The Uniqueness of the Home

Rachel Sebba and Arza Churchman
Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning
Technion — Israel Institute of Technology
Haifa, Israel

Summary

This papers presents the results of a study of the relation between the home and territoriality. Residents (185 adults and children), owning apartments in high-rise buildings in an urban environment in Israel, were interviewed. Each member of each of the 45 families was asked to classify the areas and pieces of furniture in their homes in terms of whom it belonged to and to describe his/her behaviour and attitudes towards them. An open-ended question concerning the social and psychological needs that the home fulfils was also put forth to the residents. The results show that even when the dwelling unit is designed according to functionalist principles, its residents emphasized the dwelling unit's territorial aspects. These aspects might be summarized by the following: individual, shared, and public areas. The degree of control the inhabitant has over a particular area is a prime element in explaining his/her attitude towards it.

Résumé

Cet article présente les résultats d'une étude sur la maison et la territorialité. 185 habitants (adultes et enfants) vivant dans des appartements dont ils sont propriétaires dans des immeubles urbains en Israël ont été interrogés. On a demandé à chaque membre des 45 familles de l'échantillon de classer chaque aire de son appartement ainsi que le mobilier selon l'« appartenance » à un ou plusieurs membres de sa famille. Chacun a également pu s'exprimer à ce sujet. L'entretien se terminait par une question ouverte sur les besoins sociaux et psychologiques auxquels répondait l'appartement. Les résultats indiquent que, même dans un appartement conçu d'après les principes fonctionnalistes, les habitants sont surtout sensibles aux aspects de territorialité. Ceux-ci se répartissent en aires individuelles, communautaires et publiques. Le degré de contrôle que l'habitant exerce sur telle aire particulière est un facteur crucial pour comprendre son attitude générale à l'égard de sa maison.

1. Introduction

Since the architect, Le Corbusier, coined the phrase "the home is a machine for living" — thereby comparing the dwelling unit to a workshop tool, stressing the need for a balance between the various activities that take place there, and basing the plan on a rational order and economic logic — many architects have viewed the dwelling unit solely as a place for a system of activities. As a result, much of the research conducted on the dwelling unit has focused on an analysis of the activities within the unit, with the aim of fitting the dimensions to the human body, shorten-

ing distances, getting rid of "inefficient" space, improving the conveniences, etc. In contrast with this interpretation, some social scientists express the view that the particular meaning of the home does not stem from the activities that take place there, but rather from its social (Mead, 1949; Rapoport, 1968) and psychological meaning (Cooper, 1974).

The fact that over the centuries the home has in essence undergone few changes in spite of the many social and technological developments which have occurred, suggests that the continuity in the home's physical and societal character is not solely a function of the spaces needed for daily activities but is related to its psychological and social meaning. For example, Rapoport points out that "Very early in recorded times the house became more than shelter for primitive man, and almost from the beginning "function" was much more than a physical or utilitarian concept" (1969, 46).

2. Enquiry about the home

2.1. What indeed is the "function" of the home?

Convinced of the importance of this question, we posed it to 185 residents (90 adults and their 95 children) all of whom live in similar apartments in a middle class neighborhood of Haifa, Israel. We asked them what social and psychological needs the home fills above and beyond its function as a place where various activities take place.

The question was posed to each family member separately (a total of 185 respondents) on the assumption that the family is not a homogeneous unit and, therefore, no member can express the entire family's opinion. The question was open-ended, and respondents were free to mention as many needs as they wished. Analysis of the responses indicated that despite the general agreement among the

Table 1. *Social and psychological needs filled by the home — Answers by parental role and children's age group.*

Respondent Group Response Categories	Mothers N = 45	Fathers N = 45	Children ages 13-18 N = 27	Children ages 5-13 N = 68	Total N = 185
A. The home is the sole area of control for the individual	64.5%	82.2%	70.4%	72.1%	72.4%
B. The home is the most appropriate physical framework for the family	75.6%	53.3%	29.6%	36.8%	49.2%
C. The home is a place for self-expression	24.4%	40.0%	55.6%	17.5%	30.3%
D. The home gives a feeling of security	11.1%	17.8%	25.9%	50.0%	29.2%

respondents as to what needs the home fills, there were differences in evaluating the relative importance of these needs, and in emphasizing different aspects of them. (See Table 1). These differences were found to be related to the respondents' age and role in the family; thus the results of four main groups (mothers, fathers, older children [over 13 years old] and younger children [under 13 years old]) are presented.

As can be seen in Table 1, apart from the topic of control which is emphasized by all four groups, the family is emphasized by the mothers, self-expression by the older children and security by the younger children.

2.1.1. The home as the sole area of control for the individual

In general the home is the sole, exclusive area of control for an individual. It answers the need for a space of one's own, a space over which others have no jurisdiction. Since it is under the individual's control, the home permits the individual to act freely, to supervise others within it, to control the everyday routine, etc.

This aspect was most frequently mentioned by fathers and children, and second in frequency by mothers. The adults stressed the spatial control and the social supervision that the home affords its owners (e.g. "In my home I decide who comes and goes."; "In my home I decide upon the daily schedule."), whereas children stressed the freedom of behavior that the home affords them (e.g. "At home, I can eat whenever I want."; "At home I'm not ashamed to ask for what I want."; "At home I can run wild.").

2.1.2. The home as a physical framework for the institution of the family

The home is considered the most appropriate setting for bringing up children. The freedom of behavior that the home affords the family permits the parents to bring up their children according to their own values, and permits every family member to act naturally and express their emotions to each other. This aspect was the one mentioned most often by mothers, was second in frequency for fathers and third for the children.

