FAMILY LIFE IN THE APARTMENT ENVIRONMENT:
A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF APARTMENT
HOUSING FOR FAMILIES

by

EVA G.H. LYMAN

REPORT ON A PROJECT SUBMITTED IN LIEU OF A THESIS IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in the Department

of

COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

We accept this report as conforming to the standard required from
candidates for the degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE

Members of the Department of
Community and Regional Planning

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

October, 1959
ABSTRACT

Title: Family Life in the Apartment Environment: A Study of the Social Aspects of Apartment Housing for Families

As our major cities increase in size, more and more families may be expected to prefer central housing in the form of an apartment to the outlying single family house. In the major cities the need to achieve greater densities in order to make more economical use of our land is another factor of growing importance. Although the rate of construction of apartment buildings has increased in recent years, there has been little recognition of the fact that certain families with children may increasingly wish to live in apartments due to the benefits offered by housing located close to employment, social and cultural facilities.

The social values of families differ, depending on the orientation and interests of the members, and may be expected to affect the housing type desired. The group which might be better served by apartment housing may be larger than expected. However, at the present time apartment houses have certain disadvantages for family living. Some complaints which are commonly raised are discussed in this thesis. Clearly any improvements aimed at making the apartment environment suitable for family living must take into account the social needs and roles of the family and its members.

A thorough study of sociological literature on the family and its needs was carried out. These needs are discussed and interpreted in terms of their housing significance and implications for the apartment environment. It is concluded that with some changes in the present way of building apartments, and with the provision of various facilities necessary for family development on a communal or community basis, the apartment environment could be adapted to family living.

Additional proof of the feasibility of making the apartment environment acceptable for family life can be seen in the Swedish housing situation. There a large proportion of families with children are housed in three and four story walk-up apartments, without suffering any hardship. The stress in Sweden, moreover, is on community planning with all the requirements of the people
in mind, rather than on one isolated aspect of the total picture (i.e. the construction of dwellings). The dwelling unit alone is not considered to be adequate to take care of all the social needs of the family. Facilities for outdoor recreation, hobbies, cultural and other activities, are seen as a necessary extension of the home. They are provided outside the home, but as close as possible to it.

Since the Canadian people have lived traditionally in their own houses, some prejudice against other housing types can be expected to linger. However, if the apartment environment provided as many of the amenities popularly associated with the single family home as possible, in addition to being centrally located, public prejudice may be expected to disappear in time.
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Community & Regional Planning
The University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, Canada.

Date 15, Oct. 1959
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to the members of the Faculty of the Department of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia. Above all I would like to thank Professor Ira M. Robinson for his guidance and helpful criticism during the writing of this thesis. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. H.P. Oberlander for his helpful advice in the initial stages of this thesis.

Furthermore I would like to express my gratitude to Professor V.F. Lyman, of the School of Architecture, and Dr. R.H. Robson of the Department of Sociology for helpful discussions, and to Miss Melva Dwyer, Librarian, for her invaluable help with library material.

In addition my thanks go to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation whose Fellowship made my studies possible.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II DISSATISFACTION WITH APARTMENT LIVING</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III HOUSING NEEDS OF THE FAMILY IN RELATION TO APARTMENT HOUSE LIVING</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Needs of Families</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Roles and Needs of Individual Family Members</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV FAMILY HOUSING IN SWEDEN</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 1</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX 2</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There has been growing concern about urban sprawl in Canada. Excessively low densities make our cities spread for miles and miles, raising the per capita cost of services, and utilities, and cutting up ever more of our "open countryside". Leading planners and architects have been particularly concerned about the future, should the present trends continue.

A prominent Vancouver architect, for instance, has charged in a recent newspaper interview that unless a change occurs in the present urban development pattern, the day may not be far away when the traveller on his drive East will no longer be able to see either the Rocky Mountains, the Foothills or the Great Lakes, for they will have been covered by sprawling, strip developments. While it is to be hoped that conditions will not deteriorate to such an extent in Canada, one should remember that this is in fact already the case over large sections of the eastern United States seaboard.

The suburbs which spring up farther and farther from the city center have frequently been defended by statements such as "each family with children should have its own house and garden" or "life in single family homes is better for family development". There are, however, some increasingly apparent disadvantages to suburban living. If present trends continue, there may come a
time when driving to and from work will take the father so long that he will hardly see his family except on weekends; while the other family members, particularly the wife, are so isolated in this suburban vacuum between city and country, that unless they own a second car, a visit downtown will be one of those rare events reserved for special occasions. The question arises whether the damage to family life under such conditions might not be greater than the advantages claimed for suburban living.

To eliminate the resulting isolation from cultural, recreational and commercial facilities, and to lessen the waste of energy and loss of time spent in commuting we may have to reconsider our traditional housing values regarding dwelling types suitable for family living. It seems obvious that if our cities are not to stretch in a continuous band from coast to coast, one of the steps required is an increase in residential densities. That is, more people, including a substantial proportion of families with children will have to be housed in various types of apartments, particularly in our largest cities.

There are indications that this trend is already under way. The increase in the rate of building of rental accommodation has been greater than the increase in single family homes in recent years in the United States and in Canada.\footnote{Note: An illustration of the American conditions can be seen in the article "Boomlet in Rental Housing," \textit{House and Home}, August 1957, vol. 12, p. 51}

The increase in apartment unit construction is shown quite clearly in the following figures on apartment unit completions for the city of Vancouver between 1951 and 1957.\footnote{\textit{Apartment Zoning}, Vancouver Technical Planning Board, August, 1958.}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Apartment Units Completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1,307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1,451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Apartment is defined as anything with three or more units (excludes conversions of old houses).

Similar patterns appear in other large Canadian cities especially in Montreal and Toronto. In the Toronto Metropolitan area for instance, over a half of the new units built in 1958 were apartments.³

Most of the apartment units built since the war were designed for the types of households that have traditionally preferred to live there. For instance, 70% of Toronto's total apartment units are bachelor-and one bedroom-suites.⁴ The "ideal" tenants of apartments fall generally into the following categories:

1) Adult households of one or more professional people who prefer a central location and may be sharing an apartment for company, economy, or convenience.

---

⁴ Ibid.
2) Older people (couples, or single) who find maintaining a house too much trouble, or prefer to live in a central location in order to be close to the hustle and bustle of life, since many are far from their grown families, and life in suburbs might be lonely.

3) Childless married couples, where both husband and wife may have a job.

The group with which this thesis is concerned—families with one or more children living at home, is generally assumed to be not interested in, and not suited for apartment living. This assumption, however, is a generalization and like most generalizations is only partly correct. The housing desired by any one family will depend on the social and other values held by its members, and these differ widely.5 Housing values may be especially apparent in the attitude of the woman of the family, because she is more intimately connected with the home, than the other members. The requirements of the housing unit will differ depending on the role the wife finds most important. The following are some of the examples given by J.P. Dean:

1) The woman as "hausfrau"—if this is her main aim, the stress in the home may be on efficient work, and she may desire all possible aids and devices to further efficiency. It is also likely that this person will be more oriented toward the home than the outside world. In such cases the home is probably

---

more important than its location in the city, provided shopping and essential services are convenient.

2) The woman who feels child-rearing as her most important role will consider such amenities as a nursery, play areas both in and outdoors, and so on, most important. The furnishings in the dwelling will also be geared to the child's needs. Here again, the home and its immediate environment are likely to be more important than life in the "outside world".

These two groups probably prefer a single family house if economically possible, and are less concerned about its location in relation to the city as a whole.

3) On the other hand, the family may consider social advancement, and social contacts more important and this will affect their housing requirements. The address, and the style of the dwelling will be quite important. The type of dwelling that will be considered acceptable will depend on the social group.

4) The career-minded wife is likely to want as many services outside the home to take over her chores while she pursues a career outside the home. Similarly the woman who puts companionship with her husband first is also likely to want as many labour saving services and devices. For these types of families, day-nurseries, playgrounds near the home, commercial laundries, nearby restaurants, etc. are likely to be almost essential. It could be expected that this type of family would be particularly likely to find apartment living, with
the usual nearness to shopping, transportation and other facilities more suitable for their needs.

Whyte suggests still another group which is likely to prefer apartment living. He describes it this way:

They are different, but in one respect they are similar; they like the city. They like the privacy; they like the specialization, and the hundreds of one-of-a-kind shops; they like the excitement—to some the sirens at night are music—they like the heterogeneity, the contrasts, the mixture of odd people.6

Among other advantages that Whyte's subjects saw in central living was the "convenience of things", such as walking to the office, rather than commuting for hours, and then being able to spend more time with the family. Drawing on his survey for the *Fortune* articles, Whyte says that a significant number of former suburbanites have returned to the city, and

...some of these were young married couples with children. We also found that an appreciable number of city people were moving to suburbia only because they had to; given a little more space, and at not too exorbitant a price, they would prefer to stay.7

To sum up, the families which are not oriented exclusively toward the home and child rearing, but have either career, social or cultural interests might be expected to find more central housing preferable. This housing will most probably be in apartments.

---

7 Ibid., p. 33.
The family with children is generally not planned for in middle-income apartment developments, with the result that many families looking for such housing are turned away from one apartment building after another due to the "no children allowed" policy. If they are allowed to rent, they generally find that no provision has been made for their special needs.

The group that may be interested in apartment housing may not be as small as is generally supposed. Even if only the professionally-oriented group was considered as potential apartment dwellers, the number would be larger than usually assumed. The number of married women in the labour force might be taken as an indicator. The proportion of women in the labour force has increased steadily since 1931, as can be seen in the figures below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>% of Women in Labour Forces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1931 only 10% of the women in the labour force were married. In 1951 30% of them were married. According to the same source in 1958 one out of every four women worked, and 40% of these women were married. No doubt a sizeable proportion of these women also have children.

As can be seen, there has been an increase in working

---

8 Canadian Department of Labour, Married Women Working for Pay in Eight Canadian Cities, 1958.
wives and this trend will no doubt continue as more women obtain a higher education and enter professions. If the wife works the family also has a better chance to increase its material standard of living. As more and more household aids make their way into more homes, housework takes less time, and housewives may spend their leisure time pursuing other activities. While it is not being suggested that all of these families would prefer to live in apartment houses, it can be expected that a considerable proportion would welcome the proximity to cultural, commercial and other facilities, which living in central areas of our cities affords.

There is another group that might be better housed in apartments, even if perhaps only on a temporary basis. These are the increasing number of "mobile families" whose occupational characteristics require frequent moving from city to city. In their case home-ownership is often just an inconvenience. This fact was brought out very clearly in a recent survey done by this author for a research paper in Sociology. Two types of family groups were interviewed: one living in their own house, the other in an apartment project designed for families with children. By far the larger proportion of the apartment dwellers had professions which involved frequent transfer, and travelling on the job. Other interviewees in the apartment were uncertain as to whether or not they would be staying in Vancouver. A large proportion of

8 Some Aspects of Housing and Family Living, Term paper for Urban Sociology 425, Spring 1959.
these families felt that home ownership (although perhaps desirable at some future date) was now impracticable, due to their uncertain conditions, or for a lack of funds. All these families had at least one child, generally under five years of age. That mobility was indeed a factor, was shown by the length of residence in the project. Over half of those interviewed had resided there less than one year. Only one family had lived in the project during all the years of its existence. Some 80% of the interviewees had formerly lived in apartments, prior to moving to Dolphin Court, their present home.

It appears that there may be yet another factor that will tend to make families prefer more centrally-located housing: There has been increasing evidence that women feel lonely and isolated in remote "package communities" and suburbs, where there is really little else to do for interest than to talk to neighbors similarly afflicted. It is hard to assess the effect on a woman's state of mind of being isolated with company which under other conditions, where free choice was more possible, would not be found too congenial. In many cases the only thing that the women have in common are the children. On the other hand, Whyte notes, in central areas, "friendships are more selective, being based less on sheer propinquity, more on shared interests". ¹⁰

contacts may lie in radio soap-operas, television, and magazines. These alternatives may be somewhat wearing to all but the most dedicated housewife-mother. Another problem in this connection, noted by Margaret Mead, results from the fact that the men have left the home, via commuting to distant jobs, along with other relatives who formerly made up the larger family living together. The husbands frequently leave home early and return home late after a lengthy trip from work. As a result of less time spent together by the family, the meaning and true satisfactions of family living are lost.

