

Reston, the sample size will depend heavily on the number of house types to be provided in Reston.

Another problem is to determine who should be interviewed. I have found in Levittown that the most economical conclusion -- to interview one spouse but get data from her about the other spouse and the children -- is not very reliable. The best solution would be to concentrate on the women who move into Reston, with small subsamples devoted to the men, and to the teenagers. The latter usually have major problems in adapting to the suburbs, although it is highly likely that they will be the major users of Reston's recreational and athletic facilities.

The Control Study

In order to be able to evaluate the changes that will take place among Reston residents, the research project must include a control study. Thus, a new suburban area,

developed at about the same time, with the same types and price levels of housing and preferably in the Fairfax County or Arlington County area should be selected, so that as many extraneous factors as possible can be kept under control. The ideal solution would be to develop a matched sample of 100 Restonites and 100 ordinary-new-suburb residents, but this is extremely difficult. The next best solution would be to do either a panel study of 100 people in the control suburb or, if economy does not permit this, to do at least an after-occupancy interview with 100 such people. The control suburb should be chosen so that the most important innovations in Reston can be compared to a community lacking these.

The Observational Study

The interview studies will provide data on how residents describe their life in Reston. In order to get another and a more detached, perspective on life in the new

community, and on how the community "works," a trained sociologist or social anthropologist should be observing Reston from the moment it receives its first occupants. He should study how the physical environment and the town facilities are used, how social relationships develop, what happens in the civic and other organizations, etc. His major function ought to be to provide a picture of Reston as a physical, social and political community and of the processes that make it into a community, which can be used to determine what it is in Reston that is making an impact on its residents. In other words, his concern is with the community, the effects of which are to be measured through the interviewing studies.

The observer should have some understanding of the planning aims of the new community, so that he can contribute data to its evaluation. If possible, he should be

living in the community, so that he is available for observation at all times. If his wife has training in the social sciences, she should also be employed in the study, for much of the community life of the town will be concentrated among the women. An alternate solution would be to search for wives trained in sociology among the people who move into Reston, and to use them as part-time observers and diarists.

As Reston grows, and the work load rises beyond the capacity of a single observer, others should be added to work under his direction. Ideally, there should be at least one observer in each village.

The Organization of the Research Projects

The entire study should be headed by a research director who will take primary responsibility for setting up the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study, develop the methods to be used, and supervise the work of the

observer. The interviewing should be farmed out to an academic or a good commercial survey research organization, although the interview schedules should be devised by the research director, his staff and the observer. The research director should be hired at least 6 months before the first residents of Reston occupy their homes, so that he has three months -- preferably longer -- to develop the study scheme and the pre-occupancy interview schedule. Since the pre-occupancy interview and the control interview will come at about the same time, he will probably need one or more assistants early in the life of the study.

The Analysis of the Data

The basic model of the study is a before-after analysis involving comparison with a control group. The before-after interviews should be analyzed in two ways:

As a sample to measure the amount of intended and unintended

change, and also as a set of case-studies of individuals. Thus, the two interviews with each individual should be analyzed together, and for every aspect of Reston being studied, they should be grouped into perhaps three categories: Changed, somewhat changed, and not changed by occupancy in Reston and contact with, or participation in the particular aspect under study. Similar analyses should be conducted among the control group interviews. Out of these should come some primitive quantitative data but, more important, a set of hypotheses about the actual impact of Reston and the processes by which this impact has taken place. The observational study should provide hypotheses and data about the features of Reston that have brought about this change -- for example, whether it is the physical facility or the social pattern that has grown around use of the facility that has brought about a change, say in the amount or

intensity of sociability among people who are not friends but are not adjacent neighbors.

These hypotheses should then be tested quantitatively in the extensive interview with a large sample, so that, where possible, sophisticated statistical analyses of the effects of Reston can be made to determine how many people are affected, and to what extent by the planning innovations built into the new community.

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Appendix: Some Assumptions and Predictions

The proposal above is based on my own work in Levittown and attempts to outline the kind of research project that -- with hindsight -- I should have set up in Levittown. My own study also makes it possible to make some predictions about what the Reston study is likely to find, predictions that have influenced the nature of the research that I have proposed for Reston.

