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NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
CANADA
DIVISION OF BUILDING RESEARCH

PRIVACY AS A FACTOR IN SPACING RESIDENTIAL
BUILDINGS AND RELATED SITE DEVELOPMENT

by

Alan Hedley

Prepared under the direction of

Dr. H. Peter Oberlander

and

Prof. W. Gerson

A Joint Project of the School of Architecture and the
Graduate Program in Community and Regional Planning,
University of British Columbia,
and the
Division of Building Research, National Research Council

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Ottawa
November 1966

PRIVACY
AS A FACTOR IN RESIDENTIAL SPACE AND SITE DEVELOPMENT

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FOREWORD

This report is one of a series that is concerned with space between buildings and related site development -- a project that has been undertaken for the Division by the School of Architecture at the University of British Columbia.

The following reports in this series have already been issued: A Study of Performance Standards for Space and Site Planning for Residential Development (DBR Internal Report 273), a discussion of the factors that determine the spacing of residential buildings; four reports concerning the space between buildings as a means of preventing the spread of fire (issued as DBR Internal Reports Nos. 280, 281, 282, and 283); and An Annotated Bibliography on Performance Standards for Space and Site Planning for Residential Development (NRC 6442).

This present report deals with privacy as a factor in the determination of space between residential buildings. The author, Alan Hedley, is a sociologist and carried out this project under the direction of Dr. H.P. Oberlander, Head, Community and Regional Planning, and Professor W. Gerson, School of Architecture, University of British Columbia. Prior to writing this report, Mr. Hedley prepared a bibliography on Privacy as a Factor in Residential Buildings and Site Development. This was issued in April 1966 as NRC report No. 8968.

Two reports are yet to be published to complete this series. These will deal with the factors of noise and daylight. When these are issued, this series will form a complete evaluation of all the conditions that must be considered in the planning of residential areas in Canada.

This research project was initiated with the enthusiastic participation of the late Professor Fred Lasserre, then Director of the UBC School of Architecture, and has been carried forward with the full support of the present Director, Professor Henry Elder.

This information is being issued in the Divisional series of internal reports so that those responsible for the work can have the benefit of informed comments prior to publishing in a more formal way. Comments will, therefore, be welcomed and should be sent either to Professor Oberlander at UBC or to the writer in Ottawa.

Ottawa
November 1966

R.F. Legget
Director, DBR/NRC

PREFACE

Rising standards of living and greater opportunities for outdoor leisure activities have made the space between buildings and its intensive use as important as the space within buildings. There has been increasing concern in the design of large-scale residential subdivisions, of single as well as multiple housing units, with providing private and public open space for meaningful human activity. At the same time, the placement of individual buildings with regard to the intimate use of space between adjoining buildings has engaged the attention of architects, planners and municipal officials for many reasons. For one, a variety of municipal building and zoning regulations determine the placement of these buildings; for another, the use of land by families in relation to their own home ought to reflect clearly individual needs for outdoor living. This growing concern for better site development and more thoughtful housing layouts has been further prompted by the large volume of residential construction forecasted for existing and future Canadian cities during the next decade.

The siting of buildings and the arrangement of open space within lot boundaries often attempts to achieve privacy for the individual and the family. A good deal of detailed site development such as terraces, patios, balconies or simply backyard lawns is undertaken to achieve this outdoor privacy. Fences, canopies, hedges or trees are installed to attain "privacy" or to allow the individual to feel that he can relax out of doors without being observed. In other words, the concept of privacy underlies, sometimes consciously and often unconsciously, most of the detailed site development decisions in a residential area. A good deal of design effort and capital are devoted to creating privacy without fully understanding the nature of privacy and its component parts or how to achieve it within the limitations of prevailing subdivision practices.

After examining other criteria for residential space standards and site development, such as fire, sound and light,* it seemed essential to examine those considerations which underlie privacy as another criterion of space between buildings and residential site development. Although fire, light, and sound are fairly specific and measurable criteria for residential development, the concept of privacy is far less precise and in most instances not subject to exact measurement. Realizing the significance and impact of "privacy" upon space between residential buildings and site

*

See the following Internal Reports of the Division of Building Research:
Nos. 273, 280, 281, 282, and 283.

development, however, it seemed important to attempt to obtain a greater insight into what creates privacy, how people feel about privacy, and its significance to them and to their way of life. The present study examines privacy in its conceptual sense and then experimentally enlists established social science techniques in describing and measuring the nature of privacy under certain site development conditions. The study is a tentative step toward a greater understanding of privacy as one of the strategic criteria in the field of space standards, and in conjunction with the Annotated Bibliography on Privacy* ought to form a useful basis for further and more detailed research.

Mr. Alan Hedley undertook the study and brought to it the sound training and knowledge of a sociologist. He was able to elicit through skilful field interviews of a good cross-section of home owners in a selected residential area prevailing attitudes toward privacy and analyze this information from a site development point of view. He deserves high commendation for a pioneering study without losing sight of the essentially practical purposes involved in continuing research on space between buildings and site development standards.

H.P. Oberlander

* Hedley, Alan. Privacy as a factor in residential buildings and site development - an annotated bibliography. National Research Council, Division of Building Research, Ottawa, April 1966. NRC 8968.

INTRODUCTION

Privacy, "that marvelous compound of withdrawal, self-reliance, solitude, quiet, contemplation, and concentration"^{(1)*}, is substantially recognized as a human value. Also well acknowledged is the gregarious, socializing aspect of man. It is the purpose of this report to delineate more clearly between these two social inclinations in relation to man's residential environment.

The problems involved in residential housing are steadily increasing in number and complexity. No longer are we merely concerned with "shelter". Planners are now involved in concepts of housing that seek to fulfil two often-conflicting aims: maximum use of land and provision of basic security and amenity. In order to determine what "maximum use of land" entails, the planner must first establish in substantive terms exactly what basic securities and amenities are to be provided.

In the case of "security", we are confronted with all our residential needs. Promotion of public health and welfare, prevention of fire, and securing of adequate light are among the most prominent. Using the prevention of fire as an example, let us work out this potential dilemma. If buildings are sited too closely together, a possible holocaust will result. Accordingly, buildings need separation to prevent the spread of fire. But how much separation is required? Studies have shown that it depends on a number of factors associated with the openings in the building façade⁽²⁾.

By determining the actual separation between buildings based upon their individual performance, the planner can attain his joint purpose: maximum use of land and provision of basic security. It would appear then that it is advisable to use performance standards in determining all space and site regulations. Let us proceed, however, to a discussion of amenity.

In any one of the so-called livability features - privacy, aesthetic appearance, outdoor space, and view - the problems of measurement and standards become increasingly complex. We are no longer solely concerned with physical factors. We are not working from a survival standard. Together with the physical setting is the social environment. People determine what is livable. The whole question of values must be taken into consideration. In order to propose a performance standard for privacy as a factor of space and

* Number in parenthesis refers to listing of references and footnotes contained at the end of this report.

site development, the planner must first establish an operational definition and framework for this value. In other words, he must ascertain exactly what it is he wishes to determine, and then conduct empirical research to find the relevant considerations and evaluations of those directly affected, i.e., people in residence.

This report deals with several aspects of this problem: is it possible to establish a performance standard for the securing of one's privacy? What aspects of the physical environment promote certain social situations and attitudes? How do we determine space standards and dwelling types in relation to varied family requirements? Just how much space is needed, by a given type of family, in a given type of building, and for what purposes? What do people living in community desire of their neighbours? What would people want if they understood the full range of possibility on the one hand, and all the practical limitations on the other?

These and many more questions have all been raised in previous housing studies⁽³⁾. It is the purpose of this study to assess the desire for residential privacy and attempt to locate it in the varied value structures of urban and suburban man. Results are based on a social survey conducted with urban apartment dwellers and suburban homeowners. In studying two types of residences in different residential areas, it is hoped to be able to arrive at some conclusions on the effect of residence on people's evaluations of privacy. Before analyzing the questionnaires, however, let us first examine the rationale of the conceptual framework of the inquiry.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

A. Social-Psychological

There are two rather broad origins of the concept of privacy: social-psychological and legal. In the social-psychological literature, writers are concerned with explaining the ideology of privacy and reserve which they believe is a characteristic aspect of Western society⁽⁴⁾. In an illuminating and very cogent study, Paul Halmos offers the concepts of solitude and privacy as representing two extreme points on a continuum. "Privacy is freedom from social contact and observation when these are not desired, and Solitude is the lack of desired social contact"⁽⁵⁾.

This definition refers to the relative values of the individual personality. Neither privacy nor solitude can be determined objectively.

Halmos does set up a convincing argument, however, for social-cultural determinism rather than individual-genetic development. Through this means he establishes the predominant cultural elements which together constitute an ideology of privacy and reserve. He and some of the other authors whose works are cited as references to this report illustrate how the value of privacy is manifested in the home.

In our Western society, the basic pattern of living is rigidly home-centred; the daily and nightly retirement into solitude or the family circle shows up the only things which have remained really concrete and tangible to modern man: his freedom in privacy and his belonging to the family circle. One lives one's life in the family and one has social contacts, makes social excursions, instead of the other way round, that is, instead of living in society and withdrawing from it occasionally according to one's need. (6)

And another short comment, this one by Thornstein Veblen:

Through this discrimination in favour of visible consumption it has come about that the domestic life of most classes is relatively shabby as compared with the éclat of that overt position of their life that is carried on before the eyes of observers. As a secondary consequence of the same discrimination people habitually screen their private life from observations. So far as concerns that portion of their consumption that may without blame be carried on in secret, they withdraw from all contact from their neighbours. Hence the exclusiveness of people, as regards their domestic life, in most industrially developed communities; and hence, by remoter derivation, the habit of privacy and reserve that is so large a feature in the code of proprieties of the better classes in all communities. (7)

Perhaps privacy is a highly prized value because people have such vast opportunities to satisfy their gregarious instincts. Increases in population and industrialization as well as the constant move from rural to urban centres necessitate that people live in close community with others. The increased importance given to the

ideology of privacy and reserve is perhaps very largely a reaction against these larger developments in Western society. Maintaining some private realm allows us to compose ourselves before we again engage in some form of social participation. This we do by voluntarily shutting ourselves off from our family or neighbours in order to attain that delicate balance so essential to harmonious living.

This ambivalent character of people is illustrated in a study of a modern Canadian suburban community⁽⁸⁾. The authors are concerned with the relation between mental health and the socialization process.

We have seen a system in which an idealized goal is usually counterpoised by an opposed wish. The ideal of living in a small-town, semi-rural atmosphere is met by a desire to be as near the metropolis as possible. Desire to occupy an exclusive preserve is matched by an ideal of inclusiveness and warmth. Desire to live in a separate community with municipal appurtenances appropriate to the atmosphere of the Heights is accompanied by guilt at the "selfishness" of this desire⁽⁸⁾

Before beginning, therefore, a note of caution should be introduced. We must become so concerned with privacy that we neglect the other side of the coin - the gregarious nature of man. These two manifestations must both be recognized in that they have the same source - the value that man places on his interpersonal relations.

In discussing how the notion of privacy is handled with respect to the law, it will be seen that this value is taking a belated but increasingly important place in legal concern. It can be concluded by using the analogy so expertly handled by Erving Goffman. "All the world's a stage ... and we separate the back stage from the front stage. We limit observation of the actors to the front stage so that they might be permitted to change costume, learn their lines, take a 'break', change roles, and generally, to place themselves in seclusion. Back stage becomes a private realm which does not involve the pressure and strain that occurs in interacting with a 'strange' audience"⁽⁹⁾. So too does the maintaining of one's privacy allow some relief from the pressures sometimes incurred in social participation.

B. Legal Origins of the Concept of Privacy

The protection of one's privacy has had a long but rather meager history. Only in the last seventy years have constructive steps been taken to consolidate what has been won through the centuries. A significant step was made as a result of the total effects of our developing technology. Photography, radio, television, and the press, all our means of mass communications, contributed to the reactions of people on the basis of invasions of privacy. The physical closeness that can be, and to a large extent has been, achieved is causing people to withdraw, even more compulsively, to what they hope is the sanctity of their own private realms ⁽¹⁰⁾. Nowhere is this more evident than in the housing situation.

Because there is no direct legal provision for privacy in relation to housing, let us first discuss the general notion of privacy and then attempt to apply it more specifically. As might be imagined, the right to privacy came into existence through the private property laws. Although it is still not clearly formulated, the right to privacy entails "the right to be let alone" - the protection of "the most personal possession of man, his dignity"⁽¹¹⁾.

In a penetrating and creative paper published in 1890, Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis⁽¹²⁾ seek to establish a precedent for the case for privacy.

Instantaneous photographs and newspaper enterprise have invaded the sacred precincts of private and domestic life; and numerous mechanical devices threaten to make good the prediction that "what is whispered in the closet shall be proclaimed from the house tops"⁽¹³⁾.

Although they are more interested in the inviolability of man's thoughts and ideas (including the manifestations of paintings, writings, letters, musical compositions, photographs, trade secrets, etc.), they do provide a basis for the notion of privacy which can possibly be applied to our particular circumstances.

They refer to cases and rulings that substantiate man's growing need and desire for privacy and sum up their case as follows:

We must therefore conclude that the rights, so protected, whatever their exact nature are not rights arising from contract or special trust, but are rights as against the world; and, as above stated, the principle which has been applied to

protect these rights is in reality not the principle of private property, unless that word be used in an extended and unusual sense. The principle which protects personal writings and any other productions of the intellect or of the emotions, is the right to privacy, and the law has no new principle to formulate when it extends this protection to the personal appearance, sayings, acts, and to personal relations, domestic or otherwise⁽¹⁴⁾.

In most of the United States, it is now possible to claim redress for an invasion of one's right to be let alone. This still has very limited application as is evident from the above quotation. How do we obtain the "right" to be let alone from our family, friends, and neighbours? Do we take them to court? In the case of our neighbours we might, although here again we have very limited grounds. The "nuisance" laws of most cities generally only provide for privacy from noise. We can act against our neighbours if they have dogs that never stop barking, loud parties that occur nightly, and chain saws and other garden machinery that start up at five o'clock in the morning⁽¹⁵⁾. But we have no grounds for being stared at through our picture window, over-looked in our garden, or subjected to the noise of traffic on the street. These are situations that the individual must bear, avoid, or remedy.

One of the basic issues we are facing is: Can we pass law legislating "good neighbours"? The answer is, of course, no, but we can arrange our physical environment in such a way that the social problems already mentioned are kept to a minimum. This can be done by enacting legislation that enables a more flexible use of one's physical setting, and allows integration of our physical and social worlds. If a man is bleeding at the neck, the doctor does not use a tourniquet; yet he might apply a tourniquet to the man's arm if he were bleeding at the wrist. The severity and uniqueness of each case should allow for some flexibility in treatment. Planning for people involves just such consideration.

Part of the problem is to determine if perhaps the physical environment could not be changed or at least relaxed to accommodate more harmoniously its complementary social element. Given the present physical situation, including all the laws governing its manipulation, we shall first ascertain the social attitude toward it, and then propose a more congenial relationship.

THE SPECIFIC PROBLEM

It has been established in the preceding sections that the concept of privacy holds an important place in the total value structure of Western society. This section of the report will attempt to provide an operational framework for empirical research. Some comparative work has already been done on the city and the suburb, although with different objectives in mind. Some of the concepts that have been evolved, however, are suited to our purposes⁽¹⁶⁾. Let us define our position by listing the various factors with which we will be dealing.