The "vanishing fathers" are also viewed with alarm by those concerned with child-rearing psychology. The children see only women around them, at school and in the subdivision, and thus it becomes difficult for them to visualize the male role in the community and in society. The argument which is often advanced in defence of the suburban home for family living, namely that the father can be seen working around the house and garden seems to be a rather dubious one, for that reason. Furthermore, if the father has to be handyman (whether he enjoys it or not) he will be less able to give his attention to his wife and children than he could living in a serviced apartment where he could follow true leisure pursuits with the family, such as playing golf, or going on picnics; while a hired hand takes care of the lawns, during working hours, leaving the evening air peacefully quiet rather than buzzing with lawn mowers.


12 W.H. Whyte Jr., "Are Cities Unamerican," *Exploding Metropolis*. 
In this connection it might be of interest to note that a majority of home owners and apartment dwellers interviewed for the above mentioned sociology research project by this author, felt that it was easier "to get away" from an apartment, for trips and leisure pursuits, than from a house. (See Appendix 1).

Over the last few years there has been some indication that the single family home's greatest "claim to fame" is not as valid in fact as is often suggested. The general belief is that suburbs are ideal surroundings for child rearing, but this has been challenged by some very articulate people. It appears that there is not in fact enough adequate play space for children, as lots are generally of a minimum size, and may carry "keep off the grass" signs; and secondly, in the mistaken belief that these lots are adequate substitutes for playgrounds, no other play areas are provided. Some parents even seem to feel the antiseptic suburbs give children the wrong idea of life.  

In the following chapters of this report the alleged shortcomings of apartments are analysed, with the special requirements of family living in mind. At the same time possible ways in which this type of residential environment might be made suitable for family living are suggested. The discussion is limited to middle income families with young children living at home. Only social aspects of family living in apartments are considered. Economic aspects, for instance, are not dealt with in this study.

In order to evaluate the suitability of apartments as an environment for family living, a thorough study of existing sociological literature on family needs and the roles of family members was carried out. The family needs and roles are discussed in the third chapter in terms of their housing implications. In the first section of this chapter the basic social needs common to all members of the family, which must be provided for in housing are discussed in general; in the second part, the roles of individual members are analyzed with the apartment environment in mind.

The fourth chapter is a survey of the Swedish approach to family housing. It will be seen that a large proportion of Swedish families live in apartments and that through the integration of various facilities with the housing projects a residential environment suitable to family living has been achieved.

The final chapter consists of conclusions drawn from the foregoing chapters as to the possibilities of apartment living for families in this country's cities in the future.

The chapter which follows this introduction is concerned mainly with the dissatisfaction with apartment living at the present time in Canada.
CHAPTER II

DISSATISFACTION WITH APARTMENT LIVING

Apartment builders, with the exception of public authorities building low cost housing projects, have generally not considered the family with children as a potential tenant. As a result they have not catered to this group's special needs.¹

The Canadian people have always had a traditional belief that each family should have its own house. The desire to conform to this tradition appears to be still prevalent. For example, according to a housing study done for the University of Toronto, 70% of those interviewed said that they considered owning their own house preferable to renting.² The question as asked in this study (as in most similar types of studies) was rather theoretical, since it did not specify either quality or location of either dwelling type, or in fact, anything about them. Had the question been for example: Would you rather live in a house two hours drive from your job, and half an hour from shopping, schools, and playgrounds, or in an apartment close to these facilities, the pattern of answers might have been different. However, as the question was asked, it simply shows

¹ It might just be mentioned in passing that if families in low cost housing projects feel that their family needs have not been met, it is probably due to the need for economies in facilities and space by the authorities. A similar desire to economise is hardly justified where rents are fairly high.

² Dr. Albert Rose, Experimental Study of Local Housing Conditions and Needs in Brantford, Ont., Toronto University, 1954.
the traditional preference of people for their own house under ideal and equal conditions. It might be interesting to note, that a similar survey done in Norway yielded almost the same results. However, since the conditions are generally not equal, we see a drop in the desire to own as the size of the community increases; for with the increase in size, distances and other factors come to play a role, and for many families the advantages of house ownership are cancelled out by these disadvantages. The resulting drop in desire for house ownership was recorded in a United States survey:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities under 500,000</th>
<th>Cities over 500,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44% owned own house</td>
<td>30% owned own house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75% wanted to own</td>
<td>61% wanted to own</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of the new suburban homes in addition may not present a sufficiently attractive alternative to apartment living. Space has been reduced to the barest minimum, not only in apartments but also in the single family homes, so that the house is only barely larger (generally by one bedroom) than the apartment. A comment by Ch. K. Agle in this connection is worth quoting:

Most site plans, room placements and side yards are such that we all live practically in our neighbors' laps. Cities have not kept up in providing parks and playgrounds and other open spaces to compensate for the absence of usable open space for children on small lots...Because of the black magic of finance

4 Urban Planning and Public Opinion, Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University, 1942.
and questions of title, it is ironic that the private housing program seems less conscious of the need for social space than the public housing program. In reducing room sizes and number down to the barest animal essential, both programs have long since wrung out of the "unit" every inch of usable social space. In the public programs, at least an attempt has been made to provide some space in communal halls, day nurseries and kindergarten, and something in the way of playgrounds. In private developments, whether single or row houses, or apartments, this is seldom the case because of the difficulty of communal ownership.  

According to Agle, and several other authors, the same shortcomings could be found in all types of dwellings of recent construction. Apartment projects, however, are the ones that are generally criticized most strongly along these lines.

Specific arguments against family living in apartments generally center around two aspects:

1) The Indoor Environment
2) The Outdoor Environment

The shortcomings regarding the indoor environment generally include these major points:

Lack of space: in apartments this is generally of two types: that caused by minimum room sizes (glorified by such terms as functional, or efficient layout), and the number of rooms. Klaber comments on this, and like Agle, brings in the

5 Ch. Agle, "A Plea for Perspective," *Apartments and Dormitories*, p. 16.
Figure 1.

The lack of space in the contemporary dwelling, with the resulting lack of privacy is the subject of this witty sketch from p. 4 of Apartment Houses by J.H. Abel and F.N. Severud.

similar shortcomings of house and apartment alike:

During the last 20 years the living area of houses offered for sale has been diminishing constantly. This is the principal means the developers have found to hold sales price of houses down to a point where they are marketable in a period when material and labour costs are on the increase.6

He feels that the decrease in the size of rooms in row and apartment houses has not been so great, chiefly because:

Older examples of these two types of dwelling were often miserably cramped, and since most new ones are

in areas controlled by building codes, there has been some increase in room size above those of the prefabricated slums. But medium rent apartments have tended towards fewer bedrooms. It is rare to find new construction with three bedroom units.7

Although this comment was made about the United States situation, to this writer's knowledge, it appears to be equally applicable in Canada. There are very few apartments being built with three bedrooms. Where they exist, the rents are probably too high for the average middle-income family. A two bedroom apartment will be adequate for a small family with one child, of whatever age. However, with more children, the two bedroom apartment is not likely to be sufficient to serve the various needs of the family members, especially if there is a considerable difference in age between the children, or if they are of a different sex. It should be noted that the greatest single complaint of the tenants interviewed by this writer at Dolphin Court, was the lack of interior space. This was stated in different ways. For instance: Not enough space for indoor child play; or, the living room is always in a mess, (i.e. guests have to share the room with the children's toys, etc.), or; the husband doesn't have any peace and quiet if he has to work at home. Some of the interviewees felt they could not entertain at dinner due to the smallness of the dinette or kitchen. The inadequacy of the unit was the major reason why 64% of the tenants wanted to live in a house in the future. The layout of the Dolphin Court units appeared to be about

standard for the type of apartments with rents between $120 - $150 per month. (A tabulation of the shortcomings as stated by the tenants can be seen in Appendix 1).

Another often criticized characteristic of apartments is that of the **proximity to neighbors**, with the accompanying problems of sound insulation. It appears to be true of apartments anywhere that a greater percentage of people complain about noise than in single family homes. This was found to be so even in England, although the difference was slight. One might suspect that the difference would be small even in Canada, particularly if a comparison were made between apartments and homes on small lots with minimum side yards. To this writer's surprise, only very few of those interviewed at Dolphin Court complained about noise from neighbors. This could be explained in two ways:

1) Better than average sound-proofing was used, since a noise problem was anticipated, as the apartments were designed for families with children.

2) The tenants acquired a tolerance toward noise, as the court around which the units are built is almost always noisy. Noise transmitted from one apartment to another might be small in comparison.

It is worth noting that some types of design create more of a "climate" for the sound problem, than others. The

---

completely enclosed court tends to be noisy as sound is reflected against the walls. This is the case at Dolphin Court, for instance.

Another type of design which, in spite of some advantages such as direct outdoor access and certain economies, has the disadvantage of generating noise is the outside terrace or gallery-access block. Here outside stairs exist generally on one or two ends of the building with the units reached by an outside gallery going past the windows of all units. These windows are commonly bedroom windows, although occasionally, as at Dolphin Courts, they are living room windows. People walking by, especially early in the morning or late at night and children playing on these "balconies" create a noise problem, so much so in fact, that the British housing authorities do not recommend this type of construction, in spite of its inherent economies.\(^9\)

The most common complaint, regarding noise in apartments is noise transmitted through walls, and ceilings. Apartment dwellers are either irritated by their neighbors, or fear disturbing them, which places restrictions on their freedom, and may have bad psychological effects. It should be noted here, that good sound-proofing construction can eliminate all objectionable noises, but increases cost. The inconvenience for families from living several floors above

\(^{9}\) Living in Flats, 1952.
ground is another frequently-heard complaint. The popular belief is that "Both the children and their parents are underprivileged when the children do not have direct and immediate access to the ground." This opinion has frequently been expressed both by people concerned with housing and those merely voicing their ideas. It is prompted by a belief that mothers cannot safely supervise their children from anything but the ground floor, and that children can only go out to play conveniently if they don't have to go down any stairs. Surprisingly enough, evidence from this writer's study of Dolphin Courts, where two and three story apartments exist, shows that about three-quarters of the mothers interviewed on the second and third floors did not feel this was so. Furthermore, they saw little need to be concerned, as a safe and enclosed play area for the pre-school children was provided within their sight in the court. It may be that the provision of a nearby, and safe play space is more important to maternal peace of mind than a ground floor dwelling unit. Therefore the play space, for the very young at least, should certainly be in view of the upstairs units.

It is hard to say at just what floor most mothers would begin to feel child supervision difficult, but it is most probable that the discontent would increase sharply above the third or fourth floor. Evidence to this effect may be found in Sweden where over 80% of the population live in apartment houses of

various sorts, with the greatest number of families living in three and four story blocks. High rise apartments are considered less desirable for children.\footnote{11 Ch. K. Agle, "A Plea for Perspective," \textit{Apartments and Dormitories}, p. 18.}

A certain inconvenience in apartment living may exist in the relationship between dwelling units and facilities such as the laundry, garbage disposal and other communal facilities (if they exist). Unless every apartment has its own laundry, which is almost never the case in the middle-range rental apartments, some units are always a distance from these facilities, which means that the washing has to be carried for some distance. Different solutions to avoid this as much as possible have been tried, and are described in a later chapter.

The lack or inadequacy of private outdoor space is generally considered to be the most severe drawback of apartment living. It was mentioned in all the discussions on the suitability of apartments for family life seen to date by this writer. Here again, one may suspect that the universality of the desire for a garden is a generalization. The interviewees at Dolphin Court, for instance, did not all desire a private garden. A large proportion said they wanted "outdoor space with privacy". One of the main disadvantages of a garden, as seen by these families, was the inconvenience of maintenance.

Wallace stresses the social importance of a yard and argues that its absence appears as a serious threat to the social
structure of the family.\textsuperscript{12} The importance Wallace places on this factor seems to be exaggerated, although it may be more important in the group with which he is concerned. It does show, however, the importance generally attributed to the yard or garden, no matter how small.

Another common complaint centers around the inadequacy or lack of provision of outdoor play areas for the children of the project. The majority of our new apartment buildings are built on two or three formerly single family lots, and so much of the lot is covered by the structure that no usable outdoor space—apart from the decorative green strip all around—remains. If, in addition, there are no balconies the lack of provision for outdoor play results in inconveniences to both mother and child, since in such a case the children have to be taken out or go alone to the nearest playground. This means that the mother is either being kept from her work, or else cannot supervise her child. It should be said in all fairness to apartments that play facilities are inadequate in many single family areas as well, and many an apartment is better located in relation to the community center, or central park, than the house on a 60 foot lot. And unless the garden is fenced off, children may wander away easily, while the mother is working in the house. But even if the value of an average garden is not great for the active play of growing children, it is invaluable as a release from being cooped up indoors when free time is limited, and doesn't permit

\textsuperscript{12} A. Wallace, \textit{Housing and Social Structure}, p. 41.
a longer expedition outdoors. It may be that balconies in apartments might take care of some of these recreational needs, as well as those of very young children. Unfortunately, balconies are not provided often enough, nor in usable sizes.