If my conclusions about Levittown are any guide, it is likely that the majority of Reston residents will be attracted to the community by the house and that, once there, the major focus of their life will be on the family, friends, neighbors, recreational facilities, and organizations -- in that order of importance. Once the novelty of the community has been assimilated, I would expect that, other than for a minority of sports enthusiasts and community activists, life in Reston is not likely to be significantly different from that of most other suburbs with populations of the same age and socio-economic level. Indeed, teenagers will probably be the major users of the town's recreational facilities. Thus, I would expect that for most people no major changes in life-style or in attitude will take place and, rather, that a group of people -- many of them previously suburbanites -- who want to expand and perfect a life-style developed previously to Reston, will move into the community.

I would also predict that, generally speaking, people will find their associates and friends among people of similar educational and cultural background, and that whatever diversity of population develops will bring about the formation of subcultural groups and cliques in the community. They will live peacefully side by side, with only occasional and non-intimate contact between them, unless their interests diverge to such an extent that the differences become a focus of social and political disagreement or even conflict. For example, it is possible that animosity might develop between the intensive users of recreational facilities and the sporadic ones, especially if the latter will be subsidizing the former. Moreover, if there is a significant population with lower incomes, it is likely to oppose any programs that it does not use itself and that will bring about a significant rise in living costs for them.

Most people in Reston will live most of their lives on the street and block on which they reside, other than for their contacts with friends and their participation in village or community-wide organizations. If Jews move into Reston in any number, they will be organizationally the most active, as will whatever other people who feel themselves to be minorities in the community.

If people are happy in Reston, and with Reston, they will develop considerable pride in the community, but I would doubt that beyond this, there would be any great "sense of community." Some blocks will be very friendly, especially at the beginning, and will feel themselves to have "community," but I would not expect people of diverse background to unite, in action or emotionally, to bring about "community." By and large, cohesion comes about when outside forces threaten a population, and this might well happen in

Reston if there is an external threat. Similarly, villages might feel themselves to be a cohesive unit if and when their interests are threatened by one of the other villages, or by the entire community, but this type of cohesion lasts only as long as the threat exists -- or can be dealt with.

If Restonites are like other suburbanites, they will not make as much use of the physical facilities as planners expect, and they will not be affected as significantly by the physical environment either. It is the social environment -- of the family, the block, the friendship circle, the voluntary organization, the church -- that is likely to take up most of their energy and involvement. This environment is likely to be shaped by the people themselves and may not have much to do with the physical environment, or even with the institutions set up in advance. Although the planner can originate institutions and

organizations, he can only provide the form. This is a shell, the content of which is going to be shaped by the desires and activities of those who are most involved in the organizations.

Thus, I am suggesting that although people in Reston are likely to be happy there, and to be proud of their community, their lives are not likely to be changed significantly by the move, and relatively few transformations in behavior or attitude will be noted by the interviewer. Moreover, relatively few differences in change will be found as between the Reston population and the control group. The major finding of the study may well be that marital, familial, occupational and social satisfactions are of most importance to people, and unless Reston has some significant impact on these -- and I doubt that it can -- the planning innovations in Reston will not have a major effect.

They will be appreciated and enjoyed, but they will function largely as a backdrop to the daily routines and copings of the people. For example, if Reston could make it possible for upper middle class women raising children to pursue latent careers on the side or for working class women to get jobs to help the family income, or if the community could help adolescents resolve the social and sexual ambiguities of their life-cycle stage, it is likely that life in Reston would have a marked impact on people. Such innovations are beyond the scope of present planning, however,

These comments should not be taken to mean that either the innovations in Reston, or the study of them, are unimportant. Improvements in the physical environment are desirable even if they do not bring about radical changes in people's lives. The careful analysis of the actual effects of the planned innovations will make it possible to show,

really for the first time, the opportunities available to physical planning to affect the lives of their clients, and conversely, to demonstrate the relatively small scope and role of physical planning on people's lives. Out of such a study should come a more accurate, as well as a more realistic understanding of the function of physical planning in the community, and of the role of the physical planner in the improvement of American society.

A study of the social and political innovations proposed for Reston -- in short, an analysis of how well they work -- will have an even more important effect: To show to what extent pre-planning of any kind can affect the lives of the people for whom it is done, and to what extent they will themselves shape the institutions and organizations which will be provided for them at Reston.