Marion Brady, Howard Brady

3: Setting

A Closer Look

In Unit 2, we said that one part of our Model is Setting, which includes not only a society's natural but also its human-made environment—tools, clothes, foods, roads and buildings—everything tangible. Note that the Setting sub-categories "natural" and "human-made" overlap. Human-made facilities and tools require natural materials and resources, and many parts of Setting are combinations of the two.
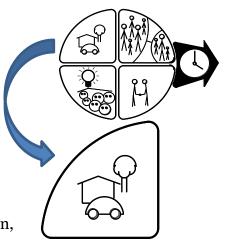
Setting—primary habitat (natural environment) includes:

- Climate: This affects the kind of crops that can be grown, the kind of buildings built, and much more.
- Resources: Oil, coal, metal ore, water, soil, and all other useful things that come from the earth and the sea
- Land: Space for cities, towns, farms, and forests
- Oceans, rivers, plants and animals, microbes, etc.

The secondary (human-made) Setting includes:

- Towns, cities, and buildings
- Food production facilities: farms, ranches, aquaculture, commercial fishing, food processing
- Transportation facilities such as streets, highways, railroads, etc.
- Communication facilities and networks, both two-way (like the telephone) and one-way (like TV and newspapers)
- Tools used for working, entertaining, and solving problems
- Provision for waste disposal
- Sources of energy, and ways of getting it where it's needed.
- Significant peoples outside the group being investigated
- Everything else human made: symbols, art, etc.

Changes in Setting are important causes of major changes in a society's culture. You probably already know that many of the differences between your life and that of your great-grandparents at your age are because of changes in Setting, particularly those related to technology.

Setting: Hong Kong

Hong Kong—specifically, "Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China"—is a territory, largely urban (except for some steep forested mountains) on the south coast of China. It includes a peninsula and several islands, one of them the original island of Hong Kong itself. One of the most densely populated places on earth, Hong Kong is now part of China, but its government enjoys more local control than the rest of China.

Note: The international airport is at "8" on the map, on land artificially reclaimed from the sea. In the view below, Hong Kong Island is in the foreground. Across Victoria Harbour is Kowloon, part of the "New Territories."

http://www.countryaah.com/Hong_Kong.html

https://www.centennialcollege.hku.hk/exchange-programme/incoming-students/exchange-programme-incoming-students-about-hong-kong

Investigation: Hong Kong Statistics

Plot the Hong Kong climate data below on a graph. If you're more comfortable thinking about degrees Fahrenheit and inches, do the conversions before making your graph.

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Average high (°C)	19	19	21	25	28	30	31	31	30	28	24	20
Average low (°C)	15	15	17	21	24	26	27	27	26	24	20	16
Rainfall (mm)	25	54	62	175	304	456	377	432	327	101	38	27

Wintertime temperatures sometimes drop at least five degrees Celsius lower than the averages above, and summertime highs can be four or five degrees higher than the averages, with higher humidity. Summer storms are often sudden and intense.

Based on this information, describe the climate in words.

Demographics is another main category in our Model that we'll investigate in more depth later. However, to understand the situation in Hong Kong, you need some information about Hong Kong Demographics now.

The data below shows the Hong Kong territory population (in thousands) in the indicated years. *Graph this data:*

1945	1950	1960	1968	1970	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016
750	2,360	3,000	3,927	3,995	5,110	5,495	5,674	6,413	6,708	6,864	7,072	7,347

The sudden increase in population in 1981 was caused by a change in Hong Kong policy that allowed a surge of people to emigrate from the main part of China.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zq8nfAf_qwY

In many cities around the world, poor people desperate for shelter have built huts out of whatever materials they could find, wherever they could find space. These constructions, illegal but sometimes tolerated by officials, usually have tiny, sometimes incredibly small living spaces. Shantytowns in Mumbai, India, house a million people per square mile.

The reason Setting is part of the Model is because it's related to culture in important ways, making some kinds of action possible, other actions difficult or impossible. **Humans change Settings, and then those Settings change the people.** The shantytown Settings, of course, have effects on the lives of people who live in them.

http://futurehandling.com/2012/11/14/hong-kong-poor-get-poorer-rich-get-richer/

During the 1960s and 1970s, Hong Kong had huge areas covered by shantytowns. The government built "resettlement houses," low-cost residences eight or more stories tall, with small one-room apartments (about ten by ten feet), to help house the poor, and cleared away most shantytowns. However new ones have been built in a several areas, including rooftops of high-rise buildings.

