how we organise and structure it, where the world studied is the ordinary everyday one'), language philosophy, and recent developments in linguistics (which 'indicate … the importance of particular situations which are richly described'), and ethnomethodology ('how we make up the categories we use in our social life, how we index the world').

Each of these studies is seen as variously emphasising the importance of the individual as part of wider social groupings, his interpretation of the world around and his contacts within it. Each lays an emphasis on the interpretation of the everyday world, an approach which is very different from those of either the established formal planning models or the architectural aesthetics of most urban design theory. A fundamental connection between the new group of studies lies in the attitude that regards the users of land not in some disembodied way (Krieger's criticism), but as motivated, perceiving and responsive persons for whom successful interaction with their environment is an essential prerequisite of 'land use'. The development of a design approach which, one way or another, is based upon these attitudes is traced in the following section.

The social usage approach to urban design

Kevin Lynch

Kevin Lynch's short book *The Image of the City*[16] is seminal among pioneers of the social usage approach. Its importance lies not so much in its limited application in practice,[17] but in the foundation for urban design it established by making apparent the perceptual basis of urban images. Lynch attempted to shift urban design's framework in two ways, and both are stated explicitly in the opening pages of his book.

The first shift is the realisation that, although the city may give pleasure and thereby relate to artistic creation, it is not a cultivated but a commonplace experience, shared by different people: in Lynch's words—'on different occasions and for different people, the sequences are reversed, interrupted, abandoned, cut across. It is seen in all lights and weathers' (p. 1). The city is experienced in the context of everyday events and associations, past and present and extending beyond the immediate present and its perception: 'Nothing is experienced by itself', writes Lynch 'but always in relation to its surroundings, the series of events leading up to it, the memory of past

experiences' (p. 1). To emphasise the personal orientation of this standpoint and to include more than architectural matters Lynch adds that 'we are not simply observers of this spectacle, but are ourselves a part of it, on the stage with the other participants' (p. 2).

The second major shift is in the object of study. Instead of examining the city itself, its physical and material form, Lynch states that it is people's perceptions of it that are to be examined: 'We must consider not just the city as a thing in itself but the city being perceived by its inhabitants' (p. 3). The implication here that there may be a *difference* between the city itself and the city that is being perceived is fundamental. It is an admission without parallel in urban design literature, and still seems difficult for many designers to conceive.

Despite being intended as a 'first word and not a last word, an attempt to capture ideas and suggest how they might be developed and tested' (p. 3), *The Image of the City* seems to have provided another jargon vocabulary for designers. Little use—or development in practice—of the techniques has been made and certainly the broader implications of the idea that it is individual perceptions and reactions that should be important features in urban design practice, complementary at least to traditional architectural emphasis, have generally been neglected.

Jane Jacobs

Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*,[18] published just after *The Image of the City*, is well known for its aggressive criticism of the results of city planning, especially large scale redevelopments. However, the author points out, even in the first paragraph of the book, that her 'attack is not based on quibbles about rebuilding methods or hair splitting about fashions in design. It is an attack, rather, on the principles and aims that have shaped modern city planning' (p. 13). The attack on results has endured as the image of her book. Her methods—alternative principles for city design—have been neglected, but they are important indicators of an urban design based in real life social situations and use. They stand up well when viewed against Krieger's critique; they are based on richly described real life situations, whose credible individuals and incidents form the basis of an evaluative aesthetic derived from experience in the world.

The opening chapters of the book discuss the uses of urban elements, such as sidewalks and parks, in great detail. This approach she contrasts with visionary, utopian design, deriving equally from