part of a larger program to improve residential environment and which provided assistance for housing of greater variety, in smaller quantities, and less distinguishable from surrounding residential environment, might prove helpful in minimizing the negative connotations which seem to presently plague public housing. William Wheaton has expressed this same idea:¹

Public housing should include elevator apartments, walk-up and garden apartments, row houses and detached dwellings -- new units and old. There is no good reason why dwelling types of public housing should be distinguished from the supply of private housing in any community.

'Projects' are resented. Public housing should be built as part of any new development.

Other aspects of a low level of community integration in public housing relate to management policy rather than physical environment directly. Income ceilings placed on tenants and a policy of rental rather than ownership, both, characterize public housing as a port in an economic storm from which the residents are expected to graduate as their economic proficiency increases. The result may be to intensify the transient quality of life in public housing through which people with a particular kind of economic

¹William Wheaton, in "The Dreary Deadlock of Public Housing," Architectural Forum, LVI, No. 6 (June, 1957), p. 141.

problem are expected to pass. Just as institutional quality in the design may emphasize the difference between public housing and its surroundings, so these policies help to emphasize it. They seem to imply a residential environment which provides minimal accommodations for economically marginal families on a temporary basis. The opposite of these policies would suggest a broader program designed to increase the livability of residential environment generally where needed. Subsidies might be used to assist families up until the time they are financially able to pay their own way. At this point, it would be possible for the family to assume ownership of the housing unit. Payments could be arranged on a financing plan much the same as a conventional mortgage.¹ Such a policy could help to promote a pattern of continuing stability and livability in residential environment rather than transiency and instability.

For the husband, the same stigma of charity attached to public housing may conflict with feelings that he should be able to provide for his family without assistance. Particularly for the more aspiring residents, such a feeling may resolve itself into a desire to "graduate" from public housing as soon as possible. This desire, in turn, increases the likelihood of a low level of community integration.

¹At the very least, experimentation with one or two projects along these lines might form the basis for some valuable insights as to the benefits of such a policy.

One of the desirable goals of residential environment concerning the father is to encourage him to contribute, by exercising his masculine traits, to family activities and welfare. A study of public housing designed particularly to evaluate the relative advantages of building types¹ has theorized that the father, in an elevator apartment building, is reduced to the role of star boarder. Because there is little room for him to be active in a confined apartment, he is seen as becoming passive and withdrawn from family life, somewhat irritable and requiring "handling" by other family members.

As a remedy, the author suggests that all dwelling units in public housing should have access to a private yard. This solution, he feels, would provide space for more activities, encourage greater participation of the father in home life and increase opportunities for husbands to meet each other as neighbors. While the husband does require opportunities to exercise his masculine abilities, one wonders whether such a direct relationship between happiness and yard availability would exist as to recommend it as a blanket solution for all families in public housing. (Masculine interests do not invariably take the form of lawn care). Some variety of choice of accommodations would permit the husband and family to suit their individual tastes. Certainly, the option to have a private yard, for those who desire it, should be one choice available.

¹Wallace, p. 41.

The present policy in public housing of management undertaking to do all the maintenance automatically limits the sense of responsibility and interest (important for both husband and adolescent), which the individual can develop toward his residential environment. Options, available to the tenant, to undertake the responsibilities of some maintenance (or eventual ownership) would provide a desirable increase in the range of choice of activities and interests with which the father might become concerned.

A final consideration is the adequacy of public housing in meeting the needs of the family as a whole -- needs of routine family care and development as well as the special needs of periods of crisis and transition. These include recreation facilities for the family and individual members, health facilities, community meeting facilities accommodating social and group interest activities, special facilities to assist working housewife mothers. These appear to be activities which public housing, now and then, here and there, has recognized and accommodated. These needs, however, should not be treated as marginal ones which may, on occasion, be neglected or given minimal accommodation. This is particularly true in public housing because minimal space standards within the dwelling unit decree that many such activities must occur outside of the dwelling unit if they are to occur at all.

This consideration has led one author¹ to suggest that public housing should provide as few community facilities as possible in an effort to re-introduce more space and activities into the dwelling unit. The author apparently feels that a reduction in community facilities is the only possible justification for increased space standards within the dwelling unit. He does not reveal the outcome he anticipates for community integration as a result of his suggestion. It seems possible that higher space standards within the dwelling units of public housing could be justified on the basis of psychological needs of the residents alone. If these higher space standards, in turn, would promote greater family activity within the dwelling unit, this would, of course assist desirable processes of family integration and development.

