CHAPTER 7

Residential Areas: Planning, Perceptions and Preferences

INTRODUCTION

The location, structure and design of residential areas comprise some of the most absorbing problems facing planners to-day. The private and social needs of urban families are intimately affected by the physical arrangements of living, and the seemingly infinite variety of private aspirations and social whims indicate the complexity of the subject which is now the object of much research and experimentation by social scientists and planners.

To date few generalizations about residential area planning have been sufficiently tested to enable planners to employ them with confidence in the preparation of proposals for development, but certain recurring themes can be discerned in the theoretical literature and in practice, and these will be explored in the first part of this chapter before a pilot investigation undertaken as part of the Planning Standards Study is described.

RESEARCH EVIDENCE ON PLANNING OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Approaches to a theory of residential land use tend to fall into three general levels—macro, meso and micro. At the macro level the household's location is viewed in the context of the nation; at the meso level it is seen in the context of the city; and at the micro level it is considered in relation to the surrounding district.

At the macro level the problem of residential location and land use becomes virtually indistinguishable from that of migration. Two disciplines, economics and sociology, have contributed to its analysis. Economists have analysed the problem in terms of unemployment rates, wage levels, etc., but most recent works have been empirical though yielding some theoretical insights (Blanco, 1963; Fabricant, 1961; Mazek, 1969). Very little explicitly theoretical work has been done, although Vanderkamp (1970) has recently attempted to construct a comprehensive theory. On the other hand, sociologists have analysed the problem in terms of familial characteristics; age of head of household, etc. (Donnison, 1961; Rossi, 1955). There has been little attempt to integrate the approaches of the two disciplines.

It is at the meso level that most developments in the theory of residential land use have taken place. In the 1920s a sociologist, E.M.

Burgess, put forward what has become known as the concentric zone theory. He argued that the pattern of residential land use in a city was a result of its growth: one would expect the oldest buildings in the inner areas of the city to be occupied by the poorest households, and the newest buildings on the periphery to be occupied by the richest households (Burgess, 1925). A variant of this theory, suggested by Hoyt (1939), a land economist, has become known as sector theory. Hoyt argued that the very wealthiest households would tend to group together in neighbourhoods or zones on the periphery and that these households would migrate radially outwards as the city grew. Apart from this sectoral distortion he expected the pattern of location of the less wealthy households to be concentric as propounded by Burgess.

Recent developments in the theory of residential land use at the meso level have been due mainly to the work of economists. In the early 1960s several versions of an economic theory of residential location were developed independently in which each household is assumed to choose the optimal site in the city to locate (Alonso, 1962; Anderson, 1962). In doing so each household takes into account the cost of travel (including the value of travel time) and the cost of land and housing. The simplest version of the theory assumes that there is a single workplace at the city centre and that the cost of land declines with distance from the centre. Each household must therefore choose the distance from the city centre at which it locates in order to balance the pull towards the centre resulting from the systematic increase with distance in travel costs, and the push away from the centre resulting from the systematic reduction with distance in housing costs. Because households have different valuations of travel time and require differing amounts of housing and land the optimum location for different types of households varies. Hence the pattern of residential land use in the city is explicable in terms of the cost of travel and rent and need not be dependent upon the growth of the city as argued by Burgess and Hoyt. Sufficient empirical work on intra-urban residential location has now been carried out to show that the economic theory provides a most promising line of development (Kain, 1962; Muth, 1969). On the other hand this empirical work has indicated the complexity of the patterns (Anderson and Egeland, 1961; Murdie, 1969), and the need for a less simplistic theory which takes into account determinants other than travel costs. and rents. Current work in progress therefore involves both the refining of the assumptions of the theory and the attempt to integrate the alternative theories.

Studies executed at the micro level differ not only in scale but in focus. Factors considerd important at the meso level assume little or no importance at the micro level. Within the urban district variations in land prices and travel costs are negligible and can usually be ignored. At this level also the relative importance of the contributions which can be expected from different disciplines will vary. Economic factors assume only minor importance and social factors become the most

