

A STUDY OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR ON THE BOSTON COMMON

by

GLENN A. MARTZ

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Signature of Author . . . . .  
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Certified by . . . . .  
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by . . . . .  
Chairman, Departmental Committee  
on Graduate Students





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on September 11, 1969  
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to find out more of the part the physical environment plays in determining human behavior. To do this, I chose the Boston Common because I was most interested in the behavior of people in open public places. The main motivation behind this work was to try and find out why people do not use some of the public facilities provided for them and why in other cases people would participate in an activity where no form existed to support the activity. For example, how does an architect determine how and where benches will be put so that they are used? Why is it some spaces may be filled with activity: people talking to one another, everyone friendly, kids neatly playing in an orderly fashion, balloons being launched by Otto Piene etc?

The question I kept asking myself was, what are the factors involved that determine man's behavior?

Thesis Supervisor: William L. Porter

Title: Assistant Professor of Architecture and City Planning

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## I. PRELIMINARY STUDY AND OBSERVATIONS

In this first section I would like to give some of the reasons why some spaces are never used. Most of the material in this chapter comes from observations I have made throughout Boston and the reading I have done. The problem with the reading material available is that it provides no direct answers to the question of how human behavior is affected by form. The psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists, all have their own systems of definitions and information matrices in which they can shelve material. The architect, faced with the problem of trying to fill the gap between social studies and architecture has no system or matrix which his material may be added to. There has been little effort to classify the work done in this field so that all the work can easily be related to another person's work. My work too, uses no one's classification system but ideas are broken up into categories useful to me.

There are essentially four areas I studied:

1. Social Contact, what role it plays in man's life.
2. The need for stimulation from the environment.
3. Man's distances
- 4 The social structure or society and how it affects man's actions.

These areas do not have any special significance as a group of things to study, they are simply what I was interested in and are subjects I was able to find relationships to in architecture.

I will first discuss human distances that I observed and read about

(see experiment I did in the appendix). We can all experience every day what happens on an elevator. As people step on the elevator they generally move to a position that is farthest away from all the other people in the elevator unless there is only one or two other people on it. Most of us feel uncomfortable and tend to stare at the panel of changing lighted numbers or at the wall, floor or ceiling all of which are usually most uninteresting. When we get off the elevator, then we feel we can look at the faces of the people because they are farther away. Eye contact seems to be very uncomfortable at close distances. Did you ever talk to a stranger on an elevator without feeling some kind of force or compulsion to do so?

Why do these distances exist? In Edward T. Hall's book, "The Hidden Dimension," he talks of distances in man as limits of perception. The distances I observed he calls personal distances and defines one as arms length from another? "This is the limit of physical domination in the very real sense. Beyond it, a person cannot easily 'get his hands' on someone else."<sup>1</sup> Originally in a primitive society, this ability to reach out and grab another person may have caused a fear in man. As society developed long ago and rules of proper conduct were laid out, man might have been taught that only in certain social settings or environments may this happen so that the distance decreased to the distance I observed. Now the distances in man do not seem to be so much a fear of aggression but only an indication of involvement. This Relationship may well be true, for as Hall points out participation with other people varies proportionately with the distance.<sup>2</sup> Hence, a person implies social encounter if he gets too close. In America we are taught

not to stare, so that when I looked at the people coming I was performing an aggressive act which caused them to start their deviation from the path more quickly. In England, looking at one another is quite acceptable and is considered polite to stare at a person in conversation. These are cultural differences and are learned behavior patterns.

This may be why people space themselves out further in subway stations at night. People in crowds often get extremely close, probably by the fact that a person is less outstanding and has less chance of getting involved if he does not wish to. People who know each other will bunch up in small subgroups within a larger group.

What I hoped to present here is that there is a strong case for not forcing people together by the physical environment. Interaction is not dependent on physical distances alone nor does putting people in the same space necessarily cause interaction. As a matter of fact if a person does talk, he probably did not want to and comes away slightly annoyed as in an elevator. Interaction is proportional to the distance between people but the people themselves determine the distance.

The second area I studied came from the fact that I was trying to pin down form to behavior. As population increases, controls have to be set up to distribute the environment in man and animals. Humans are classified as a social animal, in other words, they have relationships that depend on one another. Some of the relationships that develop in humans might be exchange of goods or even more basic, exchange of the environment from which the life sustaining goods come from. The

environment necessarily includes all that an animal can perceive through his senses. Thus the environment may be divided into two sets of stimuli, more or less stationary elements and non stationary elements such as other humans and the conditions of change in the environment that they effect. The stationary items can be broken down into two groups: man made and natural.

When man first developed, it is easy to see how a social structure would develop as a control over the individuals to the use of the land. In primitive cultures of today much of the culture is based on survival which entails the proper distribution of the land, for example the !Kung Bushman of Africa have built in their culture that hoarding or collecting of edible articles is a disgrace so that a build up of wealth never occurs unlike our society where we build up our capital. When a hunt occurs the person who shot the animal receives rewards from the rest of the village as a worthy man but is required to distribute the meat to each household. Thus, the hunter gets his social reward and the people get to eat. Since man today is still dependent on the land much of the social structuring today exists as a control over the environment. For example, the richest end up living in the finest houses with the greatest amenities and show their wealth by doing so. Society not only controls the rationing of environment but also tells us how to act in different environments. Therefore, designers can only be as creative as society permits otherwise people will not use it unless nobody is around to watch.

Basically the physical built or unbuilt environment takes care of



man's biological needs and psychological needs. Roofs keep the sun off and rain off people. Walls protect us from wind. Emotions are sometimes effected by physical form. Those emotions brought about by forms are mostly learned behavior patterns I believe. Thus high ceilings give us a sense of exhilaration and formal atmosphere because we are taught to feel that way. We may not be told specifically to feel exhilarated under a tall ceiling but something else. One direct relationship between emotional state and the physical environment is shown by putting people in isolated rooms. If a person is put in a soundproof room that is painted grey with nothing else in the room he will soon become emotionally disturbed. Although he is being deprived of social contact, it has been shown that with social contact he becomes disturbed also, but requires a longer period. This indeed, is an extreme case. Freud tried to explain human behavior as being inately linked to frustration release but modern psychologists today have displaced the theory and believe man has an innate drive to seek stimulation. If this is true then it can be said that different stimuli from the physical environment do satisfy man. In our city environment there is plenty of different stimuli in existance. A person might redecorate his room or home to change the visual stimulation as it becomes old to him. This is probably one reason for most, why people climb mountians or go to Yellowstone Park besides just wanting to have something to talk about. This implies a need of variety in Architecture and the spaces built. Other stimulation comes from social contact which Christopher Alexander writes about in "Environment for Man." Here it has been shown that the emotional state of man will decay without intimate social contact. Babies also have been found to die without social contact. Within a city with people crowded together, the

individual actually becomes more private. His home is with less windows and is usually of far access to the street. This has been done by many Americans who live in large cities to get away from the pressures of the city. The result is that it is harder for accidental meetings to occur and the individuals enjoy less intimate social contact. He goes on to say that as a person's world increases in a city and his contacts get larger, the quality goes down. "In preindustrial society, intimate contacts were sustained by primary groups. A primary group is a small group of people characterized by face to face association and cooperation. These three most universal groups are the family, the neighborhood group of elders and the children's play group." "The sudden rise of the machine and applied science has shattered western civilization"<sup>3</sup> such that the local groups no longer exist. "Many architects and planners have tried to recreate the local primary group artificially, by means of the neighborhood idea." "But this idea of recreating primary groups by artificial means is unrealistic and reactionary: it fails to recognize the truth about the open society. The open society is no longer centered around place based groups; the very slight acquaintances that do form round an artificial neighborhood are once again trivial: they are not bases on genuine desire".<sup>4</sup> Again we have a situation much like the elevator.

The social environment is by far the greatest determinate of human behavior. It is the mobile element of environment that I referred to earlier. It not only is a dynamic element but is also a self-generating aspect of the environment. Whenever two people are within perceivable range of each other, they both effect a change on each other's behavior. A bar or nightclub can start out in the evening with a relatively quiet

atmosphere, but as more people come in and people start becoming more lively the new-comers see it as a lively place and join in to reinforce the group. Soon, everybody is reinforcing each other's behavior and "the whole environment has changed" as a person described. The same is true of a party. If a party is dead it is because the individuals did not participate to create the social environment they wanted. It was not the physical environs that made the party dead. The fact that it is the social environment that most determines a person's behavior can be found out by asking people on the street how the environment influences them. You will find most do not even talk about the physical environment.

Architecture can encourage social interaction but can not be the final cause. Unusual events such as Otto Piene's Kinetic Art Show where an unfamiliar object was introduced, can get strangers to talk to one another. Disasters or other unfamiliar stimuli such as automobile accidents, change people's normal behavior and get them to interact. Architecture can only create pleasant surroundings to attract people but this may never get them to interact with one another. If we build something society will not let people use, should we advertise for its use? I think not, it should be up to the people to have a choice what they do. If an Architect designs some public place that is useful to the people but contradicts the behavior society has set for us, then society will have to change it's rules.

## II. THE FORMAL STUDY

The study that I did on the Boston Common was set up to give myself practical experience in research, to test some of the ideas outlined in the first chapter, and to find out what the people did and wanted on the Common.

As I first started to do research on the Common, it was necessary to define what I was looking for. This is a harder problem than it might appear to be. First, one must have an idea of what to expect people are going to be doing before you even do the work. In other words, you almost have to have the results before you start. The other problem, probably the biggest of all, was that people tend not to answer your questions properly. The people are really disinterested and do not want to participate. The questions have to be short and require a short answer. People will tell you anything to get you away. One man when asked to participate said, "No, I can't help you, I'm on welfare." It seemed like no matter how ingenious you were to develop revealing questions it was all to no avail because you would get the same simple-minded answers for practically all the questions. After a short trial run on five people, I wrote a questionnaire that was really quite basic. The questions that asked for pure information with no thought required were most answered. Those questions used to make people think could have been useful to me; however, generally they were slighted. The questions, such as, "What would you do in the Common if no one else were there?", for example, is a question that brought little information. I was surprised to find out no one took offense to the question of age and that

it brought 100% results. I soon found out the technique of questionnaire writing is a whole science in itself which I did not study. One thing I thought at first was that if I let the people write out the questionnaires I will get more real, honest answers. The results were that I just did not get any answers that amounted to anything because the people did not want to have to write it all down. I then started to write out the answers for them and found out that their answers were starting to give me a feeling of why they came to the Common. Another problem that I encountered was the fact that people look at you and determine what kind of person you are by the way you dress. People then decide whether or not they will participate and to what extent. Those people who dressed very middle class, neat and clean but not extravagant, gave the most consideration to the questions. This I felt had a slight impact on the results. The old men in the park and the older ladies would not answer the questions so I finally gave up on them, after a few had given me answers I expected anyway.

The pictures I took serve two purposes: to document what I saw, and to actively engage myself in observation. If you have to take a picture of something, you look harder. Most of the pictures taken do not show the general conditions, unless it says so; otherwise, they show that a certain activity or condition may exist and nothing more. I tried letting people use my camera to take pictures with it, so that I might be able to see through other peoples' eyes. I told them to take a picture of why they came to the Common. I also told them to take their time and to take it from wherever they wanted. People actually got excited about this and some ran off with the camera for as long as 5-10 minutes. I think people

were flattered that I wanted them to use my camera to take a picture. By asking them to take a picture of why they came to the Common, most people were quite challenged and had to stop and think why. Then some went scampering off like kids just given a bright red lollipop. Some were reluctant to take pictures; some refused. One lady took the camera turned it around and shot a picture of what seemed like nothing important. When I asked her what she took a picture of she just shrugged and said, "I don't know." Because of this, I really began to feel that an interviewer has to play games with people. Unfortunately, this was the last thing I did in the way of information gathering, but I think it's important to do things people will have fun doing. Dry old questions like "How old are you?" and "Why and how do you come here?" just leave the person sitting on the bench when you are through. The camera was a device that got them genuinely interested in me and what I was doing. For many, I could then ask them anything.

As far as knowing what I was looking for and how to find the answers, I will have to admit I really did not know how to find it. I really just started and later decided to try things and see if it worked. Maybe the reader can learn from where I left off.

1. Find out where the population came from in terms of being out of town, walking distance, or metropolitan Boston.
2. Find out how often people came so that I could determine how many regular users there are.
3. What people do on the Common--at least what they say they do.
4. Age groups present so I could design proper amounts of activity areas for the different ages.

5. Find out whether or not the Common serves more those of a introverted personality for social contact needs.
6. Find out what people want for requirements of a good sitting area since the main activity seems to be sitting.
7. Find out if people talk to other people on the Common.
8. Find if there was any form of social situation that prompted people to talk to strangers.
9. Find out what people might like to have in the Common so they could enjoy it more.
10. Find out what people would do in the Common if society was not watching them by asking what they would do in the Common if no one else was there.
11. Find out what restrictions maintenance placed on their intended activity by asking what they would do if they could not be arrested.
12. Find out what people thought the Common should do to them. I asked the question this way to see what they thought the Common could give them without actively doing anything, as if it were a pleasure machine or something.
13. Find out what role the people thought they were playing by being on the Common. This was another way of trying to find out what they thought they were doing there and how they fit in with the rest of the people. The explanation and question went as follows. "If you go to a play you watch actors on stage playing rôles. In every-day life, ordinary people play roles also, which change according to the social situations they are part of. What role do you think you play on the Common?" This had an interesting effect because people did not know how other people would answer it, how I would use their answer, and most were interested in the question because they hadn't ever thought of themselves that way.
14. Find out if the Common was a substitute for a private yard.
15. Find what people thought an adult playground might be and if they would use it.

One of the failures in the questionnaire was because I used the word

"strangers" which carries a bad connotation. I should have referred to other people as people they did not know. Another question that did not work was asking them what they would do if they could not be arrested. Most people took offense to this question as if it were intended for bad people or seemed to pry into their lives too much. Actually, those people who took offense to it seemed to have some guilt, such as the men who drink and inhabit the Common most of the time.

The results of the questionnaire were not very valuable except for the straight-forward questions of where you live, etc. I leave it to the reader to look over quickly the answers I got in the general questionnaire summary sheet in the Appendix.

Another part of the study involved having people draw out areas on a plastic overlay of a plan of the Common. I thought this would really start to give me a quantitative and qualitative idea of the areas of the Common. Since I was interested in whether or not the Common served as a place for meeting people, I asked them to draw the general area they would go to if they wanted to meet new people. I also asked them where they would go if they wanted to be by themselves or be private. Here again I made a mistake, as my thesis advisor pointed out, because I was not really clear on the question. What I really wanted to know is "Where would you go to feel psychologically private?" because I got some overlapping of areas. Most people asked me about the question and I usually replied "Where would you go if you did not want to be bothered by other people?" Here again most people enjoyed the drawing exercise, most were flattered--"Oh no, I can't mess up your pretty drawing." and I had to tell them that they would not, that they are drawing on a



plastic sheet meant for them that would be removed and replaced. I also asked them to draw the paths that they used most and their favorite path. I did this to try and find which paths people liked because of some reason and which they used because it was the easiest way to get from one place to another. I also marked where most people entered the Common. Most people left where they entered or would re-enter where they left and vica-versa when going to and from work.

After talking to my thesis advisor, he decided the results might have shown that people were identifying with certain areas rather than where they would go to meet people or not be bothered by other people. I ran up another study to test this. This time I just asked people what areas they would pick to sit in if they brought their own chair so they were not restricted to the benches. I also asked them questions about the benches on the sidewalks and how close people could sit before they felt uncomfortable. This was just to check out some of Edward T. Hall's work as to privacy requirements if any. A population study was also done to check the relation of moving people to sitting people and to find out where most people sat and what paths were most used. This was carried out by a very crude method but at least gave me a feeling for the information I wanted. What I did was simply to quickly go around the Common and record how many people were on a given path segment at a given instant. Two of these were done, one on a Friday afternoon between 3:30 p.m. to 4:45 p.m. and one on the following Saturday afternoon when the density was higher. This allowed me to check density shifts which proved interesting without trying to make fine grain comparisons of the two.

Besides the formal study done, observation gathered a lot of odds and ends that helped give me a feeling of what was going on. As I spent more time on the Common, I began to find out what people were doing on the Common. Mostly what they do is nothing. It's like a big living theatre where people go to watch other people do nothing. Everybody sits around watching other people watch them--it's incredible. A lot of people apparently come to eat their lunch on the Common partly as a way of ridding themselves of the job and the pressure of the city. The Common offers a psychological escape for many people and gives them visual relaxation where their eyes are not constantly aware of things quickly flashed by them as they move through the crowded city; at least this is the feeling I have had. The older men have well defined communities on the Common which was found just by looking. The lower class people tend to congregate in certain areas, whereas Beacon Hill residents have a particular location. The people walking to and from work follow very definite paths through the Common. People over in the graveyard are exploring. There is one marvelous place in the graveyard by the cripts that is fun because one feels as if you are not supposed to be there and yet it's challenging and mysterious and something you found. It serves the purpose more of an unstructured place that has quite a bit of privacy and needs to be explored.

On the whole, it seemed that a lot of the information was gathered just by looking. If anyone wants to find out what people are doing in a certain area, he at least ought to go look and carefully observe what is going on. The trouble with doing a formal study is that it takes a long time to process the information and sometimes the results are

hard to interpret, so that you might not have shown anything in your study because of all the variables involved in the next few pages.

