

COMMUNICATING RESEARCH TO DESIGNERS: A STUDY OF
COMMUNITY SPACES IN RESIDENTIAL SETTINGS FOR THE ELDERLY

by

Gayle Tweeton Epp

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Certified by _____ Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____
Chairman, Departmental Committee on Graduate Students



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Recent experiences in the built environment have suggested the importance of understanding the wants and needs of users of various settings. Designers faced with creating large-scale environments for groups of people they know less and less about are turning to others better trained in understanding human behavior for guidance in designing more responsive settings for day-to-day living.

A communication gap presently exists between what researchers know about behavioral needs of specific user groups and what designers need to know when creating physical environments for their use. Existing misfits between behavioral needs of the elderly and the community spaces in planned residential environments that have been designed for them are investigated to illustrate the inadequate and sometimes misleading information that designers are presently working with. The central argument developed in this thesis is that this communication gap is best filled, at this point in time, by behavioral researchers who, being familiar with theories of human action and interaction, are better equipped than designers to uncover user wants and needs. This information must then be translated by the researcher into a usable form--one that presents information in a three-dimensional reality that architects can design from.

A model for behavioral research is presented based on a multi-method approach incorporating interviews and questionnaires, observation of enacted behaviors and physical cues, and non-verbal visual aids. The activity profile is developed as an analytical framework which describes the interrelationships between a physical setting, the implicit or explicit set of rules governing its use or non-use, and the activity that is generated by this setting, the rules, and the human participants. From these profiles a list of activities can be generated that is characteristic of, and desired by, the particular user group under study with the environmental support system required to facilitate the optimum performance of such activities.

An application of this suggested approach to environmental research is presented using the issue of community spaces in planned residential settings for the elderly as the problem. A multi-method approach was employed in the study of three urban housing projects for the elderly. Activity profiles are generated and the information is translated into design guidelines for architects. These guidelines include the description of 25 activity areas that should be incorporated in the design of community spaces in these residential settings with suggested spatial relationships, spatial qualities, and furnishings and equipment for each.

Thesis Supervisor: Sandra C. Howell, Ph.D., M.P.H.
Title: Associate Professor, Behavioral Sciences
Department of Architecture

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"I leaped headlong into the sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the sounds, the quicksands, and the rocks, than if I had stayed upon the green shore and piped a silly pipe, and took tea and comfortable advice."

Keats, Endymion

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Introduction

The experiences of the past two decades have taught us, and the predictions for the future have warned us, that any effort to change or alter the built environment must be accompanied by more than a casual understanding of the complex array of consequences and repercussions inherent in such 3-dimensional manipulations. We need only look to urban renewal experiences to find planned environments detrimental to the well-being of the users who have responded to their environment the way the environment responds to them: uncaringly. It is one problem to have neighborhoods deteriorate with age into urban ghettos; it is another problem to design ghetto-like environments at the drafting board.

Recent trends in the design profession indicate a growing concern to learn from past mistakes to improve future living conditions. Social benefits are now less likely to be sacrificed for economic returns or aesthetic statements. Designers faced with creating large-scale environments for users with cultural, social, and economic backgrounds different from their own are turning to others for assistance in understanding the social costs and benefits associated with their design decisions.

Any decision resulting in the alteration of the physical environment is typically a product of divergent forces including limited economic resources, political realities, structural feasibilities, aesthetic concerns, and behavioral expectations. To date designers have carried the burden of decision-making in the manipulation of the built environment and have well developed skills when dealing with the structural and aesthetic components of a building or cluster of

buildings. But they are unskilled at providing environments sensitive to the wants, needs, and desires of those who use them. They are looking to others better trained than themselves in understanding human behavior for guidance. But what these designers are finding is behavioral information that frustrates more than communicates.

This study investigates the existing communication gap between behavioral researchers and designers as evidenced in a particular setting: community spaces in planned residential environments for the elderly. Existing research on the activity needs of the elderly in these settings is inadequate and often misleading and has resulted in misfits between elderly behavioral needs and the community spaces designed for them. Large multipurpose spaces serve no purpose while some older persons congregate around the entrance area, sitting and watching, to the displeasure of other elderly tenants. This, in turn, results in tension in the social community.

It is the contention of this thesis that behavioral researchers have an important role to play in providing designers with information that has direct physical design application. A model for research is presented that enables behavioral scientists to collect, analyze, and present information that is most useful in 3-dimensional design. This model is tested in a study of elderly needs in community spaces in planned residential environments. The information is then translated into design guidelines for architects involved in the design of such settings for older persons.

This thesis is directed at both behavioral researchers and designers. Researchers can find information on the type of information designers

need, a model for undertaking research which includes a multi-method approach and the development of activity profiles as an analytical framework, and a study illustrating the application of this model in terms of process and product (a communication format). Architects will find design guidelines for community spaces for the elderly and will hopefully be sensitized to the working method of researchers.

Part I

The Communication Gap
between
Designers and Researchers



All too often in our rational search for solutions and answers, we forget the importance of the first intuitive sensation that a problem exists. Polanyi has described this sensation as being aware of the hidden presence of unspecified things.

To hit upon a problem is the first step to any discovery and indeed to any creative act. To see a problem is to see something hidden that may yet be accessible. The knowledge of a problem is, therefore, like the knowing of unspecified things, a knowing of more than you can tell.¹

Part I deals with the discovery of a problem in a specific setting that is symptomatic of an even greater problem: the communication gap between what researchers* know about behavioral needs of specific user groups and what designers** need to know when creating physical environments for their use. Existing misfits between behavioral needs of the elderly and the community spaces in residential environments that have been designed for them are discussed to illustrate the inadequate and sometimes misleading information that designers are presently working with. It is the contention of this thesis that these inadequacies in behavioral information result from the researchers' inability to provide designers with information that has direct physical design application.

* The following terms all apply to a similar set of actors and will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis: researchers, behavioral scientists, human scientists, and social scientists.

**For the purposes of this thesis, the terms "designers" and "architects" are interchangeable.

Part I ends with a description of the type of information designers need and a theoretical model is developed to aid researchers in retrieving the relevant design information from field studies.

Chapter 1

DEFINING THE PROBLEM

In September of 1973 I joined the Design Evaluation Team at Massachusetts Institute of Technology under Dr. Sandra Howell's direction.² While investigating the primary hypothesis of the grant that residential design differences affect public and private behaviors, safety and the security of elderly tenants, I became interested in the functioning of the "recreation room."* The recreation room is a large, so-called multipurpose space to be used by elderly tenants in publicly funded residential environments. This space is intended to accommodate a wide variety of activities including meetings, social functions, and informal daily gatherings. As this room is typically the only sizeable communal space** available to the less mobile elderly tenants, its importance as a physical location for activity and social interaction becomes immediate.

* The term "community room" is also used by many people to refer to this same space but as most of the tenants prefer to call it the recreation room, I will use their terminology throughout this thesis.

**Communal spaces (or community spaces) are those spaces within the residential environment that are accessible to tenant use and provide opportunities for engaging others in the building. Communal spaces include such areas as the entrance lobbies, specified community rooms, hallways, laundry rooms, and potentially the manager's office and custodian's office. It excludes the private apartment units and mechanical storage areas.

I became interested in the recreation room because of the discrepancy between its intended and actual use. Alexander has suggested that it is through such misfits that a problem originally brings itself to our attention. We more readily detect incongruities between form (the solution to the problem) and context (definition of the problem) than we do compatibilities.³

After visiting several elderly housing sites in the Boston area and reading some of the literature on aging, I became perplexed by what appeared to be contradictory findings:

1. Research has indicated that older persons live in a contracting social world. "They move and participate in a shrinking arena."⁴ In addition, physical disabilities associated with the aging process restrict some tenants to the site, the building, and even the apartment unit.
2. Very few people were observed actually using the recreation rooms as settings for informal social interaction. They were more often used on a weekly basis by the tenants' organizations in the buildings.
3. Tenants were observed using (and in some instances creating) spaces around the entrance areas so as to be in close proximity to, or to have visual access of, the main activity associated with coming-and-going on the site. In most instances, these spaces were not designed to accommodate this informal gathering activity.

These observations and findings suggested a misfit between the activity needs of elderly persons and the type of spaces that have been provided for

them in residential environments. If elderly tenants do spend a majority of their time on site but are seldom observed in the community spaces, where do they socialize, if they do at all? Why do they sometimes gather in the spaces not designed for such activity while leaving the rooms designed for accommodating get-togethers empty?

These preliminary questions emerged from my initial experiences at three different elderly housing sites. A brief description of each site follows to illustrate the nature of the problem as first encountered.

The first site I visited is located in a suburban residential neighborhood. The apartment units form three U-shaped, two story complexes and a separate building in the center of the site houses the community spaces (recreation room, kitchen, laundry room, and restrooms). The recreation room is used for scheduled meetings of the tenants' organization on Fridays (to which very few people belong) and for occasional parties on holidays. I never observed it being used as a setting for casual get-togethers or informal socializing. Several tenants stated they did not use the laundry room, but went off-site, because they felt uneasy and frightened being the only person in that big building while doing their wash. Most of the interaction occurs between tenants in the four apartments that share each entrance area.

I next visited a round high-rise in a deteriorating urban neighborhood. The recreation room is located in the back of the building on the ground floor. It is a very dark space receiving little sunlight. Many of the furnishings in this

room were donated by the tenants. Instead of using this space for daily informal socializing, many tenants bring folding chairs from this room out into the narrow entrance hallway, line them up along the wall opposite the mailboxes, and spend their time sitting here, watching and greeting those who enter or leave the building.

The third site I visited is a "deluxe" high-rise located near a major urban shopping district. With the exception of a lounge on the ground floor, all community spaces are located on the top (11th) floor and include a sitting room area with television, piano, and comfortable lounges and chairs, a large meeting and dining area with adjacent kitchen, a laundry room and an outdoor patio. All rooms are beautifully furnished with floor-to-ceiling glass windows offering extensive views of the surrounding area. The recreation director on site said these rooms were seldom used. Tenants prefer using the lobby area on ground level which provides visual access to tenants coming and going as well as to street activities. At the end of the hallway on each residential floor is a small, sunny space that tenants have furnished with their personal belongings and use for informal get-togethers.

As I observed more and more instances where the recreation room is not used for informal socializing, I became more aware of other places in the buildings where such activity is occurring, particularly around the entrance area where passive observing is an activity frequently engaged in. Lawton refers to this as the "sitting and watching syndrome" where "older people frequently substitute observation for their diminished capacity to perform various activities."⁵ It

became obvious that the underutilization of the recreation rooms is not an indication that no need exists for these types of spaces, but rather that the spaces are inappropriate design responses to the particular activity needs of the elderly tenants. This suggested that the study of the misfit between activity needs and the physical environment should focus not on the recreation room but instead on the entire network of communal spaces--a focus on the behavior and not the space in which it should occur. In some instances, a single community space may not be the best solution for satisfying a complex array of social and personal activity needs.

Continued observation at these sites of the many types of behaviors that do occur in communal spaces indicated that the potential range of activities should include "loner-type" or private behavior at one end of the continuum and large social gatherings at the other end. There are instances where tenants use community spaces for reading, writing letters, or watching others and do not wish to be engaged by other tenants. We should not assume that community spaces are settings for social interaction only.

In review, the emphasis has shifted from a focus on the misfit in the recreation room to the overall functioning of the community spaces as part of the entire residential system. From Gestalt psychology we know that when we recognize a whole, we see its parts differently from the way we see them in isolation. Within a whole, the parts have a "functional appearance" which they lack in isolation.⁶ As a result, we cannot isolate the activities of the recreation room from what occurs in the rest of the building. The

array of elderly activity needs may be met by the entire system of communal spaces with different needs being met in different physical settings.

The next question concerns the nature of the information that architects rely on when designing community spaces for elderly tenants. If we assume that designers can provide appropriate physical settings for specified activities (e.g., minimize misfits) given the proper information, then it follows that the guidelines given to designers and policy-makers are either misleading or ineffectual; they provide either the wrong definition of the problem or one that falls short of defining the entire problem.

In reviewing some of the existing guidelines⁷ for elderly residential environments, several inadequacies in the information became apparent:

1. The majority of the guidelines assume that communal spaces should encourage as much social interaction as possible. Neglected are the more private needs that are satisfied in commonly shared spaces. For example, many tenants view washing their laundry as a very personal task and do not necessarily want to be on display or encounter others while performing this task.
2. Very little consideration is given to specifying the range of activities that elderly tenants engage in. Guidelines typically specify the provision of a "single, large, and subdividable community room"⁸ or a recreation room for "parties, dances, meetings, and simultaneous use by small separate groups."⁹ Very little information

is provided on the activities that elderly tenants engage in, particularly on an informal basis. Most often a large recreation room is designed specifically for meetings and social functions with the designers assuming that all small informal gatherings can and will easily occur in this large space during the day.

3. In the case of lobby areas, only partial information has been provided. Research and observation have indicated that older persons enjoy passively watching others move in the environment. It is possible that this activity is just as satisfying as social interaction among the elderly. As sensory capacities diminish with age (loss of hearing), it becomes difficult to carry on a lengthy discussion. Sitting near other people does not necessarily imply a need for conversation, but more often a desire to sense the presence of others nearby. And as this sitting and watching activity occurs where the major circulation node is in a building, guidelines have been specifying that lobbies accommodate this activity by providing visual accessibility to the coming-and-going activities on site and comfortable lounge furniture for long-term sitting. In one set of guidelines, the main lobby is emphasized as a significant social area.

Old people enjoy sitting, talking and watching, and for those experiencing increasing immobility these activities are particularly important. A seating area should be provide in the lobby, designed to promote conversation and allow a view of indoor and outdoor activities.¹⁰

However, the guidelines fail to mention that some tenants do not like to feel they are under observation every time they enter or leave the building. In addition, other tenants find "sitting and watching" an idle, nonproductive activity that should not be so directly visible to visitors upon entering the building. This information suggests a different design response that goes beyond providing visual accessibility in the lobby.

These three brief examples are only indicative of the inadequate information designers are given in the form of design guidelines for community spaces in residential environments for the elderly. To provide a good fit between "form" and "context," it appears that more information is needed about the "context," or the definition of the problem. It seems appropriate that the next step should be providing a more extensive definition of the problem by first of all describing the special needs of the elderly in a planned, residential environment.

Chapter 2

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF THE ELDERLY

The previous chapter suggested that the existing design guidelines for elderly residential environments were in many ways inadequate in dealing with their activity needs in community spaces. These guidelines typically focus on the apartment unit and devote relatively little space to specific design recommendations for community spaces. This is probably attributable to two basic assumptions: (1) tenants spend the majority of their time in their apartment units and spend very little time in community spaces, and (2) activities of socializing are thought to be broadly transferable across adult age groups so the design of community spaces does not require any special treatment or insight in settings for the older person. Both of these assumptions are invalid.

First of all, there are some elderly tenants who spend a great deal of time in commonly shared spaces in their residential environment. At one of the sites, three out of ten tenants interviewed said they spent between six to twelve hours a day in these spaces. These are rare instances but they do exist; there are many more tenants who spend very little time in these spaces. But if we are going to design environments to most adequately accommodate the life-styles of a particular user group, we should design not for the average tenant (who is only a statistical concoction) but rather for the range of tenant needs.

Secondly, elderly tenants have special needs that differ from other age groups and that require particular attention when designing environments

for their use. These needs result from the special circumstances associated with the aging process as well as the resocialization to a new living environment not previously experienced by the majority of tenants.

In general, there are four areas in which the aging process affects an individual's lifestyle and must therefore be taken into consideration in the design of the residential environment. These include social and psychological forces, sensory capacities, physical capability, and economic resources. These four factors are not meant to be exhaustive of the problems associated with aging but they do represent those areas that have potential impact on design recommendations.

In the area of social and psychological forces, there is a loss of social roles associated with aging, the two most important centering around marital status and employment. As a result, "older people's integration into society on the basis of their role functions inevitably declines and deprives them of the participation inherent in these."¹¹ Social withdrawal is a characteristic response that can be somewhat overcome by providing opportunities within the building for social interaction on both an informal (casual daily encounters) and formal basis (planned social functions). There is an increased dependence on the residential environment for social support and friendships as former group ties weaken.¹² With retirement, tenants must also find a rewarding way to spend their increased leisure time.

Associated with the aging process is a reduction in sensory capacities. Losses in sight,

hearing, and sense of touch and balance present difficulties in negotiating the surrounding physical environment as less information is received. The typical response by elderly persons with such sensory deprivations is an attempt to reduce tension through some form of simplification.¹³ Environmental situations too complex to handle will be avoided where possible if they threaten an individual's sense of competence. Specific problems associated with sight losses include loss of peripheral vision, increased difficulties in reading, glare becomes more debilitating, and there is an increased inability to clearly distinguish objects in low light levels. Hearing problems present difficulties in large group meetings as well as in normal conversation requiring more sensitive acoustical treatment of community spaces.

The aging process takes its toll in physical capability by a reduction in physical strength and coordination. Mobility becomes increasingly difficult as the incidence of chronic diseases increases. Assistance in movement can be provided by wheelchairs, walking canes, objects in the environment to move between and steady oneself on, and the minimization of distance between frequently used spaces. Frequent places to sit down and rest are required as are chairs that require little effort to get up from. Slippery floors and raised thresholds are often anxiety-producing. Even the opening of a pressure-operated door can be a problem for an incapacitated elderly person.

Limited economic resources also place restrictions on what elderly persons can do in their environment. Such financial factors determine the quantity and quality of services available to the

individual. The fixed incomes of elderly tenants increases the importance of on-site activities as transportation costs are often prohibitive. These on-site activities must result in few direct costs to the tenant.

In addition to these special needs associated with the aging process, there is another factor that has seldom been dealt with in the gerontological field that affects the older person's adaptation to his environment and that factor is the resocialization required when moving to an entirely new living situation and physical environment. The majority of tenants moving into publicly funded elderly housing projects have spent their life (before they moved in the projects) in private living units (typically in apartments, private homes, or boarding rooms) where neighbors or other building tenants encountered one another only rarely outside of the living unit for any extended period of time. Any commonly shared spaces (hallways, elevators, etc.) were used only for brief encounters while the development of a friendship was more likely to take place within a private living unit after the extending of an invitation. But when these individuals move into an age-segregated residential environment, they are not only constantly encountering others of similar age, they also find themselves in a situation of sharing many spaces and facilities. The chances of encountering other tenants are greatly increased with commonly used spaces. Tenants must learn how to adapt to these frequent encounters. This is a new experience for most tenants and their lack of similar experiences leaves them without rules or norms to guide their behavior in these com-

munity spaces. Representatives from the local housing authority typically visit the building when it is first opened to offer suggestions about the formation of a tenants' club to organize social activities but the potentialities for use of the community spaces are rarely, if ever, discussed. Not quite knowing to what extent these tenants can manipulate the spaces for their own use, they have a tendency to be underutilized and their potential underdeveloped. This might suggest that designers be more obvious about their intentions so tenants can read them in the spaces and respond. Nondescript spaces do not generally encourage usage; a multipurpose space is a no-purpose space.

The special needs resulting from the aging process and resocialization to a new physical environment indicate the complex range of variables that must be dealt with in the design of community spaces for the elderly.

The first two chapters have introduced a set of problems: (1) the existing misfit between activity needs of elderly persons and the physical environment they have been provided with to accommodate these needs; (2) inadequacies in the information that designers now have on elderly activity needs; and (3) the special problems associated with the aging process and resocialization that have implications for the special treatment of the design of community spaces. It seems appropriate at this point to shift attention from defining these problems to ways of dealing with them.

Chapter 3

COMMUNICATION NEEDS OF DESIGNERS

In general, there are two sets of actors who are, at this point in time, most concerned with the relationship between man and his environment: behavioral scientists who devote their efforts to understanding man's behavior, and designers whose job it has been for centuries to create and change the physical environment. The realization has only recently surfaced that there is a need for collaboration between the two if man is maintain a harmonious relationship with the built environment.

This chapter discusses the new trend in architecture to create more responsive environments for users, why it is that behavioral scientists are better equipped to surface user needs than is the design profession, the type of information designers need from the researchers, and how it is best communicated.

The architectural design profession is in a state of transition and is looking for, as well as being forced into, a new direction from two different sides. First of all, recent experience has brought home the reality that there are limited resources, in terms of both materials and energy, and new technologies must be immediately developed and incorporated in the building process. Secondly, architects find themselves increasingly designing large-scale environments for groups of users they know less and less about. Architects are becoming more concerned with how their buildings work for the people using them. As one architect involved in the Coolfont Conference¹⁴ expressed it:

We understand how a facade can move or cannot move. We do not understand the performance of buildings in non-architectonic terms, that is, from the user's point of view. Now we are asking questions never asked before. We've solved most of the other design and aesthetic problems.¹⁵

The conference participants agreed that one of the emerging directions in architecture is "the attempt to create environments that are more responsive to the needs of their users."¹⁶ The difficulty comes in providing the means by which to arrive at such a desired end.

When we build buildings we want people to use them, hopefully, properly. The more they use it in the way that it is intended, or manipulate it, it becomes good, it becomes meaningful and useful and something for people to benefit by. We both (architects and social scientists) must have that as a common objective, and there has to be some way we can help relate this information to each other in order to build buildings that do a better job for people. It seems to me a building can be judged on how well it serves the people. If the building doesn't do that, we have failed somewhere.¹⁷

It is the contention of this thesis that this information gap can best be filled, at this point in time, by the behavioral scientists conducting research on the built environment. To understand why behavioral scientists are better equipped than the design profession to do applied research, we have to look at how both are trained and what tools each is provided with in his/her training.

Social scientists are theorists and seek to provide exhaustive explanations of behavioral activity and events; designers are decision-makers and seek specific answers to a very defined set

of circumstances. Perin has pointed out the marked contrasts in thinking characteristic of theory and designing:

Theory derived from quantities of data is necessarily a static abstraction of the data; designing handles the on-going or dynamic interrelations of real phenomena. Theory explaining events must attempt a universality under given conditions; each designing effort is unique in extent, terrain, and degree. Theory in social life seeks to describe tendencies and habits as invariant rules or as dependent variables; environments are themselves new opportunities and changes from what has been. Theory in social organization classified at a macroscale across the whole of society; designing is mainly a microscale event. Theory in the human sciences demands a value-free stance; designing is itself a value-laden commitment.¹⁸

Architects accuse behavioral scientists of "complicating the simple" with their lengthy verbal treatment of a problem while behavioral scientists turn around and accuse architects of "simplifying the complex" in hard-line design solutions. But there is a place for both theory and design in the emerging effort to improve the relationship between man and his environment.

To date, designers have taken the responsibility of filling the gap between user needs and design responses with "simple assertions about the consequences of what they do, based on, as it were, the furniture of their minds and the inspirations of their intuitions."¹⁹ Perin is careful to add that these intuitions and assertions have often been very enriching but they have also been "banal" and unreal as many of our present environments have proven in use.

It is at this point where the behavioral scientists can come to the aid of the designers with their set of theories that make sense of a situation. Theories should provide explanatory material but should not be ends in themselves. A behavioral scientist is concerned with inferential activities: "since values, norms, statuses and classes cannot be perceived by the eye, he develops a capacity to guess at their existence even though they are not immediately apparent."²⁰ The scientist uses visible evidence of behavioral patterns as indicators of higher social or psychological phenomena while the designer, trained in the importance of visual phenomena, rarely looks beyond the visible to discover other important determinants of human behavior besides the tactile environment.

But if behavioral scientists use their knowledge about social and psychological processes to make sense of a given situation, this information must be communicated to designers in a form that is understandable and directly applicable to the design problem under consideration. Zeisel recommends that this is best accomplished by fitting the research findings into the basic architectural process.²¹ Recent studies have been devoted to describing the type of behavioral information that is relevant to certain stages within the design/build process.²² The traditional approach has viewed the programming phase as that point in the design process where behavioral research is most useful in establishing user "wants and needs."²³ The Coolfont Conference defines the programming phase as follows:

Client/user/organizational needs and wants are determined. Behavior issues not identified by the client are made explicit. Interviews, questionnaires, behavior observation, simulation, and gaming techniques used as required to arrive at final program documents. Program documents reviewed with client/user. Early design problem statement reviewed, expanded, discarded in response to final program.²⁴

Schematic design and design development are direct outgrowths of the program.

Korobkin, however, has suggested that we broaden the concept of programming to include all the behavioral information that is necessary throughout each of the other stages of the design process.

Though the information pertinent to a given design may all be gathered at a specific stage, there is no particular reason that this should be the case and in the process of actual designing there is every indication that material is gathered throughout the process as it is needed. The use of programming in this sense cuts across the other stages and is used within them rather than itself representing a specific, discrete stage.²⁵

This appears to be a more appropriate concept for the program, particularly as the amount of information on user needs and wants is becoming more and more sophisticated and detailed.

What type of information does a designer need and look for in the program? In the broadest sense, (s)he requires behavioral information that has direct design implications. Korobkin suggests that describing patterns of behavior rather than breaking it down into minute categories and quantifying it is a more useful approach.

Research intended to help the built form that architects design, meet the needs and desires that human scientists can begin to uncover, must be based first and foremost on describing behavior in physical space in a way that helps architects to image compatible environments.²⁶

Any level of information communicated to designers should respond to this basic requirement.

Two different classification schemes for breaking down information within a program have recently been developed. Batchelor proposes three different categories using the scale of the design problem as the distinguishing variable: conceptual determinants, solutions, and specifications.²⁷ Korobkin's classification system is based on the hypothesis-test model of the design process.

Design is understood as an iterative process of generating an initial image, hypothesizing a solution, testing it out by whatever means are available, reimagining the solution or return to the old image, reypothesize a new or revised solution and so on.²⁸

The primary concepts are imaging (general image and response image), testing (accountability testing and response testing), and staging (the way the information fits with the design process in terms of "architectural scale" and "levels of architectural abstraction").²⁹

Both Batchelor and Korobkin have illustrated the application of their models by developing an information system to assist the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs in the design of housing for elderly tenants. Batchelor, using issue of scale as the organizing principle, has

included in his format the following:

- preface
- introduction
- program determinants
- impact analysis
- program statement
- schematic design principles
- design development criteria
- working drawing specifications
- index³⁰

Korobkin, on the other hand, proposes the development of two manuals:

1. Resource Manual outlining "general response and image" information
 - A. Background
 - B. Program Guidelines (preliminary allotments)
 - C. Siting and Zones (allotment and disposition)
 - D. Places (characteristics)
 - E. Parts (specifications and details)
2. Review Manual outlining "response and accountability tests." It is essentially a workbook that outlines what the architect is responsible for at various stages of the review process.³¹

Both formats are examples of information systems and relied on existing behavioral information for illustrative content material. As a result, both are subject to the same problem that this existing behavioral information is inadequate and misleading (as was discovered earlier in this thesis when confronted by the obvious misfit between elderly activity needs and the type of community spaces that had been designed to accommodate these needs). The suggested formats for guidelines are based on the assumption that the rooms or places prescribed are the appropriate design responses to elderly activity needs. We know this is not the case after only brief observation of a few existing sites. What is needed is a

more detailed description of activity needs that is followed by a list of the physical qualities or objects needed to support these activities. Instead of specifying a design response in the guidelines in terms of rooms and spaces, the designer should be given the creative freedom to develop his/her own spatial definitions as long as they satisfy the environmental needs of a particular activity. This approach increases the creative potential of the designer and will hopefully provide settings more sensitive to user needs and wants that the existing guidelines have failed to do. Designers need better definitions of the problem, not more solutions. A suggested format for providing this type of information is presented in Chapter 6 based on primary research findings. The goal of such guidelines is to aid the designer in:

1. understanding who the user is in a general sense
2. appreciating the unique characteristics of the user that require special attention when designing environments for them
3. defining the range of activities this user group will be (or would like to be) engaged in in their projected environment
4. developing lists of spatial characteristics that support, encourage, or facilitate the performance of each activity
5. listing furniture and equipment needs
6. combining various activity settings into a set of rooms and spaces based on adjacency compatibilities

To increase designers opportunities for creative responses, general performance specifications are more useful than prescriptive requirements.

As a final note, behavioral scientists must keep in mind that their information as it is translated in the program is only one of three basic dimensions that architects are concerned with during the design process, the other two being technology and form or "aesthetic integrity."³² All three dimensions have important impact on the design solution and just as there are trade-offs between the elements within the program, there are also trade-offs between the three dimensions. "Information about the objectives of users and about the activities the building must shelter cannot conceivably by itself be used to dictate a design solution."³³

Chapter 4

A MODEL FOR BEHAVIORAL RESEARCHERS

The previous chapter described the type of information that architects need to know about users when designing environments sensitive to their needs. The study of individual or group processes separate from a study which explores the qualities of the physical environment may provide explanatory information but it provides little of predictive value relative to planning new environments. Perin has pointed out the inadequacies of quantitative research in environmental design:

The statistical findings of psychological and sociological studies are not qualitatively interpretable for the purpose of three-dimensional design. Qualitative descriptions of behavior and its meaning to people can more readily be sketched or diagrammed in terms of relative size, location, height, and qualities of privacy, light, ambiance, and so on.³⁴

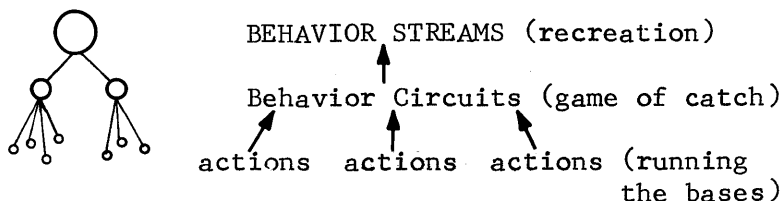
Researchers must focus on the study of the individual within a context and not on distinctive sensory functions. Individuals come to an environment with their own set of attitudes, values, perceptions, and preferences that characterize a uniqueness. But when these elements are embodied in actions and activities in a defined setting, patterns emerge that we can talk about, analyze, and design for.

Researchers and practitioners in the field of environmental psychology and design have suggested several different analytical units that meet the architects' demands for information with design implications. Several of the more noted concepts include Barker's "behavior setting," Perin's "behavior circuits," Goffman's "social

occasions," and Ellis' "social occasioning acts." A brief review of each follows as a prelude to the development of a new model for behavioral research.

Barker defines "behavior settings"³⁵ as occurrences that have both physical and behavioral attributes. These settings have one or more standing patterns of behavior bounded by time and space which are characterized by an essential fittingness between them. Barker offers the example of a worship service that is bounded by time (10:30 to 11:30 on Sunday morning) and space (the church itself); the listening congregation (behavior) is arranged in pews (milieu) facing the pulpit (milieu) and the preaching pastor (behavior). All components are interdependent and it is the uniqueness of this system of interdependencies that defines distinct behavior settings. But what Barker fails to adequately incorporate in his concept of "behavior setting" are the social definitions that accompany all spaces. As Ittelson has pointed out, the physical qualities of a setting, including its dimensions, and the nature and placement of its objects, are all determined by the socially defined character of the situation.³⁶

Perin, in looking for a means of "learning the content of the behaviors and the relative values placed on them,"³⁷ had developed a hierarchy of behavioral units which can be diagrammed as follows:



She argues for the behavior circuit as a unit of analysis because it emphasizes doing things in an environment as opposed to just being in it. Embedded in this definition is White's concept of the sense of competence which provides resources for behaviors.

The behavior circuit is a unit of analysis that permits this combination of concepts to be operational, as the round of behaviors people engage in in order to accomplish each of their purposes, from start to finish.³⁸

What is researched then is people's own evaluation of their sense of competence which she claims can be objectively measured. By defining the individual actions that comprise a single circuit, Perin believes that cultural diversities will emerge which can then be designed for. Using this unit of analysis can provide data on population densities (relationships between numbers of people and the amount of space needed to accommodate them), time dimensions, and the environmental resources needed in carrying them (circuits) out.

Erving Goffman in Behavior in Public Places presents yet another concept, that of "social occasions," that places social organization in a physical context.

