

Does Design Make a Difference: An Analysis of the Conditions
Under Which Youth Centers Operate

by

Sarah Shin

S.B. Urban Planning
S.B. Architecture

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts (2004)

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

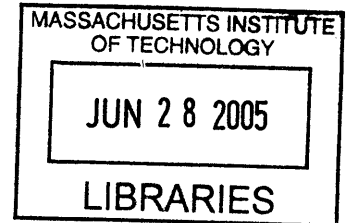
Master in City Planning

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June 2005

© Sarah Shin
All rights reserved.



The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to distribute publicly
paper and electronic copies of this thesis document in whole or in part.

Signature of Author
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
May 15, 2005

Certified by
Professor John de Monchaux
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by
Professor Dennis Frenchman
Chair, MCP Committee
Department of Urban Studies and Planning

DOES DESIGN MAKE A DIFFERENCE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE
CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH YOUTH CENTERS OPERATE

by

SARAH SHIN

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
On May 15, 2005, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master in City Planning in Urban Studies and Planning

ABSTRACT

This paper looks at youth centers, specifically Boston-based Boys & Girls Clubs, as neighborhood-scale enclosed public spaces. Due to the lower income and high-risk populations the Boys & Girls Clubs of America serves, these clubhouses serve as field subjects for scrutinizing what conditions must be present for youth centers, an age-specific community space, to function and serve their intended populations.

A series of interviews with Boys & Girls Clubs staff-persons and youth and observational studies were conducted to analyze how the clubhouses are used in the Boston area. Physical clubhouse designs, as well as programs, policies, users and personnel were compared. These analyses have led to a number of conclusions and recommendations concerning the establishment and function of youth centers.

The variables found to be in common or have some relationship to each other include architectural process and design, staff, programs, accessibility, bureaucracy, facilities, seasonal adaptability, and neighborhood risk.

Overall, design concerning clubhouse interiors was found to make a significant difference in how youth centers work while exterior architecture did not.

Thanks to:

Professor John de Monchaux – The best advisor ever. I never fail to learn and think differently every time I step into your office.

Professor Ceasar McDowell – Thanks for always giving me a smile during this process. You make it fun, insightful, and much less scary.

La Tonya Green – For the long pep talks, especially when you didn't have to. You helped me see the light.

Professor Annette Kim – Thank you for your incredible patience, encouraging me, and giving me a lot of freedom in exploring what this thesis has become.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Why Are Youth Centers Important?.....	pg 5
1.1 The relevance of public space	5
1.2 Community centers as public space	6
1.3 Youth Centers as community spaces	11
1.4 Why Boys & Girls Clubs	15
Chapter 2: About Boys & Girls Clubs	19
2.1 Boys & Girls Club of America	19
2.2 Boys & Girls Clubs in Boston neighborhoods	22
Chapter 3: Meet the Clubhouses	31
3.1 Boys & Girls of Boston	31
Blue Hill	32
Charlestown	35
Chelsea	39
Roxbury	42
South Boston	44
3.2 Non-BGCB Clubs	47
Colonel Daniel Marr	47
Salesian East Boston	50
Chapter 4: Methodology & Interview Process	55
Chapter 5: Design Elements That Make a Difference	59
5.1 Intro: Design that matters	60
5.2 Initial conditions & opportunity	61
5.3 Surveillance & opportunity	67
5.4 Maintenance & opportunity	75
5.5 Facilities & opportunity	78
5.6 Age-sensitive interior design & circulation	82
5.7 The effect of good design	86
Chapter 6: Design Elements That Do Not Make a Difference	90
Chapter 7: Non-design Elements That Make a Difference	91
7.1 Staff & opportunity	91
7.2 Programs & opportunity	95
7.3 Seasonal adaptability & opportunity	98
7.4 Accessibility & opportunity	103
7.5 Bureaucracy & opportunity	106
7.6 Neighborhood risk & opportunity	111
Chapter 8: Recommendations	115
8.1 Design that matters	
8.2 Designing future youth centers: Roxbury Clubhouse model	117
8.3 Relevance to community centers	119
Works Cited	125
Appendices	127

Chapter 1: Why Are Youth Centers Important?

1.1 The relevance of public space

Public space has been something long sought after by architects and urban designers in the design of buildings and cities. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the term public means, “in general, and in most sense of the word, opposite of private.” Historically, urban squares and marketplaces served as public spaces and “arenas of communication.” (Madanipour, 2000) Madanipour states that the growth of modern cities and their increasingly segregated neighborhoods have led to increase in segregation and a decrease in the meaning and use of these former public spaces. Planners and architects have attempted to address and reverse this process of segregated physical space and moved towards creating and maintaining meaningful, cohesive social and physical environments. However, regeneration policies and plans have led to an increase privatization, restricted access, and *depublicing* of space. Providing and sustaining public spaces have also been costly, and many public bodies responsible for such upkeep have struggled to maintain such areas. Scores of new developments now contain a public spaces controlled in various degrees by private bodies. Madanipour attributes this to the changing nature of development companies and the entry of the finance industry into the built environment, who reduce levels of risk and uncertainty that could threaten their interests, such as uncontrolled public space. (Madanipour, 2000)

Thus, while several theorists still hold onto the idea that public urban spaces are places that are not controlled by private entities and thus open to the public, it becomes increasingly difficult to define at what point semi-private crosses the line to public. Madanipour claims that private and semi-private spaces keep individuals away based on some aspect of race, age, class, and gender, thus preventing mingling (Madanipour, 2000). Juxtapose this with “public space is a space we share with strangers, people who aren’t our relatives, friends, or work associates. It is space for politics, religion, commerce, sport; space for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter.” (Hester, 1975)

1.2 Community Centers as Public Space

This climate then becomes a strange place to define community centers. There seems to be something public, something inclusive hinted at in the word community. Community centers conjure images of kids in after-school programs, swimming or playing basketball, babies and teens, senior citizens playing bingo, technology education programs, English as a Second Language classes for immigrants in the community; the list could go on and on. Community itself is a difficult word to define as it can be as small as two or as large as a nation. However, say community center, a building, the realm of community starts to become more finite. A finite number of individuals fit in a building, in a space. They should not be willing to travel days to spend a couple hours at this community center.

There exists something about proximity being important in who a community center reaches. Words like neighborhood, whether it means an entire district or just the block one lives on, seem to be more appropriate to slap onto the front of “center”.

From this, we can surmise that a community center, a *neighborhood center*, can be public yet private. It can be open to a neighborhood, yet restricted to that neighborhood. Community centers are small public spaces that can often have membership fees associated with them; private and public bodies are responsible for their upkeep and program management. There are rules for using spaces; no guns, no black-soled shoes on the court, no food in the technology room. With such variables, the public realm of the community center becomes a little more restricted, for it is neither free nor without rules. Community centers can claim inclusiveness yet leave out entire sub-communities that might not be able to pay, to access, or feel comfortable there.

Look up what a community center claims to provide: classes, recreation, health services. There is consistently a mantra of serving the members, the community. Many seem to cater towards different groups of people, particularly the young and the aged. I have found plenty of articles expounding on public *open* space, its virtues, how to design it, etc. However, with community centers, I find very little cohesive literature saying “here, this is a community center” or “necessary ingredients for a community center.” There are RFP’s, policies that state how funds can be

used for community purposes if a community development corporation or city intends to set up community facilities, but community center is loosely, if ever defined.

Community centers also may not have to be multi-purpose, multi-user facilities. Youth centers, YMCA's, senior citizen's centers, health centers: are these non-communal because they cater to certain ages, or specific functions? A youth center that is able to reach a variety of youth and place them in rooms to learn together and play together: can it be called non-communal because it excludes non-youth populations while bringing together a community of neighborhood youth?

I have an agenda in discussing this term *community center* that I have yet to define successfully. The fears I have mentioned about community centers above touch on individual and community exclusion, a natural and unnatural phenomenon that has occurred in our schools, cities, jobs, government, and religious institutions, based on income, based on race. Poorer communities, minority communities, have often gotten the short end of the stick in well designed homes, excellent services and education, upwardly-mobile jobs. There is a perceived element of safety or the lack thereof associated with urban neighborhoods that are thought to battle crime, drugs, and gang warfare. In such a environment, it becomes increasingly hard to find true public space, a *safe* public space, that can be used by the community. They exist, on streets, in small open spaces, but not necessarily in formalized public squares.

Can public space, a community space, a neighborhood space, ever be indoors? In the range of literature I found on the topic of public space, very few went beyond the realm of the outdoors to indoors in discussing public or neighborhood space. According to Randolph T. Hester, Jr. in his book *Planning Neighborhood Space with People*, “Neighborhood space is that territory close to home, including houses, churches, businesses, and parks, that, because of the residents’ collective responsibility, familiar association, and frequent shared use, is considered to be their “own.”” (Hester, 1984) Here, he positively identifies buildings and indoor spaces as neighborhood, spaces. He continues, however, in that book, by stating, “But in this discussion, the concept of neighborhood space will be limited to public, outdoor territory close to home.”

