

Sense

By the sense of a settlement, I mean the clarity with which it can be perceived and identified, and the ease with which its elements can be linked with other events and places in a coherent mental representation of time and space and that representation can be connected with nonspatial concepts and values. This is the join between the form of the environment and the human processes of perception and cognition. Too often ill-defined and so passed over with a few pious regrets, this quality lies at the root of personal feelings about cities. It cannot be analyzed except as an interaction between person and place. Perception is a creative act, not a passive reception.

Sense depends on spatial form and quality, but also on the culture, temperament, status, experience, and current purpose of the observer. Thus the sense of a particular place will vary for different observers, just as the ability of a particular person to perceive form varies for different places. Nevertheless, there are some significant and fundamental constancies in the experience of the same place by different people. These constancies arise from the common biological basis of our perception and cognition, certain common experiences of the real world (gravity, inertia, shelter, fire, and sharpness, to name a few) and the common cultural norms that may be found among those who habitually use any particular place. Places have a greater or lesser sense, and so do events. Activities and celebrations associated with a location support its perception to the extent that they are themselves perceived as vivid and coherent.

The simplest form of sense is *identity*, in the narrow meaning of that common term: "a sense of place." Identity is the extent to which a person can recognize or recall a place as being distinct from other places—as having a vivid, or unique, or at least a particular, character of its own. This is a quality often sought by designers and warmly discussed among them. It has an obvious, almost banal, practical function, since the ability to recog-

nize objects is the foundation of effective action. But it has much deeper and more interesting meanings than that.

Most people have had the experience of being in a very special place, and they prize it and lament its common lack. There is a sheer delight in sensing the world: the play of light, the feel and smell of the wind, touches, sounds, colors, forms. A good place is accessible to all the senses, makes visible the currents of the air, engages the perceptions of its inhabitants. The direct enjoyment of vivid perception is further enlarged because sensible, identifiable places are convenient pegs on which to hang personal memories, feelings, and values. Place identity is closely linked to personal identity. "I am here" supports "I am."

Intense familiarity will create a sense of place, just as will special form. One's home or one's childhood landscape are usually very identifiable settings. When form and familiarity work together, the emotional result is powerful: "I am the citizen of no mean city." Tourism is based on a superficial exploitation of this same sense of place. Not many of us, however, experience that abiding pleasure (and occasional irritation, but at least heightened sensibility) of daily life in a distinctive environment—a Venice, a mountain interval, an island town.

Events can also have identity; this is the "sense of occasion." Special celebrations and great rituals have it in heightened degree. Occasion and place will reinforce each other to create a vivid present. The result is an active involvement in the immediate, material world and an enlargement of the self.

The identity of a place or event can be analyzed and crudely measured by simple tests of recognition, recall, and description. Such tests are now reasonably well developed. People may be asked to recognize photographs or other representations and to recall places verbally or graphically. The quickness and intensity of recognition and recall can be quantified roughly, as can the number of interviewees who are able to do so. These tests should be complemented by field descriptions, which identify and describe the places and events recalled, and provide a basis (along with an under-

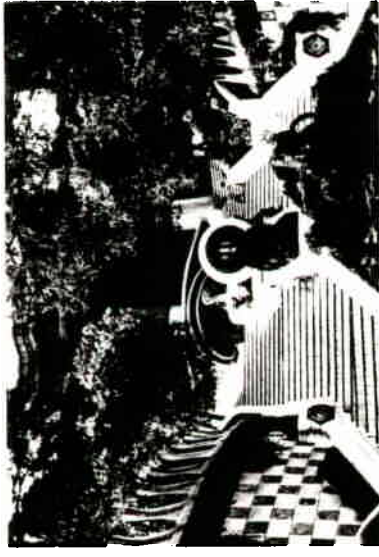
132
Sense of place and occasion

Ralph

See fig. 51

See fig. 52

Lynch 1976



51 In the Park Güell, in Barcelona, Gaudí conferred a unique identity on an old prototype—the formal baroque staircase—through a wildly imaginative use of form and material.



