

SOCIAL IDENTITY IN HIGH-DENSITY HOUSING

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"For to Democracy, the leveler, the unyielding principle of the average, surely join'd another principle, equally unyielding, closely tracking the first, indispensable to it, opposite (as the sexes are opposite), and whose existence, confronting and ever modifying the other, often clashing, paradoxical, yet neither of highest avail with-out the other, plainly supplies to these grand cosmic politics of ours, and to the launch'd forth mortal dangers of republicanism, today, or any day, the counterpart and offset whereby nature restrains the deadly original relentless mess of all her first class laws. This second principle is individuality, the pride and centripetal isolation of human being in himself--identity--personalism. Whatever the name, its acceptance and thorough infusions through the organizations of political commonality now shooting aurora-like about the world, are of utmost importance, as the principle itself is needed for very life's sake. It forms, in a sort, or is to form, the compensating balance-wheel of the successful working machinery of aggregate America." (51)

Walt Whitman

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INTRODUCTION

Benjamin Thompson, in the January 1966 issue of Architectural Record, states that: "There is no room in Architectural Schools for make believe problems. Problems that have no budget and no client are unrealistic and tend to give young students an unrealistic view of Architecture and its consequences on the individual person." Mr. Thompson proposes, "that live problems are those that grow from the real, too-hot-to-handle, difficult, messy, unsolved conditions around us--problems such that the student can feel their acute need to be solved." (39)

It has been stated that in the next 40 years we must rebuilt the entire urban United States. This rebuilding will be the major role that the architect planner will be called on to play. In the last few years, we can see architects preparing for this role, but has this preparation been enough? It is my belief that all allied professions must learn to rely and depend on knowledge and abilities of the other planning professions. This calls for teamwork.

The architect must realize and understand the social, economical, social-petal, and physical aspects of designing and planning housing for individuals and groups. We must be prepared to leave aside our personal taste for pure form and begin to design housing for the masses that will provide a sense of belonging, identity and individuality to each person.

The fortress towns of Medieval times, the town houses of the London squares, and the mission towns of the old West were all expressions of their time, place and cultures. I believe these were all expressions of architecture that deserve praise for also somewhat solving social problems. I raise one question. Is suburbia a reflection of our modern times? Is urban renewal an accommodation of the needs of our changing

cities? I think not. Sure they are built with modern materials and obey the laws set down by the automobile and they also reflect somewhat the television culture of the middle class, but do they provide for the individual and his need for identity? No!

Materials and methods change. Cultures change, architecture changes; but the searching of the individual for his identity doesn't change. The individual and the recognition of his identity must be the major design criteria in housing.

It is my belief that consideration concerning housing begins with understanding the individual, his needs and desires. What would happen if a city were based on the recognition of the individual at all social levels. I believe that the results would be timeless: changes being made only in economic, social patterns, materials, etc.

I propose housing (cities) that relate to the belonging of the individual with family, social groups, community and clubs or other social and economic grouping. Let me illustrate: suppose the father was the head of a family of five, his basic identity would be with that of the family. He also would be associated with his working group, his club, his church, his political party and other such groups.

I propose to provide identifiable places not only for this one person and the groups that he is associated with, but also for all other individuals and groups that he happens to work with in the city. In other words I am searching for a better means (complexity) to let the individual survive and grow within a culture where the main need is that of recognition. Of course, it's not that easy. Many other factors must enter into and direct any design proposal.

The planning of new communities, whether whole towns, housing projects, or redeveloping slum areas requires consideration of three variables:

- (1) Situation (the problems involved and the considerations in solving the problem)
- (2) The characteristics of the "materials" (meaning not only the asphalt, cinder block, that go into the developing, but also the characteristics of the people who are, after all the chief subject matter of the plan)
- (3) The goals (defined in terms of the desired environmental condition at a predicted instant)

This is the structural outline of which this thesis is based on.

SITUATION

The problems involved and considerations in solving the problems.

Urbanity and the Individual

Cities are a relatively new and modern invention of man. They emerged after a long struggle with the forces of nature on which man depends and of which he is a part. Cities have changed as society's organization and concepts have been modified. Once cities were a place for exchange for agricultural goods, a clustered island of barter for farmers. Then it became, as well, a place for the production and sale of manufactured goods. Finally, it has become a place where service, the administration of man's affairs, and the housing of great masses are equally as important as the manufacture and distribution of goods. (4)

These organized societies, in which the majority of the population live, consists of a multitude of individuals, each of whom has an equal obligation to keep the community in order. The city of today should be communities of individuals who want to feel that they are responsible for their existence. (14) These individuals should be creative with their environment; an environment that is characterized by responsibility, warmth, and security.

A Design Approach

The direction that I propose to concentrate on, is the sociological consideration in the design and planning of urban high density housing. It is my belief that an atmosphere of cohesiveness in which the individual can express his sense of belonging is important in development of individual competence, social maturity and intelligence. Of course, this statement takes in the whole of design--it is really what design

should be. To make it possible to make any clear-cut decisions, I had to limit my scope to one path of the complex design process.

The design consideration of which I am trying to expand, is based on the recognition of the identity and the personality of the individual person on the various levels of social and cultural interaction, and what factors are important and interrelated to these personality forms as to keeping and building upon the recognition of the individual to his surroundings. In other words, the design of mass housing on the basis of maximum social interaction on the many levels of urban domain. These domains and realms will be fully explained in the next part of this thesis.

Of course many other factors must enter into the design of housing. But lack of time has prevented any investigation into the remaining factors.

.DOMAINS OF URBANITY

Domains of Social Urbanity

Individual

There seems to be a wealth of information about people as individuals. Unfortunately, people never exist in general. They have to be approached as members of social groups and must be seen within a social setting. This fact is a source of strength to the planner, because the most striking truth about individuals' needs is that individuals differ. (27)

One cannot redesign a city without knowing the people who will live in it and there is no better way of determining the characteristics of a population than the specification of social strata within it. But up until now only a few characteristics of the individual have been recognized: age, sex, marital status, family status, income, citizenship, race (45) have been a few.

Family

A family may consist of parents and children, and its fragile stability may rest on the simple personal choice of a man and a woman to stay together. Each family may see itself as a small independent unit, set apart and living in privacy behind closed doors. Or a sense of family may permeate a whole community, all of whose members count themselves kin. Or through a far scattered kindred the sense of family may extend throughout a country, so that a man can travel hundreds or thousands of miles, always with the expectation of arriving at a home and finding people to whom he feels related. (53)

The family is the base of all social organizations and alignments within a community. In the process of growing up, the child identifies

himself with the family first and then uses this as a jumping board to the outside world.

Private Groups - Informal

An informal private group is one where everybody usually knows each other and is usually formed on an informal basis. These people can get together on the spur of the moment or can be called on a formal invitation basis. A few of the activities that informal private groups may be involved in are: socializing (friendship gatherings), active sports, spectating (attending and watching), card-playing, and pursuing group hobbies to name only a few. (21) Children's group play is usually under this group if it is not formally supervised.

This group is an important element in the structure of any community and must influence any design proposed for housing. But also this is the domain that varies so much between reserved and sociable people, between different classes and between different races and cultures.

Private Groups - Formal

The formal private groups are usually organizations that are formed for purely social reasons. They are called most of the time on a formal basis with usually a set membership. Membership in one of these organizations usually requires fees and the membership may be restricted to race and creed. A few examples of these private organizations are: clubs, lodges, professional organizations, workers organizations, cultural and recreational organizations. The organizations in this category are entirely or almost entirely oriented toward benefiting the individual and are usually not oriented to any public service.

Public Groups - Informal

These groups are not really groups but informal gatherings and accidental meetings of people in public places without any formal notice. This is one of the most important areas that a designer must physically solve because these informal meetings are an important area of any society. A person may meet purely by accident with other people on a common meeting ground and form a close relationship. Examples of this type of informal group are: meeting somebody while shopping, running into old friends while attending a play or concert, meeting someone by the mailbox or at any public place.

These chance meetings are an everyday occurrence in any good designed social environment. These informal groupings are an important factor in fighting the monotonous routine of everyday life, that we all fall into sometime or another, by adding an air of excitement and suspense.

Public Groups - Formal

These are the groups that are formed for the performance of community service. Or for the betterment of society as a whole. Of course these organizations are very similar to formal private groups except that they are open to the public or they are formed in the public's interest. Some of these groups are: government and welfare organizations, and churches and church sub-groups. (21)

These organizations usually have a great deal to do with the organization of any community and lend a helping hand into the running and operation of the community after it has been organized.

Urban - Semi-public

This domain isn't a group of people in the formal sense but really the producer and consumer controls that keep the community running. Of course the semi-private services, distribution, and sale of public items and goods would also fall into this category. This would be the most formal of all social levels in that the people are forced together with only one thought, that of producing labor and goods. Examples of these urban semi-public organizations are: shops, factories, offices and stores. (18)

Urban - Public

These are the governmental and institutional controls that form and run the community and city. These organizations are usually groups of people that usually have the same goals and ideas but who like the urban semi-public are working groups and are formed on a formal basis.

Summary

The above groups and organizations form a complex realm of hierarchies that are impossible to comprehend fully unless they are broken down into simple combinations and relationships. (See Diagram 1.) A designer cannot be expected to fully understand the behavior of each group or the ways that each group works. Yet, this must be done in designing or creating any community. This in itself points towards a new direction in the design process.

Each individual must identify himself in a positive way with many of these groups to be a valuable asset to himself and his community. It is with this identification and the ways to enforce it architecturally, that I am concerned with in this thesis.

Domains of Formal-Physical-Structural Organization

Individual

This is the physical domain that the individual may withdraw to from society. Privacy plays an important role in each individual's life. A break with society is important to maintain an equal balance of identification with the community and with himself. This inner sanctum may be a private study, or bedroom, or any place that a person can be alone without any disturbances. (10)

Family

The family is the basic formal unit of the community. The spaces within the family controlled domain are devoted to communal family activities such as eating, entertainment, hygiene, and maintenances. The family is the identifiable unit of every individual no matter where he is and no matter what he is associated with. Of course the family unit is an important part in any design proposal for housing, but due to time this thesis will treat the family as just a cog in a greater domain, the community. (10)

Neighborhood

A properly-functioning neighborhood constitutes a vital link between the individual and the community. (16) A neighborhood should communicate among neighbors the appropriate attitudes, values, motives, and patterns of participation. Therefore, if something like the above happens, the neighborhood should become the vital building block of the community molecule. If it does not happen, if the neighborhood loses its power to influence the attitudes and behavior of their residents, the community molecule lacks cohesive force and tends to drift apart. (16)

Community

Community is a vague concept, and difficult to use either in research or planning, since it describes a quantitative aspect of the cohesion of a group. In some cases we can apply the label quite readily, as, for example, to villages in which the population is closely knit together by local and kinship ties. (24) But what about a city, can a person jump from the identity of the neighborhood unit to identification of a city? Most sociologists and psychologists say no! (24, 16, 27) The community acts much as the neighborhood does, except on a larger and more complex basis. It constitutes the vital link between the neighborhood and the city.

City

The city is the melting pot for ideas, ambitions and social aims. It is a complex unit of industrialization, communication, housing and people. It is a combination of neighborhoods, communities and districts each of which is an easier element of identification by an individual. The function of the city was not much better in past times than it is now. As a physical element, it is losing all the past charm and becoming a hogpodge of automobiles, steel and glass.

