Identity, Power, and Place:
A Review of Donald Appleyard's Unfinished Manuscript

Many of us feel the loss and the tragic irony that Donald Appleyard's death should have been caused by a careening automobile, the very device whose rational control he had so long been advocating. And since at his death he was at the height of his powers, our feelings are honed to a sharper edge.

With a long creative record behind him, he was moving in new directions, blooming before our eyes. He went steadily, throughout his career, from one accomplishment to the next, and yet, for all his patient, precise, and thorough methods of work, he was endowed with an astonishing creativity, a fountain of ideas and of human warmth.

I will pass lightly over his extensive output and his substantial achievements in environmental design—work that is already known and having an effect. He advanced from early interests in city images to careful studies in Gozaya and later in San Francisco, which made clear the diverse images that are held by various groups, how city form affects those images, and how that knowledge can be applied to making an environment humane. His early studies of the view from the road led to a far more careful analysis of the inner-city street system in Boston, thence to the creation of the Environmental Simulation Laboratory, and then to his seminal studies of street livability, which brought environmental quality to bear directly on public policy. Donald could fantasize, imagine new possibilities, and speak passionately about the city, as he did in Kendall Square, Cambridge; San Diego, Reno; and Dodoma in Tanzania.

He could be absolutely rigorous, tough-minded, and realistic, as when he conducted his analyses or considered the politics of city streets. Former students remember his teaching; colleagues know his skill as an administrator. He was modest, eager to learn from others, possessed of a self-deprecating humor, and passionately and absolutely determined.

Donald made bridges: between urban design and social sciences, between the way people perceive and value their setting and the professional process of its design. He was an activist, a teacher, a researcher, and a humanist. He was interested in the livability of streets and neighborhoods, in the control of local traffic, in conservation, in the perception of place, in the community, in supporting the public life. He had lectured in dozens of countries in Europe and the Third World, had a great store of friends, and was intimate with the new advances in city planning throughout the world. But if his base for 15 years was Berkeley, his second home was Boston. His articles and reports make a lengthy list. His books deal with city perception, city conservation, and the management of traffic.

The list seems that of a man just completing a full career. Yet those who know him saw him in the very act of flowering: invited to Greece.
to advise on a new turn in local planning, launched and editing a new journal to be called Places, and opening up new intellectual leads on the symbolism of place. The tragic accident in Athens put a stop to all these hopes.

This is well known. My sharpest regrets, however, beyond the sense of personal loss, are for the work that Donald was beginning. For all his previous accomplishments, one had the sense that he was just striking his own vein of thought, starting to see the symbolic meaning of the city as the subject that brought all his aims and bounces to a common focus. He was beginning to break that subject open in a way that semiotics, with its reliance on the linguistic model, has not yet been able to do.

Of course, this was not a completely new preoccupation, nor his alone. Some historians, geographers, and critics of the city are turning in that same direction. And I remember some of our arguments, years ago, in which he pressed hard for an analysis of the meaning, and not simply of the identity and structure, of places. Some of this was reflected in the text of an early student study at MIT called “Signs in the City.” In fact, in the last few years of his life, thinking about meaning claimed Donald’s attention and was expressed in a series of draft articles, and, especially, in the unfinished manuscript for a book, to be called Identity, Power, and Place. I review this manuscript briefly here, realizing that the review is completely unfair, since the work was clearly incomplete, not wholly thought through, and only partly organized. Moreover, the author is not here to correct me. Yet the work must not go unnoticed. While reading these sheets, I felt as though Donald and I were once again talking together.

Professionals, he begins by saying, are unaware of the symbolic content of the environment, or of their own plans, while laymen see places primarily as a social medium. Professionals “de-symbolize” the environment to handle it on a neutral, technical level. While some of the avant-garde theorists speak eloquently of symbols, they divorce them from society and consider them a pure attribute of form. So “logical” proposals “break up on the iceberg of social meaning.” In his book Donald intended to make laymen and professionals aware of these meanings, and, thereby, to enhance the citizen’s sense of identity and control. He asserts that the role of symbolism in the physical setting becomes steadily more critical as society becomes more complex and its members feel more alienated from its settings and its processes. Moreover, he sees the study of environmental symbolism as a way of bridging the intellectual gulf that has opened up between physical and social planning. The city, in his metaphor, is frozen speech and frozen social action.