2.1.3. The home as a place for self-expression

The home is the only place that the individual can change or maintain as the same. One organizes the home according to one's needs and tastes, and gives the home one's personal, unique meaning. One can express oneself freely in the home and can be oneself. While parents stressed the self-expression that is afforded by rendering the physical environment meaningful, children stressed that their self-expression is a consequence of the ability to act freely. This aspect was mentioned more often by the older than by the younger children.

2.1.4. The home gives a feeling of security to its owners

The feeling of security which the home affords the individual, in this context, is not a function of physical shelter but of permanency in the home. At home one knows the people and the customs; the social environment can be trusted and one knows what to expect. This feeling of permanency is not connected, according to the respondents, to the length of time of actual residency but to the knowledge that nobody can force them to leave. This aspect was mentioned more often by younger children than by parents or older children.

2.2. Control and Territoriality

Thus, the home fills the need of 72% of those interviewed to control a physical area; this control is a condition for freedom of behavior, for self-expression and for a feeling of security.

In professional literature, control over a physical area is considered under the heading of territoriality. The authors, Altman and Chemers (1980), comment on definitions of territorial behavior which they find include the idea of ownership or control over the use of a place or object. Lyman and Scott (1967) speak of territoriality as involving the attempt to control space. Proshansky, Ittelson and Rivlin define territoriality as "achieving and exerting control over a particular segment of space". They see it as a mechanism whereby the individual "can increase the range of options open to him and maximize his freedom of choice" (1970, 180).

In many recent studies one can find various modes of behavior under the heading of territorial behavior. Some writers relate territorial behavior to expressions of control over space (i.e. the freedom of choice and the freedom of behavior) (Proshansky, Ittelson and Rivlin, 1967). Some relate territoriality to personalization and self-identity (Cooper, 1974; Rapoport, 1968; Brower, 1965), or to social regulation (Altman and Chemers, 1980; Altman, 1975; Edney, 1976).

Other writers, however, have attempted to describe human territorial behavior in terms of animal territorial behavior, e.g.:

- encroachment and defensive reactions (Lyman and Scott, 1967; Goffman, 1971; Sommer and Becker, 1969);
- social rank order and dominant behavior (Esser, Chamberlain, Chapple and Kline, 1965; Esser, 1968, De Long, 1970).

The use of ethological terminology with reference to human territorial behavior (such as found in the works of Newman, 1972; Lorenz, 1966 and Ardry, 1966) has led to criticism from a number of quarters (Proshansky, 1973; Hillier, 1973; Rapoport, 1972). The objections raised by these critics stem from the general lack of clarity of the definitions of both territorial behavior and of "territory" itself, due to the fact that there have been very few empirical studies of human territoriality. Furthermore, those studies that have been made, have been based upon ethological concepts, terminology and research methods.
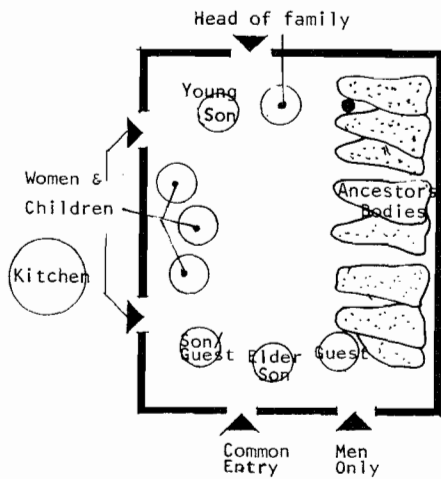
Rapoport (1972) argues that in the rush to apply ethological concepts to the study of human-environmental relations, many analyses have been oversimplified, so much so that the concept of "territory" was used abusively. He differentiates between the various kinds of territories, and suggests a territorial model with five components: home range, core area, territory, jurisdiction and personal distance. This model is an elaboration of the ethological model as mentioned by Roos (1968). Both of these models are based upon a division of the physical space, through which an individual habitually moves, into areas differing from each other in the degree of control which the individual has over them.

A behavioral typology of space is presented by Brower (1965) and by Lyman and Scott (1967) who divide space into areas which differ in the freedom of behavior possible there. Altman presents a classification of areas which he sees as parallel in some ways to the sociological classification of social groups. This classification of areas into primary, secondary and public territories "relates to individuals' feelings of involvement with and control over a place" (1980, 129).
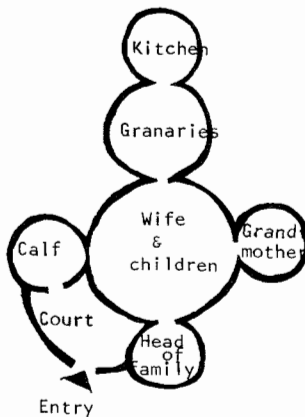
2.3. The home as a territory

As discussed above, the majority of our respondents see the home as the sole area of control for the individual. Thus it might be said that for them the uniqueness of the home lies in its being their territory.
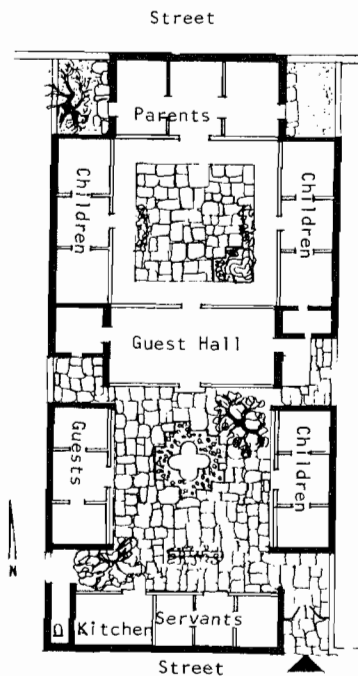
In our opinion the home can function as the individual's territory only if the individual has a defined area of space under his/her control. Viewing the home as the individual's territory is related to viewing the family as a group and the dwelling unit as a socio-spatial system with a spatial representation for each social component. Such representations are illustrated in Figure 1, which presents examples of the division of the dwelling as it existed in different cultures, time periods and technological levels. The three examples are essentially similar: in all of them the dwelling represents a socio-spatial system, or a space divided between people.