There does not seem to be a danger of developing competing foci of interest between dwelling units and community facilities since many of the activities envisioned as occurring in the community facilities would be family-centered activities -- an orientation which produced quite desirable results in the Peckham Center in England. Community facilities which provide for individual rather than family-centered activities (especially health and counselling services) seem to be necessary complements to changing patterns of family life and should be considered to assist rather than detract from family living.

¹Duplex, p. 205.

The difficulties of the transition period when families are moving into a housing project may be peculiarly intensified in public housing. Anticipating future tenants' needs, as well as circulation and communication patterns are important in easing adjustment to new environment. In public housing, not only may these considerations be neglected, but other influences may actively work against their consideration.

A recent article in the New York Times¹ revealed that the New York City Housing Authority was contemplating the construction of public housing which would contain no retail stores on a cleared area of land three city blocks wide and six city blocks deep which had previously contained 1,600 retail stores. The principal reason given for this decision was a reluctance on the part of the housing officials (Federal, State and City) to use public funds to construct stores that would compete with commercial interests -- in spite of the fact that no subsidy would be involved since the stores would pay rents comparable to competing stores outside the project.

A decision has subsequently been made to include some retail stores in this area. The initial position of the housing authority, however, illustrates a certain disturbing ambivalence of policy. It is this ambivalence which will be the basis for continuing inadequacies in public housing until such time as human needs are given a higher priority of consideration.

¹New York Times, "Most City Housing Projects Lack Stores," June 16, 1957, p. 74.

SUMMARY I

Child

Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting
child-parent
relation-
ship s.

Recreation facilities in which family members may jointly participate.	Provision varies; Levittown, Penna., has swimming pools, smaller developments may have no facilities.	Not usually available.
Counseling service assisting parents with problems, questions in child-rearing.	Not usually available.	Not usually available.
Adequate standards to prevent over-crowding causing frictions, irritableness.	Quality of residential environment generally adequate to achieve this.	Standards prevent severe overcrowding and are an improvement in the standard of living of residents; because standards are on minimal side, positive benefits which further amenity might produce may not be realized.

Assisting
healthy per-
sonality de-
velopment in
the child.

Opportunities to meet and deal with cross-section of people of varied social, economic and occupational backgrounds.	Limited opportunity in packaged communities a source of concern to mental health experts.	Danger of social disorganization spreading among families and children.
Need for play areas which are stimulating to the imagination and which allow for a certain sense of freedom and retreat.	Presents questions whether safe, sanitary environments of packaged communities are not somewhat stifling to children's imagination.	In elevator-apartment buildings both parents and management may take negative, punitive attitude toward childrens' play.

SUMMARY II

Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting healthy personality development in the child.

Outdoor play spaces accessible to parental supervision.	Generally available.	Not always available, particularly in projects with elevator-apartment buildings.
Opportunities for contact with people outside the home - especially where home life is unsatisfactory; social and recreation facilities.	High level of group interaction exists; facilities providing guidance and support may be lacking.	Sometimes available through settlement houses or social director attached to project.
Facilities providing wholesome setting in which teenagers can get together --- unavailability may lead to illicit or cheaply commercial influences.	Adolescents generally scarce in packaged communities; inadequacies as to space standards of dwelling units or community facilities are unlikely to become more apparent when an adolescent population develops.	Sometimes accommodated by project facilities or settlement houses nearby; provision should be automatic rather than sometimes.

Assisting adolescents to have good relationships with peers.

Too great isolation or social discrepancy will make it difficult for adolescent to get needed sense of acceptance from peers.
Recreation facilities varied according to physique and temperament; facilities sufficiently challenging and exciting to capture teenagers' interest.

Generally not a problem.
Consideration generally neglected.

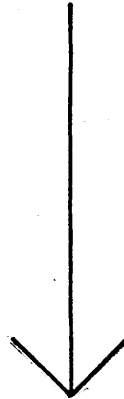
SUMMARY II (Con't.)

Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting adolescents
to have good relation-
ships with peers.