Investigation: Life in a Hong Kong Shantytown

During the period when Hong Kong shantytowns were very large (housing about 350,000 people), anthropologist Frank Kehl purchased a hut in a shantytown called "Model Village" in Kowloon and lived with the people there. He was investigating how Hong Kong shantytown Settings affected the lives of the residents. He describes the Setting and some of his experiences on the pages that follow.[1]

Work with others to review the information about Hong Kong shantytowns, and identify some answers to these questions:

1: Many cities have shantytowns—Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Bangkok, Thailand; Jakarta, Indonesia; Manila, Philippines; and Nairobi, Kenya, for example. Shantytowns existed in New York City and other U.S. cities during the 1930s Depression. Shantytowns form because homeless poor people need shelter, of course. Homeless are everywhere, but many cities around the world don't have shantytowns. ***Hypothesize: Besides groups of homeless, what conditions in Hong Kong and other cities cause shantytowns to form? (Record your ideas.)***

2: ***Identify and describe the problems solved by shantytown Settings. Also identify and list problems not solved, solved inadequately, or actually caused by shantytowns. (Think about human needs, and consider the information about Hong Kong's Setting given on pages 2 to 4, using the categories on page 1.)***
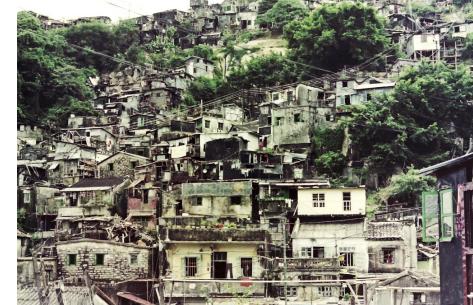
Organize your problems lists into trees, or rank them in order of importance.

Kehl provides some background:

> Shantytown people live on land that's either not claimed by anyone or that the government says must not be used for people's dwellings. The Hong Kong government knows the shantytown dwellers can't afford other, more decent legal housing. Therefore the government allows the huts to remain, but subjects them to squatter control. This means the government does not allow shantytown people to improve the huts with permanent building materials such as brick or cement. Officials feel this would create problems when the time comes to clear the areas. When huts burn down, residents are not allowed to rebuild them.
>
> Squatter control also prevents the shantytown dwellers from expanding their hut. For example, they cannot raise the roof to give more sleeping space as the family grows.

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[1] Marion Brady and Howard Brady, *Idea and Action in World Cultures*, 1977, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, pp. 109-118. Copyright transferred to Marion Brady and Howard Brady

A Hong Kong shantytown in 1974 ►

The only sewer in Model Village is an open trench, an oozing, polluted creek that flows through the length of the little valley. There are only two wells and three public water taps for a population of 2,500 people. None of the huts have toilets. There are about 18 public latrines that are emptied each night by the sanitation department.

For toilets, the women and children use chamber pots. The men use the latrines at either end of the shantytown. For baths, most shantytown residents use circular metal tubs which they place on the concrete floor of the little cook shed. The only place to get water is from the public water tap spigots. The people—usually the children—carry it back home in two old kerosene cans hung by the handles on the ends of a shoulder pole. In spite of the inconvenience, just about everybody in the shantytown takes a bath once a day, usually right after supper time. Water for drinking is always boiled.

Most shantytown dwellers can't afford to have electricity installed. The electric company charges very high rates for installation because it's concerned that it will lose its meters if the shantytown catches fire.

A conversation between anthropologist Frank Kehl and his Model Village next-door neighbor Mrs. Ngh (pronounced "ng" as in *sing*), translated from Cantonese by Dr. Kehl:

Mrs. Ngh: How do you think living in a squatter area is? Don't you think it's very bad?

Kehl: Certainly it's very bad.

Mrs. Ngh: But for you it's not so bad as for others.

Kehl: Why?