The manuscript is rich in themes and observations but its starting point and central idea is the relation of place and place identity to the social formation of self and group identity. He details the psychological process and role of identity formation, drawing on many sources but particularly on Erikson, and explains the way in which place supports or suppresses, develops or degrades, that sense of identity. He discusses the home, the neighborhood, the street, and the city center, and finds in that identity much of the substance of conflict over what the city shall be, and much of the source of our satisfactions and discomforts. He uncovers the great diversity among the identities that are being sought and expressed, and, while he applauds individual expression, he worries that its excessive display may be antisocial. Clearly, he sympathizes with the group, with the public life, and hopes for a society which is diverse but open, fluid but endowed with a sense of wholeness and strong identity. That is, local communities should be self-aware but not exclusive. Many of his ideas are expressed in such dichotomies as: individual/group, inside/outside, exclusion/openness, home/distant place, control/freedom, commitment/change, and prestige/stigma. His central value is “health,” or the appropriate balance between polar opposites.

Donald shows how identity is the joint creation of individual and society. He discusses the process of identity formation—socially defined roles and rebellions, moratoriums, experiments, regressions, commitment and commitment/overcommitment—and how this process is supported or echoed in the physical setting. Different personalities, classes, or stations in the life cycle have different needs
for expression, exploration, ambiguity, or defense. Physical settings have an important function in this difficult process—indeed, a special place, because of the relative stability of the physical world, the rich ambiguity of the messages it carries, and its psychological “distance” or “passivity,” which makes it less threatening to someone in inner ferment. He explains the significant differences between the environmental and the verbal languages, differences which make the application of semiotics to the city so chancy. He speaks of the contrast between “wholeness,” coherence due to strong internal connections, and “totality,” the unity gained by setting rigid boundaries, and applies that distinction to city places. He shows how places that are adaptive and evolving, and yet under the control of those who use them, are most supportive of the crucial process of personal and group identity formation. He talks of the way in which dominant landmarks, first seen as alien intrusions, become, in time, part of the familiar and loved identity of a place, and how people at certain stages of their lives, or in difficult situations, must retreat into anonymity and ambiguity, and, thus, seek hiding places without character.

A large part of the manuscript concerns the polarities of home and not-home, inside and outside, locals and tourists. The former know the social relations that underlie their locality—they read it easily. The latter depend on visible symbols to be read on the run. They must distort, simplify, and grasp at superficial meanings. As our society becomes more complex, and its links more extensive, and as people become more mobile, we are more often tourists than locals, and thus more dependent on what we can learn from the visible setting before us.

The city becomes a spectacle, an aesthetic object rather than something known from the inside. Power relations are smoothed over, historic environments are simplified and idealized. More places are managed as comfortable tourist attractions, with live-in actors and clearly presented symbols ready to be photographed. It is all from: the presence of labor, dirt, and material goods is concealed. Tourism contaminates and trivializes places, and yet is essential to the worldwide exchange of ideas and values, and a source of enjoyment and education for many. Donald was an enthusiastic traveller, skilled in probing beneath the surfaces of things, and yet also appreciating memorable surface appearances. He looked for authenticity, the reliable connection of appearance with actual character, and saw it in constant tension with the demands of mass tourism management. He does not turn away from this increasing reliance on symbolic expression, but looks for ways to enhance authenticity and to increase the interpretive skill of the traveller. He discusses at length the means for restoring that authenticity.

He sees the environment as the product of the struggle for power. Some evidence of this struggle is patent, but much of it is hidden. As with tourism, tension exists between appearance and reality. Reading the function of a place, which has been the expressive goal of design theory, is usually much easier than reading the social relations of power that are embodied in it. The question of who controls this place and for whose benefit it is used can be more obscure, even for the insider, than that of how it is used or how it is made. Power is sometimes expressed openly, to awe the observer; more often it is discreetly hidden. What he calls the “light” and the “heavy” elements of the environment further confuse the reading. The heavy elements—the solid and permanent—are often the relics of past relations of power, while the light parts—the recent, slight changes, the traces of current activity—are more authentic clues to the real situation. What are the ethical issues here, he wonders. In an unequal society, should the real relations of power be clearly expressed, so that they may accurately be known, or should they be softened to make life more bearable? While a critic of the bloated scale of many pieces of our cities, he seeks a scale that reflects the increasing centralization of our institutions, and while a devoted admirer of the local, human-scaled community, Donald still recognizes that some man-made objects such as dams and great bridges have a “natural” large scale, and can be enjoyed as such. Similarly, he criticizes artificial miniaturizations such as the three-quarter scale settings of Disneyland and the artfully designed complexities of
some large buildings, which are meant to bring these structures down to an inauthentic, but comfortable, size.