Head of family

Young Son

Women & Children

Kitchen

Ancestors Bodies

Son, Guest Elder Son Guest

Common Entry

Men Only

THE HOUSE IN TIKOPIA
(From Firth R.,
   "We the Tikopia",384)

Street

Parents

Children

Children

Guest Hall

Guests

Children

Kitchen   Servants

Street

PLAN OF A TYPICAL
PEKING HOUSE

Kitchen

Granaries

Calf

Wife & children

Grand mother

Court

Head of family

Entry

MOFOU FARM - CAMEROONS
(From Beguin, Kalt et al.,
   L'habitat au Cameroun, 19).

Fig. 1. The dwelling unit as a socio-spatial system.

Through our research we sought to examine whether the modern dwelling unit, designed according to the functionalist principles of the 20th century, could also be described as a socio-spatial system.

Our first hypothesis was that the home could be described as a territorial model; its physical space is divided clearly among the family members into individual, shared, public and jurisdiction areas. Each such territorial area would be characterized by behavioral and attitudinal expressions which are a function of the relation of the individual to the area, the physical and functional character of the area and the status and age of the individual to whom the area belongs.

Theoreticians point out that human territoriality expresses itself not only in behavior but also in a special attitude towards the place[1] and that in both instances there is more than one way of expressing it. Our approach to human territoriality is not an attempt to define parallels between human territorial behavior and the behavior of animals. Instead, we endeavored to test empirically the behavior and attitudes expressing human territoriality as it has been discussed by theoreticians.

2.3.1. The modes of behavior examined in this study were:

2.3.1.1. *Socio-spatial behavior.* One instance of this is the behavior of the individual who is in a given area with others and wishes to be alone. If the individual asks the others to leave, this is called *dominant behavior*. If he/she leaves the area, this is called *submissive behavior*. If he/she acts according to the circumstances, this is called *potentially dominant behavior*. This socio-spatial behavior is the expression of ownership of territory which is related to the social influence that the individual has in it over others (Altman, 1975; Wolfe and Proshansky, 1974). Each member of the family was asked what his/her socio-spatial behavior would be in each area of the dwelling. According to our hypothesis, dominant behavior should surface in the areas where one has control whereas submissive behavior surfaces in areas where one does not have control.

2.3.1.2. *Use of the area for optional activities.* We divided the activities within the home into two groups. One group represents the activities connected with the person as an organism — activities undertaken to satisfy basic, functional needs; while the other group represents activities related to the person as an individual and as a social being.

The dwelling unit which is designed according to the functionalist approach is geared mainly for activities of the first group; there are places assigned to sleeping, eating, washing up, cooking, laundry, storage, etc. As a result, most of these kinds of activities were found to be related physically to the plan of the dwelling, and residents have few options as to where to locate them. However, we feel that each family's desire to have a home of its own cannot be explained on functional grounds alone. Beyond these immediate, "survival" needs, there is "the need to be alone, to think out problems, to create, to engage in fantasy, to reconsider... to plan the next step". (Wolfe and Proshansky, 1974) and, of course, there are other social needs. The individual satisfies these needs by reading, concentrating on work, on hobbies, on homework, by playing, entertaining close friends, and etc. Since the design of the

---

1. This aspect of territoriality makes it impossible to rely solely on observations for the study of human territoriality.

dwelling does not link these activities to the dwelling plan, we hypothesized that the individual would perform these optional activities in the area where he/she has maximal control. We, therefore, asked our respondents to indicate the areas in which they prefer to perform activities such as reading, writing, playing, and etc.

2.3.1.3. *Behavior towards the area* (in the sense of cleaning and maintenance). We examined the areas of the dwelling that each individual cleans, on the assumption that cleaning and maintenance activities attest to control over the area. This aspect has not been mentioned in studies of human territoriality, except for Roos' reference to the type of control which he calls jurisdiction (1968). However, it is common for people to take care of the area which belongs to them (home, personal garden), and not to do so in other areas which they use (such as banks, supermarkets, schools).

2.3.2. The attitudinal expressions examined in this research were as follows:

2.3.2.1. Each respondent was asked to point out the place (or places) within the home which belong to him/her. Often, a given space becomes a "territory" because it belongs to a certain person (Parr, 1965; Edney, 1972; Brower, 1965). It should be noted that, in some empirical studies, ownership of a place solely represents territoriality (see Rosenblat and Budd, 1975; Altman and Haythorn, 1967).

2.3.2.2. Each respondent was asked to identify the place (or places) within the home which expressed himself/herself. This component relates to the personalization of the area, as defined by Rapoport (1968), Cooper (1974) and Edney (1972).

2.3.2.3. Each respondent identified the place (or places) within the home in which he/she felt able to do as he/she pleased without being disturbed. Freedom of choice within the territory helps the individual to satisfy his/her wants (Proshansky et. al., 1967), to obtain privacy (Altman, 1975), and to work without being disturbed (Edney, 1976).

The second hypothesis was that the social and physical characteristics of the individual's primary territory[2] effect whether or not the home functions as the individual's area of control, in other words, whether it affords the opportunity to exert control over action and behavior and reflects his/her identity, tastes and standards.

3. Method of research

The research was carried out in a middle-class neighborhood of Haifa, Israel. The sample consisted of 45 families of two to four children, who live in high rise apartments almost identical in size and design (as illustrated in Figure 2). All the families owned their apartments, as is common practice in Israel. The apartment size chosen for study ($65 m^2$) is considered modest by Israeli standards, and, given the family size, somewhat crowded. As can be seen in Figures 2 and 3, the apartment contains a living room, terrace, two bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom and a "service" balcony. The living room (whose area is greater than 1/3 of the total apartment area) connects the entrance, the kitchen and the other parts of the apartment. The terrace

---

2. We use the term primary in the sense of the most exclusive territory that the individual has – when he/she has the maximum amount of control relative to the other territories.

is the sole source of light and air for the living room, and therefore cannot be completely closed off from the living room, even when it is used for sleeping (as in Figure 2). The two bedrooms can both be closed off but they differ in size.