In cases where outdoor space is provided, it often lacks privacy. The cause may be either poor layout or inadequate space, or both. At Dolphin Court, for instance, once a person leaves his dwelling he may be seen by all other tenants. The small enclosed court design is fine for child supervision but it does not do for relaxed adult recreation. To a certain extent the person must always watch his or her dress and appearance, and in addition be prepared for neighborly company. Lack of privacy outdoors was noted by 29% of the interviewees at Dolphin Court whether they stated it explicitly or with such statements as "there is no provision for adults in the court." In fact, it may be concluded from this survey that outdoor privacy for adult relaxation is more desirable than the ownership of a private garden as such, and that public outdoor space, if it offered privacy, would also be acceptable.
In the foregoing chapter the most common shortcomings of apartment living for families were discussed. In this chapter various changes which might make the apartment environment more suited to family living are suggested.

In order to determine the housing requirements of the family the basic social needs and roles of the family members must be considered. Subsequently, with these needs in mind, changes in the housing environment may be suggested.

The family is a very basic unit in our society. It has been aptly nicknamed the "personality factory", as it formulates the attitudes, and reactions of its members from the earliest childhood, to conform to those of the society in which they find themselves.\(^1\) The family also has a stabilizing effect on the adult personalities of the population.

The North American family has been undergoing important changes in recent decades, largely due to extensive urbanization and industrialization. According to Burgess, some of the most

---

notable characteristics of the family in our changing society of the 20th century are as follows:

1) Modifiability and adaptability in response to conditions of rapid social change.

2) Urbanization - more and more families live in an urban environment and an urban manner.

3) Secularization - that is the ever increasing importance of material comforts and the decrease of church control.

4) Possibly the most important trend in the internal makeup of the family is the trend toward companionship "with emphasis upon consensus, common interests, democratic relations, and personal happiness of family members."² This means that the bonds in the family are based more on the interpersonal relationships of the members, than on law, custom, public opinion or duty as was the case in the traditional, institutional family types.

In such a complex, changing situation the problem of relating the social needs of families to housing is a difficult one.

It is certain that housing has an effect on the family. Social scientists generally agree that the environment we live in plays an important role in our lives. However it is difficult

to relate the more refined needs (i.e. beyond shelter) of families to home. Sociologist J.P. Dean lists different kinds of needs, some of which exist without even the family's conscious knowledge or awareness of them. Among the conscious needs are those actively sought by the family, such as for example eating in the kitchen. A family with this preference will desire a large kitchen and will feel dissatisfied with a 7' x 7' one.

On the other hand there are "those dimly apprehended needs, often overlooked entirely in the expressions of housing desires." These are needs such as privacy for paternal discussions, or suitable study space for teenagers, which are very important to family life. Whether these needs are recognized by the family will no doubt vary from one family to another.

Among the families interviewed by this writer for a sociology research project the rate of awareness of such shortcomings as inadequate space for play, work or entertaining was quite high. Perhaps in a group where the education level was lower, different results might have been obtained.

---


4 Ibid., p. 131.
Social Needs of Families

Basically there are two social needs present in every family and for all its members: 1) sociability, and 2) privacy.

1) **Sociability** may be divided in the following way:

a) Sociability among family members, as during various family activities, recreational or work, when only family members are present.

b) Social contacts between individual family members (or the whole family) and "outsiders" such as friends, members of community groups, professional associates, and the like.

a) **Sociability Among Family Members**

In view of the previously stated importance of the affectional and companionship ties as the basis of family life, the pattern of face to face contact is very important. To further these relationships the home should facilitate desired contact and minimize friction. The layout of the home, be it a single family house or an apartment, should "facilitate the normal performance of family functions" by allowing easy circulation to avoid creating irritation and tensions among family members. The dwelling should provide a gathering place

---


for the family as a whole, where they could pursue some common activity. It would probably also be advisable if there was some gathering place for the children and their noisier and messier play, where no guests would come. The recently popularized trend to have a play area or "family" area connected with the kitchen might be a good solution, for it would provide an informal family meeting place, allowing the living room to be kept tidy and quieter. In this family room children would be seen by the mother - she could supervise their work and play without much effort, and the presence of the family would in turn lessen her isolation while she is working in the kitchen.

The need for a family to function as a group is stressed by various authors, as for instance Anthony Wallace. He feels that there is a lot of social benefit such as family happiness and cohesion to be gained if the family works together with the father in the garden or around the home. Margaret Mead likewise feels that various physical activities - be they skating or polishing the silver - undertaken by the family as a group foster its solidarity. However, she does not insist that this activity take place in the home. Where it is suggested that working in the garden, or repairing the home are the activities giving most benefit to family life, apartment dwellers may seem at a disadvantage. On the other hand, they will have more time

7 Wallace, Housing and Social Structure, Philadelphia Housing Authority, p. 41.
to engage in other than maintenance activities together—perhaps within, perhaps outside the home, if repair tasks are done by the janitor. And from Whyte's articles it seems that quite a sizable percentage of the men actually don't like to work around the house and garden, especially after eight hours work and a drive home in rush hour traffic. Under such circumstances the social benefit to the participants is likely to be small or nonexistent.

The family, then, should have some place in the dwelling unit where it can congregate for relaxation and common activities. It is very important however that this "togetherness" should not be enforced due to lack of other space. That is to say, sociability should not be thrust on the family by a dwelling unit in which there is no escape from "social congestion and boredom, short of the television or the corner beer parlor with juke box." Whether this space should be the living room, the kitchen, or some additional family room connected to the kitchen, the children's bedroom or completely separate, would probably depend on the family's values—which may vary from group to group. Knowledge of this sort is inadequate, particularly for the middle and upper income groups.

b) **Social Contacts with Outsiders**

Besides allowing social contact between family members,

---


there should be opportunity and space for individual members of the family to entertain their friends and guests. They should be able to entertain their guests in private with no other family member present; this means that there should be some place to which the rest of the family might comfortably retire. Here again the revival of the old-fashioned parlor, plus a more common use of the modern play or family room might be the answer. This would also allow one room to be kept tidy for visitors. Unfortunately the trend in most of our apartments is to eliminate any spare rooms or space.\textsuperscript{11} Perhaps the answer could be found not in adding another room, but in enlarging one or more of the existing ones, especially the bedrooms. As it is in most apartments, the bedrooms can't double as children's play rooms due to their smallness. Minimum standards seem to be invariably used as optimum ones.

Abel and Severud suggest minimum room sizes for moderate apartments as follows:\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline

Living Room & \ldots 12\times18 (216 sq. ft.) to 13\times20 (260 sq. ft.) \\
Main Bedroom & \ldots 11\times15 (165 " " ) " 12\times17 (204 " " ) \\
Add. Bedroom & \ldots 9\times13 (117 " " ) " 11\times15 (165 " " ) \\
Dinette & \ldots 7\times8 ( 56 " " ) " 7\times12 ( 84 " " ) \\
Kitchen & \ldots 7\times7 ( 49 " " ) " 7.5\times10 ( 75 " " ) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

But how often these sizes are cut down even more to approximate - at best - the same authors' suggested minimum sizes for low rent projects:\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{11} Ch. Agle, "A Plea for Perspective," Apartments and Dormitories, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{12} J.H. Abel and F.N. Severud, Apartment Houses, Reinhold's, New York, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. 63.
\end{flushleft}
Living Room .... 11x15 (165 sq.ft.)
Main Bedroom .... 10x15 (150 "")
Add. Bedroom .... 9x12 (108 "")
Kitchen .... 7x9 (63 "")

Similar minimum sizes are discussed in more detail in E.H. Klaber's Housing Design. The space requirements quoted in the Canadian Apartment Building Standards are even lower.14

It is clear from even a brief glance at these figures that there could not be any great play opportunities for children in a room of 117 sq. ft. after some furniture, including one or two beds, is moved in. Without the addition of rooms, and with no "spare" bedroom, children simply must play in the living room where they "get underfoot". Also, during periods of entertaining those family members not involved are crowded into their tightly designed bedrooms. The dinette, which might serve this purpose, is rarely a relief since it is open to the living room.

Another solution possible in apartment developments, is in the provision of a common, or communal room. This is likely to be only a partial solution however. Teenagers may enjoy having their larger "gang" parties there, and children can play there during the day under supervision of a mother or other attendant. But in entertaining small groups especially, the intimate and personal atmosphere will be lessened or lost.

Various members of the family may belong to community groups of different kinds: PTA, bridge club, service organizations, cubs, guides, etc. If members of these groups can be entertained in the home, social integration and participation of the family in the community may be advanced.

The more formal meetings, or those where a large number of people are involved, could probably be best entertained in a "common room" of the apartment building which should exist for these and other occasions. In this case, as mentioned above, the personal and informal atmosphere is likely to be lost. However, in the more formal and impersonal types of social contact, which is the situation where members of organizations rather than personal friends are involved, the loss of this quality would not matter too much.

Needless to say, contact with a variety of community groups will be made easier if the home is within a reasonable distance of the core of the community. Even contact with private friends is to a certain extent made easier - due to better transportation connections with the center of the community, than with outlying fringes.\(^{15}\) In this respect apartments generally have an advantage, since in any part of the city they are generally located in close relation to shopping, transportation, medical, recreation and occupation facilities.\(^{16}\)

\(^{15}\) W.H. Whyte, "Are Cities Unamerican?", Exploding Metropolis, p. 16.

\(^{16}\) Cf. criteria used in Apartment Zoning study, Report by the Vancouver Technical Planning Board, August 1958.
2) **Privacy** is a basic psycho-social need, which also must be provided for in housing.\(^{17}\) Chapin describes privacy as "the freedom to be by oneself". This may be taken to mean simply the possibility to avoid face to face contact; however, privacy has other aspects as well, and they are discussed below.

a) The most obvious aspect of privacy, as stated above, is the withdrawal from face to face contact with other family members. In families with children this means separation of children in sleeping rooms, direct access to toilet facilities (i.e. not via someone's bedroom or the living room), privacy and seclusion as needed for study, thinking or reflection, and as needed to avoid frustrations, and resentment due to continual multiple contacts with others.\(^{18}\) In most contemporary apartments some difficulty would be encountered in an attempt to satisfy these needs due to the low number of bedrooms which makes it necessary for two children to share a bedroom. The question of room size also enters here. For example, if the husband has work to do at home that requires quiet and concentration, he might be able to do it in the bedroom, if it were big enough. However, with the present room sizes little more than the essential bedroom furniture can be put in.

Contact can also be influenced by the circulation patterns in the home, which are largely determined by design. A plan

---

\(^{17}\) see a) **Basic Principles of Healthful Housing**, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, American Public Housing Authority, New York, 1954, p. 15.


Chapin, *loc. cit.*
facilitating easy circulation without unnecessary contact is very important, and can vastly help the normal performance of family functions.

b) Another aspect of privacy, and one which is of great social importance to the family, is that the home affords the opportunity to form "private subgroups". This means that there are times when the family isn't a unit as a whole, but when two members need to form a group for private discussions, undisturbed by other family members. These subgroups may consist of either husband and wife, parent and child, or sibling groups. The reason for forming subgroups may vary, but the need for private contacts is frequent. The dwelling should afford opportunities for such meetings to take place naturally and informally.

The ability to close out noise can also be considered an aspect of privacy. Here the individual isn't closing out only face to face contact, but the sound of others, whether within or without the dwelling unit as well.

c) Closing out sound from within the unit: It should be possible to close out noise from such sources as radio, television or family conversation when required. This is especially important in families with several children of school age, who must have quiet for their homework. Furthermore, noise should be excluded if some members of the family are entertaining friends while others are trying to sleep, or work, or if a member of the family is ill and needs rest and quiet. This quiet should be obtained without causing the rest of the family undue
inconvenience and sacrifice. Some specific aspects of layout in this connection are mentioned by Klaber.19

d) Privacy from noise outside the dwelling unit: The lack of this type of privacy has been one of the more popular causes of attack on apartment house living generally. It stems from the fact that one has not two, but more likely four or more neighbors separated only by a hall, wall, ceiling or floor. The transmission of noise, unless insulated in the best possible way, is therefore much more likely, and complaints regarding noise have been found to be somewhat more frequent among apartment dwellers than among those living in free standing homes.20 The sound of parties, television, discussions and the like, from neighboring units may be actively disturbing if the decibel level is over 50. Insulation should achieve reduction below this level for living areas, and below 30 for bedroom and study areas.21

There may also be semi-conscious feelings of lack of privacy fostered by the less obvious noises such as steps overhead, or a tap turned off in the adjacent kitchen. Ceilings and floors should achieve a 15 decibel reduction of contact noise. Whether these quieter sounds, indicating the proximity of others are found to be irritating or not will depend to a large extent

---


21 *Basic Principles of Healthful Housing*, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing.
on the individual family and its members. Some of the housewives interviewed at Dolphin Court found this sense of proximity of others reassuring, especially when their husbands were away on business trips.