When persons come into each other's immediate presence they tend to do so as participants of what I shall call a social occasion. This is a wider social affair, undertaking, or event, bounded in regard to place and time and typically facilitated by fixed equipment; a social occasion provides the structuring social context in which many situations and their gatherings are likely to form,

dissolve, and re-form, while a pattern of conduct tends to be recognized as the appropriate and (often) official or intended one--a 'standing behavior pattern,' to use Barker's terms. Examples of social occasions are a social party, a workday in an office, a picnic, or a night at the opera.³⁹

What Goffman defines as "situation" ("the full spatial environment anywhere within which an entering person becomes a member of a gathering that is, or does become, present"⁴⁰) is similar to Barker's 'milieu' ("both man-made parts of a town and natural features...an intricate complex of time, places, and things"⁴¹). But the critical difference between social occasions and behavior settings according to W. R. Ellis is that

...inter-subjective meaning among the participants is critical to the former and tangential to the latter. The meaning of the inter-action in ongoing occasions is crucial to participants (and to observers). To comprehend the action one must know 'what's going on' in the participants' terms.⁴²

Goffman's major concern is the set of rules or "norms" governing the interaction of individuals who find themselves in each others physical presence.

Ellis extends Goffman's concepts further so as to have more direct implications for designing. He is interested in how social occasions emerge, are located and defined by the participants and how an "arena" or "shell" is constructed in time and space to "house" the occasioning acts. In the urban poor, he finds a "socialization to space use...which puts the major responsibility for occasioning in persons rather than in

locations,"⁴³ where verbal communication renders an occasion-adequate space so. Further study needs to be undertaken on the role the physical environment plays in occasioning. When environments are designed for occasioning, what cues do the participants receive as to how to conduct themselves? And more importantly, in the urban poor, what impact does the personal act of creation of an occasion-adequate space have in the development and maintenance of sentiments and satisfactions with this setting? In other words, how much satisfaction can be attributed to the act of creating as opposed to using an occasion-adequate space?

These cursory descriptions of several analytical approaches to man-environment relations are presented as a context for a slightly different approach. Although Barker offers a much needed approach to defining and analyzing molar behavior in its physical setting, its value lies in its descriptive capabilities and not in its predictive potential. He is readily aware of this problem:

If predictions of children's behavior episodes from social inputs, which can at least demand that they be received, are only 50 per cent accurate, predictions from nonsocial inputs will surely be much lower.⁴⁴

According to Ellis, there are social norms which regulate the legitimate modes of seeking objectives in one's environment.⁴⁵ It is my contention that the knowledge of this social reality offers the predictive dimension necessary for design. This social reality is a function of cultural norms that regulate encounters of people, places (surrounding physical space), and props (objects

within places). The resultant concept is a "behavior setting" with a social reality, or cultural context.

The analytical framework that I propose for the study of the relationship between man and environment is an activity profile. This concept incorporates Barker's "behavior setting" plus Goffman's "social occasion" which results in providing a social context for (and, therefore, an understanding of) "standing behavior patterns."⁴⁶ An activity profile describes the interrelationships between a physical setting, the implicit or explicit set of rules governing its use or non-use, and the activity that is generated by this setting, the rules, and other participants. It has four component parts:

1. place: the physical space within which an activity occurs. A place need not be defined by walls, ceilings, etc. It is a physical location where an interrelated pattern of activities occurs and can be less than a room or greater than a room, depending on the activity.
2. props: the physical objects within a place that aid (or hinder) the performance of an activity such as furniture, coffee stands, bulletin boards, etc. There are also props that have an aesthetic function of creating a "mood" in the place (carpeting, draperies, etc.). (Note: place + props = physical setting)
3. policies: an explicit or implicit set of rules and expectations concerning the use of a setting. This ranges from

management policies to personal expectations about appropriate behaviors in a specific setting ("I don't think people should hang around all day in the lobby.").

4. participants: those individuals who present themselves in settings, and who, as individuals or a collective, form behavior patterns which, in turn, can influence other behaviors. (For example, the location of a clique in a room or space that inhibits others use of it.). Also included in this component are social organizations that are created to organize activities and interactions.

These four components work together as an ensemble to produce "a characteristic activity, mood, and mode of behavior."⁴⁷ An activity profile for a particular place describes the various interdependencies between these physical and behavioral components; it relates objective measurement to subjective content.

From these profiles a list of activities can be generated that is characteristic of, and desired by, the particular user group under study. The physical support system as well as the non-ecological factors that are necessary to the performance of these activities can then be specified. All of this information is then transmitted to the designer as part of the program.

The generation of activity profiles has several implications for a methodological approach. First of all, since activity profiles describe the dynamic relationship between places, props, policies, and participants, the case study approach

of existing environments in use is more appropriate; an intensive study provides these interrelationships whereas an extensive study typically emphasizes the individual component parts. And secondly, a multi-method approach is necessary to uncover information along a variety of dimensions. In addition, if we are to believe Webb that all measures are imperfect, then we also need a way to reduce errors inherent in individual methods. He suggests that

2

...if a proposition can survive the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures, with all their irrelevant error, confidence should be placed in it.⁴⁸

As a result of this need for various types of data and the reduction of bias, a multiplicity of methods is suggested.

Zeisel has been one of the first environmental researchers to develop this concept of multiple research methods. He has grouped the methods into four major categories: observing behavior, observing physical traces and cues, using non-verbal visual aids in interviewing, and interviewing and using questionnaires.⁴⁹ The combination of these methods provides information on "user wants and needs."⁵⁰

The observation of behavior provides information on what people do in a physical setting. As users are not always conscious of how they interact with their physical environment, this information must come from the observation of enacted behaviors. Behavior mapping⁵¹ is a frequently employed technique for diagramming what is observed. It provides useful information on participants and their activities in a defined physical setting and can be used to identify the opportunities and limitations an environment

imposes on a user. More specifically, it provides information on the range of activities that occur, where these activities take place, the furniture and equipment used in carrying them out, as well as the number of participants who engage in these behaviors. Behavior can also be photographically documented.

Observing physical cues involves reading the environment for cues as to what has happened before (remnants of use), what information someone needs to get across (environment used as a medium of communication), what misfits exist between users and their environment (adaptive change), and what people feel about an environment (display of self).⁵² These cues can be recorded photographically or with checklists.

The use of non-verbal visual aids has been a useful technique in environmental research to "elicit meaningful perceptual and attitudinal information about physical objects"⁵³ that is difficult for many users to verbalize. Zeisel describes two major kinds of visual aids: those which interviewers employ when asking questions, and those which permit non-verbal responses from the user.⁵⁴

Interviewing and questionnaires are verbal exchanges with users that provide a wide variety of information.⁵⁵ When used in the study of a specific physical setting by a user group, this method provides such information as:

1. their perceptions of the issue (or set of issues) under study
2. satisfaction or dissatisfactions with the environment which are helpful in uncovering user "wants and needs"
3. past behavior which provides a context for the

present situation

4. behaviors that are not observable because they are either private or occur at a time of the day when observers are not on "the scene"
5. informal and formal rules or regulations affecting social groups or the use of a physical setting

This information helps to explain the why of observed behaviors and the what and why of unobserved behavior as well as the aspirations and desires for the future. It is particularly critical in the discovery of how a system operates. Careful attention must be given, however, to the analysis of stated preferences as they often reflect familiarity (or the lack of it) with specific alternatives.⁵⁶

These four types of methods all play an important role in providing the necessary data for the generation of activity profiles. The activity profiles, in turn, provide the information that architects need in the design of environments sensitive to user needs.

Part II

The Problem of Community Spaces in Residential Settings for the Elderly



The communication gap between researchers and designers was explored in Part I. As previously stated, the major contention in this thesis is that this gap (between what behavioral scientists know and communicate about human behavior and what designers need to know about specific users in their desire to create more sensitive environments for their use) is best filled, at this point in time, by behavioral scientists who, being familiar with theories of human action and interaction, are better equipped than designers to uncover user wants and needs. This information must then be translated by the researcher into a usable form--one that presents information in a three-dimensional reality that architects can design from. By using the concept of activity profiles researchers can generate a list of the range of activities that user groups will be engaged in in a specific setting with the environment support system required to facilitate the optimum performance of such activities.

Part II presents an application of this suggested approach to environmental design using the previously discussed issue of community spaces in residential settings for the elderly as the problem. Chapter 5 reviews how I as a behavioral researcher got the specific information needed to generate activity profiles for this problem. Chapter 6 presents a translation of this information into guidelines for architects.

Chapter 5

GATHERING THE INFORMATION

As stated in Chapter 1, I originally became interested in community spaces in elderly residential settings when I observed obvious discrepancies between the intended and actual use of these spaces. The inadequacies in existing guidelines suggested that further research was needed. Most of the information on community spaces in these guidelines is based on little to no primary research findings; most are based on intuitive assumptions and "common sense." The proposed research must supply missing information, correct erroneous assumptions, and substantiate accurate "common sense" judgements. The very purpose of this research and all science is "to try to prove and disprove our common sense about our world."⁵⁷

After getting a sense of the problem, the next step is to define the salient issues to explore in the field. More often these appear as a set of questions that need answering. In the problem of community spaces these questions included:

- What is the function(s) of community spaces in residential settings for the elderly? Is there a need for such spaces?
- If so, what sort of an experience is a tenant looking for in these spaces? What is the range of activities that tenants will (or want to) engage in?
- Are these spaces only settings for social interaction or do older persons require some private spaces outside of their apartment unit but within the building?
- What is the size of a group of tenants who will consistently use a community space (percentage of on-site tenant population)?

- Is there an identifiable type of tenant who is more likely to use these communal spaces?
- What role do these spaces play in the initial encountering and subsequent development of friendships within the building?
- If you have communal functions that reinforce each other, are these spaces used more? Is clustering of community spaces important?
- What role does the physical environment play in the performance of tenant activities? What are the important environmental qualities (size, shape, lighting, visual access, auditory privacy, etc.)?
- Is it appropriate to specify the amount of community space needed per building on the basis of a per tenant square footage requirement or are there critical massing points for each community space that provide more appropriate spatial requirements?
- How important is the type of furniture or its arrangement in supporting or encouraging various activities?
- How do tenants describe the experience of being in a certain space? How do you get tenants to verbalize this sensation?

These questions help guide the investigation of the activity needs of the elderly and how these needs are manifested in various communal locations throughout their residential environment. This chapter describes the various steps I went through in attempting to answer these questions and includes information on site selection criteria and site descriptions, general tenant characteristics, the specific methodology employed in finding answers to the above questions, and the activity profiles generated for each site.

A. Site Selection and Description

An intensive study of three sites in the Boston area was conducted to provide necessary information that is not retrievable from extensive studies which are typically cross-sectional, quick entry-exit surveys. There are several reasons for using this intensive approach:

1. This study deals with the analysis of a complex system and therefore is concerned with the relationships between variables and not the isolation of them. This requires a detailed look at the system, watching it in operation, integrating diverse bits of information, and supplying a unified theme. To view isolated variables at many sites does not facilitate this type of analysis.
2. Not all of the variables have been defined or uncovered. An intensive study allows for discovery and reformulation as new information is obtained. An extensive study is less flexible in that it typically defines the variables to be studied across each site and the methods to be used a priori. Sellitz refers to this approach as "insight-stimulating" where intensive studies of selected examples yield stimulating insights and suggest hypotheses for research. The attitude of the researcher

...is one of alert receptivity, of seeking rather than of testing. Instead of limiting himself to the testing of existing hypotheses, he is guided by the features of the object being studied. His inquiry is constantly in the process of reformulation and redirection as new

information is obtained. Frequent changes are made in the types of data collected or in the criteria for case selection as emerging hypotheses require new information. 58

3. This is a study of environments in transition. By that I mean the tenants have lived in these buildings for no more than three years. People are still adapting to their new social situation and physical environment and it is a time of testing and resocialization. To observe this process requires a considerable time commitment and a flexible methodology. It also requires an understanding of the potentialities and limitations of the physical structure itself which can only be uncovered by repeated observations over time.

The decision was made to study three sites during January and February of 1975. Careful consideration was given to selecting three sites with similar characteristics so generalizable guidelines could be developed. These common characteristics also define the context in which the guidelines are applicable. For purposes of accessibility and convenience, sites located in urban neighborhoods in the Boston area were specified for study. Because the number of publicly funded elderly housing projects in this area numbers more than sixty and I had no time to familiarize myself with all sites, I asked a representative from the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs to suggest several buildings which fit the following criteria:

1. situated in an urban neighborhood characterized by medium density residential development close to shopping facilities

2. similar building types: mid-rise (4 to 8 stories) elevator buildings with a tenant population between 100 and 250
3. community spaces on the ground floor with the possibility of semi-private communal spaces on the residential floors above ground (I specifically wanted to avoid buildings with community spaces on the top floor because of the special problems associated with that design)
4. similar lengths of tenant occupancy (between six months and three years)
5. similarity in types of community spaces: lobby area, main recreation room, laundry room, and centralized mail dispersal area

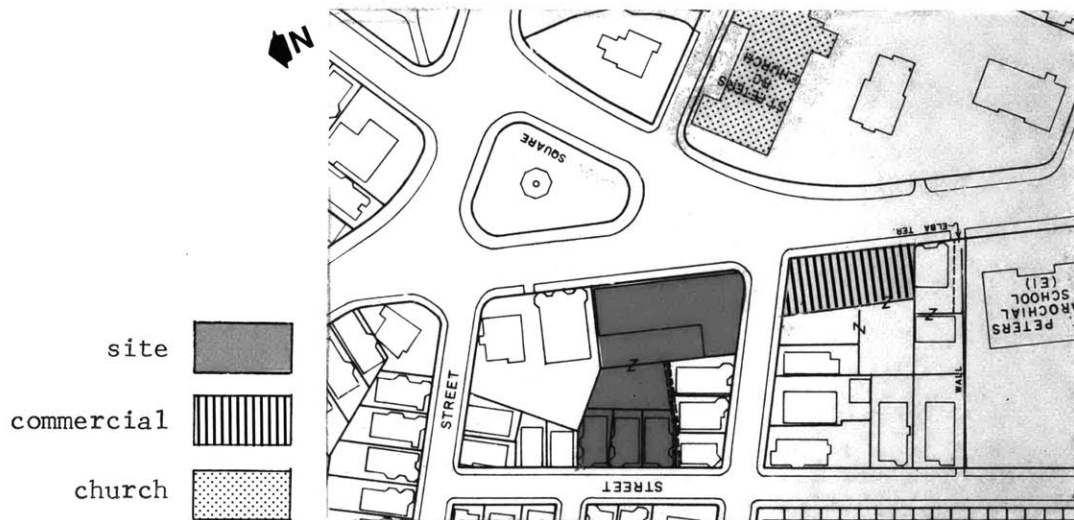
By reducing the variability in these characteristics which could indirectly affect communal space usage, more activity patterns can be attributed directly to the type, amount, quality of, and spatial relationships between community spaces (which are the basic issues in design guidelines). Three sites were selected and will be referred to as Site A, Site B, and Site C throughout this discussion. They not only fit most of the selection criteria, but also offered new spatial configurations that I had not previously seen in other buildings. There is a variation in the scale of each project, however, ranging from 96 apartment units at Site A to 134 units at Site B and 183 units at Site C. This variation eventually proved helpful in establishing square footage allotments in buildings of different scale. All three buildings are of steel or

concrete frame construction with a brick veneer. In addition to the tenants, a support staff is present on each site which includes a live-in custodian and an off-site manager who is responsible for several sites. There are occasional visits from visiting nurses and social workers.

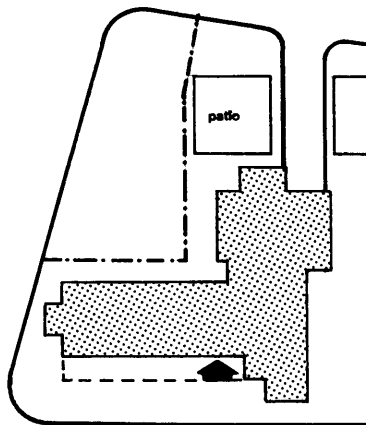
The arrangements for entrance to these sites took approximately one month and were made possible through my affiliation with on-going research which had already established a working rapport with the central housing authority in the city. Contact with the three managers was made and I explained what I would be doing on their sites over a two month period. They gave me their full cooperation. Every attempt was made to establish and maintain a working rapport with the tenants and staff over this two month period.⁵⁹ A detailed description of each of the sites follows.

Site A

Site A is surrounded by three story residential buildings of wood construction approximately 40 years old. The street in front of the site has a medium traffic level and the bus stops directly in front of the building. Small commercial shops including a drug store and bakery are within several hundred yards of the site. A bus comes every Monday morning to take interested tenants to the supermarket for their weekly shopping as there is not a major grocery store within walking distance. The church kitty-corner from the site is a source of both happiness and sorrow. Tenants mentioned their dislike of the funerals but were quick to add how delighted everyone was when there was a wedding to watch from the balconies in the summer. As is the case at other urban sites, the elderly are afraid to go out at night for security reasons. From tenant comments, however, their major concern at this site is with the children in the neighborhood who not only bother the tenants off-site but who have also "terrorized" the building.



Although the interior community spaces are on the same level as the front entrance, because of the sloping site, the outdoor community space (courtyards) in the back of the building is one level below the interior spaces and is not fenced in or separated from the surrounding neighborhood in any way. The neighborhood children have trampled the flower gardens along these courtyards and have made that area unusable as an outdoor gathering area in the summer. The children have also been caught in the act of piling up mattresses and Christmas trees against the back of the building in anticipation of a big bonfire. There is also a patio area in front of the building that is separated from the sidewalk by a four foot high brick wall.



The building itself sits tightly on the front two-thirds of the site and in plan takes on a fat L-shaped configuration. Of the 96 units, only the apartments on the top floors of the 6-story structure and those facing the front street have unrestricted views. The other apartments look directly into the neighboring houses. There are two double-loaded corridors on each floor with the elevator bank in the middle of the building. There is also a balcony on each floor in the front of the building. These balconies are entered at either end off of hallways and run along a set of apartments.

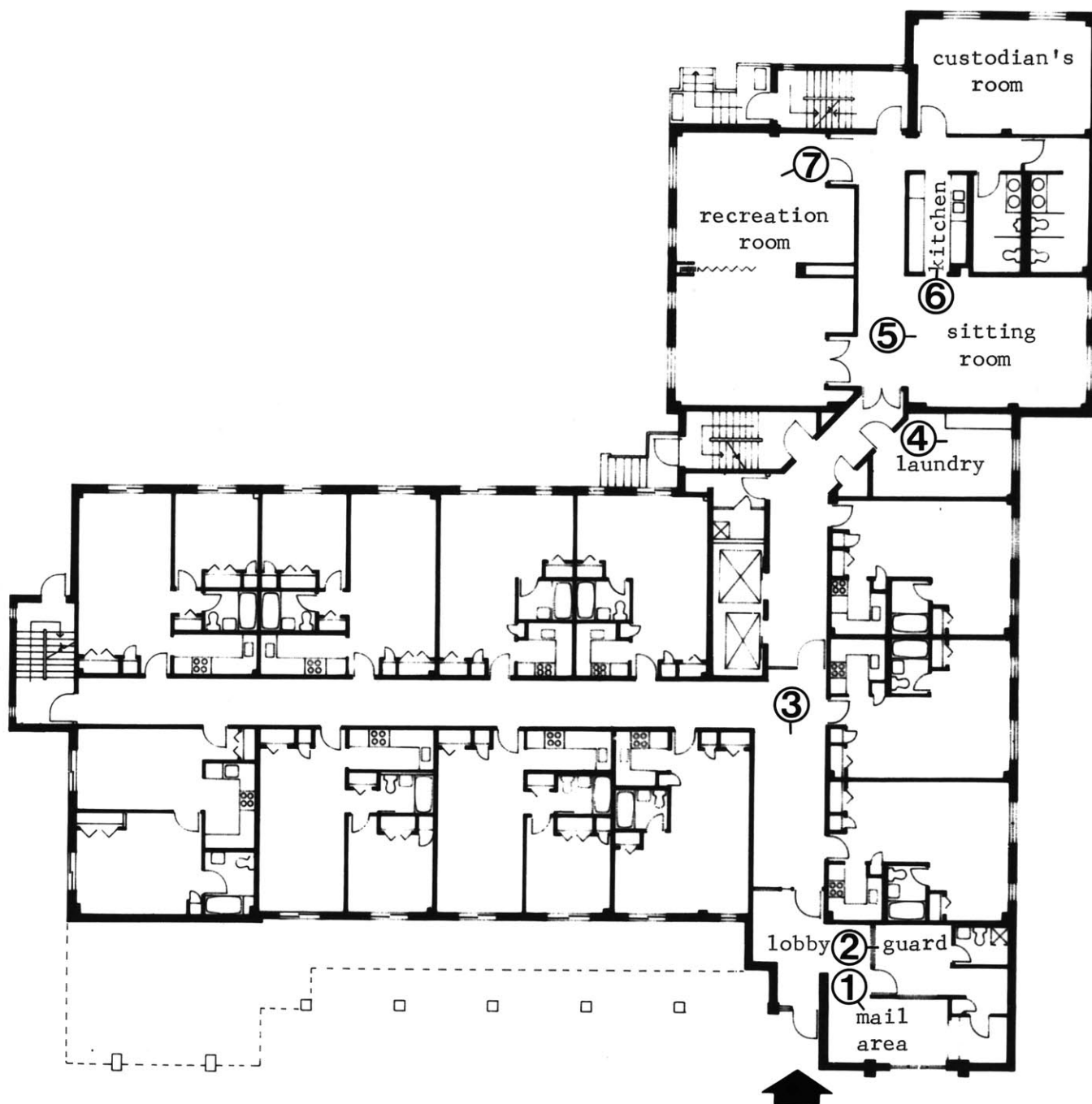
Community spaces. Upon entering the front entrance, you find yourself in a small lobby with the guard's office off to the right and the mailbox area tucked in further back to the right. There are guards around the clock at this site who control all entering activities. The lobby is used as a passageway and not as a sitting area

because of its small size. There are wooden benches, however, in the mail area that people use when waiting for the mail or for someone to pick them up.

You then pass through the second glass door (which is usually locked if the guard is not in the front of the building) and down a long hall. There are currently three wooden benches inside this door to the left with apartments on the right-hand side. You pass a hallway to the left (which leads to apartments) and continue to the middle of the building where there are two elevators on the left-hand side and a chalkboard directly opposite for daily notices. Further down the hall and towards the back of the building are the major community spaces. The laundry room appears first to the right, then the hallway opens up with the sitting room to the right and the recreation room to the left. The kitchen is straight ahead, to the right, and the custodian's room and restrooms are behind this. The entrance area, hallways and sitting room are all carpeted. The sitting room is furnished like a living room with comfortable chairs and sofas, an end table, floor lamps, TV, bookcases, radio, aquarium, etc. The drapes are usually pulled shut because of the closeness of the neighboring houses. This is one of the most comfortable and intimate community spaces I have been in. The recreation room is furnished with folding tables and chairs, vending machines, and a piano. It has a sliding wooden door in the middle that divides the room into two separate areas during the day and is opened up at night for larger meetings and beano games. The kitchen is directly off of the sitting room and has a

large pass-through window/counter arrangement into the hallway. The on-site custodian has set up a rather elaborate snack stand here where tenants can purchase, at all hours of the day or night, coffee, tea, donuts, toast, english muffins, pieces of pie, etc. The back room which the custodian now uses was originally intended (according to the architect's floor plans) to be a sitting area while the present sitting room was supposed to be a game area. The custodian's room is used by the manager when she is on site but is usually locked at other times. The rest-rooms are tucked in behind the kitchen in the back hall.

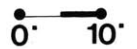
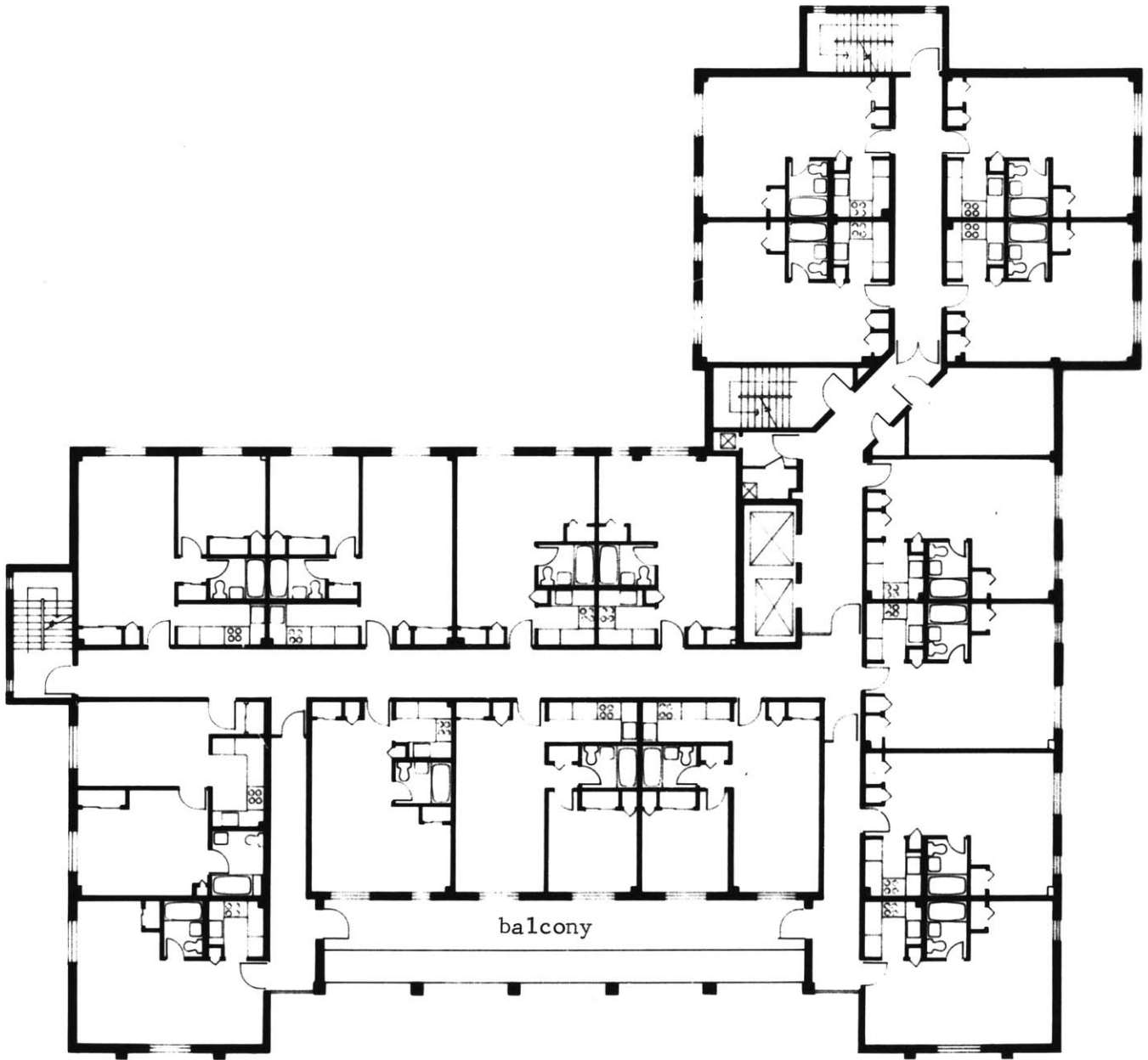
Site A ground level



① refer to numbered photographs
on following pages

0' 10'

Site A upper level



Site A

PHOTOGRAPHS

Mail area



Guard's station



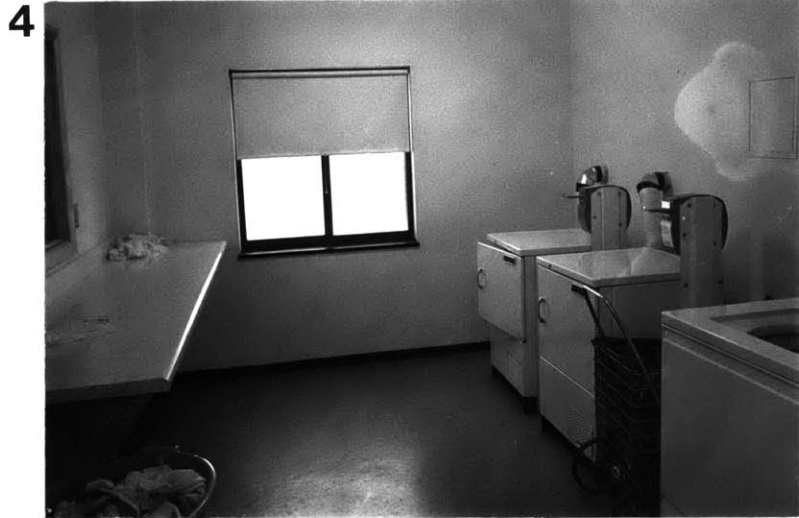
Hallway inside interior door



Site A

PHOTOGRAPHS

Laundry room



Sitting room



Kitchen



Site A

PHOTOGRAPHS

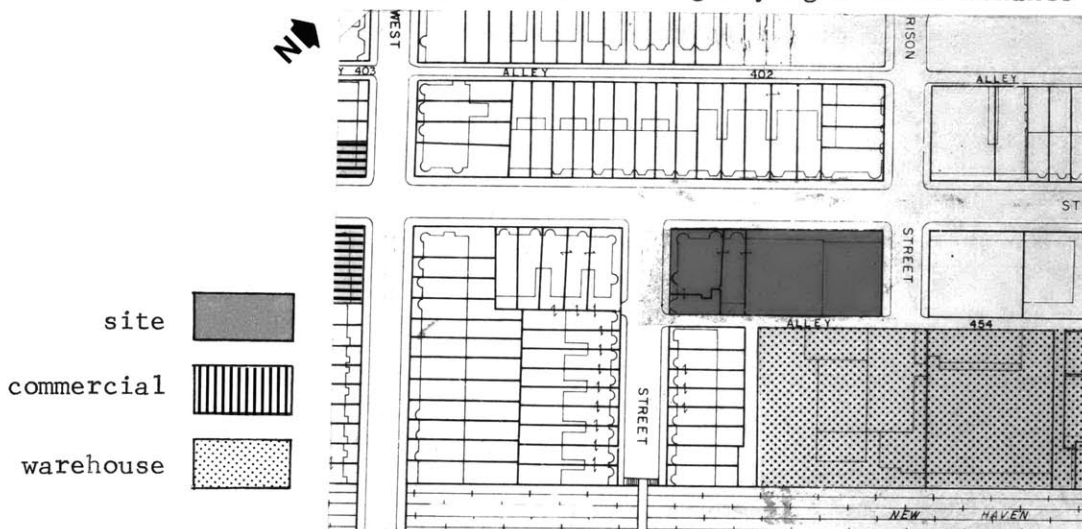
Recreation room
(partition closed)

7

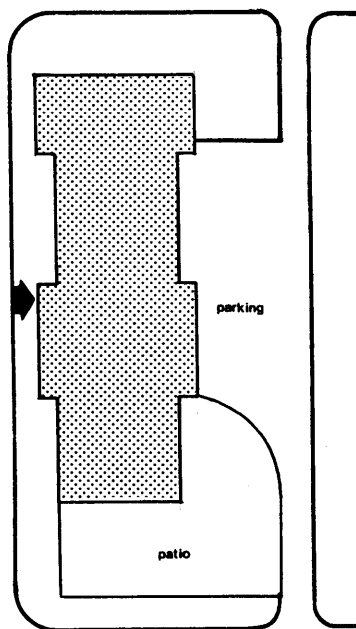


Site B

Site B is surrounded by four and five story brick row houses approximately 50 years old. There is some light warehouse activity in the back of the site during the day but at night this area is deserted. The street running in front of the building is relatively quiet with very little pedestrian or vehicular activity as it is essentially a dead-end street, as are the two side streets. It is a four block walk to a major urban office and commercial center where public transportation and shopping facilities are available. Many tenants walk this distance, crossing a very busy street, to grocery shop and they take advantage of the delivery services available. This is the closest commercial area to the site of any scale. There is a cleaning establishment and a small grocery store one block from the site and a bank two blocks away in a new hotel. Tenants perceive the neighborhood as dangerous in terms of personal security and very seldom venture out at night except when called for at the front door by taxis or friends with cars. Even during daylight hours tenants



have warned me to keep an eye on my car if it was parked on the street or in the back parking lot because cars are stolen quite frequently. One tenant had recently been robbed at the back door to the building just after sunset. As this back area is relatively deserted at night, it is quite susceptible to these activities. As a rule, most of the tenants are cautious when they go out during the day and try to avoid going out at all after dark.



The site itself is rectangular, surrounded on three sides by streets with an alley running along the back. The building is also rectangular and covers the majority of the site. The setbacks along the north (front) and east sides are only 15 feet from the street edge. At the west end is a patio that is bricked in with 12 foot walls with occasional ironwork that allows partial views of the street. A parking lot runs along the back. The 8-story, 134 unit structure has a double-loaded corridor running the length of the building. There is a small elevator lobby on the north side of each residential floor that is separated from the hallway by a set of double doors. The hallway and lobby on these floors are carpeted. There is a small balcony on the eighth floor off of the elevator lobby.

