

Piotr Skurowski

Betty Friedan, Jane Jacobs, Richard Sennett and the 1960s Challenge to the Suburban Era Mystique of Security and Order

Kultura Popularna nr 4 (54), 68-77

2017

Artykuł został zdigitalizowany i opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej bazhum.muzhp.pl, gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

Piotr Skurowski

**Betty Friedan,
Jane Jacobs,
Richard Sennett
*and the 1960s'
Challenge
to the Suburban Era
Mystique of Security
and Order***

It has often been stated that the 1960s challenge to the established norms, assumptions and cultural practices left a lasting legacy in American history. Undeniably, one of the most important components of that legacy was the critique of the prevailing social and spatial order. The search for order (symptomatically, the title of Robert Wiebe's classic overview of American political, economic and social history from 1877 to 1920) has long been a major preoccupation of the successive generations of American social reformers, politicians, administrators etc. By the 1960s, the obsessive concern with order – and the corresponding fear of disorder leading to a sense of insecurity – began to be looked upon as repressive and unproductive.

The 1960s and early 1970s were, in the view of Sharon Zukin, a watershed in the institutionalization of urban fear' and, as Zygmunt Bauman explains, were a time when "(v)oters and elites – a broadly conceived middle class in the United States – could have faced the choice of approving government policies to eliminate poverty, manage ethnic competition, and integrate everyone into common public institutions. Instead, they chose to buy protection, fueling the growth of the private security industry." (Liquid Modernity 94)

The rise of the private surveillance industry was but a last-ditch attempt to thwart the inevitable social change, marked by the intrusion of urban "disorder" into the life of the white urban middle classes – a way of life predicated on, among others, the male and racial hegemony. It has to be observed, though, that the latter showed amazing stability and continuity, drawing on a not-to-be-ignored strength of traditional attitudes and values.

In the context of the 1960s, the word "mystique" immediately brings to mind Betty Friedan's 1963 bestseller famously dealing with the "feminine mystique." Yet the decade – just like the ones preceding and following it – also subscribed to a number of other than "feminine" mystiques. The suburban era in particular, whose origins may be traced to the post-wwII years, was rife with "mystiques". The suburban lifestyle in itself was being "mysticized" as "the" solution to the most acute social problems of the time, meaning especially the fears and insecurities engendered by the increasingly volatile social situation in the inner cities. The flight to the suburbs was advertised as the practical solution for the white middle class wishing to improve their living conditions but also – perhaps most importantly – those seeking the security and order promised by the new suburban environment. The suburban "mystique" was largely predicated on the promise of a secure and orderly way of life, contrasted with the "city jungle" stereotype, portraying the city life as threatening to the family and marked by chaos. Many of the promises extended by the suburbia, however, turned out to be empty, or so it seems judging by the increasingly vocal criticism of suburban lifestyles that could be heard in the mass media, popular culture and literature of the 1950s, '60s and '70s. This new critique of suburbia provides a counterpoint to, or may perhaps be seen as a continuation of, the anti-city tradition in American culture – a continuation in the sense that what up until then (suburban lifestyle) seemed to be an alternative way of life – alternative to city life that is – took on some undesirable features of urbanity: decondensed and decongested as it was, the suburban way of life could no longer be seen as located on the "nature" side of the city/country divide – with the corresponding conformity, standardization and inauthenticity, it now seemed to its critics even less "natural" than the previously criticized urban living. The search for security and order in suburbia, from the viewpoint of their critics, led to disastrous consequences, both for the suburb and the city.¹

Piotr Skurowski is Chair of the Department of English at SWPS University, where he has also served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. His main professional interests lie in the area of U.S. Cultural History and Cultural Studies. His publications include monographs on Henry Adams and on the image of Europe in American Progressivism.