Structured individual interviews were conducted with every member of the family (including children above the age of five); a total of 185 interviews were con-

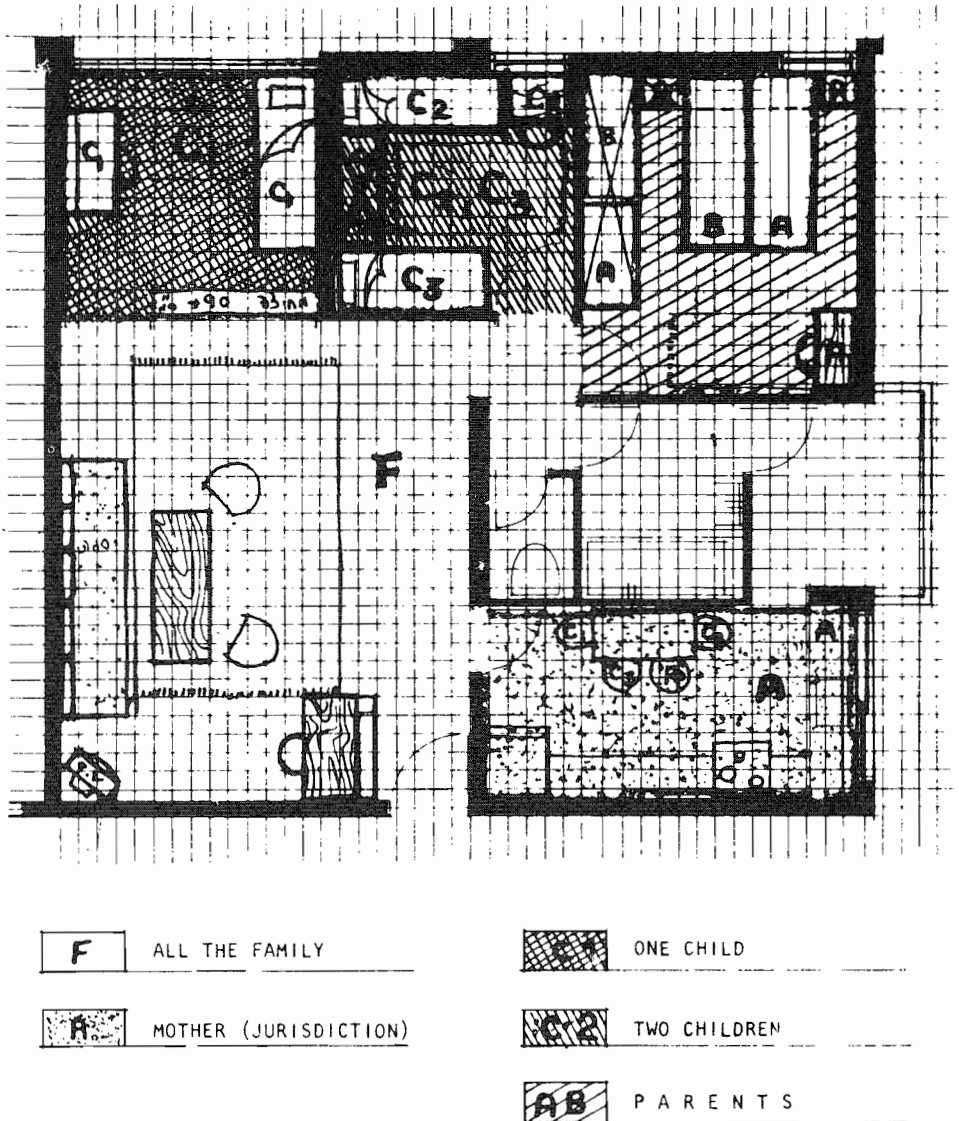| F | ALL THE FAMILY | | C1 | ONE CHILD |
| R | MOTHER (JURISDICTION) | | C2 | TWO CHILDREN |
| | | | AB | PARENTS |

Fig. 2. The division of the apartment among the family members.

ducted. Each family member was asked to classify each area and piece of furniture in terms of to whom it belonged, and to describe his/her own behavior and attitudes according to the components listed above. In addition to this, all of the furniture in the apartment was mapped. An example of the mapping of the areas and furniture of the apartment can be seen in Figure 2.

This figure is meant to present the research apartment as a socio-spatial system, by showing how each area of the apartment is organized and to whom it belongs. Knowing the social and physical character of each area enables us to explain the behavior in the apartment and the attitudes towards it and its parts.

4. Results

We wished to describe the dwelling unit: a) as a functional system which reflects the location of the basic activities of the family (sleeping, eating, etc.); b) as a socio-spatial system which reflects the division of physical space among family members. The examination of these basic activities indicated that all the families use the apartment in the manner set down by the plan (see Table 2). This situation is an illustration of how residents, in apartments of this size and type of plan, are left with virtually no choice as to how to organize themselves in a different manner. Only the terrace is used in a manner not intended by the architect, and data presented below support our conclusion that the residents pay for this use with considerable discomfort.

Table 2. The dwelling unit as a functional system (use of rooms for basic activities).