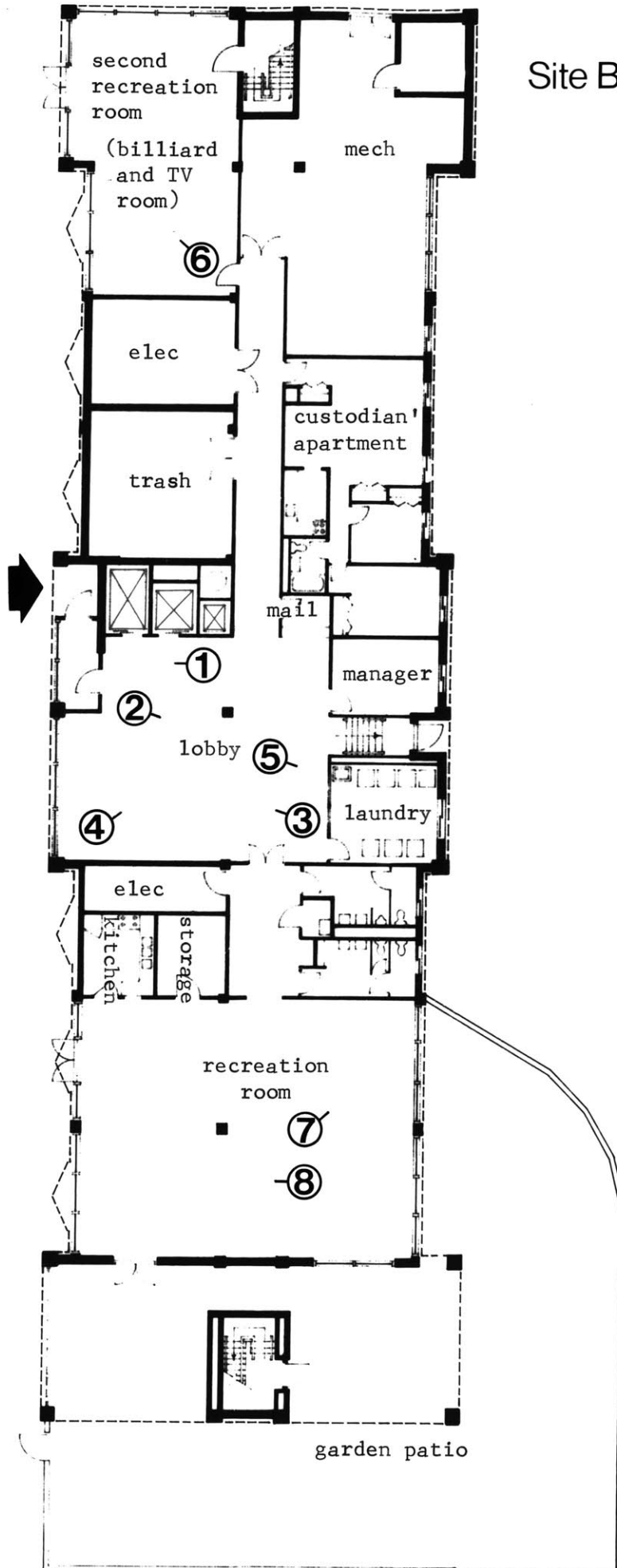
Community spaces. All community spaces are on the ground floor. When you enter the building, you pass through two doors: one unlocked, allowing access to tenant call buttons, and the second one locked. There is a guard on duty from 2:00 PM until 11:00 PM who sits at a desk just inside the second door, screening all visitors to the building. During the morning hours, the custodian is supposed to sit at the desk but as he is usually

busy cleaning the building at this time, other tenants come down to watch the desk for him on an informal basis. Once past the locked door, you find yourself in an immense lobby approximately 32 feet X 36 feet. Except for the guard's desk next to the front door, there is no other furniture in this space. The wall along the street side is floor to ceiling glass offering an uninterrupted view of activity out front. To the left of the front door are the two elevators, then a long hallway that leads to a second recreation room at the far end (east) of the building. This room was used for storage until recently. Now it is furnished with a desk, some tables and chairs, a TV, a barber's chair, and a couch. The barber's chair belongs to a semi-retired barber in the building who, upon request, cuts the hair of tenants at a discount. The tenants are waiting for a long-awaited pool table to arrive. The social worker also uses this room when on site. Because of its location on the north side of the building, this room is not an inviting space. Some of the tenants call it "the cold room" and "the dungeon."

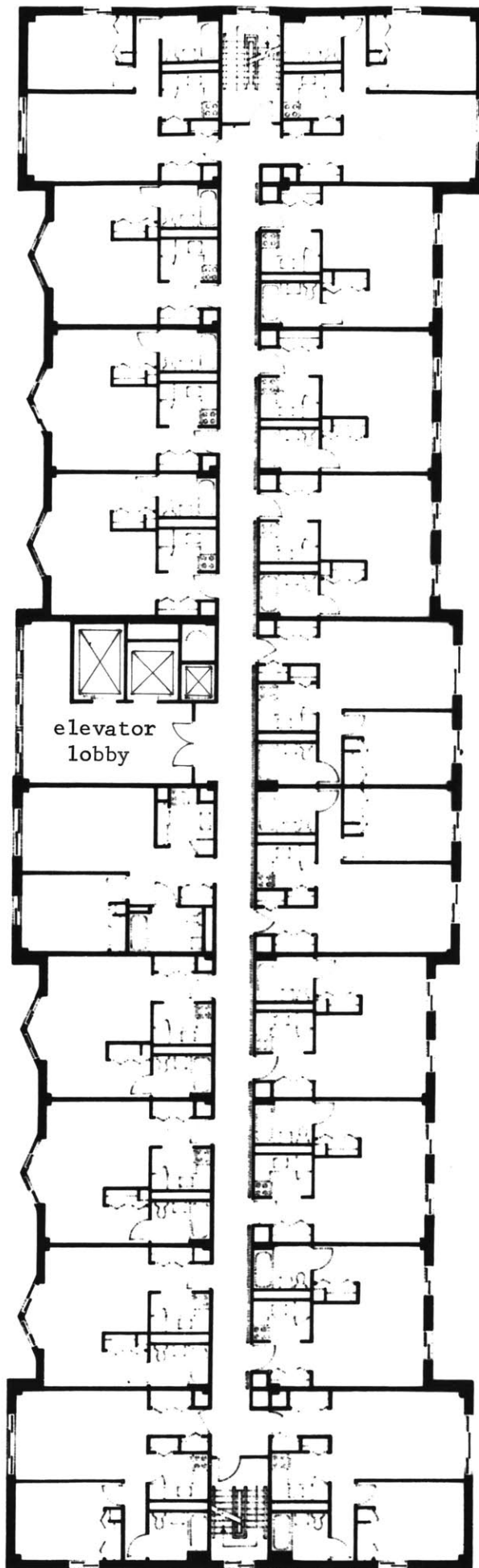
Back in the lobby, on the left past the hallway, is the bank of mailboxes. The manager's office is directly opposite the front entrance and looks into this mailbox area (through a glass window). To the right of the office is a set of stairs leading to the back door. Further right is the laundry room with a set of windows that provide a visual connection between the laundry and the lobby. On the right (west) wall is a short hallway that leads into the large recreation room. The restrooms and pay phone are off of this hallway. The recreation room is

quite large (36 feet X 48 feet). It is glazed on three sides and offers a view of the street and the enclosed patio. There is a small kitchen off of this big room but it is usually locked. The furnishings in the recreation room include a TV, lounge chairs, tables and chairs, piano, vending machine, bookcases, coffee stand, and many plants. (These plants are attended daily by a female tenant in the building.) It is a very bright room because of the south window but there are drapes to keep out the glare, although they are rarely pulled closed.

Site B ground level



Site B
upper level



Site B

PHOTOGRAPHS

Guard's desk by
front entrance



Lobby view of
manager's office (L)
and laundry (R)



Lobby with views
of street



Site B

PHOTOGRAPHS

Lobby view of elevators, hallway, and mailbox area



View into laundry room



Second recreation room



Site B

PHOTOGRAPHS

TV viewing area
in recreation room

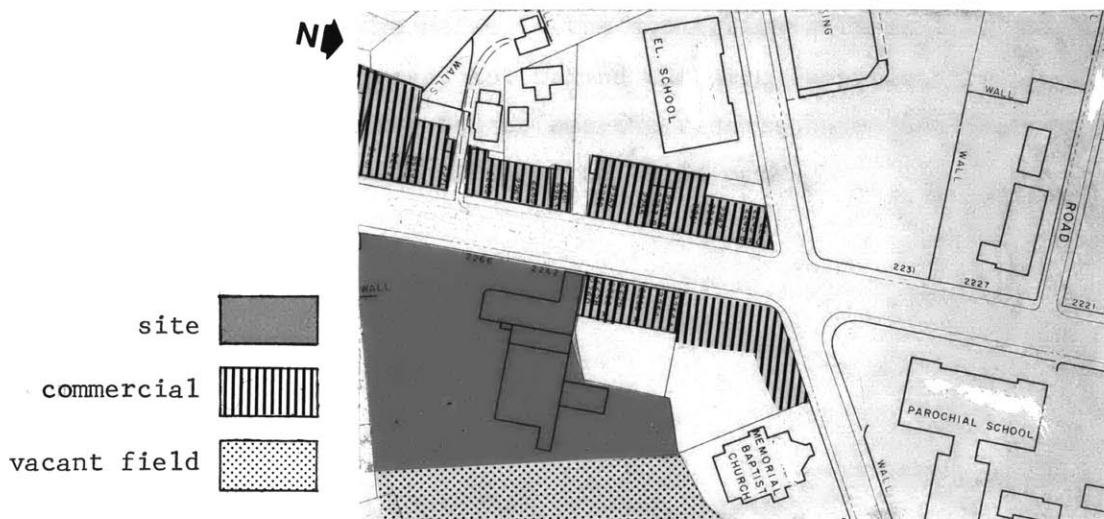


Table grouping in
recreation room

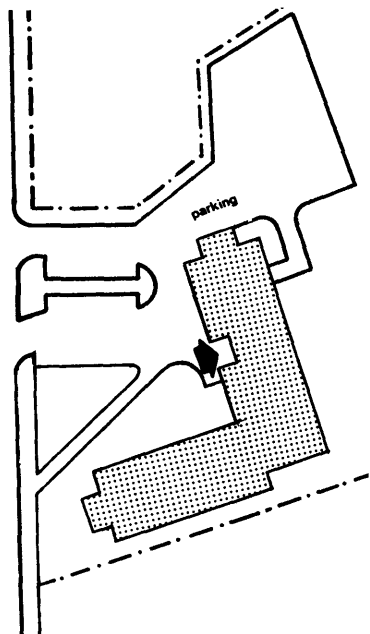


Site C

Site C is located amidst a continuous strip of small commercial establishments on a medium trafficked street. Because of the close proximity of a wide variety of stores, many tenants frequently run errands which generates a substantial amount of coming-and-going activity on the ground floor. As there is no provision for community coffee in the building, many of the tenants use the local deli which is across the street from the site as a gathering place. The closest bus stop is several blocks away. Security, although a concern, appears to be less of an issue at this site than at Site B. As a result, Site C tenants go out more, especially to nighttime beano games in the local community. They are careful, however, about who they let in the building when they open the front door for visitors (there is no guard during the day). The major neighborhood complaint concerns the bar across the street. It seems to generate a lot of late night, noisy activity which bothers the tenants when they are trying to sleep. They said they are continually calling the police about



the noise in the summertime. There is a vacant, grassy lot behind the site (separated by a chain-link fence) but the tenants have just learned of an attempt to build market-rate apartment buildings here and they are displeased with this possibility. They mentioned the extra traffic it would generate and the inability of local sewerage to handle an increased load.



The site itself is irregular in shape approaching a square-like figure with a smaller attached square in the northeast corner. Parking facilities cover more than one-third of the site; the building itself covers one-third of the site; and the remaining site is devoted to landscaped areas in the front and back of the building. Because of the way the building is sited, the landscaped areas are semi-private and used quite often by the tenants in the summer.

The building is a 7-story brick structure consisting of 183 units in an L-shaped configuration. A typical residential floor consists of two double-loaded corridors at right angles to each other. The elevators are located at their juncture and behind the elevators on each floor is a semi-private communal space with sliding glass doors running along the south wall providing access to a narrow balcony. Many of the tenants have placed the furniture that would not fit in their apartments in these areas and some areas even have TVs, dining room tables, chairs, and plants. These areas are most often used at night in the summertime (daylight summer sun makes this space unbearably hot). Tenants often complained about the height of the solid balcony walls which discouraged its usage because of the claustrophobic effect it had on the narrow

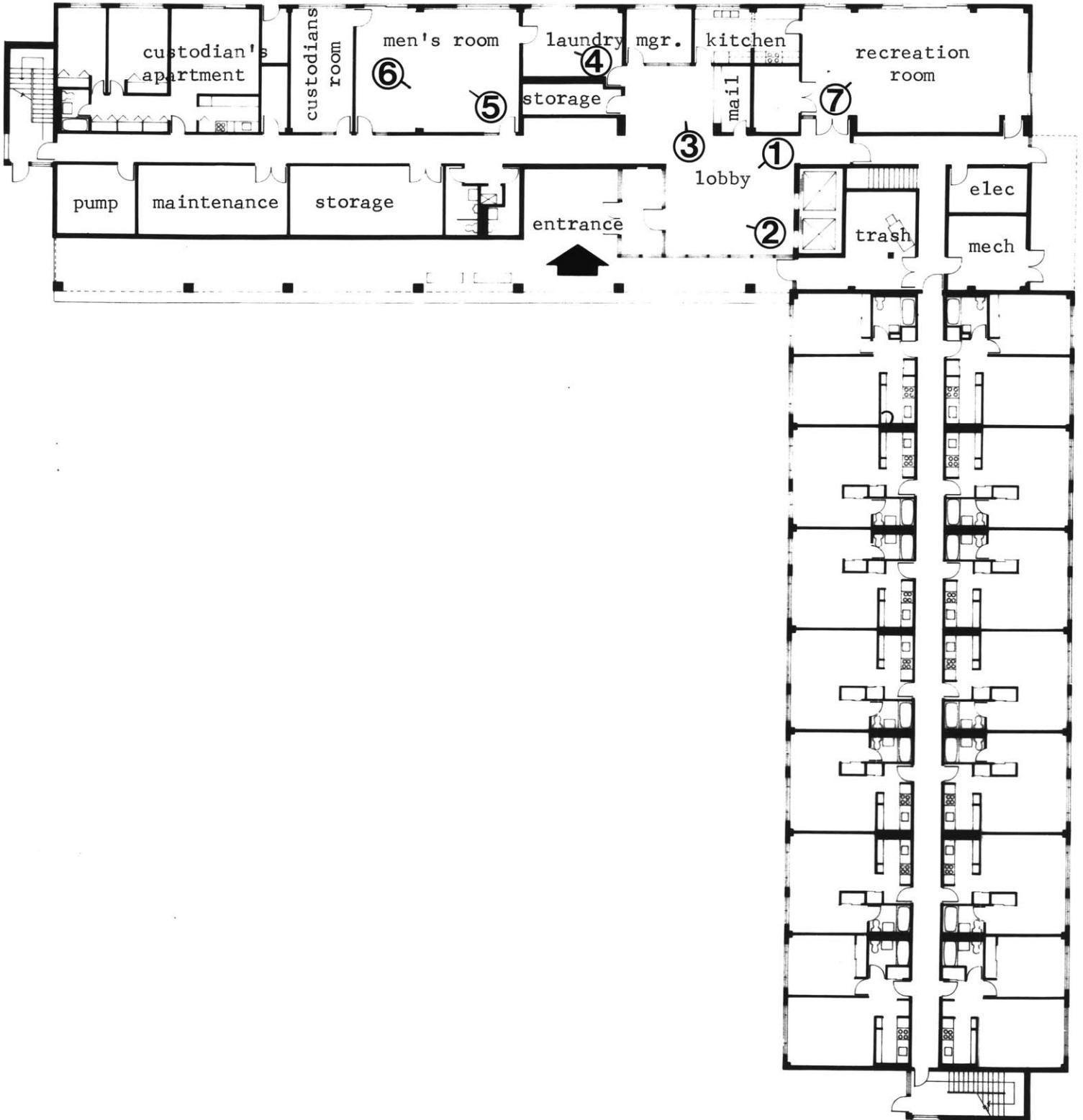
balconies and lack of opportunities for any views when sitting down. This semi-private floor space is used occasionally for smaller get-togethers within the building where some degree of privacy is sought. Tenants feel that anyone coming into or going out of the building can check in on any recreation room activity so they avoid it for small parties. Several of the women in the building have a diet club that meets once a week to weigh-in and do exercises. To avoid being bothered by curious tenants, they meet up on one of the floors. There was also a birthday party given for one of the female tenants and since not all the people in the building were invited, they held it up on the fifth floor.

Community spaces. All community spaces are centrally located on the ground floor and include a recreation room, a kitchen, large lobby, laundry room, and "men's room." The entrance to the site is located towards the middle of the site and so offers no direct visual access to street activity. There is again the double door at the entrance, the second one being locked with the tenant buzzer system in this vestibule area. One enters into an L-shaped lobby area that is furnished with chairs, two-seater couches, and end tables. Upon entering the lobby, the elevators are straight ahead and there is a hallway immediately to the left leading to the recreation room. As you walk from the front door to the elevators, you get a view into the recreation room through glass doors and glass side panels. This room is furnished with folding tables and chairs, a TV, a phonograph, and a piano. The nutrition program operates out of this room every week day serving lunch to

more than 50 people daily (almost all are tenants in the building although community elders are welcome). Preparation, serving, eating, and clean-up cover a four hour period from approximately 10:00 AM to 2:00 PM which restricts the use of the room for informal purposes. Other activities in this space include Friday afternoon and Tuesday night beano games, tenants' club meetings, and social functions.

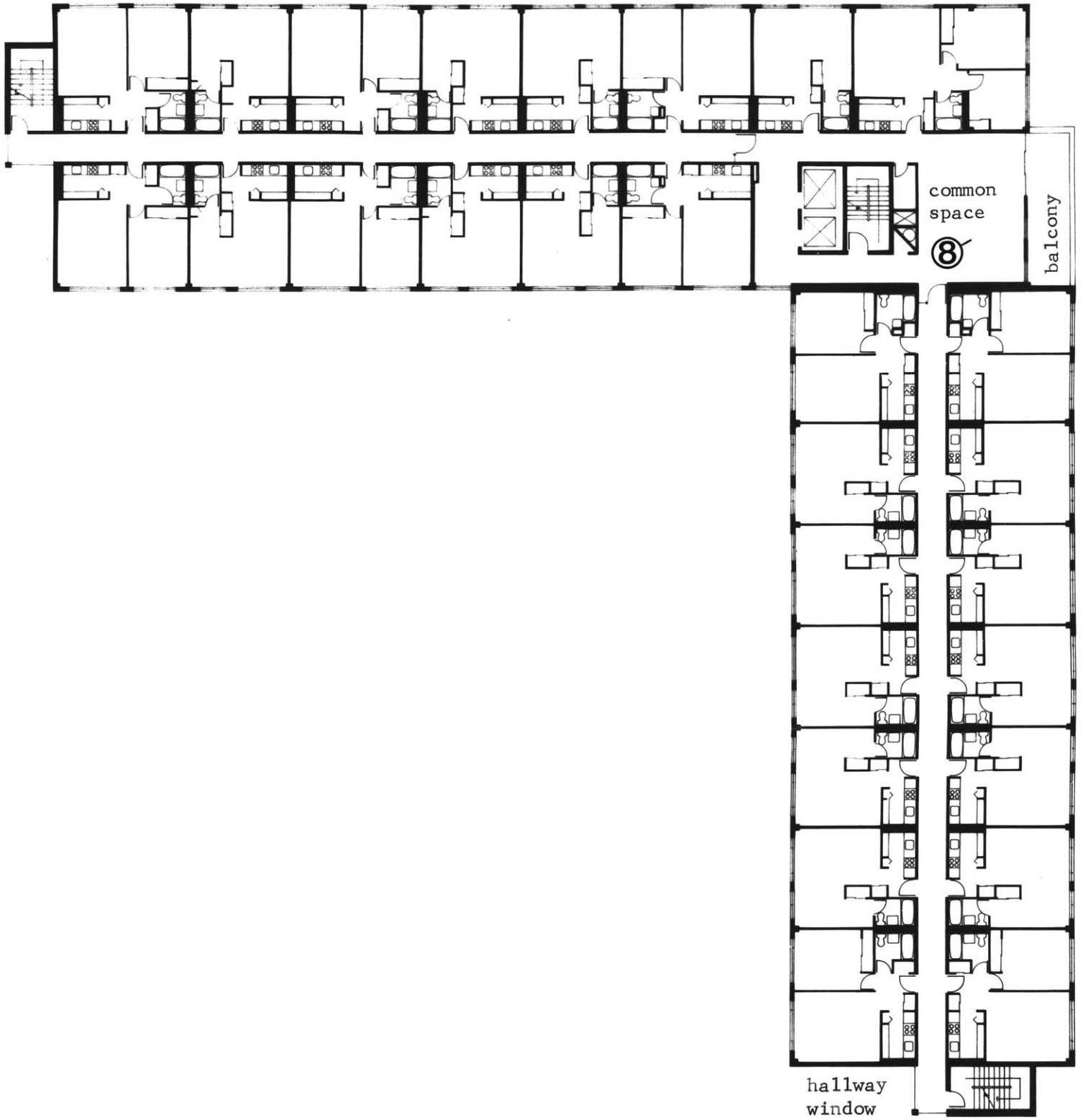
To the left upon entering is a continuation of the lobby space which is defined by the laundry room, manager's office, door to the kitchen, and bank of mailboxes. And behind the laundry room (to the north) is the "men's room," so-called because the men use this room at night to gather in, shoot pool, and play cards. They have formed their own club, chipped in and bought their own billiard table, and often go out to dinner together. There is a small room off of this "men's room" that is designated as a library on the architect's floor plans but the custodian has furnished this room with his own furniture and keeps the door locked most of the time. A visiting nurse who comes once a week uses this room to see tenants in.

Site C ground level



0' 10'

Site C upper level



Site C

PHOTOGRAPHS

Lobby and front entrance



View to lobby area by manager's office



Lobby area and mailboxes



Site C

PHOTOGRAPHS

Laundry room



Men's room



Furniture in men's room



Site C

PHOTOGRAPHS

Recreation room



Common space on residential floor



B. Methodology

As stated in Part I, an environmental design study such as this requires a multi-method approach to uncover the salient issues in user wants and needs. Four different kinds of methods were suggested: interviewing and using questionnaires, using non-verbal visual aids in interviewing, observing behavior, and observing physical cues. For this study of community spaces the four specific methods employed include interviewing, rank ordering of furnishings and spatial characteristics, behavior mapping, and observation of physical cues.

Interviews. The interview relies on verbal reports of tenants' behavior, perceptions, attitudes, and aspirations. In the present study, open-ended questions were used to allow for the exploration of issues by the interviewer. Stacey suggests that open-ended questions should be used "where the issue is complex, where relevant dimensions are not known, and where a process is being explored."⁶⁰ Such is the situation in the study of community spaces where we are investigating their role in the everyday living patterns of the elderly.

The questions were organized according to a time sequence from past history to present situation to projected future. They covered such topics as how tenants were introduced to the site, their first impressions, how they went about making friends in the building and where, what the tenants' club did, what an average day was like (in reference to use of the community spaces), the description of the spaces and if they reminded the respondents of any other type

of spaces they had experienced, and what they would design if they could be the architect for a new building.* The questions asked for personal descriptions as well as informant information (i.e., what do you do and what do others do). To maintain a flow of communication, all interviews were taped and subsequently typed in full.

HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR RECREATION ROOM?
 "Oh, well, I would tell them we have a nice pleasant room. We have a nice piano, it's not the best. We've tried to get a nice piano. And there's chairs and there's tables. We play cards if we like, we play beano on certain nights." (C-2)

The questions that consistently presented difficulties in responses concerned the physical descriptions of the community spaces. Even though most of the interviews were conducted in the recreation room, tenants still had trouble describing the space. They most often described the room in terms of the objects present but could rarely talk about the qualities of the space itself. At Site A the respondents kept describing the sitting room as "homey" but when asked to define what made it "homey" they said it was an impossible task.

A total of 30 tenants were interviewed, ten from each site. Because I was entering "private" territory (the residential environment), I did not feel I could draw a random sample and expect people to participate eagerly. I did not want to intrude on this "privacy" because public housing does not imply that anyone and everyone has access to the apartment and its residents simply because it is publicly funded. This factor, along with the presence of a high percentage of incapacitated residents (due to aging, illness, or handicap), suggested a more selective process. I decided to rely on the manager's knowledge of the tenants and asked

NOTE: This column will be used for tenant comments. C-2 refers to Tenant 2 at Site C.

*For the complete interviewing guide see appendix A.

each one for a list of tenants who represented a cross-section of behavior responses to the community spaces ranging from frequent to occasional to non-use and who might be more willing to be interviewed. I also requested a sample representative of the sex and single vs. couple breakdown of the building. For example, if the breakdown at a site was 70 per cent single female, 10 per cent single male and 20 per cent couples, I tried to interview seven single females, one single male, and one member from each coupled pair (usually one male and one female).

After I had the list of suggested names, each prospective participant was sent a personal letter explaining who I was, the project I was working on, and the type of information I was looking for. I also set up a tentative time for each interview and told them we would meet in the recreation room. The majority willingly participated and I received only two refusals, both at Site B. One 87 year old woman said she never used the recreation room (she had difficulty walking) and so thought she had no interesting information for me. She did comment on how low the chairs were in the recreation room though. She said she sat down in a chair some time ago and sank down into it and could not get out. She had to ask a man she did not know to help her out and she found it "very embarrassing." The other woman said she refused to go down to the recreation room because of the clique that used it. She had spotted the clique when she first moved in and decided the best thing to do was to mind her own business and not associate at all with "those back stabbers." She

displayed noticeable animosity when talking about one member of this clique. I offered to interview her in her apartment but she still refused. She did mention she "loved" the building though. I replaced these refusals with other suggested tenants.

The final sample was biased towards those who used the community spaces, were members of the tenants' club, and were more socially outgoing but I did talk to some loners and introverts. Although this did not give me a representative sample of tenants at each site, it did give me a sample of those tenants who had a greater investment and interest in their community spaces. They could tell me how these spaces and clubs really functioned for them but not why they didn't work for (or appeal to) the non-users.

For their time and information, each tenant interviewed was paid \$5.00 for the 30 to 45 minute interview.⁶¹ Too often these public housing sites have been the victims of "in-out" research where someone will come in with a questionnaire or interview and when the information is in hand, immediately leave the scene with no feedback to the participants as to the findings or purpose of the study. Tenants and managers were both dissatisfied with this arrangement. Fortunately money was available to pay them for their information which gave the participants the feeling that what they had to say was of some value. All tenants interviewed accepted the money and usually reported that they enjoyed the interview.

The interview structure just described is only one form of listening that I employed while on site. In the interviewing sessions I con-

trolled the flow of information by a relatively structured set of questions. But other verbal encounters also provide valuable information such as when I overheard conversations, casually talked with tenants over coffee, or when they engaged me in conversation when I was observing. Schatzman and Strauss have labeled these forms of listening eavesdropping and situational conversation.⁶² Eavesdropping was inevitable; I was constantly surrounded by conversations that I could not help but overhear. The task of the researcher is to evaluate this information for its relevancy to the problem and then to note pertinent information. As most conversations overheard in this manner do not provide such information, this form of listening is not a major strategy for collecting data and is usually done in conjunction with other information-gathering techniques. For example, while behavior mapping at Site B I overheard a "round table discussion" where one tenant said that when her children call up in her apartment and no one answers, they dial the number of the public phone in the hallway on the ground floor because they know she will probably be down in the recreation room nearby.

The other form of listening, situational conversation, was valuable not only in the information it provided but also in establishing a rapport with those whom I was observing. Between scheduled behavior mapping times I would occasionally get a cup of coffee and join the others present in casual discussions. Because I showed an interest in participating in their conversations, I could ask several questions of my own which they would eagerly respond to.

In addition to my initiating these encounters, the tenants and the custodians often engaged me in conversation, particularly when they thought there was something I should know about their building or their club. All of these forms of listening--eavesdropping, situational conversation, and interviewing--provided valuable information.

Rank ordering. After the interviews, each tenant was presented with a list of 15 items with instructions to rank them in their order of importance in a recreation room.* These items included carpeting, draperies, TV, radio, books, view of what's happening of the street, comfortable chairs, tables to sit at, sunlight, other tenants, etc. This instrument was tested on the first four tenants interviewed to get their reactions. All filled it in with ease and without asking any questions. This led me to believe the directions and list of items were clear and understandable and needed no revision. However, in later interviews, the tenants had difficulties with the directions as well as with the long list of items. In almost all instances, the following verbal explanation was added: "If we were designing a new building with a recreation room, what are the things that you would be sure to include in this room? What would be the first item you would put in a new recreation room?" Some of the tenants found this a difficult task and only marked the first three to five items of importance. Fifteen items in a rank order list are too many and should be reduced to approximately seven items but not more than ten if possible.

"Oh honey, I can't do that...that's above my brains! " (B-10)

*For the complete rank order instrument see appendix A.

Some had difficulty putting the items in relative order, saying they were not sure if they could make such a fine distinction between them because they thought they were all important. There was also some ambiguity in what was meant by "view of what's happening on the street" and a greater ambiguity with "other residents." The latter was explained by asking if it was important who else was in (or not in) the recreation room when they wanted to use it.

Because of these difficulties in the instrument, statistical manipulations were kept at a minimum. Percentages of the interviewed tenants who ranked the items in the top, middle, and bottom groupings of five items were calculated. However, I think the usefulness of this instrument lies, to a great extent, in the comments it generated about the items to be ranked.* It elicited important insights into tenant perceptions of their physical setting which are difficult to get people to verbalize. But by offering concrete physical entities for evaluation, the tenants could respond much easier and they freely offered comments on the item or issue being ranked.

This rank ordering exercise surfaced tenant inability to describe characteristics for a new recreation room that differ from their present setting. When respondents filled out their forms for important items they wanted in a new recreation room, the results tended to reflect the characteristics of their present recreation room. The following two charts list the percentage of respondents ranking items in the top, middle, and bottom five groupings of importance.

"I would copy the one downstairs." (A-5)

*These comments were recorded along with the original interview.

ISSUE: Sunlight

	Top Five	Middle Five	Bottom Five	n	Characteristics of Present Recreation Room
Site A	0	70	30	10	No sunlight; internally oriented space; drapes closed.
Site B	80	10	10	10	Bright south light plus west and north exposures; much glazing.
Site C	55	0	45	9	East light; drapes half pulled; some glazing.

ISSUE: View of street

	Top Five	Middle Five	Bottom Five	n	Characteristics of Present Recreation Room
Site A	10	20	70	10	No view to street or outdoor activity; in back of building.
Site B	40	30	30	10	Direct visual contact with low level of street activity.
Site C	11	33	59	9	No view from recreation room but distant view from lobby.

Where this phenomenon (future as reflection of the present) occurred to the greatest extent was in those items that had to do with the orientation of the room (architectural decision) and not with the furnishings that were present in it. This can, in part, be attributed to tenants unfamiliarity with other spaces that serve the same purpose as these community spaces. Tenants are more familiar with the range of furnishings available to them and have even made personal decisions about which type they like best when furnishing their own apartments. They have typically never made architectural decisions

before on such issues as sunlight and views so are less familiar with the range of options available to them. The ranking of the issues of sunlight and view of the street vary the greatest from site to site while the furniture rankings are somewhat standard across sites.

Behavior mapping. Behavior mapping is a technique used for notating observed behaviors. It supplements the information provided in the interviews with data on the explicit means by which individuals negotiate and use their environment. The specific technique in this study involves the following steps:

1. Identification of the physical setting to be mapped. That single area within each building where activity levels were the greatest was consistently mapped. At Site A, I located myself in the sitting room in a position where I could observe activities in both the recreation room and the sitting room. At Site B the recreation room was mapped and at Site C I positioned myself in the lobby because the recreation room was used only for the nutrition program during the day.
2. Identification of the type of behavior to be coded. The types of behavior to be coded are directly related to the objectives of the study. Because the end product is a set of design guidelines, we are interested in molar behavior, in "the behavior of persons as undivided entities."⁶³ Social behavior as well as loner-type behavior was noted. I was more concerned with informal activities than with structured activities assuming that the former is much more influenced by the physical setting than the latter which usually

operate under an understood set of social norms and rules making appropriate behavior more explicit and defined.