Variety in recrea-
tion and social
facilities; avoid-
ing formality, facil-
itating casual (co-
educational) social
contact.




Likely to occur in settle-
ment houses rather than
formal facilities.

SUMMARY III


Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting adolescent to have good relationships with family.

<p>Home environment of which adolescent can be proud boosts self-esteem and assists relationships with peers and parents.</p>		<p>Possibility of a negative influence if adolescent is sensitive to "charity implications" of public housing.</p>
<p>Space within dwelling unit for adolescent activities to occur independently of adult activities will act as buffer against frictions between these groups.</p>		<p>Consideration generally neglected.</p>

Assisting adolescent to develop sense of responsibility.

<p>Having own room gives sense of responsibility; provides place for doing homework, social withdrawal.</p>		<p>Not always provided.</p>
<p>Community projects in which adolescents can participate.</p>		<p>Consideration generally neglected.</p>
<p>Residential environment which encourages helping around the house, mowing the lawn.</p>		<p>Not possible because of policy of management maintenance.</p>

SUMMARY IV

Housewife -
Mother

Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting
Mother-child
relationships

<p>Dwelling unit designed for efficient housekeeping, particularly to minimize burdens occurring with arrival of babies and raising young children.</p>	<p>Generally adequate</p>	<p>Dwelling unit plans efficient but benefits may be off-set by equipment and space standards which tend to be minimal.</p>
<p>Coop baby sitting and nursery services, by providing occasional relief, can assist her to be better mother to children.</p>	<p>Available on a voluntary basis; assisted if space is provided.</p>	<p>Available on a voluntary basis; assisted if space is provided; already available for working mothers in some projects.</p>
<p>Play spaces in and outside dwelling unit within parental supervision and designed for child play will keep children from getting underfoot, ease the burden of child care and relieve mother's concern for safety of children.</p>	<p>Generally adequate in this respect; interior play space may be inadequate, but not a severe handicap since outdoor play areas are readily accessible.</p>	<p>Not adequately provided; intensified in elevator buildings where there is not enough play space within buildings and supervision outside becomes difficult; interior spaces inadequate for childrens' play.</p>
<p><u>Assisting housewife- mother to avoid feelings of iso-walk, boredom by foot. or unrewardedness</u></p>	<p>A problem in packaged communities where primary attention is paid to vehicular circulation.</p>	<p>Generally not serious problem in public housing; pedestrian circulation may occur with surrounding areas.</p>

SUMMARY V

Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting Housewife - mother to avoid feelings of isolation, boredom or unrewardedness.

<p>Facilities making it possible to undertake activities of family and home care on a cooperative basis with other housewives.</p>	<p>Environment generally conducive to this - although space may not be provided to accommodate these activities.</p>	<p>Possibility for this activity exists but may not occur very much for other reasons -- possible low morale among residents.</p>
<p>Attention to quality of architectural and site design; providing some psychological uplift from visual environment.</p>	<p>Generally not satisfactorily achieved.</p>	<p>With a few exceptions, quality of these items seems low; "institutional character" of public housing frequently remarked.</p>
<p>Lightening burdens of home and family care to enable the housewife-mother to assume part-time work outside the home.</p>	<p>Consideration generally overlooked; also a factor of location with respect to available jobs.</p>	<p>Ruled out if home services (especially child care) are unavailable or only on individual, private basis making them too expensive; alternative to this may be to force family on to relief rolls.</p>
<p>Design of residential environment to provide choice in patterns of friendship and neighboring; safeguard against only one choice which, in some cases, may prove unsatisfactory.</p>	<p>Should be given more attention in future designs; in some cases, today, only alternative may be to move away.</p>	<p>Residents generally have option of having friends and relationships outside the project.</p>

Assisting Housewife - mother to have satisfactory inter personal relationships.

SUMMARY VI

Working Housewife -
Mother

Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting working housewife - mother to maintain close relationships with family members during free time.

Facilities to free the working housewife - mother of home care burdens so that she may spend her remaining free time with family -- many services and facilities such as cooked food, child care, housecleaning.

Consideration generally neglected.

Consideration generally neglected.

Assisting working housewife - mother by reducing economic stress.

If the housewife-mother works during early stages of marriage, likely reason is economic; residential environment which minimizes economic expenditure by providing built-in services, furniture, reducing the initial cash outlay will help relieve economic stress of this period.