I believe that a community center is a physical public space that has imploded upon itself; walls contain it, and flow and access are controlled and restricted. Yet, there is something about it, its express function that draws people together just as marketplace would draw people together in a village square during times long ago. And in many minority, low-income neighborhoods, sentiments like “the kids have nowhere else to go to hang out”, or “it’s a safe place for community gatherings” start to be expressed about neighborhood spaces. *Thus, community centers are enclosed, controlled indoor spaces of public interaction. Their inclusiveness is limited, but their aim is achieve some amount of mingling of people based on activity and place.*

My thesis research started with a focus on community centers in Boston, particularly in the more economically and ethnically diverse neighborhoods. However, due to a number of unforeseen political events and local drama, I moved the focus of my study to a more specified subject: youth centers, and in particular, Boys and Girls Clubs in Boston. What was a frustrating circumstance turned out to be in my favor, as I have had the opportunity to interview several clubs that share enough programmatic similarities and values to enable me to draw conclusive analyses. My pool of study was small enough so that I could conduct a qualitative experiment, and yet it may be applicable to other community centers as well. So now I thank the political events that drove me to what I now realize to be a perfect sample for observation.

These clubs are private neighborhood centers that discriminate based on age but open their doors to youth of all backgrounds. A significant amount of effort and funding goes into the program planning and building design of each clubhouse. While they share the same mission and similar programs, these clubhouses are located in ethnically diverse neighborhoods all over Boston. Some are a decade old; others have been established for over a century. There is enough of a control to compare the variables between each clubhouse.

1.3 Youth Centers As Community Space

Youth centers share users that fall under the same age group. There are usually specific programs, activities, décor, and individual rooms designed to suit the needs of youth. While studying youth centers excludes infants, adults, and senior citizens from this thesis, it includes both male and female, of different ethnic backgrounds. Youth center usage is usually bound by physical accessibility for youth; thus it is a matter of proximity and location that affects whether a youth uses the space, which is different from a politically assigned school district. Usage is voluntary, and cost, at least in these examples, is minimal.

Someone may raise the argument that the clubhouses are part of a private entity, the Boys and Girls Club of America, and thus cannot truly be public. I will maintain that controlled space does not mean that it is not public. It has rules, limits, restrictions, but it is still usable. Hajer and Reihndrop state that “while politicians are dreaming about socially positive meetings of different kinds of citizens, public space has to a large extent been parochialized, and the places are being stage-managed.” (Hajer, 2001) Parochialism does not nullify a public space, but rather redefines the composition of the human public that use the space. William Whyte also is known for pointing out the usefulness of watchdogs and doormen in plaza spaces in New York City. (Whyte, 2000) Could BGCA and its staff persons be considered managers, the watchmen, of public space? I ask you to consider them as such for the remainder of this thesis.

My question is “under what conditions can successful youth centers operate?” If neighborhood centers are increasingly becoming places of resource and community interaction, attention needs to be paid to what is needed in order to make that happen. As a designer, my real underlying question is this “does design make a difference, particularly in a lower-income context?”

Why is this important? Why the interest? Hajer states that “the upsurge of interest in the public space in the 1980s resulted in renewed attention to design. Design came to be seen as the solution for a multitude of issues, from the improvement of the image of the city to the complex problems in deprived metropolitan areas.” (Hajer, 2001) It is well known that public projects are a steady source of commissioning for design-oriented firms; contests are held, awards are given, honor is ascribed to those designers who can draft a plan that suits lower-income, disadvantaged neighborhoods. Some of the clubhouses to be discussed have won such awards. In practice and in academia, public spaces, community centers, and places for youth are used as important parts of design solutions, if not the only programmatic element of design aimed at fostering community. I found however, that the literature in general contained very little comprehensive analysis that states, you must have X, Y, Z in order to have good design of community centers, or youth centers for that matter. As a student in a studio attempting to design for foreigner,

lower-income community, I found myself wishing for such literature.

Emily Talen states that:

“There is nothing controversial about the view that the environment affects behavior or that physical planning has a profound effect on a wide variety of social goals. But neither of these phenomena can be used to endorse the notion that sense of community can be physically designed. The best we can confidently say is that certain types of physical designs promote certain types of social behaviors and responses for certain kinds of people.” (Talen, 2000)

Other writers claim that while we tend to think that the public space fulfils an important role in increasing the ‘social cohesion’ in society, the explanation of the exact significance of the public space remains an implicit one. (Hajer, 2001) This does not point to the obsolescence of public spaces; it indicates that attempting to pin down the exact reason why such spaces are important will not yield satisfactory answers. All that really remains is that some sort of public space is good for a neighborhood, that parks, community spaces, and public facilities are community assets.

Hajer makes a disturbing observation that “one of the reasons for the lack of vision as regards the quality of the public space lies in the fact that important “players” such as administrators, designers and developers to a large degree think along the same lines, at least at the moment, when it comes to the design of that urban public space.” (Hajer, 2001) If these key players all think along similar, possibly inappropriate assumptions,

their creations are made in vain. In reading the current literature, including the widely cited Whyte's observations on plaza usage in New York City, I understood that successful plaza spaces could be designed if accessible seating, seasonally-adaptable usage areas, sunlight-shade manipulation, etc, were all considered in plaza design. However, with youth & community centers, this has much less clarity, as an open public space does not have the additional factors of doors, user hours, programs, and other restrictions that a neighborhood center has.

I do not wish to neglect the literature out there that stresses the importance of listening to the communities that a design is intended to serve. Community input, meetings, and overall clear communication of needs by future users to the designer has become more and more valued, particularly after the unfortunate demolitions and deteriorations of well-meant public projects meant to "better" the lives of the poor who lived there. In evaluating the question of does design make a difference, I will include such factors as I review how each youth center came into existence. Hester writes the following about poorly designed neighborhood spaces:

In the past ten years designers have been awakened to the plight of the users of ill-designed spaces everywhere. They have begun to realize that it is critical to design the space near one's home in response to one's idiosyncratic needs. It has been shown that design and planning must be user-oriented, that the design of the neighborhood space must relate to the behavior patterns and values of the people for whom that space

is designed, not the values of the designer. The plans for those environments which have been criticized because they did not respond to user needs are many and infamous.” (Hester 1984)

The purpose of this thesis is to see under what conditions Boys & Girls Clubs in Boston can operate successfully. Each serves well over 200 kids a day; each believes it to fulfilling its goals and mission. In the eyes of funders, parents, the city, even their own, they are successful. By comparing the clubhouses and looking for overall trends, I hope to find common threads and perhaps even a concrete set of recommendations that can be referred to the in the future design of youth centers.

1.4 Why Boys & Girls Clubs?

Let me emphasize again why these clubhouses may be considered semi-public spaces. The Boys & Girls Clubs of America has over ten clubhouses in the Boston area, seven of which were interviewed for this thesis. The BGCA has a specific mission to “inspire and enable all young people, especially those from disadvantaged circumstances, to realize their full potential as productive, responsible and caring citizens.” This shared mission results in a number of similar programs involving education, technology, recreation, and culture, as well as administrative patterns in how staff are hired and treated, how funds are utilized and allocated, and how staff are expected to interact with youth.

The seven Boston clubhouses serve over 200 kids a day, and they

contain large amounts of meeting space that allow for the youth who use the clubhouse to mingle, learn, and enjoy recreation together. The clubhouses are situated in some of the most deprived areas of the city, and they can be places where charter school and public school children, youth from different school districts, can meet. It is this mingling of the youth that makes it public to youth. The clubhouses charge a minimal membership fee of no more than \$25 a school year, which by no means covers the heavy costs per kid a year. The clubhouses are also in locations close to schools and residences, making transportation and travel costs to and fro minimal. Overall, the minimal cost, building proximity, and available space make it a very attractive place to cluster, mingle, and enjoy. Though the BGCA is a private entity, its invitation is open to all youth who enter its doors, thus making it a semi-public, if not public space.

In many lower-income neighborhoods that struggle with crime and danger on the streets, outdoor spaces no longer becomes friendly public spaces. They are places that children are warned not to go to, for fear of running into a local drug-pusher, gang fights, or robbery. An open playground that is seen as a picturesque space for kids to play in middle-class suburbia might be seen as breeding ground for trouble in a different, less privileged community that struggles to keep the peace on its streets. It seems then, that supervised spaces, where Jane Jacob's "eyes of the neighborhood" can keep vigilance over the young, is the ideal space for

public gatherings, particularly the gathering of youth. What one might consider a privatized, tightly-controlled, and thus less free space might actually be the most friendly space possible for the youth who use the clubhouses.