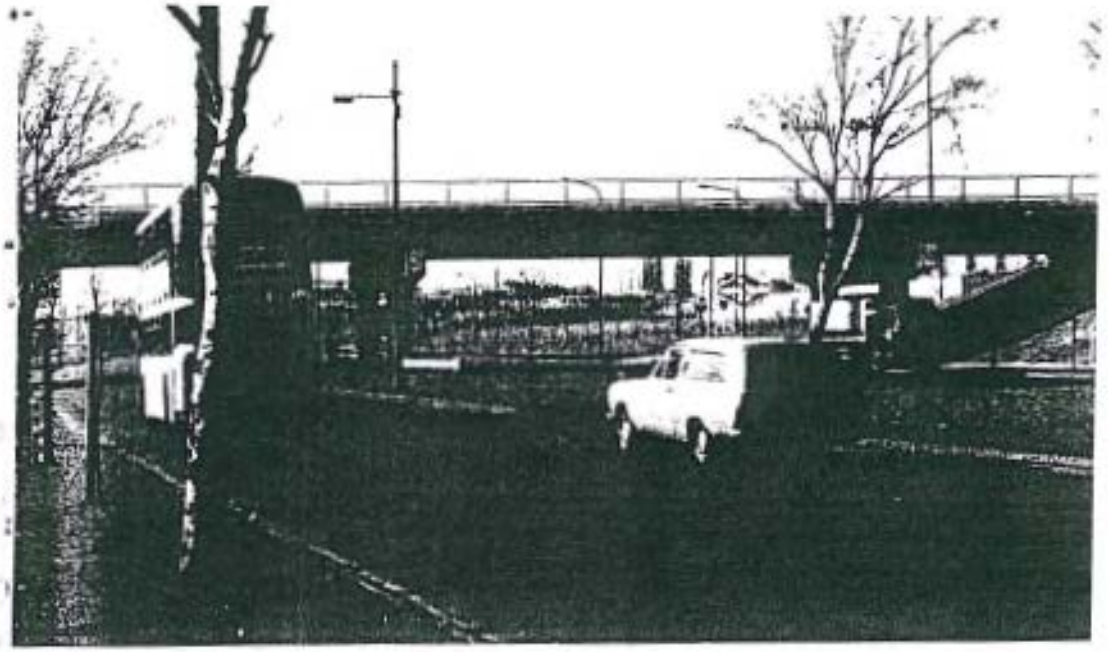
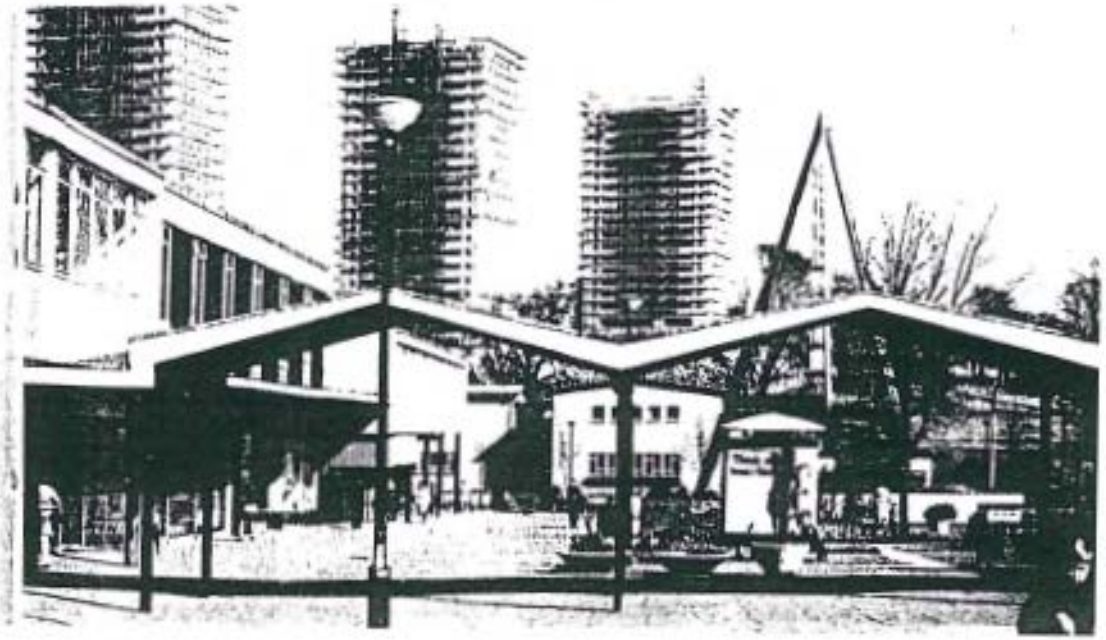


Plate 7.1. The flyover cited as an indicator of home, with factory beyond.

Plate 7.2. Part of the shopping centre serving an outer area.



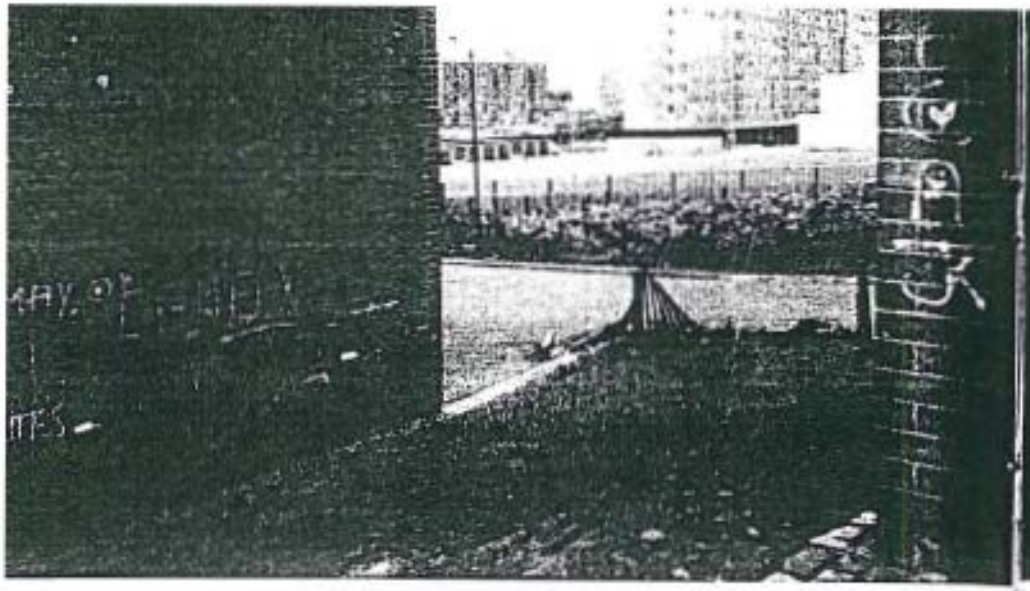


Plate 7.3. The offending tenement seen in the background is situated on the far side of a busy railway line.