I will try to interpret what my study showed.

### III. RESULTS AND CRITICISM OF THE STUDY

In this section I will try to put all the information together from the studies and hopefully come up with something valuable. I would first like to discuss all the area maps done because I felt they were the most interesting and the most controversial.

First of all, it is quite understandable that the maps done may not be very accurate. One can criticize the fact that people do not know how to read drawings and might circle areas they do not intend to. I accept this fact. I tried to cut down on the error by first orienting the map with the map in the same position as the common. I then pointed out the main streets bordering the common and marked where the people were sitting with an 'x'. I also pointed out the main landmarks in the common that they could identify with. This could be criticized by the fact that I might have given an element of suggestion to the peoples' answers. However, I thought it was more important for them to quickly interpret the map. Even with the error considered, I felt that when areas started to show more than one person encompassing or overlapping another person's choice, the resulting area contained by both sets was significantly without error. The maps cannot be read at a finer scale without gross error, for example: if a person circled an area that does not include a side walk in it, this may not necessarily mean he did not wish to include the use of the sidewalk. Some people circled the actual fountain, and I am sure that they meant the area around it, not in it. Some of the smallest drawn areas are really specific. Each person drawing these small elements knew the common well

and said that "Yes, I mean that area. I sit there everyday," or something to that nature.

The first map done to show the places people would go if they did not want to be bothered by people or if they wanted to meet people, showed some quite distinct nodes. Three distinct nodes showed up with one being composed of two areas overlapping on the composite drawing (see appendix map 5). The rotunda, main fountain, and "frog" pond were chosen as being both a place for privacy and meeting people by different individuals. The results were significant in that people chose these areas for both purposes several times. Why does this happen? The first answer to this was that people were identifying with these places because they are strong points of interest. They stand out in strong contrast to the rather continuous flowing surface of the grass and tree "rug". I think this might be partly true; However, some areas like the Park Street subway corner and the statue on the hill showed marked preference for meeting people, only. If people only were identifying with points of interest and not making two distinctions, these areas would not have showed up as only one kind of place.

The second mapping I did was to ask people to "draw the area or areas you would sit in if you brought your own chairs, in other words you are not restricted to the benches." The results of this are quite different. Here, only one person marked the bandstand, and one marked the main fountain. This means that two of the nodes previously developed were knocked down. It is true that most people probably answered the question as to where they would put a chair rather than the whole question.

By asking them where they would sit if they brought their own chair, implied they were going to use it, so it was ridiculous to put it with the benches. This can be shown by the large percentage of areas that are drawn not to include the sidewalk, but people did not indicate areas around the fountain or bandstand. Why was there a migration away from the bandstand and the heavily populated Tremont Street between Park Street and the fountain? The second survey was done entirely without old age people. This was thoughtless of me because it took me four hours to figure out why there was hardly any preferences shown in this area. It is obvious now. Most all the people that sit on the benches between Park Street and the fountain are older people, Since it was hard to get these people to participate, I did not interview older people and the results were that they had no chance to show their preference in this area. Also the common is very open along this area with no trees except in the planters by the benches so that there was no shade on the grass close to the active strip. The population in the band circle is almost entirely old men with a few old women also. These areas are also heavily structured with benches so that it might look stupid to put up a chair within the ring, for example: The one person who marked the bandstand said "well I'd still put it in the circle if I brought my own." He was unusual though.

Also a new node or correlation of areas picked sprung up between the Park Street subway and the "frog" pond. The "frog" pond gained in popularity and spread out. Now the areas cluster around the pond but do not include it, except for one person who said he would like to sit in the pond. Generally the area is the same, but the fact that people were not

restricted to sit at benches, spread them out over the hill and on to the other side of the monument hill which I think is at least one of the more pleasant areas in the common.

What does all this mean? The second mapping showed mostly popularity of areas. In other words, it just shows where people would sit for their own reasons. Both studies show that people like to sit where there is a high current of people or a high density of people sitting with them. In the restricted study, people are forced to sit where there are people moving by if they want to sit on a bench, because all the benches are on the sidewalk. As it now is, the benches generally occur in the greatest quantity around these population centers where there is a high current of moving people. In the unrestricted study people generally picked areas close to high density population centers but now, more out of the centers such as the shift that occurred away from the frog pond and statue. This might indicate that people really would like more privacy. In this area the privacy gained is only that they would be viewed as smaller objects on the landscape at a distance, because there is very little in the landscape that controls their being viewed by others except distance. In other words there are no shrubs or other low plants that control sight lines. This is most evident by looking at the east slope of the monument hill where there are no bushes but lovers feel some degree of privacy there. (See appendix Map 8).

Complete study could show that privacy elements might be wanted by putting up some kind of barriers that controlled the degree and kind of privacy, and then study how and where the people use them.

Another quite evident source of the fact that people, even when they wanted to be by themselves, still wanted a controlled outlook on other people, is shown in the first study where I asked them to pick a private area. No one really picked a private area except the shoeshine boy who circled the graveyard which is the most private place in the common. All the other places were picked right in the middle of the most active or heavily populated areas or were fringing these areas. There is a reason for this, in fact many. Generally speaking, I found that people migrate to other people. Sometimes I noticed huge shifts of people from two areas. The stretch along Tremont Street between the fountain and Boylston Street was one. I have a picture taken of this stretch during a medium density time (4.30p.m.) where there is no one sitting on the benches. I also turned around and shot a picture of the other stretch between Park Street and the fountain with the benches loaded which is normal. At 4.00p.m. the fountain to Boylston section was just as populated as the park to fountain stretch similar to the population shown on the drawing in the Appendix (map 4). What happens is that as people start to get up and leave they start a chain reaction. The same is true if people start to sit down; more people will be attracted to other people, until the density reaches a certain point; then the same density will start to flow down the nearest paths. The relationship that seems to hold is that as the number of people gathered increases the desire to sit in that location increases somewhat proportionately. This was also observed in the bandstand circle where a group of foreign students stopped to eat lunch. The population of other people mounted with their presence, and when the group left the other people left.



The density limit of the number of people per unit area is hard to explain but seems to be dependent on two factors: the social condition and the novelty of the physical environment. The social climate is again determined by the social rules or etiquette. Thus, society sets distances between man according to activity. In other words, I think the distances set in man are learned behavior patterns altered by the physical environment. If the quality of the space is perceived by the individual as being good for any of his own reasons, he will then tend to crowd in until the distances between himself and others become disturbing. When the disturbance lowers his total satisfaction of an area to a point lower than what he believes another area would give him, he will move to a new area.

On one Sunday afternoon, this seemed to be the case because I noticed the density of stationary people was the same as a previous day near the Park Street subway only now there were more people in the common than usual. Roughly the same density moved down the paths leading from that area. This is only an observation that could have other strong factors involved.

Whether the people are introverts or extroverts, most people come to the common to have a feeling of being with people. It seems there is another factor determining where people sit; to get away from the city pressure. This might explain why the area along Tremont Street is heavily and almost entirely populated with old people and a high percentage of physically abnormal people. Abnormal people are usually rejected by our society and as a result have fewer friends. Old people start to lose their friends when they become old and start to die. When

their spouse dies, a lot of times old people have lost a great deal of their contact with people because the spouse plays a stronger role in human contact as friends die. I think these people who strongly populate Tremont Street have a stronger desire for social contact than others and identify social contact with large masses of people. The people certainly have found the prime area to satisfy this need. Many of these people actually have friends they meet in the common regularly and are found to be talking to someone more often than other people.

Why don't other people, more normal people, gravitate to this area? I think this could be explained by the fact that they have less of a drive for social contact and find more satisfaction by seeking a place away from the city that still contains the contact. Thus, the more normal people, businessmen, secretaries and socially stable appearing people, gravitate to the pond, which is almost totally visually isolated from the rest of the city. The hill also is visually isolated on all sides except the broad view over the garden to Back Bay. In this case the sight of the city is pleasant because one can only see it from far away. Many tourists can be found on the hill because it gives a nice peek at the Back Bay area. Anyway, by going to this area the people can increase their enjoyment by being in a moderately dense activity area and feel still separated from the city. I question this because I wonder if individuals might prefer different densities because of class or other social reasons.

The bandstand area is another place that older people and people from the South End go to for both isolation and to meet friends. The normal people do not go there much because of the social environment

composed of older people, a few drunks, and welfare cases. The roughest crowd, however, is not in the bandstand circle but along the sidewalk leading up to the bandstand from the Boylston Street Subway. All the people here are of a lower class and are all men. None of these people would answer the questions except one I found on his way to the men's room. The people sitting on both sides of the walk know practically every one there. This group really serves the function of providing intimate contact and is developed to such an extent that it even has its own social structure. There are two leaders of the group, one a subleader, that have a little responsibility to the group. Mostly everyone just recognises the dominance of the two men. I tried to talk to the head leader but he was "too busy". Most of this group are on welfare and include physically active old men. They seem to migrate to the bars at night and rest in the common during the day. It is uncomfortable to walk through on the path because they stare at people and occasionally have some unprovoked comment to make at people passing by. One person also noted the social atmosphere and circled the area saying he did not go there.

The area between the Boylston Subway and the fountain is generally occupied by older people from the South End and short-term people passing through of a mixed variety. This area seems to attract people who just find it convenient to sit there.

The other two distinct areas on the common are the sports area and the corner of Charles and Beacon Street, where the hippies were. The sports area composed of tennis courts and the baseball diamond appeared to be used like any other sports facilities, so I did no studies or

observations of them at all. The hippie corner is now totally unused after people complained to the mayor that they did not like the hippies on the common. One reason given was that the rest of the people could not use the common and it was one of the centers for drug sales. One lady from Beacon Hill, on the common put it this way, "it was awful, we couldn't use the common because of them and we are paying more taxes than those characters." Today the corner is unused and the grass is back. Occasionally a dog owner takes his dog there to run and eliminate. The hippies, basically a radical group that exists because the people are socially outcast or have chosen to oust themselves, gathered there for intimate social contact and reinforcement. Even the people that are not hippies businessmen, people from Beacon Hill, tourists, old men, and others passing through would wander over and eventually get engaged talking to other people. Very seldom does our society let us talk to strangers and this was almost a perfect interaction machine. People who enter a hippie colony find their social rules do not apply in the social climate of the colony. Their behavior is changed and now normal people were talking to strangers. The common was probably picked because of the wide open area that was large enough to provide a continuity to the group.

The other drawing exercises done were those of having people draw their favorite path and their most-used path. Most people did not distinguish between the path types but could tell me the most-used paths. The reason for this is that the esthetic reasons for path choice are not very strong, so that people tend to only want the shortest path to their destination. The most-used path does not really show the traffic density as it occurs.

This is because there is a lot of traffic caused by people that go through the common but do not stop to sit, and since I only interviewed people who were sitting, those who never stop did not get to vote for those paths they used which are different from the strolling paths. For example, the path going from the fountain to Charles and Boylston is just an expressway to get through the common from the Washington Street area to the Back Bay area or vica-versa.

The results of the questionnaires are more straight-forward. The questionnaire on the seating on the common indicated that some people would like to get off the sidewalk and be in a more private place, if possible. Some do this now by sitting or lying on the grass. However, a few do it, but others might like the inner spaces if they could sit on a bench. It is interesting to note that if all the seating was put off the sidewalks and dispersed in small groups of say six people maximum, then the activity centers would be killed except along paths of high people current, if people really migrate to each other. The bench set off and away from the path would become full when one person sat on it in regard to other strangers, because it would be more private. A greater effort would be required to get ot it if it were basically a cul-de-sac form and therefore it would be looked at as a more forward gesture to sit at one of these benches that was already occupied. As it is now there is very little social conscience required to sit on an occupied bench when it is on the path which a person is moving on. Some of the pictures taken show the spacing of people on the benches and a behavior pattern that is a direct consequence of the form of the bench to protect oneself from another person, or social element. This is that most people sit on the ends of benches

to minimize having their personal territory being encroached on. If they have personal belongings, they define this zone by placing the articles on the side exposed to the bench to set up their "fort" so to speak. In the case of the slabs on Tremont Street where the seating is more two-dimensional than the linear benches, people sit on the corners, sometimes at a 45 degree with the sides of the slab to prevent interference with their personal zone.

The pictures indicate the spacing of people best, and the results of the question "how close on a bench could another person you did not know sit to you before you felt uneasy?" only said that some people like to keep a distance between themselves and unknown others. Everyone's concept of feeling uneasy seemed to be quite variable. Generally speaking, I think lower class people have a smaller distance requirement than higher class people.

The general questionnaires were more to gather basic information and get a hint at statistical evidence. However, they only hint at statistics of where people come from, age group etc. because there were only 22 questionnaires. Ten of the people did mention that they came to the common because of the people there. Most said they were the people watchers of the group, and one actually said it was the crowd contact he thought was important even though he never talked to anyone. It is interesting to ask why people do this and what function does it play in terms of a man's whole social life if he does not talk to other people? A friend of mine suggested that this pastime might be done because people identify with others and use this to learn more about themselves. I

think this is probably true. Another item in the questionnaire that surprised me was that 2 or 3 people said they came to the common quite often from as far as Malden and Brighton. These people were senior citizens. The other results from the questionnaire can be easily seen on the general questionnaire summary sheet in the appendix. In the next section I would like to discuss the implications for redesign of the common and the next steps if more research was to be done.

#### IV. Future Studies and Implications for Design.

From my studies it's important now to evaluate the usefulness of each part of the work so that others may not have to experiment with information gathering as much as I did. I feel the study was extremely useful to me to gain experience in dealing with and observing people. It also was good to find out that people do many little things and think differently about environments from what I tend to think people do and think. Much of this experience is only personally related to me.

I personally feel the studies only came up with gross relations between man and environment, but from this experience I can now make finer grain studies that could prove more valuable. These foreseeable finer grain studies to me are the real product of this thesis.

First of all I came up with four ideas that could be checked to see if the relationships hold and what other factors might be present.

1. The dynamic shift of people migrating to other places. I think this could be checked easily by time lapse photography. The mechanics would be to get together a group of people and sit them in a public place where people might stop and sit. Pictures would be taken at 5 minute intervals. With the time interval constant, one then only needs to check the rate at which the group grows with respect to the number of people seated. This



would have to be done with a fairly constant flow of people through the area and during a time of day when the desire to sit because of other factors such as lunch time habits doesn't interfere. Then the question of why does the crowd diminish may be asked if the relationship holds. I'm not sure what design implications this would lead to and may only be important to know the phenomenon occurs so that others are misled to think the shifts are caused by something else.

2. The theory that I had about the density of stationary people reaching a constant level for a given activity could be easily checked by photography. In the Common, for example, one could watch and photograph the Park and Tremont Street corner from across the street in one of the buildings. From the photographs one could count the number of people per unit of usable area for different populations of the whole Common and see if the density does approach a limit. This would be useful to know in the design of new open spaces to determine how many people a designer can provide for, this could also be done for different activities.

3. Do old people really need more contact and if so what kind? A questionnaire designed to find out how many friends a person had, whether or not his spouse was alive, where in general he meets people, and how he meets people could lead to the fact old people are socially deprived. If this is the case, as designers, we might really have an influence on these people's lives by providing contact places closer to their homes since, transportation is usually a problem for old people. We might

be able to help keep old people emotionally stable for a longer period of their lives.

4. Another study that I would like to do that would be extremely useful would be to find out the finer grain relationships between environment and activity. Generally speaking people pick places to carry out certain activities. Depending on the person's interest in a kind of activity and the accessibility of a form that allows for an activity or activities, I think we could predict how many people will use it, who the people are, and how much they will use it.

The first thing one has to do is classify the elements of the environment. One could do this through man's perception. It is obvious that what information man receives comes through perception by the senses. It would be well to limit ourselves to visual and auditory perceptions first because these intuitively have the most use for us. If we can look at objects on the landscape and record what they do to perception, I think we could start to define a set of qualities which will describe every perceivable object in the environment that will have some effect on man's behavior. To do this we have to start with a system of qualities that will describe many objects. As an example let me describe what I would do on the Common.

First of all I would start making maps again, this time, of qualities describing the environment and symbolically representing the degree to which each variable quality is present and where. It might take one map for each quality I defined. If a computer was used, a coordinate system of placing a quality on a

map could be used with the number, say 1 to 9 being used to designate the degree perceivable at each point on the map. A mapping of one variable would then be a sheet of numbers. To analyze the data the computer could be programmed to look through all the sheets and tell me every point in x and y that had the same set of numbers and tell me what points in the Common had the same qualities as I defined and recorded. The computer could plot these points and with a scaled overlay I could see what points were theoretically the same. With visual elements which is mostly what I would be after comes an interesting technical problem. Do I record what can be seen from a point which varies with the rotation of one's self or the object itself. I think it would be good to rotate and say plot four directions of perception from a point. This would bring out intensity relationships that are true as distances are varied. For example, bushes can become more transparent as one moves closer to them, where as some objects become visually opaque, because of the change of sight lines. Thus the elements of the environment are perceptually variable with distance and angle and are recorded as such, by plotting 90 degree views from each point. The variables would be the hard part to determine and plotting the variable maps would have to be man done. The quality of the results would of course be determined by a person's ability to classify the environment. By looking only at stationary qualities of the environment one could then test how much man influences other's activity. Object to observation point distance would be taken into account by rating each quality's effect on a person from a

very close distance to infinity. Thus distance views from the Common if unobstructed would be for practical purposes a constant.

once this were done it could then be determined what kinds of people (age groups, sex, income level and other classifications normally used) need or desire what proportion of each quality by again interviewing people. The validity of the study could also be checked by testing an individual in the environment to see if he reacts the same at points shown on the map to be environmentally the same. One could then get a sense of how well the qualities were classified.