There are authoritarian, dominated places, marked by isolation, barriers, great size, and controlled activity, as well as open places, where strangers and diverse activities mix more freely. There are prestigious places and stigmatized ones: prisons, asylums, dumps, and shacktowns. There are places possessed by their users, and others in which their users are aliens. Clearly, his sympathies lie with decentralized user control and, especially, with the public life— with those communities where diverse groups meet and mingle and where community identity is expressed in common celebrations. He laments the increasing privatization of congregate spaces, such as is brought on by the enclosed shopping mall, the downtown atrium, or by the monopoly of the street by the private car. While he firmly advocates local group control, he also sees the tensions between local control and openness to strangers. Many of these ideas are forcefully expressed in the Urban Design Manifesto, which he wrote—just before his death—with Allan Jacobs. The good city is one that has a strong public life; is rooted (that is, authentically connected to its way of life); centered; in scale with the individual and the small group; rich and diverse in its people and its activities; open to, but not overcome by, strangers; cared for; and distinctive in form.

Public places become necessarily theaters of conflict, as different groups struggle for possession or entry. Donald tells stories of the environmental war over People’s Park in Berkeley, of the high-rise controversy in San Francisco, and of the motorist/pedestrian contests over traffic barriers in residential streets. He reveals the importance of environmental symbolism in those battles, both as tactics and as substance. He discusses groups such as ARAU in Brussels and the Covent Garden Community Association in London, which use issues of environmental form and meaning as key elements in their strategy for social change. One chapter, to my knowledge never written, would have analyzed environments of revolution and decolonization. Half-formed, the manuscript is rich in leads. In one place, for example, Donald lays out the various sensory, instrumental, and symbolic meanings of a tree, which furnish many different groups in society the motives for protecting trees—or for attacking, manipulating, or disregarding them. It is quite a list: an agenda for research and an intriguing clue to the tree wars.

If Donald were still with us, I would delight in continuing our marginal disputes about this or that implication of what he was doing. But, more of all, I would have urged him to get on with his central work. Someone must be willing to take on the difficult task of putting these pieces into publishable form, whether as separate articles or as an unfinished book. More than that, others must follow out the questions he was opening up.

Kevin Lynch
Fragments from his work . . .

The View from the Road, MIT Press, 1964.
Kevin Lynch and John R. Myer, co-authors

... roadwatching is a delight, and the highway is—or at least might be—a work of art. The view from the road can be a dramatic play of space and motion, of light and texture, all on a new scale. These long sequences could make our vast metropolitan areas comprehensible: the driver would see how the city is organized, what it symbolizes, how people use it, how it relates to him. To our way of thinking, the highway is the great neglected opportunity in city design. (p. 3)

The objectives of design [are] . . . to present the viewer with a rich, coherent sequential form, a form which has continuity and rhythm and development, which provides contrasts, well-paired transitions, and a moving balance . . . to clarify and strengthen the driver’s image of the environment, to give him a picture which is well-structured, distinct, and as far-ranging as possible . . . to deepen the observer’s grasp of the meaning of his environment; to give him an understanding of the use, history, nature, or symbolism of the highway and its surrounding landscape . . .