Rom / Activity	T_0	B	S	K	R_2	r_1	T	LR
No. of rooms	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45
Ablutions		45						
Bodily functions	45							
Laundry			1	44				
Dish washing				45				
Food preparation			1	44				
Daily meals				44				1
Formal entertaining								45
Sleep					45	45	25	
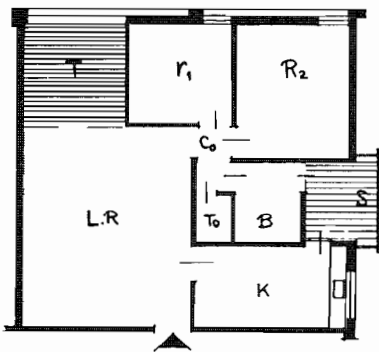
In terms of the socio-spatial system, the apartments were found to be divided into three kinds of areas: those which belong to the whole family (public areas); those which belong to a sub-group within the family — parents or siblings (shared areas); and those which belong to individuals (individual areas).

Figure 3 presents a summary picture of the distribution of the types of territories occurring within each room.
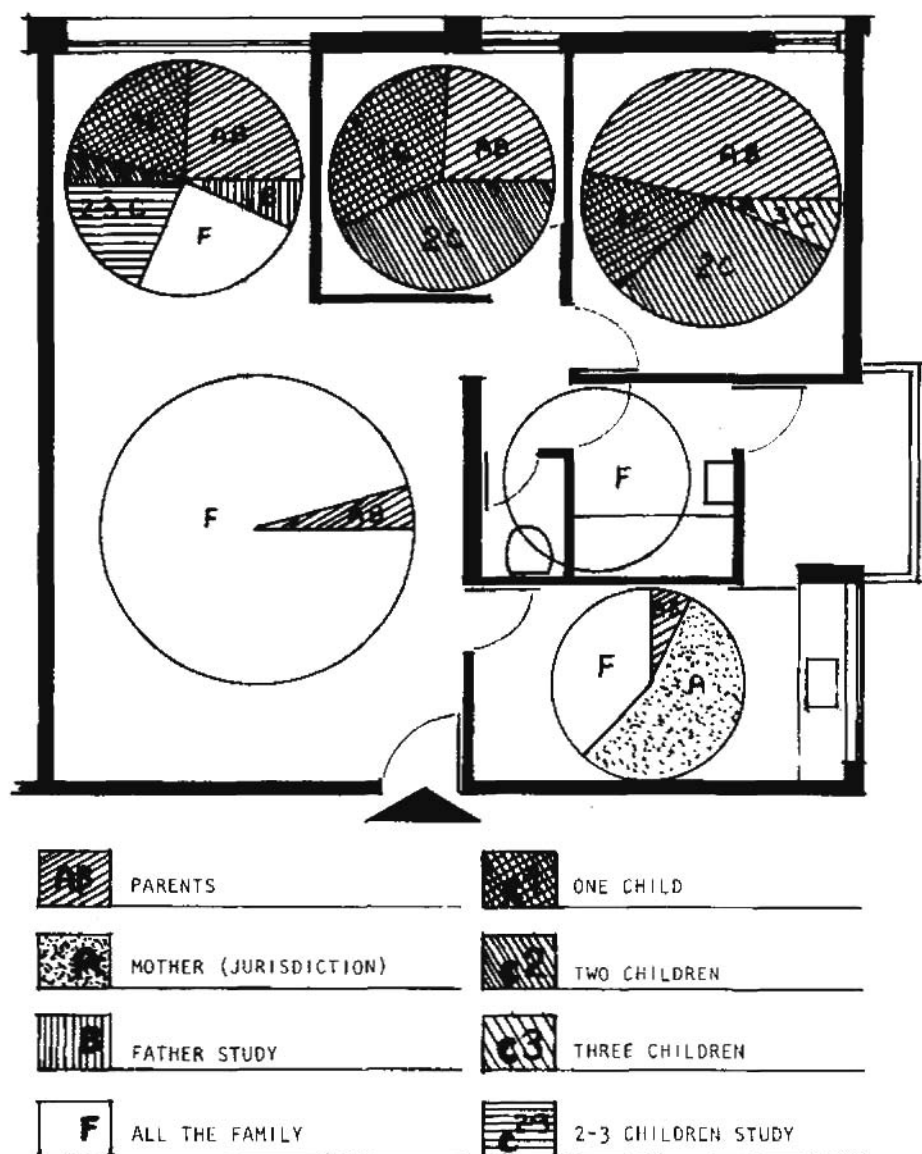

Fig. 3. Types of distribution of territories in each room.

The description of the apartment as a socio-spatial system was found to be similar for all family members; that is to say, within each family, all the respondents gave the same answer to the question of whom each area belongs to. (This observation fits the definition of a territory as a place that has agreed-upon ownership). Only in 3 families was there some disagreement, as some mothers stated that the kitchen belonged to the whole family, and the rest of the family said that it belonged to the mother.

All of the areas that were used exclusively by particular family members were recognized by the whole family as belonging to them. (All the bedrooms and some of the terraces were included in these areas). Almost all the living rooms (96%) were classified by our respondents as belonging to the whole family. We feel that this strong consensus is related to the fact that the living room cannot be closed off at all, since it serves as a passage-way between different parts of the apartment. The bathroom area (used by the whole family – but in turns) was defined as belonging to the whole family.

As for the kitchens, despite the fact that their physical and functional character was similar in all cases, and despite the fact that in 98% of the families each person had a permanent place to sit – only 38% of the kitchens were classified as belonging to the whole family. 55% of the kitchens were said to belong to the mother, and 7% to the parents. It seems that the physical character of the kitchen as a place which can be separated from the public area allows its territorial classification to be related to the behavior within it.

While mapping out the apartment as a socio-spatial system, we allowed for the possibility that a given room could be divided into a number of territories (i.e. the children's bedroom could be divided into two areas by a tangible or an imaginary boundary line). However, all the respondents defined whole rooms only as areas of control[3], and within the rooms, only particular pieces of furniture were defined as belonging to individuals, couples or two children or the family. Thus the ownership definition was only given to areas with clear, identifiable boundaries or to objects. The variables which were found to be related to behavior within the home were:
- the socio-spatial division of the apartment;
- the number of persons sharing a primary territory (the most private area which an individual has);
- the partitions of the primary territory;
- the size of the shared primary territory.