52 A memorable physical setting reinforces a special event: dancing the Sardana on the steps of the old cathedral in Barcelona.

standing of the culture and individual experience of the interviewees) for analyzing the reasons for the degree of identity encountered. But to rely on field description alone, as many designers are wont to do, is to neglect one major element of the interaction which gives rise to sensibility. It is a substitution of the analyst's perceptions for those of the people who actually live there. It is equally incorrect, of course, to rely solely on how people respond, without studying the locale which is the subject of their responses. But this is not such a common sin.

The next element of sense is formal *structure*, which at the scale of a small place is the sense of how its parts fit together, and in a large settlement is the sense of orientation: knowing where (or when) one is, which implies knowing how other places (or times) are connected to this place. Orientation may be an inarticulate memory of the act of navigation ("follow me"), or a more or less structured mental map (ranging from one which is a vague topological network to a scaled geometrical representation), or a remembered series of sequential images ("turn left at the beech tree beyond the green house"), or a set of verbal concepts ("wealthy suburbs surround the center-city slums"), or some combination of these.

The practical significance of orientation is clear enough: poor orientation means lost time and wasted effort, especially for strangers. It is crucial for the handicapped—the blind, in particular, but also for those crippled, retarded, or deaf. Sensible structure must be extended as the scale of daily living extends. Today, many of us are called on to understand the structure of a large urbanized region.

There are other aids to navigation than environmental form, of course, including maps and other persons. Yet the fear and confusion that attend poor orientation, and the security and pleasure evoked by its opposite, connect environmental form to deep psychological levels. In addition, good orientation enhances access and so enlarges opportunity. Local structure makes it easier for us to identify a place by perceiving how its parts fit together.

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Structure

Lynch 1965
Peets



135
Time orientation

While good structure may be highly prized by some, others are more indifferent to it, except as they move along their accustomed paths. People use many different clues to establish structure—the recognition of a characteristic form or activity in areas or centers, sequential linkages, directional relations, time and distance, landmarks, path continuities, gradients, panoramas, and many others. Tests for structure are easy to make, by means of sketching and mapping exercises, route descriptions, interviews while traveling, distance and direction estimates, and other techniques. Such tests have been carried out in many localities throughout the world, and we now have some knowledge of the relations between large-scale form and image structure—how it varies with culture and situation, and in what ways it seems to be invariant. We know much less about how the environmental image develops, however. Nevertheless, composite maps of structural strength and failure can be generated for certain populations in regard to certain places—just as they can be made for identity.

There is also an orientation in time. It includes that grasp of clock time which enables us to order our day, know when events occur, and coordinate our actions with those of others. It also includes the deeper emotional sense of how the present moment is linked to the near or distant past and future. The deep sense of orientation in time is very likely more important to most people than is the corresponding sense of orientation in space. Moreover, since our internal representation of time is poorer than our internal representation of space, we are more dependent on external clues to keep us temporally oriented. Thus, environmental forms and sequences are very useful for anchoring and extending our temporal orientation: clocks, natural processes, activity rhythms, signs, lighting, historical preservation, celebrations, ritual, and the like. Orientation in time may be analyzed by asking people to describe temporal linkages, to make estimates of time or duration, or to describe past or future. But the techniques are not as well developed as those of analyzing spatial orientation.