1 On postwar anti-urbanism see Steven Conn, *Americans Against the City. Anti-Urbanism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). The suburban sprawl is commonly attacked as a symptom of American malaise. For representative anti-suburban

Betty Friedan's unmasking of the "feminine" mystique was arguably the most influential and radical critique of what can be called the suburban mystique of her time. The predicament of the American middle-class womanhood in the 1950s and '60s was clearly, to a large extent, a predicament resulting from the new suburban lifestyle taken up by the millions. The gist of Friedan's argument – referring to "the problem" of the American middle class women arising from the ruling ideology condemning them to lives marked by male dominance, social isolation, or lack of occupational fulfillment – is commonly known, and it's beyond the scope of this article to summarize the argument in detail, except for those fragments that directly refer to feelings of (in)security.² What needs to be said here is that Friedan's social diagnosis of the unhappy American housewife (as well as unhappy husbands, children and families), and most importantly her call for women to liberate themselves from the "mystique" of "femininity", was evidently subversive of the existing social order, particularly of the suburban order, where the already existing male hegemony was carried to its extreme with the women trapped in their social roles as mothers and wives to the extent not so easily possible back in the city. In a famous passage (which she later came to regret) Friedan compared the oppressiveness of the suburban social order to the Nazi concentration camps – and though misplaced, the comparison is symptomatic of the emotions stirred up by the social and psychological crisis linked to the new suburban lifestyle.

Friedan's best-selling book elicited a strong emotional response, particularly conservatives. Strong resentment from the cultural conservatives may have been the best proof that it (the book) caused quite a panic and was perceived a threat to the existing social order. It is an irony of sorts that for today's reader Friedan sometimes sounds strikingly conservative. In the estimate of Stephanie Coontz, for example, Friedan's warnings about "the homosexuality that is spreading like a murky smog over the American scene" sounded more like something that would come out of the mouth of a right-wing televangelist than a contemporary feminist. So too did her alarmist talk about permissive parenting, narcissistic self-indulgence, juvenile delinquency, and female promiscuity: "...I was also indignant that Friedan portrayed all women in that era as passive and preoccupied with their homes. What about the African-American women who had led civil rights demonstrations and organized community actions throughout the 1950s and early '60s" (Coontz, loc.188–195 and 724–751). Despite those objections, to Coontz herself, just like to all her interviewees, Friedan, in perspective, made a big difference in their personal lives, and was the single most influential leader of the National Organization for Women (NOW).³

It was specifically the American woman's shaky sense of security that, in the view of Friedan herself, was the main reason women generally feared to respond to the feminists' call for equal rights: "Rights' have a dull sound to people who have grown up after they have been won" – wrote Friedan – "(b)ut like Nora [reference to Ibsen's play *The Doll' House*], the feminists had to

arguments see James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere* (1993) and Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (2000).

2 In Poland, the full text of Friedan's book became available pretty late: the Polish language edition of the book appeared only in 2013, on the 60th anniversary of the original publication.

3 On the influence of Friedan in Polish feminism, see Agnieszka Graff, „Wstęp. Mistyka po amerykańsku, mistyka po polsku”. In: Betty Friedan, *Mistyka kobiecości*. Transl. Agnieszka Grzybek (Warszawa: Czarna Owca, 2012). Ebook. Loc. 45–351.

win those rights before they could begin to live and love as human beings. Not very many women then, or even now, dared to leave the only security they knew – dared to turn their backs on their homes and husbands to begin Nora's search." (76)

Consequently, Friedan attacked the 1950s ideals of suburban domesticity and the corresponding feelings of (in)security, leading to a sense of entrapment: "Fulfillment as a woman had only one definition for American women after 1949— the housewife-mother. As swiftly as in a dream, the image of the American woman as a changing, growing individual in a changing world was shattered. Her solo flight to find her own identity was forgotten in the rush for the security of togetherness. Her limitless world shrunk to the cozy walls of home." (38) From early on, Friedan argued, women were socialized into a culture of dependency on their male partners, seen as the main source of security: "In the coeducational colleges, girls are regarded by others—and think of themselves—primarily in terms of their sexual function as dates, future wives. They 'seek my security in him' instead of finding themselves, and each act of self-betrayal tips the scale further away from identity to passive self-contempt," (165) wrote Friedan, who went on to argue that the American woman had made a "mistaken choice": "she ran back home again to live by sex alone, trading in her individuality for security." (195)

What it took, wrote Friedan, for a young woman to drop her posture of insecurity and submissiveness, was persistence in seeking education, a major factor in achieving an autonomous identity: "A therapist at another college told me of girls who had never committed themselves, either to their work or any other activity of the college and who felt that they would 'go to pieces' when their parents refused to let them leave college to marry the boys in whom they found 'security'. When these girls, with help, finally applied themselves to work—or even began to feel a sense of self by taking part in an activity such as student government or the school newspaper—they lost their desperate need for 'security.' They finished college, worked, went out with more mature young men, and are now marrying on quite a different emotional basis." (167)