Mrs. Ngh: I'll tell you. You're just one person living here. You don't have to worry about kids. When you live in a squatter area you're always worrying about leaving the kids alone because a fire can happen at any time. If you think you'd like to go out to a movie, you have to go all together and take all the kids, and leave the hut unattended. Or else one of you stays home with one or two of the youngest and the other takes the rest out.
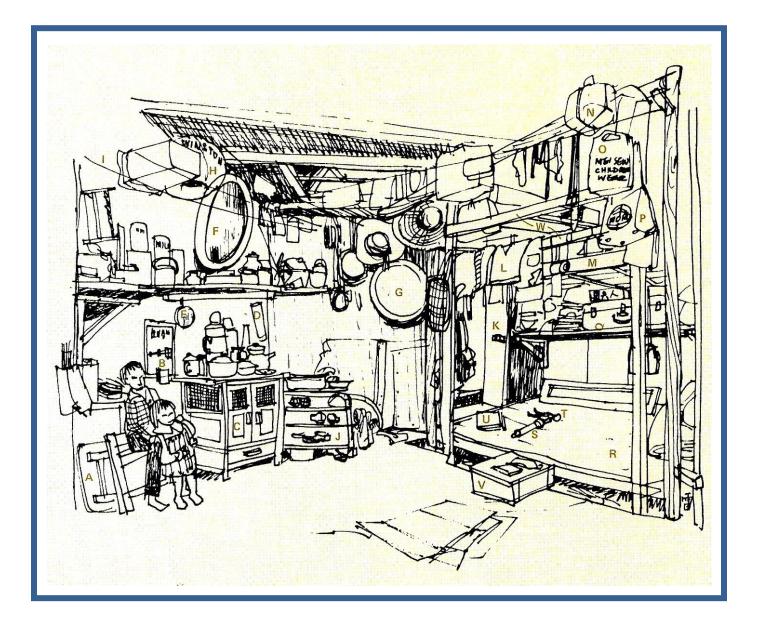
But the worst is if one of the kids has some urgent sickness at night and both parents have to take the child to the hospital. The neighbors in the squatter area are already asleep and their doors are locked. You feel embarrassed to disturb them, so you leave the kids alone. Your heart doesn't have a moment's rest till you get back.

The other thing you don't have to worry about is losing all your belongings in a fire. All your valuable stuff is elsewhere. But if a squatter hut is all you have, you've got to worry about losing everything. The only alternative is bothering relatives or friends who live in a tenement to store valuables for you. But then that's a nuisance and you don't feel like bothering them all the time.

See next page. The interior of most huts look like the sketch I (*Kehl*) made of the interior of the hut belonging to the Sam family. In the sketch, the walls are "opened up;" the actual space was much smaller than it appears here, with the parts on the left end close to those on the right.

The cheapest cooking fuels are sawdust, charcoal or wood scraps discarded from construction sites. But these wood fuels smoke a lot when they burn, so shantytown residents, wherever possible, build a separate cook shed outside their one-room shack. In the sketch, Mrs. Sam's cook shed is just out of sight by the front door. In some huts, available space is so tight that there is no room for an outside cook shed. In those huts, kerosene must be used to cook with on small stoves inside the hut. Kerosene costs more but it is not so smoky.
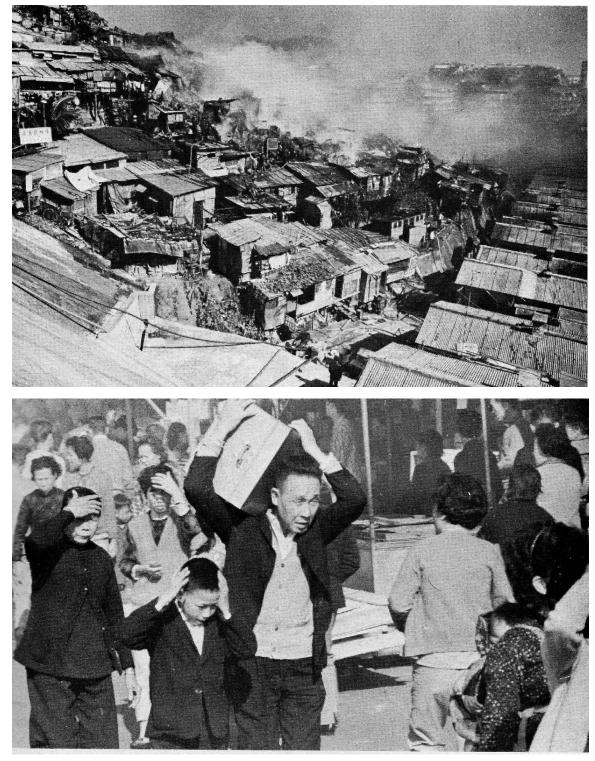
The Sam family hut has 120 square feet of floor space, including the space occupied by the bed and other furniture. Many huts are much more crowded than this one. In some cases whole families rent only a single level of a bunk bed, sleep in it at night, and store their possessions on the bed during the day.