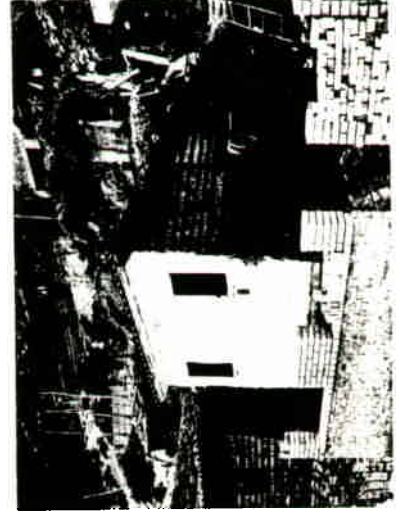
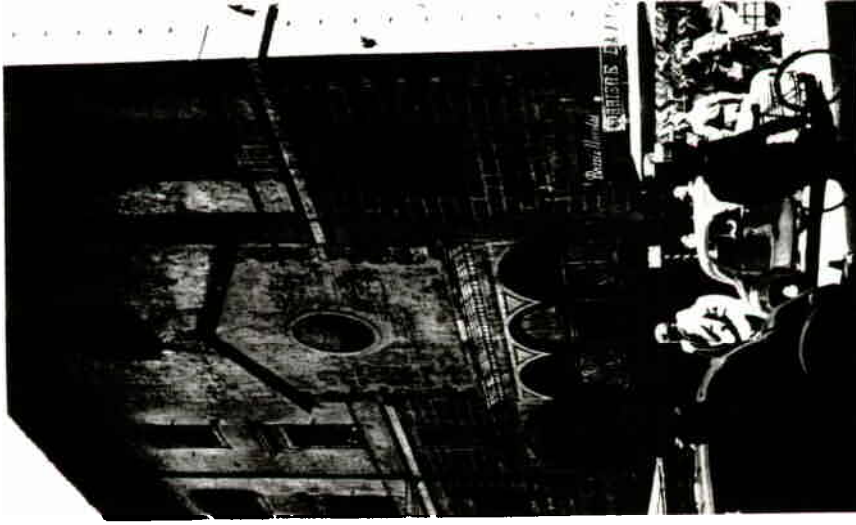
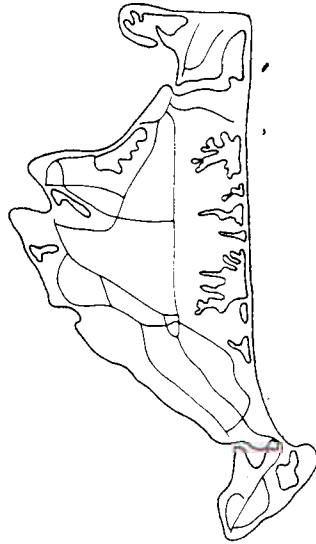
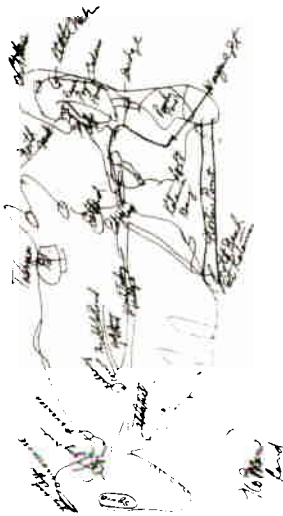
See fig. 53

Appleyard

Lynch 1972

See fig. 54

53 A resident of Chappaquiddick, on the eastern end of Martha's Vineyard, sketches her concept of that island. Compare this with a normal outline map: familiar places are enlarged and names are clustered, yet the characteristic features are preserved, especially the natural ones.



54 On the Piazza dell'Olio in Florence, the facade of San Salvatore al Vescovo (about 1220) is imbedded in the Archbishop's Palace (about 1580), and so makes visible the historic leap in urban scale. In a Greek squatter settlement, on the other hand, the sequence of construction makes the future visible.

Identity and structure are those aspects of form which allow us to recognize and pattern space and time in themselves. Next come those qualities which help us to connect settlement form with other features of our lives. The first level may be called *congruence*: the purely formal match of environmental structure to nonspatial structure. That is, does the abstract form of a place match the abstract form of its functions, or of the features of the society which inhabits it? For example: Are residential buildings family size, if residing is done by families, or do they contain many unrelated families? Is a locality of strong visual character inhabited by a distinct group of strong social character? Are ownership and social dominance matched by visible divisions and dominances in the world of things? Is city form most intense at the peaks of activity? Are big places associated with big groups and main channels with main flows? Is the rhythm of visible activity congruent with the rhythm of social activity, or with the rotation of the earth or the rhythms of the human body? Take one banal example: the large parking lot is an ugly, uncomfortable, often disorienting convenience. It has the leftated meaning of a storage yard; its massed cars are so many empty shells. But the parking space by the house displays the family car, a machine with personality, by which neighbors recognize the presence of its owner.

Congruence is the perceptual ground of a meaningful environment, which in its full sense is a much more complicated subject. Congruence can be tested for by abstracting or diagramming the parts, links, and intensities of a place and seeing how they match up with similar abstractions of the function, economy, society, or natural process of that place. Such tests may be confirmed by asking local people to describe the formal match between place and function.