There are two main areas: physical and social. The physical realm is concerned with residential type and area, spacing and siting of buildings, and the presence of "buffer" zones separating distinct areas of activity. On the social side are residential family requirements, age, presence of children, and general expectations and evaluations of residential housing. These social factors can be subsumed under the main heading "style of life", and it has been asserted that this varies directly with physical residence⁽¹⁷⁾.

The two test areas chosen for study differ in all the mentioned physical factors. It was the intention to determine, first, if people with different styles of life inhabit different residential areas, secondly, if the physical properties of residential areas set minimum conditions for the resulting social activity, and finally, if there are other possible and workable relationships between the physical and social characteristics involved in residential living.

"Style of life" is an integral part of our operational framework. In an illuminating series of articles culminating in a book, Scott Greer illustrates the two extremes of this life style continuum: urbanism and familism⁽¹⁸⁾. An example of urbanism can be seen in "neighborhoods of apartment houses with single persons, childless couples, and one-child families predominating"⁽¹⁹⁾. The test area in downtown Vancouver used in this study closely approximates this picture. In a study recently conducted in Vancouver's West End, the authors conclude that "it is clear that families and households are, on the average, much smaller in the West End than in the rest of Vancouver, British Columbia, and Canada. A comparison between 1951 and 1961 shows how swiftly the average number per household has fallen. The small number of children per family indicates and reinforces previous statements to the effect that there are many childless families, mainly young married couples and older couples whose children have grown up, living in the West End"⁽²⁰⁾.

On the familistic side of the continuum are "single-family dwelling units inhabited by families with several children, in which the woman, not a member of the labor force, plays the role of wife and mother"⁽²¹⁾. This definition corresponds to the other test site considered in this report - suburban Richmond. In a population analysis of Richmond, the Planning Department found that the "incoming population is mainly composed of young families It can be seen that a ... family ratio of the order of 3.75 and 3.85 is obtained in our newer residential developments and then declines in the areas some 10 - 20 or more years old"⁽²²⁾. In the particular subdivision under our scrutiny, the over-all average number of persons per family is 3.84⁽²³⁾.

An immediate conclusion to be drawn from these statements is that the presence or absence of children greatly affects one's style of life, and consequently, one's type and location of dwelling unit. Why is this so? Greer supplies the following argument.

In the suburbs the new housing developments make available, at relatively modest costs, the sites that allow for the play of children in safe and "pleasant" places, space for growing and harvesting grass, flowers, and vegetables, for keeping pets, for patio exercise, and the like. Suburban residents who have been asked to compare their home with the central city have emphasized the physical and social facilities for child-raising - and high on the rank order is private space, inside and out. The changing space-time ratio has provided such living sites in abundance on the peripheries, and the vast middle range of metropolitan society has taken advantage of the resources⁽²⁴⁾.

Now that it has been established that style of life does vary directly with residential type and area, it is also reasonable to assume that residential values will vary with changes in residence. Using the definition of privacy- "freedom from social contact and observation when these are not desired" - a questionnaire can now be designed to elicit response on the desirable and undesirable social contacts possible in the respondents' immediate locale. From interviews with persons of two different residential types and areas, it will be possible to determine if the value placed on residential privacy is dependent upon style of life and physical setting. We also intend to make clear the distinction between these physical and social elements. Before

the results of the questionnaire are presented, however, the structure, content, and implementation of the interview schedule will be discussed.

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. Structure and Content

Because the purpose of the intended questionnaire was to elicit whatever differing response that might exist in people's evaluations of and activities in residence as a result of differences in style of life and residential type and area, a series of questions was constructed to ascertain exactly what variance in style of life there was besides the obvious one of residence. Occupational status and age of wife, number of persons per dwelling unit, number and ages of children per family, and length of residence are some of the more objective indexes of style of life. The two areas are compared in Figures 1, 2, and 3.

In Richmond the average number of children per family is 1.83; in the West End the number is only 0.27. As indicated previously, the presence of children is an extremely important factor affecting how people value their homes and how they actually live. The choice of an apartment in the city or a house on the fringe is largely a result of this factor. The kind and degree of interaction with neighbours is structured in part by the relationships set up among children. The presence of children sets limiting conditions on the types of activity possible in most families. How people view and value their residential privacy is largely determined by the presence or absence of children.

After the basis for differences in physical residence and style of life had been established, a framework of questions was worked out that was designed to seek out the ramifications of the selected definition of residential privacy. Reasons for move from former residence and to new location, relative advantages and disadvantages of living in apartments or houses, evaluations of present residence and surrounding neighbourhood, kind, frequency, and evaluation of interaction with neighbours, nuisances experienced as a result of living in the area, and a description of a "good" neighbour were all deemed to be relevant to how one assesses his actual and desired degree of residential privacy.

Because this study, in a sense, was breaking new ground, only informed considerations can be made on what is relevant to the

value placed on privacy. Other housing studies that treat privacy in passing do not provide the factors that make up this nebulous value⁽²⁵⁾. Because privacy is not their main topic, they are really not required to do this. This present study is exploratory in nature, therefore, and does not claim to be definitive. It is considered, however, that a real start has been made in attempting to describe more clearly the relationship between certain physical and social components of residential housing.

B. Implementation

Because this study forms part of a series⁽²⁶⁾, much has been inherited for reasons of utility, maintaining continuity, and the rationale of the original premises. Included within this inheritance are the test sites and part of the method for obtaining co-operation from potential respondents. The method for implementing the social survey was as follows.

The first question to be decided was - "which member of the household would be interviewed?" Did we want the respondent to speak for himself or attempt to express the views of all the members of the dwelling unit? Although it is impossible in practice to segmentalize so distinctly, potential conflict was envisaged if family members disagreed on basic issues. It was decided, as people are prone to project their own immediate circumstances anyway⁽²⁷⁾, that where conflict might arise, a respondent would be selected to speak solely for himself and that the respondent would be the "principal user" of the dwelling unit. This was agreed upon because the principal user would be the one most available to interview and because, being the principal user, would probably be more informed on his own housing situation. Consequently, many of the respondents (61 per cent) were women, although the interviewer did visit a considerable number of husband and wife teams (33 per cent)⁽²⁸⁾.

Next came the problem of actually contacting the residents and obtaining their permission for the interview. In the West End, the following procedure was adopted. The apartment block owners and rental agents were contacted first to gain their permission to canvass the buildings. Next we visited the caretakers of these apartments where we made ourselves known, obtained tenant lists, and incidentally, tested our questionnaires. Finally, came the direct approach to the tenants.

This was handled by mailing personal copies of a form letter introducing ourselves and explaining the project together with

a letter of endorsement from the Vancouver City Planning Department⁽²⁹⁾. Follow-up telephone calls enabled us to make appointments for the interviews. The telephone appointment was a most important factor in obtaining such a high response of co-operation⁽³⁰⁾. It was learned later from a number of respondents that had we not first made an appointment, we would never have gained entry.

Women especially are hesitant to allow unannounced strangers into their apartments. They are not certain whether they will be sold something they do not want, verbally harangued, or sexually assaulted. They have not had adequate time to prepare themselves and their apartments for visitors. People generally do not appreciate being surprised in their own homes. It should also be noted that if an interviewer is loudly and violently refused in an apartment block that has very poor sound insulation the interviewer is not very likely to meet with much success at the neighbouring door either for that tenant will have heard the commotion and conditioned himself against what he thinks is a "nuisance" coming to his door. This problem is completely eliminated if the interviewer determines his acceptance via the telephone.

Finally, much time is saved if the interviewer determines beforehand whether his respondent is out, busy, or just does not want to be bothered at a certain time. By arranging the appointment at the convenience of the respondent, the interviewer not only gains acceptance and co-operation from the time he enters the door, but also he ensures that the appointment will be kept by obligating the respondent through his commitment.

In Richmond, the method was similar although easier as we could go directly to the homeowners. A letter of endorsement was obtained from the Reeve⁽³¹⁾, and the same procedure was adopted for contacting the respondents.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

A. Residential Choice

The fact that people are part of society and yet individuals with individual needs and desires lies at the bottom of this whole study. The problem is to determine to what degree and in what circumstances people seek out their gregarious inclinations and how much they wish to set themselves apart from their fellow human beings. Because we live

much of our lives in residence, indicates the importance of ascertaining in what ways people value their residential privacy. In this study, physical residence was chosen as a point of distinction among people, and as a consequence, an indication of certain social characteristics. The information gained will now be analyzed in light of these considerations.

It seems reasonable to begin by finding out why people are living where they are - what their reasons are for moving from their former residence and to their present location. Here we find a major difference between the suburban homeowner and the urban apartment dweller. The suburbanites appear to be more concerned with the acquisition of space whereas people living in central city apartments, while they do value this consideration, place more emphasis on the time factor, i.e., how close they are to various facilities, including their work.

This is of course a generalization; there are many other considerations involved in residential choice as will be mentioned later. Given the situation as is, however, it is reasonable to assume that the value placed on time will vary with the value placed on space and vice versa. This does not imply, however, that this relationship cannot be changed through design.

In the "reasons for move from former residence" (Figure 4), and "reasons for move to present location" (Figure 5a), suburbanites place the largest single emphasis on space. It is true that economic considerations greatly modify this value, but here again style of life emerges as a governing factor of physical residence. Concern for family life and child-raising activities makes privatespace (inside and out) a highly prized value⁽³³⁾.

The West Enders, on the other hand, appear to be more concerned with the location of their apartment with respect to their work and other facilities than with the apartment itself. In the information presented in Figure 5b, no mention whatever is made to actual living quarters. This may be explained in part by referring to the occupational status of the apartment dwellers. Of the 33 suites visited, 64 per cent were occupied by steadily employed adults, either married or single; an additional 15 per cent were retired. Working people highly value accessibility to work and other facilities. The time factor becomes crucial. Retired people, although they do have much time, often do not have the means or health to get around easily. Distance rather than time becomes important. Added to these considerations is the fact that, for the most part, these apartment

dwellers have little or no family life. Consequently, they must seek their social diversion elsewhere. The central city with all its various services provides an ideal setting for these types of persons.

B. Evaluations of Residential Type and Area

Closely related to residential choice are the relative advantages and disadvantages of certain types of dwelling units as seen by the residents. Only those respondents who had previously lived in both an apartment and a house were asked to compare the two. Respondents who had lived in only one residential type made their comparisons by implication.

Privacy as a result of an increase in space seems to account for the major advantages of living in a house as seen by homeowners (Figure 6a). The first five advantages reflect this emphasis on space. An outdoor extension of the living area, separation from neighbours, and a recreation area for children illustrate three uses made of the outdoor space surrounding houses⁽³⁴⁾.

Apartment dwellers, on the other hand, reflect their reaction to the regimentation and restrictions involved in a communal type of living. Although they are also much in favour of outdoor space and the resulting privacy, they are much more concerned than homeowners with the independence and freedom from restrictions gained in house living.

Figure 6b rounds out the picture. As might be expected, the homeowners list far more advantages than disadvantages of living in a house. The fact that they make on the average twice as many positive statements as negative ones indicates their over-all satisfaction with their residential choice. The greatest single disadvantage is the extra work involved in keeping up a house (see reasons 1-4, Figure 6b). Apartment dwellers are also very concerned with this problem. They interpret it in relation to the time subtracted from their other, more desired, activities. This is seen far more clearly when they discuss the advantages of apartment living (Figure 7a).

The absence of maintenance and upkeep by tenants makes up the first seven reasons for the desirability of apartment living (Figure 7a). As can be seen, house owners are far less verbal in their positive statements than are apartment dwellers. More freedom to spend time in other ways (reason No. 7) illustrates the

importance given to the time gained rather than the work involved. Reasons 3 and 4 indicate that many groups of apartment dwellers are only incidentally concerned with the domestic activities involved in running a household. The absence of family and children places stress on other areas of activity, quite often outside the residence.

The disadvantages of apartment living (Figure 7b) once again emphasize privacy as a factor of residential living. The first five reasons illustrate some of the components. Privacy is a two-way concept involving initiation and reception. In order to have privacy, one must be able to initiate independent action and at the same time be free of incoming nuisance. Apartment dwellers can make this distinction because often both these components are jeopardized. Restrictions on what may and may not be done and others' disregard for these same restrictions place serious strains on tenants' privacy. Perhaps this is one reason for the lack of social relationships with neighbours. Because their privacy is not assured, they do not wish to risk further invasion by establishing social ties with their neighbours⁽³⁵⁾. The subject of neighbour relations is of direct relevance to this study and will be dealt with in the next section. Let us conclude, however, with some additional remarks on respondents' evaluations of physical residence.

The suburban homeowners were asked if they would consider living in an apartment in the city. Seventy-two per cent replied "No". The remainder replied that when they were older and their children had grown up, they would probably move to an apartment. When people grow older, accessibility to the services of the central city replaces the dominant value put on family and child-raising activities. Of all the respondents, not one replied that he would consider moving to an urban apartment at this time.

The apartment dwellers, on the other hand, were asked if they would consider living in a house in or near the suburbs. All those respondents with children (21 per cent) indicated that they would but that it was too expensive at the moment. Sixty-four per cent, in their refusal, simply corroborated the earlier statement that, for the most part, urban apartment dwellers are not willing to sacrifice their nearness to city facilities in order to obtain additional space. The remaining 15 per cent, although not happy with apartment living, find it more practical as far as time and money are concerned.

The survey showed that residential privacy is largely viewed in terms of space and that the areas surrounding single-family dwellings are valued for this reason as well as a general recreation area. It

also showed that privacy is valued differently by urban and suburban populations. Urban apartment dwellers are willing to sacrifice some privacy in order to remain at the core of metropolitan activity, while suburban homeowners, combining the values of privacy and space, surround themselves with private space, and place relatively little emphasis on time as a factor of residential choice. Neighbour relations also vary with residential type and area, thus providing further evidence to substantiate the more general claim that the value placed on residential privacy is dependent upon style of life and physical setting.

C. Neighbour Relations

There has been considerable study on the kind and intensity of interpersonal relations in the city and the suburb. Much of the work has centred around informal relationships among neighbours with an idea of determining what factors are responsible for the presence or absence of "neighbouring". Some of the major findings are as follows.

Neighbouring has been found to vary with the "settling down" process⁽³⁶⁾. If residents are married, have children, and own their house, they are more likely to form relationships with their neighbours than less stable residents, for example, unmarried tenants. It was also found that a high percentage of people with these "settling down" characteristics live in suburbia. This study fits in well with the investigations by Greer⁽³⁷⁾ and his theory of style of life as a factor of neighbourhood participation. This conclusion in turn is corroborated by a study of urban neighbourhoods and informal social relations.

Thus the amount of family life in an urban neighbourhood appears to affect the degree to which men are socially isolated from their neighbours and from their relatives, men living in neighbourhoods characterized by relatively few children, many women in the labour force, and many multiple dwellings being more isolated from these groups than men living in areas characterized by relatively many children, few women in the labour force, and many single-family detached dwellings⁽³⁸⁾.

Two more explanatory factors have been discovered that relate to the kind and intensity of informal relations among neighbours.

From an analysis of the results gathered, it was clear that residents of both areas had fairly similar opinions on what constitutes a "good" neighbour (Figure 8). There are differences, however, that indicate physical residence as a factor of how one views his neighbours. Both sets of respondents were fairly similar in their opinions that neighbours should mind their own business, but at the same time be congenial and "neighbourly". Apartment dwellers, however, reflect their physical circumstance when they stress "consideration of others" and "quietness" as desirable features of a neighbour. The fact that they live so close to one another necessitates respect for others if peaceful coexistence is to be achieved.