Yet the city is important socially, as an element that can support many organizations and activities that the communities and neighborhoods can't and never will be able to support. The city offers a greater variety of goods, activities, and people that make the city worthwhile and important.

State

The state is more important as a political element than as a social element. Yet, the state promotes many activities and organizations that people can join that the city cannot. The state also provides an area of identification for a person, that lies in between the city and the country. This area of identification is important for the reasons of public and institutional advancement.

Country

As the mass mediums of television and radio become bigger and better, the country becomes more and more important as a social element. In the past, the country has been just the overriding government in Washington that takes taxes once a year and asks for young men to serve in its armies. But people today are coming to regard themselves primarily as Americans, that is as members of the "great society," and only secondarily as members of their local community. (17) One of the social factors in back of this emergence of the country as an important link in the identification cycle, is the ease of transportation. The younger members of society come in contact with many other young Americans through attendance at colleges, universities and travels. Usually by the age of 25, a young adult has more close friends outside of his home city than he does within his birthplace.

World

As the space age begins, so does the age of world identification. The world is the largest link in the chain of social and physical domains. The most important one idea of world union, is the fact that the world is made up of people of different races, creeds, and cultures, but they all wish for one basic thing, recognition as human beings.

Summary

The hierarchies of the physical domain can be seen as a linear relationship if all individuals are alike and have the same backgrounds. (Diagram 2) But this is not true, because individuals do differ and do not have the same social background or the same physical (in terms of place) makeup. Therefore the true relationships of the individual with his physical domain forms a semi-lattice. (2) (Diagram 3)

The larger the physical domain....the more group interactions take place. (See Diagram 2.) As the physical domains get larger in physical size and numbers, the individual identity with them become less and less. This is true because an individual is less associated with, and less active in, the higher domains because of transportation, communications and the lack of personal recognition that he gains in the lower domains. (See Diagram 3 for the hierarchy of identity with these physical domains.)

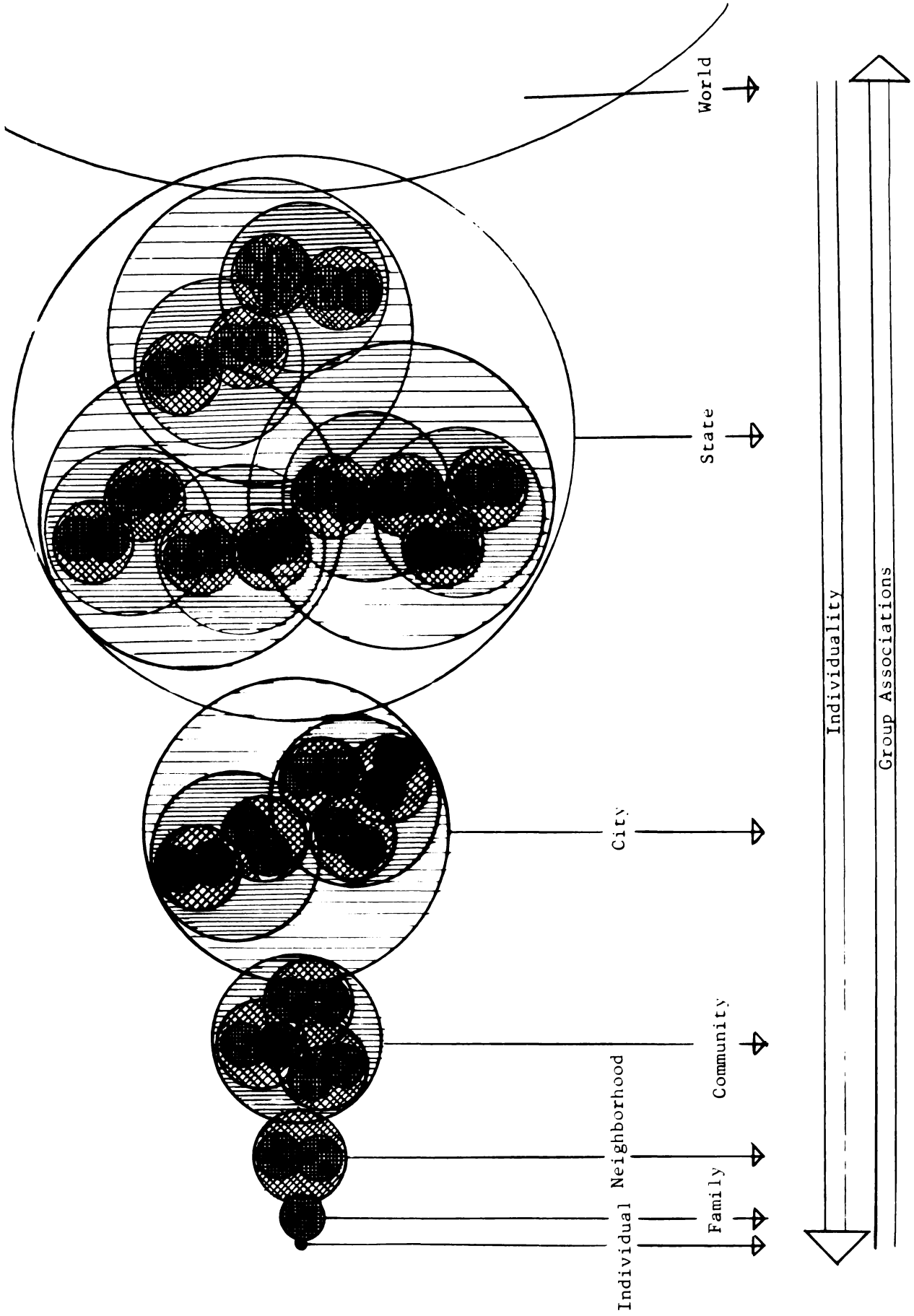


Diagram 2. The linear relationships of the physical domains of group associations

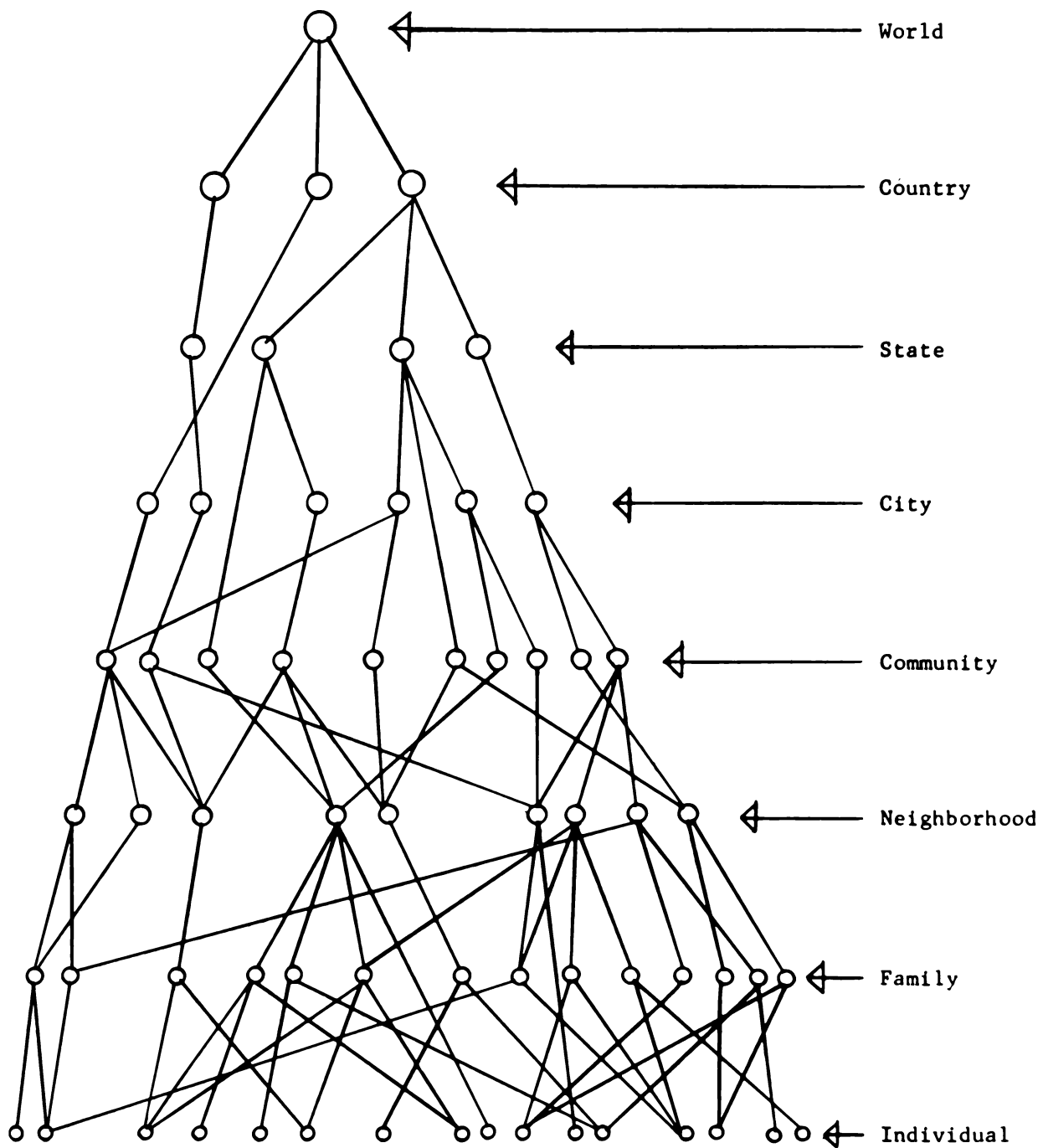


Diagram 3. The hierarchy of identity with the physical domain - semi-lattice (2)

SOCIAL IDENTITY IN HIGH DENSITY LIVING

Identification within the Social Structure

Identification is the process that a person goes through when he associates himself with another person, a group, or a physical object. Since this paper deals with the social process of identification with his community, I will spend little time with the process of identity with another person or with the identity related to physical objects.

In the process of identification, there are two goals that are important in understanding the motivation that a person has in forming associations. The first goal is the feeling of power and mastery over his environment. (18) The second is the feeling for love and affection. (18) Each person is pushed into any group action for the advancement and fulfilling of those self goals. The variables by which we can measure the attainment of these goals is twofold. First, by the individual differences in which the content of the behaviors, motives and attitudes are acquired; second, by the difference of effect of various models used during the process. (18)

Each person gains a certain amount of identification through the perception of human beings. The two methods of perceiving this identity are through sex identity and modeling. Sex identity is gaining possession of characteristics that are typical of the member of a particular sex in a culture. (18) An example of this would be a girl who gains the enjoyment of sewing at an early age instead of playing basketball. Modeling oneself after another person, or a group, is the attempt to think, feel, and act as another or a group, thinks, feels, and acts. (18) A classic example of this type of identification is keeping up with what your neighbor has and usually trying to top him.

The reasons for people identifying themselves with groups are the needs of the individual and the important properties that a group offers to the individual. (18) Usually the person associates himself with a group for the feeling of affiliation, recognition, security, and other things which can be mediated by groups. Examples of this type of identification are joining country clubs, lodges and recreation organizations. The other important reason for identifying with an organization are the properties of the group such as its goals, programs, size, type, and the position in the community of these certain organizations. Examples of these are joining church groups, professional organizations, and public service groups.