Transparency or "immediacy" is another relatively simple component of sensibility.* By this I mean the degree to which one can directly perceive the operation of the various technical functions, activities, and social and natural processes that are

*Using "sensibility" in its now obsolete meaning of "capability of being perceived by the senses."

occurring within the settlement. Can one actually see people at work? hear the waves strike the shore? observe the course of a family argument? see what a truck is carrying or how the sewage drains away? touch what is for sale or see when the parking lot is full? watch the transfers of money and messages? Some of these processes are important, some interesting, some trivial, others abhorrent. They convey a "sense of life" in any settlement, and, with congruence, are the direct perceptual basis for deeper meanings. Functions presented immediately to our senses help us to understand the world. Thus we gain practical competence and maturity. Certain processes are basic, and the ability to sense them is a fundamental satisfaction: for example, the action and movement of persons; the processes of production; the evidence of maintenance, care, and control; group conflict and cooperation; the rearing of children; human affection birth and dying; the transformations of plants; the motions of the sun. Other processes must be visible to allow us to carry out our normal daily functions. Still others are best left hidden. A common complaint about the modern city is that it is opaque impersonal, lacking in immediacy. Yet motives of privacy, prudery, and control may urge us to maintain that opacity. The subject can be sensitive, but our culture seems to be shifting toward a greater openness. Transparency can be analyzed by field observation and by asking strangers and residents (including the blind) to describe the processes that are apparent to them as they look at the city, listen to it, touch it, smell it.

The urban environment is a medium of communication, displaying both explicit and implicit symbols: flags, lawns, crosses, signboards, picture windows, orange roofs, spires, columns, gates, rustic fences. These signs inform us about ownership, status, group affiliation, hidden functions, goods and services, proper behavior, and many other things which we find it useful or interesting to know. This is a component of sense that we might call *legibility*: the degree to which the inhabitants of a settlement are able to communicate accurately to each other via its symbolic physical features. These systems of environmental signs are almost entirely

55 A fisherman mends his nets in a peripheral street of Venice. A basic economic activity is immediately presented to the senses, a rare occurrence in the contemporary city.



56 Citizens converse, using the surfaces of the city. But one must know the symbols to understand the talk.



a social creation and are often unintelligible to the cultural stranger. But they can be analyzed for content, accuracy, and intensity by any familiar observer, and those findings can be confirmed by interviews and photographic simulation tests conducted with the inhabitants of the place. The signage of a place may be rich or lean, accurate or false, important or trivial, open or dominated. It may be rooted—that is, located in the same space or time as the activities, persons, or conditions to which it refers—or it may be free-floating and only abstractly related. Environmental form may be manipulated to suppress and control this spatial talk, or it may make it freer, less in conflict or more expressive, as well as rooted, accurate, or useful. Environmental forms may be created, or combined in new ways, to elaborate the language and thus to extend our capabilities for spatial communication.

Semiotics, which deals with the structure and meaning in symbolic communication and developed out of studies of language and of cultural anthropology, has recently turned to the meaning of settlements. Out of that effort, we may hope for more precise knowledge of how environmental symbols are employed. For the moment, however, the effort suffers from the difficulties of translating its concepts from the verbal languages—which are pure communication systems and employ separable, sequential symbols—to the environmental language, where neither condition holds.

Some contemporary architects, attracted to these fashionable ideas and in flight from previous "functional" theory, are engaged in designs which manipulate applied symbols in a free and eclectic way, meaning by such allusions to deepen the symbolic resonance of their buildings. Under the fond illusion that meaning resides in the object they play an esoteric game, whose messages may shortly be exhausted or become incomprehensible once the shock is over.

Congruence, transparency, and legibility are components of sense which describe explicit connections of settlement form to nonspatial concepts and values. But there is a deeper level of connection, one much more difficult to specify and measure, which we might call the expressive or symbolic

bolic *significance* of a place. To what degree, in the minds of its users, is the form of any settlement a complex symbol of basic values, life processes, historic events, fundamental social structure, or the nature of the universe? This is the holistic meaning of a city, as opposed to the series of meanings conveyed by its separate symbolic elements. At times it may be the backdrop of existence, at other times only a rhetorical reference.