The clubs however, can be questioned in terms of their appropriateness of evaluating design because of a number of programmatic and logistical elements. First, there are a number of controls and restrictions on the freeform movement of youth in the clubhouses. Many of them are on a rotation schedule in which they switch activities and rooms each hour. Most clubs have a strict policy about youth not being in rooms that are not on surveillance, and staff accompaniment is usually a necessity. These restrictions must be considered as I evaluate the spaces and each clubhouse; thus the evaluation of design and its effect is viewed under the condition of controlled movement and activity. Which is more appropriate, to evaluate how the designs enables ease of surveillance or how youth use the space? Both will be considered. Another issue to remember is that because Boys & Girls Clubs are limited to 6-18 year-olds and the staff workers of the clubhouses, they exclude infant, adult, and senior populations. Thus, access is limited to a certain age group. This programmed exclusivity will not be questioned, and evaluation will instead view how the included persons use the space. Third, though the cost is minimal, it is still a cost. In the summer, a majority of the clubhouses hike up their prices per week

and for the summer. This affects clubhouse use and who can access the facilities, thus limiting the extent to which one can evaluate how design and architecture affects use and movement.

Not public	Public
Only open to children 6-18	Open to all children between 6-18; particularly those who are economically & socially excluded from other centers of education, recreation, etc.
Payment required	Payment is minimal at less than \$25
Enclosed space	Space available for youth use; during the winter, youth are able to use the space
Obedience to rules, times, programs	Activities and facilities available to youth

However, with these things considered, the clubhouses will be looked at according to how they function with respect to their designs and their programs. The Boys & Girls Clubs share enough similarities programmatically that it is possible to look their individual building designs and other conditions and compare. It is for this reason that other place for youth have not been included. Very few organizations have youth centers that serve a population of the magnitude that BGCA clubhouses serve; they also have different standards, times, and programs. In order to avoid incomparable variables and open up the opportunity to draw more concrete conclusions about the effect of design and program on youth centers, only Boys & Girls Clubs based in Boston were selected.

Chapter 2: About Boys & Girls Clubs

2.1 The Boys & Girls Clubs of America

The Boys and Girls Club of America is a national private organization that serves youth of ages 6-18 by providing a place and programs for education and recreation outside of school. Its stated mission is "to inspire and enable all young people, especially those from disadvantaged circumstances, to realize their full potential as productive, responsible and caring citizens." The BCGA operates in more than 3,400 locations across the 50 states, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, as well as military bases, serving more than 4 million boys and girls in total. Over 42,000 trained professional staff are dispersed throughout these clubs, as well as countless volunteers who tutor and coach the youth.

The BGCA started in 1860 in Hartford, Connecticut. Several upper-middle-class women, after seeing numerous boys run the streets, established the first Club as a positive alternative place for male youth. After several such Boys Clubs formed, they decided to affiliate in 1906 and the Federated Boys Clubs in Boston was formed with 53 participating organizations. They were renamed the Boys Clubs of America in 1931, and in 1956, the BCA celebrated its 50th anniversary and received a U.S. Congressional Charter. In 1990, the national organization's name was changed to Boys & Girls Clubs of America, after many clubs had adopted female youth into their cause. A number of the clubhouses in the Boston area have as long and rich a history as this parent organization.

In the past ten years, BGCA has been ranked as the number one youth organization in America by *Philanthropy 400*, and as number 15 among all nonprofit organizations. In 2001 and 2002, BGCA was praised for its financial efficacy, strength of reputation, and program effectiveness and listed as one of the top 100 charities in the US by WORTH magazine.

The BGCA touts its clubhouses as specially designed buildings for youth-based activities that open on a daily basis in order to provide positive, productive outlets for youth. The staff that act as role models and mentors are also emphasized when referring to the organization's methodology and vision. Providing hope and opportunity to youth is the most emphasized, resonant train of thought underlying all the explanations of the organizations mission and facts. Membership fees are said to average \$5 to \$10 a year. Overall, the BGCA specifically targets youth from disadvantaged backgrounds and argues that the average expense of \$200 per child per year in keeping youth in a clubhouse surrounded with activities and positive influences far outweighs the cost of incarcerating young adults in jail—anywhere from \$25,000 to \$75,000 per year. The BGCA assumes that disadvantaged circumstances lead to higher exposure to and adoption of criminal tendencies. This is supported by criminal statistics found in lower incomes neighborhoods. Under this light, the BGCA is thought to be an efficient prevention program for juvenile delinquency.

As for the composition of clubhouse users, the following overall national statistics were listed. These vary by neighborhood & region:

65% are from minority families

11% are less than 7 years old

27% are 7–9 years old

30% are 10–12 years old

21% are 13–15 years old

10% are 16–18 years old

1% are more than 18 years old

56% are male

44% are female

The total assets of the BGCA totals to more than \$2 billion. In supporting its cause, the US federal government has given a BGCA grant to the organization every year. In fact, as of 2005, President George W. Bush and the First Lady have sat as honorary co-chairs on the national board. Overall, the national organization is powerfully supported and respected for its efficacy and vision.

2.2 About Boys & Girls Clubs in Boston



There are two types of clubhouses that are found in Boston. Seven of the eight existing clubhouses were interviewed for this thesis. Five clubs that are located in Charlestown, Chelsea, Roxbury, South Boston, and the Blue Hill-Dorchester area are under an umbrella organization called the Boys & Girls Clubs of Boston. The two others are affiliated with other private

institutional organizations. The similarities between the two types are that both are answerable to the national organization and follow the same principles of youth development, positive influence, and programming. They also reach out to youth from disadvantaged neighborhoods and have a number of programs in common.

There are a couple differences. First, the BGCB has its own central office and board that raise annual support for the five clubs, in addition to the fundraising that each club's individual board raises. Through this system, the clubhouses do not ask for support from the same sources. Second, the five clubhouses undergo capital investments and renovations based on evaluations done by the main office, which oversees architectural and engineering commissions. Third, the BGCB has established partnerships with MIT, the MFA, Boston Community Learning Centers, CityYear, and other private and public bodies. The five clubhouses all have programs incorporating these partnerships. Fourth, the membership fees for the BGCB clubhouses are at \$25, which is more than double the \$5 or \$10 the others charge.

As for the two others, they are located in Upham's Corner in Dorchester and in East Boston. The Colonel Daniel Marr Boys & Girls Club is affiliated with the Marr Family and functions separately from the BGCB. The other is the Salesian Boys & Girls Club of East Boston, which is affiliated with the Catholic order of Salesian priests but open to all youth. Significant support comes from the Salesian headquarters in New York. This clubhouse also operates apart from the BGCB.

Regardless of their affiliation, however, these clubs are all located in areas that are mostly lower income and have high crime. The graphs below will compare race, income, crime, and other variables across the seven neighborhoods. Please note that Dorchester is split up into North and South Dorchester.