This study could also be done in a slightly less elaborate way of trying to map out population densities, sight relationships, and other variables in a systematic way and draw these on a map as objects that don't change with distance or angle.

The other way of doing this study would be to determine the quality variables and let people draw the areas as I did where they think the qualities are most present. By leading them around, this too would give a topographic map of each quality, however the results would pertain in general to the cross section of people interviewed and another interview would have to be done to determine what kind of people sat in the combination of variable one chooses to study. I think the other method would require more energy but would produce better results. Both would enable us to predict who would use what the most. It might even be possible to take results like this study would give and be able to actually put people in a park where the designer wants them

and more efficiently provide social contact if it's needed, or even help integrate people from different races, social backgrounds or economic levels. Other studies could be done on a city scale to help build a new city form that reduces some of our social problems. For example, it might be possible to build more places like the Common where people of all classes and race would actually meet each other, if they are located properly. Job locations do this. For example, those small industries and businesses in the downtown of Boston or Cambridge can employ from a broader cross section of people whereas businesses in Lexington or Concord would have less of a cross section to employ which would exclude more of the lower class people because of accessibility. The building of small parks to enhance old people's lives could be done so that accessibility is greater.

As I said before, the biggest problem is to classify the environment and determine which quality variables are important. We have to get to the elements the environment is made of. We can get rough ideas of what kind of environment attracts what kind of people and how many by looking at different forms around us. What the variables are going to be can be hinted at by just observation asking oneself as many questions as possible about what is observed. Some of the variables I've mentioned or relationships that might exist may be used to start a more systematic method for research.

If a person wants to do observation and questionnaire work only to gain a better knowledge for design he may be best off

just looking and recording on a map what he sees or thinks he sees. Since, as in the Common, the use of the areas shifts each day and during the time of the day, spot checking and recording during a day and rerecording what one sees should be done several times. It is important to look at the whole area covered each time with an eye for change. If a person assumes a condition is constant that has the ability to change and he never looks to see if it has changed, then he has lost a valid observation. Rule number one: always expect changes in what you observe and record it. It is only after all the information is put together that something useful can be pulled out of the study, so one shouldn't get discouraged if he thinks he isn't observing anything.

There are two other problems I haven't mentioned that apply to interviews. First of all, I thought a rigid questionnaire was not the best thing to use, because what a questionnaire is, really, is a predetermined conversation that a lot of times doesn't allow for what a person is going to tell you. Instead, I think a questionnaire ought to follow the conversation and change with the answers people give, being free to delete and add questions when the interviewer wants. This would not give a nice table of questions and answers but I think it would give more information. I hesitated to follow up some answers that I now think I should of. Thus I think definite questions could be thought out and asked but not in a manner which breaks the conversation and the interviewee's train of thought, because it is hard to get people to think for you.

Another problem in interviewing is who do you pick and if one is plotting areas, like I did, where do you pick people. I tried to pick a normal cross section intuitively, but most of the older people refused so I stopped interviewing them. The other problem was that the older people made up the largest percentage of people with few people under 16. This altered the results of the map drawing where I had them pick where they would put in their own chair, since I didn't interview the elderly.

When the people are being checked for what areas they like, quite a few circle the places around where they are sitting. Thus a person could make the results come out bad if he interviewed people in one area. I tried to sample a certain percentage of people in an area so that more people were asked in a higher populated area than a lower populated area. This was a fair way of doing it, otherwise I would have gotten areas shown that are hardly ever used for any of the questions I asked.

When dealing with people I think common sense will solve a lot of the problems encountered in a survey. The results from the drawing exercise are only approximate because the people are not very accurate in their drawings so that the error caused by the interviewer is usually less. The main focus should then be to develop methods for getting more and accurate information from the people.

## Summary

In summary, I think it is important that we as environmental designers should realize that man's actions are caused by the stationary elements of the environment and the social climate or environment. The physical environment can attract a social attitude to different areas but usually does not effect man's actions by itself. The combination of the physical and social environment thus are, together determinants of man's behavior.



FOOTNOTES

1. Hall Edward T., "The Hidden Dimension," Garden City, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1966), P.113
2. IBID.
3. Alexander, Christopher, "Environment for Man," Edited by William R. Ewald Jr. (Bloomington & London, Indiana University Press, 1967) P.64
4. IBID. P.65

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- Ewald, William R. Jr., "Environment for Man, the Next Fifty years,"  
Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1967.
- Hall, Edward T. "The Hidden Dimension", Garden City, New York:  
Doubleday and Company, 1966.

## V. APPENDIX

### A Explanation of maps and questionnaires done by participants

Each photograph is of the actual drawing that each participant did on the common. The key is as follows:

Dotted line following paths - favorite paths

Solid line following paths - most used paths

Shaded area - private area - private area

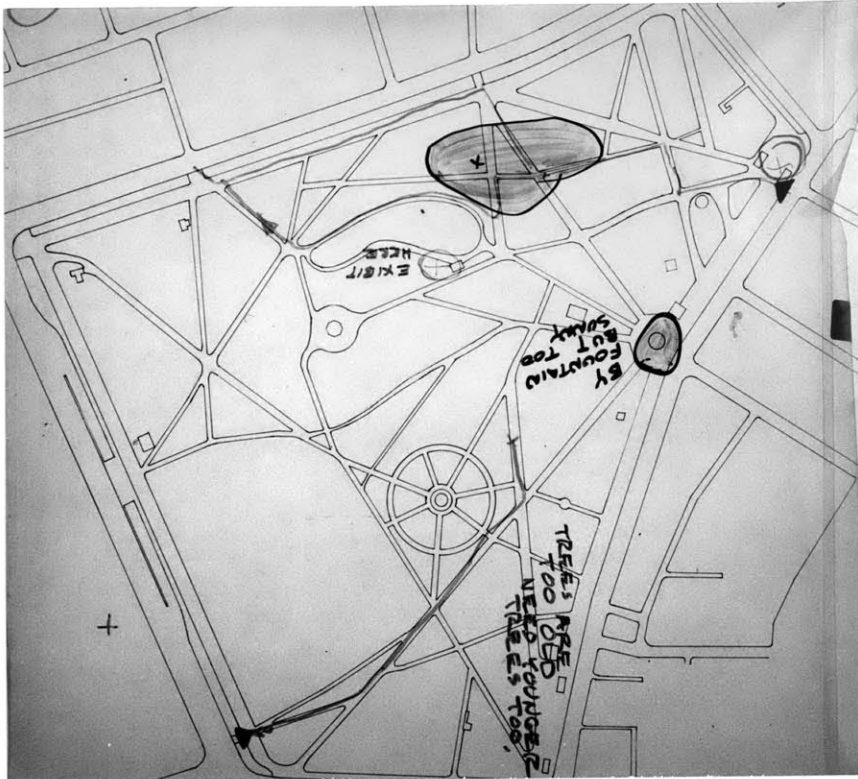
Plain-enclosed area - area to meet people

X on the common - marks where the individual was interviewed.

Other marks outside the common were for relocating the plastic overlay only.

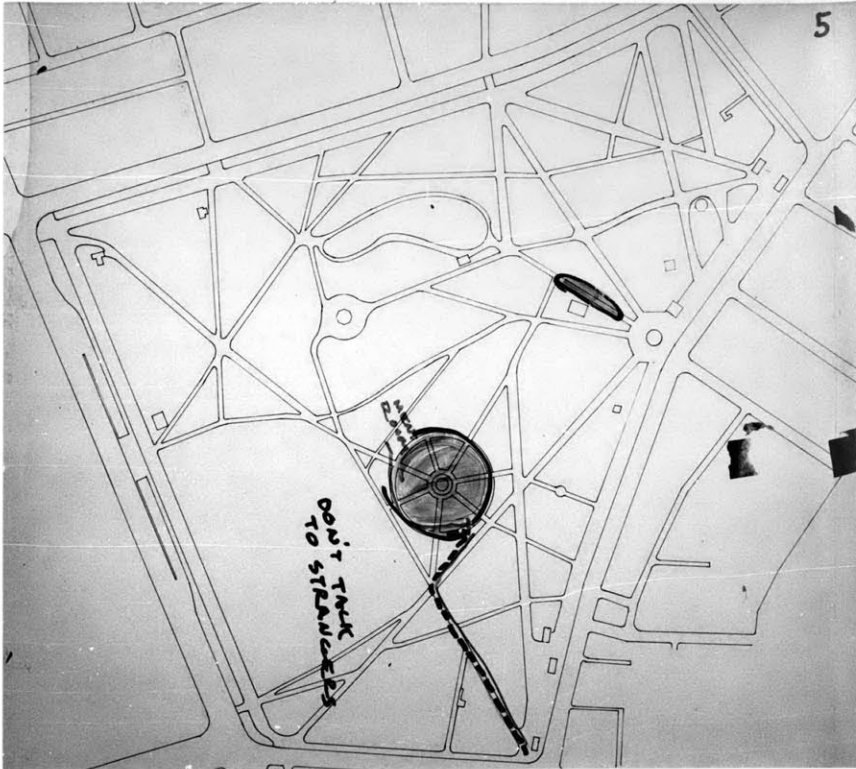
Those that do not have photographs attached did not do the drawings. All the questionnaires were not the same. After I did a few, I deleted some questions and added others. For the complete question asked regarding role, and adult playground see the summary sheets for the general questionnaire.

The summary photographs of the maps indicate all the areas drawn by the participants.

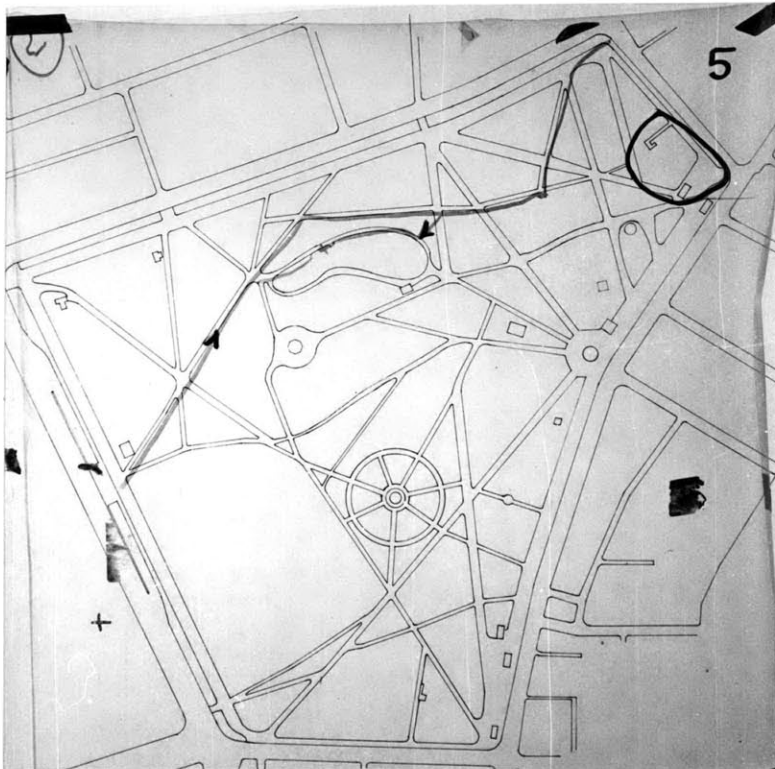


- 1 where do you come from? NEW YORK
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? IT'S OUR FAVORITE SPOT  
IN THE ENTIRE AREA
- 3 why do you come here? TO REST OUR BONES, EAT LUNCH, WATCH PEOPLE,  
JUST ENJOY
- 4 approximate age? 20 (FEMALE)
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT WITH  
PERIODIC FITS OF EXTROVERSION
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
LOOK FOR SHADE, PRIVACY, GRASS (THAT IS, THE GREEN SPOTS)
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? NO
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? SWIM, WADE, SLEEP OUT
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
SLEEP, SUNBATHE
- 11 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? SMOKE POT

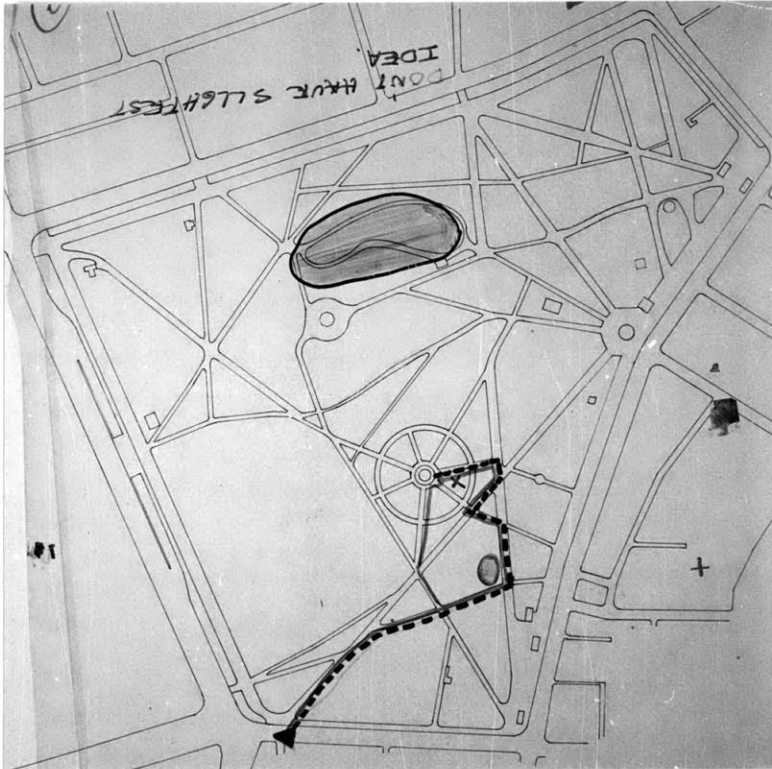
- 1 where do you come from? HOME - WATERTOWN, MASS. WORK - JORDAN MARSH
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? ONCE A MONTH
- 3 why do you come here? TO RELAX OR KILL TIME, PRIMARILY
- 4 approximate age? 20 (FEMALE)
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? EXTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
PEOPLE, CLEANLINESS, ATMOSPHERE
- 7 do you suually talk to strangers? NO
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? LISTEN TO A GOOD CONCERT
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
WALK WITH A FRIEND, OR SUNBATHE, OR STUDY
- 11 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? REFER TO ABOVE  
QUESTION



- 1 where do you come from?
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? FOUR DAYS A WEEK
- 3 why do you come here? TO RELAX AND READ (USUALLY COME FOR 7-8 HOURS)
- 4 where is your favorite place? THE ASSEMBLY CIRCLE
- 5 approximate age? 62 (MALE)
- 6 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT
- 7 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
A SPOT IN THE SHADE ON MY OWN
- 8 do you usually talk to strangers? NO
- 9 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? A BEER PARLOR
- 11 what would you do in the common if no one else were there? I  
WOULDN'T BE HERE EITHER
- 12 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? WOULDN'T BOTHER  
ME. I BEHAVE MYSELF

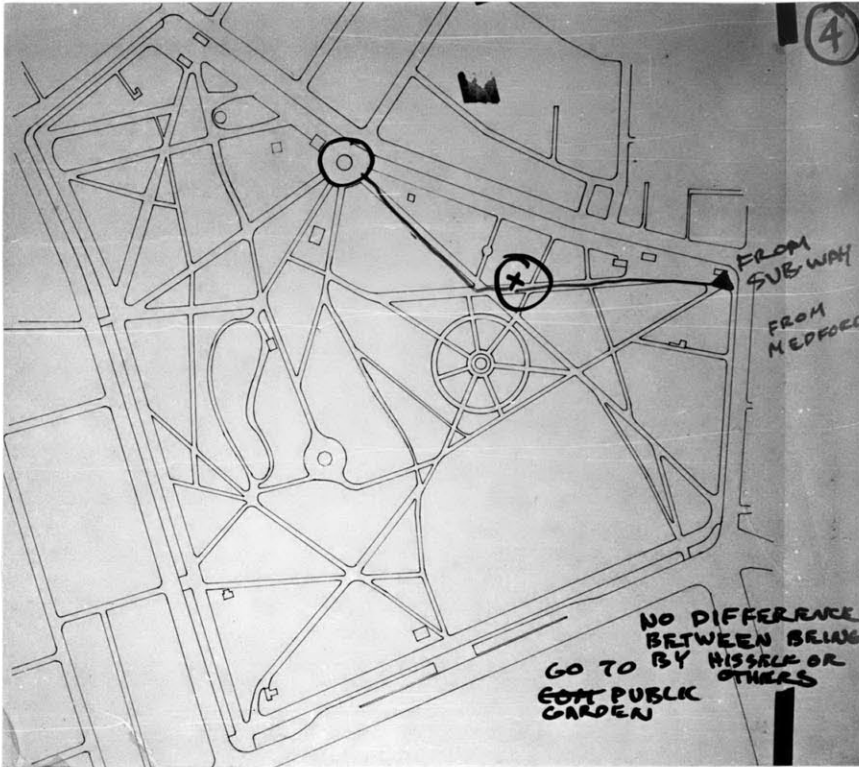


1. where do you come from? NEW YORK
2. how frequently do you come to the Common? ONCE A WEEK IN NICE WEATHER
3. why do you come here? BE IN THE SUN, TO GET AWAY FROM A DORMITORY, WATCH ACTIVITIES, PEOPLE
4. where is your favorite place? (locate on the plan)
5. approximate age? 20 (MALE)
6. do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? EXTROVERT
7. what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the Common? SECLUSION
8. do you usually talk to strangers? YES, IF THEY'RE ATTRACTIVE
9. where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? SOMEWHERE WHERE WE ARE MAKING MUTUAL OBSERVATIONS
10. what would you like to do in the Common if provisions for such an activity were made? FRISBEE, ADULT FREE PLAY AREA
11. what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there? MAKE LOVE TO MY FIANCE, SUN BATHE NUDE
12. what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? BE FREE