Street noise may be more of an issue in apartment developments than in single family residential areas, as the former are generally built in more central locations, where traffic is heavier. Also, the project itself with its higher density may create more traffic. Noise may become a nuisance, especially if the lot on which the building stands is small, with minimum set-backs, etc. These noises may be lessened by landscaping and planting trees.22

Noise from outside may also be increased by certain types of design. The best example is the court grouping, especially where the court is small and completely enclosed, with a children's play area found in the center. The noise reflects from the walls and may be quite irritating. This is the type of design found at Dolphin Court, and apparently the noise from the central court is considerable. In spite of the possible advantages of a safely enclosed play area, this type of design is definitely not recommended in *Basic Principles of Healthful Housing*. The British housing authorities likewise consider this type of design definite undesirable.23

---

23 Loc. cit.
e) Apartment projects generally lack outdoor privacy. If there is a communal open space that can be used at all, it is probably too open and public and too small to be useful. Open spaces can be greatly improved and made usable and private with the use of thoughtful landscaping. In low density projects private garden plots may be provided and screens can generally be used to increase the tenants' privacy.\textsuperscript{24} The higher the density, the harder the achievement of outdoor privacy, unless the site is large with low coverage.\textsuperscript{25} Outdoor privacy is probably equally important as indoor privacy, although it is not mentioned in housing articles as commonly as the latter. Theoretically, a private garden gives a family all the outdoor privacy it desires. In fact the degree of privacy may be much less than is generally thought, for unless the backgarden has a high fence, the neighbors can see into it. In such a case the feeling of privacy may be purely psychological. However, it may be that this too has its value. In an apartment, even if the outdoor space is adequate and well landscaped, the same opportunities and liberties that a family can take with its own garden won't be possible. It is for this reason that the British recommend (and have provided) garden plots wherever possible for the tenants desiring them.\textsuperscript{26} The range of garden allotment is

\textsuperscript{24} Note illustrations in \textit{Apartments and Dormitories} and \textit{Sweden Builds}, 1957.


\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Living in Flats}, p. 7.
15 - 60 percent. If balconies are provided, they should avoid being too-exposed and visible for the sake of privacy. Balconies that are too small and/or exposed will probably not be used by the tenants. The illustrated architectural books such as Apartments and Dormitories, The Modern Flat, Sweden Builds, as well as illustrated articles in professional journals (see bibliography) show numerous examples of both good and bad balcony solutions. The increasing occurrence of apartments with balconies in Vancouver is proof enough of their popularity. The well designed, adequate-sized balcony provides the family with their own outdoor space, which is just as easily accessible as a garden or patio, and may be an adequate substitute.

**The Roles and Needs of Individual Family Members**

Individual family members have their particular social needs connected to their own special roles. In this thesis the emphasis is on ways of assisting family members to have more satisfying relationships with one another by facilitating these roles through improved facilities of the residential environment. The basic assumption made here is that an improvement in the physical quality of the apartment-type of residential environment will increase the convenience and amenity of living, thus enabling family members to have more satisfying relationships with each other, and to pass through the successive stages of development in such a way as to find life satisfying as a person.
Children

The Baby:

The very young child is entirely dependent on his mother: for nourishment, protection - his every need. As Parsons and Balessay, he can be hardly considered a member of the family - but rather one of a mother - child subsystem. The baby's only requirements are his mother's protection. This means that at this stage housing will not affect the child particularly. The only consideration might be avoidance of noise which might keep him awake.

Pre-School Child:

In this age-group outside contacts are still insignificant, and primary security rests with the family. Play is probably the child's most important social activity. Here he may for the first time in his life meet other children of the same age in play. This contact generally furthers the social and emotional development of the child. Like other age-groups later on, this age should be provided with play facilities that are suited to their present abilities and types of play desired. In discussing the play needs of the pre-school children, Mumford says:

(They) must get the feel of their environment... they need sand, gravel, stones, boards, branches;

27 Parsons and Bales, Family Socialization and Interaction Process.
28 Loc. cit.
and to prevent these materials from being put to destructive use, the most elemental type of play ground might well be placed in a shallow, well drained sand pit, surrounded by a stone or brick walk, around which their mothers could sit... 29

A study by Kevin Lynch is interesting in this connection for it sheds more light on the types of play areas children like best. 30 Lynch and his associate found that children like to create their own fantasies and like places where they can hide, dig or generally use their imagination.

One of the interesting things coming out of the interviews is that children seem to prefer to play anywhere but on the playground. 31

The most popular places were near the bushes, in trees, in areas where there were rocks, broken bottles, big holes, places to dig, areas of high grass, back alleys, garages, etc. In this study the age group isn't divided into pre-school and school age, but rather includes all children in contrast to adolescents.

The play facilities should be located close to the dwelling unit, since the pre-school children need to be supervised quite closely. In Stockholm the play lots are generally supervised by a trained attendant employed by the Parks Department, 32 but less formal arrangements - such as

---

31 Loc. cit.
mothers taking turns as supervisors have been more common in North America. It may happen, however, that mothers may be reluctant to take responsibility for their neighbors' children - mainly for public relations reasons. If no organized supervision exists, the play lot has to be much closer to the dwelling units, so that individual mothers can keep an eye on their children from the home windows. The play areas for the pre-school children should be part of the apartment development (as it is locally at Dolphin Court), rather than part of a public park system. The space required isn't great and there should be a close connection with the home. For the purpose of child supervision, high rise apartments would no doubt prove unsatisfactory. In fact 3 or 4 stories appear to be the maximum height. This is the number of stories most popular in family housing in Sweden.

School Age Child:

When the child reaches school age, he begins to come in contact with the outside world. He meets many other children his age at school. He also meets adults other than those in his family, and he sees more of the world around him as his horizons expand. The school age child is also faced with a variety of developmental tasks. These are described very clearly by Dr. E.M. Duvall in her excellent study, Family Development. 33

This childhood period is a time of rapid learning of many basic things - school subjects, games, concepts of everyday

33 E.M. Duvall, Family Development, New York, 1957. Also see Appendix 2 in this study.
living, both at home and outside. If the apartment unit is the standard two bedroom type and the family has more than one child, the bedroom shared by the children will not be suitable for concentration over homework, especially if there is a big age difference. Crowding and difficulties in the way of closing out noise would very probably hinder the child's progress in his school work, or even his becoming an active and cooperative member of his family. The provision of one's "own room" would seem the more important if these are of a minimum size.

The housing unit itself isn't enough for the complete social and physical development of the school age child. Games, sports and play outside are essential components as well. Perhaps this age group requires less supervision at play (i.e. play lots needn't be visible from home) but they need larger areas, as their play becomes increasingly more active. This fact is often not recognized even in single family areas: the backyard is no longer adequate for the school age child's play. Suitable playgrounds become a necessity. In this connection it is well to recall Lynch's findings: children prefer areas which allow them to use their imagination, and both their creative and destructive urges. It has been said, perhaps with some truth, that if children have no opportunity to destroy in their play activities, they may turn to vandalism. The "junk play grounds" have proved very popular wherever they have been tried, although Holger Blom, head of the Stockholm Parks Department, feels that they need added supervision, and are better provided as a private
venture. Perhaps such a stimulating play area could be provided in conjunction with an apartment development - if it's economically possible, of course. Generally these types of play area make use of quite cheap materials, so the expense should not be excessive or prohibitive.

In apartment buildings, especially if the dwelling units are rather small, indoor play space should be augmented by the provision of communal rooms where the children could gather. These may take various forms - one large room, or smaller club rooms equipped for different activities or hobbies. The location of these rooms should also be carefully considered. The basement, where such rooms are often located, may not be the healthiest and pleasantest place for them, and if the location is unpleasant, the premises will not get full use. An interesting solution in a high rise development is illustrated and discussed in *Apartments and Dormitories*. Here there is a "play and storage" floor every three stories. This means that no child has very far to go to play. A similar idea could be employed for lower rise developments. Growing children tend to be noisy and vigorous in their play, and so the possible inadequacy of sound insulation may present a problem, especially if a group of children get together in the home. It may be interesting to note here that several parents interviewed at Dolphin Court, who had children

---

34 Blom, Royal Institute of British Architects Symposium, p. 26.

about ten years of age, (and otherwise preferred apartment
living), felt that apartment living was unsatisfactory mainly
because their children could not entertain their friends without
fear of disturbing their neighbors. All these children
apparently yearned for a play room of their own. In this
project the common room was not considered an adequate
substitute. Perhaps one large room isn't sufficient or as
desirable as the smaller "club rooms" discussed by Dr. Yngve
Larsson, and taken up in subsequent chapter of this thesis.
However, as stated earlier, entertaining in communal rooms will
not have the personal touch of being invited to, and entertained
in a friend's home. On the other hand the children may like the
independence of gathering in a place not directly supervised by
their parents.

Adolescents:

When the child reaches his teens he becomes more and more
independent from his family. The need for membership in an
outside group - especially of one's peers becomes very important.
As Riemer puts it, this is a stage between childhood and adult-
hood, when the parent and school authority operating over
children is breaking down and adult ones don't yet apply. To
escape from this vacuum, the teenagers form groups of their own
to whose rules they conform rather strictly.

Since meeting their peers is very important, it is
essential to provide the teens with wholesome, conveniently
located and informal meeting places. Numerous sociological studies have discovered that when teenagers are unable to meet in their homes for reasons of crowding and when club rooms or other wholesome places are not available, they will meet on street corners and unwholesome surroundings, which may eventually lead some to delinquency.

The adolescents should have opportunities to take part in a variety of sport and hobby activities with others their age. Facilities for these activities should be readily accessible from the home. The apartment environment might have certain advantages in that this housing type is generally more favorably located in relation to various community facilities. In a higher density development, hobby clubs, and interest groups could be more easily organized and provision of the facilities would be more economic. It is important to note that a variety of activities should be available to suit different interests and abilities. The phenomenon of adolescents forming groups of their own isn't particular to North America. Dr. Larsson describes the same happening in Sweden, where planners consider the best solution of the needs of young people to be small, decentralized clubrooms closely linked with the housing development, but sufficiently separate to give the youths a feeling of independence. These clubrooms could be provided for a group of apartment buildings or projects to make them more economic. Playfields and sports facilities would be best provided as part of the city parks program.
The dwelling itself is much more likely to be open to the adolescent's guests than at earlier ages. For this reason the adolescents are likely to be critical of their home, and if it doesn't meet their group's standards and have adequate facilities for entertaining these friends, they may hesitate to invite them. This is likely to hamper their social integration with the group. In the apartment environment teenagers' entertaining is likely to cause a noise problem - unless sound insulation between units is better than at present.

One solution to the adolescent entertaining problem would be the use of an adequately soundproof common room. This would do especially well for larger parties, giving the adolescents a greater feeling of independence from parental supervision. It would not, however, solve the need for facilities in the home for entertaining one or two friends of the adolescents. Small gatherings would probably be less noisy and could be entertained in the apartment without trouble. The best solution and the most obvious one, would be better sound insulation - not only between units, but in the dwelling as well, to give those family members not involved a chance to pursue other activities undisturbed. It should be noted that if too many of the adolescent's activities have to take place away from the home, due to lack of facilities or crowding there, his relaxation with the family members may be weakened.

As can be seen from Duvall's "Developmental Tasks of Teenagers" (Appendix 2), the adolescent is faced with rather
difficult new tasks. It is more than likely that these will frequently require quiet reflection by the teenager alone. There is therefore even more to be said for each child having his own room at this age than at earlier stages of development.