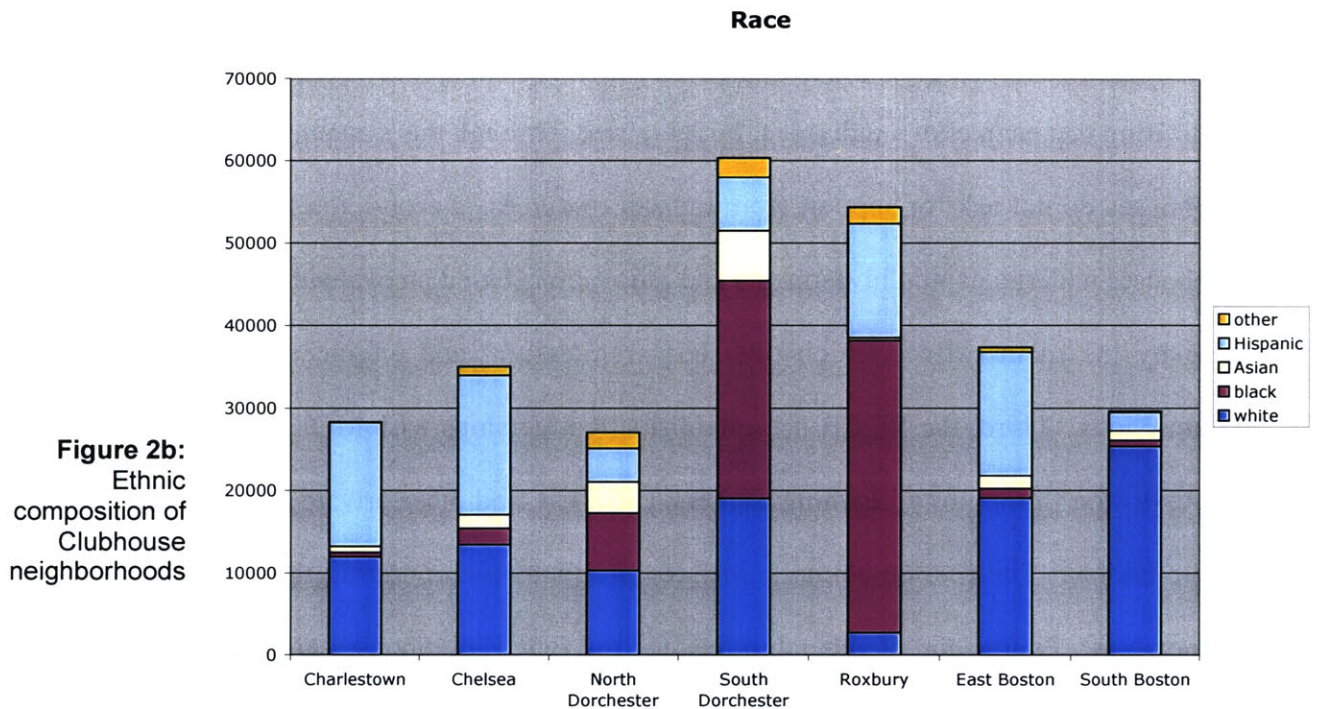


Figure 2.2 depicts the ethnic composition and population of each neighborhood. The race categories are white (non-Hispanic), black (non-Hispanic), Hispanic, Asian (non-Hispanic), and other. It is evident that of the seven, only South Boston serves a majority-white neighborhood. In Charlestown, Chelsea, and East Boston, the population contains a significant percentage of Latinos. Roxbury and South Dorchester have high concentrations of blacks in their neighborhoods. North Dorchester contains a

diverse spread of ethnicities; it has been called the most diverse zip code in the United States and is home to the Daniel Marr Boys & Girls Club. Roxbury and Dorchester overall have the largest populations. It will be interesting to note any correlations between the neighborhood ethnicity and clubhouse ethnicity, if there are any relationships to funding support, etc.

race	Charlestown	Chelsea	North Dorchester	South Dorchester	Roxbury	East Boston	South Boston
white	42.24%	38.27%	35.59%	30.02%	4.84%	49.67%	84.52%
black	1.91%	5.62%	24.34%	41.73%	62.55%	3.06%	2.47%
Asian	2.69%	4.64%	13.16%	9.58%	0.63%	4.04%	3.89%
Hispanic	53.00%	48.42%	14.16%	10.25%	24.40%	39.02%	7.49%
other	0.16%	2.85%	6.71%	3.73%	3.47%	1.33%	0.40%

Figure 2c:
 Table of ethnic composition in BGC Boston neighborhoods

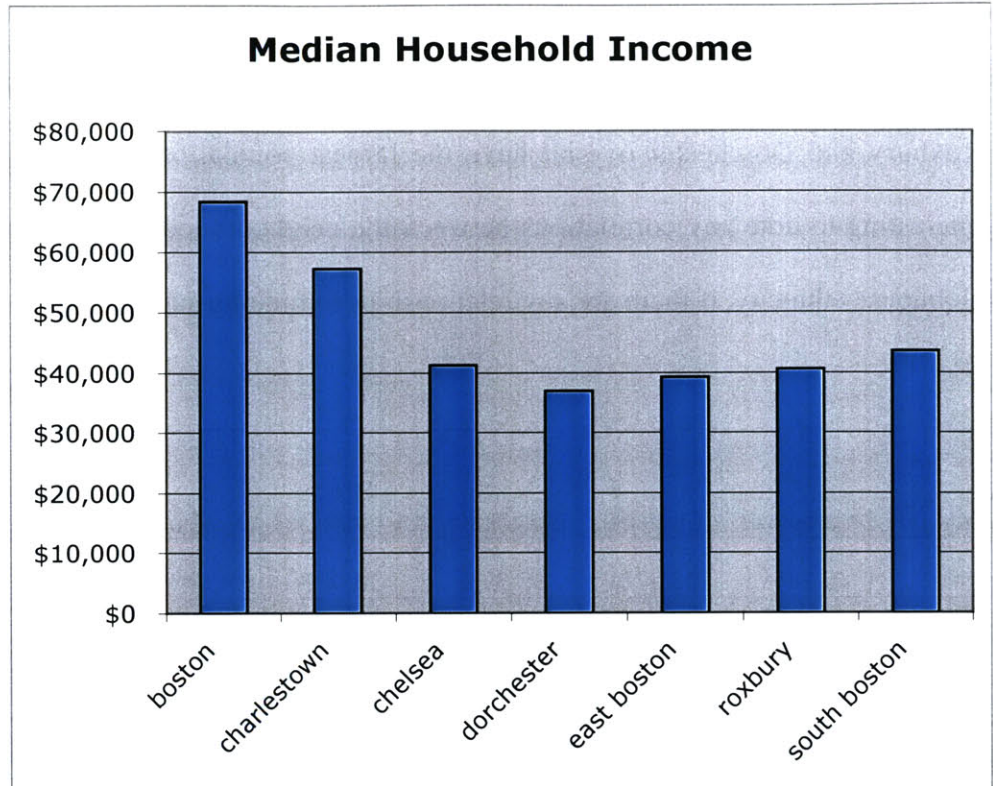


Figure 2d:
Income levels of
BGC
neighborhoods

Figure B depicts the median household incomes of the six neighborhoods in Boston. The census statistics used for this data lumped the two Dorchesters into one. Boston's average household income is \$68,313. The neighborhoods overall have been composed of working class whites, immigrants, and people of color. Of the clubhouses interviewed, Charlestown, South Boston, and the Daniel Marr Clubhouse in Dorchester all commented on a rise in young urban professionals entering the neighborhoods. While Chelsea, Dorchester, East Boston, Roxbury, and South Boston show similar median incomes, Charlestown is significantly higher than the \$40,000 mark. When exploring the neighborhoods, I was

struck by the number of people dressed in business and business casual clothing in the neighborhood during evening commuting hours.

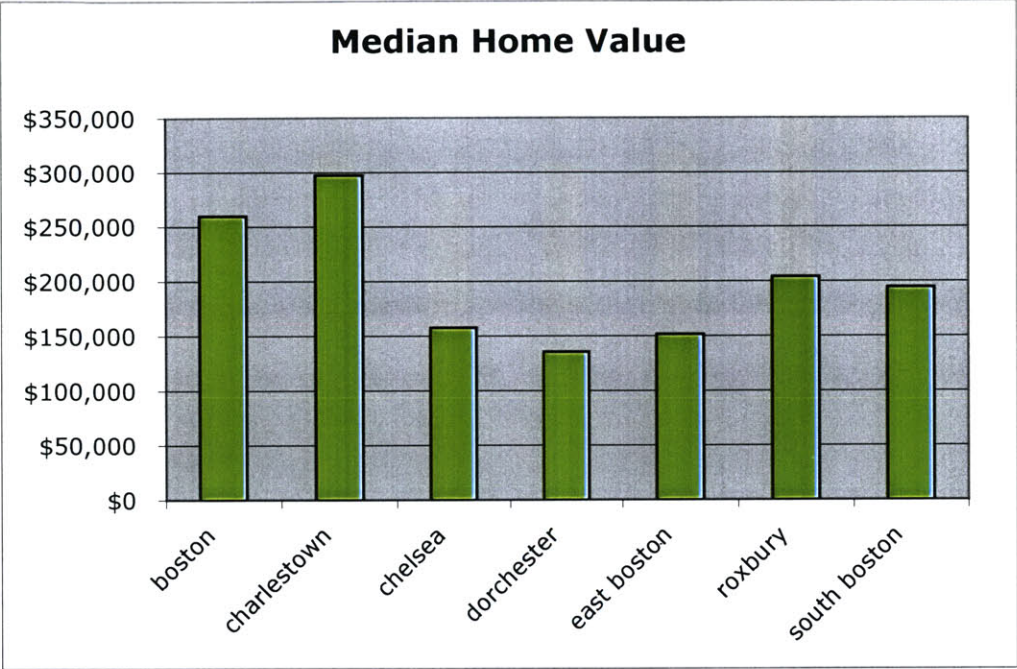
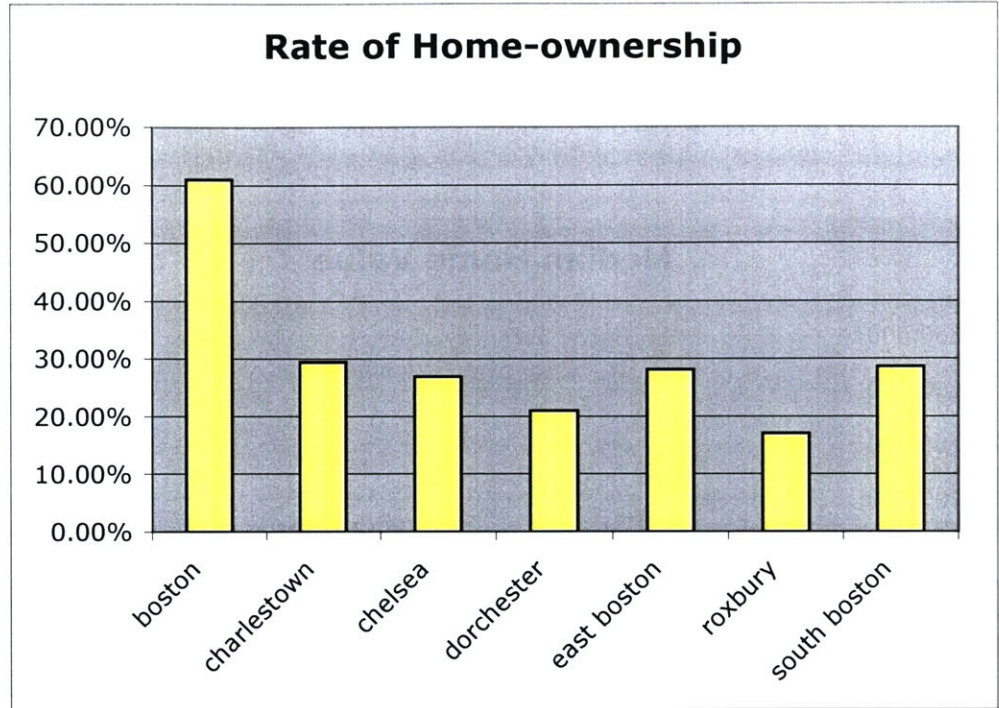