We believe these objectives can be achieved in highway design. Usually, alas, one aspires to nothing more than an absence of irritation on the road. (p. 18)

The protection and creation of livable streets is not simply a matter of increasing the comfort or safety of urban living. The street has other functions. As the place where most children grow up, it is a crucial mediator between the home and the outside world, where the child learns to confront strangers and environments on his own. It should be a receptive and reasonably safe environment that the child can explore, manipulate, and use as a setting for all kinds of activities. The street has personal and social meaning for adults and old people, too. It symbolizes one's position in the world almost as much as the house one lives in. And the social relations that take place on the street, its potential for neighborhood and street life, are values of urban life to be treasured . . . . (p. 9)

The conservation of livable streets and neighborhoods is now a national issue. As the urban renewal program fades into history, and money for inner-city rehabilitation is scarce, low-cost methods of improving urban environments are among the only choices available. And as the freeway construction program slows to a virtual halt, the inexorable increases in traffic—especially in those neighborhoods around central cities and major urban centers—will somehow have to be managed to prevent their unnecessary destruction. All this will demand a more imaginative and sensitive form of urban and transportation planning than we have had in the past. It will involve:

1. A thorough understanding of what goes on in residential areas, who lives there, the particular problems of different groups, and the changes taking place.
2. A variety of strategies to create more livable streets and protected neighborhoods to alleviate or compensate for conditions where traffic is necessary.
3. Effective participation programs that properly inform and encourage those affected by traffic changes to become involved in the planning process.
4. Reliable and relevant methods of assessing the costs and benefits of changes to different population and interest groups. (pp. 10-11)

(Permission to reprint excerpts from Donald Appleyard's Livable Streets kindly granted by University of California Press.)

2 San Francisco: Neighboring and visiting on three streets: lines show where people said they had friends or acquaintances. Dots show where people are said to gather.

3 Free verbal recall of districts and places. The major sections, the steel mills, the Canon Falls, the airport, and the Iron Pierz Company are the best remembered areas in the city.

4 Structural styles (examples).

The ways in which the inhabitants structured the city were most clearly revealed through their interview maps...

The maps predominantly used sequential elements (roads) or spatial elements (individual buildings, landmarks, or districts), the most accomplished maps employing combinations of both elements...

Within each of these map types, four subtypes were identified. Within the sequential type, there was a fairly clear gradation from the most primitive looking, which contained fragments of sequences, through chains and branch and loop maps, to more complex and usually more accurate network maps. The spatial maps were more difficult to place neatly on any gradient. A number were scatter and cluster maps of dots, points, or names, and these appeared to be the most primitive. Another set were mosaic in form; still others were linked. The final group, the more accurately patterned, were the only spatial group that stood out definitely as more sophisticated and assured. (p. 156–157)

We do not gain a complete understanding of city structuring from this survey. The task of drawing a map can tell us a great deal about some structuring methods but little about structuring through visual imagery, association, or symbolism, since maps usually abstract...
elements and emphasize their spatial location. What the maps do emphasize is the extraordinary variety of methods people use to conceptualize cities. (p. 161)

At this point it will be useful to step back from the map data, which is only one method of understanding how people structure cities, and try to visualize, with the experience gained from the field surveys, how people actually relate the various parts of cities. There appear to be three principal methods of structuring cities: an associational method, depending on the differentiation, association, and patterning of images and character; a topological method, stressing continuity and juncture; and a positional method, emphasizing spatial placement, direction, and distance . . .

Associational structuring depends on the ability to differentiate parts of the city and associate them in groups or patterns. (p. 167)

Finally, awareness of pluralism can be a source of imaginative planning. The urban vocabularies of each population group could be used to shape the city. Group environments can be created. A city should communicate to the naive and the sophisticated, the poor and the rich, migrants and long-term residents, bus and automobile travelers, the conservative and the adventurous. (p. 231)

The public environment will be plurally received and must be plural in nature. It should be representative of its city, not simply the monumental facade that it is in some cities or the crowded, polluted, repellant place that it is becoming in most cities. For the public environment to be an arena for communication, it must be attractive enough for people to want to go there—and get out of their cars. The public environment of medieval cities was a place where people actually met each other, a stage where the scenery was recognized and understood. The modern city is in danger of having its population withdraw entirely from its public environment, both for reasons of livability and for lack of interest. (pp. 244–245)
Associational patterns of the east-west road before 1944.
The figure emphasizes the characteristics of movement, enclosure, views, terrains, rivers, and urban development as they were imagined along the road.

6 Form patterns.
The map describes the form qualities of the main urban elements, their level of intensity, singularity, or significance.