Homeowners, on the other hand, display two manifestations of the visibility principle. In placing relatively more emphasis on "helpfulness of neighbours," they are asserting that not only does their property visually overlap, but in some cases there is physical overlap. Fences are one example of this. Outdoor work especially (fence construction, lawn mowing, painting, gardening, etc.) lends itself to co-operative effort, either in labour or equipment. Consequently, homeowners tend to stress mutual help as a desirable quality of neighbours.

A reaction to the visibility principle is seen in homeowners' desire to be free from neighbours always dropping in. A quotation from an ex-development homeowner provides the reason behind this desire.

... It was the sort of thing where if you wanted to barbecue in the back yard, you took the risk of having a neighbour peer down your back giving you advice. One man came over with a book about barbecuing. ... (43)

An interesting question was that dealing with respondents' relationships with their neighbours (Figure 9). Many of the apartment dwellers (21 per cent) could not find a category that applied to them. They had established no contact whatsoever with anybody in the building apart from their dealings with the caretaker. All their social activities were carried on elsewhere. In both cases neighbours do not constitute a very close social bond. Respondents felt quite strongly that their associations were a matter of conscious choice rather than architectural design.

There is, however, another side to this story. Respondents also felt that they would not like to have their closest friend living

next door (Figure 10). "Good friends make bad neighbours." "Familiarity breeds contempt." These two statements fairly well sum up the thoughts of most of the respondents. Of the West Enders who answered "yes", 44 per cent were over the age of sixty-five. Those people reasoned that because they are getting older, they cannot visit as easily as formerly.

It would appear then that friends and neighbours are of two different kinds and fill two different functions. Friends provide the basis for valued and intimate social relations, while neighbours through their geographical position stand by as friendly helpers⁽⁴⁴⁾. If friends become neighbours, the intimacy of their association conflicts with what is expected of them as neighbours. Social and physical closeness does not allow the individual freedom of independent movement.

A further analysis of neighbouring brings us to the actual form, content, place, and intensity of social participation among neighbours (Figure 11). Here there is a wide gulf between the two sets of respondents. Many factors, most of them already mentioned, are responsible for this difference. These can be listed as follows.

Factors Affecting Informal Social Relationships Among Neighbours

Richmond

1. The social relationships that children establish often lead to the forming of social ties among their parents.
2. People move to the suburbs for specific reasons: to raise their children and to seek greater organizational participation⁽⁴⁵⁾. The nature of these common interests leads to social participation among neighbours.

West End

1. Because there are relatively few children per household in the urban core, there are relatively few informal social relationships among neighbours as a result of social ties set up by children.
2. People live in the central city in order to be close to all the services that the city offers. This common interest does not necessarily lead to social participation among neighbours.

3. Suburban housing developments attract people of similar class, age, and occupational status. This similarity in circumstance leads to similarity in interest, and consequently social participation.
4. Because of the visual, aural, and sometimes physical overlap of suburban properties, residents are "forced" into some kind of social activity with their neighbours.
5. Because the suburbs are, by definition, on the outskirts of the city, and consequently geographically isolated from it, residents are more inclined to form a community among themselves.
6. The "settling down" process is more evident in suburbia. Married homeowners, between the ages of thirty and sixty-five, and with children have shown themselves to be conducive to neighbouring.
7. Women who play the principal roles of wife and mother, and who are constantly around the house, are more accessible to their neighbours (also wives and mothers).
8. Suburbanites have been shown to place great emphasis on local organization and politics (46). Consequently, people in these organizations are quite likely to be neighbours.
3. Urban development, because of its very diversity, often attracts people of like nature. The basis for social participation is not established.
4. Because there is very little common usable space in most apartments, residents can lead relatively independent lives. Noise that occurs between suites usually prompts social relations of a hostile nature.
5. Apartment dwellers in the urban core are at the heart of all metropolitan activity. This does not encourage neighbour interaction.
6. Unmarried people or childless couples who are tenants in an urban apartment block are not very likely to engage in extensive neighbouring relationships.
7. Women, principally engaged in the labour force, do not have the time to engage in much social participation with other women similarly occupied, especially if shift work is involved.
3. Cosmopolitans are more concerned with metropolitan organization and politics. Thus the local nature of association becomes diffused.

Although there appears to be a considerable amount of informal social relations among suburban neighbours (Figure 11a), it seems to be of a relatively superficial variety. This does not imply, however, that it is not meaningful. Both the rationale for this participation (see list above) and the nature of the participation itself (Figure 11a) indicate that although neighbours are "friendly", they are not necessarily socially intimate. Three factors help to explain this distinction: kind and place of activity, participants involved, and frequency of occurrence⁽⁴⁷⁾. It can be seen in Figure 11a that the first seven activities do not take place within the house; and activities 8 and 9 do not involve the family as a whole. Examining the remaining two activities, those which take place in the home and involve the whole family, it can be seen that their frequency of occurrence is at best sporadic.

It can be concluded, therefore, that physical separation and social intimacy on the one hand, and physical closeness and social distance on the other, allow individuals freedom of independent movement. Neighbours constitute the latter category.

In a culture which, on the surface, has largely abandoned the Victorian concept of a carefully graded intimacy, free admittance to the home may still stand as one criterion of intimate friendship. The home tends to become the only or primary means of guarding any inviolability of the private self. This self he may be forced increasingly to deny in the outside social, business, and professional contacts of his daily life, but the home can serve as psychological shelter for whatever fragment of it remains. The Crestwooder may not know of the abstract distinction but his behaviour with regard to admitting people to his home tends to make important its function as the citadel of the private self⁽⁴⁸⁾.

The comparison between the two residential areas (Figures 11a and 11b) is rather obvious. For the reasons listed on pages 18-19, the urban apartment dwellers are neither as inclined nor as accessible to informal social relations with their neighbours as are suburban homeowners.

In this section of the report an attempt has been made to establish the character of interpersonal relations among neighbours and the reasons for the differences in participation in the two test sites.

One conclusion was that although people are willing to be congenial with their neighbours, they do not want to become intimate, thus jeopardizing that last sanctuary of privacy - the home. Of all the respondents questioned, 100 per cent believed that, under existing conditions, their neighbours did not invade this privacy and that they were quite happy with the present extent of their neighbourly association.

D. Residential Nuisance

A most revealing area of study is that dealing with residential nuisance. It is here that respondents get a chance to comment on all the various things that constitute a nuisance and bother to "harmonious living". Figure 12a registers residential nuisance as experienced by the suburbanites. The most violent complaint is against dogs: fouling up gardens, frightening women and children, chasing after cars, and of course, barking. The fact that the whole category of noise looms largest merely corroborates the findings of other studies⁽⁴⁹⁾. Notable in its relative absence is traffic noise which consistently heads noise nuisance lists⁽⁵⁰⁾.

One atypical suburban complaint must be mentioned before urban residential nuisance is discussed. A fish cannery is located across the river delta from this subdivision. When the wind blows in a northerly direction, all the smell of the fertilizer reduction plant comes wafting over. When they are in their gardens, 61 per cent of the respondents find this smell understandably offensive. Except for isolated cases such as this, however, suburbia is noted for its relatively clean fresh air.

Figure 12b records urban residential complaints and, true to form, noise, headed by traffic, appears as the greatest single nuisance factor. Situated on a secondary main street, residents have to put up with "the rush hour", but are not subjected to the noise of a main truck route. In probing, the interviewer discovered that most of the tenants, upon first moving in, found the traffic very disturbing. As time went by, however, they became "used to it" and now only find it slightly irritating. Of the tenants in the front suites, i.e., those closest to the nuisance, 80 per cent find it bothersome.

The increase in neighbour noise over the suburban findings merely illustrates the closeness of neighbours. Most of the tenants, however, were not at all bothered by their neighbours.

As long as you respect and have consideration for the other people living in the building, you will get along fine in an apartment. Because people live so close, it's just necessary to think a little more before you do something that might disturb somebody else. Otherwise, apartment living is all right. You just have to look out for the other fellow a little more - that's all⁽⁵¹⁾.

Being overlooked from neighbouring buildings is cause for considerable complaint as the sideyards between apartments are very narrow. Respondents with a side yard aspect found that they could have privacy only if they shut their blinds. Many of them did not want to do this, however, because they would have sacrificed what little light manages to filter in. This was an area in which many compromises were made. One respondent, on being asked if he was bothered by people looking in on him, replied:

No, nobody bothers me - but there are some girls living across the way who think that I'm looking in on them. I've seen them when I happened to be looking out the window. I don't want to bother anybody, so now I just shut the blind and that's that⁽⁵²⁾.

A main complaint of urban living is usually the broad one that encompasses burning garbage, smoke, soot, smog, and general air pollution. In the survey this was broken down into two categories because respondents registered both specific and general complaints. A building next door to one of the apartments is a great offender in that black smoke is continually belching from its chimney. The prevailing winds catch the smoke and send it swirling down into the side yard. Needless to say, all residents of this side of the building mentioned this as undesirable. The whole question of smog, etc. demands even more study than it is currently receiving. The fact that it is rated so highly as a residential nuisance should provide further impetus.

Although there are some quite specific and no doubt legitimate complaints concerning residential nuisance, it is surprising how quickly people adapt to their environment. It does make one wonder, however, if there might not be a ceiling to this adaptation process.

E. Residential Livability and Space and Site Development

This section will be devoted almost solely to the suburban test area and questions dealing with some factors of usable open space. Residents were asked if they liked their front or back yards better. Eighty-eight per cent replied that they preferred their back gardens; the reasons for this choice may be seen in Figure 13. More privacy and the fact that the back garden may be used as an outdoor extension of the whole living area are the major reasons.

Because the front yard cannot be "used", residents do not value it as highly. When asked if they would sacrifice some front in order to have a larger back yard, however, only 72 per cent replied that they would. Those who said "No", stated that the front yard was of some use in that it provided the necessary space between house and street. They thought that if the house were sited on the geometric centre of the lot, they would have an advantage in maintaining the greatest possible distance from all sources of potential residential nuisance⁽⁵³⁾.

The respondents were asked if they thought that fences should be used to separate properties. Ninety-four per cent replied in the affirmative and their reasons are given in Figure 14. The one respondent who stated that he did not think properties should be separated by fences explained that once fences are built, the surrounding spaces become cut up. No longer is it possible to look out on a vista of landscaped space (his and the neighbours' gardens). Instead he is resigned to looking out on his own relatively small private space.

This refusal to comply with the wishes of his neighbours resulted in his back yard being surrounded by four different kinds, heights, and colours of fence. This respondent was in the somewhat unusual position of having four neighbours border his back yard property lines. One is reminded of Robert Frost's question, "Why do good fences make good neighbours?"⁽⁵⁴⁾

The answer to the question in this case is the desire to be able to sit outside without being overlooked. Ninety-four per cent of the respondents indicated that this would be a very desirable feature of their homes, but only 55 per cent could actually do it. It is shown again, therefore, that a "neighbour" is of a special category. He is required to be accessible in time of need, yet virtually absent at other times, even though his physical presence cannot be denied.

This section concludes with a hypothetical question directed to both sets of respondents. The question itself deals with public or private use of outside space. In framing the alternatives, an attempt was made to make the "public" choice as attractive as possible. Faced with this choice, respondents would have to make some sacrifices of additional space and recreational facilities in order to secure privacy⁽⁵⁵⁾. All of the Richmond respondents chose the private garden such as they have now rather than face potential difficulties with their neighbours in the administration of a limited "public" recreation area. On the other hand, only 73 per cent of the West Enders chose the private garden. The lure of the recreational facilities prompted 27 per cent of them to forgo their privacy. Privacy, however, still bears significantly on the whole problem of residential livability. Future development could be advised of some of the ramifications of this factor.

This concludes the discussion of the questionnaire results. The major findings will now be established and an attempt made to relate them to current and future residential housing.

THE PHYSICAL SITE AND THE SOCIAL SETTING

The presentation and analysis of the results concentrated on five aspects of how people view and evaluate their residence: residential choice, residential type and area, neighbour relations, residential nuisance, and livability and space and site development. These aspects all relate to the value placed on residential privacy. This chapter will deal mainly with the physical and social elements involved in housing to see if some conclusions can be established about the nature of existing relationships. In addition it is hoped to be able to propose some considerations that will result in a more informed understanding of these two factors as they operate together in various residential situations. Let us now discuss what the survey has produced.

As far as residential choice is concerned, people who display high "urbanistic" characteristics are more likely to choose their residence in relation to how close it is to other facilities, primarily work. The residence is not valued as such and is of secondary importance. On the other hand, residents who exhibit high "familistic" tendencies place the greatest value on the home and the space that surrounds it. They appear quite willing to sacrifice nearness to urban facilities, including their place of employment.

In their evaluations of certain residential types and areas, urban residents found that the chief advantage of apartments is that

they require a minimum of upkeep, and consequently, allow house-holders time to do other more desired activities. Suburban homeowners also see this advantage, but they are quite satisfied with their living accommodation. The additional space that they value so highly allows them the luxury of relatively independent living: separation from neighbours, place for children to play, and a private outdoor relaxing and recreation area.

A feature that is an advantage in one residential type becomes a major disadvantage in the other. Although there is a minimum of work involved in apartment living, it is a major consideration in house living. Space, the prized feature of homeowners, is at a premium in apartments. Complaints such as: noise, regimentation, nearness of neighbours, inadequate place for children to play, and lack of privacy all indicate the ramifications of cramped living quarters.

In the area of neighbour relations, the difference between the two test areas was found to be one of degree rather than kind. It would appear that the application of the following formula is rigidly adhered to. If people are socially intimate, they will tend to be physically distant, and conversely, if people are physically close, they will probably be socially distant. Because there is not much common ground for association among people with "urbanistic" characteristics, there are fewer informal social relations among West Enders than Richmond neighbours.

In considering residential nuisance, the factor of space or distance is again important. The intensity of development in the West End necessitates that people live closer together than in Richmond. This results in potential residential nuisances or the likelihood of invasions of privacy being more plentiful and emanating close by. It has been advanced that intensity of development and privacy are in direct contrast - as density increases, privacy declines⁽⁵⁶⁾. This is often true but different degrees of privacy can be attained in dense areas through other factors, the chief one being the arrangement of the physical setting.

One can imagine, as was actually reported, suburban residents (in a relatively low density area) complaining about a lack of privacy, until they arranged their physical environment in a way consonant with their expectations. So too with urban development. The whole intention of this study is to describe major residential values and to explain the factors lying behind them so that future physical development can possibly accommodate these expectations. An intensely developed area does not necessarily mean a resultant

loss of privacy. If the various elements of this statement can be determined, it might be that the existing relationship between density and privacy is not necessary. This relationship can be changed by arranging the physical setting so that it can be manipulated to meet the desires of its residents.

This discussion also relates to livability and space and site development. Here the social and physical factors are juxtaposed. How can residents arrange their physical environment to harmonize with their social expectations? This question depends upon two limiting conditions, one social and one physical. The extent to which people are conditioned and resigned to their own residential circumstance greatly affects even the raising of this question. If people see no possibilities beyond those that exist, they may be dissatisfied but will not act. The second condition also questions the possibility of manipulation. If the physical setting does not lend itself to change because of the laws governing it, even those people not resigned to their condition are powerless to act.

Both of these conditions can be changed to varying degrees, but it is the physical one which is open to immediate change. By increasing the possibilities of physical manipulation, the social conditioning process also breaks up. Faced with more choice, people are not as likely to limit themselves to only one form of housing. The social process is a long one, but with the help of immediate physical measures, the possibility for a more livable residential environment for everyone at least becomes feasible.