A	Foldaway table	L	Pair of pants hanging up
B	Calendar	M	Top bunk of bunk bed
C	Screened cabinet for storing perishable food	N, O, P	Bags used for storage
D	Canister for storing chopsticks	Q	Valise ("Q" mark is twisted sideways)
E, F	Mirrors	R	Combination bunk, work, and play area
G	Large tub used for washing and bathing	S	Flashlight
H	Inflatable plastic hassock, a prize for redeeming empty cigarette packs	T	Toy doll
		U	School book
I	Clothesline	V	Floor-level children's desk
J	Rack for storing shoes and slippers	W	Guard rails for children's bunk
K	Front door		

Shantytown fires are a frequent and serious problem. During anthropologist Kohl's stay in Model Village, a fire destroyed his hut, the hut of the Sam family, and many others. Over 200 people were left homeless. Other fires have been much more severe, leaving thousands of families without homes. Kehl photographed one fire, and a family escaping to safety:

The data so far suggest some of the physical problems of residents of shantytowns or slums.

Interview several adults. Ask them, "What kind of problems do you associate with living in slums or other overcrowded spaces?"

Write their answers in your journal, and compare them with answers that others in your group have collected. Do most adults agree with each other? Do you agree with the opinions you've recorded?

Investigation: Shantytown Ways of Acting

Review the data that follow. Does it "fit" with the opinions you've collected from adults about slums and crowding?

Notes by anthropologist Frank Kehl:

The water supply system for Hong Kong has improved in the last few years, but before this the only source of water was public faucets. These faucets were few and widely spaced, especially near shantytowns. Residents carried their buckets to the faucets and lined up to fill them. The water supply to the faucets was frequently interrupted. Sometimes water would not be available for hours.

When the water was shut off, the people waiting would set down their buckets on the ground, to reserve their place in line. Then they would leave and go about their business. Sometimes a line of empty buckets would extend for hundreds of yards away from the faucet.

Children would be sent now and then to check the buckets, and to find out if the water supply was turned on again. Generally, nobody needed to worry about their bucket being stolen or their place in line being "jumped."

***

After a fire in 1967, the people of Model Village organized a fire-watchers group, contributed money to buy fire hoses and nozzles, and built a fire-watcher's hut at one edge of the village.

***

Nearly all the women with small children earn extra money doing piecework in their homes. The pay they receive for each piece of work depends on the amount of skill needed. For example, assembling plastic flowers requires very little skill, and is the lowest-paid work available.

(Continued)

Very often women who know how to perform more difficult and better-paying tasks will teach their skills to other women. One woman may spend several days teaching her neighbor from down the lane to sew sequins on slippers. This requires care and skill, and the piecework pay for this work is much better than the pay for assembling plastic flowers.

The woman doing the teaching does not expect or ask for any pay for her help in teaching the new money-making skills.

***

During the Model Village fire, the people in the shantytown quickly organized a line to pass on possessions, to rescue them from huts that were in danger. Everyone worked to save as much as possible.

***

During my stay in Model Village, someone moved in and opened an opium den, a place where addicts could buy and smoke the drug. The people in the shantytown were quite upset by this, and didn't want junkies in their neighborhood. They began to show their disapproval by the ways they talked about and acted toward the man who operated the opium den.

Mrs. Wu, who lived in a hut on the hillside directly above the opium den, showed her opinion in a very direct way. She started dumping smelly slops and garbage out the back of her hut down into the opium den.

The operator of the opium den very quickly closed his business and moved out.

***

Comment of a former resident of Model Village, who moved to a resettlement house apartment: "In Model Village, we never had to lock our doors. Nobody ever stole things or harmed anybody. If your son started acting tough while you were out, your neighbors would take you aside and tell you."

Some quotes from an article in the *American Institute of Planners Journal:*

"Residents of Hong Kong appear in most respects to be healthy, well adjusted, and law abiding."

"Patients hospitalized for mental disorders amount to about one-tenth the rate for America."

"The murder and manslaughter rate is [several] times higher in the United States than in Hong Kong."

"Juvenile delinquency and teen-age violence are far below U.S. rates."

Hypothesize: What are the reasons for the low level of social problems among people in Hong Kong, even if they live in shantytowns? Record your ideas.

<div align="center">***</div>

If you and your family were forced to live in a tiny shantytown hut, in the region where you now live, what furniture and other goods would you choose to put in the hut? Where would you place each item to make efficient use of the space?

Work with others on a hut design for two parents and two kids, one your age and one several years younger. Remember you have very little money to spend.

Make drawings and descriptions of your group's hut design, suitable for presentation to others.