3. Preparation of an observation schedule. A time schedule was prepared where each site was visited twice a week, once in the morning and once in the afternoon over a three week period in February. This permitted three morning observations and three afternoon observations at each site to see if any behavior patterns would start to emerge.

WEEK		MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
1	AM	Site A	Site C		Site B	
	PM		Site B		Site C	Site A
2	AM		Site B		Site C	Site A
	PM		Site A		Site B	Site C
3	AM		Site A		Site B	Site C
	PM		Site C	Site A		Site B

Time limitations prohibited weekend and night-time observations although I did go to one evening meeting and beano game at Site A. Within each morning or afternoon observation period, half-hour observation blocks were established for the different rooms. The main activity area was always mapped on the hour and going to half past. During the second half hour I went to other areas of the building to either map for that period of time or make scheduled checks of area where an observer would either appear too obtrusive in coding behaviors (because of a small room) to remain for any length of time or where activities did not usually occur but the area should be checked in the event that anything is happening.

4. Preparation of a coding format. After trying

out various methods of coding behavior and the physical setting, the decision was made to list the behaviors that occurred in succession throughout the half hour period. The activities of individuals were coded noting:

- sex
- visitor
- origin and destination of movements as well as encounters along the way with other individuals or the environment
- who people interacted with (size of group)
- their location in the setting
- physical contact with, or close scrutiny of, any physical objects in the space
- comments of the nature of the conversations overheard or physical ailments; personal notes on the person observed
- total number of people in the space during the time period
- stationary (location in a fixed spot for a period greater than 15 minutes) vs. temporary or brief behavior

At the end of the half hour period this list of activities was summarized on an overlay of the floor plan of the space, drawing in furniture, exact location of persons, unusual movements through the space (other than the obvious paths taken between two points), plus any observed differences in the space from the previous observation time (i.e., drapes open or closed).*

The underlying assumption for doing behavior mapping is that although each individual is unique, together (en masse) in a physical setting, they will exhibit characteristic overall patterns of behavior.⁶⁴

*For an example of the behavior mapping instrument see appendix A.

Documentation of physical cues. This method was used less systematically and the information gathered was documented photographically. The following list illustrates various examples of, and inferences drawn from, the four types of physical cues that were described in Chapter 4.⁶⁵

type	example	inferences
remnants of use	accumulation of cigarette butts or coffee cups	group meeting/informal discussion occurred; suggests tenants do not clean up after themselves--may not view space as their own and therefore want to keep it clean
	folding chairs set up in lines facing front	suggests structured meeting with speaker as well as the size of group
environment used as a medium of communication	notices of activities posted on bulletin board	shows types of activities tenants have to choose from; frequency of changing notices might be indicative of activity level at site; also shows relationship to outside community
adaptive changes	furniture movement	suggests inappropriateness of previous furniture arrangement for a certain activity; "mover" might view space as his and therefore can alter it like in own home
	hand labeling the floor numbers on walls for orientation purposes	inadequate communications system for negotiating environment; suggest similarity of all floors
displays of self	personal plants place in recreation room and looked after there	suggests desire to "brighten up" these spaces with a personal touch; attachment to the space

These cues (photographically documented) offer additional insights into the use of the community spaces. The particular advantage of this method is that it is unobtrusive. Webb has also suggested that, in most instances, "physical evidence is more appropriate for indexing the extent to which an activity has taken place."⁶⁶ If these physical traces do not tell the entire story about previous activities, at least they are cues for further exploration with other methods.

C. Tenant Characteristics

The average age of the tenants at the three sites is between 70-72 years (the longer the building has been occupied, the older the tenants are as they tend to age with it) and their 1975 incomes average around \$3,200, most of which comes from Social Security benefits. Female tenants outnumber male tenants by as much as five to one. The percentage of couples living in these buildings is also very low. The approximate breakdowns by site (stated as a percentage of the total population) follows:

	single females	single males	couples	number of units
Site A	75%	15%	10%	96
Site B	70%	15%	15%	134
Site C	85%	10%	5%	183

Only five per cent of the tenant population at Sites A and C is nonwhite while nonwhites represent more than 30 per cent of the population at Site B.

Of the tenants interviewed, the average length of occupancy ranged from 7 months at Site A to 17 months at Site B and 21 months at Site C. Most tenants had moved in when the buildings were first opened. The majority of tenants at Site A had lived in the surrounding neighborhood and knew other people in the building when they moved in. The tenants at Site B represent a wider cross-section of Boston neighborhoods and so the population is more heterogeneous. In addition, almost one-third of Site B's original population transferred from other public housing projects in the city. Most of the Site C tenants moved in

from the surrounding neighborhood but several did come from other areas in Boston. Very few people knew one another when they first moved in. The manager at this site refers to this tenant population as the "Irish Mafia." In general, Site A has the most homogeneous population while Site B has the most heterogeneous population. There are substantial waiting lists for all three sites. In October of 1974, 55, 101, and 332 persons had their names on the waiting lists at Sites A, B, and C, respectively. The long list at Site C (one of the longest in the city) reflects the high demand for elderly housing in that neighborhood where 8.7 per cent of the city's elderly reside but only 5.5 per cent of the city's subsidized housing for the elderly is located there.⁶⁷

IF YOU WERE GOING TO MOVE OUT OF THIS BUILDING, WHAT WOULD YOU MISS MOST ABOUT THESE COMMUNITY ROOMS? "Oh, I think I would miss everything. I enjoy them so much, I think I would miss it terrible. Oh, I can't picture myself going back into an apartment. I just couldn't. I think, I say the only thing that will get me out of here is when they take me feet first!" (A-6)

Almost every tenant I encountered on my visits to the sites could do nothing but praise their building. And most of them thought their building was the best in the Boston area and would not move anywhere else. One tenant went so far as to say the only way she was leaving the building was "feet first." It is not surprising to find this attitude, however. The majority of tenants had never lived any place before that was as new, as clean, and as convenient as their new apartment. Many had moved in from undesirable situations: substandard housing badly in need of repair; expensive rents that were simply not affordable on Social Security benefits; small, cramped boarding rooms; or living with family or friends that the elderly person did not want to burden. For approximately one-fourth of their income tenants now have clean and modern private apartments, a live-in custodian and a manager to handle any maintenance problems, all the heat, gas,

DO YOU ENJOY LIVING IN A BUILDING THAT IS ONLY FOR SENIOR CITIZENS? "Yes, very much, no kids. Now that sounds like I am anti, I am not. I have grandchildren, I have great grandchildren but there is times you would rather not have the noise, do you know what I mean? You like the peace, the quiet. It is beautiful." (A-8)

"They come crawling in here and after a while they're walking around. That's the best way I can say it. They get interested again, you know...this is like a family, you know." (A-7)

"This (community space) is where everybody comes to get a little consolation from someone else. And recreation. Right here they have everything they need. All kinds of recreation. They don't have to go anywhere else. And as you know, they don't go out at night anyway...I wouldn't like it at all if it was all apartments." WOULD YOU KNOW AS MANY PEOPLE? "No, you wouldn't. You wouldn't know anybody. It would be just like you were living in New York City. You wouldn't know your next door neighbor. They come down here and you meet them in the front hall. You meet them going on the bus for shopping." (A-1)

and water one needs with no utility bills to pay, a convenient laundry, etc. Most tenants also prefer the age-segregated environment because it puts them in close contact with people their own age who understand the problems of growing old in this society while providing refuge from local teenagers (older persons still enjoy the company of small children but teenagers have always posed the greatest problem to them in terms of personal security, disrespect, and general disturbance).

These residential settings for the elderly also provide increased opportunities for social interaction and involvement which for many means a "new lease on life." Many tenants felt socially isolated in their former residences because they knew very few people and had little opportunity to meet others, particularly their own age group. Most have made many new friends in their building and actively participate in social functions frequently sponsored by the tenants' club which can bring together as much as 75 per cent of the tenant population at one time.

The tenants readily contribute their increased social activity and subsequent increases in morale to the existence of community spaces in their building. When they moved in they encountered other tenants in the community spaces and introduced themselves as well as at the tenant club meetings. Friendships are also maintained in these spaces as there is relatively little "apartment hopping" at these sites. If these spaces were not provided to get together in, most tenants agree that they would know fewer residents.

D. Activity Profiles

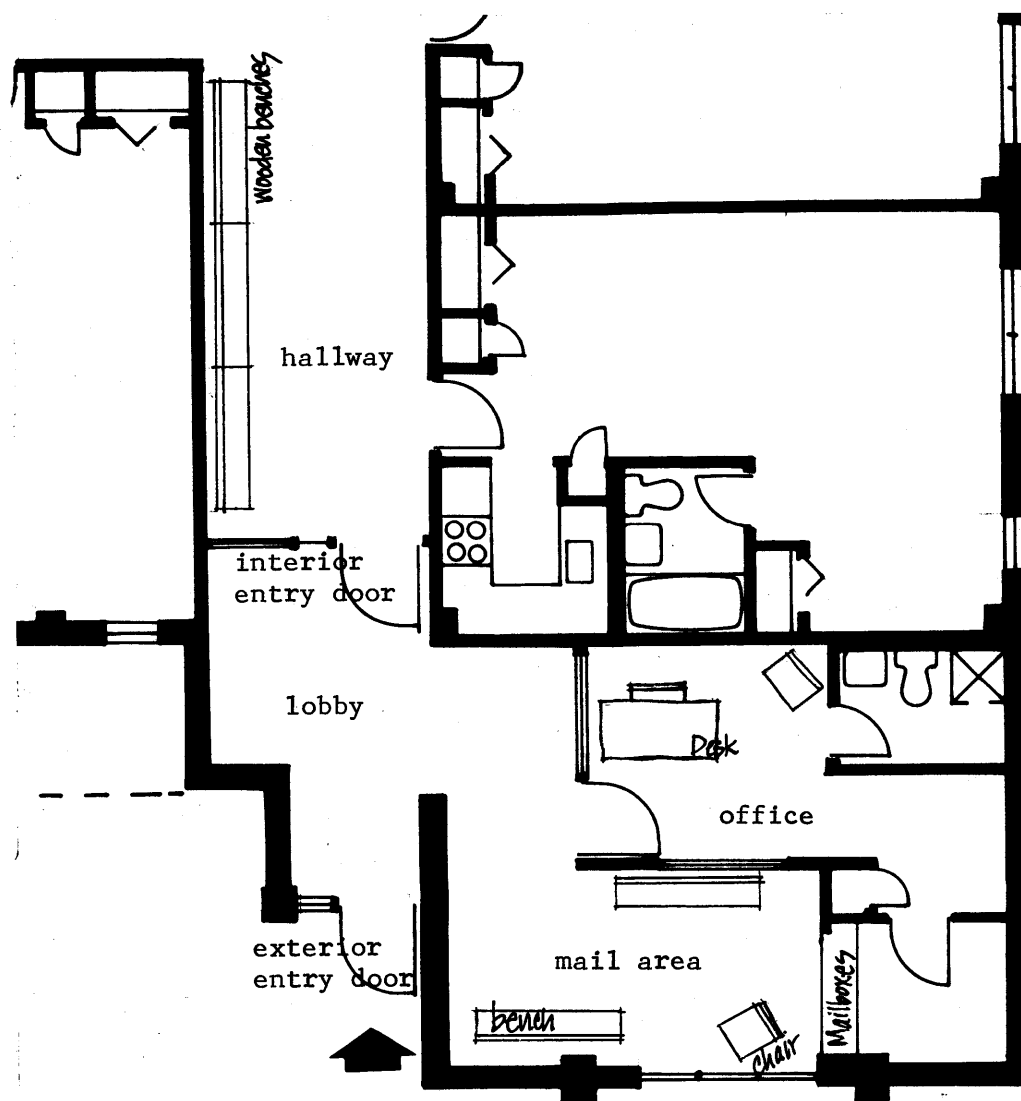
As defined in Chapter 4, an activity profile describes the interrelationships between a physical setting, the implicit or explicit set of rules governing its use or non-use, and the activity that is generated by this setting, the rules, and other participants. It has four component parts: place, props, policies, and participants that work as an ensemble to produce a characteristic mood and mode of behavior in a particular setting. Activity profiles have been developed for various communal settings at each of the three sites to describe the various interdependencies between these physical and behavioral components. An example of the activity profile for the entry area at Site A follows.* Although this entry area is comprised of several small spaces, the activity patterns interrelate these spaces more than separately defining them so the entire entry area will be treated as one activity profile.

A list of activities is then generated from these activity profiles that is characteristic of, and desired by, elderly tenants in these residential settings. This list is presented in the form of design guidelines in the following chapter.

*The remaining activity profiles for Sites A, B, and C with supplementary photographic documentation can be found in appendix B.

Site A

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR ENTRY AREA*



- The first (exterior) door is unlocked and the second (interior) door is propped open when the guard is in the front part of the building. When he goes to the back of the building he

* This includes the lobby, mail area, office, and hallway inside the interior door.

"That space out there is where we hang to get the mail. And then a lot of times, like you will be waiting to get the cab, that's where you wait. Or if you are going to meet someone, you will say meet me down. . . , I got to pick up my mail so meet me down there and we will go on and have coffee in the other room, you know. But it is very convenient to sit and wait for your mail. Like sometimes you come downstairs and the mailman is there but naturally it takes him time to fill in so you sit there and talk and then you can look out the window too. Well, it is nice. You can talk to the security guard there, they are usually very friendly." (A-8)

shuts the door which automatically locks. This leaves the lobby and mail area accessible to the public.

- Because there are guards on site around the clock, there is no need for tenants to provide their own security at the front door (they worry more about the security in the back of the building).
- The small size of the mail area discourages large groups of people from gathering to wait for the mail. Seven tenants are the biggest group I have observed in this space. Others who are waiting typically sit down on the wooden benches in the hallway instead of further crowding the space.
- People waiting for a cab or visitor watch standing up at the front door or by the window in the mail room because they cannot see the street from the hallway.
- The wooden benches are not comfortable enough to encourage long-term sitting but they do provide the necessary physical support for short-term waiting.
- The men have a tendency to locate themselves in the mail area and the women in the hallway during periods of more stationary behavior.
- Because there is a guard always present at the front door, the buzzer system is rarely used. If the visitor is familiar to the guard, they exchange greetings and the visitor stops to explain his/her purpose.

- Waiting for the mail is a daily activity for most of the tenants. Some wait for it because they are expecting letters or bills while others wait in the mail area "because there is nothing else to do."
- Women waiting for the weekly shopping bus gather in the hallway. When the benches are all full, the remaining lean up against the wall opposite the benches. As the bus arrives at different times and the length of wait varies from week to week, places to sit down by the front door are very important. Occasionally others will wait for the shoppers' return in the same location to greet them as they come back (this is more characteristic of those who request that a shopper bring back items from the store for them).
- Individuals frequently engage one another in the hallway coming and going and strike up conversations. Because of the narrow width of the hallway, these small gatherings hinder the movement of others.
- There is one male tenant who spends the majority of his days sitting in the folding chair in the mail area watching the street activity. People will occasionally have a brief conversation with him when they walk by.

Chapter 6

DESIGN GUIDELINES: BEHAVIORAL NEEDS OF ELDERLY PERSONS IN RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITY SPACES

A set of guidelines based on the activity profiles for the three sites under study is presented in this chapter. It is organized in such a way that these guidelines can exist as a document useful to designers separate from the remaining body of this thesis. Direct tenant comments are provided in the left hand column as a means of sensitizing designers to this user group. A separate footnote system is also attached as part of the guidelines for designers interested in more detailed discussions of specific issues.

**Design
Guidelines**

Behavioral Needs
of Elderly Persons
in Residential Community Spaces

These guidelines have been developed to aid architects involved in the design of community spaces in residential settings for the elderly. They are based on the study of behavioral needs of older persons at three occupied sites in a large urban area.

The application of these guidelines is appropriate in residential settings for the elderly that meet the following criteria:

- situated in an urban neighborhood characterized by medium to high density residential development in close proximity to commercial facilities
- high ratio of tenants to site area requiring mid-rise elevator buildings anywhere from four to eight stories tall
- tenant populations ranging from 100 to 250

C O N T E N T S

1. The Elderly Person
2. The Role of Community Spaces
3. Activity Needs in Community Settings
4. Special Design Considerations
5. A Note on Institutional Look and Personalization

Footnotes

1. The Elderly Person

Elderly persons have special environmental needs that differ from those associated with other age groups. These needs result from the special circumstances associated with the aging process that affect such areas as social and psychological processes, sensory capacities, and physical capability.

In the area of social and psychological processes, there is a loss of social roles associated with aging, the two most important centering around marital status and employment. This loss of roles is frequently manifested in increasing withdrawal from participation in society. As these former group ties weaken, the elderly person becomes increasingly dependent on the residential environment for social support and friendships. With retirement from jobs and familial obligations the older person must also find rewarding ways to spend his increased leisure time.

Also associated with the aging process is a reduction in sensory capacities. Losses in sight, hearing, and sense of balance and touch present difficulties in negotiating the surrounding environment because less information is received. The typical response by elderly persons with such sensory deprivations is an attempt to reduce tension through some form of simplification. Environmental situations too complex to handle will be avoided where possible if they threaten an individual's sense of competence. Specific problems associated with sight losses include loss of peripheral vision, increased difficulties in reading, glare becomes more debilitating, and

there is an increased inability to clearly distinguish objects in low light levels. Hearing problems present difficulties in large group meetings as well as in normal conversation requiring more sensitive acoustical treatment of shared spaces.

The aging process takes its toll in physical capability by a reduction in physical strength and coordination. Mobility becomes increasingly difficult as the incidence of chronic diseases increases. Assistance in movement can be provided by wheelchairs, walking canes, objects in the environment to move between and steady oneself on, and the minimization of distance between frequently used spaces. Frequent places to sit down and rest are necessities as are chairs that require little effort to get up from. Slippery floors and raised thresholds are often anxiety-producing and hazardous. Even the opening of a pressure-operated door can be a problem for an incapacitated elderly person.

These special needs associated with the aging process indicate the complex range of variables that must be dealt with in the design of environments for the elderly.

2. The Role of Community Spaces

The residential environment plays an increasingly important role in the daily life of an aging person. Physiological and economic limitations associated with the aging process force many tenants to spend a great proportion of their time within a narrowly defined life space. Consequently, many of the needs that in earlier life were satisfied by an increased mobility within a greater

spatial context must now be met in a much more restricted environment.

Within the planned residential environment, community spaces provide the means for satisfying three critical needs:

Utilitarian. These needs are associated with the performance of instrumental tasks in a residential environment (laundry, mail collection, payment of rent to the manager, requesting maintenance assistance, etc.). Providing these services within the immediate environment and making it much easier for the elderly person to perform these tasks contribute to the maintenance of a sense of competence. If an elderly person's decreased mobility prohibits, or makes going off-site to do one's laundry extremely difficult, the sacrifice for not providing such an on-site facility might include less frequently washed clothes and a loss of self-esteem in not being able to perform such fundamental duties.

Social. The field of gerontology has contributed two dominant theories on social interaction in the aged. The disengagement theory argues that meaningful late life adjustment can result from withdrawal from social interaction.^{G-1} The activity theory of aging equates a high level of activity with a high level of adjustment.^{G-2} Most investigators, however, report that informal social activity is conducive to morale.^{G-3} The study on which these guidelines are based also supports this finding.* Interviewed tenants reported the pleasures of increased social inter-

*Comments from several tenants participating in this study will be presented in the left-hand column.

IF YOU WERE LIVING IN A BUILDING THAT DID NOT HAVE THESE COMMUNITY SPACES, WOULD YOU MISS THEM? "Oh, I would probably be out more than I'm in. (laughs) DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD KNOW AS MANY PEOPLE? "Oh, no. Because usually I've lived in apartment houses but I've never lived in a place like this before. But I've lived in apartment houses and one neighbor don't know what the other neighbor looks like half the time. They don't associate. This is a wonderful thing, companionship for each other and if you got something on your mind, you can always tell it to somebody and get it out of there instead of brooding about it."

action in their new age-segregated setting. Those who moved from their own apartments or rooming houses stated that once you shut your door, in those settings, you were alone and neighbors did very little interacting outside of brief encounters in hallways. But in their new settings, the increased social interactions were extremely stimulating and improved many a tenant's outlook on life. The new physical environment with its increased amount of community space not only increased the likelihood of friendly encounters, it also provided the available settings for developing and maintaining friendships within the building.

Personal/psychological. The majority of residents moving into age-segregated planned residential environments move in from larger apartments or homes and find their new living unit much smaller and enclosing, particularly when the move is to an efficiency apartment. These units typically cannot accommodate all their furnishings and the tenant is faced with the problem of discarding items that over the years have developed many meaningful associations. To part with these cherished objects is to part with the past. Older persons avoid such painful detachments by placing pieces of their furniture in community spaces (more frequently in those communal spaces on their residential floor) to share with other tenants.

Besides not having enough room for their furniture, tenants also find the small unit perceptually stifling. This can be attributed to the lack of windows and views to extend the sensation of space (windows usually run along only one side of the apartment and the ratio of

"A little apartment, a one bedroom apartment anywhere, you know, it's like a cell. When you go in you're on your own and when you leave you go out on the street. But here you don't have to go out at all and you meet people so you don't really have to go out. You make chums easier."

window area to wall area is very low) and the inability to move from one room to another when a change of atmosphere is needed (this is more problematic in efficiency units where there is only one room that forms the private life space). The community spaces serve as extensions of the apartment unit by providing a change of atmosphere and a larger spatial context. When entertaining large family groups, tenants also have the option of using the community spaces when their apartment cannot accommodate a large-sized group.

3. Activity Needs in Community Settings

The following pages present 25 areas that should be incorporated into the design of community spaces based on the activity needs of elderly persons and the support staff who come in contact with them in their residential environment. This list is not exhaustive nor are the activities mutually exclusive. They represent those activities that are most important to the tenant, those that provide the greatest satisfaction and fulfillment of wants and needs. Each specified activity area includes a description of the activity (type of user, size of group, temporal characteristics, etc.) to be accommodated, the spatial relationships to other activity settings, the spatial qualities of the area itself, and a list of furnishings and equipment needed for minimum performance levels. Boxes have been provided by each design item to be checked by the architect as he/she satisfies various performance specifications. Where appropriate for each activity area, other areas that are spatially

compatible (i.e., can share the same room definition) or should be adjacently located are coded in the upper left-hand corner. These are to be used as suggested relationships assuming that all the performance criteria can be met for each activity area. A diagram follows these 25 activity areas that shows a suggested relationship pattern between all the areas on the ground floor.

Entrance Area

①

Adjacencies:

② ③ ④

Activity description: Entering one's home territory is an important psychological experience for everyone. This activity triggers meaningful associations with one's most private and personal environment, the living unit. For most elderly persons, crossing this threshold from public to private implies a psychological transition from a state of ready alertness to one of relaxation. (This emphasis on security is heightened by the typically rougher neighborhoods that these sites are located in and by the elderly person's decreased sense of competence in defending himself.) The tenants make this transition at the entrance to the building first, and secondly, at the door to their apartment. Because of the physical vulnerability of elderly persons, security precautions at this entrance are a necessity. Before leaving the security of the building, tenants like to have an unobstructed view of the area directly outside the front door. Residents are concerned with their own ease in entering when they return to the site with packages and bundles in arm but want visitors monitored at this point to prohibit access to "undesirables." There are those tenants who like to see the presence of others when they enter but others feel their comings-and-goings are their own concern and having others sitting around watching the entrance gives them the feeling that they are "under surveillance."

Spatial relationships:

- Directly adjacent to guard's area.
- In close physical proximity to waiting area to allow easy and quick exit.

①

-
- Minimize distance to vehicular pick-up and drop-off points on site (provide overhead protection against the weather between these areas).

Spatial qualities:

- Provide opportunities for visual surveillance of areas immediately outside the front door and visual access to vehicular pick-up point.
- Provide immediate protection against the weather.
- Access to this area should be available to all tenants and visitors to the site while the interior access point to the building should in some way monitor visitor activities.
- Must accommodate groups of people entering and leaving at the same time.
- Minimum square footage: One-half square foot per tenant on site.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Mechanical buzzer or call system for visitors to signal the desired apartment which allows the tenant to provide access to expected visitors.
- Built-in counter adjacent to interior locked access point to rest packages on while finding key and opening door.

Guard's Area

②

Adjacencies:

① ⑤

Activity description: As there are many visitors to the site who need access to the interior community areas (servicemen, social workers, visiting nurses, etc.) and not a particular apartment unit, there is usually a need to have someone present at the door to provide them access, to monitor the purpose of the visit, and to supply information concerning the location of persons, spaces, or equipment within the building. This job is best performed by a guard who is perceived as an authority figure and who can remain at the front entrance at all times. Informal tenant surveillance is not effective. The optimum solution in urban areas is 24 hour guard service which is paid to be responsible and whose perception by tenants as well as visitors as an "authority figure" establishes a more secure image.

Spatial relationships:

Directly adjacent to entrance area.

Spatial qualities:

Unobstructed view of entrance area.

Furnishings and equipment:

Desk and chair

Storage area for coat, personal belongings, etc.

Waiting Area

③

Spatial compatibilities:

④

Adjacencies:

①

Activity description: As most elderly tenants do not have their own car for getting around, they rely on public transportation (mostly cabs) and friends and relatives. The majority of the tenants will wait inside the front entrance to watch for the arrival of the expected vehicle so as to not keep the driver waiting. (Cab drivers have a tendency to drive off when riders do not appear in a short period of time.) Elderly persons prefer to wait sitting down.

Spatial relationships:

- Directly adjacent to the entrance area to facilitate easy and quick exit.
- Minimize distance from waiting area to vehicular arrival area.

Spatial qualities:

- Visual access to vehicular arrival area from sitting position.
- Must accommodate several individuals at one time and occasionally a large group of tenants waiting for special transportation (buses for weekly shopping trips, out-of-town trips, etc.)
- Minimum square footage: three square feet per tenant on site.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Comfortable chairs for waiting and end tables for setting packages on.
- Furniture arrangement oriented toward views of the street.
- Public phone nearby to call cabs or visitors from the ground floor.

Interactive Hang Out Area

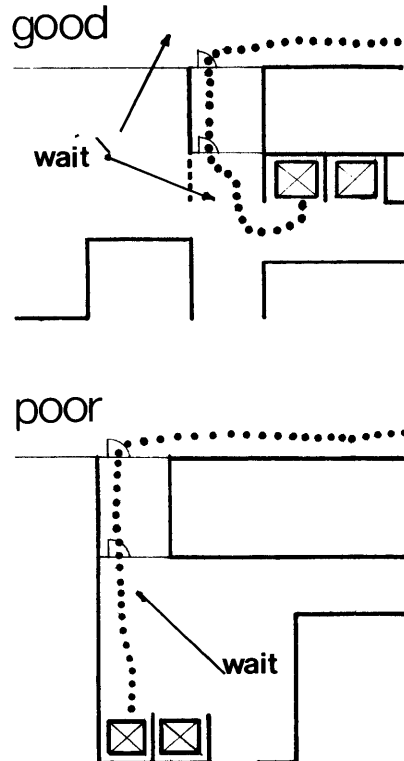
4

Spatial compatibilities:

③

Adjacencies:

①



Activity description: Hanging out, defined as frequenting a particular place, is an enjoyable activity engaged in by many elderly persons who may not have the energy or agility for more active participation in their surroundings. In elderly settings, hanging out is best characterized as "sitting and watching."^{G-4} Some tenants prefer to hang out in areas where the chances of encountering other individuals is highest. As most of the continuous activity at any one site is associated with the comings-and-goings of visitors and tenants, tenants will hang out by the entrance area. (When there is little to no activity occurring on site, attention can be directed to the off-site activities.) There are always some tenants (and occasionally the management) who dislike seeing other tenants hanging out in the entrance area because they view it as a nonproductive, idle activity^{G-5} that invades the privacy of others entering or leaving the building. (Hanging out in other areas of the building does not generate this resentment.)

Spatial relationships:

- Adjacent to the entrance area.
- Close physical proximity to street activities.
- Avoid direct adjacencies with the pathway between the main entrance and the elevators.

Spatial qualities:

- Provide views of activities around the entrance area from a sitting position.
- Minimize perception of those entering or leaving the building that their interior movements are under visual surveillance by those hanging out by providing partial visual blocks.

-
- Natural lighting to create bright, attractive daytime setting (but avoid possibilities for glare).
 - Minimize walking distance from entrance path to hangout area to encourage social interaction.
 - Minimum square footage: Three square feet per tenant population.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Comfortable chairs and sofas oriented toward views of activities
- End tables for setting objects on
- Smoking stand or ashtrays
- Carpeting

Mail Dispersal Area

5

Adjacencies:

② ③ ④ ⑦

Activity description: The daily arrival of the mail is a much anticipated event. For many, it offers the only means of communication with distant friends and relatives as traveling or telephoning is physically or economically beyond the means of many elderly tenants. Waiting for the mail generates informal social gatherings. After receiving their mail, tenants frequently look for a comfortable place nearby to sit down and read it and occasionally they will share the contents with others present. Tenants check the mail when coming in or going out of the building. The monthly arrival of Social Security checks generates concern over issues of security in this area. The mailman distributes the mail in a separate area behind the bank of mailboxes to which only he has access.

Spatial relationships:

- Close physical proximity to the guard's station or the manager's office.
- Locate on or near the main circulation path from the front door to the elevator bank. (Tenants should not have to walk through a sitting area to get their mail.)
- Directly behind the mailbox area is a room for mail sorting and distribution (the mail room).
- Adjacent to sitting areas for waiting and reading mail.

Spatial qualities:

- Direct visual surveillance by the manager or guard is not always necessary or welcome.
- Allow unobstructed circulation space in front of mailboxes for use by several people at one time in checking for mail.

5

-
- The mail room should be locked at all times with access only to authorized personnel.
 - Minimum square footage for mail room: 60 square feet.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Bank of individually locked mailboxes.
- Comfortable seating area nearby for waiting and reading mail.
- Sign indicating arrival of mail (optional).

Communications Area

⑥

Adjacencies:
elevators ⑤

Activity description: There is a need at each site for communicating various information to all tenants (announcements for parties and meetings, personal notes from tenants, messages from the manager, etc.). Tenants will read this information while waiting for the elevator or on the way to the mail area. Some messages change every day, others remain posted for a week or a month, and a few are permanent.

Spatial relationships:

- Directly adjacent to elevator bank on ground floor.
- Near mailbox area or on pathway to it.

Spatial qualities:

- Directly lighting above the information to facilitate reading.
- Circulation area in front so people reading do not interfere with major circulation patterns.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Board with surface for pinning up announcements for more permanent information (minimum dimension: 4 X 6 feet).
- Surface for writing daily messages on that can be easily cleaned (minimum dimension: 2 X 3 feet).

Manager's Area

7

Adjacencies:

① ⑤

Activity description: Managers may spend anywhere from several hours to 40 hours per week on a site depending on the extent of responsibilities at other sites. They perform such duties as renting apartments, filling out various forms and reports for the housing authority, and helping tenants with their problems. This area should be easily accessible to tenants and visitors but must also function as an efficient work space.

Spatial relationships:

- Close physical proximity to entrance area on ground level.

Spatial qualities:

- Acoustically sealed to create quiet work space.
- Views into office so tenants will know when manager is on site.
- Visual access to mailbox area.
- Means for prohibiting access to tenants and visitors because of the personal nature of the tenants' files.
- Minimum square footage: 100 square feet.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Desk for work at
- Filing cabinets for storing information on tenants
- Several chairs for tenants and visitors
- Telephone

Laundry Area

8

Adjacencies:

⑨ ⑩

Activity description: Every tenant has the need, at one time or another, to use the laundry and the majority will take advantage of one conveniently located in the building. The major activities to be accommodated are washing, drying, folding the clothes, and waiting. There are those who view doing their wash as a very personal task and think it should be a hidden function in the building while others enjoy a more public laundry area with opportunities for interaction and observation of other activities nearby. While waiting in the laundry area a tenant will likely engage in some activity to pass the time. This can include conversing with others, reading, playing cards, etc. Sites with tenant populations of less than 200-250 require only one laundry area which should be located on the ground floor as part of the cluster of community spaces.