Whether a settlement should be designed to mean in this sense is a matter of disagreement. At times this has been the supreme function of a great city. Then it was the first task of a city builder to see that a city was a vivid symbol of his society's conception of itself and of the universe. The Islamic city, for example, was intended and widely understood as an expression of the fundamental religious concepts of that society. At other times, such an attempt has seemed ridiculous. Any deep symbolizing is left to the fancy of the individual, operating on the accidental characteristics of form. Nevertheless, we find that some symbolic connections are always made between a person's environment and her central beliefs. She may choose to focus on the symbols of home, or on those of nation, neighborhood, nature, divinity, history, or the life cycle, but the security and depth of these symbolic associations enrich her life. So I risk a general proposition: a good place is one which, in some way appropriate to the person and her culture, makes her aware of her community, her past, the web of life, and the universe of time and space in which those are contained. These symbols are culture-specific, but also draw on such common life experiences as cold and warm, wet and dry, dark and light, high and low, big and small, living and dead, movement and stillness, care and neglect, clean and unclean, freedom and restraint.

The significance of a place is difficult to specify and varies among persons and cultures. Yet common meanings do exist and are communicated. Inevitably, they are an element of settlement design. One must have an understanding of them, in order to analyze the impact of a place on its people. Standard interviewing devices have been developed to tap these connections, including the

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Significance

Crane
Jackson
Strauss
Tuan

Bianca 1976

Bachelard

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Limits of sensibility

semantic differential, the repertory grid, thematic apperception, story completion, and other techniques which proceed from surface characterizations to underlying structures of meaning: to such dimensions as potency, activity, goodness, and the like. Those techniques which allow respondents to set their own dimensions are the more sensitive ones. They all rely heavily on conventional verbal responses, and, in the search for standardize replication, suffer from a certain shallowness. These meanings may better be explored in extended discussions with inhabitants, or by living with them or to some extent by empathy. A content analysis of tales, myths, art, and poetry or a study of individual memoirs or photographs are also avenues to understanding.

Identity and structure are the "formal" components of sense. Congruence, transparency, an legibility are specific components which connect environment to other aspects of our lives. All these can be analyzed in some rather direct an objective way.* Symbolic significance, on the other hand, the deepest level of legibility, can be intuitive but is at root elusive.

None of these characteristics, however important, are absolute desiderata—qualities to be maximized. No one would want to live in an infinite vivid place, where everything is patently connected to everything else. We do not seek an absolute one-to-one correspondence between form and society; we don't wish to live in a goldfish bowl; we would be overwhelmed by a multiplicity of evocative signs. Human cognition has its limits, and the process of cognition is of greater value than the resulting mental structure. There are pleasures (and there is food for development) in puzzle ambiguities, and mysteries. We want definable elements rather than defined ones, complex connections, regions remaining to be explored, and some freedom to camouflage. Privacy—the ability to deny information about personal beliefs and actions—is a sensitive issue and a shield against tyranny.

"Objective," of course, in the sense that the analysis is open to replication and criticism. The material being analyzed is quite properly subjective.



So there are two important qualifications to the ideal of good sense: first, that there are limits at which individuals may wish to deny further knowledge of their affairs, or beyond which the human mind is overloaded, and second, that a settlement should permit an *unfolding* creation of meaning, that is, a simple and patent first order structure which allows a more extensive ordering as it is more fully experienced, and which encourages the construction of new meanings, through which the inhabitant makes the world his own. It is not so clear how this quality of unfoldingness can be measured, or perhaps even identified. How does one evaluate a place in these terms, or determine what degree of unfolding is wanted? How can it be achieved for the great diversity of people who use a modern city? Intuitively, it seems right and important, but it is difficult to specify as a workable measure. Nevertheless, a city which invites ordering is surely better than an orderly city.