**Women**

The modern woman has a complex set of roles. She is wife, mother, family manager, and an individual person all in one. Each of these roles places on her varied demands, which often conflict with one another. The problem arises from the fact that in spite of all other occupational and personal interests, the woman's dominant role is oriented towards internal family affairs. Parsons and Bales believe that this will always be so in spite of the large percentage of working wives.\textsuperscript{37} The role of mother and homemaker tends to isolate the woman in an environment where there is little "stimulating" activity. The higher the woman's education, the less likely she is to be content in her isolation. As Margaret Mead says:

> Little babies are poor conversationalists, husbands come home tired, and sit reading the paper, and women who used to pride themselves on their ability to talk, find on the rare evening they can go out, that their words clot on their tongue.\textsuperscript{38}

Zimmerman discusses the problem of the woman's role at length in *Marriage and the Family*. He makes the point that the


modern woman is educated for a career in the same way as men, but is not really expected by her society to be a career woman, especially if married. This in itself creates conflict. Zimmerman also concludes that apart from the wrong education for her role, "depreciation, concentration and isolation seem to be the three big difficulties which the wives find in their vocational pursuits of homemakers." Depreciation in this instance is explained as the unappreciative attitude of husband as regards household work and the long hours of work put in by women around their home and family. This low regard in which the role of homemakers is held has led to a "lack of respect among (American) women both for themselves as persons and for themselves as a group."

The answer to the problem, according to Mead, lies partly in the provision of more community service agencies (e.g. nurseries, laundries, day care centers, etc.) to allow women more freedom to pursue personal interests, and to bring the family together in common recreational activities.

In an apartment environment women may find some definite advantages along these lines. Most apartment areas are located close to the center of the community - be it downtown or the local neighborhood. The housewife may therefore find things of

40 Ibid., p. 350.
interest near by and may even be able to walk to the center, go windowshopping, or take in an afternoon movie. She is less likely to suffer from the feeling of isolation. Also, facilities like day nurseries and kindergartens are more likely to be provided in central locations, than in the outlying low density single family areas.

On the other hand, if no play facilities are provided for children in higher density areas, or if there is no place for the mothers in connection with them, the mother's task of child care may be more difficult, and will require more time and a greater outlay of energy on her part. Sometimes existing tot-lots may be adequate from the child's point of view, yet not from the mother's. Several mothers interviewed at Dolphin Court commented on the well-equipped play space in the court, but added that there was nothing for the mothers there - not even a bench.

From the mother's point of view balconies would be very desirable, especially for very young children, and for her moments of relaxation between chores, when she could sit there in the sun.

Another improvement that would make the mother's role easier and better integrated with her role of housewife, would be the provision of a play area in conjunction with the kitchen, where the children could play and be seen by her. It is doubtful if the so-called efficiency kitchens of 7' x 7' are really liked.
They probably do more to isolate the woman from her family than any other aspect of design, for there is just barely room enough for one person there. On the other hand, if the kitchen were made larger, or with a connected room (other than the living room, of course), this part of the dwelling unit could be used as a family living area, leaving the actual living room reasonably uncluttered for guests.

A woman who has her own career, or who considers her role of companion and friend to her husband as the most important one in her life, may still find that even an efficiently designed and well equipped home will not provide her with sufficient free time to satisfy her needs. A variety of services on the community level as mentioned by M. Mead would be a great help to her. These would include commercial laundries, restaurants (especially of the type that deliver a hot ready meal to the home), day nurseries, kindergartens, etc. Day nurseries have not been as popular in Canada and the United States as in some countries, possibly because it is generally believed that women prefer to make arrangements with their neighbors, to look after each other's children when necessary. This arrangement is likely to have several disadvantages. A considerate woman may not want to disturb her neighbor unless it is absolutely necessary, with the result that she won't have as much free time as she'd like. Secondly, a woman may not have enough faith in her neighbor to entrust her child. Thirdly, she may not want to be obliged (in return) to take the responsibility for her neighbors children.
All these objections are removed in nurseries that are run by professionally-trained people on a commercial or community service basis. Day nurseries are pretty well essential for mothers pursuing an outside career. In this case it would be impossible to rely on neighbors' help, and a private baby sitter might be too expensive.

For the woman who wants to get away from her home, whether to work or just for a change, an apartment is likely to be more convenient than a house in a number of ways. She will find it "easier to leave" a serviced apartment knowing a janitor is there to look after it. Then, being close to the center of the community and generally near direct transportation lines to downtown, she'll find it easier to get to places of interest even without a car. It is likely that with our cities becoming more culturally advanced and the people being more conscious of these facilities, "taking in a matinee" will become a more frequent pastime for the housewife interested in pursuing some personal interest, or "developing as a person". It would also do a lot to break the monotony and feeling of isolation that seem to be among the main problems of the 20th century housewife.

Should she wish to meet her neighbors, it is possible that a communal room with a coffee pot would be a good gathering place leaving the individual units their atmosphere of privacy.

Young families are also likely to appreciate the fact that a variety of services and equipment are provided in apartments,
saving them the expense of buying their own kitchen and laundry equipment. One problem though housewives often come up against in connection with the communal laundry is its location in the building. If one large laundry is provided for the whole project, some units are necessarily quite distant from the utility room, which results in inconvenience to the housewife. English and Swedish housing authorities have tried various solutions to this problem, and these are discussed in the next section.

**Men**

The man, as husband, father and breadwinner, also has a variety of roles to perform. The occupational role is traditionally his most important one, not only from the point of view of the family, but also from that of society. It is in this role that he is the head of the family. The developmental conception of the man's roles are stated rather fully by E. Duvall. Dr. English gives somewhat similar roles for husband-fathers, as follows.

1) Companion and inspiration for mother
2) Awakener of the emotional potentials of his child
3) Beloved friend and teacher to his child
4) Ego ideal for masculine love, ethics and morality
5) Model for social and vocational behavior
6) Protector, hero, mentor for grade school child
7) Counsellor and friend for the adolescent.  

---

The execution of these complex roles of the husband-father is made more difficult by his lengthy daily absence from the family, when he is working and travelling to and from his job. He has much less time for performing his family roles than was the case in a rural society where the family was in constant contact with the father and saw him with his friends, his neighbors, and business acquaintances. He communicated his philosophy and opinions of life in the ordinary course of living. They saw male friendliness, kindness and justice in actual operation. They formed a definite image of how a father should behave.43

Some social scientists, for example Wallace, feel that the man's role is the least adequately provided for in the home. The mother's role is more thought of in that the kitchens are usually adequately equipped and designed to facilitate her work, but there is nothing done for the man.44 He is the "invisible father", or the "star border". Wallace argues that the man should be given the opportunity to work on the home, or in the garden with his wife and children, or at least where they can see him work. These activities are seen as having a stabilizing and strengthening effect on the family ties.

If this is assumed to be a valuable experience, apartment dwellers may be at a disadvantage. Most middle-income apartments

43 English, Social Case Work, p. 323.

44 Wallace, Housing and Social Structure, p. 41.
are serviced, requiring no maintenance efforts on the part of the dwellers. Furthermore, there is rarely a garden to work in. Some exceptions to this rule can be found however. The British housing authorities have encouraged the provision of garden plots, which are issued to tenants interested in maintaining and landscaping them. The percentage of tenants supplied with these varies (depending on such factors as density, site, and demand) from some 15 - 60% of the tenants.

Workshops have also been advocated in conjunction with some apartment developments. These are not likely to have the social values desired by Wallace (though they may satisfy the "do-it-yourself" addict), since the family is not likely to see their father at work in a communal workshop located away from the home.

On the other hand, one may take the opposite view in this matter. It is probable that the less maintenance work the man has to do in his spare time, the more free time he will have to pursue true leisure activities with his family - in or away from the dwelling. In a serviced apartment environment, he will be more free to pursue these leisure activities and go on trips with the family more easily.

The central location of most of the apartments will mean that the time spent in commuting will be lessened. In The Exploding Metropolis, Whyte mentions the enjoyment that some returnees from the suburbs got from the extra time with their
families, and from the fact that they could now walk to the office and be free from rush hour traffic. Even in the uptown apartments direct communication lines to downtown are usually very close to the apartment areas, allowing the man to reach his place of work quickly.

Family relationships are much more likely to be congenial, since few men are likely to enjoy mowing the lawn after a whole day's work, and possibly two more hours of commuting. Furthermore, in an urban society fewer white-collar workers are likely to be sufficiently skilled manually to do many of the jobs Wallace suggests well. The social value of this work to the family would probably be lost if the man's efforts in this respect were to result only in his family's contempt. Poor results certainly would not facilitate the man's success in his role of father and husband, or further family solidarity. Whyte furthers some substantiation to the theory that maintenance work after office hours and on weekends is unpopular among the men, in his article "City Eviscerated". Here he discusses the phenomenon of returnees from suburbia encountered during his recent surveys for Fortune. He says:

Husbands almost exultantly say they're damn happy to be done with do-it-yourself. No more hobby rooms, no more bookcase building, and they speak so feelingly about the grass as to suggest that the suburban lawn may be the saving of the city.


The apartment environment should offer some opportunities for joint family activities, however, for if there is nothing to do together the individual members will go outside the home to find entertainment. The husbands and teenage children are most likely to do this, leaving the mother isolated with the younger ones. The central location of most apartments will generally mean proximity to entertainment facilities of types varying from movies to hobby groups. The family is likely to find activities to pursue on the community level if no facilities exist within the apartment development. If the father is freed from the maintenance work he can also concentrate more on the various aspects of his husband-father roles. These roles will require in the dwelling provision for withdrawal into private subgroups, and for gathering with all the family members in an informal and easy way.

If the husband's professional role demands additional work, or interviewing professional contacts in the home, a room where he could withdraw undisturbed will be required. Since few apartments have a spare room at present this may present some problems. Multiple use of a room is illustrated in an amusing way in *Apartment Houses*, by Abel and Severud (see figure 1). Such a situation will obviously cause resentment among family members. The advisability of a "family room" in addition to a living room (or parlor) comes to mind once again in connection with the family man's professional role. It could possibly serve as an "office" or "den" if no other room for this purpose were provided.

It is apparent from the foregoing pages that the apartment environment could be adapted to family living if certain changes were made. These changes would involve not only careful design of the dwelling unit, with family needs in mind, but also careful planning on a larger scale to integrate the various facilities necessary for family development. Above all more research should be carried out into the social aspects of housing for the middle income groups.

From the following chapter it will be seen that in Sweden the apartment environment has in fact been adapted to family living, and is found quite satisfactory for this purpose.
CHAPTER IV

FAMILY HOUSING IN SWEDEN

Sweden is generally held up as a good example of apartment housing for the family. A much larger percentage of the total population lives in apartments than in single family homes in Sweden with a marked peak of multiple family dwellers in Stockholm. The figures given by Larsson¹ are as follows: Single family dwellings in small Swedish towns accounted for 18% of total housing, but for only 8% in Stockholm. This means that in the capital city (which now has some 800,000 people) 92% live in multiple family housing.

In a number of ways the development of Swedish housing since the Thirties has been unique, and the results correspond to the effort and thought which has been given to the solution of the problems which faced Swedish planners since then.

It was in the Thirties that the industrial revolution really took hold in Sweden as a result of widespread hydro-power development. The ensuing surge of population to the cities began to create serious housing shortages, with a lowering of hygienic conditions in the overcrowded dwellings. There was a desperate need for more housing. This situation


Note: Larsson's housing data was current at the time of this report.
Figure 2.
Lamella House with gallery access

Figure 3.
Star-Plan

Figure 4.
Grondal low rent apartments in Stockholm. Variation of star plan by Bachstrom and Reinius, architects.
was soon recognized by architects, planners, and health officials as bordering on a national emergency.

Already in the Thirties and Forties architects and planners began to study dwelling sizes "ensuring the best planned flat."\(^2\) The point of view from which the flat was considered most carefully was that of healthfulness. The Swedes were quite concerned about the adequacy of light and ventilation, which had been poor in older housing, for instance. As a result of the research undertaken at that time, the court-facing plan was abandoned in favor of more open layouts. The most popular types have been the shallow or lamella houses, where each dwelling unit has cross-ventilation. The star plan has also been very popular for 3-4 story apartment buildings, either free standing or combined. In family apartments, where there are only three flats to a landing, this building type eliminates two party-walls. The result is the provision of more privacy to tenants. Privacy is also increased by the obtuse 120 degree angles between the wings. With this building type interesting combination of blocks is also possible.\(^3\)

The result of such widespread concern with the need for adequate housing accommodation was that housing came to be regarded as a social need, rather than an object for speculation.