Consideration generally neglected.

Consideration generally neglected.

Husband - Father

Assisting husband-father to play an active useful role in family life - to have good relationships with other family members.

Recreation and social facilities conducive to joint family participation.

Sometimes provided.

Not usually available.

Residential environment which provides opportunities for the husband-father to exercise masculine interests in home care, family activities, opportunities for do-it-yourself activities (modifications to residence, home care, gardening).

Environment generally satisfactory; benefits may be offset by extended absence of father from the house.

Problem may be intensified in elevator-apartment buildings, management maintained; husband may find few things to occupy interests.

SUMMARY VII

Husband-Father

Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting husband-father to make a satisfactory transition from mid-life to old age.

Opportunities for meaningful experiences in home and community activities give new depth and meaning to middle years and offset hazards (sense of unfulfilled achievement), preparing the individual for the period of complete economic retirement to follow opportunities for social and civic participation, absorbing leisure-time projects.

Packaged communities conducive to community participation because of sense of equality among community members; new community faces problems which require group efforts.

Consideration generally neglected; low levels of group participation may be result of low morale.

Assisting husband-father to satisfactorily fulfill his role of family provider.

Sense of obligation to provide for family's needs -- including adequate housing; up ward mobility may be blocked because of economic unavailability of housing.

Status attached to packaged communities generally satisfying to this need.

Beneficial effects of making decent housing more economically available may be offset, to some extent, by stigma of charity attached to public housing.

Old Age

Assisting aged to avoid feelings of isolation and neglect.

Housing designed to accommodate elderly and available within their economic means will free them from low-grade physical environment where feelings of isolation and neglect may be intensified and physical hazards may exist.

The elderly are practically nonexistent in packaged communities.

Public housing and housing for the aged are treated as two separate subjects; this separation may help to intensify problems of isolation.

SUMMARY VIII

Old Age (Con't)



Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting aged to avoid feelings of isolation and neglect.

<p>Site selection and residential composition to avoid institutional isolation; housing for aged should not set them apart from community, but rather, make them a part of it - giving contact with friends, relatives, baby sitting.</p>			
<p>Finding ways in which companionship and friendly contact can be facilitated (companionship apartments, centers for social & recreation activities).</p>			

Assisting aged to feel secure in physical environment.

<p>Consideration of safety -- eliminating steps, safe circulation free of vehicular traffic, non-skid bath tubs.</p>			
<p>Providing convenience and amenity for the aged - meeting rooms, cooked food services; opportunities for participation in recreation and creative activities, art, music, shopwork.</p>			

SUMMARY IX

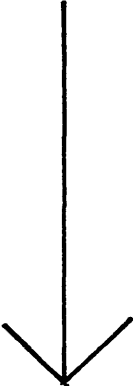
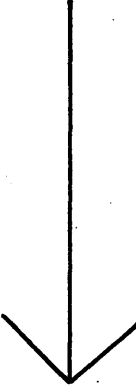
Old Age (con't.)

Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting aged to live declining years in normal fashion suitable to particular needs; avoiding disruption of living habits.

stability assisting families to achieve in spite of growing mobility

<p>Variety in housing accommodations for the aged recognizing the fact that needs will vary according to family situation, personal feelings; some couples may desire small, detached residence, continuing residence in old neighborhood or companionship of group living; variety in kinds of facilities will best meet needs of aged.</p>		
<p>Minimizing unnecessary mobility which may occur because families who desire more space or prestige move even though the husband is not changing jobs; might be helped by greater variety of price and size in a single development.</p>	<p>Generally a problem; suggests designs which accommodate the life cycle of the family.</p>	<p>Transiency intensified because of income limitations causing higher turnover of residents and loss of desirable elements of leadership.</p>
<p>Facilitating adjustment of the people who move into new residential environment; attention to anticipated circulation and communication patterns; anticipating in design stage the needs of residents after housing is completed and occupied.</p>	<p>generally transition and adjustment phase of residency in packaged communities has been satisfactory -- explanation seems to be chiefly in terms of high morale of residents</p>	<p>consideration generally overlooked</p>

SUMMARY X

Crisis and Transition (Cont'd)

Packaged Communities

Public Housing

Assisting Families to Achieve stability in spite of growing mobility

<p>accommodating transients through more phases of family life would assist stability since transient families seem to feel closest identity with other transient families</p>	<p>suggestion which seems desirable and feasible</p>	<p>accommodation of greater range of family income would help to minimize stigma of charity which otherwise seems to attach to public housing residents</p>
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Assisting families to meet crises in more adequate fashion.