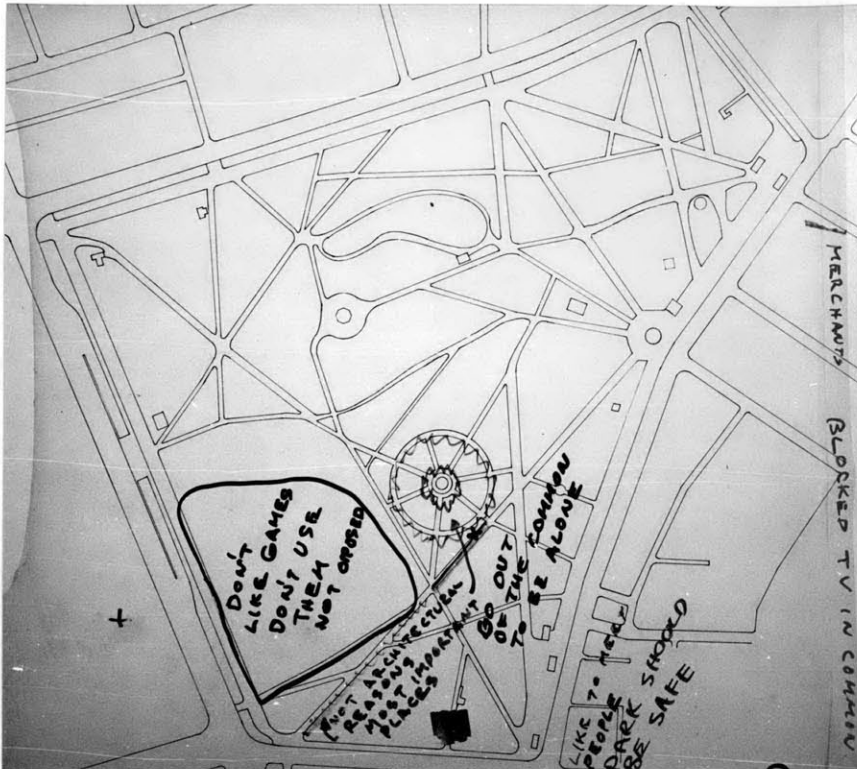


- 1 where do you come from?
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? NOT VERY OFTEN
- 3 why do you come here? TO WALK
- 4 where is your favorite place? I DON'T HAVE ONE
- 5 approximate age? 17
- 6 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? NONE
- 7 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
I CONSIDER A BENCH
- 8 do you usually talk to strangers? NO - SOMETIMES - ALL DEPENDS
- 9 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? ALL OVER
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? NOTHING
- 11 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
FORGET IT
- 12 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested?  
NOTHING

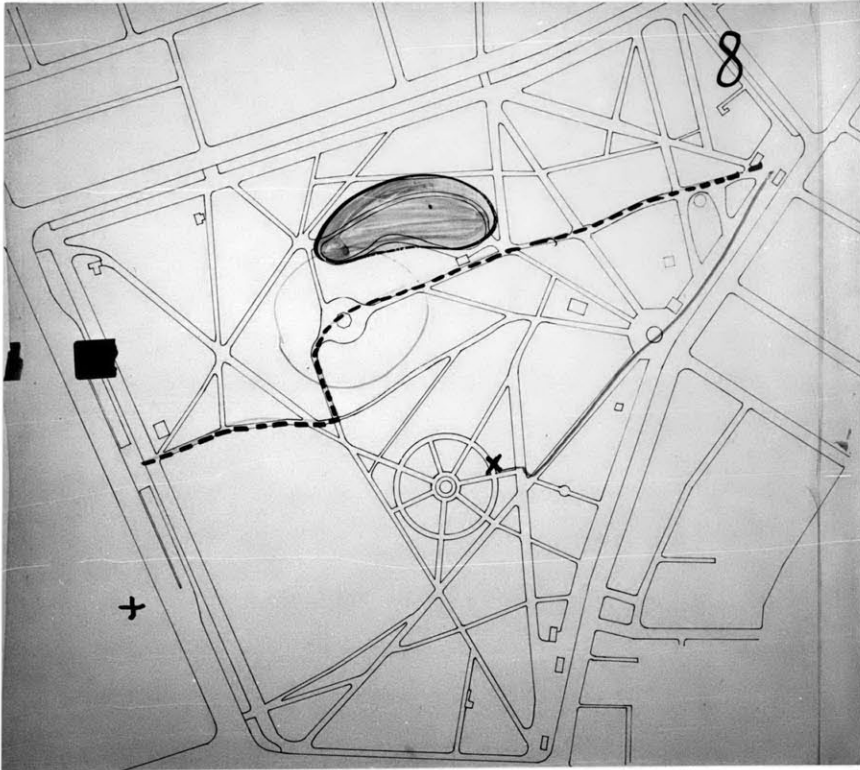




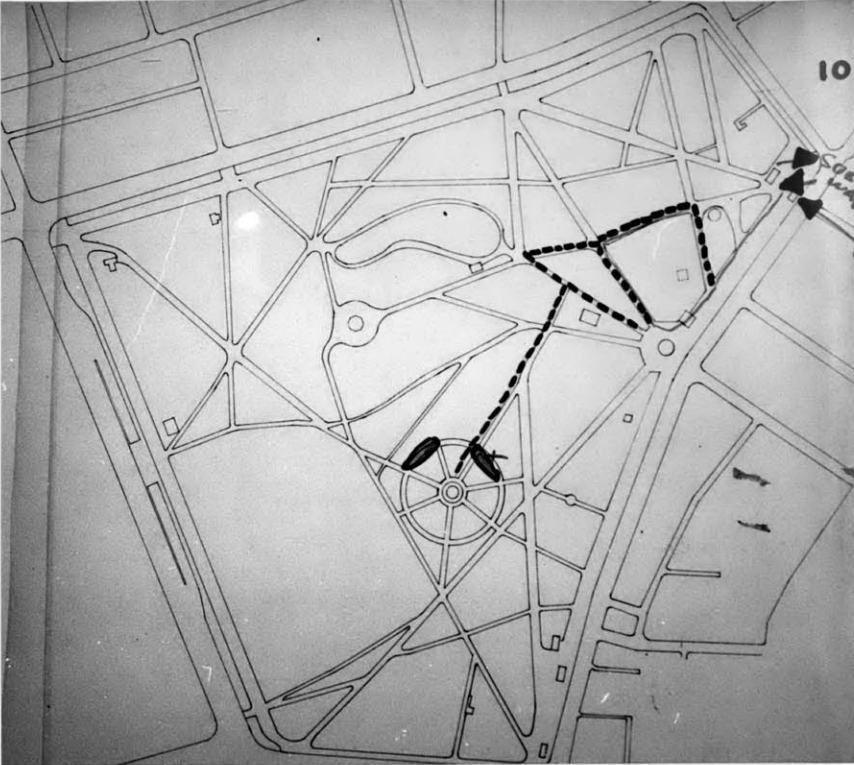
- 1 where do you come from? MALDEN
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? FIRST TIME
- 3 why do you come here? TO GET SOME FRESH AIR, RELAX
- 4 where is your favorite place? (locate on the plan) THE FOUNTAIN
- 5 approximate age? 60 (FEMALE)
- 6 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT  
(EXTREMELY)
- 7 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
FOR THE SUN
- 8 do you usually talk to strangers? IF THEY AREN'T DRUNK, IF THEY  
HAPPEN TO ASK ME ANYTHING TIME ETC.
- 9 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? AT MY AGE NOTHING IN PARTICULAR
- 11 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
WALK
- 12 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? WHO WOULD WANT TO BE  
ARRESTED?
13. other? GET RID OF DRINKERS, CLEAN IT UP BETTER, FIX THE WALKS



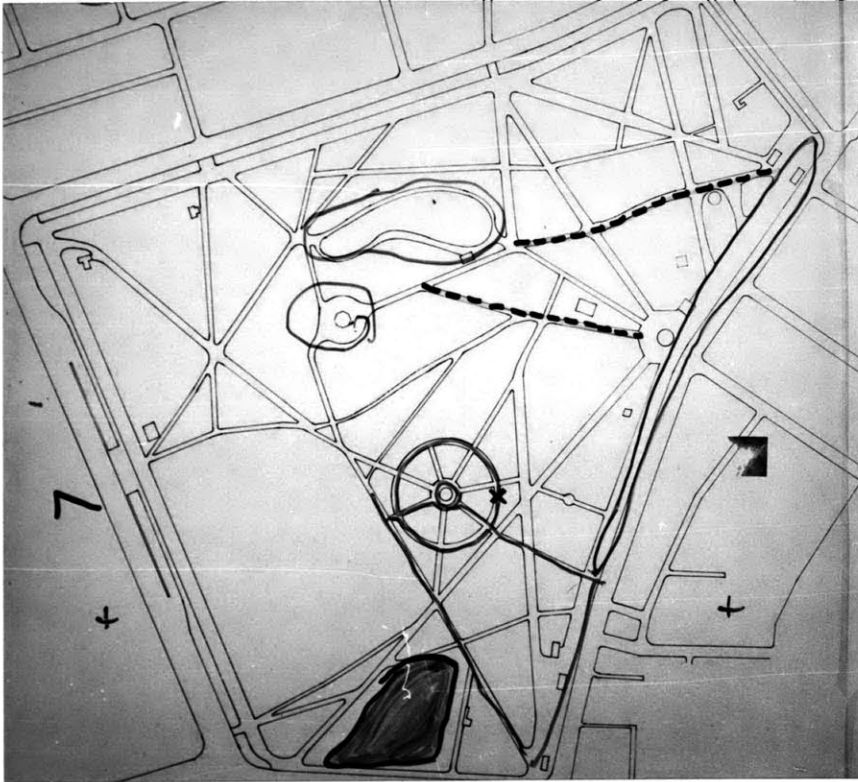
- 1 where do you come from? (HOME) BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? IN GOOD WEATHER TWICE WEEKLY
- 3 why do you come here? AIR, EXERCISE, COMPANY
- 4 approximate age? 65
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? BALANCED
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? YES
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? WHEREVER IT CHANCES
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an activity were made?
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there? WALK
- 11 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested?



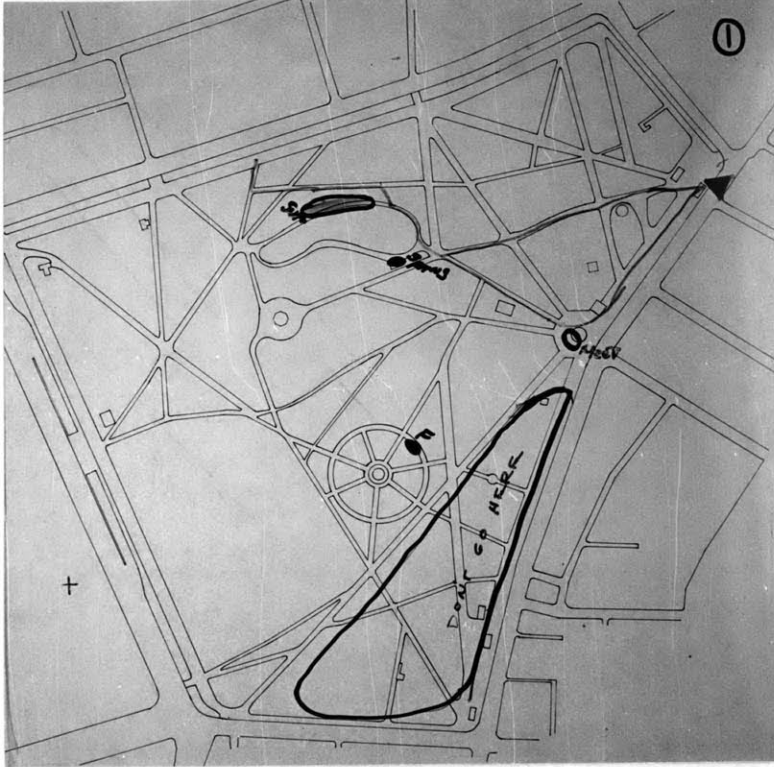
- 1 where do you come from? INTERSECTION OF FRANKLIN & FEDERAL STREETS
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? THREE TIMES A WEEK
- 3 why do you come here? FOR PEACE OF MIND
- 4 approximate age? 20 (MALE)
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
IS IT SHADY? IS THERE ANYONE AROUND?
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? NO
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? ROCK CONCERTS
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
READ
- 11 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested  
SMOKE GRASS



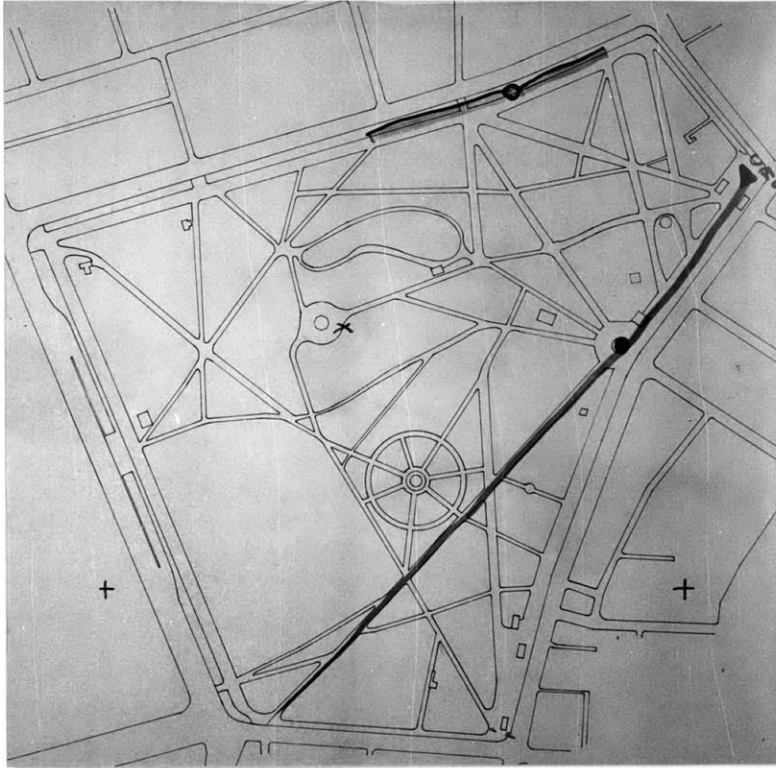
- 1 where do you come from? ESTABROOK & CO. 15 STATE STREET
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? ONCE A WEEK
- 3 why do you come here? USUALLY TO READ AT LUNCH-TIME
- 4 approximate age? 20 (FEMALE)
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? EXTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
ATMOSPHERE
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? NO
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? PLAY TENNIS
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
SUNBATHE OR READ OR EAT LUNCH
- 11 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? NOTHING



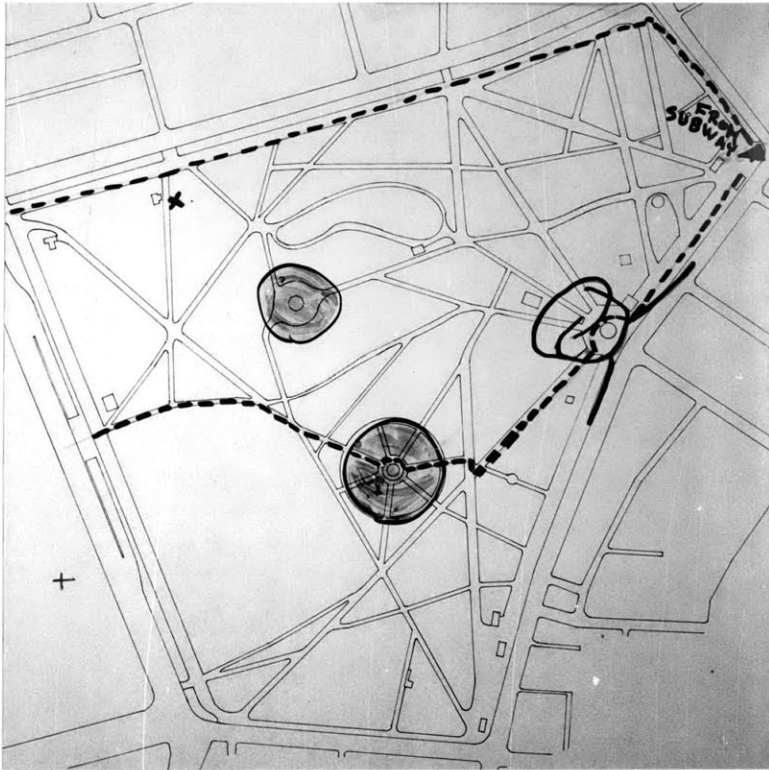
- 1 where do you come from? BOSTON, MALDEN - UNION (HOME)
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? EVERY DAY
- 3 why do you come here? TO SHINE SHOES
- 4 where is your favorite place? THE PLAYGROUND
- 5 approximate age? 9 (MALE)
- 6 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? EXTROVERT
- 7 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?
- 8 do you usually talk to strangers? YES
- 9 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? ANYWHERE  
NOT DRUNKS
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an activity were made? A SOCCER FIELD
- 11 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
SWIM, CLIMB TREES, STATUES
- 12 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? FIGHT, STEAL, DO  
ANYTHING. PLAY GANGSTERS & POLICEMEN, CARRY A REAL GUN WITH ME