\(^3\) These and other commonly used apartment building types are discussed in more detail in: Sweden Builds, Swedish Housing of the 40's, and Apartments and Dormitories.
It is probably because of this approach to housing that Sweden has achieved such success in this field, and why, as one writer has stated:

Sweden has provided its citizens with a higher standard of multiple dwelling, than any other country in the world. Some countries may have on occasion produced more individually brilliant examples from an architectural standpoint; many have space standards that make Swedish housing seem critically tight; but from overall standpoint Swedish housing since the early 30's has been in the main unequalled.  

The other notable difference from the North American approach, to housing is that public concern for housing does not extend only to the low income groups, but considers housing for all segments of the population.

City ownership of large tracts of land has permitted Stockholm to resolve her housing problems with so much success. The preservation of these large areas on the outside of inner Stockholm was a result of foresight among Swedish planners and public authorities. Kidder Smith comments on this phenomenon as follows:

Whereas the appearance of almost every city in the world has been worsened...by the Industrial Revolution and uncontrolled speculation, Stockholm has been constantly improved....The remarkable feature about Swedish housing is not that it takes advantage of its unequalled sites - any thoughtful designer would do that - but that it has these unequalled sites to take advantage of.

Figure 5.
Toryikshojden at Lidingo near Stockholm. Note the relation between layout and topography.

Figure 6.
Nature need not be destroyed by construction.

Figure 7.
Landscaping enhances even this ordinary architecture, giving it an atmosphere of livability.
The beautiful sites which characterize Swedish housing are... direct products of municipal land ownership. Housing and land are here inseparable: together they are responsible for not only giving Swedish urban families unrivalled housing developments, but also for making Swedish cities - Stockholm especially the loveliest created by contemporary man.

(The buildings) are spaced apart at least 1½ times their height, if they are long lamella buildings, or 25 m, if tall punkt houses. Grounds are kept up and maintained by the city.⁵

These standards obviously are greatly facilitated by city ownership of those large tracts of land. It is reasonable to assume that had the Swedes been faced with a situation as our present piecemeal, speculative way of building apartments - on two or three lots from which the single, detached homes had been torn down - their multiple housing picture might not be as bright as it is.

Communal facilities in conjunction with the residential environment are particularly highly developed in Sweden. The Swedes feel that:

The modern town dwelling is incomplete both as regards the amount of floor space and the lack of provision in the flat itself of necessary facilities....Supplementary services such as laundry, central heating, day nurseries, recreation rooms and halls, etc. are best arranged outside the home as communal amenities.⁶

There are different ways in which the above facilities may be arranged in the residential area:

⁵ Kidder Smith, Sweden Builds, p. 65.
⁶ Swedish Housing of the 40's, p. 39.
Figure 8.

The Collective House by
Sven Markelius, Architect
Stockholm; Street Elevation
The communal amenities can be provided for a group of blocks of flats or for an entire residential district. It is also possible to concentrate all amenities in one block of flats which therefore will be able to offer particularly comprehensive service, and thus becomes what we generally mean by "collective house".7

The collective house idea, which was started in the Thirties, seemed then to be the ideal answer to Sweden's housing problems and to the needs of the modern city dweller.

The aim of the collective house was to lessen the work of the people living in it by concentrating a wide variety of services in one building. The services found in one building would include: laundries, baths, Finnish steam baths, domestic service, restaurant, shops, day nursery and recreation rooms.

The principle of the collective house presupposes that the people will have at least one meal a day in the project restaurant, send their washing out to the project laundry, leave their children in the nursery, etc. The collective house tenants could then spend the additional leisure time, resulting from these labour saving services, in pursuing hobbies, free time study or social activities in the facilities of the project and elsewhere.

The value of the collective house was greatest to the career minded families, especially the smaller ones with not more than two children. Dr. Larsson reports that some of the collective houses built in Stockholm have been successful

7 Swedish Housing of the 40's, p. 40.
Figure 10.

The Collective House was designed mainly for small families and childless couples, therefore has small dwelling units.

Figure 11.

The rear elevation and a detail of street elevation.
especially for families where the wives work.\textsuperscript{8}

In spite of the labour saving facilities and the fact that the collective houses have been within the financial reach of the middle class, their popularity has been less than anticipated. Larsson feels that this is because "families resist collectivisation". However, it may also be that the failure of some aspects of the collective house is due to the obligation to patronize the facilities regularly to make them pay, which may be against a human desire for variety, rather than to a preference on the part of the housewives to do the work themselves, as Larsson suggests.

The collective house had to house a large number of people in order that the services offered could be economic and the rents within the financial reach of the middle income groups. The number of tenants required for a collective house differs according to different sources, but appears to be somewhere between 50 and 200.\textsuperscript{9}

In ordinary apartment projects certain facilities are provided in the individual buildings, while others are shared by a larger number of apartment houses. Most commonly the individual apartment buildings provide facilities such as communal laundries and recreation rooms. With laundry facilities

\textsuperscript{8} Larsson, "Planning for Family Life and Leisure," \textit{Town and Country Planning}, p. 136. Larsson states that one-third of Swedish women are in the labor force.

there are various possible solutions. The laundry may differ in location and the number of families it serves. Most commonly there has been one for the entire building. This means that the location of the laundry is not entirely convenient to the more distant tenants. The most recent developments, therefore, have striven to eliminate this inconvenience by providing more smaller laundries, sometimes owned cooperatively by four or five families.\textsuperscript{10} This generally works out to roughly one laundry on each floor, and eliminates the greatest inconvenience, i.e., transporting the washing up and down several floors.

The provision of recreation rooms in apartment schemes is widespread since:

It is now realized that the needs, especially of young people, for space in which to carry on leisure activities demands areas additional to the dwelling quarters.\textsuperscript{11}

Some Swedish communities such as Malmo have for some years provided in their building regulations that builders of multiple family dwellings

\ldots on municipal land made available under lease-hold rights shall be obliged to allocate sufficient space within the building for the "leisure activities of young persons dwelling in the building on the plot". Leaders of youth activities, landlords' agents or local recreation organizations have generally been responsible for the operation of such facilities.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10} Larsson, "Planning for Family Life and Leisure", Town and Country Planning.


\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 31
An indication of the stress placed on these facilities is the fact that since 1943, housing loans have been available for the provision of recreation rooms in housing schemes on the same basis as those for dwelling quarters. 13

In Stockholm housing schemes the management pays for the equipment of recreation rooms, but fees and rentals are collected from users. Homecraft rooms and meeting rooms, however, may be used free of charge.

The recreation rooms, were found to have some drawbacks: they were generally allotted a poor location in the building - as for instance in the basement, and there was frequently a lack of organization of activities with the result that little use was made of the facilities provided.

Another solution thought to eliminate these difficulties is mentioned by Larsson in his 1951 article:

It may also be advantageous to bring the various recreation rooms in a residential area together in one building. The recreation areas within the housing scheme could then be developed into a youth settlement or community center for a larger residential area. 14

In a later article Larsson says that although some facilities are best centralized, others should not be so concentrated, even if they are provided by the municipalities.

14 Ibid.
Figure 12.

Play supervisor at Vastertorp Tot-lot guards children from mishap. She is employed by the Parks Department.

Figure 13.

The day nursery and playground (at Guldheden) are located close to the housing development.

Figure 14.

Reimesholme Playground - both mother and child can relax outdoors not far from the home.
as is generally the case. Among the latter he mentions small decentralized clubrooms where young people can meet and work at their hobbies away from the home. The important thing, he argues, is that the club rooms be near the dwelling units and yet isolated enough to give the youth a sense of independence.

One of the reasons why municipalities support the development of juvenile clubrooms in housing developments is that group play is considered from the point of view of its winder implications and importance:

Opportunities for children to play together bring out the first group interests and are at the same time conducive to the full development of the personality of the individual and of a consciousness of social responsibility and good citizenship.

The youth clubrooms could well be connected to day nurseries, which in recent years have also come to be more decentralized. Larsson notes a trend towards more and smaller nurseries in conjunction with the homes. More frequently the attendants may be housewives trained and qualified for this work. The clubrooms and nurseries may also be developed close to representative assembly rooms for cultural, political, and other meetings.

Outdoor recreation is considered to be of particular importance to public health.


Figure 15.
Play field in the central area of Stockholm

Figure 16.
Play areas for young children as this tot-lot at Skondal, are located close to the homes.

Figure 17.
A playground designed to stimulate the child's imagination
Outdoor arrangements...form a close complement to the indoor lives of the population. Too much attention and work cannot be devoted to the facilities for open air life. 17

The Swedes also realize that "the health of the people...requires that they shall also spend time outdoors to get the benefit of sunshine and air," 18 and for this reason housing and open space for recreation are closely linked.

In order to give the outdoor open spaces some relationship to the housing, the following pattern is usually adhered to: 19 Immediately around the blocks of flats the small parts of the sites which are not built on, are utilized as gardens and flower beds. These garden spaces are maintained by the tenants. Besides the necessary communicating walkways, grass plots are laid out, planted with trees and bushes. These together with sand boxes constitute small playgrounds for young children.

The buildings generally front on streets, but the back side allows access to the local public park, which belongs to the cohesive, branched park system traversing that city section. The park system varies from footpaths to strips of 300-450 feet wide. This green area connects homes with service areas such as shopping facilities and transit lines, and at the same time provides outdoor recreation of various types.

18 Ibid., p. 20.
19 Ibid., p. 22.
Figure 18.
Play sculpture by Moller-Nulsen at Vastertorp playground

Figure 19.
Log stockade provides an opportunity for imaginative play. Location: Private post-war housing development in Stockholm

Figure 20.
Carpentry Bench at the Vastertorp Playground offers creative opportunities
Each city unit is provided with some large play centers (1 for 5,000 people) — these are not athletic grounds or playfields, but locally accessible playgrounds designed for children from infants to about 14 years. There are separate areas for different age groups to avoid interference in play.

On the subject of playgrounds Holger Blom, Stockholm Chief of Parks, made the following comments at the Royal Institute of British Architects symposium:

Sterile, preconstructed playgrounds soon bore children, who then prefer to play on the street. The playground must be a living thing, to let children find there an outlet for their imagination, a highly important feature in education. The playground should be flexible, the children should find there the possibility of creating, shaping, designing, constructing.

Blom also stresses the educational importance of playgrounds:

It is the first place where the child meets and comes into contact with the social community. The playground should teach the child community conditions, consideration for others, and to have a judgment of its own.

In order that children learn proper social conduct playgrounds have from two to five trained supervisors who also guard the children against mishap and intrusion. They guide the children to self-activity, and avoid imposing on them unduly.


21 Ibid., p. 23.

22 Ibid., p. 24.
Outdoor open spaces are essential not only for the recreation of children, but for that of adults as well. The walkways through treed and landscaped park strips, by which people go to and from the commercial center or work, offer quiet recreation. Benches are also provided along the walks, as well as in the larger parks, because,

The human being's requirement of mental and material recreation must always be available to him, whenever he wants it, and the parks are the town dweller's hygienic place of refuge. 23

In conclusion mention should be made of two recent, successful examples of Swedish planning.

The first, a residential development in Orebro, one hundred miles west of Stockholm, has been called "one of the finest family housing developments" in Sweden in recent years. 24 The development called Baronbacken, which houses 1,227 families in three and four story buildings, was finished in 1957.

As can be seen from figures 21 and 22, an attempt has obviously been made in this project to combine human scale with the best residential planning principles. The grouping of buildings is irregular for the sake of variety, and there are numerous "miniature plazas". The architects also sought to promote variety by using different color schemes. The "street facing" courts are painted in strong colors as green, chocolate

24 Kidder Smith, Sweden Builds, p. 90.
Figure 21.
Plan of Baronbacken, Orebro.

Figure 22.
An example of Baronbacken apartment building and neighborhood store.

Figure 23.
Typical dwelling plan at Baronbacken.
mulberry - each court in a different one. The inner courts are painted in a soft gray and white, with bright painted balconies supplying a lively touch. All access roads and garages are on the outside (Figure 21) and paths on the inside to ensure traffic safety.

All entrances, kitchens, balconies and living rooms open into the courts, so as to facilitate the mothers' supervision of children.

"The horizontal ratio between building height and yard width is such that there is no visual feeling of confinement, nor is the noise reverberation excessive." 25

There is a considerable variety of community services and facilities at Baronbacken. "Parking, shopping, schools, kindergartens, laundries, etc. are all integrated to make the development largely self-contained." 26

Several interesting features are found in the unit plans (Figure 23). The one which is most useful for the changing family needs is the flexible bedroom plan. The bedrooms, all of which are located on the outside walls of the project, have usually only one permanent wall. By a movable wall of wardrobe units, however, three or four bedrooms may be obtained as the family expands.