In her "Epilogue," written for the 1974 Dell edition of *Mystique* book, Friedan turned to a confessional mode, wherein she reminisces on how she ultimately freed herself from the security mystique inherent in the idea of marriage: "I finally found the courage to get a divorce in May,

I am less alone now than I ever was holding on to the false security of my marriage. I think the next great issue for the women's movement is basic reform of marriage and divorce." (379)

Such life decisions – giving up on the "mystiques" of femininity, suburban bliss, security by the side of one's spouse, were scary, Friedan admitted. However, such decisions often needed to be undertaken in order to achieve liberation. In her own case, it took a long-accumulated anger and the realization of a destructive self-denial to finally overcome her fear of losing 'security' and unsubscribe from the dominant narration: "I didn't blame women for being scared. I was pretty scared myself. It isn't really possible to make a new pattern of life all by yourself. I've always dreaded being alone more than anything else. The anger I had not dared to face in myself during all the years I tried to play the helpless little housewife with my husband—and feeling more helpless the longer I played it—was beginning to erupt now, more and more violently.

For fear of being alone, I almost lost my own self-respect trying to hold on to a marriage that was based no longer on love but on dependent hate. It was easier for me to start the women's movement which was needed to change society than to change my own personal life." (367) It is rather symptomatic that the logic of liberation spelled out in the book, tantamount to the repudiation of the "feminine mystique" led Friedan to the rejection of the suburban 'mystique' at the same time: "We had to move back to the city, where the kids could do their own thing without my chauffeuring and where I could be with them at home during some of the hours I now spent commuting. I couldn't stand being a freak alone in the suburbs any longer." (366)

The second and third book in this selection, while also related to the ideas of order and security, as well as strategies to achieve them, deal with suburbanism rather indirectly, in the sense that they talk about the urban crisis which to a large extent was precipitated by the flight to the suburbs. Both Jacobs and Sennett wanted to preserve the city as the rich, complex social milieu; both in fact celebrate the urban – as opposed to suburban – way of life, even though they were mostly looking at the city from different perspectives. Inevitably, the issues of security and order were central to their argument, as they indeed are to the contemporary social debate at large.

Jacobs's *The Death and Life of the Great American Cities* (1961), which actually preceded Friedan's book by two years, shared a lot with *The Feminine Mystique*, even though at first glance it deals with different topics, as it focuses on an attack on the modernist urban planning and its disastrous social consequences. Jane Jacobs's book, together with Betty Friedan's bestseller, arguably constituted two most influential books of the 1960s and exerted a palpable impact on their time – in the case of Jane Jacobs, it can be argued, her impact even exceeded that of Friedan's, at least in the long time-perspective: her book has since its publication become the Bible of the urban planning education and the most influential urban planning idea of recent decades (New Urbanism) has all but enshrined Jane Jacobs as the founding mother of a revolution in urban planning.⁴

Jane Jacobs led a backlash against the practices of the contemporary urban planners and administrators (most famously, of course, she led a titanic struggle against the activity of Robert Moses, the "czar" of New York City's urban renewal in the thirties, forties and fifties). Parallel to Friedan, Jacobs challenged the contemporary city-planning ideology, with its 'mystique' of zoning and big-scale urban planning (prioritizing automobile traffic) as the foundation of urban order – in fact, the same planning that led to the suburban sprawl and the decline of America's inner cities, including the decomposition of many local communities.

Different from the rather individualistic message of Friedan who challenged the suburban American women to find their true identities and realize their individual ambitions, Jacobs was a communitarian, trying to preserve and revive the social bonds she claimed existed within the inner city. Next to Herbert Gans, she believed an urban community could function as an urban village, cultivating strong neighborly ties.