Investigation: City Design and Behavior

The late urban expert and author Jane Jacobs wrote some important books about city environments and their effects on the Action Patterns of residents. The information below is from her first book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.[1]

> Consider, for example…the North End of Boston. This is an old, low-rent area merging into the heavy industry of the waterfront, and it is officially considered Boston's worst slum and civic shame. It embodies attributes which all enlightened people know are evil because so many wise men have said they are evil. Not only is the North End bumped right up against industry, but worse still it has all kinds of working places and commerce mingled in the greatest complexity with its residences. It has the highest concentration of dwelling units, on the land that is used for dwelling units, of any part of Boston, and indeed one of the highest concentrations to be found in any American City. It has little parkland. Children play in the streets. Instead of super-blocks, or even decently large blocks, it has very small blocks. In the words of planners, it is "badly cut up with wasteful streets." Its buildings are old. Everything is assumed to be wrong with the North End…
>
> Twenty years ago, when I first happened to see the North End, its buildings—town houses of different kinds and sizes converted to flats, and four- or five-story tenements built to house the flood of immigrants first from Ireland, then from Eastern Europe and finally from Sicily—were badly overcrowded, and the general effect was of a district taking a terrible physical beating and certainly desperately poor.
>
> <div align="center">(Continued)</div>

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[1] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York, Random House, 1961. Adapted from the Introduction.

When I saw the North End again...I was amazed at the change. Dozens and dozens of buildings had been rehabilitated. Instead of mattresses against the windows there were Venetian blinds and glimpses of new paint. Many of the small, converted houses had only one or two families in them instead of the old, crowded three or four. Some of the families in the tenements (as I learned later, visiting inside) had uncrowded themselves by throwing two older apartments together, and had equipped these with bathrooms, new kitchens and the like... Mingled all among the buildings for living were an incredible number of splendid food stores, as well as such enterprises as upholstery making, metal working, carpentry, food processing. The streets were alive with children playing, people shopping, people strolling, people talking. Had it not been a cold January day, there would surely have been people sitting.

The general street atmosphere of buoyancy, friendliness and good health was so infectious that I began asking directions of people just for the fun of getting in on some talk. . .This struck me as the healthiest place in the city.

I could not imagine where the money had come from for the rehabilitation...To find out, I went into a restaurant and called a Boston planner I knew.

"Why in the world are you down in the North End?" he said. "Money? Why, no money or work has gone into the North End. Nothing's going on down there. Eventually, yes, but not yet. That's a slum!"

"It doesn't seem like a slum to me," I said.

"Why, that's the worst slum in the city. It has two hundred and seventy-five dwelling units to the net acre! I hate to admit we have anything like that in Boston, but it's a fact."

"Do you have any other figures on it?"

"Yes, funny thing. It has the lowest delinquency, disease and infant mortality rates in the city. It also has the lowest ratio of rent to income in the city. Boy, are those people getting bargains. Let's see . . . the child population is just about average for the city, on the nose. The death rate is low, 8.8 per thousand, against the average city rate of 11.2. . .Of course it's a terrible slum."

For contrast, here's another excerpt from Jacobs' book:

> Consider the Morningside Heights area in New York City… It enjoys a great abundance of parkland, campus, playground and other open spaces. It has plenty of grass. It occupies high and pleasant ground with magnificent river views. It is a famous educational center with splendid institutions—Columbia University, Union Theological Seminary, the Juilliard School of Music, and half a dozen others of eminent respectability. It has good hospitals and churches. It has no industries. Its streets are zoned against "incompatible uses" intruding into the preserves for solidly constructed, roomy, middle- and upper-class apartments.
>
> Yet by the early 1950's Morningside Heights was becoming a slum so swiftly, the surly kind of slum in which people fear to walk the streets, that the situation posed a crisis for the institutions. They and the planning arms of the city government got together, applied more planning theory, wiped out the most run-down part of the area and built in its stead a middle-income cooperative project complete with shopping center, and a public housing project, all interspersed with air, light, sunshine and landscaping. This was hailed as a great demonstration in city saving.
>
> After that, Morningside Heights went downhill even faster.

Clues to the differences between the two areas are in the descriptions. ***Imagine yourself in Boston's North End, and think about reasons why the delinquency rate might be low. Record your explanations in your journal.***

Then imagine yourself in Morningside Heights. Why might you be afraid to walk the streets? Record your explanations in your journal.

If possible, identify local areas that resemble one or both of these city environments. Take photos or make sketches to show the environments, and describe their possible effect on the people that use them.

Identify similarities and differences in the habitats described by Jane Jacobs, and the descriptions of Hong Kong shantytowns by anthropologist Frank Kehl. (The next part of this investigation will help you with this analysis.)