Spatial relationships:

- Not immediately visible upon entering the building.
- Immediately adjacent to comfortable sitting areas that can be used while waiting.
- Avoid adjacencies with areas requiring minimum auditory disturbances.
- Minimize distance from the elevators.
- Locate area to avoid carrying laundry through more public areas (entrance and lobby).
- Close physical proximity to restrooms.

Spatial qualities:

- Provide range of visual accessibility for tenants' manipulation.
- Minimize auditory and olfactory disturbances on adjacent spaces.

-
- Provide natural lighting and views of outdoors to brighten the space and make it more attractive as a work area.
 - Allow for easy circulation between equipment.
 - Minimum square footage: 150 square feet for sites with tenant populations of 100, plus one-half square foot for each additional tenant over the 100 base population.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Domestic size washers and dryers: minimum of one each per 50 tenants
- Large counter/table for folding clothes
- Large sink for rinsing
- Chairs and small game table for use while waiting
- Good ventilation and exhaust systems to reduce the smell and heat associated with laundry activities
- Hard surface floor for easy maintenance
- One ironing board with electrical outlets (optional)

Television Viewing Area

9

Adjacencies:

11

Activity description: TV watching is an activity that the majority of elderly persons engage in every day because it requires little physical effort but is entertaining; it is an effortless way to pass the time. As a result, tenants view a television set as one of the most important items in community spaces. Even if tenants have a TV in their apartment, they like to watch a community TV with others in the building. TV watching occurs during the day and night even when other social events occur elsewhere in the building. This setting is used as a waiting area for other activities and interactions to occur. As this activity requires that participants be in close physical proximity to an object, the size of a group watching TV at any one time is limited. Normal daily shows may attract as many as six to ten viewers while special shows (parades, news, or sports events) may attract a slightly larger group.

Spatial relationships:

Adjacent to card and game area.

Spatial qualities:

- Visual access to other activities is desired so as not to be alienated from the larger community (but not extensive so as to distract from viewing the TV).
- Provide means to minimize auditory disturbances.
- Allow for possibility of seeing activity in this area when walking by or near it to encourage interaction.
- Minimum square footage: 300 square feet.

Furnishings and equipment:

- One television set (preferably color and large screen)
- Comfortable lounge chairs for long-term viewing
- Carpeting
- Antenna connection to insure good reception

Reading Area

10

Spatial compatibilities:

12

Activity description: Many tenants spend part of their leisure time reading and eagerly search for reading materials such as books, magazines, and newspapers. Reading in community spaces occurs mainly during the daylight hours. As this activity is engaged in by individuals and not groups, only a few people will ever use a setting at one time. Reading is compatible with other activities where the presence of others will not cause visual or audible disturbances (knitting, letter writing, contemplation, etc.).

Spatial relationships:

- Avoid adjacencies with areas used for group or more active activities as these can generate noises and visual distractions.
- Adjacent to less active outdoor settings on site.

Spatial qualities:

- Where possible, a southern exposure for bright, natural light to read by during the day (but avoid opportunities for glare).
- Acoustically sealed to minimize distracting noises.
- Visual access into area so tenants can see what is happening before they enter it.
- Partial views out of area to interior community spaces to avoid alienation and maintain communal spirit.
- Provide views of less active outdoor areas.
- Must be adequate spacing between seating areas (7 to 12 feet)^{G-6} so that each individual can be absorbed in his own activity without appearing rude by not engaging others present.
- Minimum square footage: 200 square feet.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Comfortable chairs

-
- Library tables
 - Bookcases or shelves and magazine racks for storage
 - Adequate light levels for reading
 - Carpeting
 - Books, magazines, daily newspapers
 - Signaling and cueing to designate quiet area

Card and Game Area

11

Adjacencies:

12 13
16 17 18

Activity description: Tenants will amuse themselves on an individual basis with such activities as solitaire and putting puzzles together but will also frequently engage one another in such games as bridge, poker, checkers, etc. These latter activities are characterized by small group interaction which requires a concentration on the activity and the group. These groups typically involve no more than four to six players. They are more likely to occur spontaneously when a group of tenants gathered together show an interest in playing.

Spatial relationships:

Adjacent to major activity spaces.

Spatial qualities:

Views of other activities taking place nearby.

Smaller settings are preferred to large, open spaces.

Natural light for daytime games.

Minimum square footage: two square feet per tenant on site.

Furnishings and equipment:

Chairs and tables to work at or play cards on (variation in sizes to accommodate different size groups)

Storage area for the equipment (can be movable)

Arts and Crafts Area

12

Spatial compatibilities:

10 25

Activity description: Arts and crafts activities (sewing, painting, leatherwork, etc.) are typically planned events and involve an instructor or organizer (tenant or support staff). Only a small percentage of tenants at any one site will engage in these activities. While 'creating,' tenants require concentration and minimal distractions.

Spatial relationships:

- Close physical proximity to less active community areas.
- Adjacent to recreation director's area.

Spatial qualities:

- Acoustically sealed to minimize audibly distracting noises.
- Natural lighting for brighter daytime work space.
- Visual connection to other activity areas.
- Views into space so others passing by may be attracted to the activity.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Chairs and work tables or benches
- Storage space for equipment
- Hard surfaced floors that can be easily cleaned
- Work sinks for washing up (or direct adjacency to restrooms)
- Adequate electrical outlets
- Display space for showing products

Dining and Snack Area

13

Spatial compatibilities:

16 17 18

Adjacencies:

14 15 22

Activity description: Large social gatherings (typically planned by the tenants' club) frequently include a meal or snack (such as cake and coffee after a beano game). These gatherings can often attract up to 75 per cent of the tenant population. Nutrition programs that provide daily meals (usually lunches) to tenants and elderly persons from the surrounding neighborhood are scheduled for some sites. Coffee stands are also a frequent occurrence as most women enjoy "coffee clatches."

Spatial relationships:

- Adjacent to kitchen and serving areas.
- Avoid direct view into this area upon entering the building.
- Adjacent to outdoor patio area.

Spatial qualities:

- Natural lighting for bright, airy daytime setting.
- Must accommodate 75 per cent of the tenant population seated comfortably around tables with a minimum of four feet between seating arrangements to facilitate easy movement throughout the area.
- Suggested square footage: 10 square feet X 75 percent of tenant population.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Table and chair arrangements for dining (in various sizes and shapes to provide optional seating arrangements for tenants and to decrease the institutional look)
- Non-skid, stain resistant flooring (spilling of food occurs frequently)
- Storage area for these tables and chairs

Kitchen Area

14

Spatial compatibilities:

⑮

Adjacencies:

⑬ ⑮

Activity description: Informal coffee stands, nutrition programs, and dinners associated with parties and club activities all require an area to store and prepare food as well as clean up afterwards. As many as six to eight people may be involved in these activities at one time for the bigger meals. Large meals are typically catered unless they are potluck (they still require some food preparation such as heating up, mixing, arranging, etc.). Coffee stands are typical occurrences in buildings where off-site facilities to meet in for a cup of coffee are not within close walking distance (less than two blocks).

Spatial relationships:

- Directly adjacent to serving and dining areas.
- Ground floor location for ease of catered food delivery.
- Movement between the kitchen, serving, and dining areas can be facilitated by two access points or one large access point wider than an average door.

Spatial qualities:

- Arrange space to accommodate several people working at one time moving between various equipment and storage areas.
- Where possible, provide natural lighting to create a more attractive work space.
- Provide means to visibly close off space when not in use.
- Provide coffee stand area for daytime use.
- Minimum square footage: one square foot per tenant on site.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Generous counter space for work areas.

-
- Stove/oven and refrigerator (commercial size for larger sites over 200 tenants); large, deep sink
 - Extensive cupboard space within easy reach
 - Broom closet for maintenance and cleaning equipment
 - Non-skid, stain resistant flooring for easy maintenance

Serving Area

15

Spatial compatibilities:

14

Adjacencies:

13 18

Activity description: Up to 75 per cent of the tenant population will need to be served at large parties. Big meals are served buffet style.

Spatial relationships:

- Directly adjacent to kitchen and dining areas.
- Movement of tenants being served should not interfere with movement from kitchen area to serving counters.

Spatial qualities:

- Uncluttered, open area to facilitate getting food and walking to dining area.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Linear counter space: built-in or tables
- Non-skid, stain resistant flooring
- Coffee serving area should be provided with immediately adjacent electrical outlets to avoid tenants stepping over cords

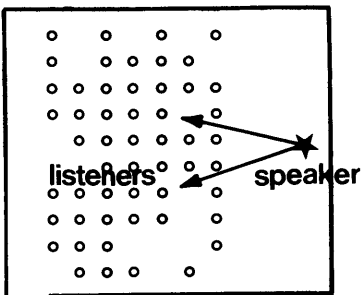
Large Meeting Area

16

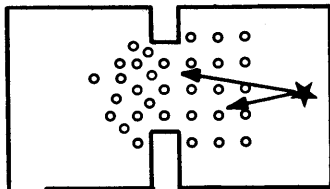
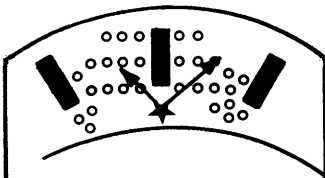
Spatial compatibilities:

13 17 18

good



poor



Activity description: Large group meetings are either called by the tenants' club to discuss/plan social events or by the manager to discuss an issue of concern to all tenants on site.

These meetings typically involve one or two speakers who address a large group (up to 75 per cent of the tenant population). Other activities may be planned after these meetings such as sing-a-longs, movies, beano games, etc. There is generally no more than one large group meeting per week which occurs at night.

Spatial relationships:

- Place at far end of cluster of major activity spaces on ground floor.

Spatial qualities:

- Offer unobstructed views of the group and speaker to promote group cohesiveness (free span space).
- Arrange so as many people as possible are as close as possible to the speakers for visual and acoustical reasons.
- Provide exterior views to extend the perception of space.
- Adequate lighting levels to see speakers (avoid glare).
- Minimum square footage: Five square feet per tenant on site.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Chairs (easily moved or stored if this space is used for other activities)
- A loudspeaker system (optional) if large numbers of people are involved (greater than 75)
- Window darkening devices for audio-visual displays
- Flooring materials should provide reduction of both glare and reflected sound

Dancing Area

17

Spatial compatibilities:

13 16 18

Adjacencies:

14 15

Activity description: When the tenants' club organizes an "all house" party (usually in celebration of a holiday), an activity frequently engaged in is dancing if there is an area provided to move around in. Those who cannot dance receive just as much pleasure sitting along the sidelines watching others as do the dancers. This is an activity scheduled for evenings. When monies are available, live music is provided.

Spatial relationships:

- Adjacent to serving and dining areas as eating typically accompanies these large social gatherings.

Spatial qualities:

- Provide an expanse of unobstructed space for free movement of dancing couples as well as an area along the outside edges of the dance floor for others to sit and watch.
- Provide space for an occasional live band to set up.
- Minimum square footage: 10 square feet X 50 per cent of tenant population.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Chairs for the onlookers and the dancers to rest on
- Good ventilation system for the heat and smoke generated by a large, active group
- Hard surface floors to facilitate dancing movements (but avoid slippery surfaces)
- Piano for accompaniment

Beano Game Area

18

Spatial compatibilities:

⑬ ⑯ ⑰

Adjacencies:

⑭ ⑮

Activity description: Playing beano (bingo) is an activity that both small and large groups engage in although the larger the crowd, the greater the excitement in participation. The tenants' club typically organizes at least one nightly game a week and if there is enough enthusiasm and support, games may be scheduled during the day. Participants include a caller, the game players (attendance can be as high as 50 per cent of the tenant population), and a checker who certifies the winners. Big games are usually two hours in duration. Food is often served afterwards.

Spatial relationships:

- Avoid adjacencies with areas where disturbing noises cannot be controlled and will therefore intrude on this activity.
- Adjacent to serving and kitchen areas.

Spatial qualities:

- Extensive views of outdoors to reduce claustrophobic feeling sometimes associated with so many people gathered together.
- Natural lighting for brighter daytime atmosphere.
- Large, clear-span space to allow everyone an unobstructed view of the group.
- Must accommodate table and chair arrangements with aisles between no less than four feet wide to allow the checker easy movement between players.
- Minimum square footage: 10 square feet X 50 per cent of tenant population.
- Good acoustics as hearing the numbers called is a very important part of the game and is a greater problem for the elderly.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Tables to sit at and place beano cards on
- Chairs (padded if possible because of the long-term sitting sometimes involved)
- A loudspeaker system for larger sites
- Hard surface floors to facilitate the movement of chairs when getting up or sitting down

Small Group Areas

19

Spatial compatibilities:

⑪ ⑬

Adjacencies:

⑨

Activity description: Small groups form at elderly sites in response to a need for social interaction and sense of belongingness that cannot be satisfied within a larger tenants' organization.^{G-7} (Examples of such small groups include a diet or exercise club, men's club, coffee clatches, etc.) At smaller sites (under 100 apartments) these groups may not form, but at larger sites two or three groups may emerge to provide this sense of belongingness. The first group to form at all sites is typically the men's group because males are so few in number (representing between 10 to 30 per cent of a total site population) and they have different social needs than the women. The men's clubs meet at night. Although these small groups may engage in the same activities as other gatherings, the emphasis on belonging to the group leads members to seek seclusion from non-group members.

Spatial relationships:

- Locate on the edges of the cluster of community spaces or in more secluded areas on residential floors above ground.
- Small group areas on residential floors should avoid adjacencies with apartment units where possible.
- These areas should not be associated with elevator landings on each floor.
- Provide range of options for these groups to choose from:
 1. special area designated only for this purpose on the ground floor (i.e., the men's room)
 2. sharing of other community spaces at different times of the day

3. small communal spaces on each residential floor where groups can avoid attracting attention and being intruded on by non-members

- Provide one option for sites with tenant populations around 100; two options with a site population of around 150; and all three options at sites with tenants numbering greater than 200.

Spatial qualities:

- Offer as much acoustical privacy as possible.
- Provide views into area so tenants can see the nature of the activity and sense the degree of group closure before entering the area.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Comfortable chairs to relax and converse in
- Tables to gather around for various activities and discussions
- Pool table (optional) for men's group
- Areas on residential floors can be furnished by tenants but a few publicly owned chairs should be available for those tenants who do not have a chair they can contribute to the setting. They are often reluctant to use other tenants' private belongings.

Secluded Hang Out Areas

20

Activity description: Some tenants prefer sitting and watching from afar to minimize the chances of being engaged by others. These tenants enjoy views of activities exterior to the building--at the entrance area and along the street. They prefer small, secluded areas near their apartment unit that they can easily frequent. Tenants typically engage in this activity alone but occasional groupings of two to three tenants will also frequent one of these areas.

Spatial relationships:

- On residential floors above ground.
- Off of circulation paths on these floors.
- At least one hang out area per floor.
- Avoid adjacencies with elevator landing.

Spatial qualities:

- Niche off of circulation path.
- Views of street activities and/or views of entrance area to the building from sitting position.
- Visual separation from elevator landings on each floor.
- Maximum square footage: 40 square feet per niche.

Furnishings and equipment:

- One comfortable chair for long-term sitting (this leaves space for tenants to bring out their own chair)

Outdoor Area: Activity Watching

21

Adjacencies:

1

Activity description: During periods of nice weather, elderly tenants like to sit outdoors and enjoy the fresh air and sun while watching activities along the street. This area is used during daylight hours.

Spatial relationships:

- If possible, within 50 feet of pedestrian activity along the street but not closer than 10 feet.
- Not closer than 10 feet to front entrance.
- Avoid placement that blocks circulation path to front door.

Spatial qualities:

- Provide views of street activities and the coming-and-going activities associated with the front entrance.
- Offer protection from the wind.
- If this sitting area is within 30 feet of a public sidewalk, define its edge along that side so as to discourage intrusion into the area by passers-by.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Outdoor benches with backs and arms oriented towards the street
- Means for shading some sitting areas on hot, sunny days

Outdoor Area: Patio

22

Adjacencies:

13 18

Activity description: When it is warm and sunny out, tenants enjoy more secluded outdoor areas that are seen as extensions of interior community spaces. Activities engaged in in this area include conversing or playing cards/games with friends, reading, contemplation, knitting, gardening, shuffleboard, etc. This area is typically used during the daylight hours.

Spatial relationships:

- Directly adjacent to the more active community spaces.
- If residential units are located on the ground floor, maintain visual and acoustical barriers between these units and the patio.

Spatial qualities:

- Define patio with high barriers if surrounding neighborhood is dense (insurance against invasion by neighborhood children and "undesirables").
- Provide hard surface areas for tenant use but leave some ground area available for tenant plantings.
- Provide protection from wind.
- Eliminate any level changes where possible.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Provide shaded areas from hot sun
- Movable outdoor chairs, benches, and tables grouped to encourage interaction
- Storage area for garden tools and furniture
- Illumination for night-time use.
- Shuffleboard courts and outdoor checkers/chess tables

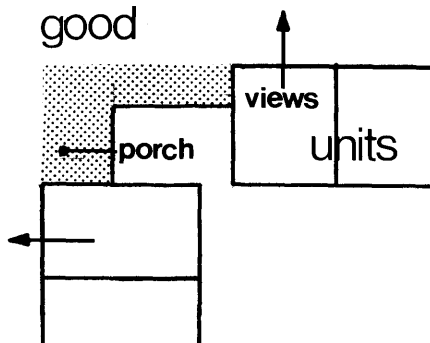
Outdoor Area: Balconies*

23

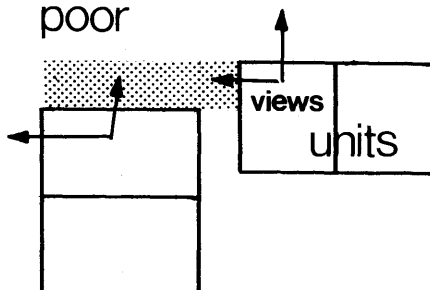
Adjacencies:

19

good



poor



Activity description: Tenants enjoy spending warm summer evenings out of doors chatting with a few friends. In urban neighborhoods, balconies on the floors above ground level provide secure areas for this activity.

Spatial relationships:

- Directly adjacent to communal areas or hallways on residential floors.
- Maximize distance between balcony areas and individual apartment units to minimize visual and auditory intrusions on the private units.
- At least one communal porch per floor.

Spatial qualities:

- Oriented to afford the best views of the surrounding area.
- Provide maximum visual connection to interior communal spaces.
- If southern exposure, overhangs should be provided for sun protection (movable if possible).
- Minimum balcony width: 8 feet.
- Minimum balcony square footage: 150 square feet.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Movable outdoor furniture (chairs, lounges, tables) for tenants to create their own groupings. (Several tenants will also bring out their favorite chair to sit in.)
- Railings that permit views of activity below while sitting down
- Planting boxes for flowers

*Applicable in buildings with no private balconies off of apartment units.

Custodian's Area

24

Activity description: The up-keep of the large number of apartment units per site requires at least one full time maintenance person. (One full time custodian for every one hundred apartments.) One custodian typically lives in the building in an apartment unit designated for his use on the ground floor. The custodian(s) also needs a separate area to store the equipment and tools necessary for the maintenance duties. The custodian's area can serve as his office where tenants go to find him during the day or leave a message for him so that his apartment unit remains his private sanctuary.

Spatial relationships:

- Locate on ground floor between the equipment and mechanical systems areas and the tenant community spaces.

Spatial qualities:

- Means for prohibiting access to this area when the custodian is not present.
- Minimum square footage: 100 square feet.

Furnishings and equipment:

- Workbench for repairs
- Storage area for tools
- Desk or table for doing paper work

Other Support Staff Areas

25

Spatial compatibilities:

10 12

Activity description: Other support staff members (in addition to the manager, guard, and custodian) who are often involved in on-site activities include a visiting nurse, a social worker, and a recreation director. These workers typically visit the site only once a week (although some sites have a full time recreation director).

Visiting nurse: Service available to tenants one-half day a week to perform simple health check-ups and give medical advice (not a substitute for a doctor).

- Small area needed with visual and auditory privacy (less than 100 square feet).
- Waiting area adjacent.
- Tables and chairs.

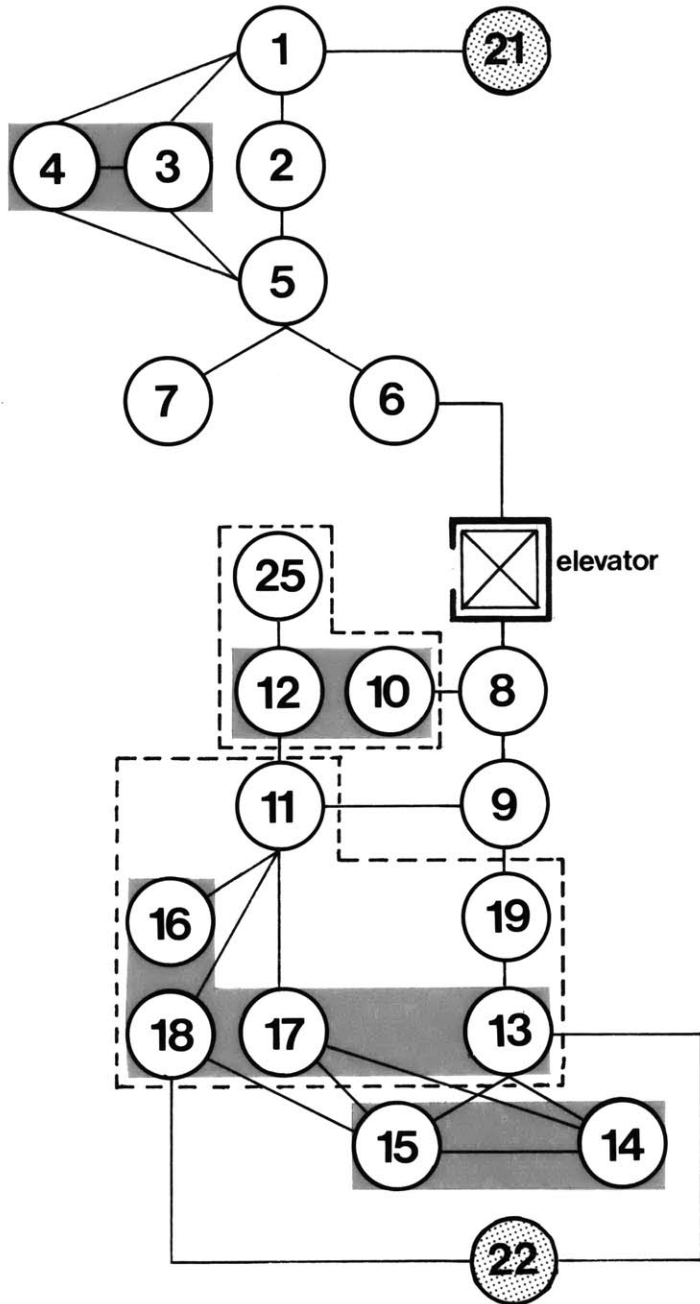
Social worker: Service available to tenants who want someone to talk to and discuss their problems with.

- Small discussion area.
- Comfortable seating arrangement.

Recreation director: To help organize and direct activities (typically of the arts and crafts nature).

- Small space adjacent to arts and crafts area.
- Desk for working and storage area.

Diagram of Spatial Relationships Between Activity Areas



- 1. entrance area
- 2. guard's area
- 3. waiting area
- 4. interactive hang out area
- 5. mail dispersal area
- 6. communications area
- 7. manager's area
- 8. laundry area
- 9. television viewing area
- 10. reading area
- 11. card and game area
- 12. arts and crafts area
- 13. dining and snack area
- 14. kitchen area
- 15. serving area
- 16. large meeting area
- 17. dancing area
- 18. beano game area
- 19. small group areas
- 21. outdoor area: activity watching
- 22. outdoor area: patio
- 25. other support staff areas

- adjacencies
- suggested spatial compatibilities
- optional compatibilities
- outdoor areas

4. Special Design Considerations

There are a number of special design considerations that have applicability to all of the separate activity areas. These include the clustering of community spaces, large vs. small spaces, adaptability of spaces for different activities, and issues of furnishability.

Clustering. The clustering of community spaces as opposed to their dispersion is recommended. This clustering not only creates a focal point for activities on site, it also promotes a greater sense of community by having tenants engage in activities with the knowledge that others are close by, doing different things, but sharing in the overall sense of camaraderie. Clustering increases interaction between spaces and can generate increased activity by providing more options for tenants who find themselves in the general area. In addition to the physical clustering of spaces, amenities such as visual connections between spaces should be provided to increase the interactional qualities.

The clustering of community spaces should occur on the ground floor to take advantage of major circulation paths within the building. A great deal of the activities in these spaces is related to the coming-and-going movements of visitors and tenants. Tenants enjoy watching this movement and will seek out spaces where they can observe this activity from. In addition, tenants entering or leaving the building are attracted by the occurrence of other activities and if they receive any visual or auditory cues that something is 'happening,' their curiosity

will typically draw them in the direction of the source. Locating major community spaces on the top floor is highly discouraged as it takes a greater commitment on the part of the tenant to travel the extra distance with no guarantee that the effort will be rewarded by the presence of others in these spaces. The dynamic nature of the community spaces comes not from the spaces themselves but rather from their arrangement.

Small vs. large spaces. Experience across many different types of settings has shown that large multi-purpose spaces are, in reality, "no purpose" spaces. All activities have a sub-optimum physical support system. This suggests that more attention should be given to clustering similar activities and providing closer fits between these activities and their settings.

Elderly persons have a preference for smaller, more intimate spaces. Research has shown that the elderly have a different pattern for the organization of the spatial environment that differs from the younger population.^{G-8} What is preferred are small spaces cluttered with furniture so that the distance between objects is reduced to little more than an arm's length for tactile sensation.

Informal social gatherings among the elderly incorporate very few people. Maintaining a conversation may require more effort due to the auditory losses associated with aging and, therefore, fewer people are desired in an exchange situation. Simply stated, the design implications are to provide enough space for large group activities without providing more than the necessary amount. Nothing is worse than to hold a tenants'

"We have meetings in here and most places where you have meetings is no good. It's usually too open. But this has more of a closed feeling, more privacy, in a word. Do you know what I mean? You don't feel like you are sitting right out and everybody can just see you, like you are in a goldfish bowl, in other words."

club meeting or party in a large space of which only half of it is used. The group loses its cohesiveness at the edges as there are no physical indicators of spatial boundaries for the activity. Participants also wonder why more tenants are not involved and rather than find fault with a much too expansive space, place the blame on the tenants' club for not being able to attract more participants. For small, informal gatherings, smaller spaces which can accommodate several small clusters of tenants are recommended.

Adaptability of spaces for different activities. Because of the large number of activities to be accommodated in community spaces, the individual rooms must serve a variety of activity needs--both simultaneously and consecutively.

Careful attention should be given to the activity descriptions to cluster those that are compatible: simultaneous compatibility deals with issues of visual and auditory distractions while consecutive compatibility (use of one space for several activities that follow one another but do not occur at the same time) deals more with issues of appropriate furnishings and spatial requirements.

In general, there is a distinction between activities that occur during the day and those that occur at night. Daytime activities are typically more informal and involve fewer people (small coffee clatches, TV watching, reading, casual conversation, etc.). Smaller spaces are required that offer appropriate visual and auditory barriers or connections. Night-time activities, however, involve larger groups (beano, tenants' club activities, parties, etc.) with a

more formal structure. The spaces for daytime activities must adapt to accommodate night-time activities as well if the program does not allow for separate rooms.

The two major design problems in adaptability are the division of spaces and storage. The recreation area which is used for large group meetings at night might have to double as a setting for small, informal gatherings during the day. One way to optimally accommodate these different activities and spatial needs is to provide a means for dividing up the larger space during the day. This provides smaller spaces and more intimate settings for daytime (or more informal) use while at the same time providing the necessary space for the occasional large meetings or parties.

Storage is also a critical issue as more furniture is typically required to accommodate large tenant gatherings than is necessary for other activities. An adjacent storage area should be provided to facilitate the process of setting up and taking down furniture as this could be a frequent task.

Furnishings. Often forgotten in the design of environments is the important role played by furniture and equipment. In some instances, these props are more important than the spatial context within which they are found. When planning rooms for various activities, the specified furniture and its arrangement should play an instrumental role in spatial configuration. In some cases, a designer might start with a set of activities, draw the appropriate furniture arrangement and interrelationships between different settings, and then enclose the space

according to this configuration. Too often spaces are created first and the furnishings must somehow fit in.

"...if you don't have a comfortable chair, forget it!"

One of the most important items in community spaces is comfortable chairs. It is one item that plays a critical role in the enjoyment of an activity for an elderly person with physiological problems associated with aging. The elderly define comfortable seating as having some sort of padding on both the seat and the back of the chair, which is covered in a material that is easy to clean, with arm rests to facilitate getting up, for single, double, and triple occupancy (couches).

5. A Note on the Institutional Look and Personalization

In designing environments for such a large number of users, careful consideration must be given to avoiding the "institutional look." This look lacks human imprint and conveys the message that the building structure is more sacrosanct than the people using it; if anything is to give in the relationship between the user and his environment, it is the user. But what is an institutional look? It is hard, concrete walls; it is bland colors (landlord green and prison gray); it is undifferentiated lighting levels; it is uninvolving multi-purpose spaces; it is lack of texture underfoot and all around.

Often the excuse for designing such elements into an environment is the added ease in maintenance. This is no longer a valid argument because we are finding that institutional-appearing environments are subject to the greatest frequency

and most severe vandalism by users in retaliation to what they perceive as unconcerned treatment of their environment. As Robert Sommer has so aptly pointed out, "challenge people to destroy something and they will find a way to do it."^{G-9}

To reverse this trend, one must provide environments that users will have some degree of attachment to, for with concern comes care. It is generally accepted that people who spend some time in, or have a personal commitment to, a spatial setting like to have that setting reflect some physical evidence of themselves. This is particularly true in home environments where personalization occurs at a relatively high level. The problem confronted by designers of community spaces is one of allowing for individuals to contribute their own personal touch to a setting used by many. In this way, a tenant may define his own "niche" within a larger spatial context. If these community spaces are to effectively function as extensions of an elderly person's home environment, they must encourage and accept tenant personalization. "To project one's personality upon a space, one must be able to change it."^{G-10} Designers must create opportunities for change; they should not provide institutional settings where the physical object is designed to withstand "abuse" without showing any signs of alteration.

For elderly persons, personalization takes the form of providing personal objects within a given, enclosed space. These objects typically include furniture, pictures or paintings for the wall, and plants in community spaces. The design recommendations that follow include: (1) do not overfurnish the community spaces; allow some

space for tenant furniture, preferably in areas on the residential floors; (2) specify walls that can easily accommodate hanging objects (when harder materials such as concrete block or brick are used, incorporate in the walls a system for hanging objects); and (3) provide sunny areas for the growth and display of plants as many elderly tenants enjoy nurturing these plants. As a great deal of enjoyment comes from the display of the foliage, these areas should be somewhat public. One suggestion is to provide wide ledges below any windows in community spaces to set plants on.

FOOTNOTES

G-1 Elaine Cumming and William Henry, Growing Old (New York: Basic Books, 1961).

G-2 S.S. Tobin and B.L. Neugarten, "Life Satisfaction and Social Interaction in the Aging," Journal of Gerontology, 1961, 16, pp. 344-346; Ernest Burgess, "Social Relations, Activities and Personal Adjustment," American Journal of Sociology, 1954, 59, pp. 352-360.

G-3 Irving Rosow, Social Integration of the Aged (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 26-7.

G-4 Lawton has described the "sitting and watching syndrome" in elderly persons as "perhaps the most active substitute for muscular energy output that some people can manage." It is possible that this behavior is just as satisfying as formal social interaction among the elderly. As sensory capacities diminish with age (loss of hearing, vision, etc.), it becomes more difficult to carry on a lengthy discussion. Tenants will hang out together in each other's presence, sitting and watching, but will tend to maintain a sporadic conversation. See M. Powell Lawton, "Public Behavior of Older People in Congregate Housing," in John Archea and Charles Eastman (eds.) Proceedings of the 2nd Annual Environmental Design Research Association Conference, October 1970, Pittsburgh, Pa., pp. 372-379; and "Environments for the Elderly," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 1970, 36, pp. 124-129.