We are faced with a very real problem. That many people in residence are concerned with the arrangement and development of their site can be witnessed in the hundreds of housing magazines published monthly. More specifically, there are articles dealing with how people can achieve privacy in their residence⁽⁵⁷⁾. Many of these articles begin by urging the reader to consult his local zoning bylaws because many of the plans for privacy contravene existing regulations⁽⁵⁸⁾.

A question that immediately arises is: Are not these regulations designed to secure the public interest, e.g. those people living in residence? It would appear that we are faced with a rather large discrepancy between public law and public expectation. While it is to be expected that the two will never concur exactly, nevertheless this is the intended aim. It is our intention to describe more clearly these expectations, so that regulations governing the

control and manipulation of our physical environment can be geared to synchronize more harmoniously with them.

In this chapter we have discussed the relationship or lack thereof of certain physical and social factors of residential housing. In the next and final chapter available information will be assessed in an effort to determine if sufficient information is available about social conditions to propose some physical change or modifications. More particularly, we shall try to answer the question: "Is it possible to establish a performance standard for privacy as a factor in residential space and site development?"

PRIVACY AND PERFORMANCE FOR RESIDENTIAL ZONING

There are many features of privacy that could be incorporated into present zoning bylaws. For example, community sounds play an important part in privacy, and are relatively easy to regulate. Performance standards designed to control usable open space on a site or within a building can also take into account the various factors of privacy that we have discussed. We are not proposing a performance standard for privacy, but we are asking for recognition of various elements that have a direct relationship to how one enjoys his residential privacy.

As this study illustrates, there may be many aspects of the privacy problem that cannot be dealt with by siting and open space standards. But there are many that can be regulated by development controls. Inherent in the process of determining values for any performance standard for open space or the siting of buildings is the discipline of the comprehensive approach. All environmental factors that can be reasonably considered should be considered in arriving at a consensus for a standard. The various aspects of residential privacy discussed in this study are certainly among these factors. The important consideration is to understand the human meaning of the different facets of privacy so that they may be considered and properly dealt with in forming building standards. Although the result of this process may not be an ideal environment for privacy as we now understand its full meaning, the most serious problems of privacy may be resolved in a rational manner. The immediate role that performance standards might play in relation to privacy is a real but indirect one.

Because we know that people with distinct styles of life prefer certain residential types and areas for very definite reasons, we are in a better physical position to accommodate these social entities. Also, because we know of the desired relationship among neighbours, we can arrange physical layout more rationally. A

knowledge and understanding of the people for whom we are planning better enables us as planners to achieve our purpose - maximum use of land and provision of basic security and amenity.

It must be remembered that this report has dealt with only one of numerous factors that permit people to live more enjoyably and safely in community with others. Acting on this one factor is not in itself sufficient. Planners must recognize that it is their duty to propose comprehensive legislation, i.e., regulations that take into consideration all the many elements involved in residential housing. Nobody has said that this is an easy task, but the fact remains that it is necessary. This study has merely attempted to add one more basis for decision in this very complex process of organization and administration.

It must also be noted that this study does not claim to be definitive and is by no means complete. The small samples cannot speak conclusively. They can, however, illuminate the way to conclusion. Perhaps more questions have been raised than answered, but this is a legitimate part of research. We can only hope that these questions will be probed in further study, and that what people value in their residence will become a necessary and important part of future housing research. Any plans for housing should place equal stress on both the social and physical factors of residential space and site development.

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12. See, Samuel Warren & Louis Brandeis, "The Right to Privacy", Harvard Law Review, Vol. IV, No. 5, December 15, 1890, pp. 193-220.
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15. In a discussion with the Vancouver City Prosecutor, Donald M. Stevens, the author learned that under the Noise Abatement By-Law No. 2531, for the City of Vancouver, there were forty-five official complaints in a period of a year and a half (9 January 1963 - 18 June 1964).

The breakdown of complaints is as follows:

<u>Number</u>	<u>Nature of Complaint</u>
23	Barking dogs
1	Rooster
7	Neighbours (radios, garden machinery, parties, etc.)
6	Construction and industrial noise
3	Commercial noise (restaurants, coffee houses, etc.)
5	Miscellaneous
<u>45</u>	

16. See, for example, Sylvia F. Fava, "Contrasts in Neighboring: New York and a Suburban Community", in William M. Dobriner (ed.), The Suburban Community, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1958, p. 122-131; and Scott Greer, The Emerging City: Myth and Reality, The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1962.
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See also, Robert K. Merton, "The Social Psychology of
Housing", in Wayne Dennis, et al. (eds.), Current Trends
in Social Psychology, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1951,
p. 163-217. In this project, respondents reported whether
they had "enough" or "insufficient privacy" (p. 194).
See also a study by Helena Toews reported in Albert Rose,
Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance, University of
Toronto Press, 1958, p. 131-38. Here the respondents
stated whether their privacy was "better" or "worse"
(p. 135). There are, however, a few verbatim comments
that do no doubt specify some of the components involved in
this value.

26. The other reports in this series published to date are:
National Research Council, Division of Building Research,
Ottawa, Internal Reports Nos. 273, 280, 281, 282, 283;
and NRC Nos. 6442 & 7992.
27. Merton, op. cit. (reference 25)
28. The remaining 6% is composed of male respondents. The author recognizes that the preponderance of women respondents does present some difficulty, but feels that the "principal user", regardless of sex, is a more important criterion.
29. A copy of these letters may be found in Appendix C.
30. Of the West End tenants to whom letters were mailed, there was 75% complete cooperation. However, of the tenants actually contacted by phone, 83% consented to the interview. The figures for Richmond are higher: 90% cooperation by mail; 95% by telephone.
31. See Appendix C for a copy of this letter.
32. Although this category appears large, it is in fact a compilation of numerous diverse categories, no one category being more than 6%.
33. The findings reported by Wendell Bell (in Dobriner, op. cit. ref.24) substantiate this claim. See p. 235.

<u>Specific reasons for moving to the suburbs</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Physical reasons (N=172):	72.3
More space outside house	19.7
More space inside house	14.3
"The outdoors" (fresh air, sunshine, etc.)	12.6
Less traffic	11.8
Cleaner	6.3
No neighbours in same building	3.8
Quiet	2.1
No stairs	1.7
Social reasons (N=66):	27.7
Better schools	10.2
"Nice" children to play with	9.2
Other children to play with	2.5
More organized activities	2.5

<u>Specific reasons for moving to the suburbs</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Home of own (security)	1.7
Adults "nice" to children	0.8
Better churches	0.8
Total reasons in this category (N=238)	100.0

34. For a short discussion on the "ideal neighbourhood" and space as a factor of residential privacy, see Mark Clements Research, Inc., What Women Want in Housing: Housing Design and the American Family, A Study Conducted for The National Association of Home Builders and House and Garden Magazine, NAHB Journal of Homebuilding, Washington, D.C., 1964, p. 11-12.
See also a comparative note by Robert Wilson, in Chapin & Weiss, op. cit. (reference 25). Research attempted to elicit responses on different types of neighbourhoods. In the neighbourhood that respondents thought was least desirable (apartment block area), the following reasons (in order) were given:
 - "- lack of privacy
 - lack of spaciousness
 - not suitable environment for children
 - lack of homeyness
 - lack of quietness" (p. 386)
35. This consideration has also been advanced by Charles Madge, "Planning for People", Town Planning Review, Vol. 21, 1950-51, pp. 131-144.
36. Fava, in Dobriner, op. cit. (reference 16).
37. Greer, The Emerging City.
38. Wendell Bell & Marion Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXII, January 1957, p. 393.
39. William M. Dobriner, Class in Suburbia, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963, p. 9.
40. Walter T. Martin, "The Structuring of Social Relationships Engendered by Suburban Residence", in Dobriner (ed.), Suburban Community, p. 96.

41. For a discussion of some of the distinctions that should be made in housing research, see, Svend Riemer, "Architecture for Family Living", Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 & 2, 1951, p. 140-151.
42. Catherine Bauer, "Social Questions in Housing and Community Planning", Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 & 2, 1951, p. 7.
43. Dobriner, Class in Suburbia, p. 10-11.
44. See, R. Gutman, "Population Mobility in the Middle Class", in Leonard J. Duhl (ed.), The Urban Condition, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1963, p. 182.
45. See, Wendell Bell, in Dobriner (ed.), The Suburban Community. In seeking the reasons for residents' move to suburbia, Bell found that a high preponderance (83%) indicated that suburban living was better for children, while 73% moved to the suburbs "to get more friendly neighbors, greater community participation, and a sense of belonging to the community". (p. 239).
46. See, Greer, Amer. Soc. Rev., Vol. 25, Aug. 1960, p. 514-526.
47. The nature of this distinction is not at all antagonistic to that advanced by Werner Cohn, "Social Stratification and the Charismatic", published in The Midwest Sociologist, 1961, in his attempt to use the concept of "commensality" as an explanatory factor of social association, more particularly, inter- and intra-class association.
48. John R. Seeley, R.A. Sim, & E.W. Loosley, Crestwood Heights, University of Toronto Press, 1956, p. 54.
49. See for example, H.J. Purkis, "Transport Noise and Town Planning", Journal of Sound and Vibration, Vol. 1, No. 3, July 1964, p. 323-34. See particularly Table 2, "The one thing that people most wanted to change" (p. 328). Noise heads the list.
50. Ibid. p. 329.
51. As stated by an apartment dweller.

52. The girls, by the way, did mention that they were bothered by this closeness of neighbouring buildings. Whenever possible they ate their meals in the living room rather than sitting at the kitchen table beside the window.
53. See, Norbert Schoenauer, "Site and Scale", The Canadian Architect, Vol. 9, No. 1, January 1964, p. 35-39. The author discusses the evolution of residential space and site development, centring primarily on the problem of ill-used open space. He maintains that the average residential suburban lot is not of a sufficient size to warrant the siting of the house in the middle. He discusses various alternatives.
54. Robert Frost, "Mending Wall", Oxford Book of American Verse, Oxford University Press, New York, 1950, p. 547-8.
55. See Appendix B, Question No. 16.
56. See, Robert D. Katz, Intensity of Development and Livability of Multi-Family Housing Projects, Technical Study TS 7.14, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D.C., January 1963, p. 36-7.
57. See, for example, The American Home, Vol. LXVII, No. 8, October 1964, (whole issue): Better Homes and Gardens, Home Improvement Ideas for 1965, Meredith Press, Des Moines, 1964, "The Outdoors as a Stage for Living", p. 98-111; and, House Beautiful's Building Manual, Vol. 47, Spring-Summer, 1964, "Privacy by Design", p. 140-149.
58. See, for example, House Beautiful's Building Manual, Vol. 47, 1964, p. 140. "With lots shrinking in size as well as in number, the homeowner faces a frustrating search for privacy. Many obstacles thwart this hunt for seclusion. Archaic setback restrictions foster all-too-typical subdivisions ... where unrealistic regulations deprive the homeowner of privacy."

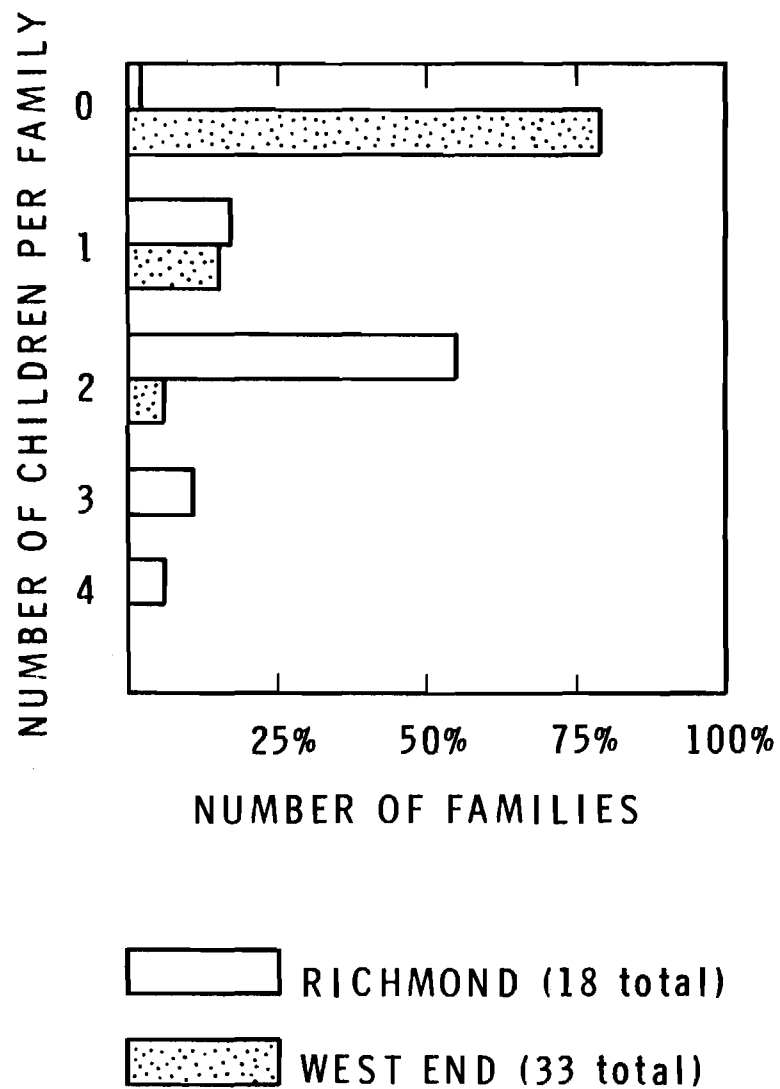


FIGURE 1

NUMBER OF CHILDREN SIXTEEN AND
UNDER PER DWELLING UNIT

BR 3773-1

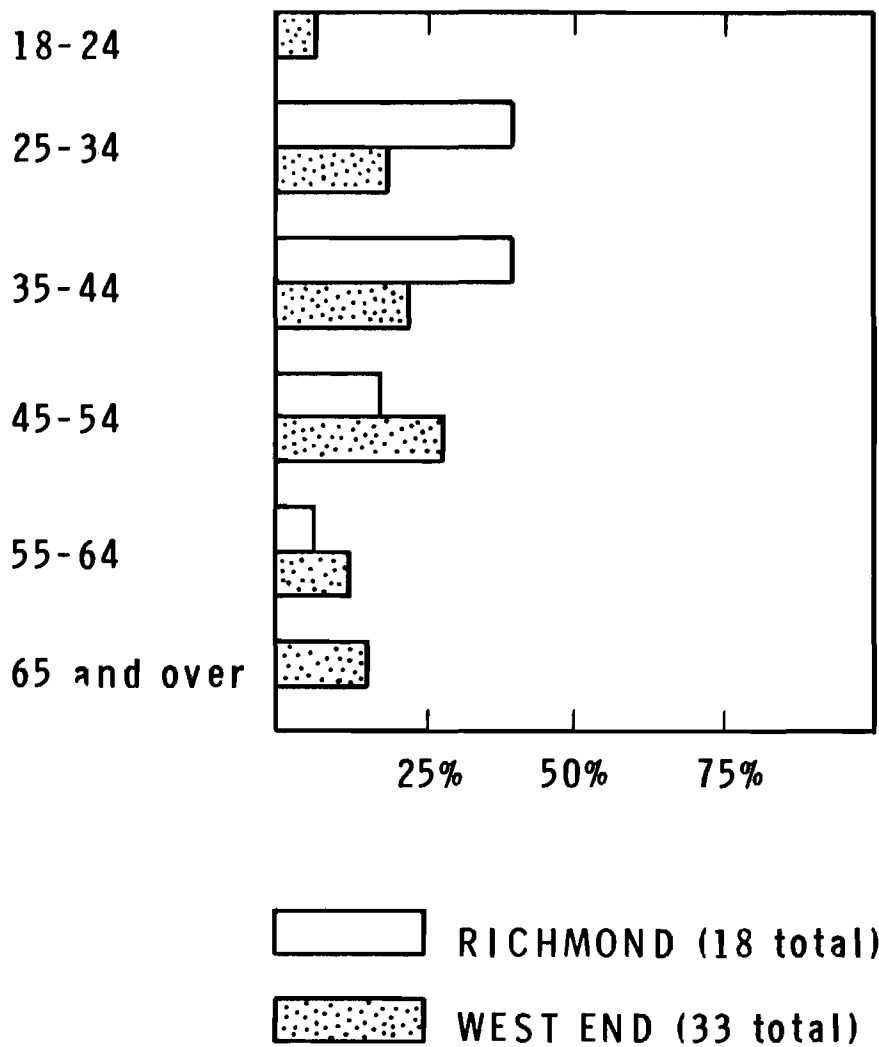


FIGURE 2
AGE OF RESPONDENTS (WIVES WERE APPLICABLE)