7 Activity patterns.
The map describes the distribution of activity centers, the road, rail, some arteries, the bridge, the ferry, and various commercial and public facilities in the settlements.

8 Topological structure.
The varied and broken terrain made for dependence on topological structuring, but the sharp changes in character and direction of the main roads impaired even topological continuity.

9 Positional structure.
The positional structure of the city consisted of islands of directional clarity—Puerto Chica, Fac Filia—and certain areas—parts of the main road, floating in a sea of ambiguity, only partially connected by views across the valley.

The principal themes of this book will be the role that physical conservation plays in the lives of those who inhabit cities, the functional, social, and cultural significance of this environment to the different populations who live in the inner city, and the ways in which their needs and values can be satisfied and supported. The physical environment will also be seen as political territory, part of an often unconscious power struggle between different populations, professionals, and decision makers. . . .

Most of the essays are about neighborhoods, since conservation, in a marked degree, cares for the detailed and small-scale qualities of cities, their people, the maintenance or rehabilitation of houses, public buildings, street character, small industry, local open spaces, trees, and back yards. . . .

The principal message from these papers is that although Europeans are now aware of the devastating impact that development, tourism, and redevelopment can have on historic cities and old neighborhoods, their conservation efforts are fraught with conflicts. We shall find that conservations differ among themselves about what conservation means: that policies and acts of conservation can unexpectedly defeat their original intentions; that physical conservation provides no assurance of social conservation; the maintenance of the existing population; that the administrative structure of planning, created in a period when planning was tyrannous with development, is ill-suited to the small-scale, community-oriented needs of conservation; that social conservation may result in physical deterioration, and so on.

Conservation itself, like so many planning concepts, is often a mirage, an illusion that it is possible to retrieve the past or conserve the present by contemporary action. In fact, everything we touch, even the conceptual act of designating a neighborhood for conservation, changes our view of it and subtly modernizes it.

(pp. 9–10)

The conflicts brought out in this volume should not obscure the deeper meaning of conservation to all groups in society, to capitalists as well as Socialist societies. Evidence of the past tells us about our origins. In a strange way, though most old cities have been built by builders quite alien to modern democracy, their original meanings no longer threaten. They have become idealized, part of a common cultural heritage, that draws us all together in the effort to save them. On this we have some agreement. The difficulties lies in the realm of social conservation. (p. 48)
Visual Simulation in Environmental Planning and Design, University of California/Berkeley, 1979, Kenneth H. Craik, co-author

When an architect, planner, or engineer draws a perspective, makes a model, or presents a plan, he is simulating a future environment. Too often, these simulations are quite distant from the ultimate reality as it will be experienced. Plans are difficult for laymen to understand; perspectives and models provide an illusion of reality that is frequently inaccurate. Drawings and perspectives are necessarily selective, and designers choose the viewpoints and features that best communicate their ideas of what the project ought to be like. At best there is a rich mixture of hope in these presentations; at worst there is outright deception.

Decision making in environmental planning, engineering, and design has until recently been closely contained within restrictive professional circles. This situation has been encouraged and reinforced by the use of specialized language, which create barriers to understanding communication, and involvement by concerned and affected citizens. The abstract nature of the typical environmental media (i.e., plans, elevations, renderings) on which decision making is based fails to acknowledge the experience of the untrained public.

Goals of the Berkeley Environmental Simulation Laboratory

1. Identifying parameters that affect their psychological effectiveness.
2. Better understanding of the use of simulations in the communication and resolution of environmental issues.
3. To improve the education of environmental professionals and the public (through the search for innovative media combinations that are in practice attractive to professionals, easy and cheap to use, and responsive to public demands for accuracy and psychological effectiveness).
4. To conduct basic research in environmental psychology.

Places/Volume 1, Number 1
Humanistic Design
Manifesto, manuscript, Appleyard and others, 1982

As agents of power, design- ers have withdrawn from social commitment. The rhetoric of social responsi- bility is still mouthed, but experiments in private form manipulation have become the obsession. . . .

This new formalism is a retreat from social responsibility and sacrifices the concerns and dreams of common people to an elitely defined aesthetic movement for the few. . . .