G-5 Many tenants (and occasionally the management) view hanging out as "zero behavior" and a form of idleness. And there is nothing more 'sinful' than idleness in a society deeply engrained in the Puritan work ethic. Our society has been socialized to always appear busy; to always have a purpose or destination in mind. As Goffman has pointed out, "being present in a public place without an orientation to apparent goals outside the situation is sometimes called lolling, when position is fixed, and loitering, when some movement is entailed. Either can be deemed sufficiently improper to merit legal action." See Erving Goffman, Behavior in Public Places (New York: The Free Press, 1963).

G-6 This is what Hall refers to as social distance-far phase. It is used to insulate or screen people from each other. See Edward Hall, The Hidden Dimension (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), p. 123.

G-7 Festinger has summarized the sources of attractions to groups under three general categories: (1) groups mediate the attainment of important individual goals; (2) group activities are attractive to the member; and (3) almost all groups are, in some way, attractive because people have needs that can be satisfied only by personal relationships with other people. See Leon Festinger, "Architecture and Group Membership," Journal of Social Issues 7, Nos. 1 and 2, 1951, pp. 152-163. Reprinted in People and Buildings, Robert Gutman, ed. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972), p. 120

G-8 Alton J. DeLong, "The Micro-Spatial Structure of the Older Person: Some Implications of Planning the Social and Spatial Environment," in Spatial Behavior of Older People, Leon Pastalan and Daniel Carson, eds. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1970), pp. 68-88.

G-9 Robert Sommer, Tight Spaces: Hard Architecture and How to Humanize It (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), p. 10.

G-10 Louis Gelwicks, "Home Range and Use of Space by An Aging Population," in Spatial Behavior of Older People, *ibid.*, p. 155.

A Concluding Note

The information presented in this thesis should be viewed as only a starting point for environmental research in general and activity needs of elderly persons more specifically. Environmental research, as a young field of inquiry, can benefit from further exploration of data collection methods that surface user wants and needs. Users must be educated to expect and demand certain qualities in their environment and to articulate these needs as clearly as possible. Visual imaging (either in a 2- or 3-dimensional format) of desired settings has provided valuable information in past research endeavors but can benefit from further development as an information-producing tool. If people cannot verbally describe the experience of a particular setting, maybe they can communicate it visually through the use of analogues or similar visual devices.

In addition, many communication formats have been developed to translate research to designers. Little has been done in the way of testing these formats on designers to see if indeed the appropriate and complete message is being communicated. This is an important area of further inquiry requiring the close collaboration of designers and researchers.

In the specific area of elderly activity needs in community spaces in planned residential environments, the design guidelines presented in this thesis should be tested in actual settings and the performance specifications should be updated and modified based on increased knowledge and experience. The guidelines should be as dynamic and flexible as the people who use these settings.

As a final note, these guidelines were pre-

pared to assist in the design of community spaces in residential environments for the elderly under the assumption that these types of settings will continue to be built by publicly funded agencies. These are not the only type of living arrangements that elderly persons have available to them and no attempt has been made to compare the quality of the living experience in age-segregated residential environments with community spaces to the other options available.

Appendix A

Data Collection Instruments

INTERVIEWING GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY SPACES

How long have you lived here?

Did you move from this neighborhood?

Did you know anyone when you first moved in?

Why did you decide to move into this particular building?

Before you moved in, did you look at the community spaces?

What were your first impressions of these spaces?

How many people do you know in the building now?

How did you go about meeting them, and where?

Did you think the recreation room might be a good place for meeting people?

What do you call these rooms (each community space)?

Have you ever lived any place before that had communal spaces?

Do these rooms remind you of any other spaces you have been in before?

How would you describe these rooms? (Say if you went to your friends

house and wanted to tell him/her about the recreation room)

Is there anything that you particularly like or dislike about these rooms?

Do you feel you can use anything in (or any part of) the room?

Why or why not?

What would you miss most about these spaces if you left? Why?

If you could be an architect for a new building, what sort of community spaces

would you be sure to include?

What is your wildest dream--to do in, or to have for--this room or the other

community spaces?

Is there a tenants' club here?

Do you belong to it? How many belong?

What does the club do and when, where does it meet?

Do you participate in these activities? Why or why not?

On an average day, when will you first come downstairs to the community spaces, where will you go, and what will you do? How many hours will you spend down here during the day?

Do you come down at night? What do you do?

Do you ever come downstairs to be alone?

Do you ever look into the recreation room to see what is going on?

Are there any other places in the building where you go to be alone or to be with your friends?

Do you consider the recreation room to be a good place to meet people?

Would you know as many people in the building if there were no community spaces?

Can you use the community spaces at any time of the day or night?

How do you know this (informal or formal rules)?

Who makes the rules, if any? Why?

Are there some rules that people here don't pay any attention to?

RANK ORDER INSTRUMENT

Number each of the following items according to their importance in a room used for informal get-togethers, talk sessions, meeting friends, etc. Number 1 is the most important item; number 15 is the least important.

_____ Carpeting

_____ Draperies

_____ TV

_____ Radio

_____ Library books

_____ Magazines

_____ View of what's happening on the street

_____ Comfortable chairs/specify _____

_____ Tables to sit at

_____ Piano

_____ Coffee stand

_____ Sunlight

_____ Lamps

_____ Billiard tables

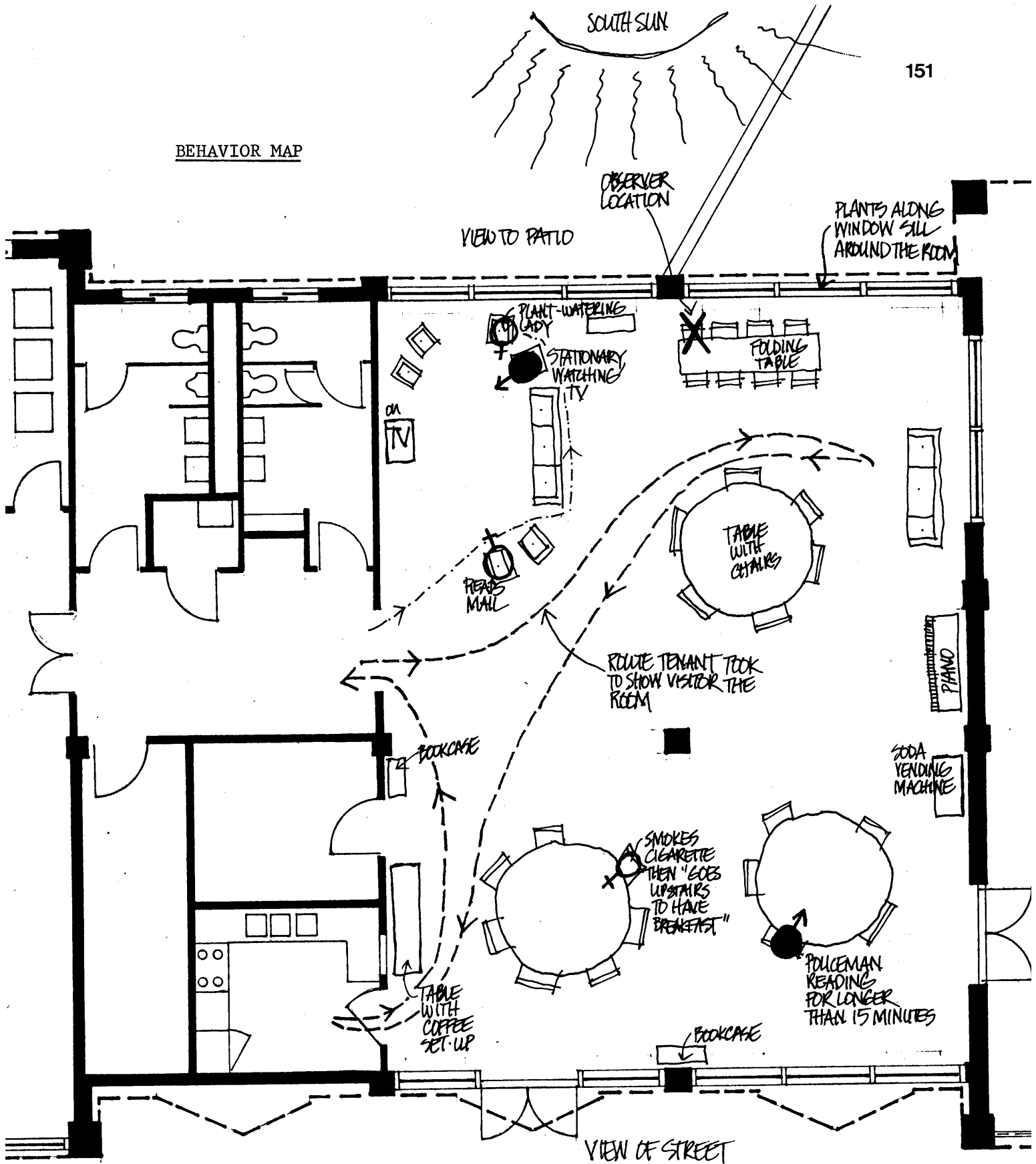
_____ Other residents

BEHAVIOR MAPPING INSTRUMENT

Site: B
 Area: Recreation room
 Date: 2/13/75 Thursday
 Time: 11:00-11:30 AM

M	F	ACTIVITY AND LOCATION	COMMENTS
✓		watching TV	
	✓	watering plants (not the usual 'plant lady'), leaves, comes back in, sits down, talks to M at TV for few minutes, then goes back to watering	"Plant lady has high blood pressure and the doctor told her to take it easy" so other lady is watering plants for her
✓	✓	policeman } talking in far corner custodian } (NE) but leave when I come in	
		policeman comes back in, takes coat off, sits down by himself and reads a book	
✓	✓	tenant in wheelchair } come in together other friend of hers } go to dis- cussion table, sit down	
		tenant in wheelchair leaves	has pajamas and slippers on but raincoat over it
✓		brings mail into rec room and reads it sitting in the comfortable chairs in front of TV; leaves in 10 minutes	
✓	✓	Female tenant brings male visitor in to show him the rec room, they walk around the room and leave	I can hear loud laughing in the lobby (this is the tenant in the wheelchair)
✓		had observed him sitting in second rec room, comes in, talks to other male watching TV and leaves	
		plant watering lady comes back in with mail, sits down to right of male watching TV (where she sat before) she walks over to radiator and turns heat on	
5M + 5F =		10 TOTAL PEOPLE OBSERVED IN RECREATION ROOM DURING HALF-HOUR OBSERVATION BLOCK	
		See behavior map reviewing activities on next page.	

BEHAVIOR MAP

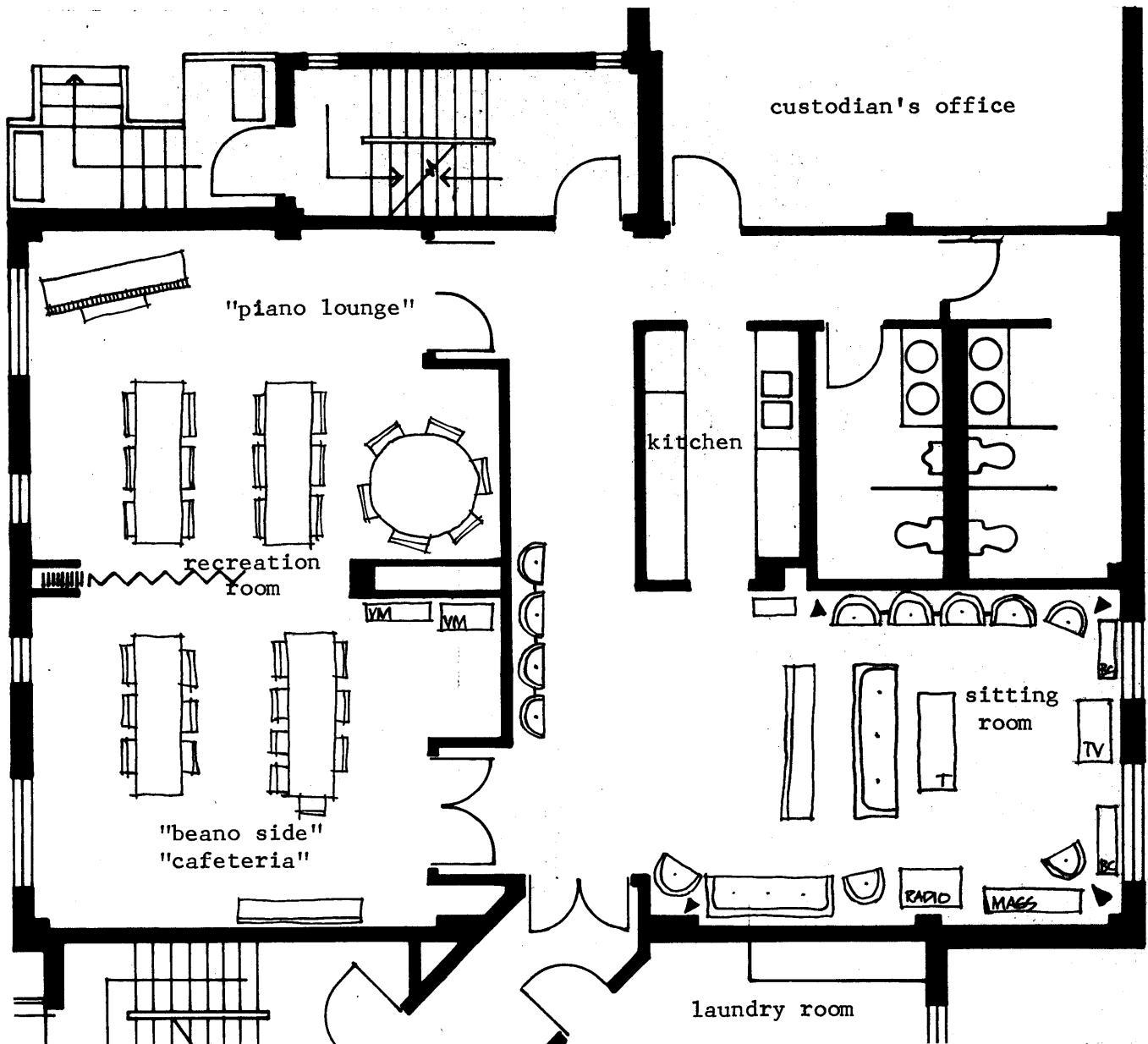


REVIEW OF ACTIVITIES
 Site B - recreation room
 2/13/75 Thursday
 11:00-11:30 AM

Appendix B

Activity Profiles

Site A

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR RECREATION ROOM
AND SITTING ROOM AREA*

*This area also includes the laundry room, kitchen, custodian's office, and rest rooms.

"You can just throw back these doors. And I think that is the best part of it, having the doors there because it makes two rooms instead of one room. Like you get a small group, for instance, they have sing-a-longs Wednesday nights. Now some of the women don't want to be bothered. Now they might want to sit in there and drink coffee and play cards."
(A-8)

"We get a crowd down here for beano. The tables are all down through here and I call the beano, the numbers, and I go around to check the cards. But you can't get by down there, through the aisles. They could have made this room a little wider. Instead of this wall in back, this is a suggestion I would like to make for other buildings, get a room big enough to move around in."
(A-3)

"It can be made into a small, cozy meeting room. It can be used for interviews like we are using it. There is a certain privacy to it."
(A-8)

- A folding wooden partition separates the recreation room into two areas and is only opened up for large meetings or activities. When the partition is closed, two small rooms are formed: the "piano lounge" and the "beano room" that function as separate entities and not halves of a larger room. Two activities can occur simultaneously on each side of the partition with very little aural interference.
- When the partition is folded back for large meetings, the majority of the tenants interviewed commented that the room is too small to accommodate everyone comfortably. In addition, the wall in the center of the room which meets the partition divides the room up so that people sitting in some parts of the room cannot see others in another section. In a large gathering, they want to see everyone as a group. This wall that juts out also narrows the room so that it is very difficult to walk down the aisle between the two tables during a meeting, beano game or dinner party.
- Although the entire recreation room is too small for all house activities, when divided into two areas by the wooden partition, intimate and private spaces are created for small informal gatherings.
- The "beano" side of the room is perceived as a "dining room" (A-10) or "cafeteria" (A-8) during the day because the majority of the food and drinks bought at the snack stand in the kitchen are eaten here around a long table. In addition,

about six to eight hot lunches are brought to the site every weekday of which four are usually eaten in this space and the rest are delivered to the individual apartments.

AND WHAT HAPPENS AT NIGHT?

"Well, the people gather around and then there's usually a group playing beano and then there's another group who come in and they'll play cards and I sit out there and crochet and listen to them. WHERE DO YOU SIT? "Out there (in the chairs in the hallway), underneath the light cause I got very bad eyes." (A-4)

- When the partition is closed, the far room (the "piano lounge") is rarely used during the day except for a private conversation or for "loner-type" behavior (a male tenant may drink his coffee alone in here rather than join a group of women on the other side). At night, however, a group may play beano on one side while a card game is in session on the other side and occasionally there will be a sing-a-long in the "piano lounge."

- Individuals congregate around only one rectangular table on the "beano" side of the recreation room during the day. Groups around this table have numbered nine and ten and are typically female. At this one table, however, several different conversations go on simultaneously. I never observed a group form around the second table in the room although an occasional male "loner" will sit here to drink his coffee and observe the activity at the other table.

DO YOU THINK THE MEN NEED A SEPARATE ROOM SOMETIMES?

"Yeah, they sit down and lie like anything (laughs). And they don't want to sit and listen to the women talk, or crocheting or knitting so they want to be alone, yeah." (A-7)

- Males are more apt to exhibit "loner-type" behavior in these spaces than are females. This can be attributed to the reluctance of men to join all female groups and the small number of men on site, and therefore in community spaces. The men often comment on how few they are in number and how they really need a space to play cards in or billiards.

- People will occasionally take their food into the sitting room and sit in the lounge chairs but have more difficulty eating, drinking, and smoking without a table in front of them to set things on. I overheard one tenant getting coffee tell the others who were in the sitting room that she didn't want to appear rude but she was going to sit down at a table in the recreation room because she was afraid of spilling on the carpeting in the other room. (The recreation room is not carpeted while the hallway and sitting room are.)

"When they are playing beano here, you cannot turn the TV on in there. Course this is a minor thing because they could shut the doors. One night they were playing beano and somebody was out there. We had to go out and stop them from watching TV because there was too much noise." (A-1)

- During the day when casual conversation is exchanged in the recreation room, the noise from the television set in the sitting room is not a problem. But at night television noises frequently interfere with large group activities that require concentrated listening (beano, meetings, etc.). The tenants' club has just purchased a loud speaker system so information can be more clearly and loudly disseminated to the large groups but this, in turn, will intrude on the TV watchers.
- There is very little TV watching in the sitting room during the day. At four o'clock, however, there is a small group of tenants who informally get together to watch Bonanza. More people watch this TV at night.
- When locating oneself in the sitting room, the tendency is for the tenant to sit along the farthest wall so as to have a view of other activities in the space. This is also the case

when the television is on. Tenants do not like to have their back to any potential activity.

- There is a fish tank in the sitting room that attracts many tenants (particularly the males). They will sit down and watch it for several minutes at a time.

WHY DON'T THEY READ DOWN HERE? "Well, maybe they have a comfortable chair upstairs at a window or they have better lighting. I wouldn't say that the lighting is too good in there (sitting room). They have those lamps. It is possible, I have seen people reading in there. But I cannot say that they were reading just because they were waiting for their washing to be done or not. Some of them come out here in the hallway, those chairs along the hall, because the lighting is better." (A-1)

- Tenants will browse through the two bookcases and magazine rack in the sitting room and will typically pull up a lounge chair to sit in while doing so. But I have not seen anyone reading for any length of time. Most tenants prefer to go back to their apartment and a favorite chair where they will not be disturbed.
- Tenants have mentioned that the overhead recessed spot lights get very hot and are hard on the eyes. As a result, they turn on instead several floor lamps. The light level is very low in this room which makes it a good setting for watching television but not for reading. (This low light level could also contribute to the intimate atmosphere of this room.)
- There are several tenants (mostly male) who spend a great deal of time strolling on the first floor between the entrance and the community spaces in the back. Because the hallway runs between spaces and leads to other rooms, these tenants can wander around without committing themselves to any one space.

- Entering behavior in these areas is typified by walking by the recreation room and observing who is present, moving on to the kitchen to get something to eat, and then joining those already present. Coffee in hand appears to legitimize one's entrance on to the "scene."
- The custodian has set up a rather elaborate snack counter in the kitchen which includes coffee, tea and cocoa plus donuts, toast, english muffins, pieces of pie, etc. He has posted a price list and provided a change box to collect the money for the amount of food taken. This honor system works quite well and tenants diligently clean up after themselves. This counter attracts people all day long and generates noticeably more daily activity in the recreation room as compared to when food was not available. (The custodian started providing coffee and donuts in December, stopped serving for a three week period over the Christmas holidays, and resumed this service in January.)
- The major morning activity centers around eating donuts and drinking coffee on the "beano" side of the recreation room. Tenants float in and out of the conversations at the table all morning long. In the afternoon, there is markedly less eating but coffee or tea drinking continues. This activity shifts settings somewhat from the "beano" area to the sitting room where either the television or radio is usually on.

"Now when the custodian had the coffee and donuts, he had it every morning for their breakfast, that place was full all the time, all day long. Different women would come in and out and sit and talk. They don't do that now (over the Christmas holidays) but he is going to start it again."
(A-1)

- Tenants will frequently come downstairs for morning coffee in their robes and slippers. They feel that the community spaces are more private because of their location in the back of the building. They don't have to walk through a public front lobby to reach the rooms. A few tenants also come down at night in their robes and slippers.
- Homemakers will join others in discussions over coffee in the recreation room while waiting for wash cycles to finish. As the laundry is across the hall, people can hear when a cycle is over but the noise is not loud enough to hamper conversations.
- When asked, all tenants liked the laundry room. There is a glass window between this room and the sitting room that is covered by drapes (I have never seen them open). Those doing their wash have several options for waiting: (1) wait in the laundry room standing at the counter (which is waist high) or sit in the folding chair, (2) join the discussion group in the recreation room if one is in session, (3) read or watch TV in the sitting room, or (4) return to one's apartment. In the first three options, a tenant can listen for the machines to finish their cycle which avoids continuous checking to see when the wash is ready.
- Although the community kitchen arrangement, with the long counter through to the hallway, is ideal for serving people, tenants complain that it is

"Yes, the laundry is fine where it is. It's good. We have two of each so there is nothing wrong with it. The table where we fold laundry is very handy." (A-1)

"Well, you couldn't serve a big dinner from there. It is too small. If you were serving someone and they wanted coffee, you would have to go by two or three people to get to it. We just serve coffee and cake though, no big dinners, and people just walk by and we serve them. When the caterers were here it was kind of hectic, crowded. He had to put a lot of stuff underneath the table. It could be wider and longer to my way of thinking." (A-1)

"Now the men like to play cards. They have no place to play cards because usually this is taken up more by the women than the men. And they have to go into the (custodians's) office there to play cards. Now if you want to throw in a card room for the boys, they could use it." (A-1)

too small for food preparation activities. Its narrow linearity makes it difficult for individuals to move around one another when inside the kitchen itself.

- The custodian's office in the back of the building was originally planned as a sitting room. But as the custodian needed a room on the ground floor for all of his equipment, he was given the use of this room (the manager also uses it when she is on site). When not in the near vicinity of the room, the custodian keeps it locked. Frequent daily trips by the custodian, servicemen, and tenants with apartment problems to this room generate a great deal of movement through these main community spaces which is interactive in nature (between those passing through and those already present). Occasionally this back room is used for other activities at night. For example, after the Christmas party, a smaller group of people got together for late-night partying in this more private room. The men will also use this room to play cards in at night because it is one of the few places where they can be alone.
- Club meetings are held every Monday night (the partition is opened) and are followed by a beano game. Two females (club officers) sit outside the door to the recreation room and sell beano cards and raffle tickets to those who come down. Forty to fifty tenants typically participate in the beano game. (More tenants come down for the meeting but leave afterwards because they do not like to play beano.) After

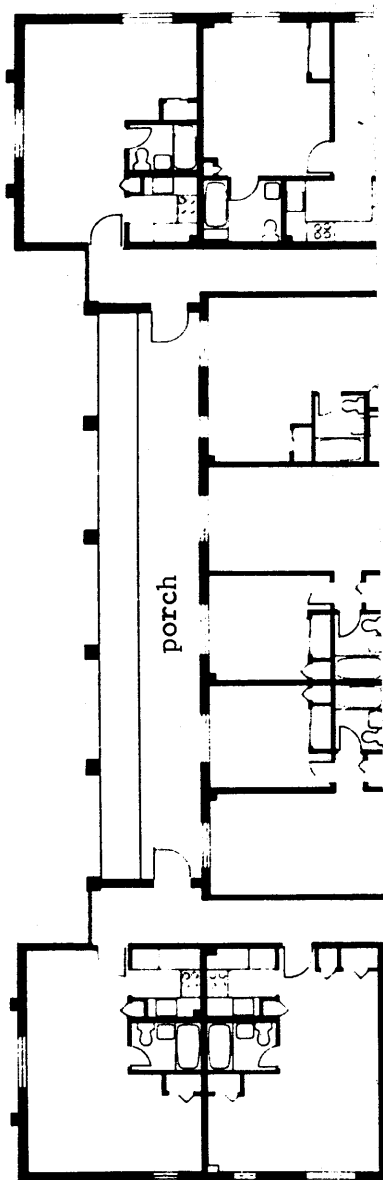
the game is over, coffee and cake (several women donate baked goods every week) is served in the kitchen. Some go back into the recreation room to eat and talk and others sit in the hallway or sitting room.

PURPOSE OF THE TENANTS'
CLUB AS STATED IN THE
BY-LAWS:

1. "self-governing, non-profit, nonsectarian body to offer social, recreational, and educational services to the members."
2. "to provide information on proposed legislation on Elderly Affairs, at the Federal, State, and Local levels."

- The tenants organized a club in November (1974) at the suggestion of the manager. She called the meeting and prepared the ballots but once the officers were elected, she ceased all involvement with the club. There are 68 members which represents about 60 per cent of the tenants on site. The club arranged for the weekly shopping bus, a wheelchair and just purchased a small loud speaker system for its meetings. It plans the on-site parties (Christmas, New Years, etc.) which usually include a dinner and music (dancing is difficult because of the small size of the recreation room). In addition, the club just sponsored a very successful rummage and bake sale, the money from which will be used for a free night out on the town (dinner theater) for club members.

Site A

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR SPACES ON RESIDENTIAL
FLOORS ABOVE GROUND LEVEL

- There is no sizeable interior space on any floor above ground level for small groups of people to gather in. Friends and neighbors generally meet one another down in the recreation room or sitting room.
- On each floor, directly in front of the elevators, is a long wooden bench for tenants to sit on or set packages on while waiting for the elevator. This added amenity is greatly appreciated by the less agile tenant.
- There are porches on each floor that look out on the street activities in the front of the building. In the summer, tenants will sit out there alone or in small groups. When church bells ring across the street, many of them will flock to the porches in anticipation of seeing a wedding. Some tenants are reluctant, however, to use these spaces because several apartment windows open directly onto them and they don't want to feel like "peeping toms."

"They are the benches for outdoors and they decided to put one on each floor by the elevator. And it is a good idea to put one by the elevator. People get tired, they can sit upstairs. A lot of them use canes and they can sit down while they are waiting for the elevator."
(A-1)

Site A

Tenant sitting in mail area
watching street activity



Waiting along the benches
in the hallway for the
weekly bus to take tenants
grocery shopping



Tenant helping herself to
a snack in the kitchen



Site A

Typical morning gathering
of coffee drinkers in the
recreation room

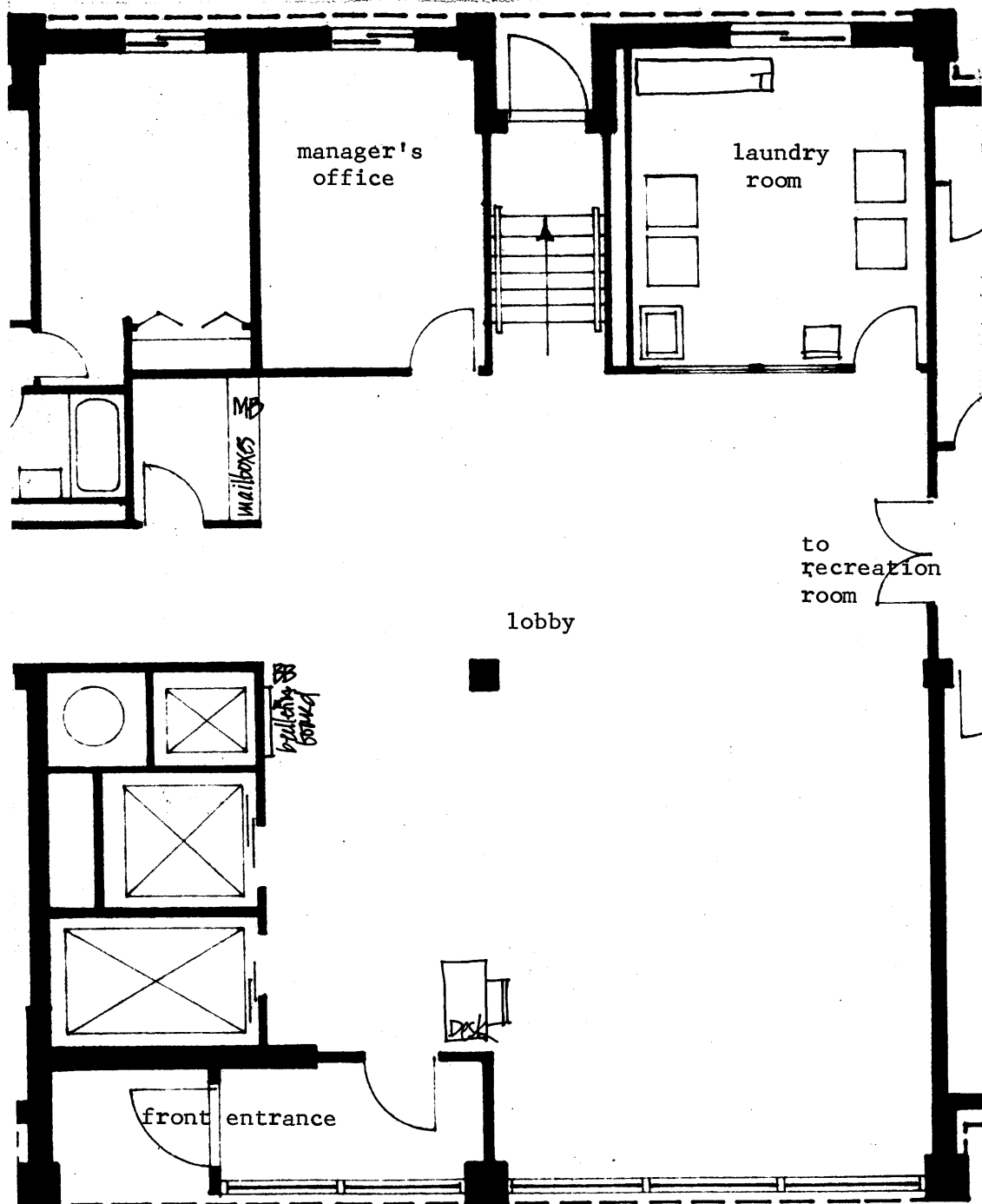


Monday night beano players
in the recreation room



Site B

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR LOBBY



- The lobby is the focal point for all people associated with the building: tenants, manager (office directly off of it), visitors, guard, service and delivery people, etc. As

"Oh, you don't want people sitting in it (lobby)-- only the people who are coming in and looking for information or a house or something. But people hanging around the lobby, no. It makes hard feelings between the neighbors up there. They think that everybody sits down there and watches them. I don't think so, I don't give a darn anyway whether anybody watches or not. It's all the same to me. But it is nice sitting out there. You can see the people coming and see the ones coming down the corridor."
(B-5)

"I don't feel a lobby should be bare. I think there should be furniture there. Let's take a hotel. In a hotel you can come down in the lobby and sit there. And nobody comes over and tells you I am sorry but you are going to have to move because we don't allow people to sit. That I think is stupid. I would like to see the furniture out there and people can sit there when they feel like it and not have to be told you are going to have to move, dear, because this lobby is not to be sat in because the people think you are making fun of them getting off the elevator. I mean that is stupid. They don't do that in hotels."
(B-3)

such it is a communications center and people frequently ask those persons in the lobby for information as to the locations of various people and places.