Personality and Participation

What part do personality characteristics play in community participation? The answer is both elusive and complex says Doctor Urie Bronfenbrenner. In a statement made by Doctor Bronfenbrenner, he explains that "personality factors clearly do play a part in civic activity, but they vary from individual to individual and may be as much the product as the producer of the behavior to which they relate." (7)

In sociological studies it has been found that a few personality traits are important in community participation. The first of these traits is an individual's trust in people. (7) The belief that helping needy people in times of distress while believing that people would also help you in a similar position, is one example of trusting in people. Nonconservatism, both static and retrogressive are other characteristics. (7) This trait is important in community participation in that the individual will tend to look ahead and try to change bad characteristics that the community has obtained. An optimistic attitude toward life in

general and towards the growth of the community is also important in community participation. (7) If a person believes that whatever he is doing in a community is important and is advancing the community, he will be able to serve the community much better. The ability to express one's thoughts and opinions is another personality trait that is important to group participation. (7) If a person is able to get up and express his ideas and beliefs and believes his ideas are heard and respected, he feels a closer bond with that group. Being able to make up your own mind without consciously conforming to any set group standard is an equally important characteristic to group cohesion. (7) Community participation varies also with mental ability (of course this is true usually of people, the same age, sex, education and place of residence which are true of most of the above things), but is especially true of leaders of community life.

It is a proven fact (18) that these characteristics can be improved greatly by the physical environment. An environment which allows these traits to grow and expand is one that allows the individual a maximum amount of flexibility, cohesiveness, freedom and privacy.

Organizational Growth and Stratification Structure

It is a sociological maxim that the greater the heterogeneity of a community, the more probable an ensuing stratification. (19) This stratification may occur on many levels, interpersonal, community, neighborhood, and even at the city level. This simply means that people of different races, background, environments and economical state tend to associate into different classes, usually on how great of an extent the differences occur. But this stratification may also be affected by a micro-stratification in which people who reside closest to each other in

terms of distance, physical orientation and accessibility may tend to become friends and form closely knit social units without regard to the social background forces that effect community stratification. (19)

This stratification is greatly intensified the more organized the community, because usually in an organized community, the tendency of the residents to want homogeneity is greater. (19) It seems like a big cause of this growth stratification comes from community organizations. The religious, ethnic, political, occupations, fraternal and educational groups have usually already sorted themselves out socially and culturally and want the community to be more in their image.

What can planners and architects do about this social stratification or should they do anything at all? If the architect tries to equalize architectural advantages, the project will seem dull and monotonous. And if he is introducing planned variety he is likely to provide a base to build prestige distinction. So what can he do? Provide a social element for each class? Provide one social element that is divided into unequal social groups? (See Diagram 4.)

Table 1 attempts to depict in idealized form the concurring stages of organizational and stratification development in the planned community. As we can see, there is a constant interaction and change in relations among and between the two sets of stratification structures:

(a) neighborhoods, special interest, project-wide and broader community hierarchies, and (b) class, status, and power hierarchies. (19)

Sources of Cleavages between Lower and Middle Status Groups

Since it is more than likely this design "area" will be made up primarily of lower and middle class urban families, I shall concern myself with the relations between these groups.

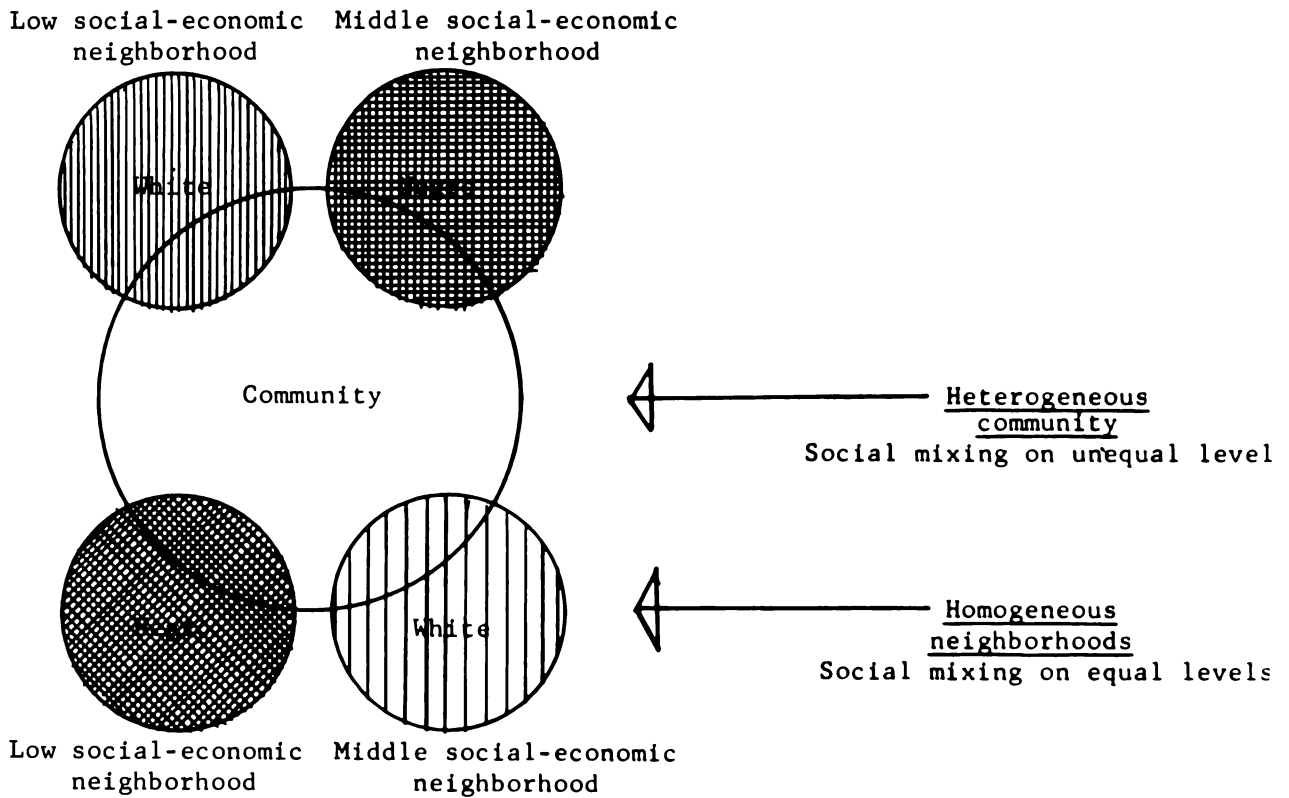


Diagram 4. Arrangements of the homogeneous neighborhoods with the heterogeneous community

Table 1. Concurrent development of social organization and stratification structures in the planned housing community^a

Organizational development	Stratification development
1. Original settlers have common problems and get acquainted.	1. Esprit de corps develops. Stratification present.
2. Exploratory interaction on neighborhood level. Status information about neighbors acquired.	2. Status information (occupation, income, ethnic origin, etc.) locates people in societal stratification structure.
3. Rise of an informal "sociometric" organization. New residents enter project. Steps (1) and (2) repeated.	3. Information in (2) above affects rise of cliques, friendships, "stars," cleavages, and influentials. <u>Slow rise of inter-personal" class, status, and power structures.</u>
4. Acquaintances and contacts spread beyond neighborhood level, due to traffic patterns, common needs, or rise of crises.	4. Spread of friendships, cliques, stars, cleavages, influentials into other neighborhoods. Some neighborhoods. Ties dropped. Spread of interpersonal hierarchies.
5. Neighborhood and/or block special interests and organizations develop to meet specific housing or other needs. Perhaps mushrooming of associations.	5. Some stars, influentials, or self-appointed gain informal or formal power (office) or widespread status. Rise of disjunctive status and power hierarchies based on special interests and/or on neighborhood ties.
6. Special interest organization die, others rise, some are merged, Cross-neighborhood, nonspecific, informal grouping arise.	6. Circulations of officers and elites. Multiple participation of some gives them project-wide notoriety or recognition. Some merging of special-interest, disjunctive stratification structures.
7. Project-wide, nonspecific interest organization formed; or special interest associations spread their influence and power.	7. Formal project-wide power hierarchy appears, which may later represent the status structure. Usually composed of special-interest parties trying to seize project-wide organizations.

Table 1. (continued)

Organizational development	Stratification development
8. Integration of local organization in the wider community. City organizations invade.	8. Project stratification hierarchies partially taken over by those of the City.

^aTaken from "Stratification in Low and Middle Class Income Housing Areas," by William Ferm. (19)

The middle class groups tend to organize formal associations in the community, join them, support them and fashion them in their own image. They tend to have more contacts with the local government and try to influence it to provide educational equipment for their children. They will complain of lack of privacy if houses are not physically separated from lower-status groups. They will try to keep their children close to home and away from children of lower-status groups. They will object if lawn, property, furniture, and toys are over used by neighbors. They will not have informal association with lower-social-status groups. (19, 33)

Lower-status groups, on the other hand will regard the organizations in the community as foreign to them. They will approach authority with the suspicion of an ordinary landlord (dates back to the serfs). They will think of the middle-status group as "stuffy" and "snooty." Their children will be allowed to run about freely both inside and outside the home. They will likely have kin and friends about and be considered noisy by neighbors. They will have less regard for appearance of their homes unless trained to do so. (19, 33)

As stated before the degree of heterogeneity of a population sets limits to the amount of stratification which is likely to develop. However, irrespective of the value of heterogeneity, some stratification will inevitably develop, because differences of any character traits is a sufficient cause for its appearance. (33) The variability always found among people means that some degree of stratification will arise wherever there is some degree of social organization. (19)

However, the hope of reducing tension, by planning a community of balanced or mixed social composition is based on false reasoning. In

general, the greater the social homogeneity the greater the probability of achieving social solidarity, cohesion, and group effectiveness.

Doctor Forn argues against the deliberate mixing of people of different backgrounds by insisting that the "critical characteristics of the neighborhood and community are the positive feeling that people have towards each other and the common cultural background that they share."
(19)

Table 2 outlines the different characteristics of these two groups and points out the differences in their attitudes towards housing.