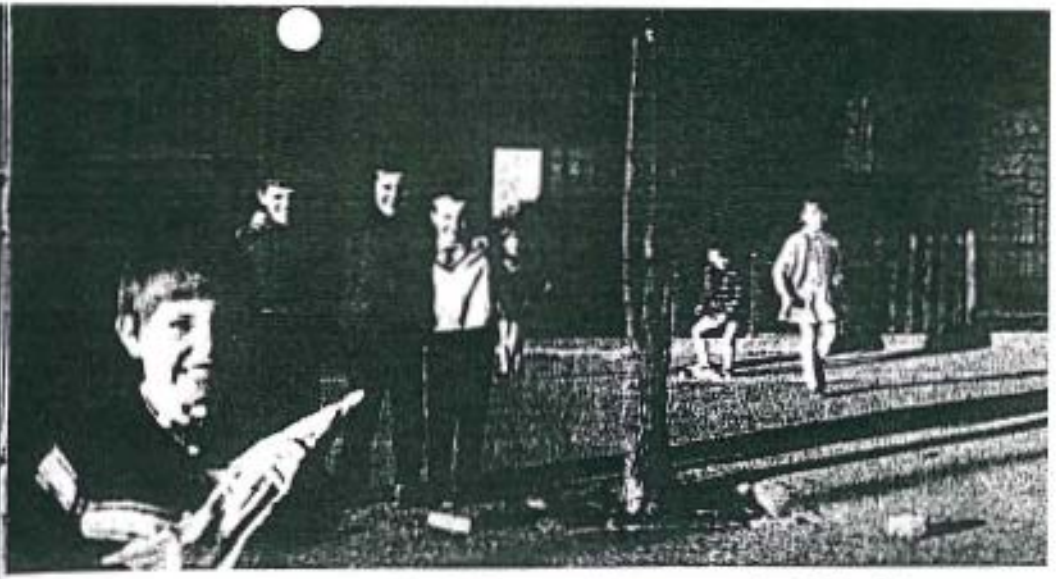


Plate 7.5. Children's playspace—the forecourt to a boarded-up flat.

Plate 7.4. Provision for local shopping in an inner area. The cemetery is visible in the background.

Plate 7.6. Open space for a fringe estate of many thousands of people.

important. It is the micro level, too, that contrasts in research orientation become most marked. A clear distinction appears, for example, between the 'objective' surveys of design, lay out, scale and functional structure of residential areas on the one hand, and explorations of residents' attitudes toward and evaluations of their environments on the other hand. Very frequently sharp contrasts exist between the observer's (e.g. planner's) view and those of the residents. Each view can be seen as the reflection of a particular value system or ideology, and one of the central dilemmas then becomes a moral or ethical one, viz., whose value system should be chosen as the foundation for design of public housing schemes (Reade, 1969).

This chapter, focussed primarily on the micro level, addresses itself to certain aspects of this multi-faceted question, and attempts to extract some evidence from the work of various social scientists regarding the associations between social behaviour and the physical design and social provision of residential areas. The focus rests primarily on lower income housing, since much of the written evidence on this subject concerns the older dilapidated urban neighbourhoods and newer council housing estates.

In the past, research on the social and physical characteristics of residential areas has followed rather separate channels. A considerable research effort has examined the social and psychological foundations of pathological behaviour patterns, for example, and social planners have recommended welfare and other kinds of social provision in the planning of new housing estates (Schorr, 1963; M.O.H.L.G. 1968a). Architects and city planners, on the other hand, have endeavoured to ameliorate social problems through careful physical design, e.g. through density control, variety in building and estate layout, and other measures frequently quite independently of welfare and other kinds of social provision (McConnell, 1969a). Ideally, both perspectives are needed; but joint action and discussion among physical and social planners has been impeded by the lack of comprehensive research evidence on the relationship between human behaviour and the physical environment. The evidence to date characteristically takes the form of generalizations between behaviour pattern symptoms on the one hand, and certain physical characteristics of the environment on the other. Such correlations, however, do not necessarily imply causal connections. They may merely indicate associations among social and physical phenomena, and provide a lead to further research on possible intervening variables still partially, if not completely, unknown. However, a brief look at such associations as have been discovered does provide a background to current studies on residential area planning in Britain and the U.S.A.

American studies may be said to fall roughly into three major categories. One perspective considers the home and neighbourhood as extensions of a family's self-image, as factors in increasing or minimizing stress, a cause of good or ill-health, and as factors in feelings of

tion as expressed rather succinctly in a study done by the Hudsons Guild Neighbourhood House in 1960:

> Housing . . . has represented much more than physical structures. Housing is/has become a subject of highly charged emotional content: a matter of strong feeling. It is the symbol of status, of achievement, of social acceptance. It seems to control, in large measure the way in which the individual, the family, perceives him/itself, and is evaluated by others.

Class differentials are undoubtedly evident here, but several scholars have shown that people perceive their environments differently, and that in some cases people evaluate themselves in terms of their environments (Kates and Wohlwill, 1966; Searles, 1960). Living in poor housing seems to influence self-evaluation and motivation. People in poor districts evince pessimism, a readiness to seize present satisfactions and let the future take care of itself, a feeling of being controlled rather than of being in control of events (Kluckhohn and Spiegel, 1954; Hylan, 1961). Such attitudes present barriers to rehabilitation or relocation of poor families. If the moves to new estates are accompanied by sufficient educational and other cultural opportunities, however, families may show dramatic changes in self-evaluation and motivation (Millspaugh and Breckenfeld, 1958). The crucial factor seems to be the amount of stress associated with the move. Housing can provide one avenue for the reduction of such stress (Cassel *et al.* 1960), if space is adequately arranged and privacy guaranteed for individual family members. In so many cases, however, the new housing arrangement, far from alleviating stresses, merely constitutes another source of frustration (Davies, 1946; Lemkau, 1955). Evaluative studies on different types of housing have usually taken the form of an analysis of relative satisfactions. There are no doubt serious limitations in this approach—and on average two thirds of all residents show satisfaction —but there are certain housing characteristics which show a high degree of relationship to satisfaction, e.g. home ownership as opposed to rental (Back, 1962); space per person (Cottom, 1951; Riemer, 1959); number of rooms per family (Mogey, 1960); availability of space for separate uses (Chapin, 1938); the absence of certain deficiencies, e.g. vermin (Wilner *et al.* 1955); and the quality of neighbourhood relationships (Fried and Gleicher, 1961). Such associations sound logical enough, but there are sometimes curious exceptions, e.g. people in crowded conditions sometimes reveal higher degrees of satisfaction than those living in uncrowded conditions. Circumstances surrounding a family's move to a new area do appear to influence behaviour and attitudes significantly. Analyses of satisfaction also reveal that residents distinguish between their evaluations of house and evaluations of area outside the dwelling.