Sense is an important functional concern, since he ability to identify things, to time behavior, to find one's way and to read the signs, all are requisites of access and effective action. It is also a basic component of the emotional satisfaction of living in favored places, and for that reason people compete for sensibility. It is bought and sold. It is dealt with explicitly in situations where severe disorientation is likely, or in small places, where builders hope to create or retain characteristics which will attract affluent people. Yet its application is in fact universal. It is a strong support for group identity and cohesion. Its connection to the mental development of the person may well be its most fundamental value, since a city can be a deep and comprehensive education. Creating order is the essence of cognitive development. Sensibility is useful for maintaining the continuity of adult personal identity, and the stable meanings of a culture. Perhaps it is far more useful to the growing child, who is less deeply immersed in abstract verbal notions and more open to the immediate sights and sounds of the world about him. A rich, sensuous world, full of diverse meanings and characterized by an unfolding order, is a fine growing medium, if the child is free to explore it and can at times

Hart

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Unfoldingness

145
Sense of change and
plurality

withdraw from it into some quiet and protected place. The survival of the species depends on rearing competent children. If we add our concern for the development of fully realized human beings we have before us our two primary values.

Granted that a highly sensible world may also be an inadaptably one. The structure may be too clear and fixed to be rebuilt easily. New ideas come into focus at fuzzy margins. But if strong sense may interfere with changing something, it can also support its continued usefulness. Roger Scruton comments that since the streets which Pope Sixtus carried through Rome had an esthetic aim as well as a direct functional one, "the journey through them remains satisfactory even in an age without religion."

Sensibility has often been used to impose and maintain some permanent, dominant position, as by building a monumental setting of power, or the religious center of a theocratic state. Yet it may also be effective in pluralistic and dynamic situations where the image created is one of linked multiplicity and of process rather than stasis. Since we comprehend change only with some difficulty, special devices can emphasize underlying rhythms and express the current drift of transformation, or compress history. Since different people have different strategies of structuring, the visible organization of a settlement should not be closed and unitary. Diverse clues should overlap and penetrate each other, to make a more intricate and redundant network. Making change and plurality comprehensible may well be the most challenging application of sensibility today.

The economic cost of producing a highly sensible settlement can be enormous, as in some monumental cities. The costs are not only those direct ones of construction and maintenance, but also the disabilities that a highly developed form may impose on routine functions. At the same time, sense can often be achieved at very small cost, or even at zero additional cost, beyond the time and effort required for thoughtful design. This is especially true when working with modern materials, at the local level, and when the achievement of sensibility is integrated with other ends.

Scruton

146 Costs

The sense of place is not dependent on high finish, exotic materials, or totalitarian control.

Since sense is a matter of knowledge and attitudes, its indirect political and psychological costs may be high for particular groups. For example, while more often used to maintain social dominance, it can also be employed to extend revolutionary consciousness. It can express values congenial to one group but abhorrent to another. Therefore it will be a battleground, even when its material and functional cost is low. And because it is not often recognized as an explicit value, the battle can be obscure, or seem to be fought on some other terrain. Clearly, one crucial feature of sensibility is the degree to which the image of a place is widely shared.

If it has only infrequently been an explicit issue, nevertheless we have had long experience with the sense of settlements. We can draw on a treasure house of fine historic cities and landscapes, existing and remembered. These examples have been studied frequently, but usually only as isolated visual objects. They are infrequently seen through the eyes of their own inhabitants. While certain famous locales repeatedly draw our attention, we rarely consider the legibility of those ordinary settlements where most people pass their lives. It is particularly unusual to study the image of those large urbanized regions where most citizens of the developed world now reside.

Since the quality is a join between mind and setting, the means of achieving it naturally divide themselves into two operations: changing city form on the one hand and changing mental conceptions on the other. Designers have focused on the first of these, and the list of devices is lengthy.

One may work to clarify the circulation system as the key to settlement structure by making understandable street patterns, heightening the identity of streets and destinations, making intersections intelligible, or creating vivid spatial sequences along some important path. The baroque avenue was one classic example of this emphasis. Achieving a clear layout of streets in a subdivision is a more recent and modest example.

Cullen
Kutcher
Sittie

See figs. 57, 58

147 Changing form or perception

One may also make districts which have strong visual identity or endow them with visible boundaries; build active centers of special character; create visible and audible landmarks strategic points and times; exploit and intensify natural features; or conserve and enhance an existing urban character.