Negro Versus White Society

At the present time in America, the group in the worst trouble is the Negro. His problems have become the prime domestic concern for America. Causes for this concern are severity of the problem involved and the size of the Negro population. In 1950, one in ten Americans were Negro; by 1967, one in eight Americans will be Negro. The heart of the Negro problem lies in the prevalent fact of the disintegration of the Negro family. This is especially true in the urban centers, where in 1960 some 73 percent of Negroes lived compared to 67.5 percent for whites. (56)

As Americans, the Negro expects equal opportunities for them as a group as compared with other groups. This is not going to happen and there are two reasons. First, the racist virus in the American blood stream still effects white Americans. Second, the centuries of unimaginable mistreatment have taken their toll of the Negro people. The honest fact is that as a group, they are not equal to most of those groups with which they will be competing. In income, standards of living, and years of education, the gap between the Negro and the white in American society is widening. (56)

Table 2. Values of lower- and middle-status groups on items relevant to housing. (19, 33)

	Lower-status groups	Middle-status groups
1. Formal organization	Few in number; low reliance on, and confidence in	Greater in number; more confidence in
2. Stratification	Less	More
3. Authority	Suspicion and indifference	Identification and integration
4. Informal associations and friendships	Accepted, group reliance	Often valued in terms of life or career
5. Life plan	Casual, day-to-day	Focused, central, long term, individualistic
6. Kinship outside family	Strong and central	Subsidiary
7. Privacy and order	Low value in general	Higher value
8. Child rearing	Traditional and somewhat autocratic	Conscious
9. Property	Lower value and regarded primarily as a means	Higher value and an end within itself
10. Housing		
(a) type	Multiunit and rental generally	Single and owned generally
(b) upkeep and maintenance	Bad (low value)	Good (high value)
(c) space	Usually crowded	Usually adequate

It seems that the fundamental problem is that of family structure. The evidence points out that the Negro family in the urban ghettos is crumbling. A middle-class group (about 50 percent) of the Negro community has managed to save itself, but for vast numbers of the unskilled, poorly educated city working class the fabric of conventional social relationship has all but disintegrated. (56)

The first major factor leading to the disintegration of the Negro family was the peculiar nature of slavery in America, for it broke up families, did not recognize marriage and downgraded the male. (57) A slave was totally removed from protection of organized society. His existence as a human being was not recognized and he was given no hope for the future. He lived a day to day existence. (56)

With the emancipation of the slaves, the Negro American family began to form in the United States on a widespread scale. The Negro was given liberty, but no equality. Life remained hazardous and marginal. The Negro male became an object of intense hostility, but the Negro female was not a threat so not scorned as much. (56)

With a family, the young males learn the appropriate nurturing behavior and superimpose their biologically given maleness upon this learned parental role. But when the family breaks down as in bad times such as slavery, extreme social unrest during wars and famines or in a period of transition from one economy to another, men tend to flounder badly. During these times the female takes over as head of the primary unit of mother and child. The husband is left out and his social traditions of trust are violated and distorted. (56)

The second factor leading to the breakdown of the Negro family, is that the promise of the city has so far been denied to the Negro family.

Daniel Monyihan states:

Their poverty, ignorance, and color forces them to seek homes in deteriorated slum areas from which institutionalized life has disappeared due to several factors; lack of business training, the general disintegration of the Negro family and thence the disorganization of his neighborhood and the lack of common bonds, the Negro community was built up on 'Negro Esprit' and thus no ethnically based resources in job opportunities, community service organizations, community leaders which make it easier for members of the ethnic group to assimilate into neighborhood and hence the city and society. (54)

It seems that the Negro community has been formed into a matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of line with the rest of the American society, seriously retards the program of the group as a whole.

School also presents several problems for the Negro male in particular as a result of almost continuing discrimination in employment. The Negro boy cannot hope for substantial gains to be his from hard work and study in school. Therefore their motivation and performance is generally lower than the Negro girls. The family often sends the Negro girl off to higher-education since her grades have been better while the son becomes embittered by this. Thus at home and at school, the male loses stature and is forced to have his "inferiority" stuffed down his throat. As a result, more males drop out of school after the years of required attendance, and if the family is poor the son is sent out to supplement the family income. This lack of education makes it harder for the Negro man to get and keep a good job, and thus his position as chief provider, and head of his own family is weakened. But the Negro women have established a strong position for themselves in white collar and professional jobs and usually become the head of the family. Often the results are broken homes. (54) Negro children without fathers flounder and fall. (55)

Another disadvantage of the Negro in society is his poor performance with mental tasks. Although the intelligence potential in a Negro child has the same proportion and pattern as among other groups, he scores lower on the mental tests that are a standard means of measuring ability and performance. One reason for this is that children from homes where the fathers are present have significantly higher scores than children in homes without fathers, and Negroes frequently have broken homes. But the biggest impairment to the Negro potential is American society itself. It has been proven that there is a direct relationship between social class on IQ and the American Negro is definitely hampered by social alignment.

(56)

To point out the combined impact of poverty, failure, and isolation of the Negro youth, one just has to look at the crime rate, with most of these crimes committed against Negroes and the Negro community in general.

(57)

Thus it can be seen that each of these factors feed each of the others, which in turn feed the next one. The Negro of today is living with discouragement and frustration and it may be psychologically crippling his ability to assume any part of his role in society.

Table 3 compares different characteristics of the Negro and white and points out the differences in their attitudes towards housing.

Table 3. Values of Negro and white groups on items relevant to housing^a

Items	Negro	White ^b
1. Formal organization	Less reliance on and confidence in except churches	More confidence in
2. Stratification	Less	More
3. Authority	Indifference	Identification and integration
4. Informal association and friendships	Accepted and usually strong	Often values in times of life or career
5. Life plan	Casual day-to-day	Long term
6. Self appearance	Usually careless and untidy	Neat and careful
7. Kinship outside family	Strong	Subsidiary
8. Privacy and order	Low value in general	Higher value
9. Dominate figure in family	Mother	Father
10. Education	Male - low Female - medium	Male - high Female - medium
11. Child rearing	Traditional and autocratic mostly mother	Conscious
12. Property	Lower value and regarded primarily as a means	Higher value and within itself
13. Housing		
(a) type	Rental	Owned
(b) upkeep and maintenance	Low value (bad)	High value (good)
(c) space	Usually crowded	Usually adequate

a. Note: Compare this table to Table 2.

b. White means middle-class white.

Where the level of neighborhood integration is high, the participation level is high also. The more cohesive the neighborhood, the greater integration on the neighborhood basis. Since women are at home more and form larger friendship circles with neighbors than men, they are more subject than men to the influence of neighborhood forces as a determinant of their patterns of community participation. The men, essentially leave the neighborhood areas for their work and get bound up in occupational and other special intensity groups whose locus is outside the neighborhood. Accessibility to the center of community action (shops, auditoriums, meeting areas) is also closely related to community participation. Being able to get to activities without driving for long periods of time or trying to find parking places is certainly an advantage that most people will consider. (16) So it can be seen that the higher the integration in the neighborhood, the more it is likely that the neighborhood will draw people away from participation in the broader community. Also the neighborhood has the advantage over the community in ease of accessibility to areas of participation.

An individual who has high stakes or interests in a community usually is more active in civic affairs regardless of other factors. Having children in local schools, owning a home or business, and having a job in the community increases interest immensely. Also an individual who has lived in a community for long periods of time or has formed large networks of kinship and friendship usually finds community participation an important factor in his personal habits. (15, 16)

Social Mixing and Living Together

As pointed out before, a homogeneous neighborhood is more likely to form a closely knit and cohesive unit. Taking a homogeneous neighborhood,

what are the important factors in the sociability and closeness of groups that effect social mixing?

Perhaps the most important factor involved is proximity. Of course if a family had two other families that they were close to, and one of the families moved to another community or neighborhood, the closest family would get the most attention. So it is in most housing groups, that the active social relationships are carried on in sub-units, or the next door neighbors in sub-divisions. (24, 26)

As we know, not all next door neighbors are friends. Why not? One reason is rapid change in tenancy. But one of the most important reasons is the inability or unwillingness to be neighborly. There usually are two ranges of neighbors, the sociable and the reserve. The sociable are usually friendly and tend to enjoy friendships as a day to day activity and think nothing of the privacy of his neighbor. But the reserve tend to want more privacy and give more privacy to his neighbor. (24)

The physical arrangement of a neighborhood can also be important in deciding friendships. Semi-public spaces allow neighbors to meet on a chance basis and many fixed-friendships are realized through this method. On the other hand, if a brick wall is placed on all entrance ways, these chance meetings won't occur as often. Conflict of opinions and personality is another factor keeping neighbors from becoming friends. (24)

What are some conditions that help neighbors form cohesive and intimate neighborhoods? One condition is the feeling by everyone that neighbors are important and that they should learn how to be a good neighbor. The compatibility of a resident's expectations of proper behavior and the actual behavior of the neighbor is another important

factor. But perhaps the most important condition is that the resident is ready to avail himself to the opportunities provided that will make him a good neighbor. (24)

The woman in a family is usually the one that makes the first contact with neighbors. And she is usually the one who maintains the strongest of friendships within the neighborhood. She is more apt to meet neighbors by carrying out the garbage, borrowing household goods, shopping and through her children. While the woman of the house maintains these contacts, the man is making and maintaining friendships outside the neighborhood and in the community and city. (26)

Participation in community activities is a great provider of friendships as we all know. Both the husbands and the wives usually belong to clubs and service organizations where they are in contact with both neighbors and other community members.

Having a child will also tend to foster friendships with other parents. The schools are excellent friendship makers for both the child and the parents.

It has been established that people who reside closest to each other in terms of distance, physical orientation, or accessibility tend to become friends or form closely knit social units. (33) The planner and architect can determine which houses are next to each other, but this is only a limited influence over social relationships. He (architect) can affect visual contact and initial social contact among the occupants, but he cannot determine the intensity or the quality of these relationships. This depends on the characteristics of the people involved. (8)

Informal Groups and Activities

Private

The important factor of these informal groups is that they usually function in the neighborhood. What is meant by this is that the members are usually within a neighborhood and most of the activities involved are held within the neighborhood. Planning of the neighborhood can usually be important to enforce these groups. Places providing for such group activities as a father playing ball with his son, the wives getting together for cake sales, hobbies and other group and individual activities strengthen the social mixing and the cohesiveness of the neighborhood. Table 4 points out some important design considerations in providing for these private informal groups.

Public

The unexpected and unplanned chance meetings typify public-informal groups. These public gatherings, usually spur of the moment, add an important air of excitement to any neighborhood or city. Places for group gatherings such as outdoor band concerts, parades, fairs, and public exhibits are important planning factors that help support these group gatherings. Table 4 points out some important design considerations in providing for these public gatherings.

Formal Organizations and Activities

Private

As stated before, private formal organizations are oriented towards benefiting the individual and are usually not oriented to any public service. These clubs or organizations have a set membership and usually

Table 4. Showing design considerations used in supporting informal groups and activities

Design consideration	Private informal groups and activities	Public informal groups and activities
1. Craft shops in neighborhood	Hobbies	Hobbies
2. Playground in neighborhood and community	Family and friends playing ball, individual sports, watching children playing, socializing	Groups of people playing ball, watching children, meeting people, fairs
3. Paved areas in neighborhood	Games, socializing	Games, public activities, parades
4. Meeting areas (indoor) in neighborhood	Games (cards), parties, socializing	
5. Parks and open places in community	Walking, socializing	Public gathering places, meeting people, fairs, band concerts
6. Bars and lounges in neighborhood and community	Socializing, (drinking), meeting friends, having parties (in neighborhood usually with friends)	Socializing, meeting new people (community usually out with friends)
7. Buffer areas between homes and apartments	Socializing, playing	Meeting people playing
8. Laundries and other self service units (neighborhood and community)	Socializing	Meeting people
9. Shops	Socializing	Meeting people

require physical meeting places outside of personal homes. There tends to be a great deal of overlap in membership of these groups with membership wholly within the social structure of the neighborhood or the community. (21) Table 5 shows some important design considerations in planning for these groups and activities.

Public

This type of organization is formed for the performance of community service or for the betterment of society. Meeting places in public view are an important design criteria with these meeting places having some type of information area so that persons outside the organization can find out what the organization is doing and what it is carrying on at the time. (21) Table 5 points out important design considerations in planning for these groups and activities.