A second cluster of research evidence concerns the social/behavioural consequences of internal house design. Again in relation to poor families, crowding seems to be the primary factor which influences health. Various indices of crowding, and related criteria for optimal space standards have been suggested, e.g. square feet per person, number of people per room, Chapin's concept of 'use crowding' (Chapin, 1961; American Public Health Assoc., 1939). With the exception of special studies of differential densities under extreme conditions, e.g. in fall-out shelters, prisons, hospitals etc., there are very few comprehensive evaluative studies on this question. Chombart de Lauwe and his colleagues calculated quantitative thresholds of density suitable for working class families in Paris, but similar work on other socio-economic groups is not easily available (Chombart de Lauwe, 1952; 1955). There is ample evidence, however, that middle-class attitudes towards space and internal house design differ substantially from those of the working class; similarly, definitions of privacy and involvement in neighbourly activities vary with social class, life style and cultural background (Hall, 1968; Sommer, 1969). Plant, a psychologist, suggested (1930) that children who are reared in crowded conditions tend to be more gregarious, tend to look outside themselves for stimulation, to be comparatively uninterested in solitary pursuits and cynical about organisation and government. If this were true, then the provision of adequate space might lead in a few generations to demands for even more space. The transition from crowded to low-density housing environment tends, in general, to bring about a relaxation of tension, even when the move may deprive people of apparent security derived from close knit neighbourly communities, but, unless adequate recreational opportunities and other facilities are provided in the neighbourhood, any propensities toward neurotic behaviour tend to become aggravated (Chapin, 1961). Three areas of concern, then, are the amount of space within the home itself, the arrangement of space within the home, and finally provision for recreational and other cultural activities outside the home.

Studies of these dimensions of residential area design have characteristically been based on profiles of family preferences, which, like analyses of satisfactions, are not too easily interpreted (Wilson, 1962). Clearly people from different backgrounds and life styles have different sets of expectations about their homes; but research on preferences has not yielded satisfactory information about how housing *per se* influences attitudes and behaviour. Sociologists of the 'forties and 'fifties presupposed that internal house design had an important effect upon patterns of family living, (Riemer, 1943), but later studies suggest evidence to the contrary. Rosow (1961), for instance, concludes 'There is little evidence that satisfaction with new housing is directly related to liveability resulting from design *per se*, except when there is a significant improvement in housing, especially where people come from substandard housing, or occupants are particularly conscious of housing in highly literate, sophisticated terms.'

on residential areas at the micro level concerns the effects of place and neighbourhood upon family and social relationships. This topic is treated more fully in Chapter 5 of this volume. In general, within the relatively homogeneous communities studied to date, a high degree of social interaction within a particular area gave rise to a twofold link between community and area. Fried and Gleicher (1961) described these multi-facetted connections between social networks and place in Boston's West End: 'the interweaving and overlap of many different types of interpersonal contacts and role relationships, and . . . the organization and concrete manifestation of these relationships within a common, relatively bounded spatial region'. Relocation of families from such socially-stable neighbourhoods often presents insuperable problems and conflicts. A tension inevitably arises in most cases between the demands of neighbourly involvement in the new estates on the one hand, and the enduring demands of kinship ties on the other. Families vary considerably in their ability/interest in being involved in the new area. Younger family groups may become more family-centred than neighbourhood-centred. Changes occur not only in the degree of contact but also the kind of contact. Lack of familiarity with telephones, lack of experience in acquiring casual friendships in the neighbourhood, hesitation to join formal organizations and several other factors make adaptation to new forms of friendship and neighbourhood interaction very difficult for some new residents. Alvin Schorr has asserted that the impact of physical housing on human behaviour is usually understated, and that the planners' lack of information on this aspect has led to much deprivation and serious human costs (Schorr, 1963).

In Britain much of the research on residential matters has been concentrated on the more strictly practical problems associated with different forms of building and different types of layout, e.g. high rise/low rise blocks; development with/without footpath success. This may be exemplified by a summary article by McConnell (1969b) on 'Residential Area Design' in which topics discussed were the need for choice, environmental areas, neighbourhood units, radburn layouts, mixed development, townscape etc.; by work described by Morris (1970) on 'The Radburn Dilemma', or by the study by Jephcott (1971) of 'Homes in High Flats'.

Alongside such work a strong body of research has been developing into aspects of the normative standards outlined by Lever in Chapter 2 of this volume in, for example, areas for improvement (M.O.H.L.G., 1966; Nottinghamshire County Planning Department, 1969); in new council estates (M.O.H.L.G., 1968b; 1969); and in private housing estates (Shankland Cox and Associates, 1969). This work is complemented by studies with a social bias by, amongst others, Hole (1959) on 'The Social Effects of Planned Rehousing', by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee (1970) on 'Council House Communities' and by Blowers (1970) on the social implications of layout and design, while Walter (1970) actively pushes forward attempts to evaluate the quality of the environment in monetary terms with particular reference to noise nuisance.

Recently on both sides of the Atlantic a great deal of effort has gone into the gathering together of material in selected bibliographies on environmental studies. These range over many fields and are not exclusively concerned with residential environment, but they do provide further evidence of the limited amount of material available on the effects of the environment on man (Meshenberg, 1970; Michelson, 1970). Goodey (1971) limits his field to perception of the environment, and repeatedly emphasizes the need for collaboration between researchers and practitioners, stressing the potential usefulness of an understanding of perception in the task of humanising the environment which lies at the heart of all planning endeavour, whether in residential areas or elsewhere.