- The large lobby area (1,118 square feet) was originally planned as a furnished activity space. However, no sitting is presently allowed in this space and all furniture has been removed to reinforce this policy. When the furniture was placed in the lobby, a problem arose with a recurring group of people who regularly located themselves in the chairs in the area. These tenants found it a particularly nice sitting area for watching all the coming-and-going activities within the building. Some other tenants, however, were bothered by the presence of these 'sitters' and thought they (the non-sitters) were the topic of discussion every time they entered or left the building or went to their mailboxes. After several complaints were registered, the manager had all the furniture removed. It is still a much-talked-about issue that has left a large, bare, unattractive space.
- As the guard is only on site from 2:00 to 10:00 PM and the custodian is busy with building maintenance during the morning, there is no official person who is responsible for monitoring visitors to the building during the morning and early afternoon. Tenants feel there is a need to have someone always present at the door to (1) let in those who perform some service within the building but who do not have a relationship with a specific tenant to provide entrance through the buzzer system, and (2) guard against entrance by unwelcome

"They would watch everybody and have remarks to make about everybody coming in the building and going up the elevator. It was just ridiculous! And sitting there and talking about people and how they dress and what they had on." (B-10)

visitors who might use the buzzer system to gain entrance (some tenants cannot hear conversations over the buzzer system and let anyone in when their apartment is buzzed). Consequently, several tenants have informally volunteered to spend some time watching the front door until the guard comes on duty. They sit at the guards desk which is the only piece of furniture (plus the chair) in the entire room. Occasionally discussion groups form around this desk with people standing or sitting on the desk. As the desk is directly adjacent to the front door, this gathering sometimes interferes with coming-and-going activities. I have heard several complaints that no one should be at that desk if they are not authorized and no groups should gather here because it violates a management policy.

- Small groups (pairs, threesomes) naturally form in this space as people encounter one another entering or exiting, using the elevators or going to the mailboxes, laundry room, or other community spaces. It is a circulation node which increases the chances for social interaction. The small groups form and conversation begins and movement stops at the place of encounter. When it is implicitly understood that the discussion will continue for several more minutes, the participants look for a place to locate themselves out of the major circulation paths and in a more comfortable position. If they can't sit down, people will typically look for something to lean up against or to at least set their packages down against. They gravitate to the edges of the room or towards the column in the center.

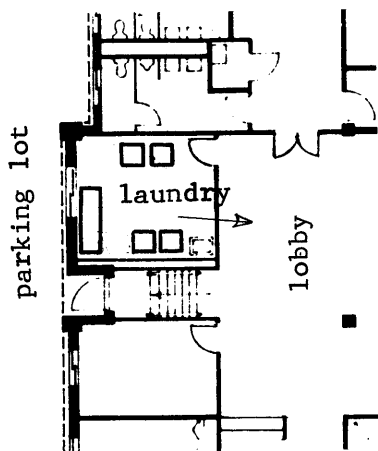
"A lot of people like to come down, they call a cab, they don't like to stand there. And some of them are so doggone slow moving because of their age. If you are not right there in that lobby, the cab will go. They will just wait so long. I have seen two women waiting in here (the recreation room) for their cab. I would see their cab and tell them. By the time they got to that exit sign the cab was gone. And I would have to go and call again for them."
(B-3)

- Waiting by the front entrance for cabs or visitors is an important activity that has been significantly hampered by the absence of furniture. Three alternatives are available to those who wait: (1) wait standing up which is very uncomfortable for many elderly tenants; (2) drag a folding chair in from another room and face accusations of breaking the manager's rules; or (3) wait in the recreation room by the windows on the street side and watch for the cab/visitor to drive up. When it/they appear, try to make it out to the entrance as quickly as possible. This is a particular problem with cabs and several have driven away before a slow-moving tenant has made it to the front door.
- The floor-to-ceiling window on the street side attracts many individuals. Many people will stand for several minutes or longer watching the street activity.
- As the bulletin board is on the path from the elevator or entrance to the mailboxes, the majority of tenants pass it every day and many stop to read the notices before or after they get their mail or while waiting for the elevator.
- The mailbox area generates the most internal movement in the lobby. As the arrival of the mail is an occurrence that all look forward to, many come down early to check on it. If it has not arrived, most go back upstairs and a few go into the recreation room to wait as there is no place to comfortably wait in the lobby.

- The two people who use the lobby the most are both in wheelchairs and are not affected by the removal of the furniture as far as a place to sit down. One male tenant with multiple sclerosis spends the majority of his afternoons by the front window watching the street or talking to the guard. The female tenant occasionally sits at the desk or talks to the person sitting at the desk.
- As many people return to the building with packages or shopping bags, they occasionally have difficulty with the front door. Once inside, many set their packages down on the guard's desk or lean them up against the wall while they briefly rest or chat with someone in the lobby.
- Because the back entrance is directly off of this lobby area, it can be closely scrutinized for unwanted visitors.
- The lobby is not used at night except as a passageway to other community spaces. The floor-to-ceiling window that provides an interesting view of the neighborhood during the day, frames any activity in the lighted lobby at night for the neighborhood to view. No provision has been made in this space for nighttime privacy from the surrounding neighbors.
- No drinking is allowed in the community spaces except during planned social functions. This policy was a direct response to beer drinking in the lobby before the furniture was moved out.

Site B

ACTIVITY PROFILE OF LAUNDRY ROOM



- The majority of activity that occurs in this room is related to doing the wash. Tenants do occasionally observe activities out back from this location as this is the only public space that offers a view to the parking lot.
- The majority of the tenants put their wash in and go back to their apartments to wait until the cycle is over. Several do wait in the room for the wash (one tenant mentioned she was afraid to leave her wash unguarded) and only a few wait in the recreation room. Those who do wait in the laundry room will frequently wander out into the lobby and look out the front window to the street but because of the glass window in the laundry, they can still keep an eye on their things. (The theft of laundry is not an issue at other sites and not a major concern at this site, to my knowledge.)
- Besides the two washers and dryers (which tenants say are enough machines), there is a sink, a folding chair, and a table to fold clothes on which is used by almost everyone after the wash is dry and to set their supplies on. Tenants frequently locate the chair so they can observe the lobby area while waiting.
- Most tenants thought the location of the laundry room was quite convenient. But one tenant did mention that people left this room messy (more so than the other rooms) and when friends were

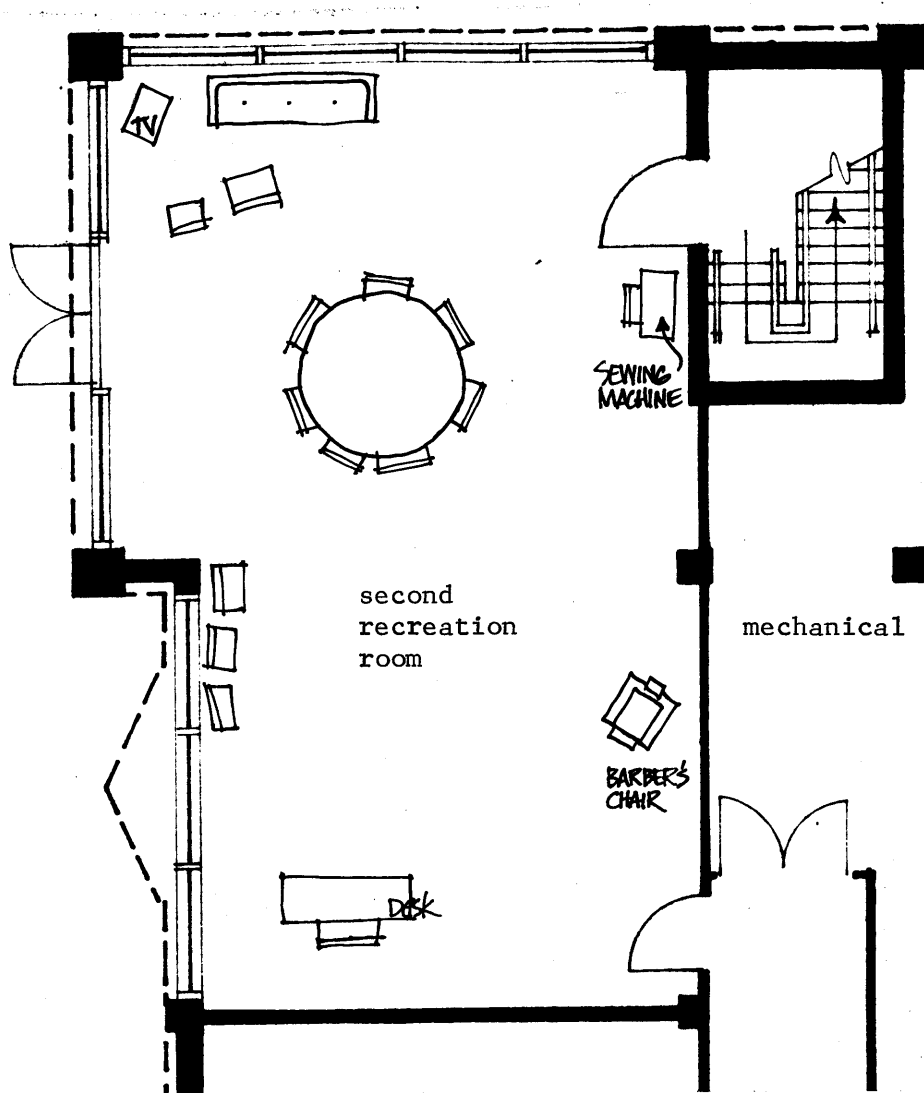
"Well, there is a lot of people that don't clean up after it (laundry). If they kept the curtains drawn...., but they don't. It gets messy and everything in there. And you have friends that you're showing around and that's the messiest spot in the house." (B-6)

brought in to visit they could see directly into the room and the condition it was in. She thought the laundry room should be off to the side somewhere, down a hallway.

- Discussions will occur in this room between two people doing their wash or between one who is doing the wash and friends who stop by to talk while the other waits. It is rarely the case that two or three people will use this room for socializing when none is doing their wash.

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR SECOND RECREATION ROOM

Site B



"I use it (the second recreation room) for sewing, me and a few others use it for sewing. One guy uses it just to watch the television because he can't stand the women talking in here (the main recreation room). The 'over-the-hill gang' uses it when we have beano or functions going on in here." (B-3)

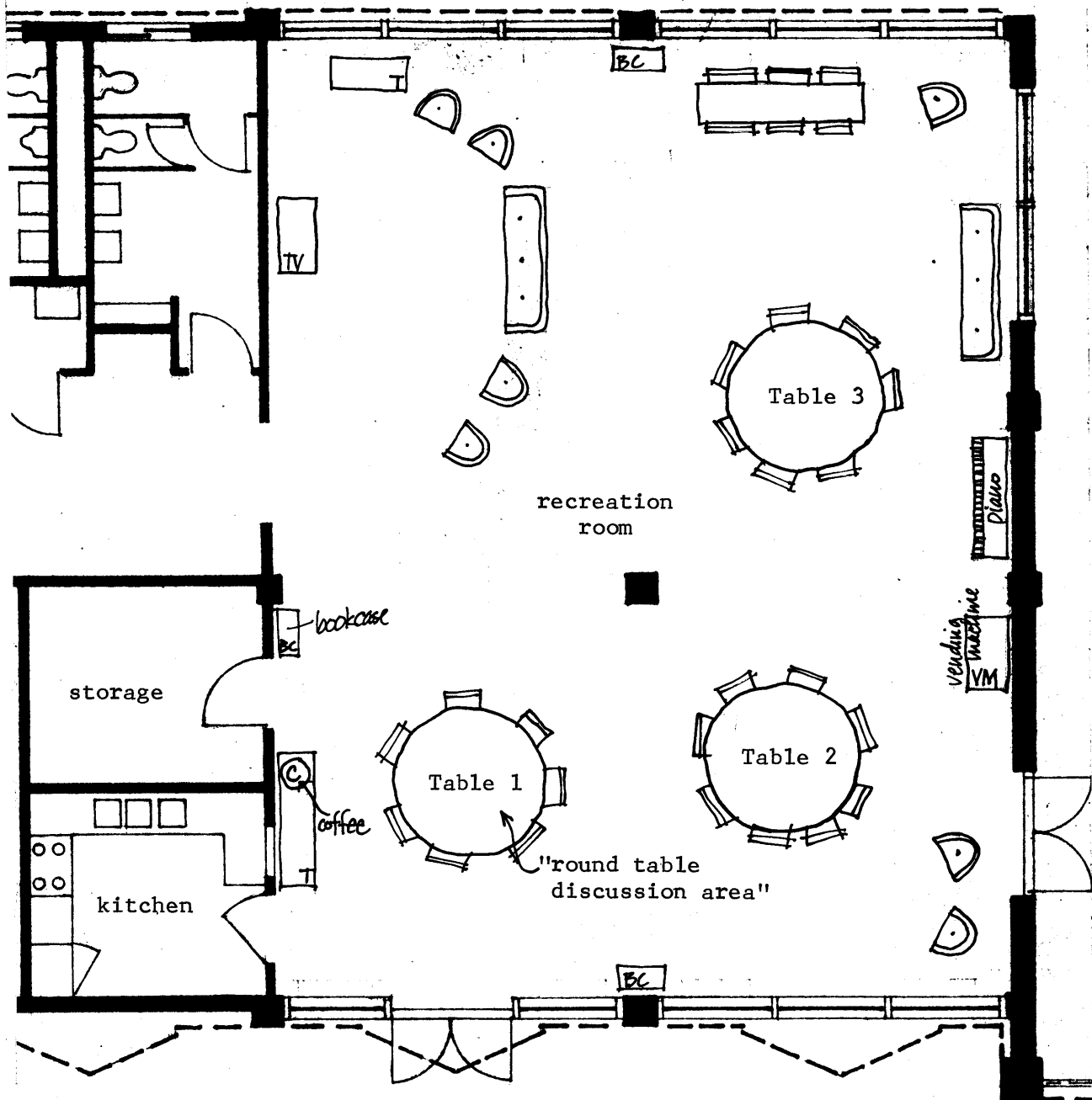
- There is a desk in this room that is used infrequently by a social worker but typically this room is empty.
- There is a television set in the corner but it is rarely used by the tenants. I have seen service men working in the building sit down and watch it. The tenants prefer the TV in the other recreation room because it is color and there are more lounge chairs for sitting in.

- A parttime barber in the building put one of his barber chairs here and, upon request, cuts the hair of several men in the building for half price.
- Tenants perceive this room as much darker and colder than the other recreation room (there is no southern exposure).
- Because this room is irregularly used, people select this space for more private meetings and functions and do not feel they are depriving the tenants of a needed space. The manager occasionally holds a meeting in here with managers from other sites. Tenants have also used it for wakes.
- People who don't want to be bothered by the presence of other tenants can use this room. I observed one man who was alone, writing a letter, who did not want anyone to disturb him by being in the same room. When he had finished this personal task, he did join the others in the main recreation room.
- There is a sewing machine which several of the tenants use.
- No activities are scheduled for this room for tenants; they locate here by default. On bingo nights, the "over-the-hill" gang must move out of the main recreation room into this room for their discussions as do the TV watchers occasionally.

'We ('over-the-hill' gang) were talking about the program that night and somebody said something about a movie on channel seven and I said on seven. And then this Arthur is a little hard of hearing so I said on seven, seven. No it isn't, fifty-six, he (the beano caller) hollered. And the guy over here says 'beano.' So they banished us, they chased us down into the dungeon (the second recreation room)." (B-8)

Site B

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR RECREATION ROOM



- There is no activity typically until around mid-morning (10:00 AM) although several tenants enter and leave the building all morning.

"The coffee seemed to have brought them down. I think they miss the coffee, really. They enjoyed having the coffee because they could sit around the tables and talk and enjoy the coffee. They would linger over coffee and a cigarette, you know. Where you come down and have a cigarette and you get bored because you haven't got that cup of coffee sitting in front of you. For some reason, I think coffee is the biggest attraction around. Cuz if you get coffee around, you can get the people." (B-3)

- Occasionally tenants will take advantage of the hot water available and make a cup of coffee (free courtesy of the tenants' club) then join in the "round table discussion." In February this occurred randomly (no set pattern) and involved gatherings of less than four people. In previous months I had seen it occur more frequently and in larger groups. Activities around this table include drinking coffee, smoking, talking and exchanging shopping goods and money when some run errands for others. This is typically a female gathering. It is a social setting in that people rarely sit here alone. When the second-to-the-last person leaves, so does the last person.
- A few tenants will wait for the mail in the lounge chairs by the TV where there is a view down the hall to people going to and coming from the mailbox area. While waiting for the mail, they will watch TV. When tenants do receive mail, they will occasionally sit down in this room and read it and share it with others.
- There are some who come down just to watch TV. These people remain somewhat stationary in front of the TV while others float in and out of the television area and watch it only briefly while waiting for something else to happen. Talking is intermingled with TV watching (they usually discuss the show when it is on but discuss other subjects when the commercials are on). This is typically where the men locate themselves when they are in the room but women join them.
- One tenant ("the plant lady") has placed about 20 plants of her own around the room on the window sills. She comes down every morning at 10:00 to

water and care for them. Other tenants bring their plants down to her to take care of when they begin to look unhealthy because she is known for her "green finger."

- The "round table discussion" area and the television area form the front part of the recreation room where socializing occurs. Loner-type behavior occurs more frequently towards the back of the room. Activities that individuals perform alone include reading, crocheting, observing, playing piano, drinking a soda, etc.
- The soda vending machine is used by many people, the majority of which get the soda and leave the room.
- There is a pay phone off of the recreation room which is used for calling cabs and for reaching those tenants who spend a great deal of time on the first floor. Relatives or friends trying to call a tenant will sometimes call on this public phone if there is no answer in the apartment. Only those who spend a great deal of time downstairs, however, give out this number.
- Tenants who have been out running errands will occasionally stop by in the recreation room to "catch their breath" before they go upstairs to their apartment. This is more likely to happen when in walking on the sidewalk past the room, they look in and see friends.

"Now a few weeks ago I would be very tired, my legs, and when I came in I would come in here and sit down for awhile. I would flop down and get myself together but thank god I am coming along very good." (B-4)

- Because of the size of this room, many activities can occur simultaneously. For example, I once observed

"I would have a special TV room. Because I think if people are talking or something like that and a person is trying to watch a story on TV...because the first thing you know, they don't want you to talk too much or too loud. That disturbs them looking at the picture." (B-10)

five separate activities occurring at the same time one morning: three persons talking and watching TV; two persons talking around Table 1; two persons talking by Table 2 (one at the table and one in a lounge chair she had pulled up from the corner); one softly playing the piano; and one sitting alone at Table 3 reading and observing. Although no one complained about any interference from the other activities, there have been many times when the noise from the television set and that generated by an active discussion group have interfered with one another to the point of taking verbal action.

- Most people do not come into this room unless they have their street clothes on although I have seen one female frequently walk around with a curler cap on and another came down in her slippers but with an overcoat (raincoat) on over them. This is largely due to the location of the room in such a way that one has to cross a very public lobby to get to the space.
- Those activities that require close visual concentration (reading, crocheting, etc.) typically occur in the south part of the room to take advantage of the sunlight.
- There are three bookcases in the room that many tenants take advantage of. Many come down to return books or look for new, interesting ones to read. Very few read these books downstairs; they read in their own apartments. The reading that does occur in the recreation room is more casual

in nature (i.e., tenants will spot a magazine or newspaper and pick it up to browse through it or read a short article).

- The tenants club sponsors a bingo game and raffle every Friday night. Only 10 to 15 tenants participate, at the most. There is a club meeting once a month and although 68 tenants belong, only about 20 go to the meetings.

'We ('over-the-hill' gang) talk about anything of an illogical nature. We never bother about unemployment, the price of food, we just don't complain...Anything of a constructive nature is out, absolutely, completely out. This is a frivolous, light, and frothy conversation."
(B-8)

- There is a group of men (four to six) who meet every weekday night for discussions. They meet around Table 2 and are affectionately referred to (by other tenants and by themselves) as the "over-the-hill" gang. On bingo nights, they are "kicked out" of the main recreation room and go down to the round table in the second recreation room. Their first preference, however, is this main room.
- The tenants' club holds dinners occasionally and all people from the building are invited. But even a free meal can only attract about 40 people (25 percent of the tenants on site). Once in a while there is one tenant (female in wheelchair) who gives parties for the "whole house" and makes all the arrangements with local stores to donate food, prizes, and party favors and with other tenants to contribute baked goods. She planned a St. Patrick's Day party with a band for dancing that others mentioned was quite a success (46 came to the party). When she was planning the party, she told me there would be no alcoholic beverages because too many people refused to come down when there was drinking. She wanted to change this image so that more tenants would join the parties.

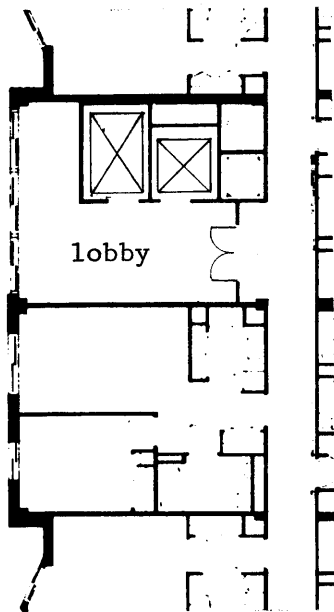
- The manager requested that the daily coffee clutches around Table 1 be discontinued (the discussion too frequently centered around others in the building and inhibited the use of the room by others). This was, for the most part, the same clique that had met in the lobby when the furniture was out there.
- There is one female tenant in a wheelchair who spends "10 to 12 hours a day downstairs." A majority of her time is spent in the recreation room around Table 1. She does not typically go to the other parts of the room except to bring a message or object to someone located elsewhere. At this table she drinks coffee, talks, puts together puzzles, sews, etc. This inhibits the use of this part of the room to those who are not part of her "crowd".
- There are only six to eight tenants who use this recreation room on a daily basis. These are the tenants who will manipulate their environment to the greatest extent by either moving furniture, changing the thermostat, or pulling the drapes to block the morning glare on the TV set.
- This site has had difficulty in organizing an effective and stable tenants' club. One tenant (B-3) told me about the club they had the first year the building was occupied, of which she was president. Another tenant (B-4) said she organized the first club and served as its president. B-4 had a friend go down to Washington, D.C. to get an official charter and therefore this was the first legitimate organization (she said the other club

"When I moved in I said this is such a lovely building I think they should have a Senior Citizens Club in it. So I got in touch with Dr. Cass and she said she would be glad to come down and set it up for us. Well, as to go by the rules, I have a book, you know, from Washington. Senior Citizens Clubs--you have to go by the rules and regulations. You can't do what you want to do. You have to go by the book. And your election goes the same way." (B-4)

was private; only a few women belonged to it). Although the membership (i.e., dues paying persons) numbers 68 (40 per cent of the residents), only about 15 to 20 came down for the monthly meetings. Another election was recently held and new officers were elected but B-4 refused to come down and initiate them because the elections weren't "done by the book." The situation is chaotic. They do manage to plan an occasional dinner and dance party although one tenant usually makes all the arrangements and the club has very little to do with it. The members are confused between what the local on-site club does and what the National Council for Elderly Affairs does. They pay dues to both organizations but have no idea where all this money goes.

- The local neighborhood has a Citizens Committee which meets once a month in the recreation room at this site. This meeting attracts between 50 to 60 people and uses the facilities of this room (chairs, tables, podium, etc.). The tenants do not mind this outside activity and many even go to the meetings. (The second recreation room was originally planned as a neighborhood community space with direct access from the outside but these plans were changed at the last minute.)

Site B



ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR SPACES ON RESIDENTIAL FLOORS ABOVE GROUND LEVEL

- The elevator landing on each floor is separated from the hallway running the full length of the building by a set of double doors that are always closed. This creates a small elevator lobby that is bounded on four sides by an apartment unit, the doors to the hallway, the elevator bank, and a window facing the front of the building. These spaces are not furnished by the housing authority; if the tenants want to make this into a gathering area, they must provide their own furniture. On three out of the eight floors, someone has put out personal furniture but the others remain empty.
- Very few people ever use this space for a variety of reasons: (1) there is no furniture in most instances; (2) when sitting down, you only get a view of the buildings across the street because the window sill is too high (it is impossible to see any street activity sitting down); and (3) this space is on the north side of the building and is not a sunny, warm area like similar spaces in other buildings.
- These elevator lobbies function differently than the lobby on the ground floor. On the residential

'No, I don't sit out there (small elevator lobby on floor). With people going in and coming up in the elevator, what would I want to sit out there for?"
(B-10)

floors, elevator activity at each floor is at a minimum (approximately one-eighth of the ground level activity). So when tenants use these elevator lobbies on upper floors, it is not to watch coming-and-going activities. When used, it is more often used as a private setting for one or two persons engaged in a relatively passive activity (reading, crocheting, talking, etc.). This tends to be more private behavior and the tenants are not, therefore, looking to engage someone in conversation. They typically don't want to observe others coming and going and, in turn, don't want to be observed. Consequently, tenants using this space have a tendency to locate themselves in the tiny nook around to the side of the elevator so they are not automatically observed by anyone using the elevator.

- The tenants think of this area as more of a display area than a potential sitting space. When they bring friends or relatives to visit and take them upstairs, they want the small elevator lobby to look nice (end tables with plants) but do not want people sitting around.

"You can put chairs there but they don't congregate up there. They feel that they like to have those spaces clean, looking nice, so that when **your** company comes in **and gets up on** that floor, they can see the place, it is decorated up nice. There is not a bunch of people standing there or sitting there talking. And everybody in the house feels that, gee, to have my sister come over, the floor looks so nice when you get off the elevator. Because each person fixes their floor up differently." (B-3)

"This used to be the prettiest hall in here but they took...the people steal. B-4 had a lot of furniture and that place was looking beautiful. And Christmas we had it decorated. It was really lovely. And they stole an electric clock off of there. They stole a chair once but was here then and she went around in the apartments and found it. She didn't ...I thought that was better not to tell. But this time the woman wouldn't bother with looking and neither would the custodian because she asked him. She asked him and he said no, which is wrong. And the manager wouldn't, so that's it. So she just moved everything out. It was beautiful, it was the most beautiful place, everybody said." (B-10)

- As the hallways are dark, lack any type of window for natural lighting or views, and are quite narrow, no one uses them to sit in.
- There is a balcony on the eighth floor that a few tenants use in the summer. They bring out their own chairs to sit in in the late afternoon or night.
- One of the tenants had decorated the elevator lobby on the third floor with some of her personal furnishings (tables, chairs, wall clock, flowers, etc.). Her clock was stolen and she reported it to the manager thinking she would have the custodian try to track it down. (A chair had been stolen from this space before but another person from the housing authority had gone from room to room looking for it. When she found it she returned it without naming the guilty party.) They did not follow through on it so the tenant moved everything back into her apartment. This policy of not becoming involved in tracing stolen objects has affected the furnishing of these spaces and consequently their use. Does the manager have the right to enter these apartments when it involves the welfare (or affects the functioning) of the building's community?

Site B

Two tenants discussing the notices on the bulletin board in the lobby



"Round table discussion" in the recreation room



The "plant lady's" personal touch along the window sills in the recreation room



Site B

Regular TV watcher sitting
in his favorite chair in
the recreation room



Tenant crocheting alone
in the southwest corner
of the recreation room
in the sunlight

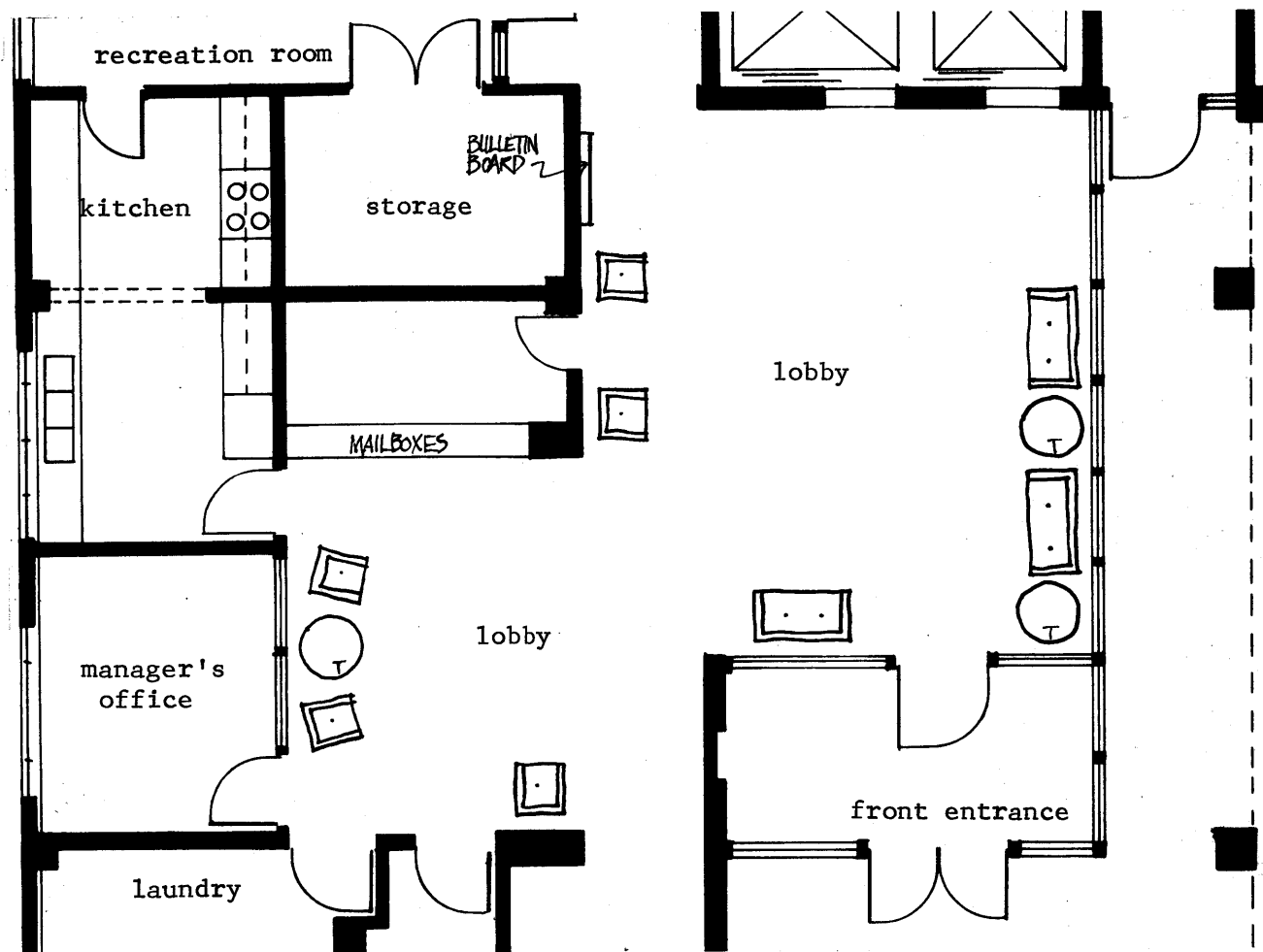


Tenants meeting in the
common space on their
floor out of view of the
elevator activity



Site C

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR LOBBY



- Although the lobby is rather large (720 square feet), it reads as two separate areas: the entrance lobby and the lobby area in front of the manager's office. This entire area is carpeted and furnished with comfortable arm chairs, end tables, and smoking stands. At any time during the day, you can find most of the chairs filled (there are 11 places to sit down). When more people are around than places to sit, some will stand and others will perch on the end tables.

- This lobby is very active because of the large number of tenants in the building. In addition, it's location along a small commercial street generates frequent short outings during the day. All traffic passes through this area. Because the recreation room is used for structured activities during most of the day, all informal encounters and subsequent conversations occur in this lobby. Men and women also intermingle more in this space than in others.

- There are many tenants who dislike this constant collection of people sitting in the lobby. They don't like to be under surveillance when they enter or leave the building and think the presence of so many idle people is unattractive to visitors.

"The only time I use it is like if my daughter is coming to pick me up. And I sit down there and wait for her or if we are waiting for a cab. But I don't really go down and sit there a lot like some of them do. Some of them are there 90 per cent of the time." (C-10)

- Most people will wait in the lobby for visitors or cabs to arrive even though they dislike other tenants hanging around there. They view waiting as the only legitimate reason for sitting down in this area for any length of time.
- There is only a guard on duty at night so during the day others must open doors for visitors to the building when they cannot gain entrance through the buzzer system in the vestibule. When asked if people thought this was a good security precaution to always have someone in the lobby to open the door, several replied in the negative because "they let anyone in" without checking on the purpose of their visit. In other words, tenants are not perceived by some other tenants as good security guards.