25 Kidder Smith, Sweden Builds, p. 90.
26 Ibid.
Another interesting feature is the provision in each unit of a combination laundry and bath, placed between the kitchen and hall, and separated from them by two glazed walls. (The W.C. is in a separate room, as is common in European homes). The laundry is thus in a convenient, light location, the bath tub can double as a laundry tub, and yet can be closed off by a plastic curtain for privacy.

The kitchen can also be completely closed off from the living area by a sliding glass door.

The layout of Baronbacken successfully avoids the institutional monotony of many projects of that, and even smaller size, by the irregular courts encircling a large central wooded area. These courts apparently give a feeling of enclosure and of human scale to the project. The large open space, on the other hand, is visible from the "piazzas" and prevents the feeling of enclosure from becoming oppressive. The most important aspect of this layout with the courts and a large open space is that it allows play and recreation to the families. Children can play there undisturbed under mothers' supervision and adults can enjoy quiet walks through the copse.

Although it is perhaps too soon after the completion of this project to foretell its success, it seems that Baronbacken will be a pleasant family living area.

The second successful example of Swedish planning worthy of mention is that of Vallingby. The site of this
Figure 24.
Plan of Vallingby.

Figure 25.
Cross-shaped apartment buildings by Paul Hedquist have been called Vallingby's finest.
community lies nine miles from central Stockholm and originally consisted of four square miles of farmland, which the city of Stockholm bought in 1930. Vallingby is a planned community; all plans were completed before any construction took place on the site. The results have been on the whole outstanding.

Kidder Smith notes:

This new "town section" in West Stockholm has more lessons to offer the cities of our time than any other development yet built. It shows to a beautiful degree how the suburbs which increasingly envelop the world's cities can be well planned, parklike, viable centers, and not haphazard accretions strangled in transportation, mired in shopping and frantic for enough schools and public facilities. Every road, every building location, every need for its inhabitants was minutely planned before ground was broken.

Virtually all the major decisions in the moulding of Vallingby were good ones: strict preservation of the landscape and trees; free planning in space with fingers of green everywhere; separation of pedestrian and motor traffic, integrated transportation, parking and shopping; full cultural and entertainment facilities; a great variety of housing types; one central plant for heat and power. One can quarrel with minor decisions—especially with some architecture—but the basic concept and its execution is superior.

Vallingby could have been just another pleasant dormitory suburb, like many others surrounding Stockholm, instead, the Stockholm City Planning Commission under Sven Markelius' direction decided to give Vallingby a "modified commercial, business and industrial base, which could employ 25% of the resident population." 

27 Kidder Smith, Sweden Builds, pp. 94-113, section on Vallingby.
28 Ibid., p. 95.
The population of Vallingby is 23,000 but this community is also a shopping, amusement and employment center for 60,000 more people to be grouped in other surrounding developments.

There is a wide variety of housing types in Vallingby to satisfy a variety of needs and preferences.

The major housing type in Vallingby is the three to four story walk-up and...there is a great variation of cross patterns, broken units and long...attenuated buildings....Although the buildings are of the same number of floors, the type and price of their accommodation vary considerably. And if one prefers a 12th story penthouse or a prefabricated cottage instead, these too can be had.29

It was concluded, however, that families at least those with several young children would prefer to live in the walk-up apartments, rather than the towers. The high rise development was concentrated around the core of the new community so that the greatest number of people might be close to shopping, rapid transit and other conveniences. The walk-ups are located beyond, where a more intimate contact with nature is possible for children's play.

The finest low housing in all Vallingby can be found in the cross-shaped houses...by Paul Hedquist....Although these are somewhat more expensive than the lamella, or long block units, the average apartment price for all Vallingby is, by American standards very reasonable.30

The average 3.8 room, 60 sq. meter apartment rents for about $430 a year.

30 Ibid., p. 110.
This pleasant group of a low walk-up unit and 13-story tower were designed by Hj. Klemming in Southwest Vallingby. A play lot is provided at the foot of a tree-covered slope for the children of the project.
Of all the apartments:

36% consist of 2 rooms plus kitchen and bath
27% " 3 " " " "
11% " 4 " " " "
5% is larger than 4, and 21% of miscellaneous sizes.

Ninety-five percent of all apartments are for rent, the remaining five percent are owned cooperatively.  

It is important to note that single family housing (here confined to prefabricated cottages) accounts for a very small percentage, as do row-houses. The standard "family housing" type is the three or four story walk-up. As far as the Swedes are concerned there are no ill effects to family life resulting from living in multiple family dwellings of this sort. On the contrary, more provision is made for family life in these developments than in most of our single family residential areas. There are not many private gardens where children could dig with such abandon as in the sand boxes provided next to the apartments in the courts of Baronbacken, or where they could climb over logs and rocks and play with other children as they can at Vallingby and elsewhere in Sweden.

And what of the educational value of sharing play facilities and getting along with one's peers? Larsson's answer to this question is thought provoking, and revealing:

31 Kidder Smith, Sweden Builds, p. 110.
Even in the smallest housing group there is need for a common open space for children's play and a common indoor space to serve as a casual meeting place for the adults. If no outward expression is given to the natural communal and social needs of the smallest group, social co-operation and social responsibility are bound to remain unrealistic concepts.32

This, perhaps expresses best the basic reason for the success of the Swedes in adapting the apartment environment to family living.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The underlying assumption of this thesis has been that most of the shortcomings usually present in apartments could be removed, or at least alleviated, by good planning and design with family needs in mind. Suggestions were made as to how this might be achieved. The review of the Swedish experience, indeed demonstrates how one country has successfully adopted apartment housing suitable to family living.

Based on this analysis, the following review highlights the aspects to be considered with particular care if apartment living is to be made satisfactory for the family.

The transmission of noise between units and between rooms may be a constant source of annoyance and anxiety to apartment dwellers, particularly if they have young children. Apartment builders should acquaint themselves more with the latest methods of sound proof construction. While complete soundproofing is costly, partial soundproof construction would be adequate and relatively cheap. However, even this is generally not used. If noise transmission was lessened, families would have a greater sense of privacy in their unit.

The shortage of space is at present the greatest single complaint (note: The tabulation of complaints of Dolphin Court
interviewees), as most apartments have no more than two bedrooms. More room in the apartment would benefit the family by allowing greater privacy and quiet to the individual members when required. Desired face to face contacts would be more relaxed, being a matter of choice rather than necessity.

However, research should be carried out among the middle income groups to discover their interests, living habits and values which might bear directly on the form any increase in space should take. For example, should an increase in unit space mean larger rooms of the existing (i.e. 2 bedrooms maximum) number, or additional rooms, and if so where should these be located in relation to the living, sleeping and eating area? That is: additional sleeping room needed most, or is a "family living space" more desired? The living habits, the background, and size of the family will have a bearing on this, and should be investigated. A rather thorough study was carried out for this purpose in Norway by architect Odd Brochman and his associates. Their aim was to discover whether family life was impeded by design in any way. The interviewing teams of 3 (always including one psychologist) tried to discover the personal problems of family members and whether they might stem from, or be affected by the unit plan. When a large number of cases was studied, patterns emerged which were considered useful for future design and planning.

1 Brochman, "Planning and Design," U.N. Bulletin No. 8 on Building and Housing Research.
Similar studies have been occasionally carried out in low cost housing schemes in the United States, but since social background and interests (which are often limited by a lack of financial means) play such an important role, it is easy to see that in some respects the usefulness of these findings in planning for other income groups might be limited. Clearly, a better insight into family living habits should be achieved before further changes are made.

It is generally agreed that families with children need outdoor play space nearby, where particularly the youngest children could play safely, preferably under some supervision.

Since apartment dwellers cannot have gardens of an adequate size to permit the livelier forms of children's play, open space for recreation must be provided by other means. Communal parks and playgrounds are the best solution. From the accompanying photographs, and the foregoing discussion of Swedish solutions it may be seen how successful they may be. A large proportion of those critics who now attack apartment living for families on the basis that it doesn't provide the tenants with a garden would no doubt change their minds if they were presented with the alternative of large and well planned public open spaces, with adequate and well equipped play areas. A closer study of the Swedish system is enough to convince one that even our children in the single family residential areas are underprivileged as far as interesting and well equipped play lots are concerned. Most present day gardens offer an
inviolable lawn, and a few shrubs, while playgrounds are much farther away from the home than is the case in the Swedish integrated system described earlier. Furthermore, in developments such as Baronbacken, child supervision from the apartment is easy, since the play lot is in view of all dwelling units. There will always remain a slight inconvenience for the mother in reaching her child should she have to do so in a hurry, but such emergencies are not likely to be too frequent.

This point brings up the rather difficult question of how many floors should family apartments have. The Swedes have settled for three to four, although some small families with one child are housed in the twelve story towers. Recent trends in the United States² advocate "mixed development", that is row-housing for families combined with high rise tower blocks. This may be the American alternative, taking into account the housing values on this continent. Whether or not this trend will continue, and spread to Canada, or whether it will not become widespread, only time will tell.

Row-houses and walk-up apartments of three to four storeys are not the only possible low density multiple housing types. Others include the two story row-house, or maisonette (ten to twenty families per acre), the three story town house (thirty families per acre), the two-tiered row-house, or double

maisonette of four floors (forty families per acre), which may also be combined to even higher rise, e.g. six storeys. Various other combinations are possible, as for instance a floor of apartments over two story maisonettes. This arrangement has the advantage of providing accommodation for the largest family in the two story maisonettes, and allows space for smaller families above. The large families have direct access to the ground and may have a garden. These types have generally not been used in North America recently. They are quite common in the United Kingdom, and elsewhere in Europe.

The housing type actually adopted will be influenced by a community's housing values. It is interesting to note the large number of three story apartment buildings in Vancouver. No doubt the building regulations are of some influence, but it may also be an indication of future trends.

It is probable that even with all the above mentioned shortcomings of apartments removed, a certain prejudice on the part of the public might linger for some time. It can be expected, however, that as good examples of family apartment housing become more numerous they would be finally accepted. As Stonorow said "Housing attitudes are bound to change in time....Livability today will not necessarily be livability tomorrow."

---

3 Agle, Apartments and Dormitories, pp. 6-7.
4 Living in Flats, p. 6.
The advantage of living centrally will probably outweigh unfounded prejudices for more and more families as our major cities grow.

However, more will have to be done for the families in our future apartment developments than is at present the case. This does not mean only in the dwelling unit itself. There must also be opportunities for children and adults alike to take part in a variety of activities outside the home, according to their interests and abilities. This will mean that numerous communal services and facilities will be required. It should be remembered that the family is the important unit in the socialization and the formulation of the personality of its members, particularly of the children, and that the home environment is the one where future citizens are moulded in their most formative years. The importance of providing adequate facilities for their physical, social, emotional and psychological development cannot be overstressed.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Social Aspects of Housing and Planning; Surveys and Reports


B. Social Needs and Roles of the Family and Its Members


C. Illustrated Publications


## ILLUSTRATIONS BIBLIOGRAPHY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Swedish Housing of the 40's, p. 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Swedish Housing of the 40's, p. 198.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sweden Builds, p. 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Swedish Housing of the 40's, p. 186.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sweden Builds, p. 86.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>The Modern Flat, p. 166.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Sweden Builds, p. 86.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Swedish Housing of the 40's, p. 193.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>RIBA Symposium on Family Life in High Density Housing, cover photo by E. Rosenberg, p. 23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>RIBA Symposium on Family Life in High Density Housing, p. 27. E. Rosenberg photo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGURE</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>RIBA Symposium on <em>Family Life in High Density Housing</em>, p. 27. E. Rosenberg photo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 1

Tabulated results of the interviews at Dolphin Court for the Sociology 425 research project, "Some Aspects of Housing and Family Living" by this writer. Only points pertinent to this thesis are included. The sample at Dolphin Court was 22 families, that is about 50% of the total tenants. An equal number of homeowners was also interviewed, but the results obtained from house owners are not included.