Orienting buildings to the apparent movement of the sun makes the compass directions legible and increases our sense of the structure of time. One may try to make the environment more transparent in the activities it shelters, or more congruent with them. Good maintenance and visible care may be promoted. Community celebrations may be encouraged or sights and sounds be provided which dramatize the time of day or season.

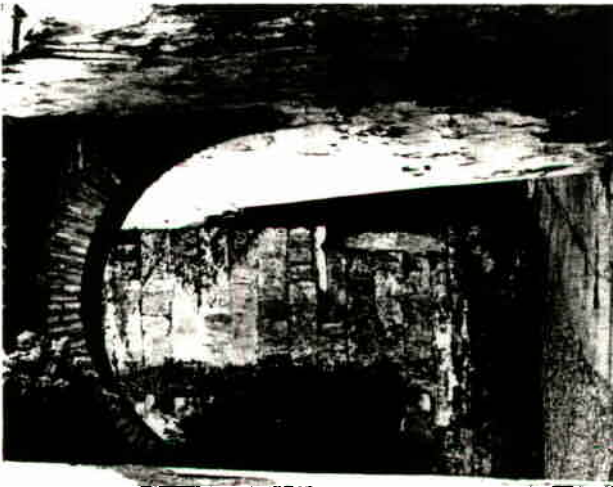
Although there have been frequent attempts to control or suppress the legibility of places, efforts to develop and enhance it are less frequent. While historic conservation is used to make connections with the past, less thought is given to make connection to the future. The perceptual requirements special groups have yet to be routinely considered: the blind, the deaf, the aged, the retarded, the demented, those in wheelchairs.

It is also possible to increase sensibility by improving the human ability to perceive the environment, and this is less often thought of. Designers trained to focus on things. One may educate users to attend to their environment, learn more about it, to order it, to grasp its significance. "Environmental education" is just one coming out of the woods and fields to explore the cities we live in. As it does so, it touches on social issues, which make its work more dangerous and more hopeful.

Names, signs, recordings, symbolic codes and other similar devices can increase the level of available information and make the setting more intelligible. By their symbolic manipulations, artists and writers create new environmental meanings and teach us new ways of looking. Paris became more legible after the Impressionists had painted it, a generation after the scrap metal of a junkyard was no longer shapeless. Dickens helped to create a