Such bibliographical studies, by drawing together material from many disciplines, do help to spread awareness across disciplinary boundaries. In this way the work of Lynch (1960) has become known to psychologists, and the work of psychologists like Craik (1968), and Lee (1967), has become known to geographers and planners alike. Lee's work in particular is coming to be linked with the work of social geographers on social space. The studies in social geography carried out by Research Services Ltd. (1969a, b), showing as they did that the majority of urban electors interviewed had an attachment to an area roughly ward sized may in the long run prove to have been of paramount importance in drawing attention to the potential of such studies for those engaged in planning at all levels of the system.

Considerations of this kind led the authors of this chapter, with backgrounds in social science research and planning practice, to seek to explore some generalizations on human behaviour and environment, and to attempt to combine 'objective' and 'subjective' perspectives on residential area design while seeking to identify certain critical areas of contrast between external and internal views in a pilot investigation of some Glasgow housing estates and their residents.

The investigation was on too small a scale for formal conclusions to be drawn, but the intention was to formulate a possible method of study which might be adopted in a number of locations in order to achieve a body of comparative data, rather than to produce a definitive study.

THE PILOT PROJECT

1. *Aim of the project*

The primary aim of the study was to examine some experiences of the application of planning standards within selected residential areas in Glasgow in order to see whether and how the presence or absence of such standards affected residents' satisfactions with their environment.

An allied objective was to work towards a methodology whereby planners could test proposals by means of the exploration of residents' attitudes toward housing design and community provision in other situations. An attempt was made to explore subjective assessments of environment and to examine variations in satisfaction in relation to socio-economic level of occupants, distance from city centre and presence or absence of planning standards. It was hypothesized that people in different socio-economic groups, at different distances from a city centre would perceive and use space in different ways. The study set out to examine whether these differential patterns of 'social space' implied different sets of expectations for residential area design and hence helped to explain variations in evironmental satisfaction.

2. *Conceptual framework*

Social space has been conceptualized as the filter through which groups evaluate and use their physical environment (Buttimer, 1969). It is assumed that people have varied perspectives on their environments: they construct mental maps of their respective home areas which reflect their backgrounds and social mobility; they convert geodesic distance to social distance through ties of kin, friendship and special interest; they select particular meanings for urban space through their normal orbits of movement. It would appear possible to discover the nature, shape and internal dynamics of these various 'spaces' by an in-depth study of people's attitudes, movements and activities. Since it is impractical in a small study to pursue all possible dimensions of people's social space, an assumption has to be made that a generalized social space exists for certain groups, and an attempt can then be made to measure the nature and dynamics of certain determinants of social horizons, viz. existence and extent of 'home area', interaction through space with relatives, friends and special interest groups, flows of movement to certain nodally-organized services. Two distinct kinds of 'spaces' can be analyzed: the 'participation spaces' defined in terms of visits to friends, relatives and special interest group meetings; and the 'service centre' or 'isochronic' spaces defined in terms of trips to schools, job, surgery, post office and other public services. Combining these various interaction orbits, three distinct kinds of socially-significant spaces should emerge:

(1) a local space defined in terms of trips to the local shops, schools, and play areas, and casual but frequent interaction with neighbours;
(2) an intermediate space defined in terms of regular trips to other shops, church, doctors' surgery, and visits to friends, relatives and special-interest group meetings; and
(3) a more diffuse space defined in terms of interaction with close friends and relatives who may be of primary importance even when the location of their residences precludes meetings and visiting at all.

In broad terms the first of these may correspond with the facilities used within a 5-minute orbit from home plus neighbourly contacts which develop in the immediate neighbourhood; the second may correspond to facilities located within a 10-minute orbit; and the outer zone (spatially more extensive and discontinuous) may accommodate longer movements through space, but probably does have a higher order of social meaning. Spatial overlap amongst these three types of spaces may be greatest among the lower socio-economic groups and least among the higher socio-economic groups; and therefore social space may be more compact and localized for the lower socio-economic groups and more diffuse for the higher socio-economic groups. This may also suggest a higher density of social interaction within the social spaces of the former, and lower density of interaction within the social spaces of the latter.

Satisfaction with residential environment was considered in terms of three principal components:

(1) HOME: satisfaction with dwelling;
(2) SITE: satisfaction with area; and satisfaction with life within the area; and
(3) SITUATION: satisfaction with accessibility to 'participation' spaces; satisfaction with accessibility to 'service centre' spaces.

The sections of these components most susceptible to planning activity are the area, and the location of the service centre uses. Qualitative assessments of these components in terms of criteria currently employed in practice were therefore an integral part of the study, and the extent to which 'high' quality correlated with satisfaction was a matter of some concern in the study.

3. *Procedure and method of investigation*

Four concentric zones at 1½ mile intervals around Glasgow's city centre were defined, and within each of the three inner zones six residential areas of three different socio-economic levels were selected, rateable values of property being used as an initial indicator of level. Within each level in each zone, the two areas selected for scrutiny consisted of one in which planning standards appeared to be present, and one in which planning standards appeared to be absent. In the outer zone only two areas at the lowest socio-economic level were possible. Four areas were eventually used in the full pilot study, but a substantial amount of preliminary survey work was carried out in order to develop a survey method, and provide a basis for selection of the limited number of areas used in the pilot study.

All the districts were surveyed in terms of visual quality, convenience, comfort and safety, in accordance with criteria drawn up after extensive study of relevant literature (e.g. M.O.H.L.G., 1968a; Scottish Development Department *et al.*, 1968; numerous documents on new towns, county boroughs etc. from the Departmental Collection of the Depart-

ment of Town and Regional Planning). For examp convenience and service facilities within 500 and 1000 metres of dwellings, such as local shops, play space, primary schools, telephone kiosks, doctors' surgeries and post offices were located; and through traffic routes, schools which could only be reached across busy roads, heavy traffic generators, and so on, recorded. Ratings were given to each area. The difficulties of obtaining objective ratings were explored and attempts were made to achieve consistency of approach amongst the surveyors. It was acknowledged that subjective evaluation could not be wholly eliminated, and indeed in some respects had to be freely accepted, as for example, in assessments of noise levels.[1] This part of the study was largely undertaken by Roy Barrie, Mike Edwards, Malcolm Flamman, Phil Gaunt, Caroline Nichols and John Wilson, post-graduate students in the Department of Town and Regional Planning: without their continuing interest the study would not have been carried through.