Use of Leisure Time

Adults

The leisure time of adults is predominantly spent in informal social activity within the family group. Position in the family is shown to have the greatest influence on patterns of activity. The single and younger people take part in some of the activities as the married and older people but to a different extent. For example, the younger people go to the movies more and spend more time in visiting and being visited, while other activities are completely exclusive to them, such as dancing and walking the streets. (30)

Young and single people spend more time with neighbors and others outside the family than anybody else. Boys and girls, immediately after leaving school, continue the collective friendships with school friends

Table 5. Showing design considerations used in supporting formal organizations

Design consideration	Private formal organizations	Public formal organizations
1. Areas in community and neighborhood set aside for churches	Religious organizations such as youth clubs, boy and girl scouts, ladies aid, men's club, and choirs	Community chorus, community players
2. Community cultural center	Book clubs, flower clubs, and art clubs	Service groups, recreational clubs
3. Community club center	Better Business Bureau	Welfare organizations, youth civic clubs
4. Community civic center	P.T.A., teacher organizations, children's clubs	Civic clubs
5. Schools	Dinner clubs	
6. Hotels and dinner clubs		

who are often neighbors and also workmates. Some continue attending chapels or churches and join the group activities there. Others go about in gangs and youth clubs and wander about the streets and drive-ins. (30)

At this point the girls and boys begin to pair off and leave either the street gang or the youth club often never to return to them unless the friendship ends and then only until a new one takes its place. Such companionship is spent in going to cinemas and dances, visiting each other's homes and in driving about town. At marriage the break away from the earlier friendship gangs or other groups is completed and companionship is largely restricted to husband or wife or to members of either family. (30)

After marriage, contact with the "wider society" is made through the groups met in church, work, schools, or club activities. Men and women revert to collective friendships but of a different type from those formed before marriage. These friendships are not expressed so much in formal "companionship" in activities as before but rather in "casual" or informal association. (30)

Group activities such as attending football games, parties and socializing are largely confined to the neighborhood. Within the neighborhood "everyone knows everyone" although they may not all participate in the joint activities, for neighborhoods usually retain many characteristics of village life. (30)

Spare time activities could be listed but it would entail an endless list. Usually these activities vary greatly between people of different classes, socio-economic groups and races. The most important design consideration in planning for these leisure time activities is flexibility.

Children

The infant and the growing child must be surrounded by a community of persons of both sexes and all ages, of sufficient homogeneity so that the child acquires his primary cultural characteristics and depths. He must obtain these characteristics through all five senses, and with sufficient experience of the strange and the stranger, the not-known and the later-to-be-known, so that he can move with assurance, transforming his primary learning into other, wider, cultural forms. (14)

Play activities and the ways that they are organized and carried on plan an important role in broadening these cultural forms. Play itself, the play that children practice goes on somewhere differently everyday. In mature surroundings, play takes place in a thousand places, in many little areas that adults would never consider suitable for children. As they play, children become full of their surroundings. How can a child become filled with his surroundings in a fenced enclosure? He cannot. (40)

What part does the designer play in the childrens' spare time activities? He designs neighborhoods and communities so that children can obtain the maximum freedom with controls placed on them by the progressive awareness of his surroundings increments that they can absorb at that time. (See Diagram 5 and Table 6.)

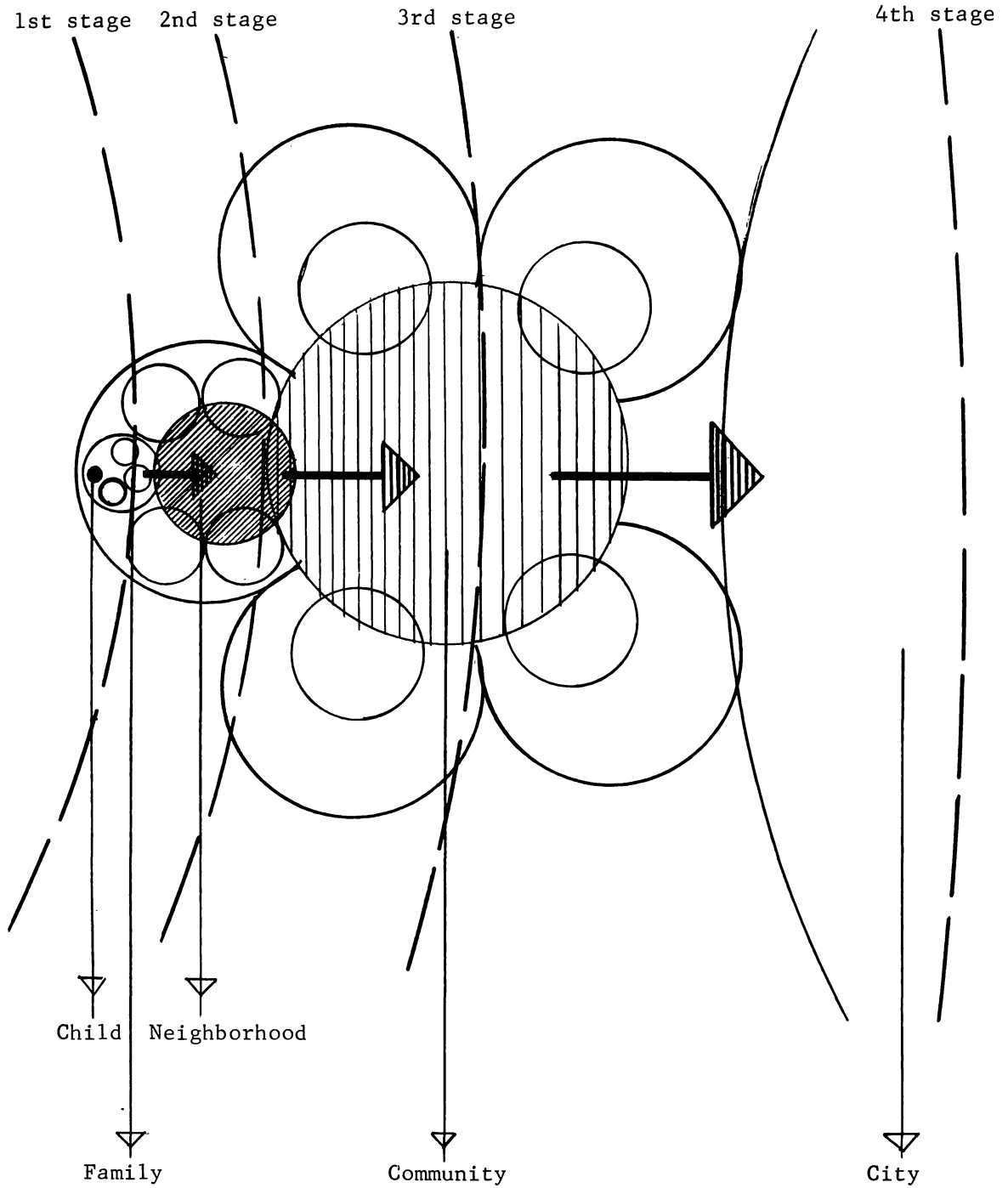


Diagram 5. The progression of a child into larger areas of social interaction and contact by ages

Table 6. Showing children's play activities and the related design considerations

Play activities	Design consideration
1. Playing at home	Considerations in laying out apartments and homes and their relationship to the outside
2. Children's organizations	Play centers, areas in schools, churches, etc.
3. Provided entertainment	Movies, fun fairs, parades
4. Group play activities - unorganized	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Opportunities for secrecy (sheds, caves, hidden places) 2. Mystery (dark woods, new places) 3. "Things" placed at random to play on and climb 4. Water
5. Group play activities - organized	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wide asphalt spaces for running, general play 2. Playgrounds with supervision 3. Toddler's enclosures 4. Swimming pools

CONCLUSION

Walt Whitman stated that democracy has two great poles, "individuality versus equality." A person in our society should relate himself with society as a whole yet keep his own independence of "self." The population gain in size has come to a point where the individual is not really as important as the "whole." Yet society was founded on the recognition of individuals and their beliefs and actions.

In our democracy, the individual must be given freedom of choice of his activities, organizations and friends. He must be able to identify himself with his neighborhood and his community by choice. This identification must not only be physical but most important be with the social organization and set-up. He must know where he stands and how he stands. He must be able to relate to specific clubs, activities, and social groups at the neighborhood level and must be able to broaden these areas to the community level.

Yet choice to whether he belongs in a neighborhood is not left up to the individual, but to the group of neighbors within that neighborhood. It is a fact that homogeneous neighborhoods have more social interaction. This is proved by the fact that it is hard for individuals to become friends to anybody that is socially above or below him. This is true on the neighborhood level but not always on a community level; the interaction of heterogeneous people may be and should be carried on at the community level.

One way to provide individual identification with society is to provide an essential job or function for the individual in forming society. This may be done through group activities that force the individual to join society and play a role as a society member yet also

let his views as an individual be known. Recognition of this role that he plays in society is the goal of every individual.

An important method in obtaining this goal is by providing a wide range of choices that the individual can make in going about to find this recognition. An individual may find recognition in being a civic leader, a member of the PTA, or by being a good neighbor. It is not how the individual finds this recognition but only that he finds it. We must give the individual this chance.

CHARACTERISTICS

Social characteristics and physical needs of the Southwest area,
Washington, D. C.

The Southwest Redevelopment Area in Washington, D. C., was selected as the site for the physical planning part of this thesis for several reasons. The first being that Washington is the nearest large city that needs very high density housing for about 35 thousand people. The Southwest also has a large percentage of Negroes who 10 years ago needed some type of new housing. Since the Southwest is now in redevelopment stage, most of these Negro families have been displaced by 17 thousand middle- and upper-class whites. The last important reason is that a large amount of information on the people and the physical site is readily available due to its new development plans.

HISTORY AND AREA COMPOSITION OF SOUTHWEST AREA

Background and History of Southwest Washington

Southwest Washington, generally bounded on the north by the Mall, on the east by South Capitol Street, on the south by the Anacostia River and on the west by the Washington Channel and 14th Street, is the smallest of the four quadrants of the city. Because of its river location, the area was planned originally as a business section, but business suffered from the nearby Georgetown competition. Residential development was hampered by unhealthy conditions associated with the Washington Channel, and discouraged by the railroad along the northern boundary which effectively isolated the area from the rest of the city. Development, as a result was sporadic and had virtually ceased by the end of the nineteenth century. (11)

By 1950 Southwest Washington "in the shadow of the Nation's Capitol" was cited as one of the worst housing areas in the United States. Most of the structures were more than fifty years old and showed numerous signs of obsolescence and deterioration. Of approximately 5,600 dwelling units in the area in 1950 over 44 percent had no baths, over 21 percent had no electricity, over 70 percent had no central heating, over 43 percent had outside toilets, and a total of 76 percent were substandard in one respect or another. Throughout most of the area the physical condition of the houses, junk, and refuse in the yards, and clogged privies creating pools of backwash around the pipes and spigots, produced depressing and dangerous living conditions. (11) See Table 7 for more physical conditions prior to redevelopment.