- 1 where do you come from? OFFICE
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? FIVE TIMES PER WEEK
- 3 why do you come here? WALK
- 4 approximate age? 23 (MALE)
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? AMBIVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
SUN
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? NO
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an activity were made? DEEP POOL
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
SMOKE POT
- 11 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? SMOKE POT

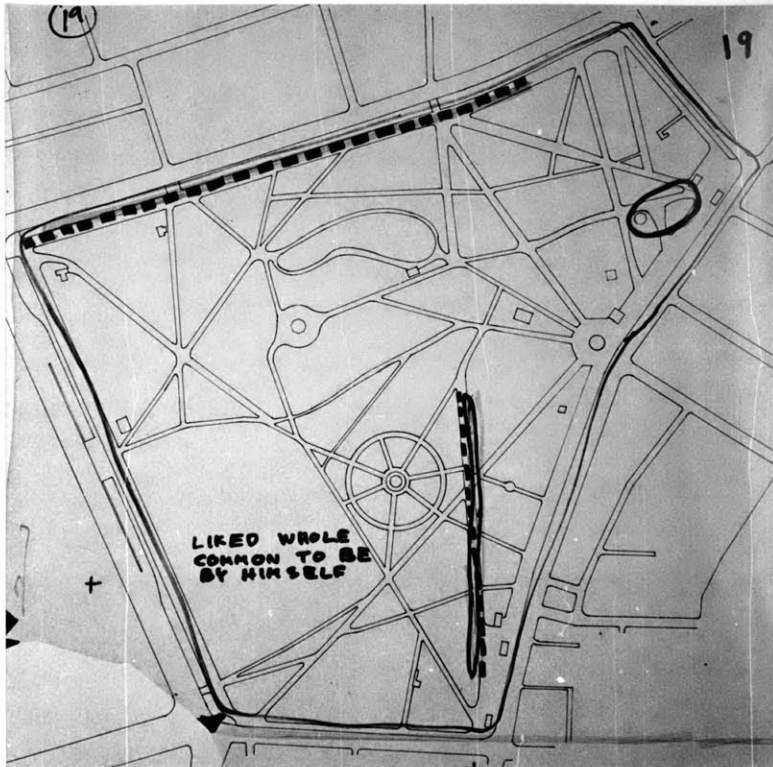


- 1 where do you come from? BRIGHTON (HOME)
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? ONCE EVERY 3 OR 4 WEEKS
- 3 why do you come here? LOTS OF PEOPLE, WATCH SOMETHING
- 4 where is your favorite place? SUN
- 5 approximate age? 40 (FEMALE)
- 6 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT  
(SITTING AND TALKING TO STRANGE WOMEN)
- 7 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
SOMETHING TO WATCH GOING ON
- 8 do you usually talk to strangers? YES
- 9 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? HERE, ANYWHERE
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made?
- 13 what should a park do to you? GIVE PLEASANT SURROUNDINGS, NOT BE  
BOTHERED
- 14 role NOT INCONSPICUOUS. PEOPLE WATCHER
- 15 do you have a yard? YES
- 16 adult playground DON'T WANT ONE, WANT SOMETHING SCENIC

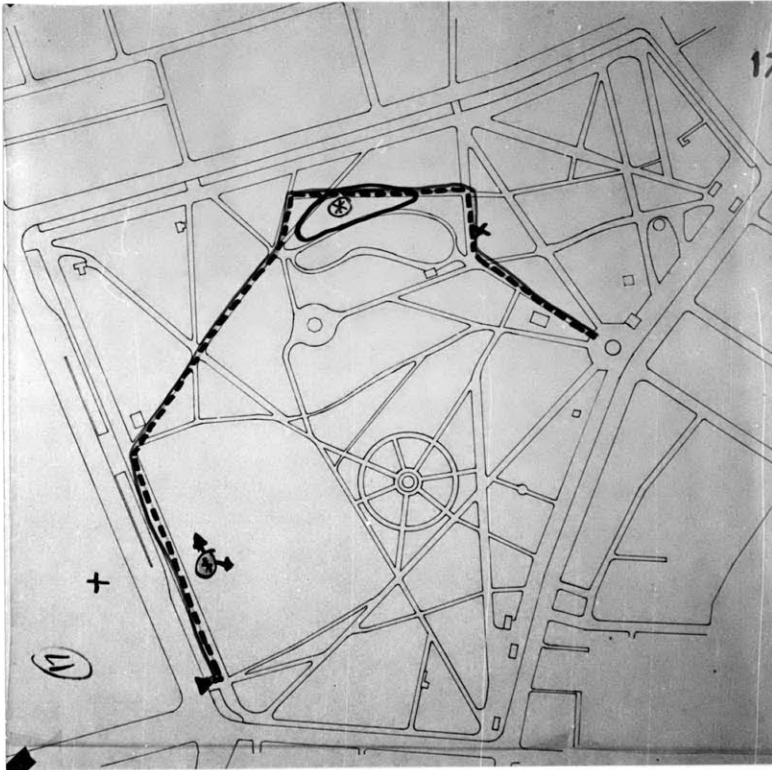


- 1 where do you come from? PRINCETON
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? ONCE A YEAR
- 3 why do you come here? IT'S BEAUTIFUL TO WALK
- 4 approximate age? 25 (MALE)
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? EXTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
NATURAL BEAUTY, ENVIRONMENTAL COMFORT
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? YES
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? BUSES,  
SUBWAYS, RESIDENTIAL. DEPENDS ON MOOD NOT AREA
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? ROW BOATS
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
MAKE LOVE
- 13 what do you think a park should do?
- 14 role MEDITATIVE, VERY VAGARIOUS, TALK TO PEOPLE
- 15 yard YES
- 16 adult playground PROMONADE, GOLF, TENNIS, INTERACTIVE SCULPTURE,  
BULLETIN BOARD

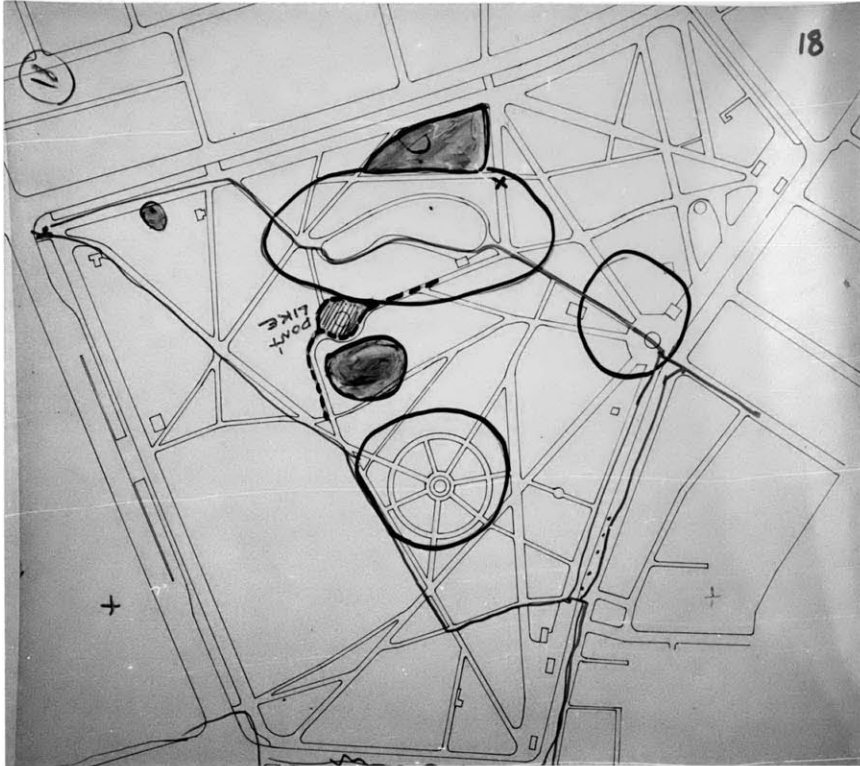




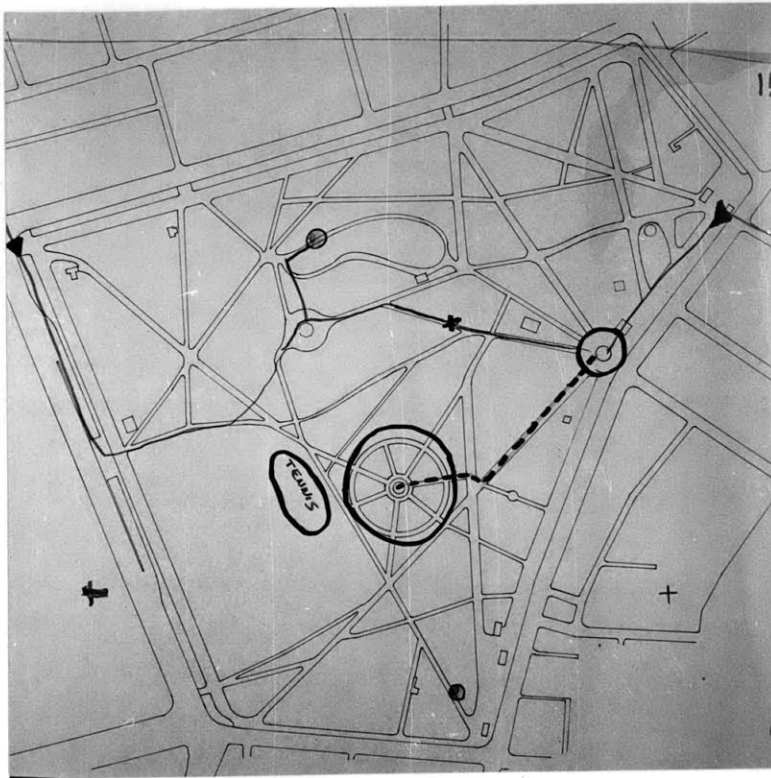
- 1 where do you come from? WALKING DISTANCE SOUTH END (HOME)
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? ALMOST EVERY DAY IN SUMMER
- 3 why do you come here? WELL TO TAKE THINGS EASY, SIT AROUND, TAKE WALKS, HELP PEOPLE ANY CHARACTER IS GOOD
- 4 approximate age? 69
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
READ, JUST SIT AND REST, MOST OF MY EXERCISE IS WALKING, DON'T PARTICIPATE. ALWAYS SOMETHING, CONCERTS, COWS, SPEECHES, SOMETHING TO OCCUPY MY TIME
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? QUITE OFTEN
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? STRANGERS THAT YOU MEET IN THE PARK, RESTAURANTS, BOWLING ALLEY AND IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an activity were made? USED TO HAVE CONCERTS
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
JUST SIT OUT IN THE AIR AND RELAX, DON'T FEEL ALONE
- 14 role TYPE THAT LIKES TO BE ALONE, NO ROLE AT ALL. NO SOCIAL CONTACT JUST CROWD CONTACT MAKES YOU FEEL THAT YOUR'E WITH PEOPLE
- 15 yard NO



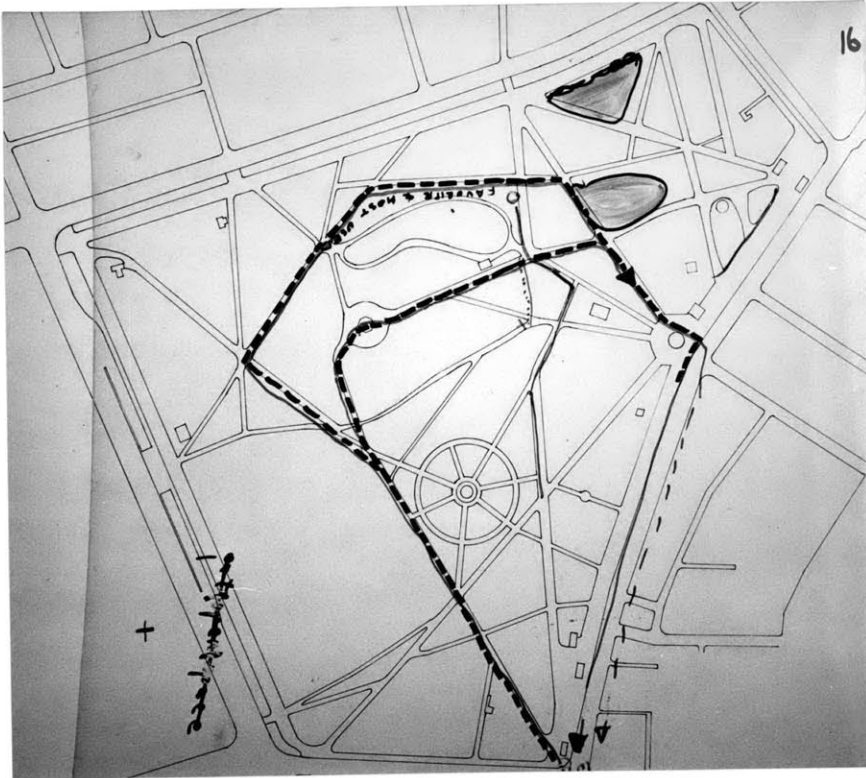
- 1 where do you come from? SOMMERVILLE
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? BI-MONTHLY
- 3 why do you come here? BECAUSE IT HAS NICE TREES
- 4 approximate age? 15 (MALE)
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? EXTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
COMFORT, SIT, REST, DIG SOUND OF RUNNING WATER
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? NO
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? CAMBRIDGE  
COMMON, NICE PEOPLE THERE
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? AGAINST ROCK CONCERTS OR COMMON. WOULD LIKE  
ART FESTIVAL, BALLET, PLAYS, PUBLIC CONCERTS
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
FLY KITES
- 11 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? GET HIGH
- 14 roles SUBDUED TAKING THINGS IN. SIT AND TAKE IN THE DAY
- 15 yard NO-BLACK TOP
- 16 adult playground SWINGS AND SLIDES



- 1 where do you come from? BEACON & ARLINGTON (OFFICE)
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? MORE THAN ONCE A DAY
- 3 why do you come here? PEOPLE-ITS NICE, ATMOSPHERE, PLACE TO RELAX  
OTHER PEOPLE ARE HERE, EVERYBODY LIKES TO BE AROUND PEOPLE
- 4 approximate age? 29
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
MORE PEOPLE IN THIS AREA THAN IN ANOTHER AREA
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? ALL THE TIME
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? THE GARDEN,  
MORE KEPT UP
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? DON'T SPOIL THE BEAUTY WITH COURTS
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
I WOULD WALK OUT OF IT
- 14 role NICE APPEARANCE, PROJECT IMAGE THAT EVERYONE IS EXPECTED TO FIND
- 15 yard NO



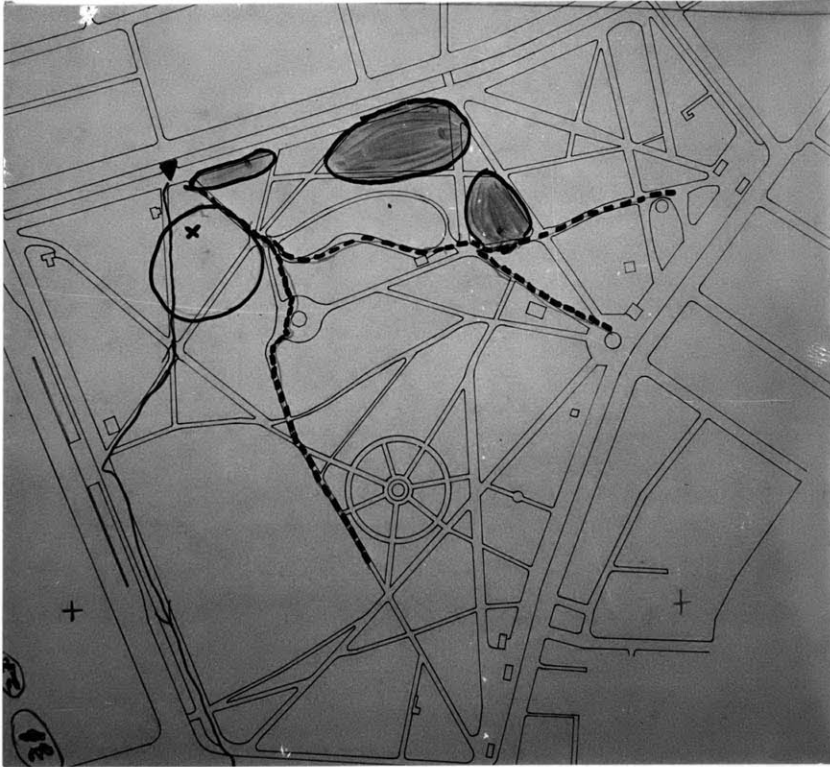
- 1 where do you come from? SOUTH END WALK TO COMMON. WORK AT WALDORF
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? EVERY DAY GOOD PART OF DAY
- 3 why do you come here? THINK, MEDITATE, RELAX
- 4 approximate age? 28
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT  
GOING TO EXTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
EMPTY BENCH OR GRASS NOT TOO FAR FROM PEOPLE BECAUSE I NEED PEOPLE AS  
MUCH AS PEOPLE NEED ME
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? YES
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? ALL OVER  
MOSTLY IN SLUMS OR WINE AREA. LIKE TO HELP PEOPLE
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? HELP SET UP SHELTER PROGRAMS FOR THE AREA,  
ART EXHIBITS, WITH DONATIONS. TENTS WITH PROJECTS FOR BLIND
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
PRAY, BE SPIRITUAL.
- 14 role SPIRITUAL HELPER
- 15 yard NO



- 1 where do you come from? A SHIP - IN CHARLESTOWN
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? 3 TIMES A WEEK
- 3 why do you come here? ONLY PLACE TO SEE PEOPLE AND THINK
- 4 approximate age? 22 (MALE)
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
SIT AND RELAX
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? NO
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? TO JOIN AND HELP THE THINGS BEING MADE
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
I DON'T KNOW
- 14 what do you consider your role? A LONELY PERSON
- 15 adult park SWIMMING, SPORTS ETC.