(Note that Jane Jacobs' criticisms of New York City's Morningside Heights area reflected a temporary situation, and this area is now a stable, healthy neighborhood. See:
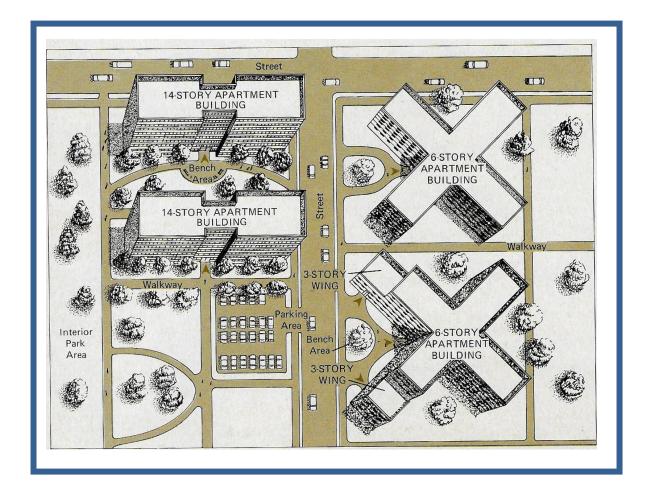http://michaelminn.net/newyork/urban_renewal/upper_west_side/jane_jacobs/)

Architect and city planner Oscar Newman studied two apartment complexes in Brooklyn, New York in detail, and this is based on his work.[1]
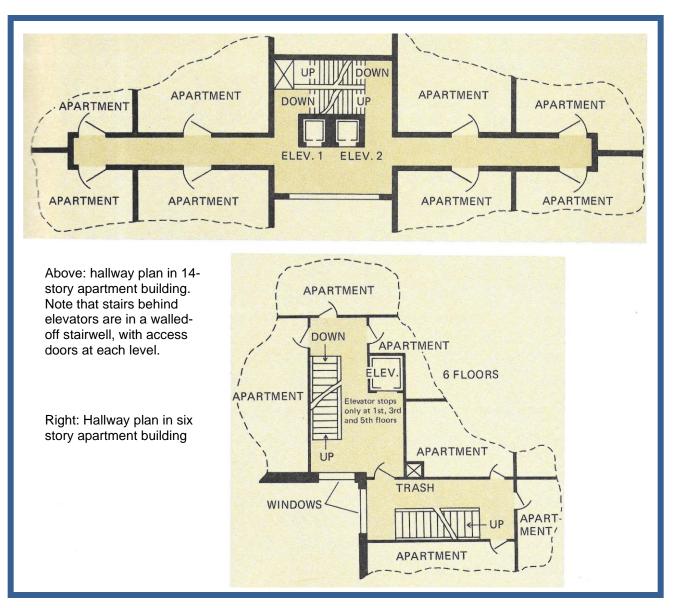
The complexes are alike in many ways. They're across the street from each other. One houses a little over 5,000 people; the other about 6,000. Both cover about the same number of acres. The floor space per person is about the same. Also about the same are the racial mix, family incomes, and the proportion of children to adults.

In spite of these similarities, one complex has many more problems than the other. The differences are almost certainly related to the differences in the Settings—interior and exterior designs.

Work with others to analyze and discuss the drawings of the Settings on this and the next page. Record, in your journal, answers to the questions on the next page. Important: For each answer, write a brief explanation.

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[1] Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space*, New York, Macmillian, 1972 (Adapted in Marion Brady and Howard Brady, *Idea and Action in World Cultures*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1977, pp. 120-122.)

Above: hallway plan in 14-story apartment building. Note that stairs behind elevators are in a walled-off stairwell, with access doors at each level.

Right: Hallway plan in six story apartment building

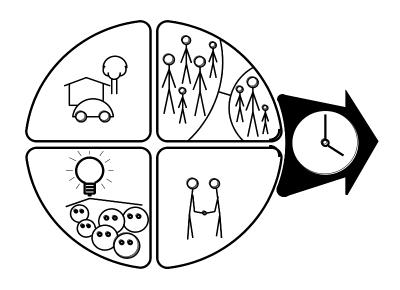*Based on your analysis, decide which apartment complex:*

- *Has a greater problem with trash and garbage in hallways and around the buildings?*
- *Has more residents acquainted with each other, at least casually?*
- *Has more maintenance problems due to vandalism?*
- *Has residents that feel more a part of a neighborhood?*
- *Has an outdoor entrance that's safer for a person returning home at night?*
- *Has hallways where some parents leave their doors open, and allow small children to ride tricycles?*
- *Has more places where crimes can occur without anyone noticing?*
- *Has the higher crime rate, in your opinion?*

Investigation: Target Area Setting

Understanding your Target Area more completely will require more data about its Setting. ***With your work group, choose one of the following, investigate and prepare a report on your findings.***

- Sunlight affects the building or buildings in your Target Area. Identify places where the sun's effect is greatest. Make measurements to find how the sun's angle is changing from day to day (e.g. length of the flagpole's shadow at the same time each day). Explain this change with diagrams. Measure the effects of the sun's heat and light on the building interior.