The community facilities in the area were in need of repair and replacement. The two junior high schools and two of the elementary

Table 7. Showing physical conditions of Southwest Washington prior to redevelopment

1. Area:	560 acres
2. Land use:	Public and semi-public 10% Commercial 17% Residential 25% Streets and alleys 47% Vacant 1%
3. Dwelling units:	5,600 in number
4. Condition of dwelling units:	No baths 44% No electricity 21% No central heating 70% Outside toilets 43% Outside water supply 27% Substandard 76%
5. Topographical features:	Ground is relatively flat with a rise of 15 feet from the Washington canal.

schools were in good or fair condition, but five elementary schools were structurally deteriorated and were too small. With the exception of a single public playground, open spaces and playgrounds were only found adjacent to the junior high school. The Southwest had wide brick sidewalks in many sections, but they were worn and uneven and the majority of the streets needed repaving. Marginal retail stores, scattered through the area, and the commercial developments along the waterfront were generally drab and deteriorating. (11)

Area Population - Composition and Attitudes

In 1952, about 23,000 people lived in the Southwest with an estimated 5,600 families and individuals. The population was of low income with about 80 percent having income under \$4,800 a year. Forty-seven percent of the households were composed of single persons or adults, predominantly elderly people. The median age of the head of the household was 58 for all-adult households and 63 for single-person households, as compared with 42 years old for the head of households with children. Thirty percent of the households with children were broken families with only one parent, usually the mother. This was characteristic of the Negro family which made up 68 percent of the total population. (11, 35)

Educational attainment in the area was low: 12 percent of the heads of households had no formal education; 57 percent had attended junior or senior high school; and only 1 percent had completed high school or gone beyond. The heads of families were primarily unskilled laborers and their incomes were low. Only 20 percent of the households had incomes above the maximum for admission to public housing. Almost half of the families reported some period of unemployment during the prior two years,

and 22 percent reported unemployment which had lasted two years or more.

(11)

A number of households were partly or completely financially depending on some social welfare organization. Many of these were elderly single persons and couples, families without a male head, and families headed by persons physically disabled or without employment skills. Thirty percent of the households were receiving public assistance or surplus foods, and another 8 percent have received some assistance in the past. Thirteen percent of the families received income from Social Security; from other pension sources, 11 percent; from unemployment insurance, 4 percent. (11)

For many of the residents, Southwest was not only where they lived but also where they worked, shopped, and attended church. Twenty-one percent of the Southwest residents who were employed worked within walking distance of their homes; 82 percent of the families in Southwest shopped within four blocks of their homes; 48 percent attended church within six blocks. A total of 48 percent participated in the programs of the social agencies in the area; 20 percent took advantage of the Southwest health center and the public library. (11)

Thirty-eight percent of the households expressed a dislike for some features about the area, but 62 percent had no dislike's. For the families that had lived in the area most of their lives or for a great many years, the general reaction was: "I know everyone in Southwest, and everyone knows me." They did not want to leave. (11) For further social and economic makeup see Table 8.

Table 8. Showing population and social economic makeup of Southwest area

1. Population	23,000 people 5,600 families
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2. Race	68% nonwhite 32% white
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3. Income of families	33% under \$2,400 a year 64% under \$3,600 a year 81% under \$4,800 a year
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4. Size of household	Most households consisted of 1 to 6 persons with 23% consisting of 6 or more persons
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5. Home owning	80% were tenants 10% owned homes
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6. Unemployment	48% reported some period of unemployment within period of 2 years
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7. Education	12% no education 57% attended junior high or high school 31% completed high school
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SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ACTIVITIES OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE SOUTHWEST

Designing Social Structure

Information on the social characteristics for the Southwest region as it was before redevelopment has been impossible to obtain. One reason for this has been the complete relocation of these families in the last 10 years. Only about 10 percent remained in the Southwest and the rest have been scattered all over Washington. The second reason is lack of time and availability. Although I have been to the Southwest several times and interviewed several families, all of these have moved in since redevelopment.

So to be able to design this housing with any reality to the characteristics of the people involved, I have had to design my own social structure. I have done this with information from several publications on the Southwest (13, 29, 35, 42, 43), and with the aid of several important sociological publications (5, 9, 17, 20, 24, 26, 30, 49, 54, 55, 56, 58). After describing the social structure or at least giving the characteristics of a few types of people who are planning to live within this social structure, the next step will be to point out some important design considerations to achieve housing that will provide a proper social environment for each type or group.

Middle-class White Family¹

The middle class white family forms the majority of the nation's population. But in the Southwest it is in the minority. The typical family that is being studied here has a father who is a college graduate

¹Refers to income of \$5,000 and up a year.

and is working for the federal government as a congressional assistant to a senator. His office is in the Senate Building. He is a strong joiner and is a member of a political club, dinner club, ex-servicemans club, athletic club and Lions Club. He is a member of a church and goes frequently with his wife and children. His closest friends are two or three of his neighbors and a couple of men that he works with, but he is capable of making friendships fast and usually with an eye towards his future. (See Table 9 for social activities.)

The mother of the family is a housewife who is at home most of the time. Her closest friends are the women in her neighborhood with whom she frequently visits. Her husband and herself are looking forward to moving into a higher income bracket and moving out of their present neighborhood. They both place a high value on their personal privacy and like their neighbors to do the same. The wife is a member of several organizations such as the Community Ladies Aid Club, a luncheon club, a bridge club and a flower club. They both frequently attend meetings and parties given within the neighborhood. (See Table 10 for social activities.)

They have two children, a boy age 10, and a girl age 5. The boy attends a neighborhood school and is in the fourth grade. The girl attends a neighborhood kindergarden from 9 to 12, five days a week. The parents have raised them with a conscious effort toward social adaptability and the cultural characteristics of their class. (See Table 11 for social activities.)

Table 9. Showing an average week's social activities of the father of a middle-class white family

Day	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Monday	Eats lunch with office friend (work)	Visits athletic club and works out (work)	Eats dinner with family, stays at home working on some office papers
Tuesday	Eats dinner at community dinner club and hears speaker (work)	Stops by neighborhood bar and has drink with neighbors (work)	Eats with family, goes with wife to neighbor's house for bridge club
Wednesday	Eats lunch with Senator's out of town guests (work)	Visits athletic club and works out (work)	Goes to political club dinner
Thursday	Eats lunch with office friend (work)	Stops by neighborhood bar and has drink with neighbors (work)	Takes wife and children to movies, has neighbors to drop in and visit afterwards
Friday	Eats lunch with Lions Club (work)	Visits athletic club (work)	Eats dinner with family, reads, and plays with children
Saturday	Takes children to playground and then to river to sail toy boats	Goes shopping with wife and children at community shopping center	Eats dinner with family at restaurant after shopping, goes to neighbor's party with wife
Sunday	Takes children to Sunday School, attends church service with wife	Goes for a Sunday drive with wife and children, visits old friends on other side of town	Stays at home, old friends drop by to visit

Table 10. Showing an average week's social activities of the mother of a middle-class white family

Day	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Monday	Walks daughter to kindergarten and picks her up at noon; talks to other mothers on way and way back	Has afternoon visit from neighbor. Goes grocery shopping at neighborhood center with neighbor	Does some housework at home with husband
Tuesday	Same as Monday	Her day to babysit with neighborhood toddlers	Goes to neighbor's house with husband to play bridge
Wednesday	Same as Monday except has lunch with neighborhood luncheon club	Helps neighbor out with moving	Stays at home with children while husband is gone
Thursday	Same as Monday except goes uptown shopping with neighbor	Goes to community center for flower club meeting	Goes to movie with family. Entertains neighbors afterwards
Friday	Same as Monday	Takes children to playground	Goes to Ladies Aid meeting while husband stays at home
Saturday	Takes car and visits parents	Goes with family shopping to community shopping area	Goes to neighborhood party with husband
Sunday	Goes to church service with husband	Goes on Sunday drive with family and visits friends on other side of town	Stays at home with family

Table 11. Showing an average week's activities of the children in a middle-class white family--boy is age 10, girl is age 5

Day	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Monday	Boy - in school Girl - in kindergarden	Boy - in school and after school playing football with neighborhood gang in community park-playground Girl - playing girls games with neighbors children, nap	Boy - doing homework and watching television Girl - playing with dolls
Tuesday	Same as Monday	Boy - after school, playing various boy-girl games in neighborhood Girl - same as Monday	Boy - doing homework Girl - helping mother in kitchen, babysitter in
Wednesday.	Same as Monday	Boy - bad day, indoor play at school gym Girl - indoor play at neighbors house, nap	Boy - doing homework and watching television Girl - playing with dolls
Thursday	Same as Monday	Boy - runs around community with neighborhood gang on bicycle, finding new hideouts and places Girl - plays in neighborhood sand box, rides tricycle around neighborhood play area, nap	Boy - goes to movies with parents, does homework Girl - goes to movies with family

Table 11 (continued)

Day	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Friday	Same as Monday	Boy - stays after school to play volleyball with classmates Girl - playing hide-and-seek with neighborhood children. Helps mother	Boy-Girl - plays games with father. Watch television
Saturday	Both go to playground and river with father	Both go with family shopping	Babysitter Boy - goes to neighbors house to spend night Girl - goes to bed early
Sunday	Both go to Sunday School	Both go for Sunday drive and visiting with parents	Boy - does homework and watches television Girl - helps mother cleanup

Lower-class White Family²

The typical lower-class white family in the Southwest are nonjoiners, carefree, and suspicious of social alignment. This group forms the minority group with only 10 percent of the Southwest being in this economic-social group.

The head of the family is a construction worker, who is gone most of the day working to support a family of five. He is very suspicious of formal organizations. He enjoys the casual atmosphere that he finds at the neighborhood bar, and goes there often to talk to his friends. His wife and himself enjoy having friends and kin about. They often entertain friends in their home.

His wife didn't finish high school due to their early marriage. She spends almost all her life in their home doing housework and babysitting. She is very close to her neighbors but like her husband, doesn't belong to any formal organizations. Her biggest enjoyment in life comes from these close friendships with their neighbors and kin.

They have three children, a girl age 10, a boy age 8, and a girl age 5. The oldest girl spends most of her time playing in the neighborhood as does the only son. They don't like school and are only fair students. The oldest girl helps her mother a great deal, mostly by babysitting with the youngest girl. The children usually run freely about the neighborhood without much attention from their parents.

²Refers to income of \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year.

Middle-class Negro Family³

The middle-class Negro family is very similar in beliefs and attitudes to their white counterparts. Even though they are more conservative and patriarchal than the middle-class white, their attitudes truly are closer to the white than the average Negro.

This groups' typical family has a father who is a college graduate. He is a health inspector for the federal government and has an office in the main Health Department Building. He is not a strong joiner and tends to spend more time at home than the average family man. He belongs to one dinner club and is very active in his church. He has a few close friends, all neighbors, but finds it hard to make friends due to racial conscience. He has a deep fear of losing all that he has gained, therefore becoming more ingrown and a loner.

His wife, whom he met at college, has completed two years of college. She works full-time as a secretary for a federal agency uptown. Because of this job and little time to do housework, she finds it hard to belong to any social organizations. She, like her husband, puts most of her free time into church work. She has a few friends in the neighborhood, but finds it hard to keep up social contact.

They have one son, age 8. He is in the third grade at the nearby elementary school. He loves sports and is a very active ball player, and spends afternoons playing ball with neighborhood children of all ages.

³ Refers to income of \$5,000 and up a year.