Questions                                                    % of Interviewees
1. Length of residence in present home.
   Less than 1 year                        46%
   1 - 3 years                            36%
   Over 3 years                           18%
2. Type of housing occupied prior to coming to Dolphin Court
   House                                   18%
   Apartment                               82%
3. Number of children in the family
   1 child                                 32%
   2 children                              63%
   3 children                              5%
   (The ages of these children were from 2 weeks to 13 years, with a majority under 5 years of age).
4. Husbands who travel frequently on business       36%
   (A larger proportion of apartment dwellers than homeowners have jobs requiring travel; only 20% homeowners answered yes.)
5. Families anticipating transfer to another city    55%
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>% of Interviewees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Preferred type of housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Reasons why house was seen as more desirable. Given by interviewees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>themselves, without any guidance from the interviewer. (Only 64%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>answering, i.e., 64% taken as 100%).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) More space in a house</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Desire for garden (various reasons given)</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) House considered more private, especially where outdoor privacy was</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concerned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Greater convenience of facilities, especially the laundry</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Home ownership seen as investment</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Children may be noisier</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) House more home-like</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Able to decorate according to own preference</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Easier to supervise children</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Desire for basement (do-it-yourself fans)</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) Desire to keep pets</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Further questions regarding housing preferences were</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put to the interviewees after they listed own reasons.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. House seen as financial security, investment</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Comparative expense of house, and apartment living</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House cheaper</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment cheaper</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Do apartment dwellers interviewed miss garden:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>% of Interviewees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Questions about the project revealed some interesting points:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Existing outdoor space considered satisfactory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For younger (preschool) children</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For older (school age) children</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Child supervision considered a problem</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Existing outdoor space considered adequate for adult relaxation</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Need for more space in dwelling for:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure and hobby activities</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housework</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's play</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedrooms</td>
<td>--*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(* Frequently interviewees said that in the future they would probably need more bedrooms as family grows, although at present this was considered to be the least necessary space increase.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Privacy in the home considered adequate</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Comparative ease of &quot;getting away&quot; from dwelling unit:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment easier</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House easier</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 2

Developmental Conceptions, Tasks and Responsibilities of Family Members


A Good Child

"Is healthy and well." (Eats and sleeps well, grows a good body, has good habits).

"Shares and cooperates with others." (Gets along with people, likes others, is developing socially, tries to help, plays with other children).

"Is happy and contented." (Keeps in good humor, is a cheerful child, is happy, is emotionally well adjusted).

"Loves and confides in parents." (Responds with affection, loves his parents, has confidence in his parents, trusts and confides in them).

"Is eager to learn." (Shows initiative, asks questions, accepts help, expresses himself, likes to learn.)

"Grows as a person." (Progresses in his ability to handle himself and different situations, enjoys growing up.)

Developmental Tasks of School Age Boys and Girls - pp. 262-296.

Learning the basic skills required of school children:
Mastering the fundamentals of reading, writing, calculating, and the scientific rational approach to solving problems.
Extending understandings of cause and effect relationships.
Developing concepts essential for everyday living.
Continued development in ability to reason and to do reflective thinking.

Mastering the physical skills appropriate to the development:
Learning the games, the sports and the various roles in activities pursued by children of his age and sex in his community (ride a bike, swim, skate, play ball, row a boat, climb a tree, etc.) Developing abilities needed in personal and family living (bathe and dress himself, care for his clothing, make his bed, cook and serve food, clean up after activities, maintain and repair simple household equipment, etc.)

Becoming an active, cooperative member of his family:
Gaining skills in participating in family discussions and decision making.
Assuming responsibilities within the household with satisfactions in accomplishment and belonging.
Becoming more mature in giving and receiving affections and gifts in between himself and his parents, his siblings and his relatives within extended family.
Learning to enjoy the full resources and facilities available within the family, and to take initiative in enriching them as he becomes able.

Developmental Tasks of Teenagers - pp. 294-297.

Accepting one's changing body and learning to use it effectively:
Coming to terms with new size, shape, function, and potential of one's maturing body.
Reconciling differences between one's own physique and that of agemates of the same and other sex as normal and to be expected variations.
Understanding what pubertal changes mean and wholesomely anticipating maturity as a man or as a woman.
Caring for one's body in healthful ways that assure its optimum development.
Learning to handle oneself skilfully in the variety of recreational, social, and family situations that require learned physical skills.

Finding oneself as a member of one's own generation in more mature relations with one's agemates:
Becoming acceptable as a member of one or more groups of peers.
Making and keeping friends of both sexes.
Getting dates and becoming comfortable in dating situations.
Getting experience in loving and being loved by one or more members of the opposite sex.
Learning how to get along with a wide variety of agemates in school, neighborhood, and community settings.
Developing skills in inviting and refusing, solving problems and resolving conflicts, making decisions and evaluating experiences with one's peers.

Achieving emotional independence of parents and other adults:
Becoming free of childish dependencies upon one's parents.
Developing more mature affection for parents as persons.
The Woman of The Family — pp. 300-307

As Mother: Developmental tasks, goals and responsibilities

Providing "good" patterns for the roles of the growing adult woman, wife and mother.

Being alert to matters of her personal and social behavior, dress, and appearance (that the adolescent may or may not be proud of.)

Trying to understand each child as an individual, believing and trusting him, respecting his personality and delighting in seeing him grow into adolescence and adulthood (and thus maintaining a confidential, affectionate and companionable relationship with the adolescent as well as with the younger children.)

Understanding also that what the child needs in the way of guidance has no relationship to the kind of treatment she herself received when young.

Understanding that growth is not identical with "improvement", that what the adolescent needs is often not what he seems to "deserve".

Getting insight into, and a realistic evaluation of her own emotional reactions (not to stifle or hide them, but to avoid consciously or unconsciously over-reacting to them in dealing with the adolescent.)

As Homemaker and Family Manager: Developmental Tasks, Goals and Responsibilities.

Checking on her health needs and habits and taking steps to insure strength and energy for the job of making a home for a family with adolescents.

Reviewing her work habits and routines with the purpose of adapting them to the real needs and demands of all members of the family, including herself.

Reviewing homemaking schedules and routines with the view of obtaining optimum family participation and satisfaction.

Managing the family budget efficiently — buying economically, and with an understanding of the nutritional requirements and other material needs of the family. Devising means of keeping family, including the father, informed as to costs, available goods and relative values and enlisting their intelligent cooperation in the use of family resources. Acquiring the attitudes, knowledge and skills necessary to create a "home atmosphere" which is comfortable, wholesome, easy, friendly, happy, and to take joy and professional pride in that accomplishment.
Learning how to be an autonomous person who is capable of making decisions and running one's own life.
Growing through the dependence of childhood and the impulsive independence of adolescence to mature interdependence with others (parents, teachers, and all authority figures, especially.)
Learning to be an adult among adults.

Developing intellectual skills and social sensitivities necessary for civic competence:
- Developing concepts of law, government, economics, politics, geography, human nature and social organization which fit the modern world.
- Gaining awareness of human needs and becoming motivated to help others attain their goals.
- Acquiring problem-solving methods for dealing effectively with modern problems.
- Gaining abilities to communicate competently as a citizen in a democracy.
- Becoming involved in causes and projects outside oneself and becoming a socially responsible person.

A Good Mother - p. 49.

Developmental Conception

"Trains for self-reliance and citizenship." (Trains for self-help, encourages independence, teaches how to be a good citizen, how to adjust to life, teaches concentration.)

"Sees to emotional well-being." (Keeps child happy and contented, makes a happy home, makes child welcome, helps child feel secure, helps child overcome fears.)

"Helps child develop socially." (Provides toys, companions, plays with child, supervises child's play.)

"Provides for child's mental growth." (Gives educational opportunities, provides stimulation to read, reads to child, tells stories, guides reading, sends child to school.)

"Guides with understanding." (Sees child's point of view, gears life to child's level, answers questions freely and frankly, gives child freedom to grow, interprets, offers positive suggestions.)

"Relates self lovingly to child." (Shows love and affection, enjoys child, spends time with child, shares with child, is interested in what child does and tells, listens.)

"Is a calm, cheerful, growing person one's self." (Has more outside interests, is calm and gentle, has a sense of humor, laughs, smiles, gets enough recreation.)
As Wife: Developmental Tasks, Goals and Responsibilities:
Maintaining and enhancing her personal attractiveness and charm.
Showing tender concern about husband's health and welfare.

Being sympathetic with his need for quiet, for understanding and occasional "ego inflation".

Being understanding of her husband's needs for affection and response and to be able to respond to them adequately.

Being able to accept her husband's differences and peculiarities with sympathy and with interest.

Maintaining or acquiring a genuine interest in husband's business or profession and thus being able to function as an understanding and sympathetic listener, confidant and sharer in his triumphs and worries.

Encouraging the development of additional joint activities and interests with husband.

As a Person: Developmental Tasks, Goals, and Responsibilities.

Adjusting to the realities of constantly growing older — to approaching middle age. To accept realistically and with equanimity her present age and stage of development with its limitations and its potentialities for satisfactory functioning and enjoyment.

Keeping up-to-date on current thinking, social attitudes and changing folkways and mores.

Developing new interests and broadening scope of activities outside the home and thus maintaining or reestablishing herself as an independently growing, yet interacting member of the family group.

Bolstering feelings of personal adequacy and worth by developing new skills, hobbies, interests and commitments.

Continuing to get satisfaction from her own efforts toward the achievement of personal ideals and goals.

Constructed Father Types — pp. 53-54.

Developmental Father:

Father and child are both individuals (therefore)

Father seeks to understand the child and himself.

Father concerns himself with all activities and needs of the child.
Father places emphasis on growth of child and himself.
Father is interested in child's determining and attaining child's own goals.
Father finds satisfaction in child becoming a mature individual and in the child's contribution to father's growth as an individual.
Father feels that parenthood is a privilege which he has chosen to assume.

The Man of the Family - pp. 298-306.

As Father: Developmental Tasks, Goals, and Responsibilities.

Providing "good" patterns for the roles of the growing adult man, loving husband, and accepting father.

Learning to understand each child as an individual, believe in and trust him, respect his personality and delight in seeing him grow into adolescence and adulthood, and thus maintain the confidential, affectionate and companionable relationship earlier established. Providing time to spend with adolescent on a companionable basis, and to get the youth's point of view.

Understanding the growth is not identical with "improvement", that what the adolescent needs is often not what he seems to "deserve". Also that what the youngster needs has no relationship to the kind of treatment the father received when young.

Getting insight into, and a realistic evaluation of his own emotional reactions, not to stifle or hide them, but to avoid consciously or unconsciously over-reacting to them in dealing with the child.

Arriving at a common understanding and cooperating with mother on matters of guidance and control of children.

As Homemaker and Provider: Developmental Tasks, Goals, and Responsibilities:

Taking a renewed interest in the activities of the home and cooperating with and supporting wife and adapting the household routines to the changing and varied demands of the family members at this stage.

Relieving his wife of some of the actual work and assuming a share of the responsibility of the family and household management - encouraging and facilitating participation of children in the daily work.

Taking on more responsibility in the management of interpersonal relationships and problems, particularly in relation to adolescent children.
Regarding his responsibility for providing for the material requirements and the general economic security of his family as taking precedence over his own desires to speculate or to quit.

Acquainting the rest of the family with the realities of the family's financial situation and thus enlisting their intelligent sharing of responsibility.

Enlisting the participation of the family in making decisions regarding important expenditures or financial ventures, and regarding the equitable sharing and apportioning of the family funds.

Accepting and encouraging the wife's sharing of the economic burden of earning the family living if she is so talented and so minded.

As Husband: Developmental Tasks, Goals and Responsibilities.

Maintaining or reinforcing habits of personal care and grooming.

Strengthening his attitudes of acceptance with respect to his wife - to be able more than ever to recognize the necessity for, and her right to be different - to be as she is, and to be able really to accept her thus.

Maintaining or reestablishing habits of outward courtesy and attentiveness toward his wife and a genuine concern for her comfort and her welfare.

Understanding needs and tendencies of his wife at this particular stage and be increasingly alert to ways of facilitating her personal grows and satisfactions.

Cultivating a closer confidential and sharing relationship with his wife; to share with her his experiences - his triumphs and worries, etc. Being really interested in her activities, domestic and social. Regarding her as a partner and sharer in all aspects of their life together.

Cooperating in the development of new joint interest, activities, hobbies, etc.

As a Person: Developmental Tasks, Goals, and Responsibilities.

Adjusting to realities of constantly growing older - accepting realistically his present age and stage of development with its limitations as well as its potentialities for satisfactory functioning and enjoyment.

Keeping "up-to-date" on current thinking, social attitudes and changing folkways and mores.

Broadening interests and knowledge and thus growing in terms of civic and social responsibility.
Bolstering feelings of adequacy and self-confidence and personal worth by constantly developing new personal skills, hobbies, etc.

Continuing to work toward his personal ideals and goals of achievement, always in terms of the realities of his own resources and limitations.