- Precipitation—rain, maybe snow—falls on your Target Area. How much? When? (Check local statistics.) Where, specifically, does the water go when it runs off? (Describe its route to the nearest river.) How contaminated is the water that comes off the building roof? Off the parking lot? What are the contaminants? Find out if they're harmful in some way.

- Your Target Area uses energy—electricity, and perhaps natural gas or other fuel. Find out how much is used, what it costs, how efficiently it's used, what the by-products are (e.g. carbon dioxide from burning fuel). Identify the source of electricity, and find out how it is produced.

- Identify the different kinds and amounts of waste produced in the Target Area. Where does it go? How is it processed? How much is recycled? Where will it be when you're 60 years old?

- Other possible investigations of Target Area Settings: foot and vehicle traffic studies, air quality, etc. Make sure that whatever you investigate has important effects on the main Target Area system.

For Teacher/Mentor:

Defined broadly, the Model element "Setting" includes every tangible element within a society, both natural and human-made. The role of technology in triggering changes in ways of living is generally understood and acknowledged. Even the names we give ancient eras—stone age, bronze age, iron age—reflect this near-universal understanding of the impact of tools on life.

Of additional major importance, but less thought about, is the effect of other elements of the secondary habitat—buildings, roads, streets, towns and cities—on the culture of the people who live there. Often, the interplay between a society's way of life and its Setting is subtle but important. As learners will see, the shape of an urban landscape affects the attitudes and actions of those living there, sometimes in surprising ways.

When they analyze a society, learners must see Setting as a system component interacting with, affecting and affected by Demographics, Action Patterns and Shared Ideas. This unit focuses on Setting, but is really about the entire Model.

Investigation: Hong Kong Statistics

This investigation is likely a familiar task for most learners—translating information by graphing numerical data. The activity is at a lower challenge level and more conventional than those we usually include, but the information is needed as background for what follows, and even minor processing helps learners comprehend information.

Hong Kong has a subtropical climate similar to south Florida, except with considerably more rain, particularly in summer when monsoons bring in frequent heavy thunderstorms, and humidity can be oppressive. Winters are pleasant; mild and relatively dry.

The Demographic history indicates the rapid population growth; a factor in the formation of the shantytowns that are the major focus of the next investigations.

Investigation: Life in a Hong Kong Shantytown

Investigation: Shantytown Ways of Acting

Shantytowns typically form where (1) a city has a culture with minimum regulation of economy, enterprise, and behavior of residents; (2) the city's economy is healthy enough to supply low-level jobs; (3) poor economic conditions in rural areas and smaller cities and towns in the region push residents to move in search of a better life, and (4) population is increasing beyond the level of affordable housing because of the influx of poor people seeking work.

Not all of these elements may be directly inferred from the data supplied in this unit, but learners should be able to hypothesize about these conditions with reasonable success.

One purpose of this course is to call into question shared, erroneous assumptions. For example, we tend to assume that high crime rates and other

forms of dysfunction are linked to parts of urban areas populated by those living in poverty, particularly Settings considered "slums." In some cases, this is true—those in hopeless situations may allow their physical surroundings to degrade, may turn to alcohol or drugs as an escape, and/or sink into criminal behavior. However, it's not universally true, as the evidence in this unit indicates.

The survey of adult opinions about slums is an important step, with a subtle message that "just because most people think something is true doesn't make it true."

The culture of Hong Kong shantytown residents tells a different story. Physical problems such as poor sanitation and the danger of fire affected them, but few social problems were evident among the shantytown dwellers.

Part of the reason may be that paying work was available—albeit with very low wages—for those with even low skill levels, so the people living in shantytowns weren't without hope for some level of survival.

Another reason for the low levels of social problems may lie more deeply in Chinese culture. Most shantytown people emigrated from mainland southern China. One of the shared cultural traits of the southern China "rice growing" society is a powerful tendency to cooperate with others in work and other aspects of life. This characteristic of China's culture is explored in more detail in Unit 6 (Shared Ideas). This trait dates back thousands of years, is deeply ingrained, and inevitably permeates even city culture in the region. To supplement this investigation, you might use the rice planting photo from that later unit; the necessity of cooperation may be inferred (with a bit of thought) from that single photograph.