The site survey also helped to define areas of reasonably homogeneous housing development from which samples for the second part of the survey could be drawn. This second part consisted of lengthy interviews at selected dwellings within each district to explore people's attitudes towards and satisfactions with their residential environments, so that 'subjective' ratings made by respondents on interview could be compared with the more 'objective' ratings from the site survey. Four districts were finally selected for study, two in the inner zone, and two in the outer zone. All these districts were in the lowest group as regards rateable value of dwellings. A 10 per cent sample was then drawn from within a small sector of each of the four districts, yielding a total of 152 valid interviews. An effort was made to ensure spatial as well as statistical representativeness in the sample: in the case of multi-storey buildings the random sample was stratified by floor level; in areas of lower density, a random spatial scatter of dwellings was selected using the Ordnance Survey locational grid.

The questionnaire itself consisted of four major clusters of questions: (1) assessments of home and neighbourhood; (2) existence of 'home area'; (3) satisfactions with accessibility to 'participation spaces'; and (4) satisfactions with accessibility to various services and convenience items.

In developing the questionnaire the authors were fortunate in having an opportunity of studying the as yet unpublished work of the Sociological Research Section of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government on 'The Estate outside the Dwelling'. This made possible the inclusion of a number of similar questions as an aid to comparability on a number of matters relating to the assessment of the home and its surroundings.

Interviews, each lasting over an hour, were carried out in the spring of 1970 by British Market Research and aroused considerable interest.

[1] Cf. *Neighbourhood Assessment Study*, by Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham (1970); and *A Method of Assessing the Physical Environment of Residential Areas*, by Nottinghamshire County Planning Department (1969).

The response r was good. Each interview schedule included a map of the immediate district on which the local service items were marked. Interviewers were asked to circle on the map locations of churches, schools, shops, etc., and also to fill in all addresses and locational information after each interview. Maps were then constructed from this data which provided a first impression of each individual's social space profile.[1]

4. *Hypotheses suggested for examination*

A number of hypotheses were put forward for examination:

(1) That the existence of a spatially circumscribable 'home area' is associated with a consistent set of expectations about residential environment; and thus the presence or absence of such elements will be reflected in a person's satisfaction with residential environment. Example: Mrs. A, who identifies a definite 'home area' will be satisfied with her environment because a certain set of local provisions and neighbourly contacts are present; Mrs B., who has no definable 'home area' will be satisfied because another set of local provisions are present and neighbourly contacts are not present—she is thereby released to cultivate more spatially-distant types of contact.

(2) That there is a close relationship between satisfaction with dwelling and satisfaction with area, relationship between dwelling and area being expressed through satisfactions with access, privacy, garden, views, etc.
It was further hypothesized that
(i) satisfaction with area is strongly influenced by presence or absence of convenience facilities and neighbourly contacts, the relationship being expressed in satisfactions within the first level of social space; and that
(ii) satisfaction with life in the area is influenced by ease of access to and quality of 'macro service centres', e.g. surgery, and schools; and also by the presence therein of close friends, shops, relatives and special interest group meetings.

(3) That satisfactions with situation will be expressed in people's assessment of accessibility both to their participation spaces and to other needed social and public services, and that
(i) accessibility to different services varies in significance to people with different kinds of social space profile;
(ii) a distinction can be made between residential satisfaction which is more strongly related to compact service-centre space, and residential satisfaction which is related to compact participation spaces;
(iii) the relative importance of accessibility to participation

[1] A detailed analysis of social space profiles of respondents is now being undertaken by Dr. Buttimer at Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

spaces and to service centre spaces will vary between districts, reflecting people's identity with home grou degree of social mobility and location.

(4) That the extent of 'home ground' or 'home area' may be related to the location of certain convenience and social facilities, e.g. local shops, churches, or bus stops, and certain strong physical features, e.g. parks, woods, traffic arteries, and that such features may function as spatial indicators or reference points.

All these hypotheses were not explored in the first stage of the analysis of the large volume of data derived from the survey, but some broad associations between satisfactions, social space, and perceptions which emerged deserve attention at this stage.

SUMMARY OF INTERIM FINDINGS

1. *The existence of home 'ground', or 'area'*

It has been suggested in some recent studies (see Cherry, 1970) that a change of housing and environmental conditions from an old neighbourhood to a new estate, for example, is not accompanied by a rejection of inherited ways of life, and that some differences between the classes are continuing. Of particular importance to the planner is the continuum of spatial perceptions which may be postulated, ranging from the 'block dweller', with a sharply circumscribed home area at one end of the continuum, to the 'city dweller' who identifies diffusely with a large area at the other end. People who have lived in traditional, close-knit communities in the older areas of industrial cities may represent the 'block dweller' type, while the mobile, upper middle class business executive may represent the 'city dweller' type. Since the 'block dwellers' are often the people affected by redevelopment plans, and rarely participate in the formulation of these plans, it would be useful to explore the nature of their relationship to place, the ingredients of their attachment to their home area, if any, and the possible mechanisms whereby adaptation to new environments may be eased.