Lower-class Negro Family⁴

This majority group are also nonjoiners, well aware of social alignment. A large number of families have broken up with the mother usually left alone to support a large family. The family that I have taken to study has a father who is seldom at home, and tends to look at the family as a burden that he is forced to carry.

The family is a large one (five children and a feeble grandmother) with the wife at it's center. She is a hard working woman who never finished high school. The mother works as a 9 to 5 maid for one of the uptown hotels. Her children look up to her as the head of the family. She is very religious and participates in church affairs as often as she can. She greets friends in her home with a hearty welcome and loves their company. (See Table 13 for social activities.)

The father is a janitor for the Senate Building, but has had the job for a short time. He has been fired often because of bad working habits such as drinking and frequent absences. When he gets out of work, he hangs around the neighborhood pool hall or bar talking with other male friends who have the same attitude as he does. There are many nights when the family doesn't see him at all. (See Table 12 for social activities.)

The children are a boy age 16, a girl age 15, a boy age 8, a girl age 5, and a girl age 1½. The oldest son has quit high school and has a job as a parking lot attendant. The oldest girl and the grandmother take care of the children during weekdays when the mother is gone. (See Table 14 for social activities.)

⁴ Refers to income of \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year.

Table 12. Showing an average week's social activities of the father of a lower-class Negro family

Day	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Monday	Gets up late and lounges around house	Stays in neighborhood pool room and drinks, shoots pool	Works until 10 o'clock, goes straight to neighborhood bar and drinks with neighbors
Tuesday	Pool room	Goes with friend uptown to look around	Same as Monday night
Wednesday	At home	Pool room	Same as Monday night except goes with friend to meet some other friends
Thursday	At home	At home, plays with youngest children	Works until 10 o'clock, goes home and has some friends drop in
Friday	Pool room	At home, plays with neighborhood children (baseball)	Same as Monday night
Saturday	At home	Pool room	Spent the night at neighborhood bar and "doing" the town
Sunday	Slept late but goes to church with wife	Takes wife to see friend	Plays cards at friend's house

Table 13. Showing an average week's social activities of the mother of a lower-class Negro family

Day	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Monday	Work	Work	At home with family. Does housework, babysits with children
Tuesday	Work	Work	Same as Monday
Wednesday	Work	Work	Same as Monday
Thursday	Work	Work	Same as Monday except has friends to drop in
Friday	Work	Work	Same as Monday
Saturday	Goes shopping with oldest daughter and daughter (5)	Does housework, talks to neighbors, plays with youngest daughter (1½)	Has neighbors and kin to drop by, goes to school social with son (8) and mother
Sunday	Takes children to Sunday School. Goes to church services	Goes with husband to visit sick friend. Goes to park with youngest children	Stays at home

Table 14. Showing an average week's activities of the children in a lower-class Negro family--boy, age 16; girl, age 15; boy, age 8; girl, age 5; girl, age 1½

Day	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Monday	<p>Boy (16) - work Girl (15) - school Boy (8) - school Girl (5) and girl (1½) - playing at home</p>	<p>Boy (16) - work Girl (15) - comes home from school and helps grandmother with babysitting and housework Boy (8) - plays baseball with neighborhood gang Girl (5) - plays hide and seek, tag Girl (1½) - older sister in charge</p>	<p>Boy (16) - goes out with gang Girl (15) - does school work and helps mother Boy (8) - plays with neighborhood gang Girl (5) - plays inside house Girl (1½) - bed</p>
Friday	<p>Same as Monday</p>	<p>Boy (16) - work Girl (15) - goes downtown with gang of girls Boy (8) - goes cycling to outlying neighborhoods Girl (5) - plays dress-up with neighborhood children Girl (1½) - plays around house</p>	<p>Boy (16) - dates Girl (15) - dates Boy (8) - walks around neighborhood with other children Girl (5) - plays in house Girl (1½) - bed</p>
Saturday	<p>Boy (16) - pool room Girl (15) - shopping Boy (8) - plays in neighborhood Girl (5) - shopping with mother Girl (1½) - plays on porch</p>	<p>Boy (16) - goes to see baseball game with gang Girl (15) - goes to movie with friends Boy (8) - plays baseball with neighborhood children Girl (5) - plays in neighborhood Girl (1½) - plays with mother</p>	<p>Boy (16) - dates Girl (15) - dates but babysits until mother gets back Boy (8) - goes to church social with mother Girl (5) - at home Girl (1½) - bed</p>

Table 14 (continued)

Day	Morning	Afternoon	Night
Sunday	All go to Sunday School	Boy (16) - takes girl friend to park Girl (15) - spends day riding around town with school friends Boy (8), Girl (5), Girl (1½) - go to park with mother	Boy (16) - spends night at home watching television Girl (15) - does homework Boy (8) - watches television Girl (5) - plays with father Girl (1½) - bed

GOALS

The desired environmental condition at a predicted instant.

CONTROLS AND GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

Building Codes

The national building code and the District of Columbia building code shall be followed as closely as possible. A few important items are as follows:

<u>Density</u>	<u>Maximum area density</u>
Dwelling units:	
Row houses	30 people per acre
Flats	40 people per acre
Apartment (walk-up)	43.5 people per acre
Apartment (elevator)	87 people per acre

Coverage

Maximum coverage of buildings shall not exceed 50 percent.

Off-street parking

Row houses	1 space per dwelling unit
Flats	1 space per dwelling unit
Apartment house	1/2 space per dwelling unit

Height restriction

No building shall exceed 90 feet in height above ground level. (42)

Urban Renewal Assistance Program

The District of Columbia urban renewal program will execute the following project activities: land acquisition, temporary operation of acquired property, relocation of site occupants, demolition work, installation of project improvements, rehabilitation, conservation and code enforcement activities, land disposition, and relocation of historic structures. (37)

The urban renewal project will be carried out by the D. C. Housing Authority with privately financed persons or organizations leasing or purchasing land for reconstruction for this authority.

Government Assistance

The Federal Government shall aid the Southwest in carrying out the urban renewal program. These aids include:

1. Assistance for the preparation of full-range renewal programs.
- 2.. Financial aid in planning and carrying out urban renewal projects involving the rebuilding or conservation of blighted and deteriorating areas.
3. Special FHA financing aids for new housing.
4. Special FHA financial aids and public housing assistance to provide low-cost private or public housing.
5. Rent supplement to individuals that occupy substandard housing or have been displaced by urban renewal programs. The amount of rent supplement payment cannot exceed the difference between the fair market rental for the dwelling unit and 25 percent of the occupants income. (37)

SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL NEEDS - FAMILY

Each family has its own particular social needs and ideally each family should be individually planned for. But in a project of this scope, this is physically impossible. It is possible though, to give each family a variety of methods to handle their own living unit and choice in deciding on which type of unit will fit their needs the best.

In designing the physical means to carry out each family's social needs, a flexible and coherent plan is needed. One possible method is the classification of families into certain social groups, and by following the social trends of these different groups deciding upon certain physical facilities that will provide the maximum adherence to their certain needs and wants.

Diagram 6 shows the design approach in determining the social needs and their relative physical considerations in satisfying those needs.

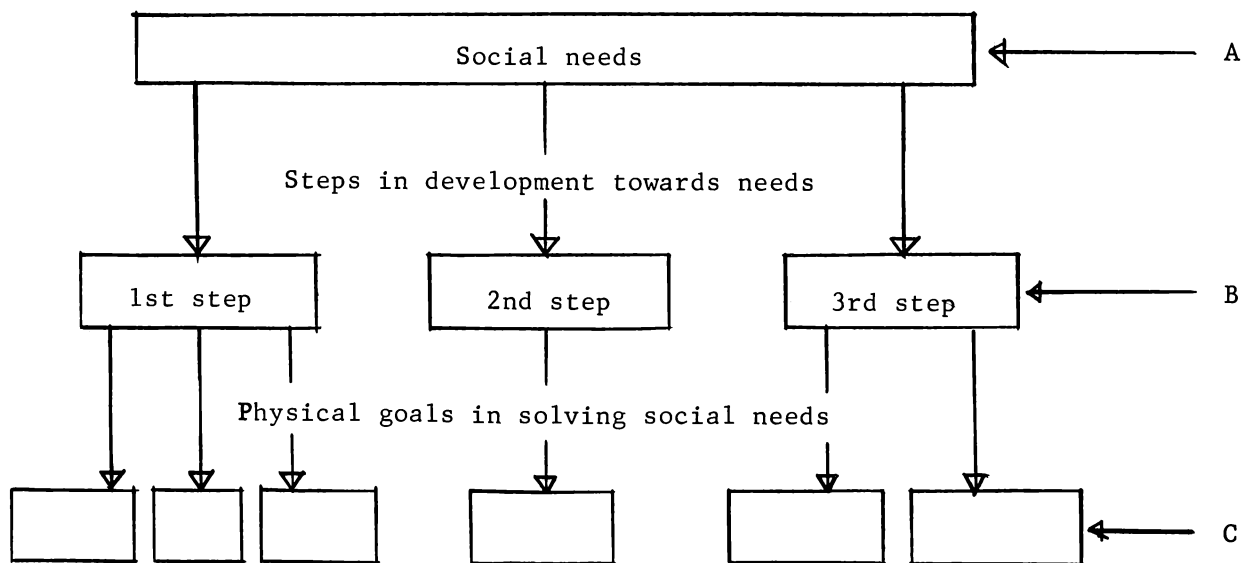


Diagram 6. Analysis in determining and designing for social needs

Middle-class White Male⁵

The following is an outline of his social needs, the steps towards the development of these needs, and the physical conditions needed to satisfy these needs.

- A. The middle-class white male adult wants the following:
1. Wants to climb socially
 2. Wants to have casual friends in the neighborhood but has best friends outside the neighborhood
 3. Wants more contact with local government and more authority in making decisions for the betterment of his community, wants to influence civic organizations in obtaining education facilities for children
- B. The first steps in the development of gaining these social goals are the following:
1. (a) Joining community organizations
 - (b) Entertaining guests that will improve his status
 2. (a) Ability to meet people in neighborhood casually
 - (b) High degree of privacy in family unit
 3. (a) Joining civic organizations
 - (b) Joining school organizations
 - (c) Being a member of the community board of governors or planners
- C. The following physical conditions should be provided to gain (B), the first steps towards (A):
1. (a) Areas in neighborhood and community that support and house organizations and easy access to these areas

⁵Income of \$5,000 and up a year.

- (b) Places in community to entertain guests (night clubs, community country clubs, etc.)
- (c) Easy access to homes from outside the community as well as from within it
- 2. (a) Areas of major traffic having spaces for conversations.
- (b) No physical barriers separating some homes from the neighborhood
- (c) Some system to let neighbors know of person's need of privacy in that certain instant
- 3. (a) Areas for civic clubs in community and town areas
- (b) Areas for community operational clubs to meet

Middle-class White Female⁶

- A. The middle-class white female adult wants the following:
 - 1. Wants good neighbors and close friends, but also wants to be able to get away by herself when she needs to
 - 2. Wants to be able to make casual friends easily
 - 3. Wants to improve her awareness to problems concerning her husband's job, so she is able to help him climb to the top in his job and socially
 - 4. Wants some say so in her children's education and in their recreational activities
- B. The first steps in the development of gaining these social goals are the following:
 - 1. (a) Ability to meet neighbors on "common ground" or entertain in her own home

⁶Income of \$5,000 and up a year.