- 1 where do you come from? SOUTH CAROLINA
- 2 how frequently do you come here? FIRST TIME
- 3 why do you come here? NO OTHER PLACE TO GO
- 4 approximate age? 16 (FEMALE)
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? SAY HELLO
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? JUST WALKING  
ALONG
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? SWIMMING
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
RUN AROUND AND DO ANYTHING THAT CAME INTO MY HEAD, JUMP AROUND, THROW  
OFF MY CLOTHES
- 11 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested? SMOKE GRASS, TAKE  
CLOTHES OFF AND GO SWIMMING
- 14 role BYSTANDER, WATCHER
- 15 yard LIVES ON A FARM

1 where do you come from? HARTFORD, CONN.  
2 how frequently do you come to the common? 3 OR 4 TIMES  
3 why do you come here? FELT LIKE IT  
4 approximate age? 17  
5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? I DON'T KNOW  
6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
PEOPLE, SURROUNDINGS, A LOT OF TREES AND THINGS  
7 do you usually talk to strangers? YES  
8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?  
9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? I DON'T KNOW  
10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
I WOULDN'T COME  
14 role DON'T PLAY ANY ROLE  
15 yard YES



- 1 where do you come from? BEACON HILL
- 2 how frequently do you come to the common? EVERYDAY FOR 45 MINUTES
- 3 why do you come here? LOVELY PARK, FEEL FAIRLY FREE, SAFE, GUARDED
- 4 approximate age? 29
- 5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? EXTROVERT
- 6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
DOGS NEEDS, SHADE, SEAT FAR FROM OTHERS IF I JUST WANTED TO WATCH PEOPLE
- 7 do you usually talk to strangers? DEPENDS, DO NOT GENERALLY, OTHER  
DOG OWNER
- 8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do? IN THE PARK
- 9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? FLY A KITE, BADMITTEN, VOLLEYBALL
- 10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
WALK AND THINK. HALF OF THE CHARM IS THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES
- 14 role DOG OWNER
- 15 yard NO



1 where do you come from? DORCHESTER  
2 how frequently do you come to the common? EVERY SUNDAY  
3 why do you come here? JUST TO HANG AROUND  
4 approximate age? 16 (FEMALE)  
5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert? INTROVERT  
6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?  
I DON'T KNOW  
7 do you usually talk to strangers? NO  
8 where do you usually talk to strangers, when you do?  
9 what would you like to do in the common if provisions for such an  
activity were made? I DON'T KNOW  
10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?  
14 roles I DON'T KNOW  
15 yard SMALL  
16 adult playground I DON'T KNOW  
17 other PEOPLE ARE MORE FRIENDLY ON WEEKENDS

SUMMARY SHEET OF QUESTIONAIRES

1 where do you come from?

DORCHESTER  
HOME - WATERTOWN, MASS: WORK - JORDAN MARSH  
SOMMERVILLE  
2 NEW YORK  
SOUTH END  
HARTFORD, CONN.  
BEACON HILL  
SOUTH CAROLINA  
A SHIP IN CHARLESTOWN  
SOUTH END: WORK - WALDORF  
BEACON & ARLINGTON  
BOSTON: MALDEN: UNION - HOME  
BRIGHTON, MASS. (2)  
FRANKLIN & FEDERAL STREETS  
ESTABROOK & CO, 15 STATE STREET  
PRINCETON  
MALDEN  
OFFICE

2 how frequently do you come to the common?

EVERY SUNDAY  
ONCE A MONTH  
3 OR 4 TIMES  
EVERYDAY FOR 45 MINUTES  
2 FIRST TIME  
3 TIMES A WEEK  
EVERY DAY GOOD PART OF DAY  
MORE THAN ONCE A DAY  
BI-MONTHLY  
ITS OUR FAVORITE SPOT IN THE ENTIRE AREA  
ALMOST EVERY DAY IN SUMMER  
FOUR DAYS A WEEK  
ONCE A WEEK IN NICE WEATHER  
NOT VERY OFTEN  
EVERY DAY  
IN GOOD WEATHER TWICE WEEKLY  
THREE TIMES A WEEK  
ONCE A WEEK  
ONCE A YEAR  
  
FIVE TIMES PER WEEK

3 why do you come here?

JUST TO HANG AROUND  
TO RELAX OR TO KILL TIME PRIMARILY  
FELT LIKE IT  
LOVELY PARK: FEEL FAIRLY FREE, SAFE, GUARDED  
NO OTHER PLACE TO GO  
ONLY PLACE TO SEE PEOPLE AND THINK  
THINK, MEDITATE, RELAX  
PEOPLE, IT HAS A NICE ATMOSPHERE AND IS A GOOD PLACE TO RELAX  
BECAUSE IT HAS NICE TREES  
TO REST OUR BONES, EAT LUNCH, WATCH PEOPLE, JUST ENJOY  
WELL, TO TAKE THINGS EASY, SIT AROUND, TAKE WALKS, HELP PEOPLE  
(ANY CHARACTER IS GOOD)  
TO RELAX AND READ - USUALLY COME FOR 7-8 HOURS  
TO BE IN THE SUN; TO GET AWAY FROM A DORMITORY; TO WATCH ACTIVITIES,  
PEOPLE  
TO WALK  
TO SHINE SHOES  
AIR, EXERCISE, COMPANY  
FOR PEACE OF MIND  
USUALLY TO READ AT LUNCH TIME  
ITS BEAUTIFUL TO WALK  
TO WATCH SOMETHING (THERE ARE LOTS OF PEOPLE)  
TO GET SOME FRESH AIR, RELAX  
WALK

4 approximate age?

9 (MALE)  
15 (MALE)  
2 16 (FEMALE)  
2 17  
3 20 (FEMALE)  
2 20 (MALE)  
22 (MALE)  
23 (MALE)  
25 (MALE)  
28  
2 29  
40 (FEMALE)  
60 (FEMALE)  
65  
69

5 do you consider yourself an introvert or extrovert?

9 INTROVERT

7 EXTROVERT  
I DON'T KNOW  
INTROVERT WITH PERIODIC FITS OF EXTROVERSION  
NONE  
BALANCED  
AMBIVERT

6 what do you consider when you pick a place to stop in the common?

I DON'T KNOW  
PEOPLE, CLEANLINESS, ATMOSPHERE  
PEOPLE, SURROUNDINGS, A LOT OF TREES AND THINGS  
DOG NEEDS, SHADE, SEAT FAR FROM OTHERS IF I JUST WANT TO WATCH PEOPLE  
SIT AND RELAX  
EMPTY BENCH OR GRASS NOT TOO FAR FROM PEOPLE BECAUSE I NEED PEOPLE  
AS MUCH AS PEOPLE NEED ME  
MORE PEOPLE IN THIS AREA THAN IN ANOTHER AREA  
COMFORT; SITTING; RESTING; DIGGING SOUND OF RUNNING WATER  
LOOK FOR SHADE, PRIVACY, GRASS (THAT IS, THE GREEN SPOTS)  
READ, JUST SIT AND REST. MOST OF MY EXERCISE IS WALKING. DON'T  
PARTICIPATE. ALWAYS SOMETHING--CONCERTS, COWS, SPEECHES -- SOME-  
THING TO OCCUPY MY TIME  
A SPOT IN THE SHADE ON MY OWN  
SECLUSION  
I CONSIDER A BENCH  
FOR THE SUN  
IS IT SHADY? IS THERE ANYONE AROUND?  
ATMOSPHERE  
NATURAL BEAUTY, ENVIRONMENTAL COMFORT  
SOMETHING TO WATCH GOING ON  
SUN

7 do you usually talk to strangers?

9 NO  
5 YES  
DEPENDS -- DO NOT GENERALLY -- OTHER DOG OWNER  
SAY HELLO  
ALL THE TIME  
QUITE OFTEN  
YES, IF THEY'RE ATTRACTIVE  
NO -- SOMETIMES -- ALL DEPENDS  
IF THEY AREN'T DRUNK; IF THEY HAPPEN TO ASK ME ANYTHING -- TIME, ETC.

8 where do you usually talk to strangers when you do?

IN THE PARK

JUST WALKING ALONG

2 ALL OVER

THE GARDEN, MORE KEPT UP

CAMBRIDGE COMMON - NICE PEOPLE THERE

STRANGERS THAT YOU MEET IN THE PARK, RESTAURANTS, BOWLING ALLEY,  
YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

SOMEWHERE WHERE WE ARE MAKING MUTUAL OBSERVATIONS

WHEREVER IT CHANCES

BUSES, SUBWAYS, RESIDENTIAL AREAS. DEPENDS ON MY MOOD - NOT THE  
AREA

HERE, ANYWHERE

ANYWHERE, NOT DRUNKS

9 what would you like to do in the common if provision for such an  
activity were made?

2 I DON'T KNOW

LISTEN TO A GOOD CONCERT

FLY A KITE; PLAY BADMITTEN, VOLLEYBALL

SWIMMING

JOIN AND HELP THE THINGS BEING MADE

HELP SET UP SHELTER PROGRAMS FOR THE AREA, ART EXHIBITS WITH  
DONATIONS, TENTS WITH PROJECTS FOR BLIND

DON'T SPOIL THE BEAUTY WITH COURTS

AGAINST ROCK CONCERTS ON THE COMMON. WOULD LIKE ART FESTIVAL,  
BALLET, PLAYS, PUBLIC CONCERTS

SWIM, WADE, SLEEP OUT

USED TO HAVE CONCERTS

A BEER PARLOR

FRISBEE - ADULT FREE PLAY AREA

NOTHING

AT MY AGE NOTHING IN PARTICULAR

ROCK CONCERTS

PLAY TENNIS

ROW BOATS

A SOCCER FIELD

DEEP POOL

10 what would you like to do in the common if no one else were there?

WALK WITH A FRIEND, SUNBATHE, STUDY

I WOULDN'T COME

WALK AND THINK. HALF OF THE CHARM IS THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES

RUN AROUND AND DO ANYTHING THAT CAME INTO MY HEAD; JUMP AROUND;

THROW OFF MY CLOTHES

I DON'T KNOW

PRAY, BE SPIRITUAL

I WOULD WALK OUT OF IT  
FLY KITES  
SLEEP, SUNBATHE  
JUST SIT OUT IN THE AIR AND RELAX. DON'T FEEL ALONE  
I WOULDN'T BE HERE EITHER  
MAKE LOVE TO MY FIANCE, SUNBATHE NUDE  
FORGET IT  
2 WALK  
READ  
SUNBATHE OR READ OR EAT LUNCH  
MAKE LOVE  
SWIM, CLIMB TREES, STATUES  
SMOKE POT

11 what would you do if you couldn't be arrested?

WALK WITH A FRIEND, SUNBATHE, OR STUDY  
SMOKE GRASS, TAKE CLOTHES OFF AND GO SWIMMING  
GET HIGH  
3 SMOKE POT  
WOULDN'T BOTHER ME, I BEHAVE MYSELF  
BE FREE  
2 NOTHING  
WHO WOULD WANT TO BE ARRESTED  
FIGHT; STEAL; DO ANYTHING; PLAY GANGSTERS & POLICEMEN; CARRY A  
REAL GUN WITH ME

12 other

GET RID OF DRINKERS; CLEAN IT UP BETTER; FIX THE WALKS. PEOPLE ARE  
MORE FRIENDLY ON WEEKENDS.

13 what is your favorite place?

THE ASSEMBLY CIRCLE  
I DON'T HAVE ONE  
THE FOUNTAIN  
SUN  
THE PLAYGROUND

14 when you go to a play actors play roles on stage, in everyday life  
ordinary people play roles. What role do you think you play on the  
common?

I DON'T KNOW

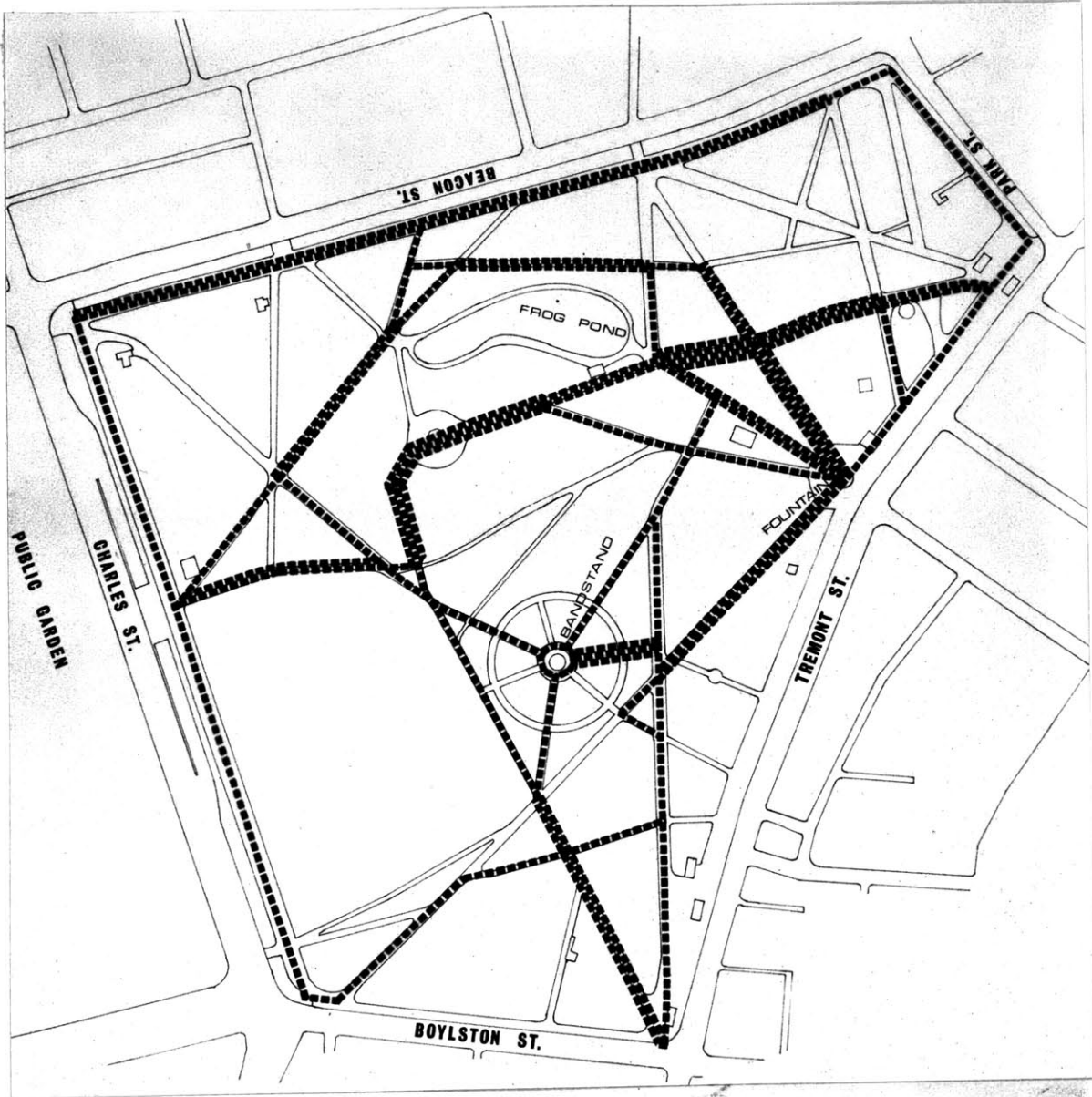
DON'T PLAY ANY ROLE  
DOG OWNER  
BYSTANDER, WATCHER  
A LONELY PERSON  
SPIRITUAL HELPER  
NICE APPEARANCE, PROJECT IMAGE THAT EVERYONE IS EXPECTED TO FIND  
SUBDUED TAKING THINGS IN. SIT AND TAKE IN THE DAY. TYPE THAT  
LIKE TO BE ALONE. NO ROLE AT ALL. NO SOCIAL CONTACT (JUST CROWD  
CONTACT MAKES YOU FEEL THAT YOU'RE WITH PEOPLE)  
MEDITATIVE, VERY VIGARIOUS. TALK TO PEOPLE  
NOT INCONSPICUOUS. PEOPLE WATCHER

15 do you have a yard?