Figure 2e: Median values of homes in BGC neighborhoods

Compare also the median values of homes in each of these neighborhoods. The average age of these homes range from 30-35 years. Though the home values of Chelsea, Dorchester, East Boston, Roxbury, and East Boston are significantly lower than Boston’s average, Chelsea is significantly higher than even Boston’s average at almost \$300,000. This information leads us to suspect that gentrification is well under way in Charlestown.

Figure 2f:
Rates of home-ownership in BGC neighborhoods



However, even with such housing price appreciation, Charlestown exhibits similar rates of homeownership as its comparable neighborhoods. All have less than 30% home-ownership, in the case of Roxbury, under 20%, and these rates of homeownerships are significantly lower than the ownership rates found in the greater Boston metropolitan area.

Though there may be slight variations in these background statistics, the figure below shows strikingly similar characteristics in terms of crime. A website called “Spalding’s Best Places” takes census data and police reports and uses a crime index scaled between 1 to 10. This crime index indicates the likelihood of a certain kind of crime occurring to a person in that neighborhood. 1 is low; 10 is high. Figure E shows that across the board, all six neighborhoods have equally high indices of violent crime at a value of 7.

Charlestown is no exception; its young urban professionals have little effect on the crime levels. Compared to the national and citywide value of a little more than 3, this is very significant, as violent crime is more likely to occur in these neighborhoods. In terms of property crime, the risk is also high at a value of seven for the majority of these neighborhoods. Thus, if the Boys & Girls Clubs strive to keep kids off the streets and under positive influence, such data indicates that the youth in these neighborhoods may be exposed more frequently to violence and criminal activity. In other words, the clubhouses are in the right places.

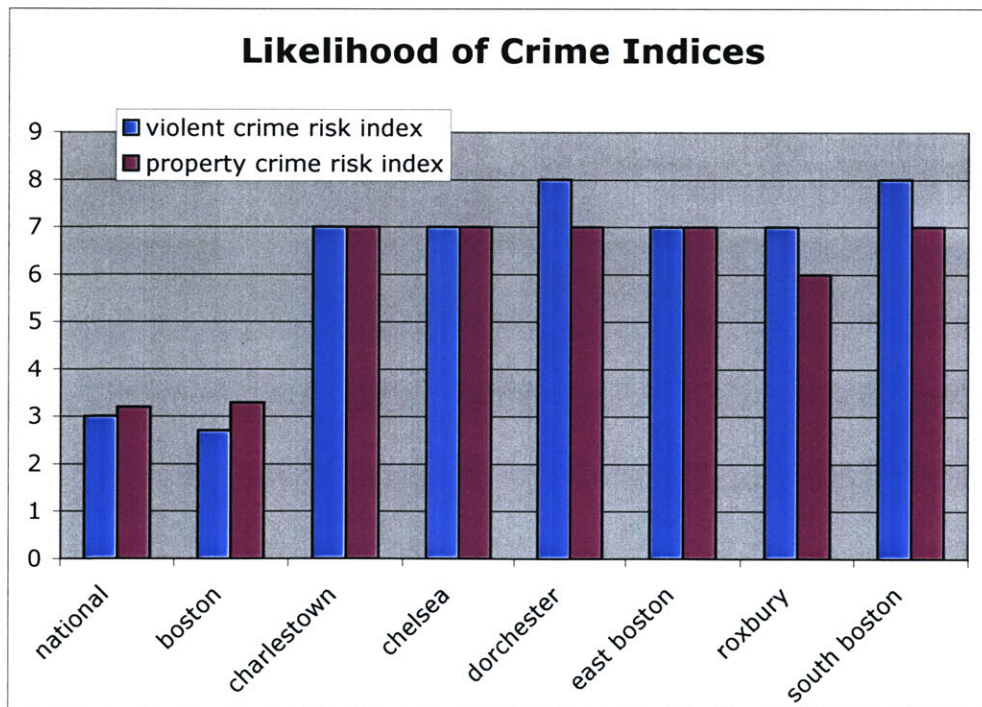


Figure 2g:
Risk of violent and property crime in BGC neighborhoods

In summary

These are the existing social conditions in which the seven selected Boys & Girls Clubs operate. Overall, income, median house value, and rates

of home-ownership are significantly lower than the Boston metropolitan average. The neighborhoods range from majority white, Latino, black, or mixed in ethnic composition. Crime indices are high in all neighborhoods. These factors show that the clubhouses are serving appropriate target populations of youth from primarily lower-income, high-risk neighborhoods.

Chapter 3: Meet the Clubhouses

Seven Boston-based Boys & Girls Clubs were studied for this thesis. Of the seven, five belong to an umbrella sub-organization of the Boys & Girls Club of America, called the Boys & Girls Club of Boston. The two others are affiliated with both the BGCA and a separate private organization. These are brief descriptions of each clubhouse and its specific programs.

3.1 The Boys & Girls Clubs of Boston

The BGCB holds clubhouses in 5 different neighborhoods. The clubhouses under this organization obtain funding from the support raised by the main Boston Office. All private donations, federal, state, and city grants, and charity fundraisers are obtained through the Boston headquarters. This is done so that the five clubhouses do not compete for funding; the clubhouses also know which federal, state, or city funds not to ask for.

The clubhouses share similar program regiments based on arts, education, technology, social and fitness recreation, and sometimes daycare. All five share similar youth leadership programs and partnerships with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Media Lab, Museum of Science, Museum of Fine Arts, CityYear, a senior-citizens reading program called Generations Inc, a youth-technology initiative called Wired Woods, and Boston Community Learning Centers (CLC). These clubhouses charge a higher than the national average fee of \$25 a year and are open 1 or 2 PM to 8 or 9 PM on Mondays through Fridays. Schedules change in the summer,

when summer camps are held from morning to afternoon for anywhere from \$75-\$100 a week.

Finally, all building renovation and redesign is handled by the main office, who is responsible for hiring and selecting the architect designer. Fundraising for construction is also supported in great deal by the main Boston office.

Blue Hill/George Robert White Youth Center

Interviewee: Hector Alvarez, Director of Operations



Figure 3-a1:
The entrance
to the Blue Hill
BGC.

The Boys and Girls Club at Blue Hill started in 1995. It is the youngest established clubhouse, though not the newest building, of the Boy's

& Girls Clubs of Boston's five clubhouses, and it differs from the others in that the property is not owned by the BGCB but rather by the George Robert White Trust Fund, the namesake of the clubhouse. The clubhouse was designed by Leers Weinzapfel Associates after the plans for retrofitting an old MDC outdoor rink and pool area into a center for youth. It won the 1996 Harleston Parker Prize for Design, a Design Award from New England Region division of the American Institute of Architects, and an Honor Award from the Boston Society of Architects.