<p>accommodating normal caretakers of the community - religious leaders, visiting nurses, policemen, teachers, social workers -- who may assist families in meeting crises or in getting further help</p>	<p>can be a serious problem unless care is exercised; danger is that their numbers will be deficient or absent - may result in over-burdening the resources available</p>	<p>not normally accommodated within a public housing project, may be available in nearby areas if careful site selection has occurred</p>
<p>facilities for family care and special demands arising from trouble within the family; clinic facilities for health and counseling; clinic facilities to assist child-birth and child care; accommodations for social work, child welfare.</p>	<p>although not specifically provided, provision of community meeting space makes their inclusion possible</p>	<p>provision generally spotty</p>

Conclusion

As the result of a fairly extensive survey of literature representing a number of disciplines and dealing with various aspects of environment and mental health and their inter-relationship, it is necessary to acknowledge, from the outset, that precise knowledge as to the effects of environment (physical or other) on mental health does not exist.¹ The studies which have come closest to demonstrating that a relationship probably does exist are ecological studies which have recorded the distribution of particular kinds of mental illness in an urban population.² These studies show that certain kinds of mental illness are predominant in certain areas of the city. None of them, however, have succeeded in demonstrating conclusively a direct relationship between mental illness and the environment in which it was found. If opinion could be counted as conclusive evidence, there would seem to be overwhelming evidence that a relationship does exist.

Since this investigation has been arbitrarily limited to a program of library research dealing with work which others have done, it would be foolish to claim to have proved a relationship between residential environment and mental health. Rather, an

¹Allen M. Pond, "The Influence of Housing on Health," Marriage and Family Living, XIX, No. 2 (May, 1957), p. 155. Pond, a staff member of the U.S. Public Health Service, says: "Indeed, the precise effect of housing, per se, on mental health has not been demonstrated."

²R.E.L. Faris and H.W. Dunham, Mental Disorder in Urban Areas, Chicago, 1939.

attempt has been made to evolve a rudimentary method by which to evaluate residential environment. Consideration has been given to the individual's basic psychological needs and the need for satisfaction in terms of family relationships. Both of these are generally considered important for the promotion of mental health. This thesis has attempted to indicate ways in which residential environment may be influential in helping to satisfy these needs. An attempt has been made to use imaginative thinking to suggest ways in which changes or improvements in residential environment might achieve greater satisfaction of these needs. A further effort has been to delineate the basic services necessary to assist family living based, primarily, on the experience and studies of sociologists, social workers and others dealing with the family.

In addition to serving as a checklist of ideas, suggestions, and standards of family service for those designing residential environment, this approach may provide a logical outline of thinking as to the relationships between mental health and residential environment which may be assumed to exist (a process of speculative background thinking which might precede a more rigorous testing of any or all of its parts). Use of a system based on the dynamics of individual role fulfillment and family living has provided a fresh approach on some points such as periods of transition, importance of the involuntary period in the aging process, housewives' dissatisfactions.

While hesitating to label anything as "conclusion," there are certain recurring principles underlying many of the points made in this thesis and it is these principles, as well as the specific suggestions which they prompt, which I would choose to emphasize.

These are:

1) A point deserving underlined emphasis and basic to many of the ideas developed in this thesis is that increasing mobility and nucleation in family life causes a certain amount of isolation within the family as well as greater dependence on sources outside the family for services and assistance. Some functions which might previously have been handled within the relationships of the extended family must now be accommodated within the community. This point shows up clearly in packaged communities where the population is made up largely of young married couples having and raising children. Problems associated with the early stages of marriage (adjustment to marriage, childbirth, problems of child rearing) are abundant and create an increased demand for facilities which can assist the family in meeting these problems. These facilities should be provided as a matter of course in community planning. Greater availability of such facilities, in turn, might facilitate their more widespread acceptance and use.

Because fewer persons are available within the family than was the case in extended family relationships, opportunities for social contact outside of the home are needed. Besides requiring facilities for assisting with problems of family living, the housewife should have opportunities for

social activities and diversions with others in the community. The same need for contacts outside the home exists also for children, and is especially important in cases where the child's home life may be unsatisfactory.