SMALL  
3 YES  
4 NO  
LIVES ON A FARM  
NO-BLACK TOP

16 what do you think of when you think of an adult playground?

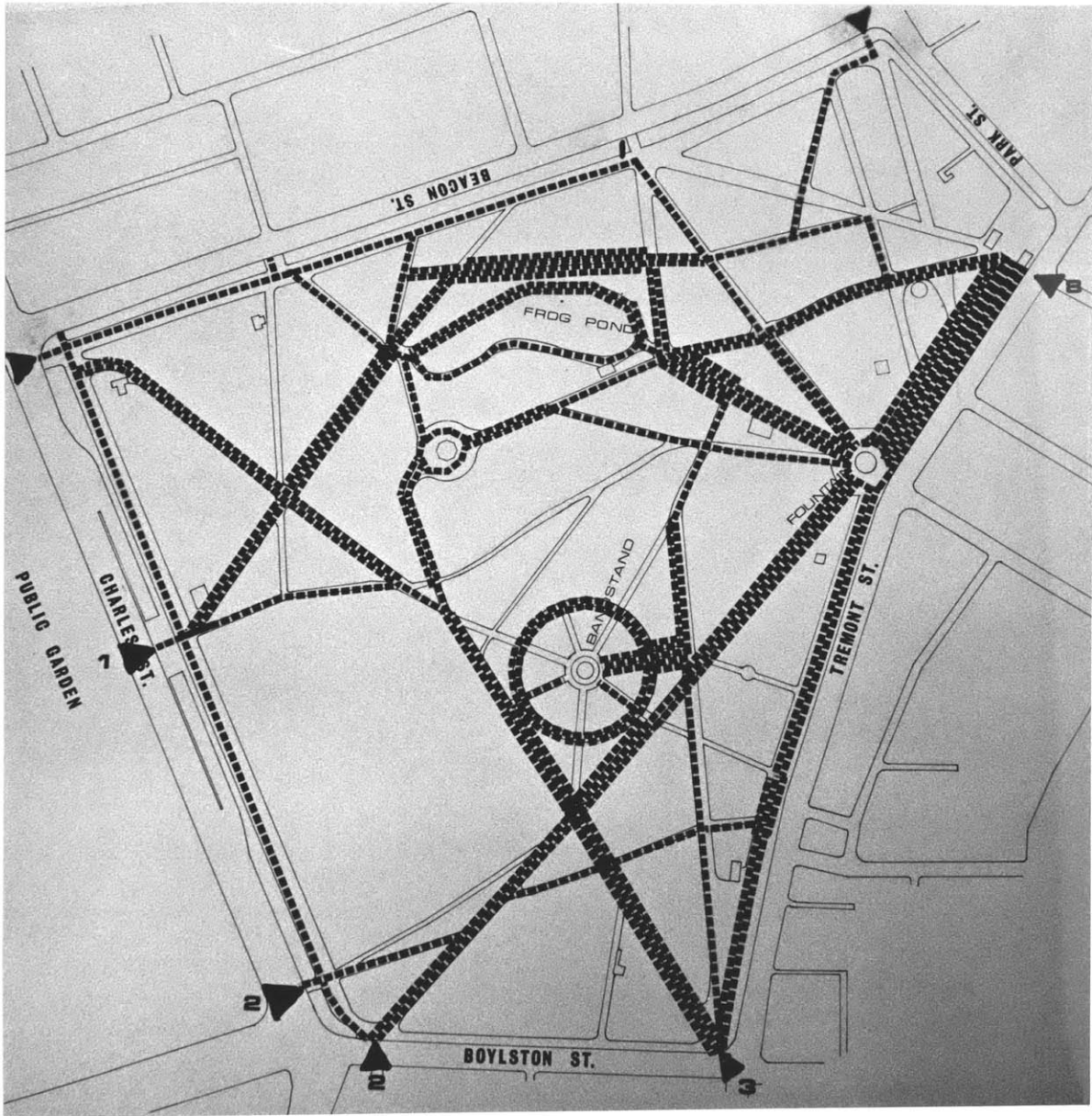
I DON'T KNOW  
SWIMMING, SPORTS, ETC.  
SWINGS AND SLIDES  
PROMENADE; GOLF; TENNIS; INTERACTIVE SCULPTURE; BULLETIN BOARD  
DON'T WANT ONE: WANT SOMETHING SCENIC



Summary Map 1

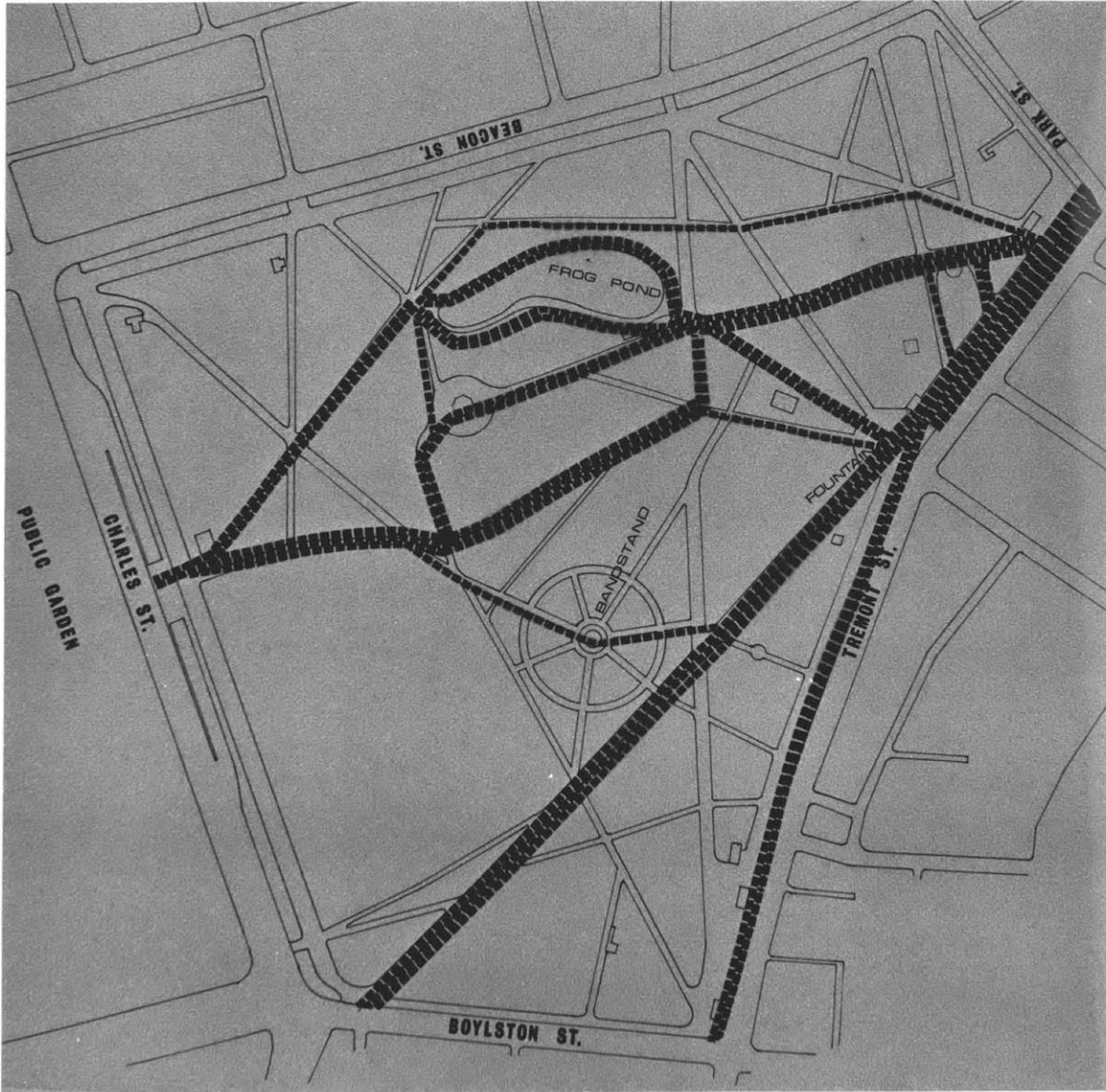
Map of the favorite paths as drawn by individuals. One line width indicates one choice.





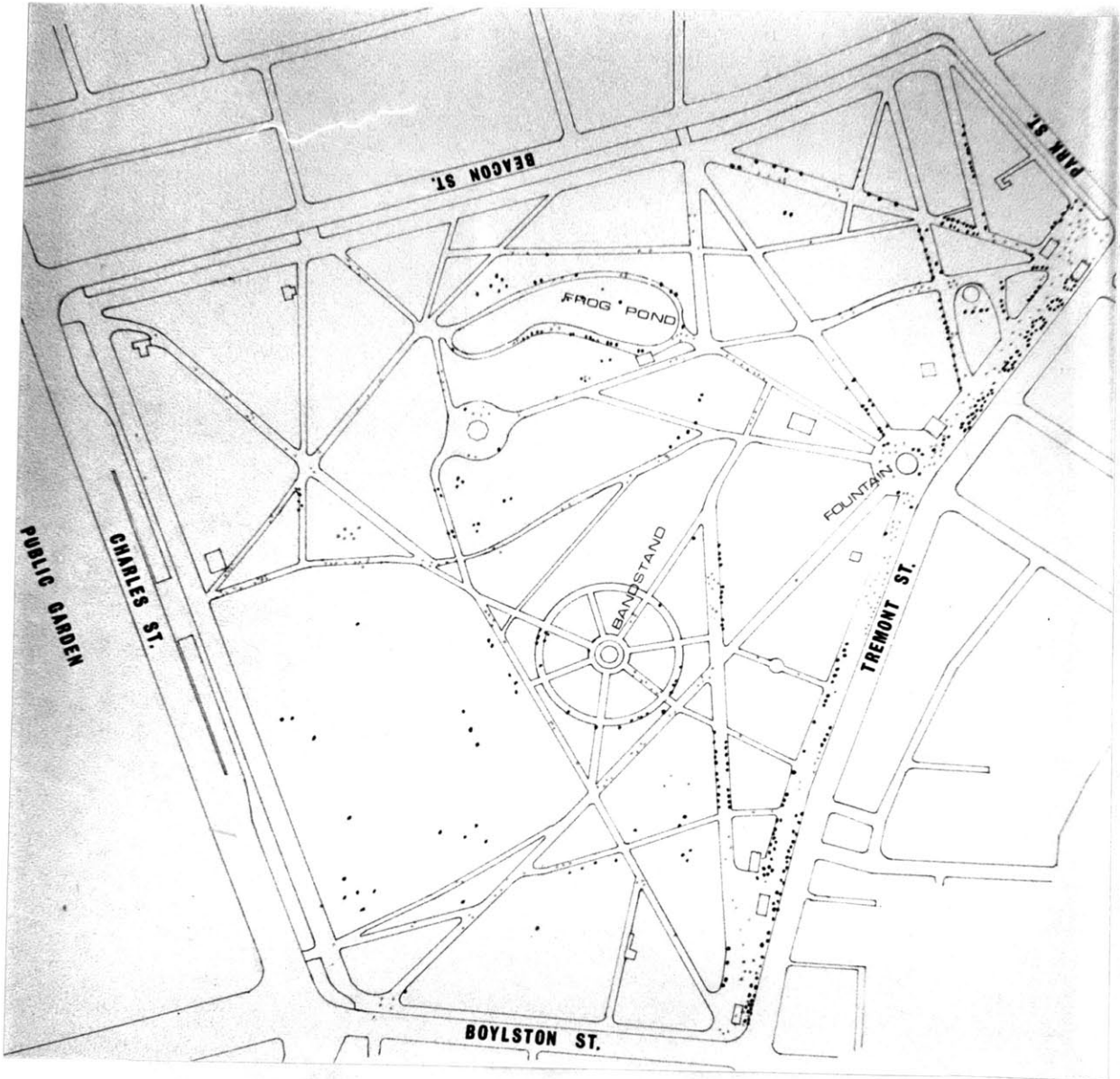
Summary Map 2

Map of the most used paths as drawn by individuals. One line width indicates one choice.



Map 3

Most used paths as observed by me.



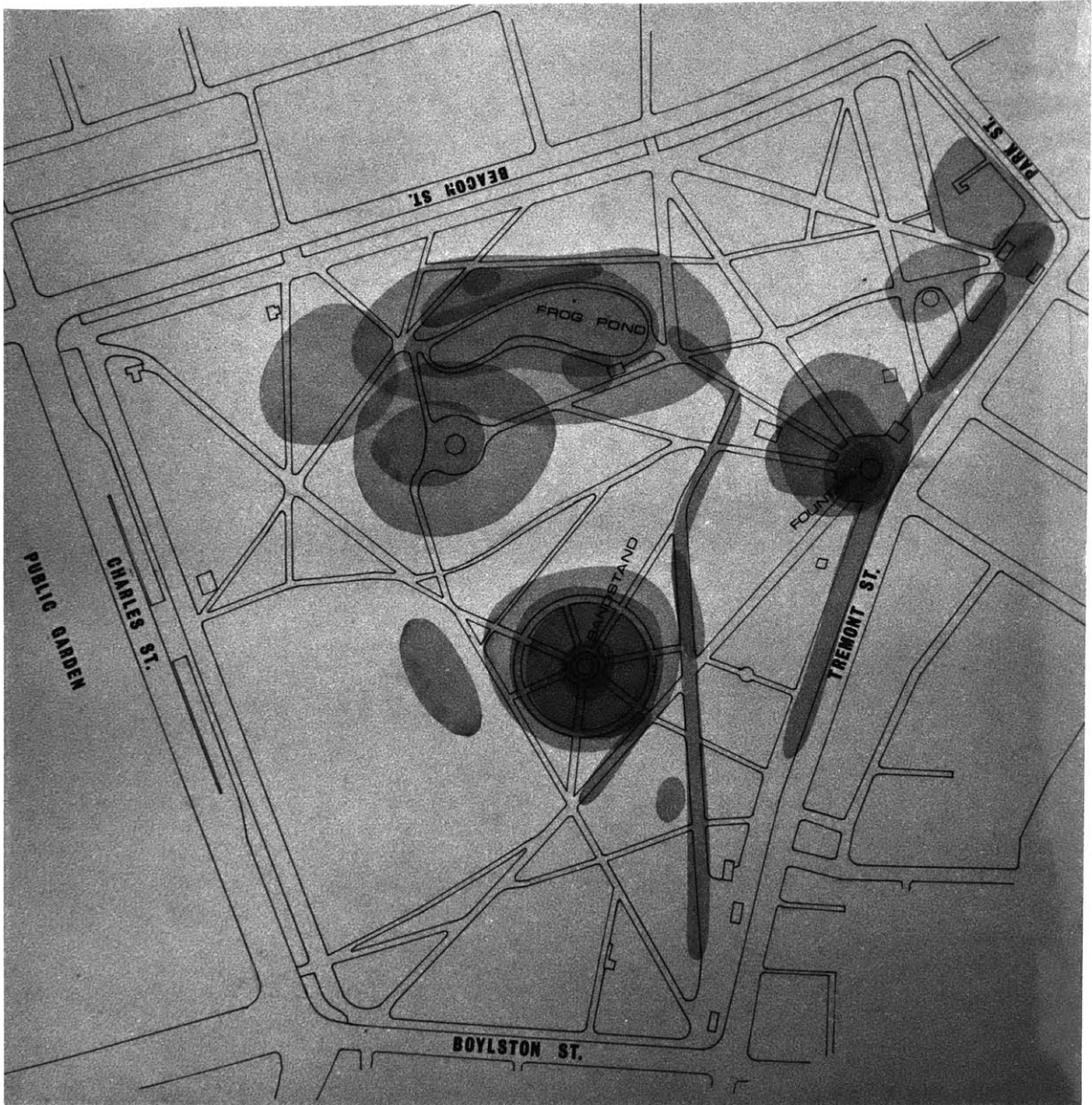
Map 4

Population as plotted on a Friday afternoon by just counting the moving people (light dots) and the seated people (dark dots).