Figure 3-a2, left:
A glass conference room in the lobby



Figure 3-a3, right:
The education room

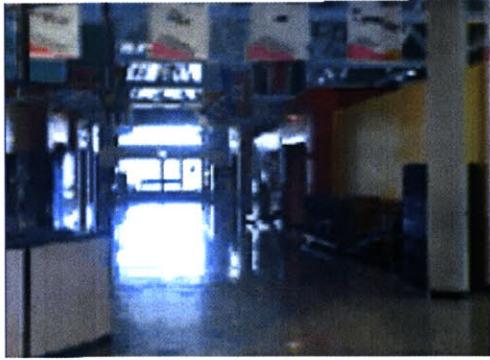


Figure 3-a4, left:
The main corridor



Figure 3-a5, right:
The reception and entrance area

When asked to estimate the percentage of ethnic groups that use the clubhouse, Alvarez replied that 85% of them were black, 2-3% were white, 5% were Hispanic, and 2% were Asian. An average of 270 youth use the

clubhouse daily. 700 youth overall are enrolled in the club's roster. When asked if the clubhouse was operating under, at, or over capacity, the reply was that the clubhouse was at capacity. The clubhouse apparently has a waitlist that is 2 months long; no more applications are being received.

Since the Blue Hill clubhouse is relatively young, it has not been renovated in the past ten years. However, it is due for renovations within the next couple years. The clubhouse's staff have been wanting to expand. Thus far, the youth rotate on an hourly schedule between the following rooms: a gym, a computer room, an art room, a game room, a teen room, and an education room. An outdoor pool, leftover from the MDC rink days, is also used during the few months of warmer weather.

As for what the clubhouse does well, Alvarez replied that the clubhouse's creativity and resourcefulness in keeping the kids interested was its number one asset. His wish list consisted of a bigger building and more space for programs and a full staff capacity. Apparently, the outdoor pool, though it is one of the largest in Boston, has not been very useful because Boston has very few warm months during which the pool is usable.

Charlestown Clubhouse

Interviewee: Jenny Atkinson, Executive Director



Figure 3-b1:
The entrance to the Keane Children's Center at the Charlestown BGC

The Charlestown BGC is composed of two buildings, the Ansin Youth Center, and the Keane Children's Center. The Club itself is one of the oldest in America. It traces its roots back to 1893. The Keane Children's Center was designed to be a BGC in 1918. The Ansin Youth Center is in a retrofitted church building that was acquired years later by the BGCB. The Charlestown Clubhouse should receive special note for its large budget,



Figure 3-b2:
The entrance to the teen center located in a retrofitted church

which is particularly due to the recent renovations that the clubhouse has undergone. The Architectural Team won a Merit Award for Outstanding Achievement from the International Forum for Innovative Schools for the renovation design of the Children's Center, which was completed in 2003.

Figure 3-b3:
The
entrance
lobby of the
Keane
Children's
Center

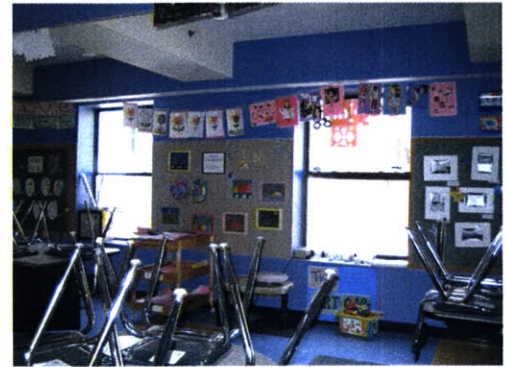


The majority of the youth who use the clubhouse are from working Irish-Catholic families. 225 youth use the clubhouse per day. About 25-30%

Figure 3-b4,
left:
The game
room



Figure 3-b5,
right:
The art room



are Hispanic, but Atkinson remarked that this is from observation and stated that it was difficult at times to differentiate between races. A smaller percentage of the youth are black. The majority of kids reach the clubhouse by foot; a special shuttle drops off the kids at the end of the day. Many of the families have been in Charlestown for decades; Atkinson remarked that great-grandmothers sign their great-grandkids into the clubhouse. However, Atkinson also remarked that a greater number of new, young urban professionals have started to change this neighborhood demographic.



Figure 3-b6,
left:
The
computer
room

Figure 3-b7,
right:
The
underground
tunnel.
Skylights
puncture the
walls and
roof..

The Charlestown clubhouse has the most extensive facilities of all the clubhouses interviewed. There are rooms dedicated to the following uses: gym, work-out, computer, art, education, laboratory, multi-purpose, auditorium, performing arts, music, games, teen, kitchen, daycare, and social worker conference calls.

Figure 3-b8, left:
A refurbished fireplace in the education center



Figure 3-b9, right:
A picture of the original fireplace and reading area in the early 1900's



Atkinson responded that the clubhouse was operating under capacity and stated that the clubhouse could take more kids in at night. No wait list exists for the clubhouse. Strong programs and staff relationships with kids were cited as the clubhouse's greatest strengths.

Figure 3-b10:
The teen center's banner across the top of the building is visible from far away



Chelsea Clubhouse

Interviewee: Josh Kraft



Figure 3-c1:
The entrance to the Jordan BGC in Chelsea

The Chelsea Clubhouse wandered from home to home since its birth 13 years ago. After using basements of schools and churches as a meeting space, the club made a home in its current building, the Jordan BGC, which includes part of an old forwarding warehouse, in 2002. The Architectural Team met with Kraft for a year and a half, conferring about what was needed for adequate space, staffing, and youth. The AT won the following distinctions for their design: K-12 Education Facilities Design Award (BSA), Project of the Year (City of Chelsea), and the Recognized Value Award from the International Forum for Innovative Schools.

Figure 3-c2,
left:
The gym



Figure 3-c3,
right:
The main hallway which has street-light resembling fixtures



Kraft estimated that 75% of the youth who use the clubhouse are Hispanic, 15% are black, 8% white, and 2% Asian. While the majority of kids have grown up in the area, a greater number of short-term residents have started to move in to the neighborhood. Most kids walk over to the clubhouse, and there are school-bus drop-offs that are near the club. Around 210 kids use the clubhouse per day, and 780 youth are enrolled in the clubhouse's programs. A wait list of 1 year exists for pre-teens.

Figure 3-c4,
left:
The game room



Figure 3-c5,
right:
The main hallway which has street-light resembling fixtures



The Chelsea Clubhouse has a large indoor pool, gym, technology room, education and arts rooms, and a teen center slightly removed from the

remainder of the these activities. It is also difficult to move through the hallways without being in full view of the two receptionist desks.



Figure 3-c6, left:
A hallway into the lounge area

Figure 3-c7, right:
The teen center

When asked what the Chelsea Clubhouse does well, Kraft unequivocally answered that it was the relationships that staff have with youth. Kraft also said, “We can always have more kids” when asked if the center was operating at capacity.

Roxbury Clubhouse

Interviewee: Anita Sutton, Assistant Director of Operations

Figure 3-d1:
The entrance
to the Roxbury
BGC



The Roxbury Clubhouse was designed in 1968 by an unknown architect. It has not undergone major renovations since that date and is due for renovations and expansion in 2006. It was designed specifically to be a BGC, and its central hallway atrium allows for maximum views of youth activity from any spot in entrance lobby. The clubhouse has plans to house youth activity in trailers while the renovations take place.

Sutton estimated that over 85% of the clubhouse users are black, then Hispanic and white comprising the small leftover minority. Over 210 kids are reported to use the clubhouse every day, and 1200 youth are enrolled in the clubhouse's roster. The majority of youth are dropped off by school-

buses and some others use public transportation, as the club is located close to Dudley Station. Most families in the area have lived there for most of their lives; grandparents often sign their kids in for different programs.



Figure 3-d2, left:
The fireplace in the middle of the atrium



Figure 3-d3, right:
A view of the fireplace sitting area, the teen room, and the balcony



Figure 3-d4, left:
The education room



Figure 3-d5, right:
The game room

The Roxbury clubhouse contains an arts room, a computer center, an education library, a pool, a gym, a social recreation multi-purpose room, reading rooms, a daycare center, and a teen center. Teens are given free reign to move from room to room while younger persons follow a rotation schedule.

Sutton expressed that staff's positive influence on kids and the clubhouse's presence as a safe haven and a welcoming home were some of the clubhouse's greatest strengths. She stated that further resources for staff and youth and being employ more staff were some items she would put on a wish list.

Figure 3-d6, left:
The outdoor basketball court behind the clubhouse



Figure 3-d7, right:
Another view of the balcony



South Boston Clubhouse

Interviewee: Harry Duvall

Figure 3-e1:
The front entrance to the South Boston BGC



The South Boston Clubhouse has been in existence since 1940. The building was designed to be a Boys & Girls Club and Leers Weinzapfel Associates designed a gym and teen center addition in 1990, which replaced an outside play area. The building's structural and mechanical issues have created cause for piecemeal renovations every year. The clubhouse was one of the first to include girls as part of the clubhouse's membership.