As it has been said, Jacobs challenged the dominant planning philosophy trying to impose on the city a new architectural, spatial and social order, which in her view was totally disruptive of the social relations in urban neighborhoods

4 See, for example, Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation* (2000): 82–88; Kenneth Hall, Gerald Porterfield, *Community by Design* (2001): 105.

and led to what she famously termed “the death of the city.” Jacobs’s effective blocking of Robert Moses’ plans for the construction of the Lower Manhattan expressway in the 1960s became the *cause célèbre* of the urban progressives fighting the sweeping renewal plans which aimed to cure the impending sense of growing urban disorder and “decay” by condemning many vibrant neighborhoods to make space for new construction. As she wrote, “It is futile to plan a city’s appearance, or speculate on how to endow it with a pleasing appearance of order, without knowing what sort of innate, functioning order it has. To seek for the look of things as a primary purpose or as the main drama is apt to make nothing but trouble.” (loc.272–274). And she went on condemning the pseudo-order proposed by the city planners: „There is a quality even meaner than outright ugliness or disorder, and this meaner quality is the dishonest mask of pretended order, achieved by ignoring or suppressing the real order that is struggling to exist and to be served.” (loc. 282–284)

Jacobs protested against the increasing standardization and uniformization stemming from the single-use zoning philosophy then commonly accepted by the city planning profession. Paradoxically, the excessive use of standardization of urban space led to a disorienting, and thus psychically destabilizing, sense of spacelessness and directionlessness, or to urban disorder *à rebours*. “If the sameness of use is shown candidly for what it is—sameness—it looks monotonous. Superficially, this monotony might be thought of as a sort of order, however dull. But esthetically, it unfortunately also carries with it a deep disorder: the disorder of conveying no direction. In places stamped with the monotony and repetition of sameness you move, but in moving you seem to have gotten nowhere. North is the same as south, or east as west. Sometimes north, south, east and west are all alike, as they are when you stand within the grounds of a large project. It takes differences—many differences—cropping up in different directions to keep us oriented.” (loc. 3611–12)

Being something of a spatial anarchist, Jacobs was by no means a social one – while rejecting the abstract order superimposed on the city by the all-powerful city planners and big-time developers, she strongly believed in the small-scale, local order of established communities. What to mainstream urbanists and planners was urban chaos that needed to be put in order and harnessed, to Jacobs was precisely the opposite – a traditional, organic kind of social order and balance that needed not being tampered with by social engineering.

In the view of Marshall Berman, Jacobs formulated a “feminine” urban vision, preoccupied with the quality of everyday domestic life of the average inhabitant; thus she can be regarded as a mid-20th century continuator of Jane Addams. In Berman’s words “Jacobs made her readers feel that women know better what it means to live in the city – day by day, street by street – than the men who build and plan those cities.” (Berman 150–151)

Jacobs famously wanted to preserve the life of the street – in contradiction to the logic of modernist planning, symbolized by Robert Moses, whose main preoccupation was to convert street space into vast spaces designed for automobile traffic. Influential architects and urbanists like Siegfried Giedion praised Robert Moses for the construction of Triborough Bridge, Grand Central Parkway and West Side Highway, each symbolizing a “new urban form.” For Gideon, there was no space for the streets any more – they should cease to exist, just like the city in its traditional form. (Berman 143)

The liquidation of the walkable street or its preservation – as a crucial socializing space – was an important dimension of the urban (in)security

discourse of the post-war period. Likewise, security of city living was an important preoccupation with Jacobs, as the fear of urban crime and violence was a major force behind the suburban flight and the ensuing decline of the cities she desperately wanted to keep alive.

Jacobs did not believe the regular policing of the city could be relied on as far as ensuring security and protecting the public order were concerned. Security and order could only be achieved in a traditional, village-like community she believed her neighborhood in New York's West Village and Greenwich Village was like. As she elaborated in a famous fragment from her book, striking by its lyrical description of the interactions of pedestrians: "under the seeming disorder of the old city, wherever the old city is working successfully, is a marvelous order for maintaining the safety of the streets and the freedom of the city. It is a complex order. Its essence is intricacy of sidewalk use, bringing with it a constant succession of eyes. This order is all composed of movement and change, and although it is life, not art, we may fancifully call it the art form of the city and liken it to the dance—not to a simple-minded precision dance with everyone kicking up at the same time, twirling in unison and bowing off *en masse*, but to an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole. The ballet of the good city sidewalk never repeats itself from place to place, and in any one place is always replete with new improvisations." (50)