Knowles

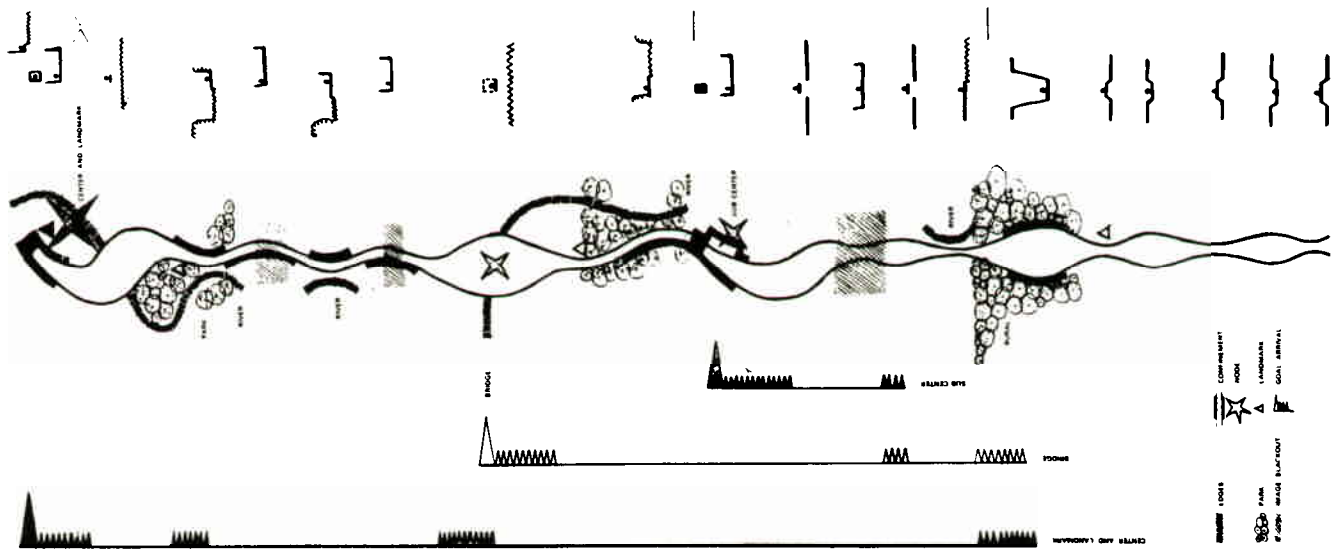
Goodey



57 An accidental visual sequence may have a powerful effect. On a walk through the narrow streets of Córdoba, the space draws one forward as it twists and opens out.



58 A visual sequence meant to be experienced in motion can be explicitly designed. This sketch for an imaginary highway progression deals with its turns, its movement up and down, the opening and closing of adjacent space, the forward views, and the succession of objects that will pass alongside.



London we experience as surely as its actual builders did.

Indirectly, sense is affected by the nature of control and by the fit of form to behavior. Local ownership tends to strengthen the mental sense of connection. A good functional match usually means a more congruent landscape, and often (not always, by any means) a more transparent, significant, and identifiable one.

In the past, the consideration of sense has been based solely on an analysis of the physical environment. Concepts such as harmony, beauty, variety, and order have been thought of as attributes of the thing itself. Designers have unconsciously relied on their own implicit values and perceptions, projecting them on the physical world as if they were inherent qualities. Not so—one begins with the images and priorities of the users of a place and must look at place and person together.

It could be explicit public policy to increase certain types of sense for certain groups of people, measuring achievement by some of the "objective" tests mentioned above. The sense of one settlement can be compared with that of another, for a given group. Policy issues would revolve around the relative importance of sensibility in relation to other ends, and who stands in most need of it, and what limits need to be imposed on it. The plurality of users in any large settlement will always pose technical problems. Thus sensibility will be easier to attain in more stable and homogeneous societies. It is likely to be important both in rich and poor settlements, since human perception is a constant, but the means for achieving it will differ. There is always a danger that sense will be used as a device to gain dominance or to fix the status quo. But this is not inherent in the quality, and perhaps the most interesting questions of design have to do with achieving sensibility in societies which are plural, dynamic, and relatively egalitarian. Identity, structure, congruence, transparency, and legibility are aspects of sense which we can analyze explicitly. The qualities of significance and of unfoldingness remain to puzzle us.

9

Fit

The fit of a settlement refers to how well its spatial and temporal pattern matches the customary behavior of its inhabitants. It is the match between action and form in its behavior settings and behavior circuits. So we may ask if a factory building the machines within it, and the way those space and objects are put to use are a good system for achieving the production to which it is devoted. How smoothly do work actions and work objects fit together? From the viewpoint of management, this will be mirrored in productive efficiency—from the standpoint of labor, in feelings of well-working. Similarly, one asks if a classroom is a good teaching place, or if a new stadium is a first-class device for putting on a football spectacle. The personal correlate of fit is the sense of *competence*—the ability to do something well, to be adequate or sufficient.

Fit is linked to characteristics of the human body and of physical systems in general (gravity, inertia, the propagation of light, size relations, etc.). This context is universal. But since fit is the match between place and whole patterns of behavior, so it is intimately dependent on culture: on expectations, norms, and customary ways of doing things.

Places are modified to fit ways of behaving, and behaviors are changed to fit a given place. Fishermen learn to deal with the sea, even if fishermen from different cultures deal with it in different ways. The modification of action has been most striking in the case of games, where behavior is plastic. Court tennis is a game which evolved from the arbitrary characteristics of a particular room. Step ball is a creature of the city stoop.

Suburban housing is matched to affluent, middle-class, North American adults and unsuitable for poor Navajos just in from remote sheep pastures. The newly housed Navajo will begin to change the suburban house and his way of living in it to increase the fit. But the misfit will persist, and he will be discontented. In contrast to a measure such as vitality, it is not possible to evaluate fit if one is