4.1. The socio-spatial division of the apartment

The data indicate that the division of the apartment among the family members relates to all of the behavioral and attitudinal variables for the children, and at least part of them for the adults. Figure 4 contains a chart of the actual and potentially dominant behavior within the different areas of the apartment. It is clear from the figure that for all the respondent groups, the bedroom is the place where social dominance is at its peak. As the kitchen is often an area of jurisdiction for mothers, this accounts for their relatively high incidence of dominance.

---

3. The one exception was where two children had divided their room into two "equal" parts. This case caused many fights because the window was in one half and the door in the other.
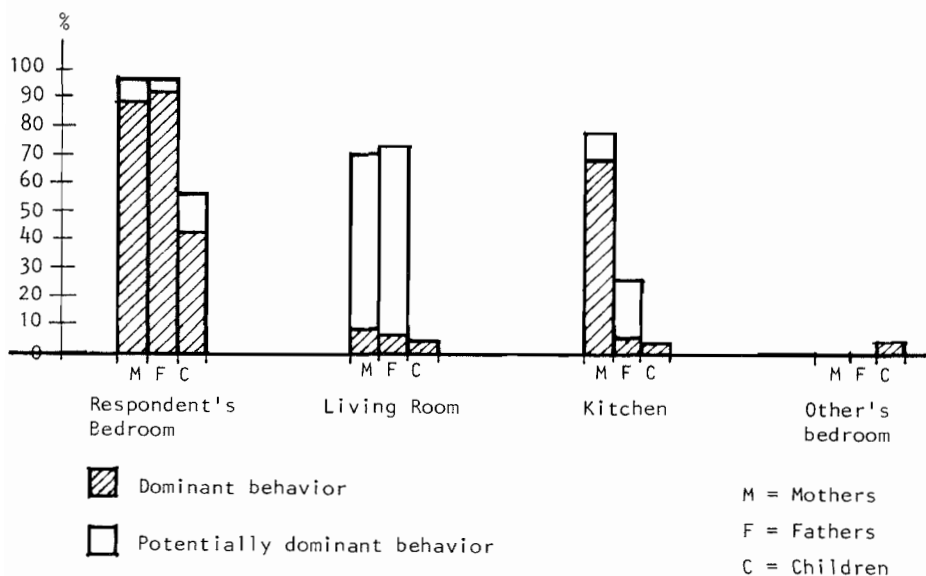
Fig. 4. Dominant and potentially dominant behavior in the apartment (by respondent group).

The majority of children use their bedroom for optional activities (from 75%-95%, depending on the activity), and a smaller number (56%-63%) use the living room in addition. Examination of Tables 3 and 5 shows that children whose bedroom conditions are more favorable prefer to concentrate their optional activities in the bedroom rather than in the living room.

The percentage of children participating in cleaning their own room was 77%; but only 20% participated in cleaning the living room, 13% — the kitchen and 5% — their parents' bedroom.

With regard to the attitudinal variables, we found that the nature of the room which functions as the primary territory has implications for the attitude towards the whole apartment. Both children and adults who could not find peace and quiet in their own room said that there was no place in the home where they could do as they wished without disturbance. Children who did not identify their bedroom as belonging to them said that there was no place in the home that belonged to them. Those children (50%) who did not feel that their bedroom "expressed" them, said that no place in the home "expressed" them.

The fact that we found the socio-spatial division of the apartment to be accompanied by particular behavioral and attitudinal patterns supports our hypothesis that the dwelling unit can be described as a territorial model. Within this territorial model, the areas which belong to individuals or pairs function as primary territories (that is to say as areas in which control in all its expressions is at a relative maximum as compared to control in the rest of the dwelling). When we relate this to the respondent's answers presented at the beginning of this article, we can assert that the main function of the home — as the sole area of control for the individual — is essentially fulfilled in the part of the home which can be classified as a primary territory.

4.2. The number of persons sharing a primary territory

The question of the number of persons sharing an area is an important factor for territorial classification. The implications of the number of persons sharing a primary territory can only be examined in this study among the children since the adults surveyed were exclusively in a two-per-room situation. (In their primary territory there were either 1, 2 or 3 children per room).

All of the dependent variables of this study were found to be related to the number of children in the room. In all respects, an increase in the number of children in the room lessened the child's degree of control within it (see Table 3). Given the small number of instances of three children per room, it is impossible to draw definite conclusions with regard to them, although the data are quite suggestive. However, there were significant differences between single and double room occupants, both in terms of socio-spatial behavior and in terms of attitudes. It should be noted that these differences were not the result of differences of age and sex between the children in the different rooms.

Table 3. Expression of control within the area according to number of children per bedroom.

Expressions of Control	Number of children per room 1 N = 35	2 N = 54	3 N = 6
Dominant or potentially dominant behavior in the bedroom	94%	35%**	17%
Entertains friends only in the bedroom	54%	39%	0
Reads only in the bedroom	57%	26%*	17%
Does homework only in the bedroom	97%	65%*	33%
Plays only in the bedroom	80%	24%**	0
Participates in cleaning the bedroom	92%	46%**	0
Feels that the room belongs to him/her	100%	4%**	0
Feels undisturbed in the room	83%	15%**	17%
Feels that the room represents him/her	80%	26%**	0

* χ^2 significance level between 1 & 2 child/room. $p < .01$ df = 1, comparison.
** χ^2 significance level between 1 & 2 child/room. $p < .001$ df = 1, comparison.