AR 3773-2

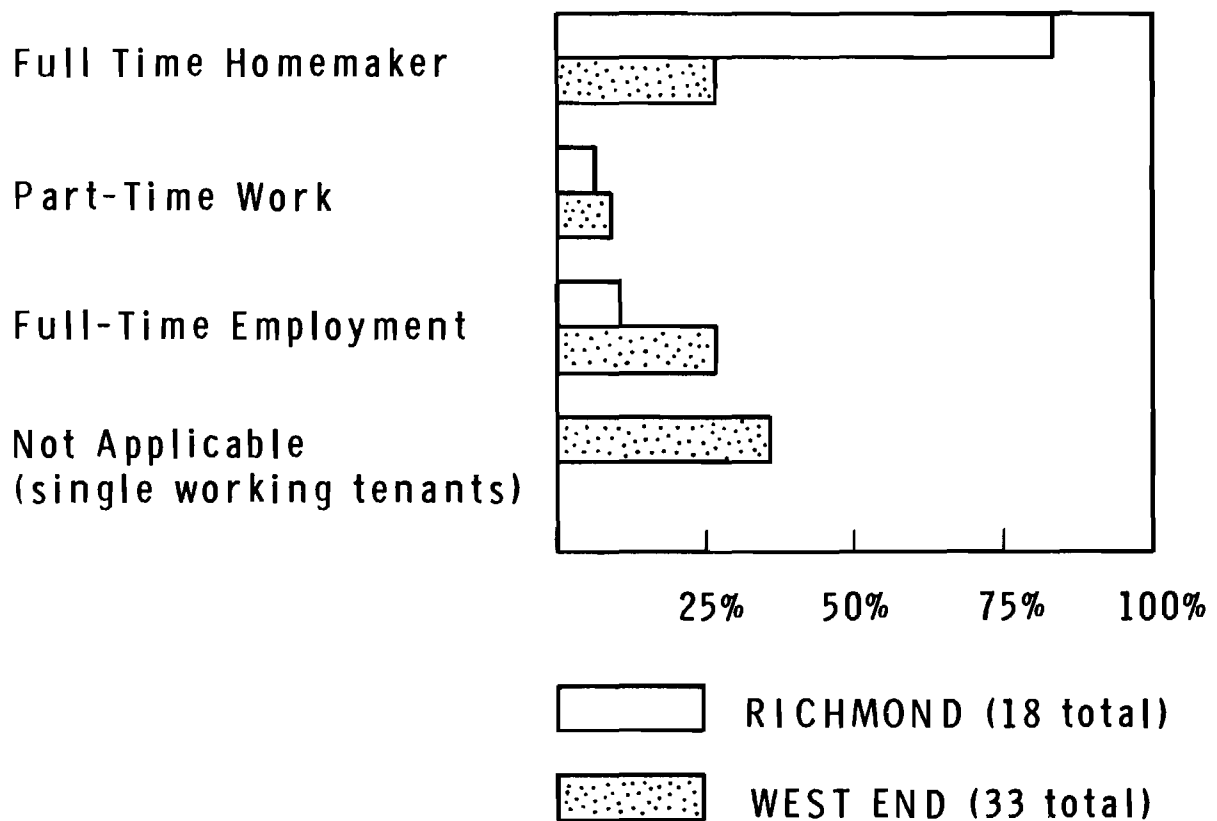


FIGURE 3
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF WIVES

BR 3773-3

Not Enough Space

Wanted to be Closer to Work
Wanted to be Closer to Park
and Beach

Job Transfer or Opportunity

Wanted to Own House

Regimentation of Apartment
Living

Wanted Place in Decent Repair

Incompatibility with Owners

Other

Note:

Since Many Respondents
Gave More than One Answer
or Reason, the Sum of the
Percentages Does not Equal
100

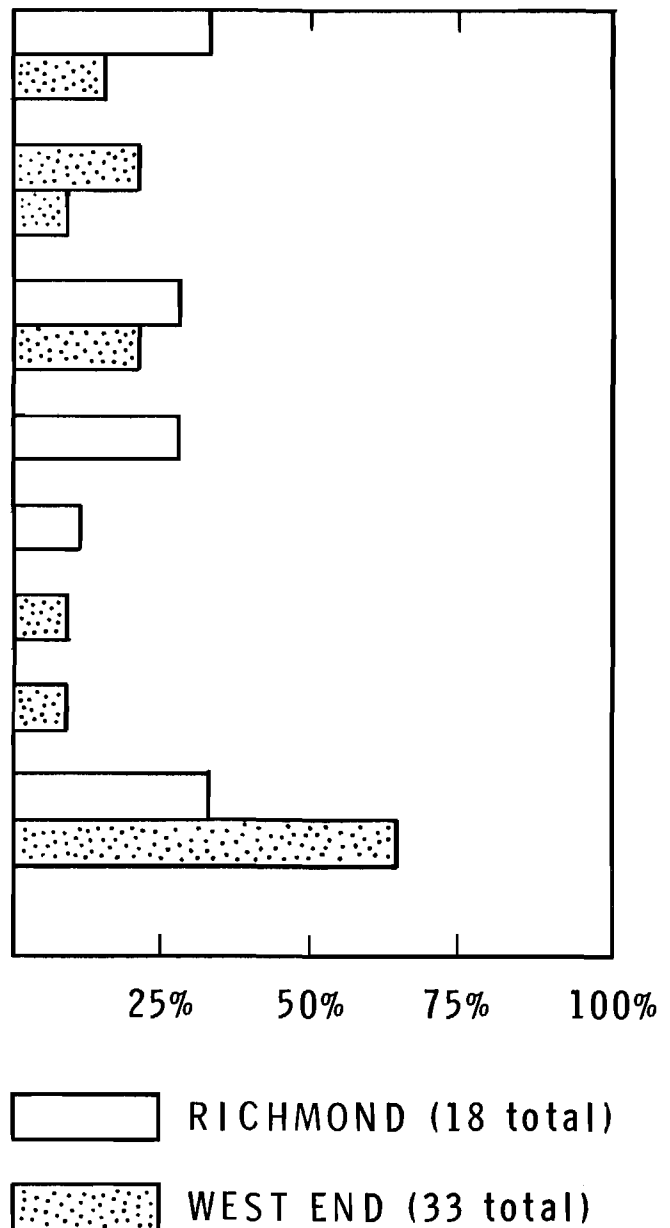


FIGURE 4

REASONS FOR MOVE FROM FORMER RESIDENCE

BR 3773-4

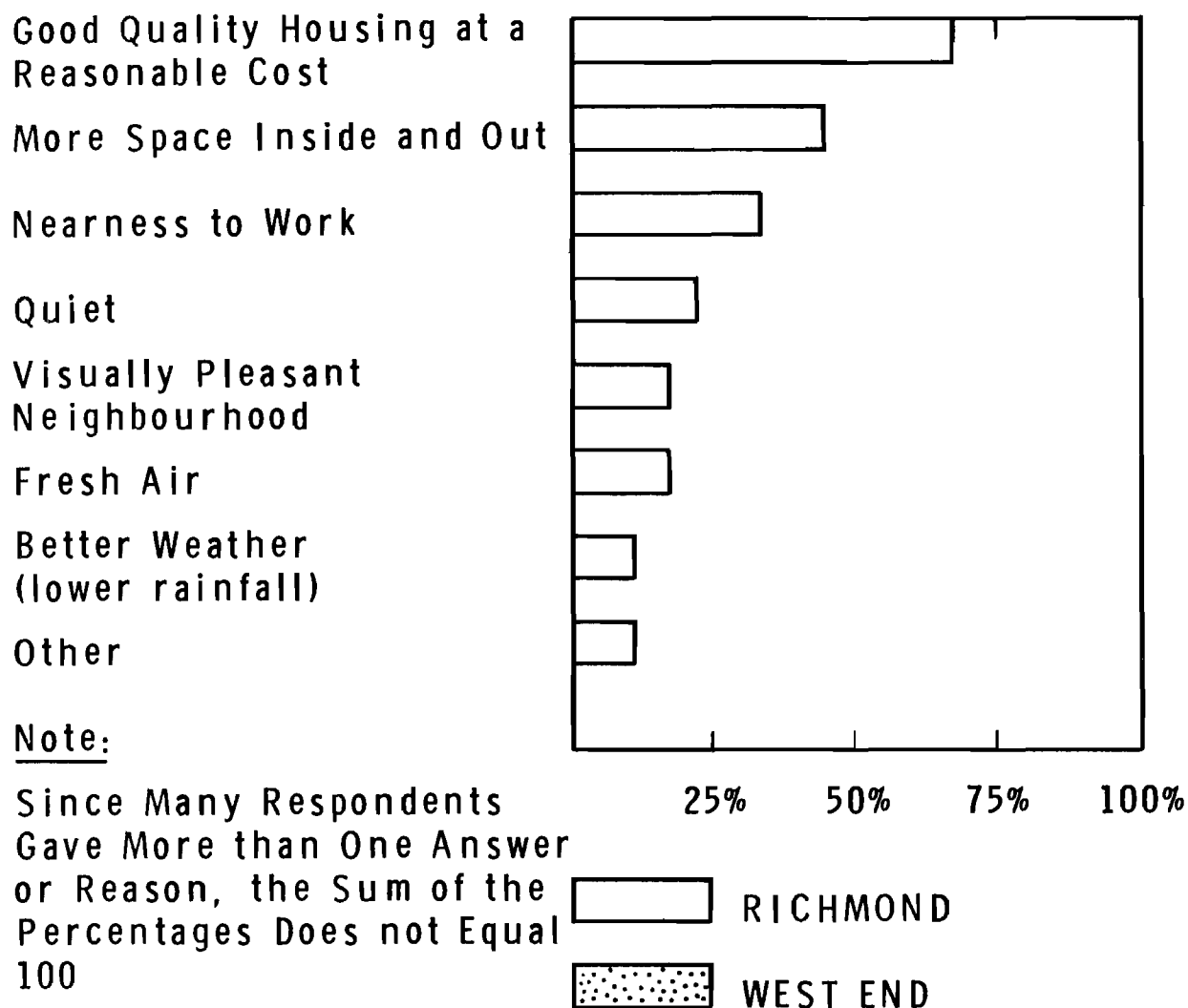


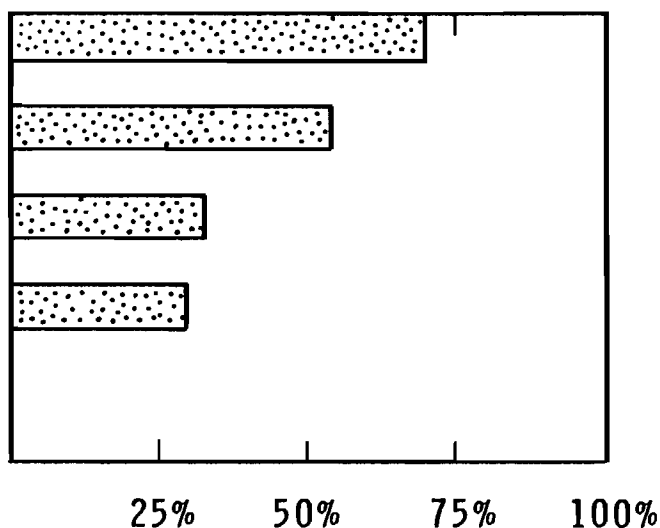
FIGURE 5(a)

REASONS FOR MOVE TO PRESENT LOCATION - RICHMOND SAMPLE

Nearness to Work

Former Address in West
End; Used to it, Like it
Nearness to Park and
Beach

Nearness to Downtown
Area



Note:

Since Many Respondents
Gave More than One Answer
or Reason, the Sum of the
Percentages Does not Equal
100



FIGURE 5(b)

REASONS FOR MOVE TO PRESENT LOCATION - WEST END SAMPLE

BR 3773-6

The Garden

More Privacy from Neighbours

Independence, do as you Like

More Space Inside and Out

Place for Children to Play

Pride of Ownership

Have an Equity

Freedom from Restrictions
and Regimentation

Used to a House, Always
Lived in a House

Other

Note:

Since Many Respondents
Gave More than One Answer
or Reason, the Sum of the
Percentages Does not Equal
100

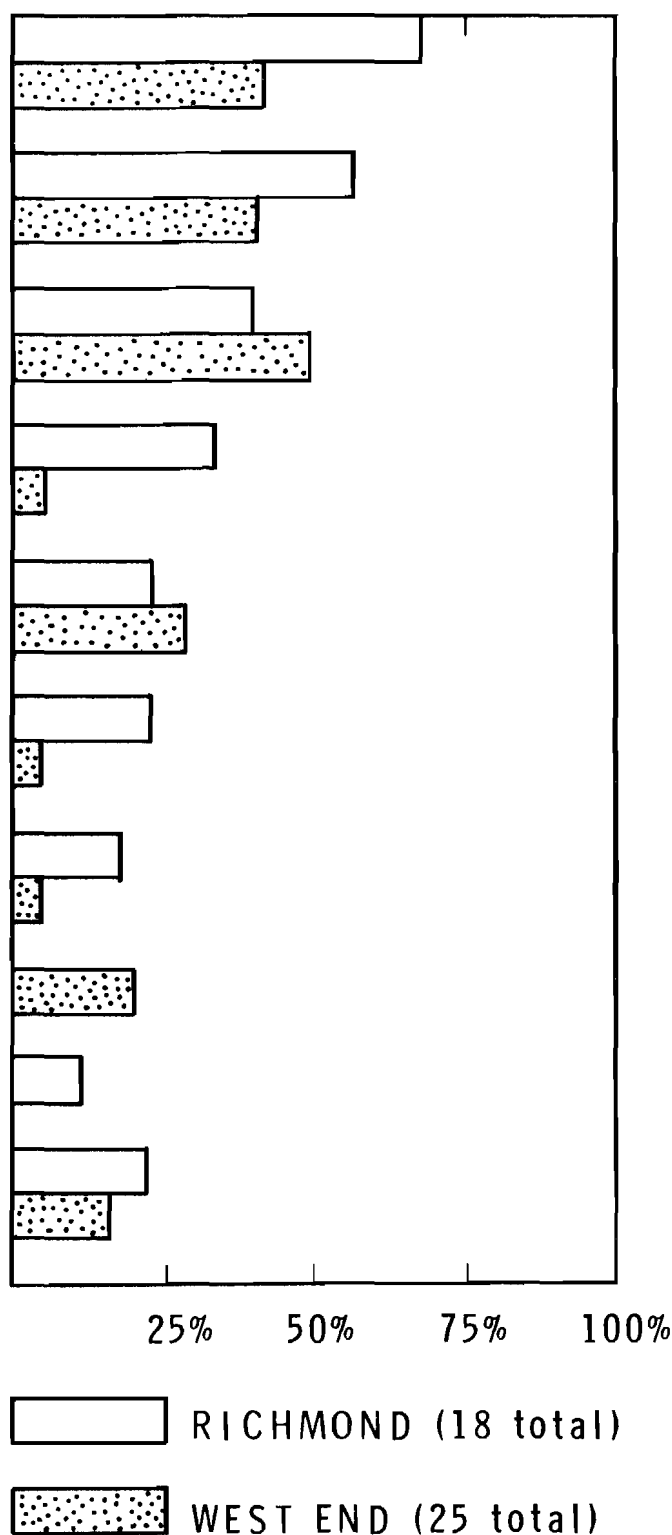


FIGURE 6(a)

ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN A HOUSE

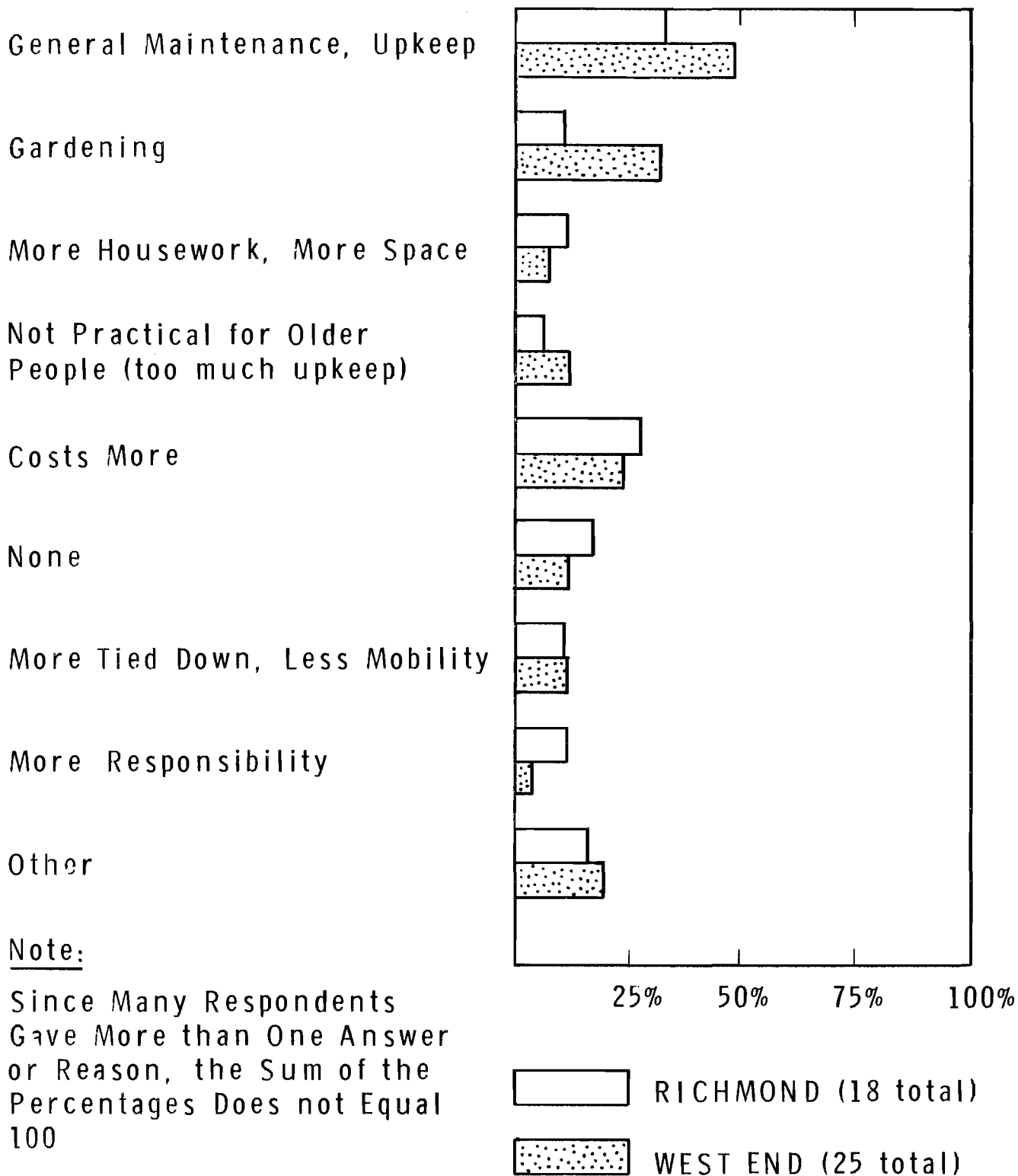


FIGURE 6(b)

DISADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN A HOUSE

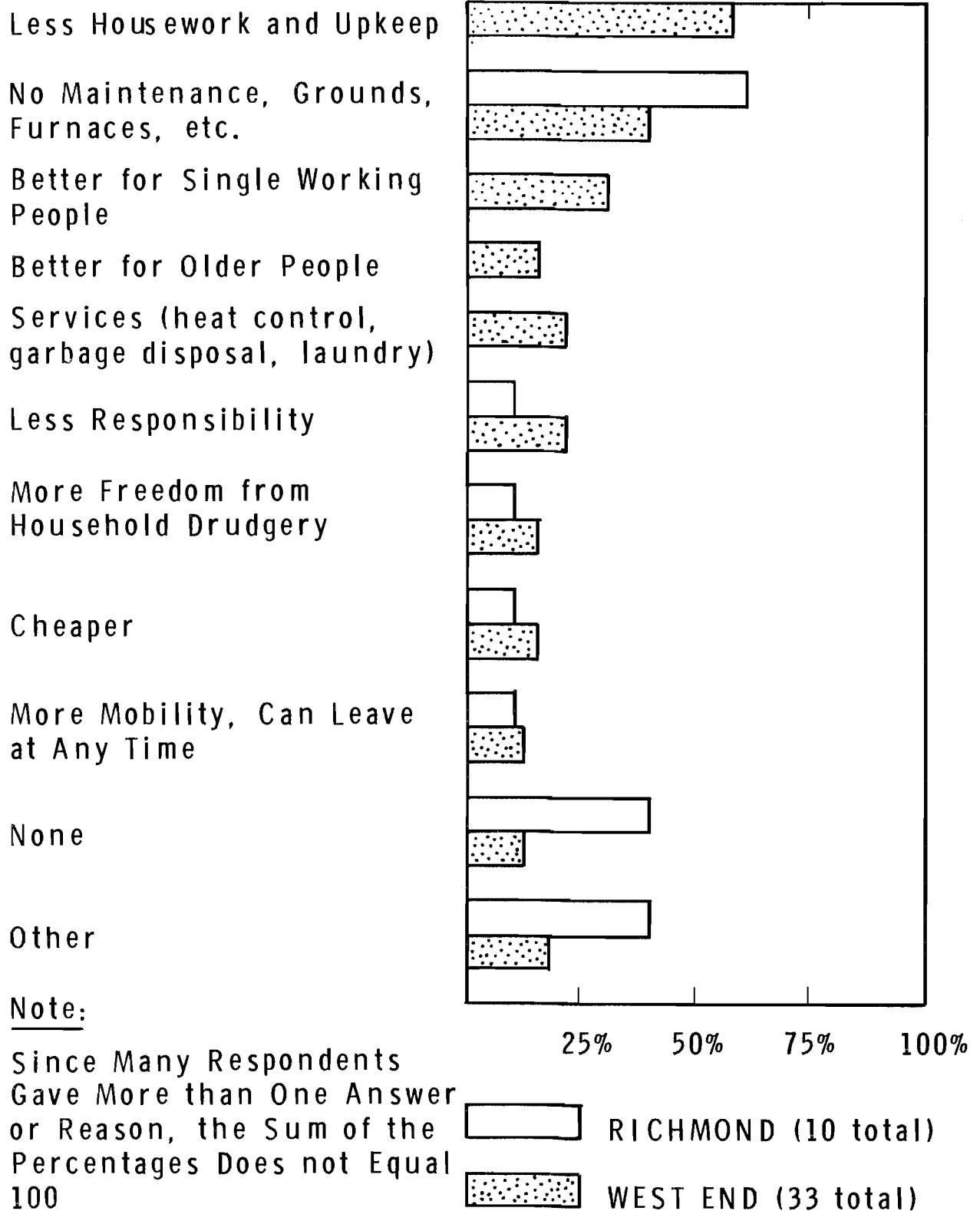


FIGURE 7(a)

ADVANTAGES OF APARTMENT LIVING

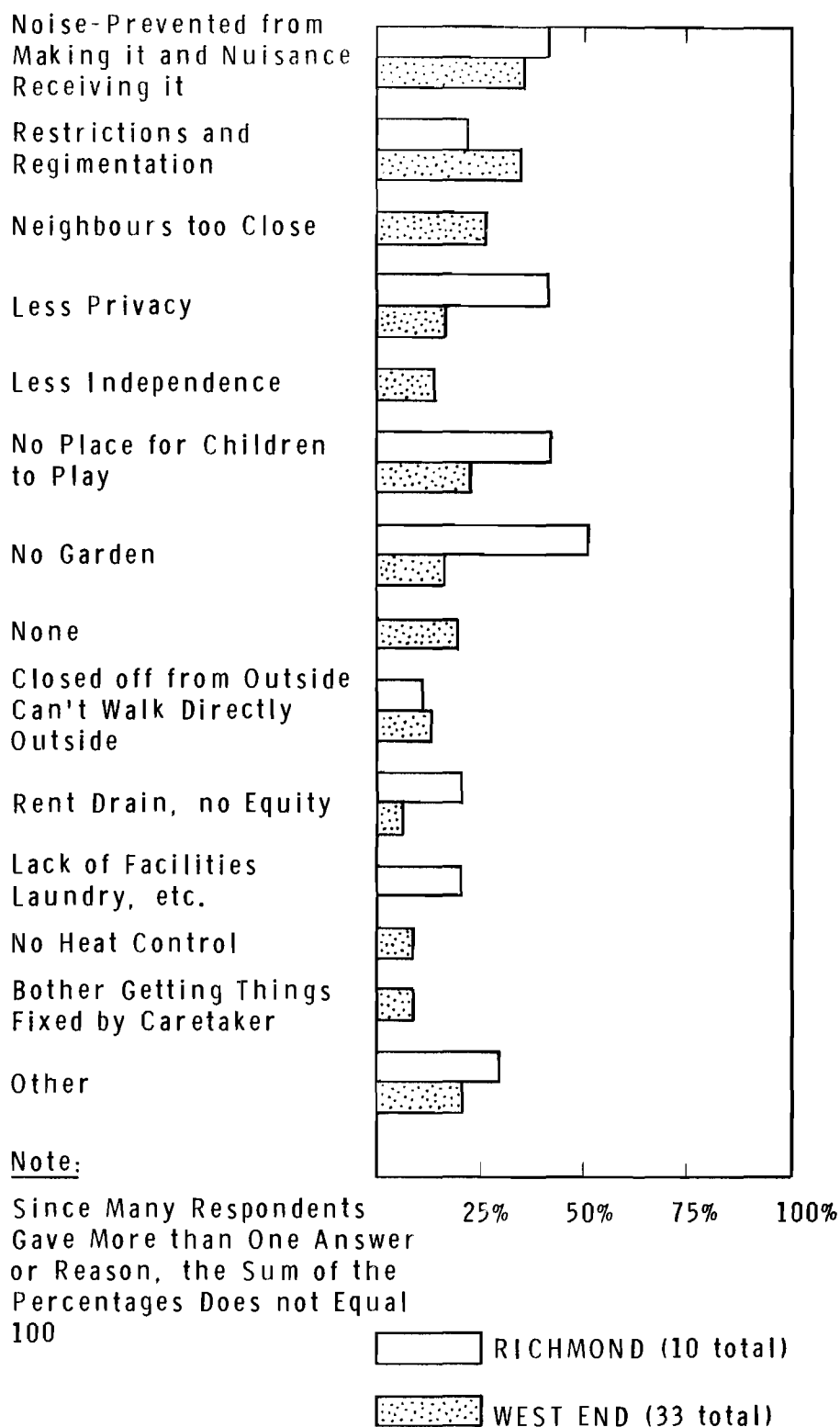


FIGURE 7(b)
 DISADVANTAGES OF APARTMENT LIVING

Minds Own Business
Allows Privacy, not
Prying, Does not
Impose

Friendly but not
too Close

Helpful (in emergency
or when desired)

Not Always Dropping
in, not in and out

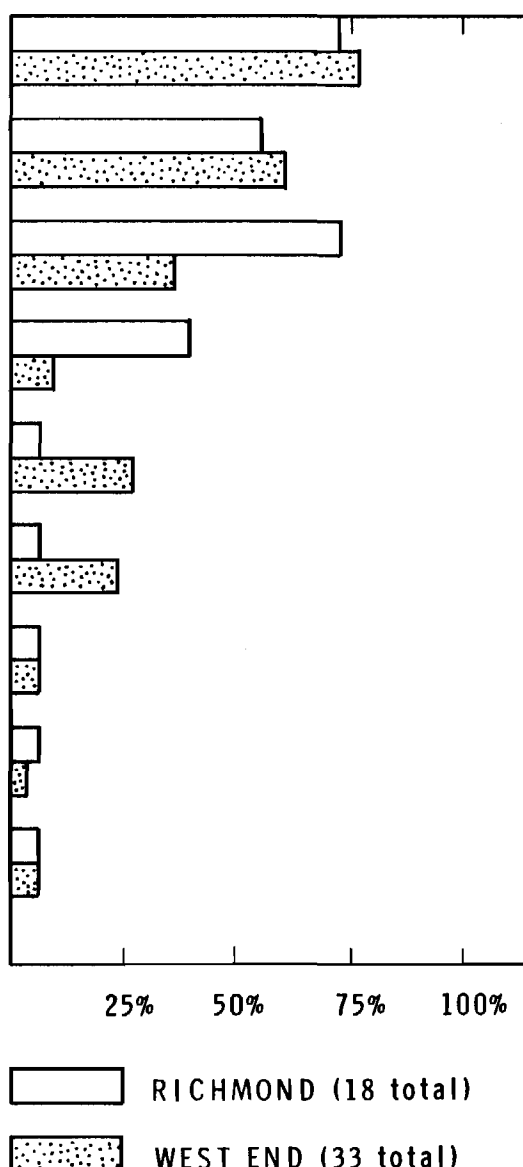
Consideration of
Other People

Quiet

Allows Independence
and Individuality

Not Gossipy

Other



Note:

Since Many Respondents
Gave More than One Answer
or Reason, the Sum of the
Percentages Does not Equal
100