It is hard not to notice a highly aestheticized, idealistic, perhaps utopian, side to Jacobs's vision of urban order, where the sidewalk crowd's movements take the form of an intricate ballet. One may speculate that, had the book been written a decade later, her view of the city would have been darker. And though she does refer to the ugly side of city life ("today barbarism has taken over many city streets, or people fear it"), one is prone to accept the critique of the noted philosopher and urban sociologist Marshall Berman, who said that Jacobs's vision is at the same time the vision of a "white" city from the time the mass exodus of the white population dramatically changed the city's racial proportions, where New York City life is being portrayed in almost pastoral terms; it's still a city without the narcotics, gang warfare and widespread criminality, a city whose streets seem to be safe. (Berman 154–155) Another influential sociologist and urbanist, Sharon Zukin, also commented on Jacobs's idealism, and her alleged inability to discover the deeper economic dimension of life in the Village, where the gentrification process (spurred by people like Jacobs herself) ultimately led to de-authentication of the place. Thus Zukin accused Jacobs of failing "to recognize the growing influence of her own perspective, to see that families like hers are gradually moving to the West Village's nineteenth-century houses because they appreciate the charm of the area's little shops and cobblestone streets. She doesn't seem to realize that she expresses a gentrifier's aesthetic appreciation of urban authenticity." (Zukin 18) What Berman and Zukin's criticisms seem to have in common, is the idea that Jacobs's plea for disorder – as a cure to the malaise caused by modernist urban planning – was, in part at least, misplaced on account of ignoring the socio-economic underpinnings of the urban problem.

Finally, let us turn to the book that came out nine years after Jacobs's, actually on the threshold of the sixties and seventies: Richard Sennett's *The Uses of Disorder* (1970). Sennett repudiated the policies leading toward the suppression and avoidance of diversity, stemming, in his view, from false nostalgic

beliefs about “the good old days” of the past and about the allegedly devastating influence of city life on family: “the idea that city conditions somehow contribute to the instability of the home (...). Evidently, the assumption is that the diversity of the city threatens the security and attachment family members feel for each other. Especially as suburban community life has come to dominate cities, there has grown up a mythological family image of affluent homes where Dad drinks too much, the kids are unloved and turn to drugs, divorce is rampant, and breakdowns are routine. The good, old, rural families, by contrast, were supposedly loving and secure. The trouble with this popular image is that it simply isn't true.” (58)

Consequently, Sennett formulated a vision of New Anarchism, as opposed to the “puritanical” drift in contemporary urbanism, aiming at imposing a coherent and repressive order on the organic disorder of city life. Sennett rejected the exclusionist and purifying logic of the so-called urban revitalization, the latter encouraging the wholesale removal of the “decayed” portions of the city and its replacement by either big-scale housing projects built specifically to quarter the poor and unemployed, or vast highway construction and commercial undertakings – all in a vain attempt to rebuild the rich social texture of pre-revitalized communities.

For Sennett, disorder was a natural feature of city life – the social structure of the big city was too complex to be regulated by any all-inclusive, big-scale plan or policy, establishing a superficial, or artificial, social and spatial order based on the principle of segmentation and exclusion – the principle which ran against the inherent logic of urban life predicated on the constant mixing of the population (“multiple contact points”). In that regard, Sennett's argument actually ran parallel to Jacobs's, even though he distanced himself from her illusions about the possibility of rebuilding strong ethnic communities in the midst of urban society. In particular, Sennett stressed the corrosive effect of the culture of privacy (the effect of the so-called “intense family” carried to greatest proportions by the suburban culture) on the social and public life – an idea that was to find a more detailed treatment in his later works, including *Families Against the City* and *The Fall of Public Man*. As he admitted, “My own thinking has come to diverge from that of Jane Jacobs, in her strong and incisive book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. For she makes of the past an era of small, intimate relations between neighbors in city life, and sees that condition as one to be restored. This revival, as I shall try to show, can never be; we need to find some condition of urban life appropriate for an affluent, technological era.” (50–51)

It was naïve on the part of Jane Jacobs, argued Sennett, to believe that the inner cities may achieve any lasting social peace and stability. “Jane Jacobs and other popular writers are greatly at fault for looking at the dense ethnic inner-city areas as traditionally stable places where people got to know their neighbors through years and years of common association. Historically and demographically this has not been true. There has been and is a great deal of movement from place to place within dense cities and between them.” (152) Urban life, he insisted, is always marked by a potential for conflict, as the various groups inhabiting a given area would tend to articulate their own claims to public space and place in the local hierarchy. The inevitable tensions and conflicts between groups will never allow to achieve a lasting social peace and security. Yet the resulting competition, including sporadic outbursts of violence may, paradoxically, more effectively defuse and moderate conflict than any attempt to “purify” the social life by imposing arbitrary and artificial order.