A 70% majority of clubhouse users are white, then Hispanic at 15%, then 10% black, and 5% Asian. 200 youth use the clubhouse per day, and 800 children are enrolled in the clubhouse's programs. The majority are residents, and the very small minority of non-residents that use the clubhouse are part of the school-busing system. Most children are dropped off by schoolbuses, and a smaller percentage reach the clubhouse by foot.

The South Boston Clubhouse contains the following: arts room, music room, gym, specialized teen rooms, day-care facilities, a pool, an education room, a mutli-purpose performing space, a game room, and a kitchen.



Figure 3-e2:
Signage for the South Boston BGC



Figure 3-e3:
The first-floor hallway



Figure 3-e4:
The game room (the old gym)

Duvall touted staff relationship with kids and the clubhouse's role as a safe haven as two things that the clubhouse does well. Clubhouse renovations, more support for staff, and greater accessibility to the clubhouse were wish list items he mentioned in the interview.

**Figure 3-e5,
left:**
The teen room



**Figure 3-e6,
right:**
The
technology
room



**Figure 3-e7,
left:**
The second
floor hallway



**Figure 3-e8,
right:**
The art room



3.2 Non-BGCB Clubhouses

Colonel Daniel Marr Boys & Girls Club of Dorchester

Interviewee: Michael Joyce, Vice President of Programming



Figure 5f-1:
A tot lot
behind the
Daniel Marr
BGC Youth
Center

The Colonel Daniel Marr Boys & Girls Club has been in existence since 1974. It is owned by the Marr Company, and runs a much more intensive daycare program than all the aforementioned clubs. It was designed by William Christopher Woodward and underwent significant renovations in 1987 and 1994. This clubhouse is split into three buildings, soon to be four, two of which are within the same block, and one which is less than a mile away.



Figure 5f-2:
The entrance
to the Daniel
Marr BGC
Youth Center

The zipcode of the area the clubhouse is in is said to be the most diverse in the entire country. Joyce estimated that 30% of youth who use the clubhouse are black, another 30% are white, 20% are Cape Verdian, 10% are Hispanic, and 10% are Asian. Most youth are from within a 1 mile radius of the clubhouse, and they reach it either by walking or through public transit. Approximately 450 to 500 youth visit the clubhouse per day.

**Figure 3-f3,
left:**
The childcare
center



**Figure 3-f4,
right:**
The gym



**Figure 3-f5,
left:**
The game
room



**Figure 3-f6,
right:**
The education
room



The Daniel Marr BCG differs in its availability and cost. It is open on Saturdays in addition to Mondays through Fridays. Though its school year times are similar to the BGCB, during the summer, it expands its hours from 9AM to 11PM. The cost throughout is at \$5 a child per year. It is interesting to note that the mission of Daniel Marr Clubhouse is slightly different in that

they state helping youth from “challenging”, not “disadvantaged” circumstances, a change they created to prevent stigmatism.

The clubhouse receives most of its funds from private and corporate sponsors. It also receives federal BGCA grants and United Way support, as does the BGCB. It offers a rigorous, well-reputed day-care program that spans several classrooms and facilities.



**Figure 3-f7,
left:**
One of three
playgrounds



**Figure 3-f8,
right:**
The fence
perimeter
around the
outdoor
basketball
court

In addition to day care facilities, the main clubhouse building holds a game room, a gym, a pool, an arts room, an education room, a kitchen, and a multi-purpose room. The teen center holds additional day care facilities, several teen-oriented education and recreation rooms, and a work-out fitness center. There are also several small outdoor play areas near the clubhouse.

Joyce also cited staff as the clubhouse’s greatest strength. He expressed a desire for more resources for staff and for youth.

Salesian East Boston Clubhouse

Interviewee: Father Richard Crager, Executive Director

Figure 5g:
The front
façade of the
Salesian East
Boston BGC



The East Boston Clubhouse was established 40 years ago by the Catholic order of the Salesian of Don Boston. It is supported both by the BGCA and by the Salesian Society in New York. The central clubhouse is in an old schoolhouse that now functions as a BGC, and the other half of the clubhouse is located nearby at Savio High School, where it shares its facilities with the public school system. The Clubhouse became affiliated with the BGCA in 1985. It has been undergoing significant capital improvements each year.

Father Crager stated six years ago, when he started, the area used to be 90% white. Now, 50% of clubhouse users are Hispanic, 35% white, and the rest are African American and Asian. A mixture of both residents and non-residents use the clubhouse. Most walk to the clubhouse, and some are dropped off by school buses and parents. Between the two buildings, 250 youth use the clubhouse per day. 3500 are enrolled in the program.



**Figure 3-g2,
left:**
The blacktop
outdoor courts

**Figure 3-g3,
right:**
The outdoor
entrance to
the clubhouse

The Salesian BGC also differs from the BGCB in that it is open on Saturdays from 10AM-5PM. It's teen hours are from 6-9 Tuesday through Friday, closing one hour later on Fridays. The Salesian Society covers the salary of the staff workers that it brings to the club; there are currently two priests that have been appointed to the Clubhouse. It charges a minimal fee of \$10 a year per child. The Salesian BGC has the lowest number of full-time staff-persons out of all the clubhouses and relies on highly sophisticated surveillance cameras and technology to keep watch over its hallways and rooms. Father Craeger claimed that the youth are more careful to act appropriately because they know about the cameras. Chapel services are held at 4:30 each day. The religious affiliation of the clubhouse also yields the

pursuit of another goal: the spiritual development and conversion of the youth.

**Figure 3-g4,
left:**
The computer
room



**Figure 3-g5,
right:**
The first-floor
hallway



**Figure 3-g6,
left:**
The game
room

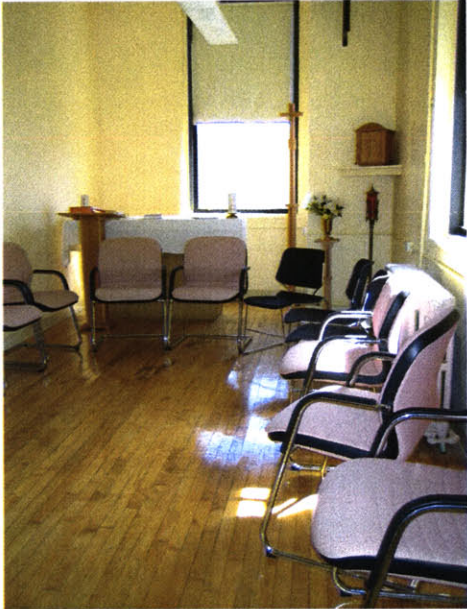


**Figure 3-g7,
right:**
The eating
area in the
basement
hallway



The main clubhouse contains a quarter-sized gym, several classrooms dedicated to art, computers, education, games, a chapel, and a teen center. The club is surrounded by uneven blacktop with a dozen basketball hoops. Youth have been seen playing basketball here even when temperatures drop; they don their coats and play regardless. The Savio High School branch has a fitness and work-out center and more recreation spaces both indoors and outdoors. Father Crager commented that this place sees a lot of use at night as well, which is different from the peak hours stated by all the other Boys & Girls Clubs.

Father Crager commented that the clubhouse’s greatest strength are its staff: “the kids would vote with their feet”. He also stated that the clubhouse is welcoming and serves as a home for many of the children. When asked about a wish list, he listed building renovations and additions, full staff support, and renovated appropriate outdoor facilities.



**Figure 3-g8,
left:**
The chapel

**Figure 3-g9,
right:**
The quarter-
size gym

Chapter 4: Methodology & Interview Process

There were two primary forms of collecting field data for this research. One consisted of interviews. Staff-persons, often executive directors or directors of operations, were asked a range of questions about the clubhouses' architecture, programs, users, strengths, and wish lists. The other set of subjects included youth who were present in the clubhouses during my visits, which were between the peak hours of 3-5PM. The other form of data collection came from observations of use: seeing how many kids were in the building and what activities they clustered around. Based on these observations and background information about the clubs, I came to a number of conclusions about the clubhouses and how they function.

The interviews with clubhouse personnel were conducted in person, during the late morning or early afternoon, which are quiet hours in the clubhouses. A set of questions were asked about the following: building design, community partnerships, clubhouse strengths, neighborhood background, program offerings and operations, staff capacity, and youth user patterns. The final question asked for items on a wish list unlimited by funds, which excited many. Interviews lasted for approximately one hour. Some of the interviewees spoke freely and answered questions thoroughly, providing additional knowledge and background; others were brief, which prompted more questioning on my part in order to obtain some answers. After the interview, I was given a tour of each clubhouse, its various spaces

and rooms, and allowed to take photographs of the facilities as long as children were not contained in the images.