4.3. The partitionment of the primary territory

The model apartment of this study has a terrace linked to the living room, which in some cases had been transformed to serve as a bedroom for either the parents or for a child. As the terrace provides the sole source of light and fresh air for the living room, it is impossible to build a solid partition between the two. According to our research, those who slept on the terrace were less likely to feel a sense of control in their primary territory than were those who slept in a room. This

difference was manifest in a number of the dependent variables. Table 4 presents comparisons between the responses of parents sleeping on the terrace and those of parents sleeping in a room (of whatever size); and between the responses of children sleeping singly on the terrace and of children sleeping singly in a room (of whatever size).

Table 4. Expressions of control within the area by bedroom type.

Respondent Group by Bedroom Type / Expression of Control	Parents N = 90		Children N = 35	
	Room N = 66	Terrace N = 24	Room N = 25	Terrace N = 10
Dominant in their bedroom	100%	62%**	88%	70%
Feels undisturbed in the room	61%	12%**	92%	60%
Feels that the room represents him/her[1]			92%	50%
Feels that the room belongs to him/her	27%	4%*	100%	100%

[1]This was a response given only by the children.
 * χ^2 significance level   p < .05   df = 1.
** χ^2 significance level   p < .001   df = 1.

The data indicate that the feeling of control of both parents and children was affected in a situation where their primary territory could not be closed off entirely. It is important to note that parents who were not dominant in their own bedroom were also submissive in the public areas of the apartment, while parents who were dominant in their own bedroom were at least potentially dominant in the public areas. Thus the structure of the bedroom's partitions is related to the behavior in the whole apartment. For children this rule applied to all of the other variables; if their bedroom did not have a particular quality for them, neither did any other part of the home. Although all of the children sleeping on the terrace said their bedroom belonged to them, 50% also added "a terrace can't really be called a place". 96% of the parents sleeping on the terrace said that there was no place in the home that belonged to them.

4.4. The size of the primary territory

The model apartment studied herein included two bedrooms similar in character, location and orientation, but different in size. (10.2 m² and 6.8 m²). Both room sizes functioned as shared territories for parents and for two children and as individual territories for one child (see Figure 3). The size of the room was not found to be a factor related to the feeling of control for an individual in his/her single room or for the parents in their shared room. However, when two children shared a room, its size was a factor (see Table 5). In the smaller room (6.8 m²) the children found it difficult to divide the space between them. In cases where there was no partition between the children in a shared room, the overlapping had effects on the amount of space available for their activities, the degree of mutual interference which occurred, and their ability to keep the room clean, etc.

Table 5. *Expressions of control or lack of control within the area according to room size*
        (2 children per room).

Room Size Expressions of Control or lack of it	Two children sharing the bedroom	
	Larger Room 10.2 m²	Smaller Room 6.8 m²
	N = 34	N = 17
Entertains friends only in the bedroom	41%	29%
Plays only in the bedroom	29%	18%
Participates in cleaning the bedroom	56%	18%*
Feels that no place in the home belongs to him/her	44%	71%
Feels that in no place in the home is he/she undisturbed	59%	71%
Feels that nothing in the home represents him/her	29%	65%*

* χ^2 significance level   p < .05   df = 1.

Despite the fact that both large and small bedrooms had the same number of
children (two children) of approximately the same age and of the same sex, there
was a difference in the children's behavior between those who shared large rooms
and those who shared small rooms. In particular, there was a difference in their atti-
tude towards their place in the home; more children play and entertain friends in
the large, shared room than in the small, shared one. The percentage of children
who feel that no place in the home belongs to them, or represents them, or allows
them to do as they please, is higher among those who share a small room than
among those who share a large room. Although the difference between the two
groups was statistically significant for only two variables, the direction is similar on
the other variables. However, even the 'larger' room is not large enough to com-
pletely avoid the problems of the overlapping mentioned above.

5. Discussion

In this article we have argued that the uniqueness of the home lies in its psy-
chological and social meaning and in the opportunity it affords the occupants to
exert control over the space and the behavior within it. As a result, even when the
dwelling unit is designed according to functionalist principles its residents empha-
size its territorial aspects; it is the latter which helps to explain their social behavior
within the home and their attitudes towards it.

As hypothesized, we have found that the dwelling unit could be described as a
territorial model. The families divided it into individual, shared, public and jurisdic-
tion areas, all of which were characterized by clear boundaries and by ownership
that was continuous and accepted by the whole family. Individual and shared areas

are those which are used exclusively by one person or by a sub-group of the family. Public areas are used by all members of the family, either simultaneously or in turns. Jurisdiction areas are those which are the responsibility of a particular individual even though others also use it.

Significant differences in behavior within and attitudes towards rooms with the same basic function were found when the degree of control within them varied. In other words, behavior within the home and attitudes towards it are better explained by reference to the degree of control possible within specific areas than by reference to the basic functions taking place there. The degree of control in any given area of the home was found to be related to social variables (role within the family and age of the child), design variables (spatial arrangement of the rooms, nature of partitions and size of shared rooms), and to variables that are a function of the way in which the dwelling is divided among the family members (number of people sharing a room and social structure within the room). In this paper we have concentrated on the latter two groups of variables.

The individual or shared areas (the primary territories) serve the same purpose within the home as does the home within the more general territorial models which describe all of the areas within the individual's home range. This primary territory is where the individual has the most control and the most freedom of behavior.

As to the definition of the primary territory, there were two findings that have interesting design implications:

    1) a place defined as a territory was a place with clear, definite boundaries;
    2) a place defined as a primary territory was a place used exclusively by its
        owners.

1) *A territory as a place with defined boundaries*

All of the areas defined by our respondents as territorial areas had clear and visible physical boundaries. The existence of such a boundary enables the maintenance of clear behavioral patterns in each of the areas. In order for everyone to know how to behave in his/her own area, in another's area and in the public area, he/she must know exactly where each area begins and ends. A clear physical boundary enables everyone to "read" the space similarly and behave in an agreed upon manner.