The shantytown people formed cooperative neighborhoods that provided mutual support for residents, as the data indicates. Deviant behavior such as crime wasn't tolerated, and the presence of many observers, all close to whatever was happening, helped prevent such behavior from happening in the first place.

Frank Kehl's shantytown fieldwork was done in the late 1960s, but shantytowns persist in Hong Kong, although not nearly as extensively as during that earlier period. Interestingly, many clusters of huts are erected on the roofs of high-rise buildings. See http://weburbanist.com/2013/12/28/secret-slums-ramshackle-rooftop-villages-of-hong-kong/.

Designing a hut: This project may be emphasized, if desired, to give learners a more complete understanding of the realities of shantytown culture.

A reminder: Our objective is *not* to have our learners store in memory specific information about Hong Kong, shantytowns, or any other particular society. Unless the information is useful to the learner, it will soon be forgotten. Instead, learners need to grasp general principles and develop investigative tools to make sense of their own society and those they may encounter.

Investigation: City Design and Behavior

Calling into question erroneous assumptions was a goal of Jane Jacobs, in her paradigm-shifting book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. She noted that city planners generally assumed that functional segregation was desirable, that stores and businesses should be separated from residential districts, and both of these away from industry. Where land was scarce, urban residential areas should feature high-rise buildings, attractively surrounded by park-like green spaces.

City residents instinctively prefer urban Settings that intermingle housing, businesses, shops, restaurants, neighborhood taverns "where everybody knows your name," and even light manufacturing. Sidewalks alive with foot traffic all day and into the night are enjoyable and safe. Low-rise residences close to the street lead to informal surveillance of street life by many eyes, reducing the likelihood of crime. Having some jobs within walking or bicycling distance saves fuel and parking space, and lowers motor vehicle traffic.

Before Jacobs' book, these kinds of neighborhoods typically were accidental, created by unplanned growth. (European towns and cities are full of neighborhoods with charming diversity like this.) Now, because of the influence of Jacobs and others who reinforced her findings, mixed-use neighborhoods of this type are sometimes deliberately designed.

Parallels of Setting between Hong Kong shantytowns and the north Boston neighborhood—e.g. low crime because of surveillance by many residents—should be identified by learners. Both areas, considered "slums," turn out to be places with few social problems.

This investigation is, in many ways, an extension of the shantytown Setting investigation, leading learners to view their surroundings with improved perception of their effects.

Further parallels are suggested by the investigation of two Brooklyn apartment complexes across the street from each other, based on the groundbreaking work of architect and city planner Oscar Newman. Crime was much higher in the newer high-rise (14-story) apartment complex.

After a bit of discussion, learners should have no difficulty choosing correct answers to the questions on page 16. The "meat" here is the learner's explanation that accompanies each question. Unlike most activities, there ARE wrong answers to the questions, but learners picking wrong answers, if they have suitable explanations—should not be penalized.

Newman's work has made a difference. https://www.huduser.gov/publications/pdf/def.pdf is a HUD document in which Newman explains the history that led to his investigations, the principles of defensible space, and his conclusion (among others) that public spaces can be problems unless the residents "take ownership" of them. This is a function of careful design.

Note: Crime in the United States peaked sharply about 1990, and has, for the most part, declined ever since. At first it declined steeply, but the overall decline continued, and the U.S. is a far safer country now than it was then. In 1990, New York City

had 2,245 murders; in 2014, the number of murders dropped to 328. Other kinds of crime declined as well, just about everywhere in the U.S. (Some evidence shows the decline in crime has leveled off, and even may be rising a bit again.)

Crime is a complicated subject, so complicated we really don't know why the rate has changed so much since 1990. If we compare crime between countries, most developed nations have lower crime rates than the U.S.—some far lower.

Investigation: Target Area Setting

Ideally, each work groups will choose (or be assigned) different investigations of Setting from this "right here, right now" activity. Each will prepare reports that could then be communicated to the entire class, so all will benefit from expanded understanding of the Target Area. As always, the products produced by the investigations should be designed for effective communications—quality writing, accompanied with illustrations, tables, photographs, and whatever else is needed to enable effective information transfer to others.

The Target Area Setting investigations here have a strong science element; cooperation with a science teacher and language arts teacher (for communication skill help) may be helpful. (We'd like to break down the borders between school subjects. The real world isn't divided like that.)

Doing any of these projects properly will take time, and will sometimes involve learners working outside the classroom. Make sure school supervisors realize that the most important culture we can study is our own, and that's what's going on here.

(HLB) Jan 2017