Break down bigness
Large-scale environmental change is inherently damag- ing; it is insensitive to local needs; it denies personal identity and participation; and the consequences are impossible to predict. Furthermore, big designs are based on highly dubious economies of scale that mainly serve corporations and bureaucrats, ignoring the far costlier effects of ecological imbalance and human alienation. Big design tasks must be broken down to human size whereby user involvement is possible, the complexity does not over- whelm, and the consequences of error are not devastating.

Free pedestrians
Until the car is curbed, children will not be free to play and trively public life will not flourish. The auto- mobile has destroyed the fabric of cities, turning formerly public places and neighborhoods into dangerous inhospitable environments.

Extend the design process
Every designed place must be thought of as an hypothesis to be tested.

Tell the truth
Designers must tell the public the truth about their designs in a language they understand.

Learn to listen
Effective design is a two-way process; we should listen as well as present.

Fight for environmental justice
Environmental justice must guide the design process. Good design strives for environmental justice or redresses an injustice. Injustice usually takes the form of inaccessibility, exclusion, or unequal distribution of resources or amenities.

Empower people
People must be empowered to control and be responsible for the design, construction, use, and maintenance of their spaces.

Use what we know
When the future users of environments are unavailable, indirect participation is still possible.

Enhance community
Environmental designers should support the emer- gence of community and public life through the sensitive creation of shared and public spaces, and settings conducive to community self-reliance.

Abolish aesthetic monopolies
Art counts. Everyone's taste is holy; the numerous aesthetics which abound in our communities are all legitimate. Designers must foster human fulfillment by providing opportunities for all people to create and affirm their emergent identities in new or adapted places.
Exploring Environmental Media, manuscript,
Kenneth H. Craik and
Peter Rossman, co-authors

"What architects do," writes
Spiro Kostal, is "to supply images for a new structure
so that it can be put up."... The media then become
the essence of the design
language, the focus of design
development, debate, and
decision-making. Think
for a moment. All major
development decisions are
now made on the basis of
simulations. (p. 1)

Simulations fall into two classes, experiential, usually
visual but they can also be
verbal, auditory or tactile,
and "abstract," or conceptual
which try to depict the
physical or spatial structure
of a project or plan, or its
social or economic form.
Throughout the history
of the design professions
there has been a tension
between these two kinds of
simulation. The first was
more important for the
client, the second more
critical for the builder. But
they are also two fundamen-
tal ways of looking at the
world (Pirsig, 19...), one
phenomenological, the other
mystical.

This book is primarily about
experiential simulation....
(p. 2)

Outline of the Book
The first chapter will sketch
out briefly the role that
media have played in the
history of the environmental
professions. Chapters 2 and
3 will introduce a conceptual
model of the role that media
play in the contemporary
design process culminating in
a communications model of
the design presentation/ plan
review hearing. Chapters 4 and
5 describe how media can be used in
the citizen participation at
different scales, drawing on a
number of experiments
conducted by our students.
Chapter 6 states the main
criteria for a good simula-
tion, especially defining the
meaning of realism, and
Chapter 7 explains how we
evaluated the level of realism
achieved in one of our first
movies. Chapter 8 reviews
the different media now
available to environmental
professions, briefly
evaluating each one against
9 criteria defined in
Chapter 6. Chapter 9
describes the uses of
simulation in environmental
psychology. An Appendix
describes in detail the
Berkeley simulator, for those
who might wish to build
their own. (p. 4)

September 27, 1982
To Students and Associates of the
Department of City & Regional
Planning, Berkeley

It is with great sadness that I must
inform you that Professor Donald
Appleyard was killed in an
automobile accident in Athens,
Greece, this past Thursday,
September 23rd. A car going in the
opposite direction at almost 100
miles per hour crashed through a
median strip and precipitated a
multi-car pileup. Don was a
passenger in a car being driven by
Professor Mania Sefert, the Greek
scholar who was in residence in
Berkeley most of the past summer.
Don was killed instantly. Mania has
been in a coma since the accident
and is not expected to live.