For the purposes of a design approach, it is important to note the difference between a territorial area and a functional area. An area's territorial character is basically permanent over time and its boundaries are fixed and clear. An area's functional character, on the other hand, may change over the course of the day. Furthermore its dimensions change according to the number and convenience of the users, and its boundaries have virtually no behavioral significance. It follows therefore that the architect should view the dwelling unit as both a functional and socio-spatial system, and should use design terminology which includes both territorial as well as functional areas.

2) *The primary territory as a place used exclusively by a given individual*

None of the areas used by all members of the family was classified by our respondents as a primary territory. This finding corroborates the definition gen-

erally given of the primary territory which is considered as an area that is used exclusively by an individual; in other words, that others do not use.

The implications of this finding are that only areas upon which other areas are not dependent can be classified according to their character and the way they are used by the family; for example, in our research, the bedrooms were classified as primary territories, the kitchens as either public or jurisdiction areas.

Areas which have other areas dependent upon them because they serve as passage-ways to them can be classified only as public areas (for example, the living rooms). Areas upon which others are dependent as their sole source of light and fresh air can be classified as primary territories but only on a last-resort basis. Most of the respondents in our study who used the terrace as such refused to define it as a "place".

Thus it appears that an arrangement in which rooms are not independent of each other limits the freedom of the family in creating its territorial division because of the public character of the rooms. The conclusion that can be drawn is that the opportunity for each individual to have a territory of his/her own in the home is greater when there are fewer interdependencies between the rooms.

REFERENCES

ALTMAN, I. (1975), "The environment and social behavior" (Brooks/Cole, Monterey, Calif.).

ALTMAN, I. & CHEMERS, M. (1980), "Culture and Environment" (Brooks/Cole, Monterey, Calif.).

ALTMAN, I. & HAYTHORN, W.W. (1967), The ecology of isolated groups, *Behavioral Science*, 12 (1967), 169-182.

ARDRY, R. (1966), "The territorial imperative" (Atheneum, New York).

BROWER, S. N. (1965), The signs we learn to read, *Landscape*, 15 (1965), No. 1, 9-12.

COOPER, C. C. (1974), The house as a symbol of the self, *Designing for Human Behavior* (Lang, J.; Burnette, C.; Moleski, W.; Vachon, D., Eds.) (Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross, Stroudsburg, Pa.).

DE LONG, A. (1970), Dominance — territorial relations in a small group. *Environment and Behavior*, 2 (1970), 170-191.

EDNEY, J. J. (1972), Property, possession and permanence; a field study in human territoriality, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 3 (1972) No. 3, 275-282.

EDNEY, J. J. (1976), Human territories: Comment on functional properties. *Environment and Behavior*, 8 (1976), 31-47.

ESSER, A. (1968), Dominance hierarchy and clinical course of psychiatrically hospitalized boys, *Child Development*, 39 (1968), 147-157.

ESSER, A., CHAMBERLAIN, A., CHAPPLE, E. & KLINE, N. (1965), Territoriality of patients on a research ward, *Recent advances in biological psychiatry* (Wortis, J., Ed.) (Plenum, New York).

GOFFMAN, E. (1971), "Relations in public" (Basic Books, New York).

HILLIER, B. (1973), In defence of space, *RIBA Journal*, Nov. (1973), 539-544.

LORENZ, K. (1966), "On aggression" (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, New York).

LYMAN, S. M. & SCOTT, M. B. (1967), Territoriality — a neglected sociological dimension, *Social Problems*, 15 (1967), 235-249.

MEAD, M. (1949), "Male and female" (William Morrow, New York).

NEWMAN, O. (1972), "Defensible Space" (Macmillan, New York).

PARR, A. E. (1965), In search of theory VI, *Arts and Architecture*, 82 (1965), 14.

PROSHANSKY, H. (1973), Theoretical issues in environmental psychology, *Representative Research in Social Psychology*, 4 (1973), No. 1, 93-109.

PROSHANSKY, H., ITTELSON, W. & RIVLIN, L. (Eds.) (1970), "Environmental psychology" (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York).

PROSHANSKY, H., ITTELSON, W. & RIVLIN, L. (1967), Freedom of choice and behavior in a physical setting, *Environmental psychology: man and his physical setting* (Prohansky, H.; Ittelson, W.; Rivlin, L., Eds.) (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York).

RAPOPORT, A. (1968), The personal element in housing, *R.I.B.A. Journal* (1968), 300-306.

RAPOPORT, A. (1969), "House, form and culture" (Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.).

RAPOPORT, A. (1972), Some perspective on human use and organization of space, *Symposium on space and territory,* Australian Assoc. of Social Anthropologists.

ROOS, P. P. (1968), Jurisdiction: an ecological concept, *Human Relations,* **21** (1968), 75-84.

ROSENBLATT, P. C. & BUDD, L. G. (1975), Territoriality and privacy in married and unmarried couples, *Journal of social Psychology,* **97** (1975), 67-76.

SOMMER, R. & BECKER, F. D. (1969), Territorial defence and the good neighbor, *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology,* **11** (1969), 85-92.

WOLFE, M. & PROSHANSKY, H. (1974), The physical setting as a factor in group function and process, *Designing for human behavior* (Lang, J.; Burnette, C.; Moleski, W. & Vachon, D., Eds.) (Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross, Stroudsburg, Pa.).

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIRTH, R. (1957), "We, the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia" (Allen & Unwin, London).

BEGUIN, J. P., KALT, M., LEROY, J. L., LOUIS, D., MACARY, J., PELLOUY, P. & PERONNE, H. N. (1952) "L'habitat au Cameroun" (Office de la recherche outre-mer, Paris).