2) Another basic consideration has been for the human dimensions of planning and design.¹ By making a close-up examination of family members in their middle-class setting and by paying attention to psychological needs, it has been possible to evolve criteria which may be helpful in designing residential environment. The advantage of this kind of approach is that it emphasizes the dynamics of individual and family requirements rather than considering categories of static needs. Consideration of the psychological needs of children, for instance, indicates the importance of informal play areas as well as the more formal play areas normally provided. Examination of the dynamics of the aging process and the feelings which go with it shows the advantage to be gained from mixing their accommodations in with the rest of the community; the importance of assisting adjustment to middle age by providing facilities inviting to avocational interests. In this way, the problems peculiar to various family members have been emphasized. Inasmuch as this approach has concentrated on the needs of individual human beings, it may prove helpful in better meeting these needs.

¹Term borrowed from title of course given by Lawrence K. Frank for city planning and architectural students at M.I.T.

3) A need for variety and some element of choice for the individual.¹ Recognizing that there is a tremendous range of variation among individuals, residential environment must be sufficiently varied so as to allow the individual a range of choices and actions appropriate to his individual needs. This thesis has tried to avoid narrowing its recommendations into a single solution because of the belief that any one solution, no matter how carefully constructed, will not be universally appropriate. This idea underlies examination of the varied housing preferences of the elderly, suggestions of ways, in terms of site design, of providing alternatives in patterns of social interaction, the desirability of a variety of building types over exclusive use of a single building type.

At the opposite extreme, there is a danger in completely ambiguous situations that the individual will be confused and sense a lack of direction. The optimum situation would appear to be one which provides a balance of choices for the individual (somewhere between these two poles) with sufficient latitude to accommodate the different needs of different individuals.

¹Idea has been expressed in mental health terms by Stevenson p. 210.

Appendix A: The Mental Health Movement

The two dominant goals of the mental health movement may be characterized as follows: first, there is an attempt at prevention of mental disorder by minimizing forces thought to be conducive to it. This idea has been expressed as follows:¹

Since certain apparently contributory factors recur in the histories of the mentally ill, it is concluded that the elimination of these factors will prevent disorder ... we are surely justified in acting on the principle that prevention serves society better than restoration and perhaps carries with it a measure of positive mental health. Both humanity and the need to advance our knowledge obligate us to apply uncertain knowledge. This is presumptive prevention.

Secondly, there is an attempt to foster a positive state of well-being. This concept has been stated by Lawrence K. Frank as follows:²

... to translate knowledge of the innumerable ways in which human functioning can be disturbed over into a constructive program for redirecting the many aspects of human living, city planning, housing, nutrition, recreation, working conditions, and the like, not only to prevent disease, important as that is, but to foster vitality and well-being throughout the population.

In both of these efforts, consideration must be given to a variety of items considered to have some influence on personality.

¹Stevenson, p. 193.

²Lawrence K. Frank, "Social Order and Psychiatry," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XI, No. 4 (October, 1941), p. 623.

These include: genetic inheritance, early childhood experiences (particularly in the family), cultural values, social and physical environment, home surroundings, neighborhood, church, education, work situations.¹ Consideration becomes further complicated because these influences operate in a cumulative, multiple way with the effect of any one item undetermined. Some are obviously more accessible to control than others. The same influences will affect different people differently. Much of the work which is currently being done is an attempt to deal with these forces in such a way as to produce large scale (as opposed to individual) mental health results. This work, although of an exploratory nature, would seem to hold great promise for the future.

The concept of prevention may be likened to the Public Health approach to the prevention of epidemics of communicable diseases. Here, there is an attempt to check all of the possible sources of contamination thought to contribute to the spread of the disease. In referring to this process, Stevenson uses the term presumptive prevention to distinguish it from the absolute prevention of a few mental disorders for which the exact physiological cause is known. Recent preventive efforts² are directed toward methods of finding and dealing with mental disorder where it is latent or in its

¹Stevenson, p. 209.