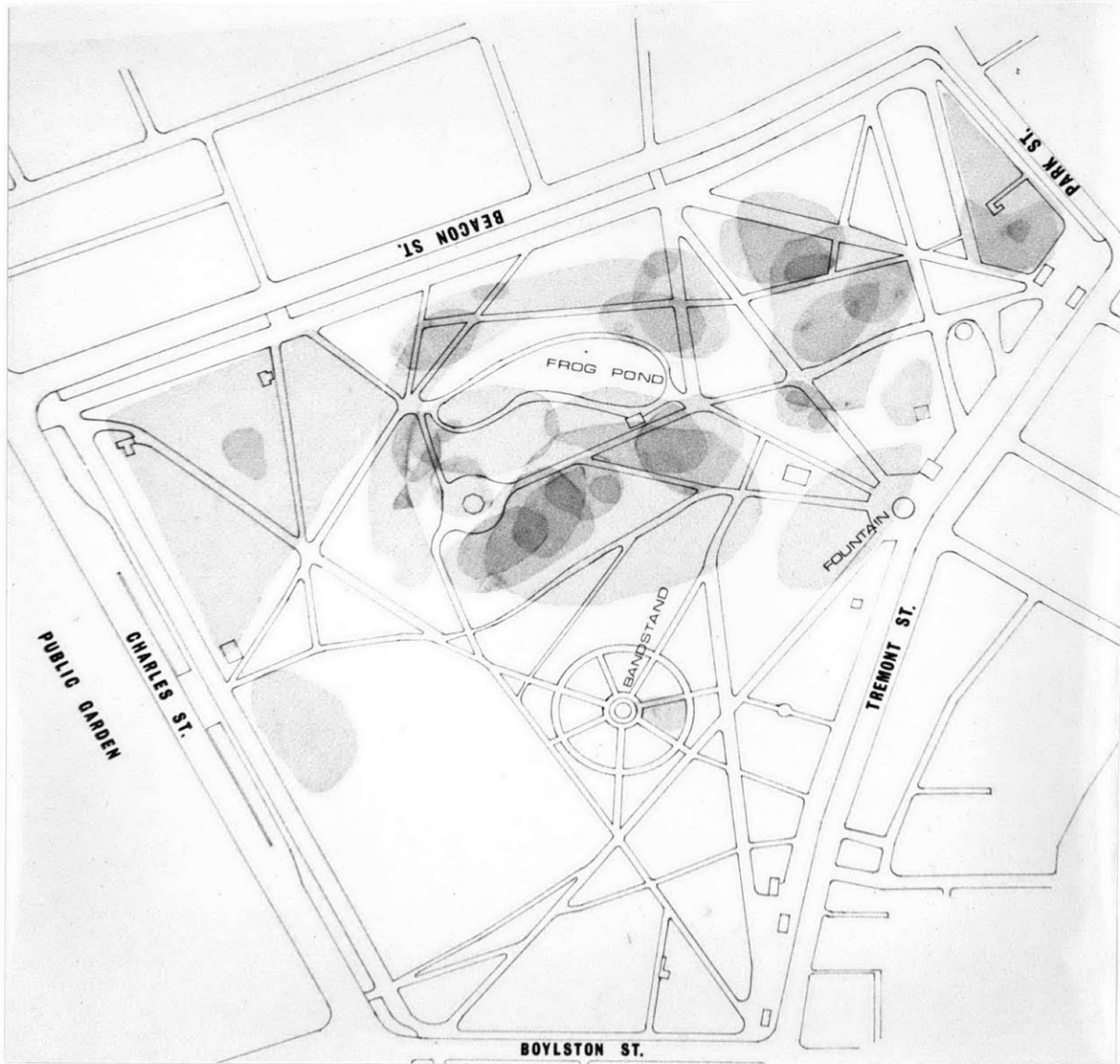
Summary Map 5

Map of the common showing areas circled in answer to the question: Where would you go if you wanted to be by yourself or feel privacy?



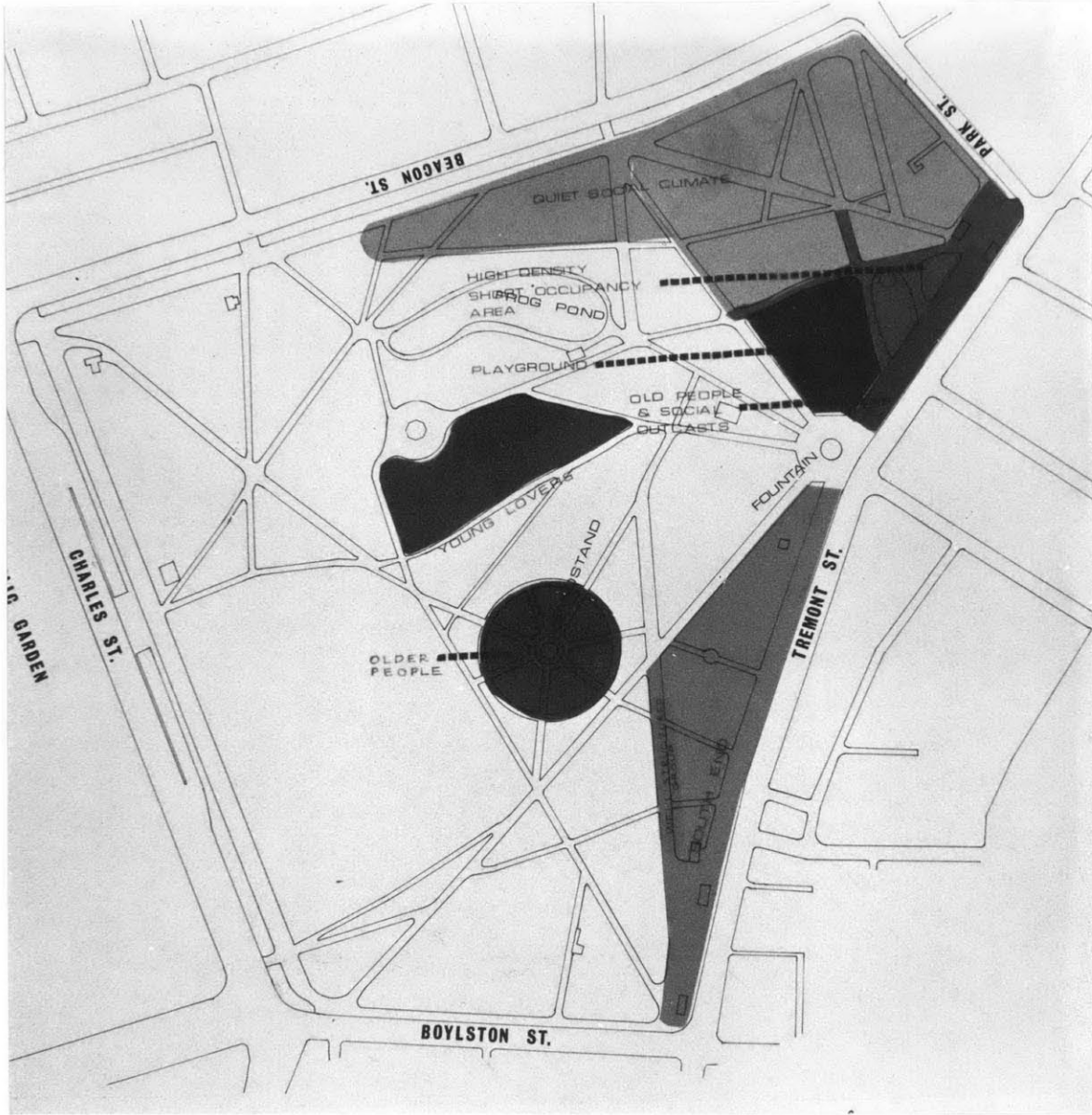
Summary Map 6

Map of the common showing areas circled to answer the question: Where would you go if you wanted to meet people? Each individual was given a clean overlay and answered both this question and the one on the following page.



**Summary Map 7**

**If you brought your own chair and weren't restricted to the benches, where would you sit? These are all the areas circled by the individuals. Each individual had a separate overlay so he was not influenced by others.**



Map 8

Outstanding sociological areas that I observed.

SEATING SURVEY

1 how close on a bench could another person sit before you felt uneasy?

3 3 FEET  
6 1 FOOT  
2 2 FEET  
1 1/2 FEET  
2 1/2 FEET  
4-5 FEET  
5 FEET  
5-6 FEET  
12 FEET  
IF HE DOESN'T BOTHER ME  
SAME BENCH  
THE OTHER END  
DOESN'T BOTHER  
ARMS DISTANCE

2 would you like to have a place more private than the benches on the sidewalk?

8 YES  
7 NO  
LIKE ON PATH  
LIKE TO SEE WHERE PEOPLE ARE MOVING  
BENCH BACK 5 FEET  
MAKES NO DIFFERENCE  
SOMETIMES  
NO, NOT IN THE PARK  
LIKE THE GRASS, YES.

3 do you like to sit directly on the sidewalk or would you somehow like to move the bench?

3 YES  
YES, LIKE TO WATCH PEOPLE GO BY.  
NO  
SIT ON BANK OF RIVER. NO.  
MOVE THEM OFF THE SIDEWALK. LIKE TO SEE PEOPLE BUT NOT RIGHT  
ON TOP.



LIKE TO SIT ON THE GRASS.  
BENCHES SHOULD BE BACK 8-10 FEET TO SEE PEOPLE  
MAKES NO DIFFERENCE.  
OFF SIDEWALK  
SIT ON LAWN  
OFF  
IT'S FINE  
LIKE SIDEWALK  
HAVE PLENTY OF SECLUSION  
SOME UNDER TREES  
SOMETHING BACK  
BOTH  
MOVE THE BENCH BACK

## APPENDIX

### An Experiment in Distances of Individuals.

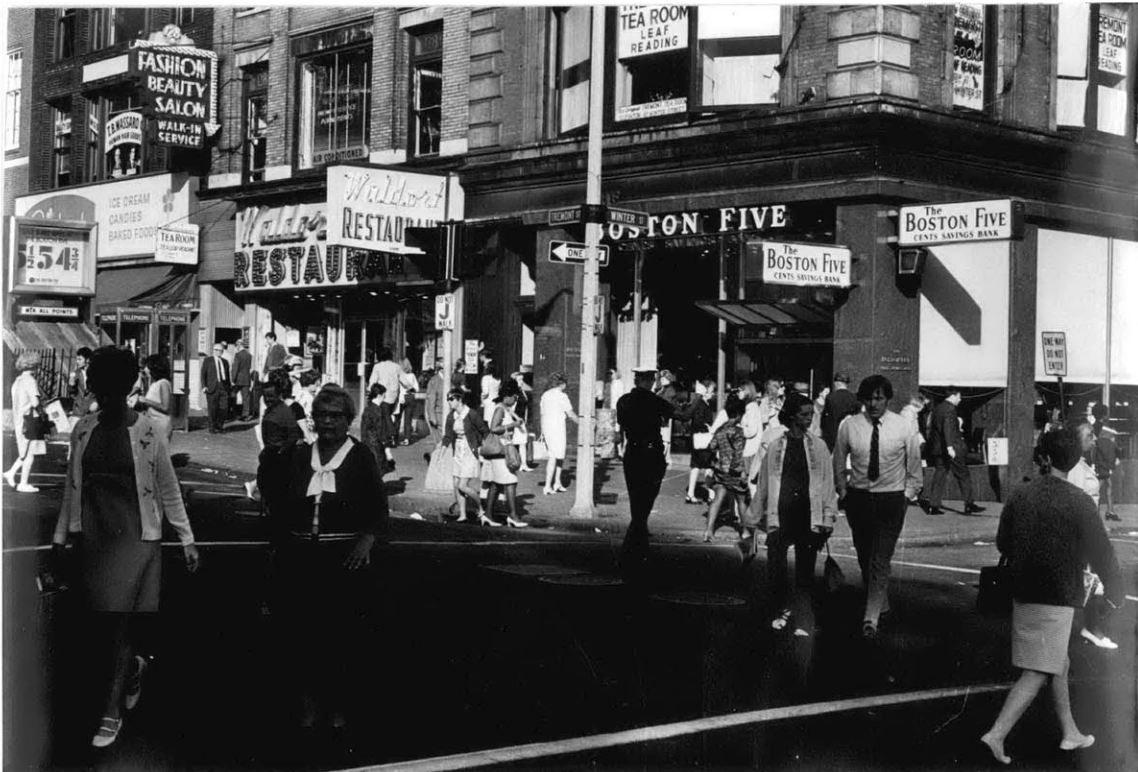
Recently, I did an experiment for an anthropology class at M.I.T. to test the presence of man's private zone. First I watched people come in the main door and travel under the dome, which is a large unrestricting space, and go through the doors to the main corridor. I noticed that each person followed a well defined straight path in which the subjects did not deviate more than 6" from a subtle line of granite in the floor. I then placed a large wooden box, the same size as a man, directly on center of the path. I then observed the distance that people passed the object and recorded an average of approximately 6". I then removed the box and substituted myself this time. I observed people passing me at an average of 18" while facing them, but pretending I was waiting for someone. When I turned with my side to them, most of the people would go in back of me passing at about a foot. The others that passed in front of me passed at a little over two feet. If I looked directly at them as they approached their deviation from the clear path started at approximately twice the distance as it did when I faced them, but looked at the floor or ceiling. The result was that a person carries with him a territory that is somewhat egg shaped that most people recognize as being a private zone. I then tested this further by standing in the hall which imposed a physical barrier to the oncoming person. As I got closer to the wall so that my territory squeezed them to the wall, the subjects would turn sideways and start bumping into the wall. When the distance between my shoulder and the wall was approximately 18", no one would pass on the wall side

anymore. All the subjects were strangers to me and were walking by themselves. This zone between strangers, although untested, may vary according to other physical constraints and postures of the individuals involved. For example, the zone behind a person might change if he is seated with the back of the seat "protecting" him and redefining the limits of the zone.



The rotunda and bench circle.

One of the main feeders to the common is Winter Street.





Tremont Street from the fountain to Park Street.

Tremont from the fountain to Boylston. (Note difference in people sitting.)





The most popular activity on the common: sitting and watching others.  
The Frog Pond is visually isolated from the city.





Some people use the grass. However, it is uncommon.

For some the common is a place to really relax.





The corner of Beacon and Charles Streets is now unused except by dog owners.  
A common sight on Sunday afternoon.







What does the common mean to a child?

Is this form really necessary?





Path joints attract commercial activities.

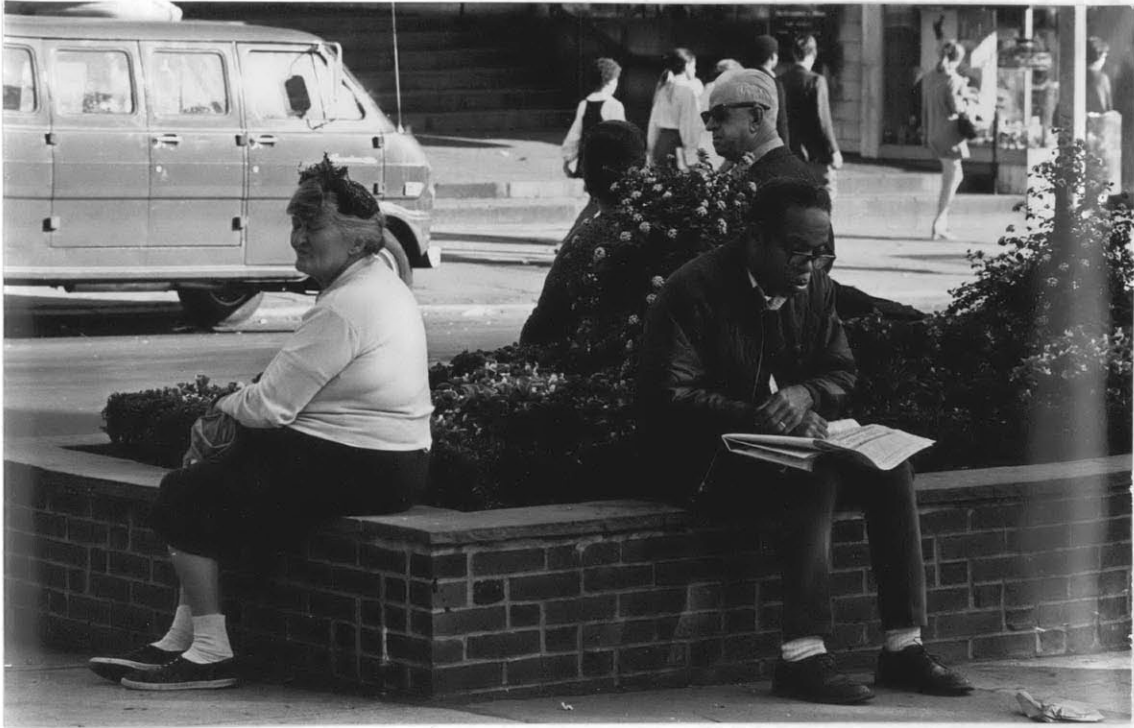




The bridge gives opportunity for an open view and chance encounter.

Demonstrations pack people in closely and involvement occurs between most members. The people in the center are most involved in the debate.





A sitting arrangement of a nonlinear element to avoid encounter.

Ends of linear seats leave half as much chance for someone to sit too close.





The Park and Tremont Streets corner is the center of circulation. People can always be found here.

A grey day left the playground unused.





Most children are accompanied by adults. Here the sidewalk is used for play as parents sit nearby.

General character of the common is flat with bench-lined sidewalks.





People often protect themselves from others by proper distribution of articles on the benches.





The graveyard is the most secluded place and gives a person an opportunity for discovery of foreign elements as a junk yard often does.





Pictures taken by participants of why they came to the Common.