With this in mind respondents were asked to name the part of Glasgow they lived in: most respondents gave district names embracing the whole housing estate, or district of Glasgow of which the estate was part, and the area covered by the sample investigation an even smaller part. Few respondents gave a qualifying name to suggest which small part of the larger estate they lived in. This was perhaps a reflection of difficulties found during the site survey in the selection of discrete areas in the layouts for further study. There was no indication that the subdivisions defined by the layout or subtler considerations which Blowers encountered in his study of Newcastle (1970) were acknowledged by name, although there was no doubt that such subdivisions existed in people's minds.

85 per cent of the respondents sometimes or always felt at home in their area, and a variety of reasons were given for this. The most frequently quoted ones concerned people, who were variously described as 'friendly', 'helpful', 'nice' and 'neighbourly'. In the inner areas phrases suggesting 'having a long connection with the area and/or its inhabitants' were most frequently offered in explanation.

When asked 'Would you say that there was a particular area round here that you would describe as *your* area, your home ground as it were?' 60 per cent replied in the affirmative. The extent of the area varied, some respondents indicating on a map a small, compact area around their own home or street and others indicating a more extensive area covering many acres of development. The definition of the home area and its spatial extent did not appear to be dependent on the presence of most frequent contacts within it, and very few of those who said they could identify a home area travelled beyond it less often than once a week. The area with the smallest proportion of respondents able to identify a home area was also the one in which fewest extensive home areas were defined, and the one with the highest proportion of respondents in the younger age groups.

2. *Satisfactions and 'home area'*

The relation between having, or not having, a 'home area' and three broad categories of satisfaction is shown in Tables 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3. From these it can be seen that 54·3 per cent of respondents had a 'home area' and were satisfied with their area, and with their life in the area. Slightly fewer of those with a 'home area' were satisfied with their dwelling.

The outer area which suffered from the greatest lack of shopping and other facilities, and was adjudged harsh and rather bleak in character with three storey, six-to-a-block, walk-up flats built around enclosed courts, was the only area in which a majority of respondents did not have a 'home area'. Thus the figures in Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 mask some interesting variations between the areas. Of eighteen people in the survey who expressed dissatisfaction with their area, eleven were in this one outer area; of twenty who expressed dissatisfaction with life

TABLE 7.1. *Number and percentage of those with/without 'home area,' by satisfaction with area*

Home area	*Satisfaction with area*							
	Very and fairly satisfied		*No feelings either way*		*Rather and very dissatisfied*		*Total*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
With	95	54·3	2	1·1	7	4·0	104	59·4
Without	54	30·9	2	1·1	11	6·3	67	38·3
Don't know	4	2·3	—	—	—	—	4	2·3
Total	153	87·5	4	2·2	18	10·3	175	100·0

TABLE 7.2. *Number and percentage of those with/without 'home area', by satisfaction with life in area*

Home area	*Satisfaction with life in area*						*Total*	
	Very and fairly satisfied		*No feelings either way*		*Rather and very dissatisfied*			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
With	93	54·3	2	1·1	7	4·0	104	59·4
Without	50	28·6	4	2·3	13	7·4	67	38·3
Don't know	4	2·3	—	—	—	—	4	2·3
Total	149	85·2	6	3·4	20	11·4	175	100·0

TABLE 7.3. *Number and percentage of those with/without 'home area', by satisfaction with dwelling*

Home area	*Satisfaction with dwelling*						*Total*	
	Very and fairly satisfied		*No feelings either way*		*Rather and very dissatisfied*			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
With	89	50·9	1	0·5	14	8·0	104	59·4
Without	56	32·0	4	2·3	7	4·0	67	38·3
Don't know	4	2·3	—	—	—	—	4	2·3
Total	149	85·2	5	2·8	21	12·0	175	100·0

in their area, ten were in this same outer area; and of twenty-one who expressed dissatisfaction with their dwelling, eight were in this area. Variations of this kind between areas and between degrees of satisfaction coupled with the ability of respondents to support their views, indicated the careful thought given to answering the numerous questions.

3. *Spatial indicators*

Certain landmarks which had been identified as such in the surveys of visual quality, for example cemeteries, institutional buildings, and churches were often cited by people as indicators of nearness to home. Thus, in answer to a question about 'anything which makes you feel you're getting near home?' over half the respondents in one outer area mentioned the flyover and/or the factory in the background in Plate 7.1. This flyover does mark the locality in which traffic turns off a major route to enter the larger estate but is at some distance from the homes of those interviewed, and in most cases well beyond the area defined by the respondent as the 'home area'. Other indicators cited were the high flats under construction near the shopping centre used by most respondents, and the vertical sign at the shopping centre (Plate 7.2). Most of the indicators in all areas were visual but other sensory perceptions were suggested by remarks such as 'the smell of the brewery', e sound of the traffic', 'the feel of the scheme around me', or 'where the road gets rough'.

There was some further evidence from the pilot study that the boundaries of 'home areas' tend to occur at points or streets where convenience facilities are located, for example, at bus stops, shops, surgeries etc. This could be inferred from the comparison of the 'home areas' defined by those in the areas well provided with facilities and those in the more deprived areas. The area where a minority of respondents could define a 'home area' had fewer facilities in more scattered locations at the time of the survey. A large shopping centre is now under construction, and a comparison with 'home areas' defined in this area in a few years' time could be a most valuable one in helping to establish the role of service centres in relation to 'home area'. Certainly the relationship between satisfaction with area and accessibility to service and convenience facilities appeared to be strong, local and occasional shops, schools and post offices being of some importance here.

4. *'Objective' versus 'Subjective' viewpoints*

The correspondence between the assessments given as a result of the site survey, and those given by respondents was fairly high. Possibly of greatest interest are some of the points on which the correspondence was least, or where the respondents' comments came as something of a surprise. Some of these relate to the inner area with the lower ratings in terms of provision of and accessibility to convenience facilities, visual quality, safety and comfort. This area was one of mixed development with twenty-storey blocks of flats, and five storey blocks of flats and maisonettes. Nearly 75 per cent of the respondents had been in their homes for from only one to three years, and almost half specifically mentioned 'the bathroom' or 'having a bathroom' when saying what they liked about their dwellings as opposed to seven out of thirty-six in the other inner area scheme, also of mixed development, where three-quarters of the respondents had been in their homes for over five years. Here again re-survey in five years' time could be illuminating.