In conclusion, despite their different perspectives and visions all three discussed writers were responding to the crisis caused by suburbanization, botched attempts at urban revitalization and corresponding fragmentation of social life, as well as its privatization; all three rejected the logic and ideology behind suburbanization and single-use zoning. Friedan, Jacobs and Sennett can be perceived as the key voices in the contemporary social debate focusing on the need for personal security and social order in the quickly transforming urban milieu. For all their different concerns and strategies of resisting the “mystique” of commonly accepted wisdom, their work directly engages some of the most acutely felt problems stemming from the widespread feelings of insecurity and fears of disorder accompanying the fast pace of social change. In the case of Jacobs and Sennett, especially, the fears they were addressing were directly linked to xenophobia. However, Friedan’s book may be read as a diagnosis of a condition produced by the xenophobic “white” flight from the city.⁵ All in all, the three discussed books, as well as much of the urban (in)security discourse they represent – both in the 1960s and in the present – stem from the never-resolved predicament of anxiety-ridden modern city living, constantly in search of new policies, therapies and cures to counteract the destabilizing consequences of unrelenting social change. In this context, it is worthwhile to conclude by quoting a passage from Zygmunt Bauman’s *City of Fears*, which puts into a larger perspective the urban (in)security discourse, hinting at the impossibility of ever harnessing the liquid social reality: “Being a permanent component of city life, the ubiquitous presence of strangers within sight and reach adds measure of perpetual uncertainty to all city dwellers’ life pursuits; that presence, impossible to avoid for more than a brief moment, is a never drying source of anxiety and of the usually dormant, yet time and again erupting, aggressiveness.(...) In chasing [the accumulated anxieties] away from one’s homes and shops, the frightening ghost of uncertainty is, for a time, exorcised. The horrifying monster of insecurity is burnt in effigy. (...) But liquid-modern life is bound to stay erratic and capricious, and so the relief is short-lived, and hopes attached to the ‘tough and decisive measures’ are dashed as soon as they are raised.” (Bauman 2003: 27–28).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bauman, Zygmunt. *City of Fears, City of Hopes*. London: Goldsmiths College, University of London, 2003.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. *Liquid Modernity*. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2000.
- Berman, Marshall. “In the Forest of Symbols: Some Notes on Modernism in New York City”. *Metropolis. Center and Symbol of Our Times*. Ed. Philip Kasinitz. New York: New York University Press, 1995. 130–159.
- Conn, Steven. *Americans Against the City. Anti-Urbanism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Coontz, Stephanie. *A Strange Stirring. The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s*. New York: Basic Books, 2011. Kindle file.

5 *The Feminine Mystique* was, of course, attacked by Black feminists as racist (most notably by bell hooks), on account of completely ignoring the specific predicament, and the separate perspective of the African-American women. See, for example, a more recent sample of this view in Ashley Fetters, „4 Big Problems with *The Feminine Mystique*”, *The Atlantic*, Feb. 12, 2013, online.

- Duany, Andres, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Jeff Speck. *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*. New York: North Point Press, 2000.
- Fetters, Ashley. "4 Big Problems with *The Feminine Mystique*." *The Atlantic*, Feb. 12, 2013. Online.
- Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Dell, 1974.
- Graff, Agnieszka. "Wstęp. Mistyka po amerykańsku, mistyka po polsku". In: Betty Friedan, *Mistyka kobiecości*. Transl. Agnieszka Grzybek. Warszawa: Czarna Owca, 2012. Mobi file. Loc. 45–351.
- Hall, Kenneth and Gerald Porterfield. *Community by Design. New Urbanism for Suburbs and Small Communities*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001.
- Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.
- Kunstler, James Howard. *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1993.
- Sennett, Richard. *The Fall of Public Man*. London: Penguin Books, 2002.
- Sennett, Richard. *Families Against the City: Middle Class Homes of Industrial Chicago, 1872–1890*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Sennett, Richard. *The Uses of Disorder. Personal Identity and City Life*. New York, London: W.W. Norton, 1970.
- Zukin, Sharon. *Naked City. The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.