FIGURE 8
DESCRIPTION OF A GOOD NEIGHBOUR

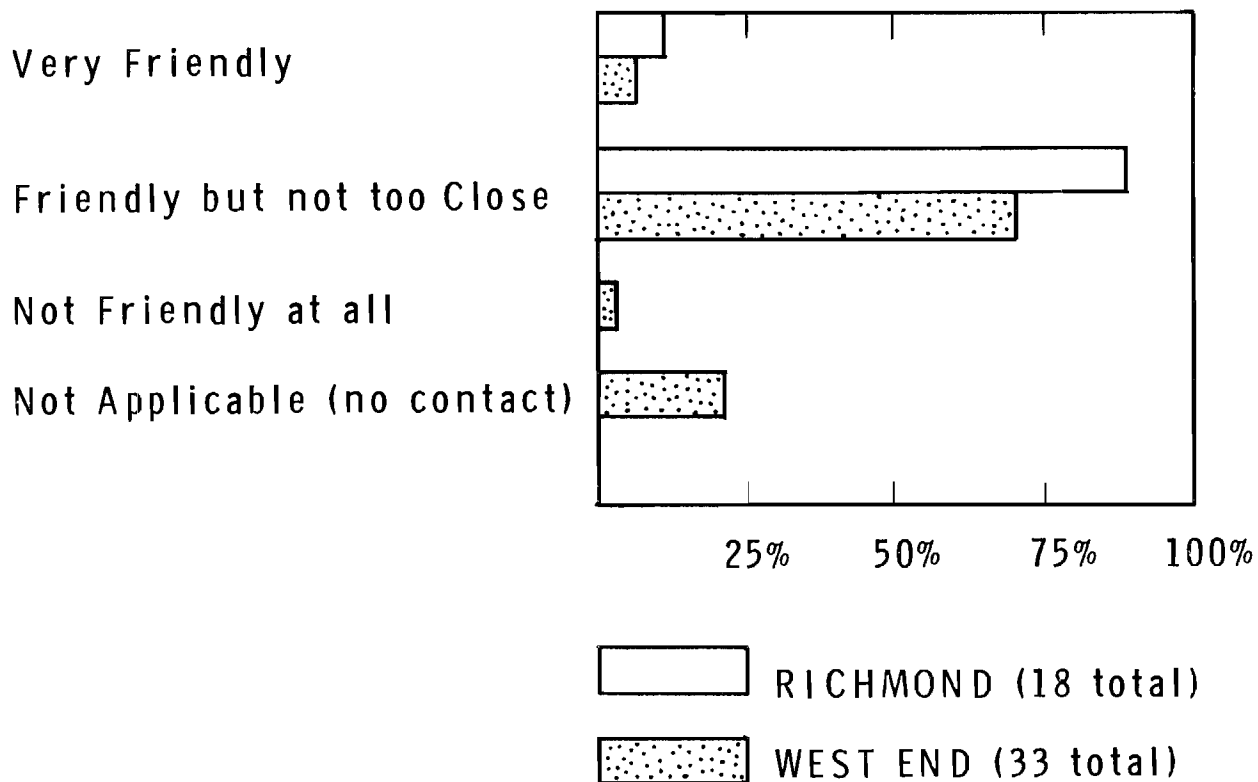


FIGURE 9
RELATIONSHIP WITH NEIGHBOURS

BR 3773-12

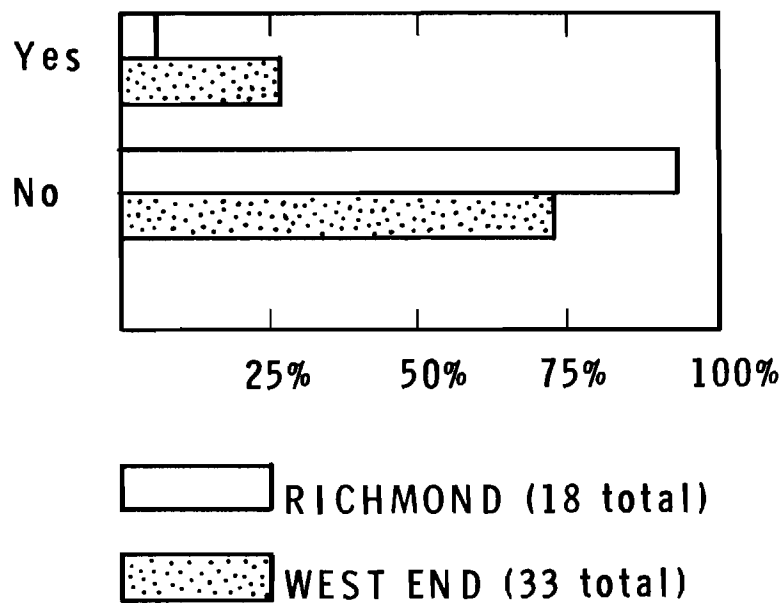


FIGURE 10
DESIRABILITY OF CLOSEST FRIEND
LIVING NEXT DOOR

BR 3773-13

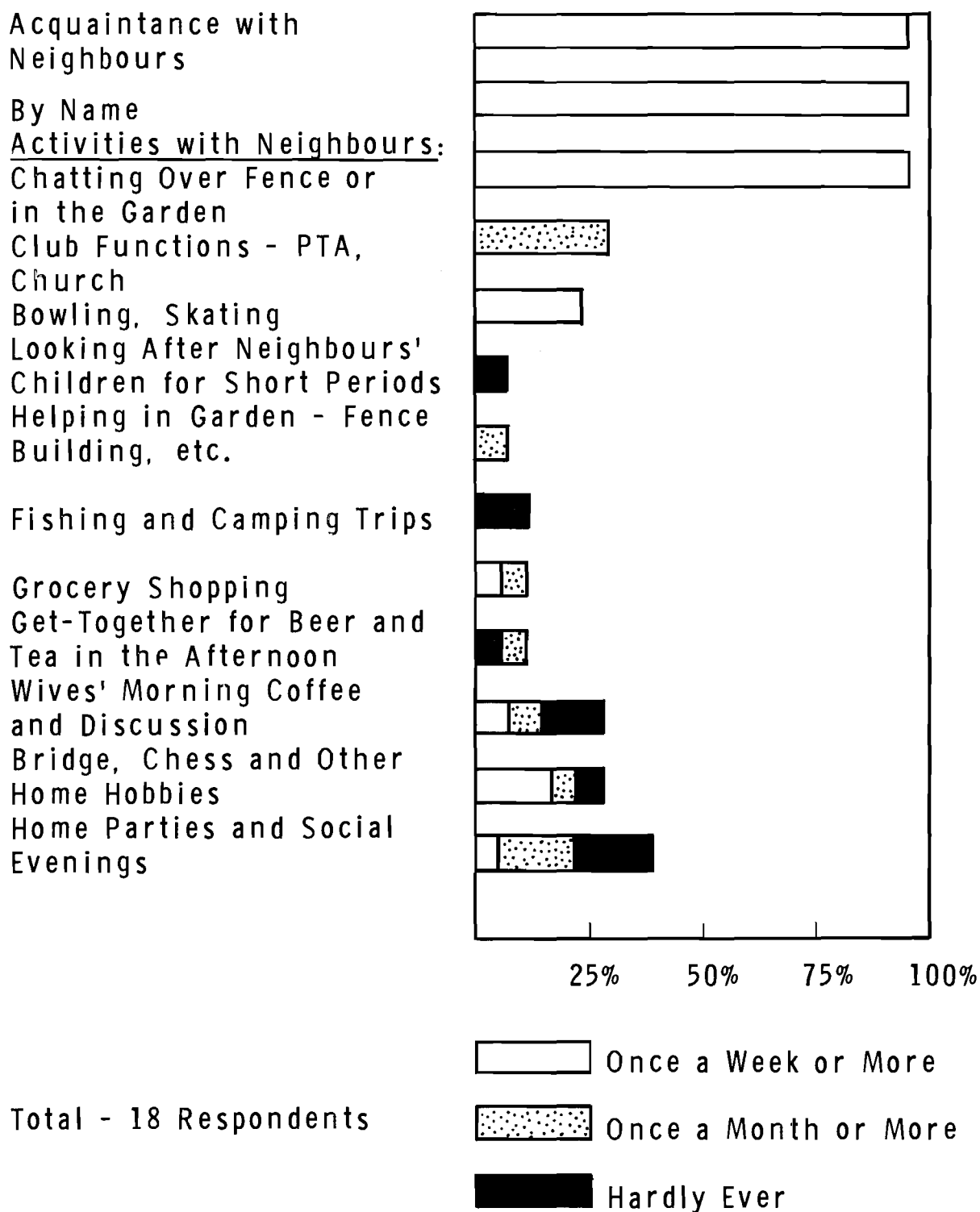


FIGURE 11(a)

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AMONG NEIGHBOURS - RICHMOND

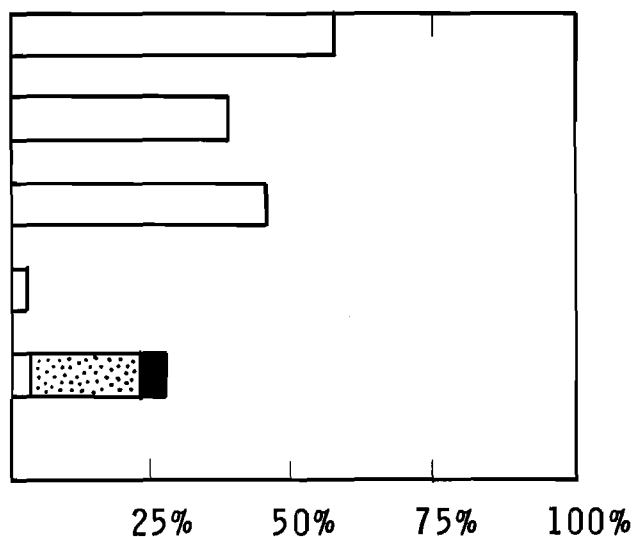
Acquaintance with
Neighbours

By Name

Activities with Neighbours:
Chatting in Halls, on Street
or Sundeck

Sunday Walks

Visits in Each Other's
Apartment



Total - 33 Respondents

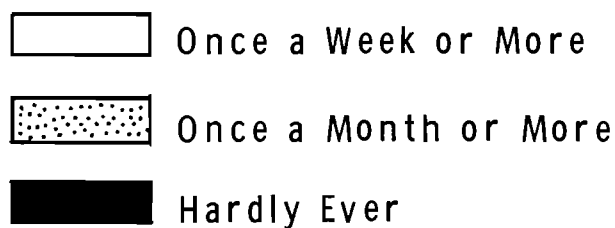


FIGURE 11(b)

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AMONG NEIGHBOURS - WEST END

BR 3773-15

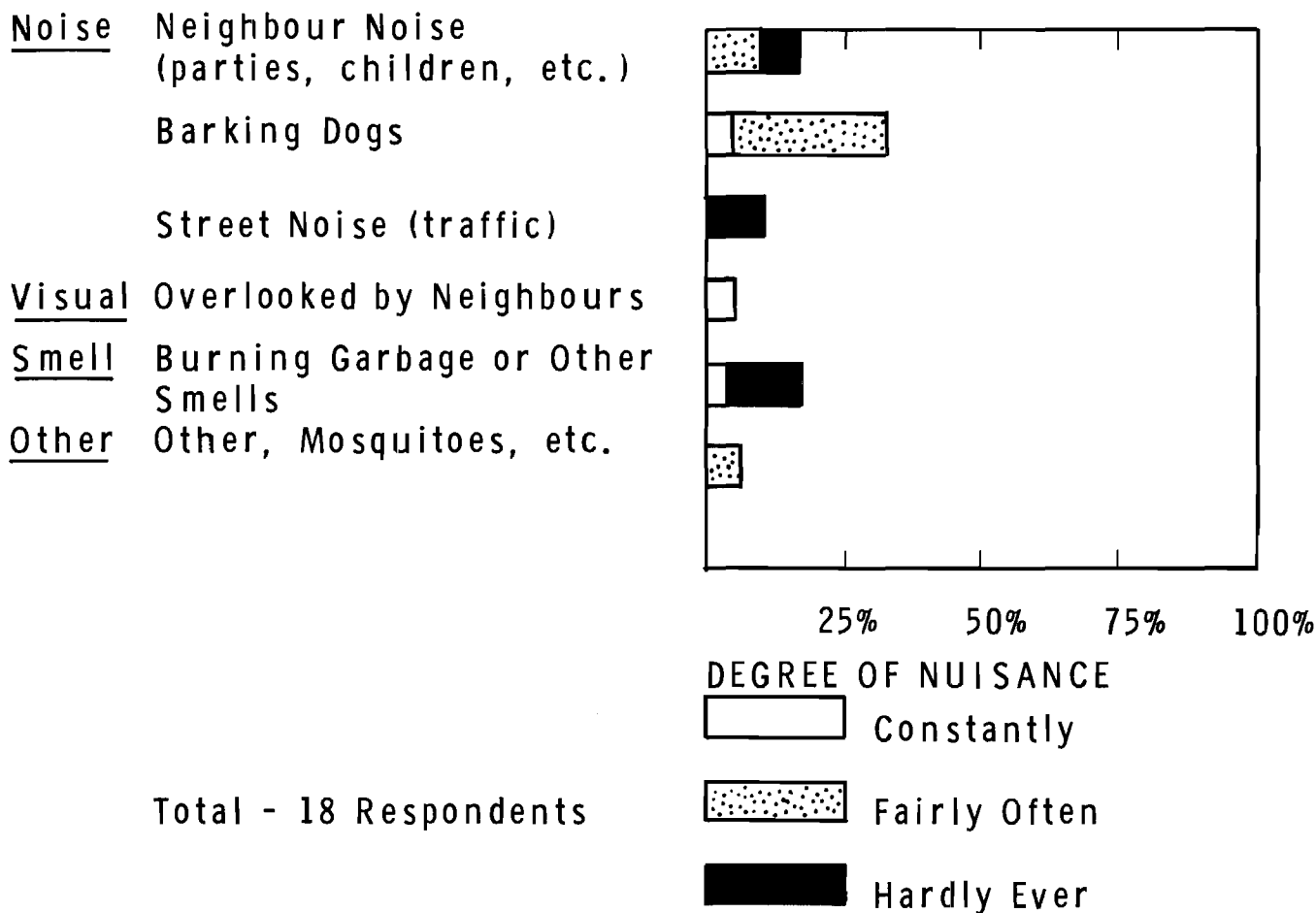


FIGURE 12(a)