The intensity of feeling expressed over the tenement in Plate 7.3 was not fully anticipated although the tenement had been recorded as an eyesore. Typical of Glasgow's poor, older housing (Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, 1967), to the outsider this block was one being emptied of tenants, and ripe for demolition, but to the respondents it was possibly also an unwelcome reminder of conditions lately left. (Shankland Cox and Associates in their study of Le Puits-la-Marlière (1971) found 'great resentment' aroused by an abandoned car in one housing group.)

The residents in this inner area had wished to live in it, many of them having lived previously in the surrounding area until their homes were affected by redevelopment proposals. Twenty-three of the thirty-one respondents who had wanted to live in the area had very much

wanted to do so. Twenty-two had lived less than t.. .en minutes away before moving to the area. These factors may have coloured the respondents' perception of distance, estimates of time taken to reach shops (other than the vans in Plate 7.4) being rather less than those made during the site survey. Having wanted to live in the area may also have helped to overcome some of the other features of the area which were the subject of critical comment, such as the proximity of the cemetery (Plate 7.4).

5. *Some points on perceptions*

The importance of the appearance of the area did not appear to be as great as in the six English estates studied by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (1969). However, it did seem to be noticeably higher than in the West of Scotland studies carried out by Hole (1959) when she was able to write 'Aesthetics played almost no part in the assessment of the external appearance of the dwellings on the estates studied'. She went on to suggest that 'tenants like what they have until they are faced with some alternative with which they can make a realistic comparison. As standards of layout and external design gradually rise, such comparisons will become possible . . .' The survey findings may well indicate the development of a degree of discrimination in relation to appearance greater than that deduced by Waller (1970).

One woman who disliked the view from her living room explained her dislike in the following words, 'Because all I can see is Jean McConnachie's garden, it's just a jungle o' grass. If she had twa tigers in it, it would at least be interesting.' This did seem to be a delightful illustration of popular appreciation of the way in which the context in which a thing is seen can influence a person's perception.

In the least satisfactory area there was a noticeable lack of public open space provision in the form of children's play space, formal parks, and provisions for organized games: dissatisfaction here was considerable. Asked about the provision of playspace for children under 11 years of age, forty-one out of forty-eight respondents expressed dissatisfaction three had no views on the matter, and only four were satisfied (Plate 7.5). This exceptionally high rate of dissatisfaction was not matched in response to a question on the amount of trees, grass and green area although a third of the sample were dissatisfied on this score. The extensive areas of semi-waste land in the vicinity, of which Plate 7.6 is only a part, were perceived neither as open space nor as greenery by a substantial number of respondents.

Some tentative conclusions

The tentative conclusions which can be drawn from the study at its present stage centre around a limited number of topics which would seem to justify further examination. The evidence from the survey does suggest that many people can readily identify an area, which could be termed their 'home area', by means of visual and other sensory

indicators, and that having such a 'home area' is positively related to satisfaction with an area, and with life in that area, although rather less to satisfaction with dwelling. The 'home area' is further related to the location of facilities such as shops and schools, the siting of which is of concern to the planner. People living in the redeveloped inner areas of the city are more likely to have friends and relatives living in their 'home areas', and people expressing dissatisfaction with life in their area are apparently more likely to feel that their relatives live too far away.

Discrete social space profiles can be discerned amongst people of similar socio-economic backgrounds. The relation of the spatial profile to life style and stage in life cycle could well be amenable to further investigation although numbers in the sample of different types of household in different age groups were too small for this to be pursued. Personality type may be an important variable here. The findings from the survey would support the views expressed by Heidemann and Stapf (1969), and by Rapoport (1970) that new evaluative techniques going beyond technical performance criteria are required.

The results of the survey so far as they can be assessed as yet suggest that it is well worthwhile selecting areas to a fairly strict specification in order to be able to check at least some aspects from both an objective and a subjective standpoint. A tighter specification, and further stratification of the interview sample by household type could prove extremely rewarding in studies of this kind.

It would seem that more conscious consideration of the theoretical concepts of social space could be of help to the planner in his efforts to grapple with the complex problems of residential area planning. The social space framework may help the planner to organize his thinking on residential area planning in such a way as to take account of the preferences of different types of people, and the resultant need for choice which has so often been obscured in development in the past. Social space concepts may help to overcome the problems so ably described by Amos (1968):

> In many countries one can find areas developed on the basis of diligently prepared plans which have turned out to be failures in terms of the satisfaction of the users of that area. Perhaps the largest contributory factor to such failures is the tendency of local planners and administrators to think in terms of physical conditions, whereas the citizens think in terms of activities. For example, the local planner may regard Area A as good because the dwellings are structurally sound and spacious; there are well equipped schools; open spaces are adequate and attractively laid out; pedestrians are separated from vehicles and there are shops and social facilities nearby. Conversely, he may regard Area B as bad because the dwellings are slums; the schools are obsolete; there is no open space; there are traffic hazards and congestion; the shops are badly run

areas are consulted, one may find that Are , is preferred because in that area the neighbours are friendly; the children do not go far from home; the bus stops are convenient; the shop keeper gives credit; the local pub is more like a club.

Perhaps the most important conclusion of all, however, for the planner must be the tentative evidence the survey provides that whatever else it may be necessary for the planner to add in to his thinking on residential area planning, it is not going to be possible for him to discard altogether his traditional preoccupation with physical, environmental quality: people *do* notice the noise from the railway, the lack of a view, or the distance from the bus stop, and while the consumer is sharpening his critical faculties, the planner must continue to advance his evaluative techniques.

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