- There is a sign in the manager's window that says "mailman has been here" on one side and "mailman has not been here" on the other side. But as this sign is sometimes not changed to reflect mail arrival, the tenants ask one another if the mail has been delivered for the day or they check their mailboxes. Several tenants will wait for it in the lobby.

- Tenants occasionally read newspapers while sitting in the chairs in the lobby, particularly if a free paper is available on one of the end tables.

- People entering and leaving the building will frequently stop to talk with friends sitting in the lobby. It is not rare to see three or four people in discussion around a chair or two-seater couch. One or two will be seated and the others will remain standing if no seats are available nearby. At peak activity periods (just before lunch is served), eight to ten different discussion groups can be observed around the lobby.

- When in her office, the manager usually keeps her door shut because of the noise from the laundry or as a sign that she has work to do and cannot be bothered by tenants who just want to talk awhile. She usually leaves her drapes open though so people can see when she is in.

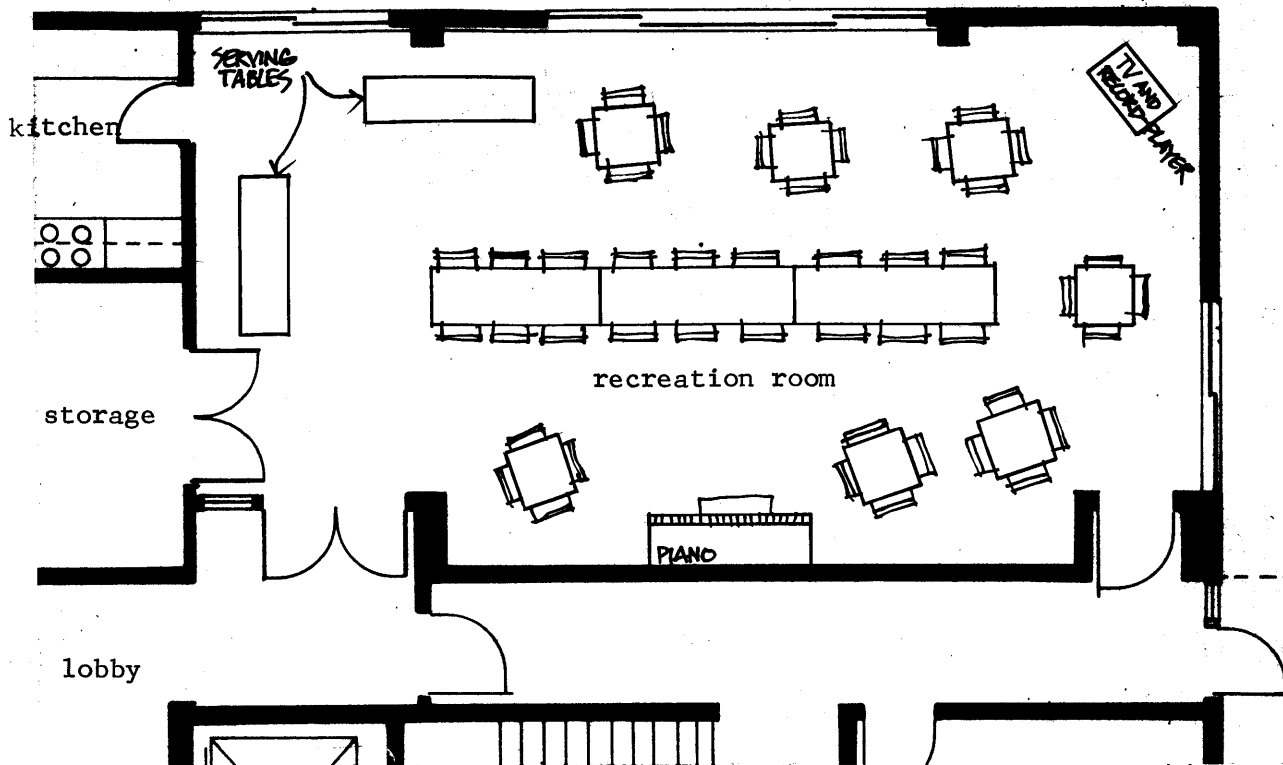
- Occasionally people walking through the lobby to the elevators will see someone in the recreation room and will wander over to get a closer look through the glass panels on either side of the door if it is closed.

"Before (the present manager) allowed them to sit out there (lobby), we had another manager and she didn't want them hanging around in the lobby and I agreed with her. And I told her (the present manager) and she said, 'oh, let them live, let them enjoy it.' That's fine. Before we had these sofas out there, we all used to be in the community room. We would all talk and some nights we would go down and play beano or something downstairs. All right, I like the idea of the sofas down there but I don't feel as though we have to make it a place to sit. Some of them lay down and some can sleep there which I think is disgusting. I don't like it." (C-1)

- The present manager allows for long-term sitting and observing behaviors to occur in the lobby whereas the previous manager did not. Although many tenants disagree with the present policy, they make no effort to try to change it because the 'manger's the boss and that's how it goes." (C-9) When such activity was not permitted in the lobby and that furniture was in the recreation room, more people would use that room.

Site C

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR RECREATION ROOM



- The major daily activity in this room centers around the nutrition program. Hot lunches are brought to the site every weekday and 40 to 50 elderly persons take advantage of these meals. Although Senior Citizens from the community are invited to the lunches, the majority of the participants live in the building. Preparation for the meal begins around 10:00 AM, the meal is served at noon, and clean-up activities extend past 1:30 PM. Because the program requires the full use of the room for table settings, no other activity takes place during this time period.
- Beano games are scheduled for every Tuesday night and Friday afternoon and attract 40 to 50 avid players.

"No, that furniture doesn't belong in the lobby. That furniture belongs in the community room downstairs, but you see, that community room is so small, and we use that room downstairs for our nutrition program and our meetings--this is why I say that the community room is too small. We wouldn't have room to put our chairs up. You see, this is such a big complex that if you put those chairs in there, you wouldn't have any room to sit down." (C-1)

"Our rec room really isn't large enough. We find this a little difficult, you know, because we seat people at tables and some of us serve them and then if you wanna, if they went to get up and dance or anything, our space is all taken up." (C-4)

"Oh, I know, one night I went down to watch something and they said I couldn't watch TV because they had a beano game going." (C-6)

"I like the recreation room very much...it's pleasant. I like the large windows and I like the patio to look outside. Course now its even prettier cause we have drapes. But I don't like them drawn so much. I believe in sun and light, I love that. But it's not my home so I can't do anything about it." (C-2)

- As this is a daily event, the tables are never taken down. This leaves no room for any other type of furniture in the room like lounge chairs and sofas. There is a TV and record player in one corner but very few people ever watch television here as there are no comfortable chairs to sit in. As a result, this room is typically not used as an informal setting.
- The room is also too small for club meetings and parties. When tables are set up they can accommodate only 50 percent of the tenants in the building although 75 per cent of these tenants belong to the club. Finding a space to dance in the room is an even more difficult problem at parties.
- There are five long tables (seating six each) set up (two are used as serving tables during the lunches) and seven four-person card tables scattered around the edges of the room which break the regimented look of long rows of tables and chairs.
- When a beano game is in progress, no other activity can take place in the room if it interferes with the numbers being called. This means that television viewing is prohibited during these games as well as during meetings.
- Tenants enjoy the sliding glass doors out to the patio because of the views they provide and the amount of sunlight that is admitted into their room.
- Tenants are reluctant to alter any objects in the recreation room or plan any activities to the exclusion of others. Because it is every-

"We (the diet club) were sitting in a circle and she come over and I said if you don't want to join, please...She said, well I got a right to this room and I said yes you have. That's when I asked (the manager) if I could have the room. And then I decided, why should I deprive them of the community room for that hour when I could easily come upstairs to my floor."
(C-1)

one's room, it is no one individual's room. It is as if one's stake in, or control of, a community space decreases in a building as the population increases. Tenants at this site are much less likely to hold a private party in the recreation room than those at the other sites.

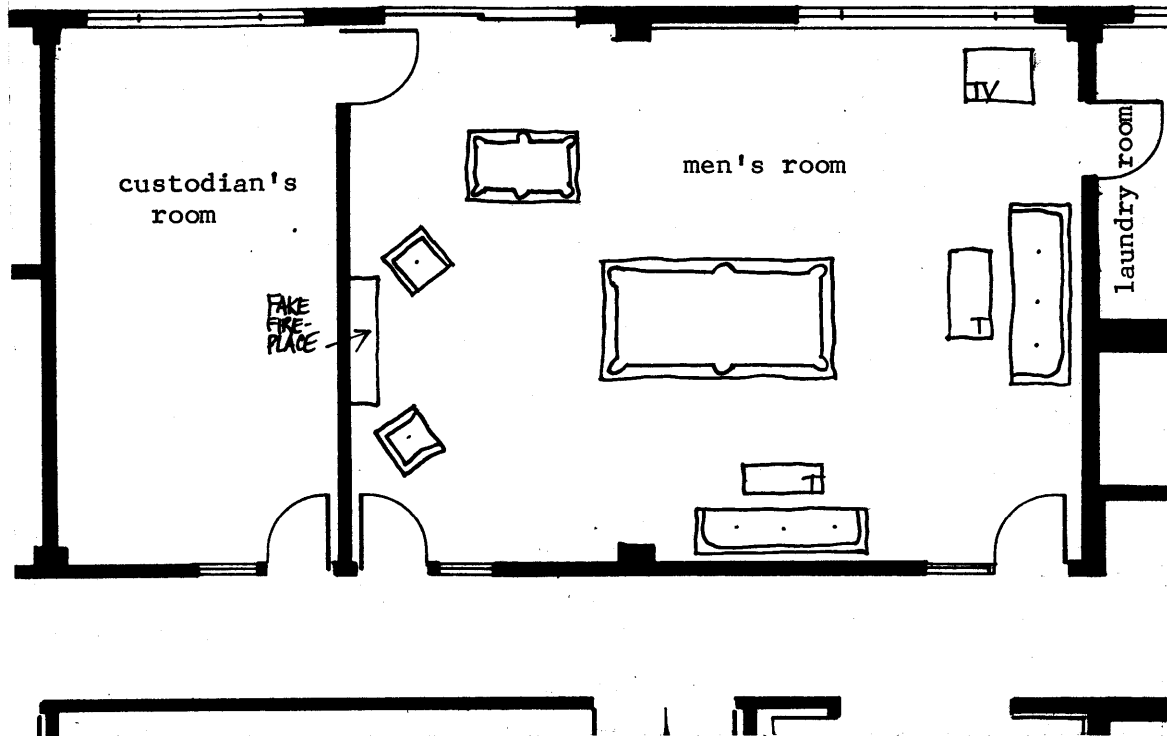
- The kitchen is large enough for all those who help with lunches or dinners but because of the large number of meals, another stove and refrigerator is desired.
- On Sunday mornings, one tenant makes a pot of coffee and buys fresh donuts to sell in the recreation room. Throughout the morning, about 30 tenants will stop in for food and conversation. No other coffee stand is available during the week (except during the lunches) so many tenants will meet each other for coffee across the street at the deli.
- Very little informal gathering occurs in the recreation room at night. Sometimes a group of women will get together for a card game or if someone is around who can play the piano, a sing-a-long might start up.
- About a month after the building was opened for occupancy (March 1973), representatives from the Housing Authority came to the site to talk about tenant organizations. With this suggestion, tenants went on to organize a club that currently numbers 140 members (67 percent of the tenants on site). Meetings are held at night in the recreation room on the first and third Wednesdays of each month. The club plans such activities as Tuesday night beano, parties on major holidays, and bus trips to places of interest.

"I asked them if they would like to join the diet club. I said, look, I can't put you on a diet because everybody is different and everybody has their own doctor. I can't tell you what to eat but I would like you to stick to what you're supposed to eat. I charged them a quarter a week. I said, anybody who gains weight during the month is going to pay 50 cents and anybody who loses the most weight will get all the money. I won all the money and every month I made them a diet lunch. I took off 26 pounds but I have started to put it back again. But I'm starting it again." (C-1)

- Several of the women in the building started a diet club last year that stopped for a while but is now meeting again. They originally met in the recreation room but found they were frequently distracted by curious others. The meetings are now held every Tuesday morning up on the fifth floor. The seven to eight women do exercises together, get weighted in, and have coffee.
- There is one woman visitor who comes to the site Monday nights to show movies and Tuesdays to lead arts and crafts sessions. Only a few women participate in these activities (ten to fifteen). Because the recreation room is unavailable during most of the day, this woman uses an empty apartment to hold these small gatherings in.

Site C

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR MEN'S ROOM



"The men like to be by themselves. And they usually go by themselves and the women are by themselves. You like a little privacy, you know. Sometimes we don't want the men around, you know."
(C-10)

"We could use it (the pool table) if we wanted to but the men bought the pool table. There is a little bumper pool table that the women used to use but then they went out and they all chipped in and bought a real big pool table, so that's theirs, you know. We don't use it at all."
(C-10)

- This room, which was originally designated as an activity room by the architects, has evolved into the men's room. Because there are so few men (approximately 25 out of 210 tenants), they have a tendency to stick together so as not to be overwhelmed by all the women. They further territorialized this room by all chipping in to purchase a big pool table for their own use. Although women are not excluded from the room, they rarely use it because no other women ever go in there.
- The men do not mind having several activities occurring simultaneously in their room. There are some nights when people are shooting pool, playing cards, talking, and watching TV. It is more important that they are together as a group and the performance of activities is secondary.

"No, no, no. They (the activities) don't interfere with one another, so you're in one tight little group. You wouldn't want to be separated from any of them, we have so few of them." (C-8)

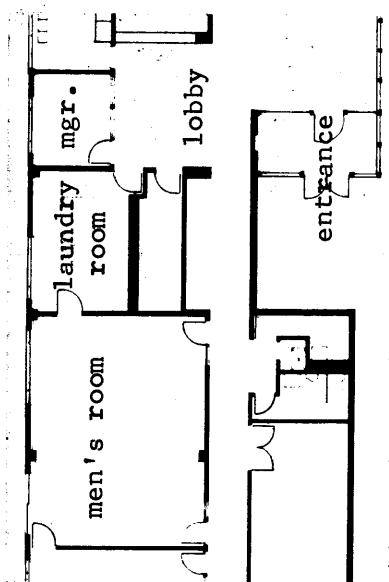
"It's very homey in there, in the men's room. They have pictures up on the wall, the furnishings. Of course, in the recreation room we don't have any comfortable chairs, just the straight back. You know, the chairs that go with the tables. But in the men's room, they have all nice comfortable things..."(C-10)

- The men use this room almost every night to get together informally. It is a rare occasion to see any men in there during the day but if two or three do go in to play pool, others will wander in to watch. The only man who I ever saw use the room by himself was sleeping off a drinking binge (he was hiding from his wife).
- Both the men and the women think that the men's room is much "warmer" looking than the recreation room because it is furnished more like a person's apartment with couches, stuffed chairs, end tables, a fireplace (fake), etc. These items were donated by other tenants in the building. The women have commented that they too would like a room with such comfortable furnishings.
- The 25 men in the building have their own club although several of these men also belong to the larger club. This club meets in the men's room, collects monthly dues and sends cards and flowers at times of sickness or death. They also go out to dinner together once a month. The importance of this club lies not in the activities it organizes but rather in promoting a sense of camaraderie among the men.
- Because the room is not used generally by the men during the day, a few women will sit in the comfortable chairs while waiting for their wash or the nurse in the adjoining room.
- There is a glass panel running vertically along each door into the room from the hallway. Men look through this when checking to see if anyone is in the room (the doors from the hallway are kept closed).

- On the architect's floor plans, the small room adjacent to the men's room was labeled as a library. The custodian has furnished this room with his own furniture, however, and keeps it locked most of the time. The majority of the tenants do not know what is in the room.
- A visiting nurse comes to the site once a week and uses this space to see any tenants who might want medical advice or attention.

Site C

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR LAUNDRY ROOM



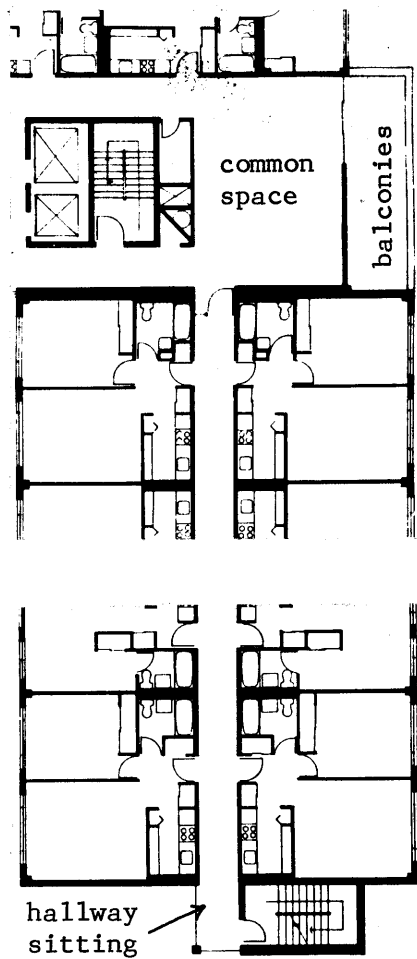
"The only thing, we could have some benches, like to fold our clothes on. There is a table down there but usually there is somebody sitting there. They play cards sometimes while they are waiting for their laundry." (C-10)

"I can't see the laundry so close to a front entrance. You come in a hall and some days you can smell laundry because they all work and they're all going. It has a laundry odor and its kind of sickening." (C-2)

"(Some are) very sick people (and) their things do smell. That's my opinion. We had one who just moved out, was terrible, once he did his laundry down there, it was wicked, which they can't help." (C-8)

- There are three washers and three dryers in this room and tenants often complain that more machines are needed. Some tenants told me that each of the seven floors has a specified day of the week that they are supposed to use the laundry room. Others were unaware of this management policy (it is not posted anywhere).
- The only area in the room to fold clothes on is a small folding table which is occasionally in use by others waiting for their wash. There is a need for a counter or table top to always be available.
- Several tenants have commented on the poor location of the laundry room for visual, auditory, and olfactory reasons. Visually, tenants dislike walking into the lobby and seeing the laundry, particularly when they have visitors with them. Some think this should be a hidden function. Others dislike the smell of laundry permeating the lobby and other areas. And the machines do generate a lot of noise that interferes with activities in the men's room and the manager's office. (I had considerable difficulty taping interviews in the men's room because of this noise.) For ventilation purposes, the doors always remain open.
- Because the laundry room is located between the lobby and the men's room, it is often used as a passageway.

Site C



"We have porches here. We don't sit out there and you wouldn't believe why. Because the railings are so high we feel we are confined. They got the railings so high we don't want to sit there. At least if they were a little lower we could look over--we can't. We feel we are really closed in. At least if they were made with slats so we could look. So you sit there and look but you feel as if you are really closed in. Nobody likes it for that reason." (C-1)

ACTIVITY PROFILE FOR SPACES ON RESIDENTIAL FLOORS ABOVE GROUND LEVEL

- At the juncture of the two right-angled hallways on each floor is a large space that is available for tenant use. One wall (south) is floor-to-ceiling glass which creates a very bright space (which is also too hot in the summertime to use during the day). On most floors, people have set furniture out in this space that did not fit into their apartments. Furnishings include chairs, end tables, dining room tables and commodes, television sets, and plants.
- At the far end of each hallway is a floor-to-ceiling glass panel that gives the effect of creating "light at the end of the tunnel." On a few of the floors tenants with apartments at these far ends have put a chair out for occasional sitting. As these panels look out over the front part of the site, they offer views of people coming and going as well as activity along the street. One or two persons will infrequently use this space. On one floor, a couple has set out an elaborate arrangement of plants and flowers. When not sitting here, they fold up the chairs and place them in the adjacent stairwell as the seating space is directly in the path of the fire exit.
- Several of the floors have balconies off of this space that are used at night in the summertime. Tenants from a few of the floors will bring their own chairs out on a hot night to relax, cool off (the apartments get very hot because there is no cross ventilation), and chat with friends. The high railings on the balconies and their

"This friend of mine was 80 years old in October and I ran a party for 40 people upstairs on this floor. I had a birthday party for her and I served ham, chicken salad--I made everything myself. And I made a surprise party for her. I didn't use the community room because I didn't want to invite everybody. And I knew if I used the community room downstairs I would have everyone looking in, snooping around and I didn't want to hurt anybody, I just wanted the people I thought were her sincere friends. And so I ran it upstairs here. And each one I told not to tell anybody because they didn't know who I was inviting and it was going to be a surprise. And it was a surprise. These places are really terrific now. These rooms, you know, you can go outside there and sit and read if you want. You can do most anything. You can have a television out there." (C-1)

DO YOU EVER USE THAT SPACE?

"No, I can't, because the party on our floor, she has a husband and she wouldn't want anybody out in the hall. You hear them yelling once in a while, you know, it's embarrassing. I mean, I just as soon have them (visitors) use my own house if I have anybody." WHY, IS IT MORE PRIVATE? "Well, no, it's just the idea, you can talk and you're not disturbing anybody, and you're not hearing anybody else's conversation... Cause if somebody's out in the hall and they're having words, you feel like a nickel when you face them, you know? They feel you hear them." (C-9)

narrowness discourage heavy or frequent use of this outdoor space because it offers no views and is very confining.

- The large floor space is occasionally used for private parties where only a portion of the tenants are invited. One tenant gave a surprise birthday party for her friend in this space and invited just those people who were her friends in the building. She then prepared a lunch for these forty friends. This same tenant also organized the diet club and decided to hold those meetings up on her floor instead of in the recreation room downstairs.
- Because this space is situated at the intersection of two hallways and is bounded on two sides by apartment units, there is a lack of aural privacy. Tenants in neighboring apartments can overhear small private conversations and they, in turn, can be heard in their apartment. Many tenants feel uncomfortable in this situation and so have small private gatherings in their own apartments. I have never observed any one individual or small group of individuals (less than four) using this space. This may not be the situation in the summer or spring, however, when people enjoy the fresh air, sunlight, and views more and will be tempted to overcome this awkward situation. (Larger groups like the diet club and the birthday party are not as inhibited by this lack of aural privacy).

Site C

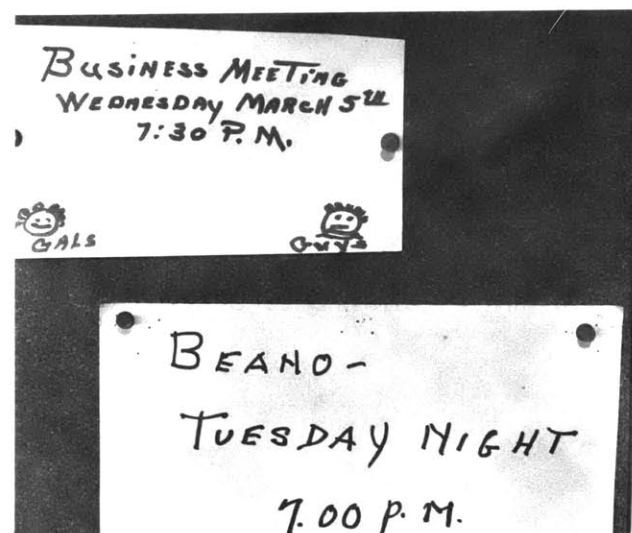
Tenants sharing their mail
in the lobby



Tenants talking with one
another in the lobby
(male sitting on the end
table)



Announcements of activities
on the bulletin board by
the recreation room



Site C

Friday afternoon beano game in the recreation room



Senior Citizens participating in the daily nutrition program in the recreation room



Tuesday morning meetings of the "diet club" in the common space on the fifth floor

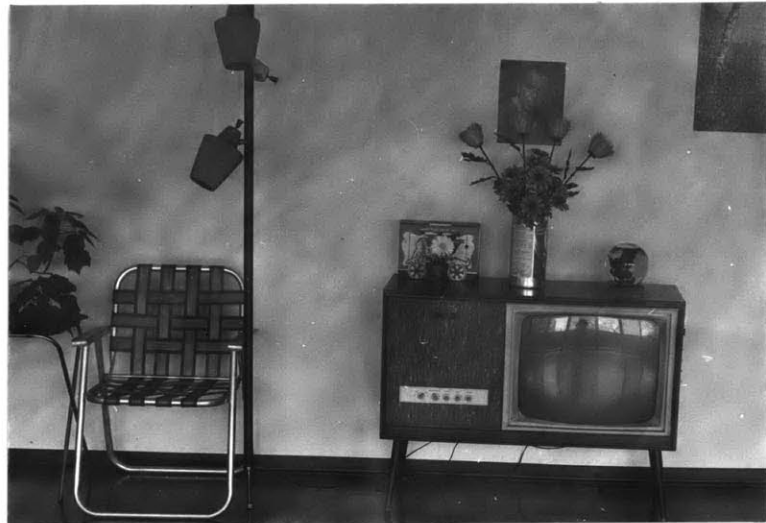


Site C

Tenants creating private space by the window at the end of the hallway



Tenant furnishings in common spaces on a residential floor



Confining balconies off of common spaces on residential floors that offer no views of the surrounding area from a sitting position



SQUARE FOOTAGE BREAKDOWN PER SITE

Square footage

	SITE A		SITE B		SITE C	
	Total	Per tenant	Total	Per tenant	Total	Per tenant
Vestibule (entrance area)	150	1.5 ⁺	72	0.5	112	0.5
Lobby	278	2.5 ⁻	1,118	7.5 ⁺	670	3.2
Manager's office	90		150		120	
Laundry room	152	1.4	195	1.3	216	1.0
Recreation areas	1,106	10.1	2,616	17.4 ⁺	1,532	7.3
Main recreation room	726	6.6 ⁻	1,728	11.5 ⁺	872	4.2 ⁻
Kitchen	90	0.8 ⁻	110	0.7	190	0.9
Secondary recreation room	380	3.5	888	5.9 ⁺	660	3.1
Communal space per residential floor above ground level	0	0.0	280	16.5	527	14.2

⁺too much space

⁻too little space

Footnotes

¹Michael Polanyi, Knowing and Being (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 131-2.

²"Design Evaluation-Social Use of Elderly Housing," U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Human Development, Administration on Aging, Grant No. 93-P-57584/1-03.

³Christopher Alexander, Notes on the Synthesis of Form (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 26.

⁴Irving Rosow, Social Integration of the Aged (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 20.

⁵M. Powell Lawton, "Ecology and Aging," in Leon A. Pastalan and Daniel H. Carson, editors, Spatial Behavior of Older People (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1970), p. 43.

⁶Polanyi, Knowing and Being, p. 140.

⁷Examples of guidelines for elderly residential environments include: Michigan State Housing Development Authority, Housing for the Elderly Development Process, 1974; Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation of Canada, Housing the Elderly, 1972; "Guidelines for the Site Plan and Design of Housing for Elderly and Handicapped Persons" (Preliminary Draft for Review), Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs, March 1973; New York State Urban Development Corporation, "Provisions for Housing for the Elderly" (Technical Bulletin #4), undated.

⁸Michigan State Housing Development Authority, Housing for the Elderly Development Process, p. 66.

⁹Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation of Canada, Housing the Elderly, p. 14.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 12.

¹¹Rosow, Social Integration of the Aged, p. 19.

¹²Ibid., p. 35.

¹³Louis E. Gelwicks and Robert J. Newcomer, Planning Environments for the Elderly (Washington, D.C.: The National Council on the Aging, Inc., 1974), p. 43.

¹⁴In the Fall of 1973 the American Institute of Architects brought together four architects and four social scientists for a three day work session to discuss social science and its implications for architectural design. What emerged was a process model that showed points in the design/build process where social scientists could intervene with their expertise and in what form. See Donald Conway, editor, Social Science and Design: A Process Model for Architect and Social Scientist Collaboration (Washington, D.C.: The American Institute of Architects, 1973).

¹⁵Ibid., p. II-5.

¹⁶Ibid., p. II-6.

¹⁷Ibid., p. II-6-7.

¹⁸Constance Perin, With Man in Mind: An Interdisciplinary Prospectus for Environmental Design (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1970), p. 12.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 14.

²⁰Robert Gutman, "The Questions Architects Ask," in Robert Gutman, editor, People and Buildings (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972), p. 365.

²¹John Zeisel, Sociology and Architectural Design (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1975), p. 17.

²²For a detailed discussion of the various stages in the design process and the role the behavioral scientist can play in each stage, see Conway, Social Science and Design: A Process Model for Architect and Social Scientist Collaboration; Gutman, "The Questions Architects Ask"; Zeisel, Sociology and Architectural Design, pp. 17-20.

²³For a discussion of the distinction between user wants and needs see Zeisel, Sociology and Architectural Design, pp. 23-4.

²⁴Conway, Social Science and Design: A Process Model for Architect and Social Scientist Collaboration, p. I-39.

²⁵Barry Korobkin, Images for Design: Communication of Human Science Research to Architectural Practitioners (Washington, D.C.: The American Institute of Architects, 1974), p. 17.

²⁶Ibid., p. 15.

²⁷James P. Batchelor, "Public Agencies as Managers of Housing Quality," unpublished Master's Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, May 1974, p. 50.

²⁸Korobkin, Images for Design: Communication of Human Science Research to Architectural Practitioners, p. 20.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 22-5.

³⁰Batchelor, "Public Agencies as Managers of Housing Quality," pp. 99-126.

³¹Korobkin, Images for Design, pp. 56-77.

³²Gutman, "The Questions Architects Ask," p. 362.

³³Ibid., p. 363.

³⁴Perin, With Man in Mind, p. 71.

³⁵Roger G. Barker, Ecological Psychology (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1968), pp. 19-20.

³⁶William Ittelson, Leanne Rivlin, Harold Proshansky, and Gary Winkel, An Introduction to Environmental Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974), p. 71.

- ³⁷Perin, With Man in Mind, p. 76.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 78.
- ³⁹Erving Goffman, Behavior in Public Places (New York: The Free Press, 1963), p. 18.
- ⁴⁰Ibid.
- ⁴¹Barker, Ecological Psychology, pp. 18-9.
- ⁴²William R. Ellis, Jr., "Planning, Design and Black Community Style: The Problem of Occasion-Adequate Space" in W.J. Mitchell, editor, Environmental Design: Research and Practice, Proceedings of the EDRA 3/AR 8 Conference (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), p. 6-12-3.
- ⁴³Ibid., p. 6-12-8.
- ⁴⁴Barker, Ecological Psychology, p. 18.
- ⁴⁵Ellis, "Planning, Design and Black Community Style: The Problem of Occasion-Adequate Space."
- ⁴⁶Barker, Ecological Psychology, p. 18.
- ⁴⁷Sim Van der Ryn, "The Behavior Setting: Module for Design," Environment/Planning and Design, July/August 1970, p. 14.
- ⁴⁸Eugene J. Webb, Donald T. Campbell, Richard D. Schwartz, and Lee Sechrest, Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), p. 3.
- ⁴⁹Zeisel, Sociology and Architectural Design, pp. 24-30.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 23.
- ⁵¹William H. Ittelson, Leanne Rivlin, and Harold M. Proshansky, "The Use of Behavioral Maps in Environmental Psychology" in Harold M. Proshansky,

William H. Ittelson, and Leanne G. Rivlin, editors, Environmental Psychology: Man and His Physical Setting (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), pp. 658-668.

⁵²Zeisel, Sociology and Architectural Design, pp. 25-6.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 26-7.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵For the general kinds of information that questionnaires and interview schedules can contain see Zeisel, Sociology and Architectural Design, pp. 27-8.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 28.

⁵⁷Perin, With Man in Mind, p. 14.

⁵⁸Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), p. 60.

⁵⁹In recent years federally funded elderly projects have become literally stomping grounds for researchers from all fields and the tenants and managers have expressed a sense of inundation. I tried to avoid perpetuating this sensation by not asking personal questions, developing and maintaining friendships at each site, helping people when needed, supplying photographs to those who requested them, and by paying them for their information.

⁶⁰Margaret Stacey, Methods of Social Research (New York: Pergamon Press, 1969), p. 80.

⁶¹Funded by Grant No. 93-P-57584/1-03.

⁶²Leonard Schatzman and Anselm L. Strauss, Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), pp. 70-1.

⁶³Barker, Ecological Psychology, p. 10.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Based on classification system developed by Zeisel, Sociology and Architectural Design, pp. 25-7.

⁶⁶Webb et. al., Unobtrusive Measures: Non-reactive Research in the Social Sciences.

⁶⁷This information was provided by the Boston Housing Authority.

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