- (b) Some method of letting neighbors know when she wants privacy
- 2. (a) Variety of ways to meet people casually in neighborhood and community
- (b) Participation in neighborhood and community women's organizations
- 3. (a) Getting the chance to improve her knowledge of subjects like world affairs, literary subjects, and information about certain fields relating to husband's work
- (b) Joining clubs that promote efforts of gaining knowledge of social and political situations
- 4. (a) Joining PTA and other school related organizations
- (b) Having personal part in educating children
- (c) The knowledge that their childrens' recreational activities are supervised

C. The following physical conditions should be provided to gain (B), the first steps towards (A):

- 1. (a) Areas in multiunits or neighborhoods to meet with neighbors on an informal basis
- (b) Common service areas
- (c) Barriers to keep neighbors out, such as private entrances to apartments or double safety entrances
- 2. (a) Neighborhood and community "common" areas
- (b) Neighborhood and community shopping and service areas
- (c) Areas that house women's organizations in neighborhood and community
- (d) Churches in community
- 3. (a) Library in community and other cultural associations such as a community playhouse

- (b) Areas to house literary and cultural associations
- 4. (a) Areas in schools or other parts of community that house parents and teachers organizations
- (b) Places in community that the parents and children can go together such as workshops, library, and zoo in which the parent can personally show to and teach to their children

Middle-class White Children⁷

- A. The middle-class white child wants the following:
 - 1. Wants to associate with all types of people, but closest friends are in same social-economic area
 - 2. Wants every possible advantage to advance himself in social areas
- B. The first steps in the development of gaining these social goals are the following:
 - 1. The variety of possible activities in different places
 - 2. Education
- C. The following physical conditions should be provided to gain (B), the first steps towards (A):
 - 1. (a) Areas in the apartment units to play alone in or with other boys and girls
 - (b) Areas in neighborhood that provide spaces for running and general play
 - (c) Areas in community that support group games
 - (d) Playgrounds for organized sports
 - (e) Schools sponsored activities in community and town
 - 2. (a) Schools for different levels of advancement

⁷Income of \$5,000 or up a year.

(b) Libraries in community and town center

(c) Areas in community and town that support cultural activities
for children

Lower-class Negro Male⁸

A. The lower-class Negro male adult wants the following:

1. Wants a strong circle of friends that he can rely on and carry his troubles to
2. Wants to feel as if he is a member of society and not an outsider
3. Wants to be able to support his family and be an important member in his community
4. Likes to have his friends around his house and neighborhood as much as possible
5. Enjoys participating in activities that are physical rather than intellectual

B. The first steps in the development of gaining these social goals are the following:

1. (a) Ability to make friends in neighborhood and community easily
(b) Places to meet friends and entertain them in neighborhood and community
2. Means of improving social standing:
 - (a) Education
 - (b) Wider social knowledge
 - (c) Self-evaluation
3. (a) Improving his knowledge of fields relating to job security

⁸Income from \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year.

- (b) Education
- 4. Ability to entertain friends at home and in community
- 5. (a) Provide for sports and other recreational activities in neighborhood and community
- (b) Provide for neighborhood sponsored athletic activities
- C. The following physical conditions should be provided to gain (B), the first steps towards (A):
- 1. (a) Easy access to neighbor's homes
- (b) Areas in neighborhoods and communities such as bars, restaurants and churches to meet friends
- 2. (a) Libraries in prime traffic areas
- (b) Schools in communities and town that sponsor adult educational programs
- (c) Organizations in neighborhood that the Negroes sponsor as a group
- 3. (a) Schools in communities that sponsor adult educational programs
- (b) Organizations that improve one's attitude towards his job
- 4. (a) Bars, restaurants and other activity areas in the communities
- (b) Activity areas in neighborhoods
- 5. (a) Playing fields in community area
- (b) Recreational center in town area for organized sports
- (c) Areas in neighborhood to have small unorganized sports

Lower-class Negro Female⁹

- A. The lower-class Negro female adult wants the following:

⁹Income of \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year

1. Wants close friends about her often and puts a great deal of effort in maintaining these friendships
 2. Wants a better chance in society for her children and herself
 3. She is skeptical of formal organizations but wants a strong neighborhood unit that she can be part of
- B. The first steps in the development of gaining these social goals are the following:
1. (a) Ability to entertain friends in neighborhood in home
(b) Close neighborhood unit
 2. Means of improving social standing:
 - (a) Education
 - (b) Wider social knowledge
 - (c) Self-evaluation
 3. (a) Defined neighborhood units that have strong "spirit" of unity
(b) Some organizations of central character to all neighbors--
church and its organizations
- C. The following physical conditions should be provided to gain (B), the first steps towards (A):
1. (a) Few physical barriers between homes
(b) Areas in neighborhood to meet with and entertain friends--
central court, sitting spaces
 2. (a) Schools in communities that have strong career programs and adult educational programs
(b) Libraries, that support these educational programs, located in prime communal areas
(c) Organizations in neighborhood and community which are sponsored by the Negroes

3. (a) No physical barriers in neighborhood that separate or isolate some units from the neighborhood
- (b) Strong identifiable elements in neighborhood

Lower-class Negro Children¹⁰

- A. The lower-class Negro child wants the following:
 1. Wants to associate with all types of people, but closest friends will remain Negroes
 2. Wants a better chance in society than his parents had
- B. The first steps in the development of gaining these social goals are the following:
 1. A variety of possible activities and friends, located in different places
 2. Means of improving social standing:
 - (a) Education
 - (b) Wider social knowledge
 - (c) Self-evaluation
- C. The following physical conditions should be provided to gain (B), the first steps towards (A):
 1. (a) Areas in the apartment units to play alone or with other boys and girls
 - (b) Areas in neighborhood that provide spaces for running and general play
 - (c) Areas in community that support group games
 - (d) Playgrounds for organized sports
 - (e) Schools for different levels of advancement

¹⁰Income of \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year.

2. (a) Schools for different levels of advancement
- (b) Libraries
- (c) Areas in community and town that support cultural activities
for children of all races
- (d) Schools that sponser career oriented classes

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

Social-Economic StructureNeighborhood

The neighborhoods shall consist, as nearly as possible, of homogeneous families. These families should correspond to the same economic group, the same racial group, and the same social group. The people living in these neighborhoods can be classified by income as follows:

1. \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year

White	- 10%
Negro	- 40%

2. \$5,000 and up a year

White	- 30%
Negro	- 20%

The above figures differ from the previous population characteristics that existed in the Southwest. Presently, there is a lack of the middle-class (\$5,000 income and up) white and Negro. I plan to bring these families in to liven up the area. But I do not plan to displace the people already living there. I can balance the area by increasing the people and therefore not displace anybody. By increasing the population from 23,000 to 35,000 people, with most of these being middle-class white, I can bring into the community what it lacked before-- the doers and joiners.

The introduction of the middle-class white in this area will bring with them an increasing importance of education. The Negro child will be introduced to the ways a middle-class child thinks and feels. With this association with the middle-class ways of thinking, it is hoped that the Negro child will become more aware of the importance of

education and the social gains it can bring. The middle-class people will bring added money which will help to improve the numbers and types of activities that the communities can afford. There is hope that through the younger generation, the Negroes can learn stronger unity as a group and begin to sponsor more organizations.

The first type of neighborhood will be the low-class white. This neighborhood will consist of families with the yearly income of \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year. Their homes will be partly subsidized by the federal government. The most important consideration in designing this neighborhood is the child--the hope of the future--his education and climate of social understanding.

The largest types of neighborhoods will be the \$1,000 to \$5,000 year Negro family. Their problems are closely aligned with that of the low-class white except for important aspects as previously mentioned.

The \$5,000 income neighborhoods of the white and Negro comprise the last two types of neighborhoods.

The above types of neighborhoods should be socially self-supporting. As one Negro man in the area stated, "All I want is to know everybody and everybody to know me." This is the way many people gain individuality and recognition.

Community

The community is the "melting pot" for the neighborhoods. It shall serve as the vehicle by which the homogeneous neighborhoods are brought together and allowed to mix. The communities will sponsor and support many formal and informal organizations that the neighborhoods are unable to.

The community will house the lower educational plants such as the elementary schools and kindergardens. These educational facilities will in turn sponser educational activities and groups whose main goal will be to improve the educational attainment of every individual within the community.

Town

The town is the social "melting pot" for all the communities. The town center will act as the social nucleus of the area and will provide a variety of social and cultural activities and organizations. This activity area will be the next link in the social identification scale (between the community and city) to that of greater Washington itself.

Physical Structure

Physical Structure - Neighborhoods

<u>Residence:</u>	<u>Housing type</u>	<u>Dwelling units per acre</u>
	1-family semidetached	10
	2-family detached	10
	1-family attached	16
	2-family semidetached	16
	Multifamily 2-story	25
	Multifamily 3-story	40
	Multifamily 6-story	65
	Multifamily 9-story	75

Recreation: Play space: 40 sq. ft. for each dwelling unit for pre-school children
Courts: Circulation space and meeting area

Commercial: Retail and personal service establishments which provide for the day-to-day needs of the tributary retail business
Spaces for some retail business
Spaces for one of the following:
Bank
Restaurant or bar
Billard parlor
Laundry
Barber shop
Beauty shop

Meeting Space: Inside meeting spaces for neighborhood organizations and groups

Parking: Row Houses 1 space per dwelling unit
 Flats 1 space per dwelling unit
 Apartment Houses ½ space per dwelling unit

Physical Structure - Community

Educational Facilities: 1 elementary school - 600 students - 10 acres
 1 branch library

Playground: 1 acre per 800 people

Park: 1 acre per 500 people

Churches: 1 church per every 2,000 people

Meeting Space: Inside meeting spaces for community organizations and groups

Commercial: Retail and personal service establishments which provide for the day-to-day needs of the tributary retail businesses
 Spaces for the following:

Bank
 Restaurant
 Bar
 Laundry
 Barber shop
 Beauty shop

Physical Structure - Town

Town Center: This area shall consist of 1 acre per 1,000 people living in the Southwest

Retail business:
 Drug stores
 Banks
 Food stores
 Barber shops
 Beauty shops
 Cleaners
 Restaurants
 Liquor store
 Variety store
 Dry Goods
 Filling stations
 Department stores
 General office buildings
 Hotel

Cultural:

Auditorium to seat 5,000, 3,000, 1,000 .
 Little theatre
 Museum
 Exhibition hall
 Libraries
 Meeting areas

Social:

Community center
 Meeting places for social organizations

Recreational:

Movie theatres
 Recreational center
 Y.M.C.A.

Public:

Police station
 Post Office
 Government office building
 Fire station

Parking:

1 parking space for 400 sq. ft. of rentable floor area

Residentials:

Provision for some apartments

Schools:

Junior Highs	1,500 students	20 acres
Senior Highs	2,500 students	40 acres

Churches:

1 church for every 5,000 people

Recreation:

Recreational Center	1 acre per 800 people	15-20 acres
or		
Playfields	1 acre per 800 people	10-30 acres

Waterfront Area:

Marina and marine stores
 Docks
 Retail, office and service establishments related to
 marina activities
 Repair and maintenance facilities

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