²Caplan, p. 156.

formative stages, with emphasis on techniques for anticipating situations of mental health hazard. A great deal of effort has been centered on preventive child psychiatry. It has been an interesting prospect to me in visiting the Wellesley Human Relations Service and the Cambridge Guidance Clinic to consider that the pre-school age children who could be observed arriving with one or both parents for a session of "play" with a psychotherapist might, in this way, be spared from future impairment of mental health.

The second aspect of the concept deals with the ways of fostering a positive state of well-being among people. The emphasis here is away from efforts designed to help people stay out of bed, pass as normal or be productive and, rather, to achieve a level of vitality in living which is creative and satisfying. One of the difficulties which this concept has presented, so far at least, is in establishing objective criteria by which a positive state might be quantified so that testing and research procedures might be able to operate with the concept.

There seems to be a growing awareness, on the part of personnel involved in mental health work that efforts aimed at promoting mental health will have to extend themselves beyond the consulting clinic and become concerned with agents and forces in the community at large. One such force, of course, is city planning. In addressing

a meeting of A.S.P.O. in Montreal, Dr. Leonard Duhl¹ suggested that those engaged in efforts to promote mental health must begin to redirect at least some of their attention away from the individual patient and consider the mental health problem from the community point of view; whereas city planners, whose customary view is community-wide, need to reconsider the community in terms of the individuals and families who go to make it up. This thesis attempts to take a step in the latter direction.

¹Duhl, p. 14.

Appendix B: The American Middle Class and its Values¹

The American middle class is the dominant and growing class in the United States today. Upper class emphasis on lineage and lower class emphasis on extended family relationships with contemporary aunts, uncles and cousins seem to be gradually declining. The era in which three generations lived under one roof is passing. Middle class families are tending to be small and detached from relatives. Typically, they consist of mother, father and one to three off-spring. With increasing urbanization, industrialization and technological advance, the smaller families have become freer in moving around in response to social and economic opportunity. These trends have accelerated the change in patterns of family life with consequent shifts in values and in the ways in which family members relate to each other.

Among middle class values, as outlined by Drs. Spiegel and Kluckhohn, there are three which underlie some of the points of discussion in this thesis. They are: orientation toward the future, emphasis on individuality and emphasis on doing and achieving.

Orientation toward the future, as a value, implies that the future is more important than either the past or present. Compared

¹This section is based on a discussion of the topic with Dr. John Spiegel, Harvard School of Social Relations, as well as reports of research studies he is doing in conjunction with Dr. Florence Kluckhohn and others on the mental health of American middle class families.

with some European countries, our sense of tradition is relatively weak; we do not revere the ways of the past as good simply because they are the ways of the past. On the contrary, we tend to place great emphasis on change and progress. Much attention is paid to "this year's model," "the latest thinking." Because of this value, we tend to pay attention to individuals in society whose future prospects seem brightest. Much attention and interest is centered on grooming the child for a future career. Grandparents, on the other hand, for whom the future is dimming, sometimes feel themselves the objects of neglect. This value underlies observations which were made concerning the elderly.

Belief in individuality emphasizes the freedom of the individual to advance himself above any sense of obligation he might feel to a larger segment of society. It underlies the high degree of mobility of the American family and the fractionation of family relationships, with the younger generation seeking freedom from situations in which the older generation interferes. This value helps to condition attitudes toward the elderly. It also affects the housewife since, on the one hand, she is conditioned to believe in her own importance as an individual and, on the other, she is expected to subordinate her own interests to those of other family members. This discrepancy may form the basis for a certain amount of conflict and dissatisfaction. This same value indirectly

affects children since in nuclear, mobile families they may tend to be more cut off from people outside the family at the same time that there are fewer persons available for contact within the family.

A final value considered places emphasis on doing and achieving. Implicit in this value is the sense of fair competition with measurable objectives of success and reward achievable by all those who are resourceful and diligent. This value gives rise to belief in opportunity, hard work and finding ways of "doing something." There is, admittedly, a certain element of ambiguity about this value created by present emphasis on conformity and the search for security. These latter values have been attached particularly to the "organization man" and yet there still seems to be a large element of achievement motivation in the organization man's career. The importance of a sense of achievement affects the husband's role as family provider. Conflict may arise when he is thwarted in fulfilling this role satisfactorily.

This thumb nail sketch of the American middle class is intended simply to indicate the background for some of the points of discussion in this thesis. It gives only an indication of a detailed and interesting subject.

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