The loss and shock are profound to
all of us who have worked with
Don over the years. He leaves a
wife and four children. He leaves
many friends. And he leaves a
lasting legacy to city planning and
to people who live in cities—
Livable Streets—a worthy vision.
Over the weekend, as the faculty
gathered emotionally with the
shock, many of us noted that there
were few other urban researchers
we could think of whose work
during the past decade had so
directly influenced and improved
the planning of urban environments
all over the world. I'm hoping that
as the grief and hurt subsides, we
will find some meaningful way to
affirm and celebrate Don's life and
work.

Frederick C. Collignon, Chairman

Places/Volume 1, Number 1
Heeding the perception of others and rigorously expressing one’s own views—these complementary dispositions were at the center of his conception of a pluralist city (Planning a Pluralistic City, 1976), one which would encompass and be responsive to the multiple perspectives of its inhabitants. In his tolerance and forthrightness, he was himself an ideal citizen for the humane and pluralistic city he sought to bring about in his research and practice.

Kenneth H. Craik

Perhaps Donald’s greatest strength as a teacher was that he was a man of ideas. He read widely and was able to give us a broad and systematic understanding of the field’s intellectual foundations and structure. At the same time, he was intellectually creative, able to synthesize the ideas of others, to apply ideas from distant disciplines to the field, and to generate new insights of his own. Finally, and very significantly, he had a talent for helping us to uncover and develop ideas of our own. . . . His approach communicated a strong sense that what really matters is the individual, and the quality of each and every individual’s experiences and feelings.

He is survived by his wife, Shelia, and their four children: Justin, Mousa, Bruce, and Ian. He is survived, too, by thousands of people who may not have known him but whose environments and lives are more joyful and satisfying because he helped to plan them—humanely. Knowing him and knowing their own neighborhoods, many of the survivors will wonder about the sanity of automobiles that can go 150 kilometers per hour on city streets and kill people.

Allan Jacobs and Tom Dickert

Donald was able to find even in the most half-baked and uniformed idea, a kernel of truth and validity that could be nourished and brought out. And, in this way, Donald returned to his students not only good counsel but also a sense of their own integrity and intellectual ability.

Donald Appleyard also had the unique ability to translate serious ideas into practical reality. He was an activist, who made things happen in the real world, and, in this way, he gave to us students the irreducible notion that, despite all difficulties, change can be brought about and that one can make the world a better place to live and work in; and this is perhaps his lasting legacy to us all.

Terry O’Hare

If Henry James were able to have known this man, he would have found him a perfect sequel to his American heroes in Europe. Don Appleyard was a fully Americanized Englishman. His worldliness and learning had come to encompass the optimism and innocence of the American experience.

Jay Claihorne
For me, Don has been an irreplaceable friend, always open to ready dialogue, with time to listen, keeping his own views at low key. He had a special way to so gently and diplomatically draw out and question your own ideas, leaving you with a sense of personal attachment to him. Don genuinely enjoyed being a friend and his open, informal, adaptable, and completely unflagging manner invited involvement of so many of us: students, faculty, professionals... his own children... and some of mine as well.

Francis Violich

Donald

1. form and experience: attributes of physical form and activity, to bring the two into some kind of relationship in order that designers might manipulate them with an idea of the outcome in terms of experience.

   multiple perceptions of the same place, perceptions which again were suggestive of attributes of the physical form of cities, measurable attributes of place in relation to the satisfactions people derive; view from the road as well as residential areas.

2. the real and the unreal (the designers' companions): the model, gantry crane, and camera plus video recorder which he caused to have made—some of the most realistic and, reportedly, helpful simulations of the three dimensional consequences of various schemes.

   notation systems by means of which designers' jointings, environment, etc. experienced, and the physical place could all meet on the drawing board or the back of the envelope.

3. the ordinary and the ordinary: irony and richness of human experience, and would not turn our perception to averages, except that he was willing to use the force of common experience and the tools to determine what is was, but also, diversity had to be separately stimulated by places owned, designed, felt-to-be-right, private, special, and idiosyncratic without reservation.

4. love; of work and of life and of the ironies between them.

   of ideas and of people, with their failures and imperfections, and of the humor which reveals their shortcomings (like the degree of abstraction of these few remarks).

   and, finally, love of people and places, of the struggles between them, and of the extraordinary satisfactions which derive from a good relationship between the two.

Bill Porter

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There were many other testimonial given at MIT and Berkeley.
Space does not permit printing them all.