RESIDENTIAL NUISANCE - RICHMOND

BR 3773-16

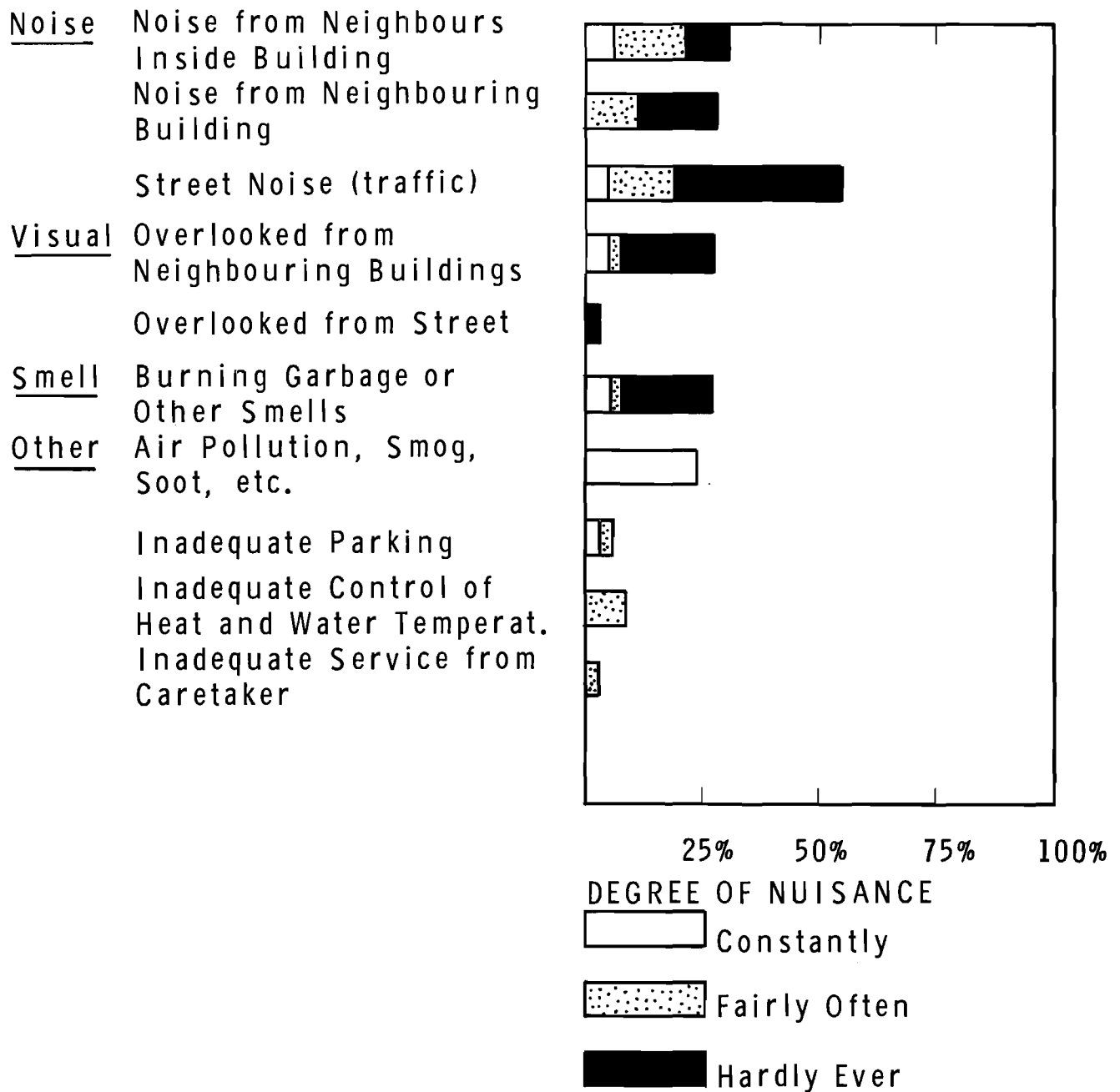


FIGURE 12(b)

RESIDENTIAL NUISANCE - WEST END

BR 3773-17

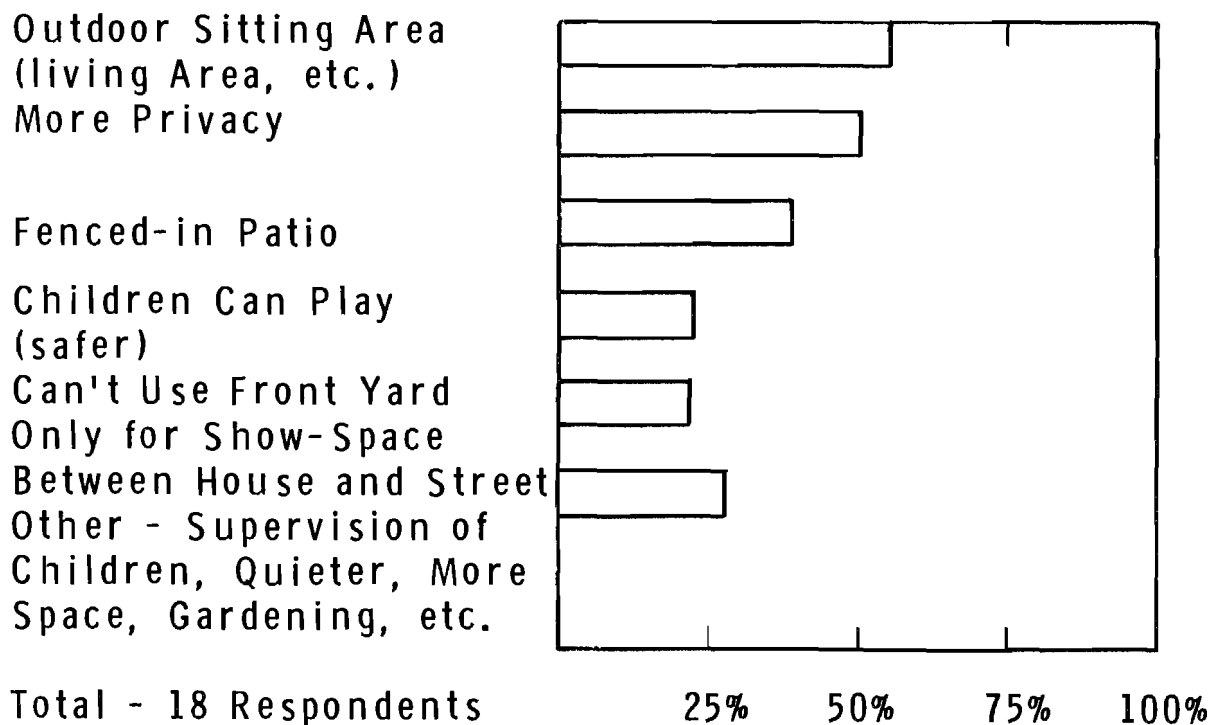


FIGURE 13

REASONS FOR BACK YARD CHOICE - RICHMOND

BR 3773-18

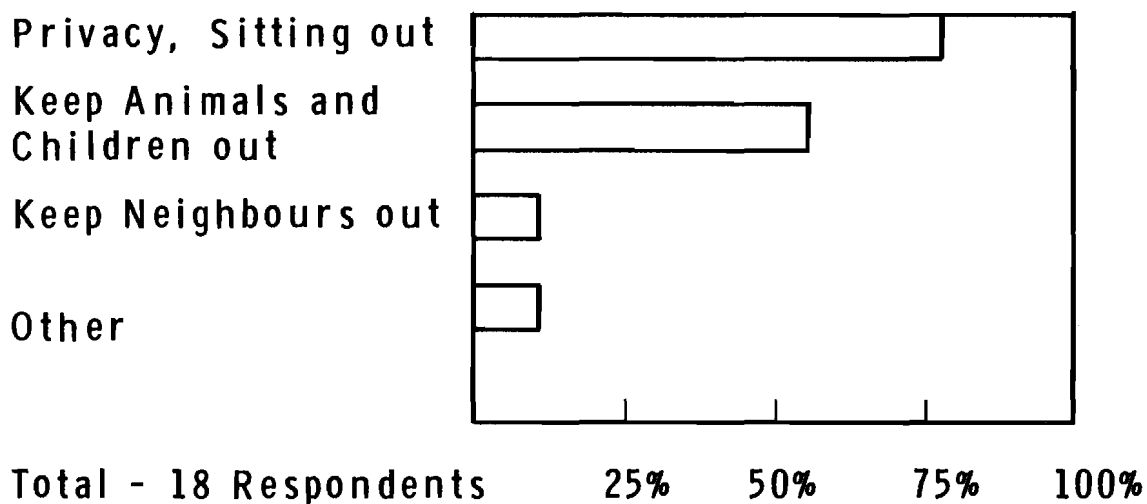


FIGURE 14

REASONS FOR FENCE SEPARATION BETWEEN NEIGHBOURS
- RICHMOND

APPENDICES

- A - Definitions of Privacy
- B - The Interview Schedule
- C - Letters Concerning Survey
- D - Bibliography

APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS OF PRIVACY

The word "privacy" has many implications. This appendix lists some of its meanings relevant to the subject of this report.

1. Privacy is freedom from social contact and observation when these are not desired. (Paul Halmos, Solitude and Privacy, Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, London, 1952, p. 102.)
2. Privacy is a desired degree of seclusion not involving isolation from society, the group or the family. It may relate to the opportunity of an individual to be alone at times when being alone is essential. (Henry P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, Littlefield, Adams; Ames, Iowa, 1955)
3. Privacy - or the Right to be Let Alone - is perhaps the most personal of all legal principles. ... The very word connotes a necessary alienation between the individual and his society, an alienation or distance that is at the core of all our civil liberties. (Morris L. Ernst & Alan U. Schwartz, Privacy: The Right To Be Let Alone, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1962, p. 1.)
4. Privacy is the freedom to be by oneself and is a value. (F. Stuart Chapin, "Some Housing Factors Related to Mental Hygiene", Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 & 2, 1951, p. 165.)
5. Privacy is that marvelous compound of withdrawal, self-reliance, solitude, quiet, contemplation, and concentration. (Serge Chermayeff & C. Alexander, Community and Privacy, Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1963, p. 38.)
6. Privacy is the need ... for sheer physical separation of activities and varies from one type of family to another. (Hanan C. Selvin, "The Interplay of Social Research and Social Policy in Housing", Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 & 2, 1951, p. 177.)

APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

It was necessary to compose two slightly different questionnaires because the test areas were so different. Reproduced in this appendix is the "house" interview schedule. It includes some questions dealing with outside space that were not asked the apartment dwellers. In those cases where questions to the two sets of respondents are vastly different, both are reproduced.

Questionnaire

(House)

1. Are you at home more time than anybody else who lives here?
2. I'm interested in interviewing the principal user of the household. Could you please tell me if you are a full-time homemaker, retired, work part-time, or have a steady full-time job?
3. How many people are there living in the house?
4. How many children do you have living at home?
5. Could you please tell me their ages?
6. How long have you been living in this house?
7. Could you tell me the reasons that prompted you to move from your former residence- And to your present location?
8. Have you ever lived in an apartment?
(If yes) What do you consider to be the advantages of apartment living?
Disadvantages?
9. What do you think are the advantages to living in a house?
Disadvantages?
10. Would you consider living in an apartment in the city?
(To apartment dwellers) Would you consider living in a house in or near the suburbs?
11. Do you like living in this neighbourhood?
Why (not)?
12. Do you like this house?
Why (not)?

13. Do you like your front yard or back yard better?
Why?
14. Do you have a place where you can sit out with out being overlooked? (If yes) Do you like this feature of your home?
(If no) Would you like to be able to do this?
15. Do you know the neighbours that live immediately around you?
Do you know them by name?
Do you visit with any of these neighbours?
Which ones? (north, south, etc.)
What activities do you take part in with your neighbours?
(Where? How often? and How do you value this participation?)
16. Would you like to have your own small private garden, such as you have now, or would you like to arrange a deal with two or three of your neighbours to set aside all your back yards for a quite large recreation area with facilities such as a swimming pool, tennis court, barbecue, or anything that you jointly might want to use it for?
(To apartment dwellers) Would you like to have your own small private garden or would you rather have a fairly large outdoor area with a certain amount of facilities, such as a swimming pool, tennis court, or barbecue, that would be shared by a number of families?
17. Do you discuss your personal problems with any of your neighbours?
18. How would you describe your relationship with your neighbours?
Very friendly
Friendly but not too close
Not friendly at all
19. When it's nice, how much time do you usually spend in the garden?
When you are in the garden, are you usually bothered by any of the following nuisances? (and how often?)
Noise from neighbours (children, garden machinery, parties, etc.)
Barking dogs
Street noise (traffic)
Overlooked by neighbours
Overlooked from street
Burning garbage or other smells in the neighbourhood
Other

20. At what times are you usually home
during the work week?
on the week ends?
 21. When you are in the house are you bothered by any of the following
nuisances? (and how often?)
Noise from neighbours
Barking dogs
Street noise
Overlooked by neighbours
Overlooked from street
Burning garbage or other smells in the neighbourhood
Other
 22. Do you feel that your neighbours allow you your privacy when you
want it?
 23. Do you think neighbours should have fences separating their
properties?
Why (not)?
 24. Could you tell me what you think a "GOOD" neighbour is?
 25. Would you like to have your closest friend living next door?
Why (not)?
- Now if you don't mind, I would like to end this interview with a couple of
questions about yourself.
26. Do you own other property such as a summer place that you use?
 27. And finally, could you please tell me in what age category you are?

APPENDIX C

LETTERS CONCERNING SURVEY

This appendix contains three letters:

- 1) a letter explaining the project and seeking co-operation from potential respondents in both areas;
- 2) a letter of endorsement from the Reeve of Richmond; and,
- 3) a letter of endorsement from the Vancouver City Planning Department.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

VANCOUVER 8, CANADA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COMMUNITY & REGIONAL PLANNING

August 5, 1964.

Dear

The Department of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia has undertaken a research project proposed by the Division of Building Research of the National Research Council of Canada, a research body sponsored by the Federal Government.

The purpose of this study is to determine what effects the space between buildings has on such aspects as fire, light, sound, and neighbor relations. To accomplish this objective we need your help. We have already completed the first three phases of this project and have received excellent cooperation from those residents who participated.

What we want to do is visit you for a few minutes to ask some questions relating to your experience with residential living. Of course, any information obtained from you will be kept confidential and used strictly anonymously.

Soon after you receive this letter you will be contacted by Mr. Alan Hedley, a research assistant responsible for this part of the project. He will ask your permission to visit briefly with you at that time, but if some other time is more convenient, he will be pleased to accommodate you so that this important information might be gathered.

You may be interested to know that the information that we obtain from you will be used directly in finding ways to improve the National Building Code of Canada, a set of regulations designed to control the quality of residential housing. It is therefore of the utmost importance that we find out what apartment dwellers and homeowners need and value in their residence. It is the purpose of this research to do just this.

We now only ask that you give us your help and cooperation. If you have any questions or doubts, please call us at the University, (Phone CA 4-1111, Local 409). I thank you for your consideration. We look forward to meeting you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Professor W. Gerson.

P.S. Please see the attached letter for an endorsement of our project.

THE CORPORATION
OF THE
TOWNSHIP OF RICHMOND

RICHMOND MUNICIPAL OFFICES
691 NO. 3 ROAD - RICHMOND, B. C.
CRESTWOOD B-5511

August 12, 1964.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The University of British Columbia, through its Department of Community and Regional Planning, is cooperating with the National Research Council in carrying out studies in connection with performance standards of residential buildings.

This study involves a pilot survey that the Department proposes to conduct in a portion of the Seafair subdivision in the Municipality of Richmond. A Mr. Boyd, with two assistants from the Department of Community and Regional Planning, proposes to interview various residents in the Seafair subdivision with a view to finding out what use is made of side yards, front and rear yards, etc., and how the people in the various houses feel about the adequacy or otherwise of these.

If you could assist the University and the Department of Community and Regional Planning, in particular, in their survey, it would be greatly appreciated.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "W.H. Anderson".

W.H. Anderson,
REEVE.

CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT

W. E. GRAHAM,
DIRECTOR OF PLANNING



TELEPHONE TR. 6-1313

CITY HALL
453 WEST 12TH AVE.
VANCOUVER 10, B. C.

August 17, 1964

Dr. Arthur Boyd,
Research Associate,
Faculty of Graduate Studies,
The University of B. C.,
Vancouver 8, B. C.


Dear Dr. Boyd:

Re: West End Survey

The City Planning Department is very interested in the tenant survey that you intend to make of living conditions in the West End.

We hope that this survey will be useful to us in improving the future development of the West End.

Yours truly,

 Director of Planning

BW/ar

APPENDIX D

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