After this introduction to each clubhouse, I visited a second time during what the clubhouse reported to be its peak hours. The visits occurred during April during warmer weather when the temperature ranged in the mid to low 60's. Some clubhouses commented as I started my observations that "today is a slow day". Others said that they were right on schedule, at capacity. I have not been able to procure a second visit to the Blue Hill Clubhouse, so any mention of youth activity there is from my past recollections of volunteering at that location. These memories, however, will not serve as a basis for any major findings about the clubhouse.

During these second visits, I walked through each room that was in use, most of the time accompanied by a staff-person. I wrote down comments about how many children were there, how many staff-persons, including junior-staff, were in the room, what the youth were doing, what equipment they were using, whether they were using all the computers in the room, and how they moved through the hallways, as well as other details. After writing brief observations down, I would ask to interview a couple youth in each room.

The interview would consist of a brief greeting and a request to help me, a student, with my thesis paper. My question would be "why do you like it here?" If this prompted hesitation (or in the case of little children, "I don't know"), I would change the question to be "why do you come here?", which

older teens responded better to for reasons I yet do not fully understand. So, the question answered was a combination of “why do you like it here” and “why do you come here?”

Most younger children would clamor over who got to answer first. I stuck out like a sore thumb in many of the clubhouses, but once some of them started responding, they would rattle off answers like popcorn. The gym, the pool, fun activities, fun with friends: these would be common answers. Sometimes they would compete to say something different. The teens would view me suspiciously and look at the staff-person near me to get assurance that I was “okay” and answer in succinct, matter-of-fact sentences. I got to see patterns in their answers that I will disclose later. Overall, anywhere from 12 to 16 youth were interviewed per clubhouse, excluding Blue Hill.

Another groups of people were interviewed for this thesis. They include architects from two different design firms responsible for the design of several clubhouses and Lisa Lewis, the project manager from the main BGCB headquarters.

Because both the Architectural Team and Leers Weinzapfel Associates have been hired on a number of occasions to renovate or create BGCB clubhouses, I was interested in what they had to say about the design process, necessary elements. I met with Josiah Stevenson from LWA in person, and he walked me through the design of the Blue Hill Clubhouse while commenting on construction costs that cut out a number of elements

from the original plan. LWA was also responsible for the renovation of the Ansin Teen Center in the Charlestown Clubhouse.

Mark Rosenschein of the Architectural Team spoke with me over the phone about the Charlestown Keane Children's Center renovations, the Chelsea Clubhouse, and the pending Roxbury Clubhouse renovations. Both Rosenschein and Stevenson mentioned similar design elements such as transparency, material durability, adaptable spaces, and movable walls. Each clubhouse represented a unique physical challenge, as many of them are housed in old buildings that are historically significant. Through their comments, I was better able to understand how to observe how each building was meant to function and if it fulfills that intent.

Lisa Lewis was also valuable in interviewing because of her role as the intermediary between the BGCB and the architects. She mentioned the policy of separating teens and pre-teens, as well as building durability, appeal of interior spaces, and standard procedures of involving staff and youth in the clubhouse designs and renovations. Interestingly enough, she mentioned that the ideal square footage of a clubhouse to be 42,000 square feet. This figure was reached after a process of evaluating what *feels* like a good space for different activities in each clubhouse. Staff and youth were involved in this process. Lewis stated that the BGCB is continually evaluating its buildings and programs as it pursues expansion and renovation.

Overall, these interviews and observations were used to uncover answers to the question "under what conditions can youth centers operate?"

Chapter 5: Design Elements that Make a Difference

The next series of chapters are observations on the BGC clubhouses and their users. They contain conclusions about design and non-design elements aimed to equip architects and people who work with youth and youth organizations with information they should know as they are involved in the birth and renovation of centers for youth. These conclusions should not be limited to Boys & Girls Clubs alone. They can extend to other places for youth, or further into spaces for community. It is such information that I had wished for while brainstorming through my previous projects. Some of it, I already knew instinctively; others became more palpable and concrete throughout the course of my interactions and interviews with the various children in each clubhouse and their dedicated staff.

These conclusions state the relationship of variables such as architecture, accessibility, and bureaucracy with *opportunity, the situation in which creating a place for youth is possible*. Opportunity should entice youth to voluntarily enter a clubhouse, particularly as they become older and more autonomous. Creating a place for youth involves delivering spaces, programs, conditions in which youth-specific recreation, education, and socialization can occur and *can be enjoyed* by children while being maintained feasibly by responsible staff-persons. Facilities must be maintained by some *entity*; and though centers that are less dependent on bureaucratic overseers exists, nonetheless, once a child wants to use a space or pursue a program, *someone* needs to be accountable. A signature is

needed, waivers of accountability are a reality, and responsibility rests on someone's shoulders for space, a building, a place.

The following chapters will explore the relationship of a variable with the opportunity to be a well-functioning youth center. This chapter specifically looks at the crux of the thesis question "does design make a difference?" by picking out the design variables that do matter when creating a place for youth.

5.1 Intro: Design that matters

This paper was not written to be a beauty contest. Good design does not translate into aesthetic pleasure. These next sections talk about different factors that lead to good design, which I define as architecture that leads to maximum opportunity for a youth center to serve its intended population. The factors have to do with the existing conditions (pre-design) and building components (design) and thus are about the design process as much as they are about the design itself.

Design is discussed first because, contrary to my misgivings of the importance of good design in a lower income context, I have found that design does make a difference and can profoundly impact programs, staff, facilities, and budgets, all of which influence the amount of energy and funds that are dedicated to each individual user. A carefully planned and designed clubhouse, though it may incur high costs in the beginning, can lead to minimum maintenance, expansion, and technical adjustments if ample

facility space is given, durable materials are used, and surveillance through different spaces and hallways are maximized. Minimizing such items frees up operating budgets to provide dedicated staff with salaries befitting their hard work and programs that enrich the lives of youth. Because design has such a direct effect on how budgets each year allocate funds to renovations, improvements, and expansions, it significantly impacts how a clubhouse is used.

5.2 The relationship between response to initial conditions & opportunity

This section is derived from information from the more recently established clubhouses, as it was more possible to receive accounts from the younger clubhouses of how the buildings came into being and how they were transformed from former uses. Building owner perspective is important because it the owner is the client that most heavily influences how an old building of a former use becomes a BGC. The design response to physical restrictions also shapes how space is allotted for clubhouse use. Thus, these two must have appropriate responses to existing conditions in order for good design to take form.

Building ownership is important because it is the client (a BGC) that informs the architect of clubhouse needs. Because the Boys & Girls Club of Boston's main office has been handling renovations and clubhouse design for a great length of time, it is well aware of standards of space that are required for its programs and users. It is also practiced and savvy in handling budgets

and raising funds for its clubhouses. Of the five BGCB clubhouses, one was not owned by the BGCB: the Blue Hill BGC in Dorchester. The city owns the property, and it is supported through the George Robert White Trust Fund. Though the Blue Hill Clubhouse is one of the more recent clubhouses in the Boston Area, it is already creating plans to expand. Compared to the Roxbury Clubhouse, which has not expanded since its opening in 1968, this appears to be a move that one would have expected after a longer period of time, since more recent designs should have been more informed by precedents of size, space, and functionality.

However, in conversing with the architect for the Blue Hill BGC, Josiah Stevenson at Leers Weinzapfel Associates, I discovered that several elements of the plan were cut out during the construction process, a need that came about as the economy turned bad and previous funding did not cover the costs of the clubhouse. A fitness center, an elevator shaft, and an entire second floor around the gym area were eliminated during the construction process. Perhaps if they had delayed construction to keep these elements, they would not expansion need so soon after the clubhouse was built.

In the case of the Chelsea Clubhouse, they added additional space, a multi-purpose performance space above the gym, which is now used for both BGC and community purposes. Though it was not immediately needed, the planners for the clubhouse and Josh Kraft, the director, foresaw a likely expansion in that area and decided to include it in the plans despite the higher costs. The Boston headquarters supported this move.

Since both clubhouses are supported by the BGCB, the difference seems to be in building owner perspective. One chose to cut plans in order to meet costs; the other raised the budget necessary to support a design that would require less expansion in the future. There exists a difference in the orientation of these attitudes: present versus future. It seems that almost all clubhouses will expand; not a single clubhouse visited had avoided expansions or was not planning for future ones. The BGCB as an owner was able to value and support a design that was more adaptable to future demands. Thus, building owner perspective is important in the formation of adaptable clubhouses.

It would be interesting to see what kind of building renovation recommendations the BGCB would have for the East Boston Salesian clubhouse, which has been undergoing a quarter-million to a half-million dollars worth of renovations every year. This is necessitated by the poor condition of the clubhouse building, which is an old schoolhouse structure that has several structural issues that need to be addressed. The Salesian Clubhouse may benefit from a larger-scale renovation project that might call for a new building. Though that project itself would have a high cost, it may equal the steady renovation costs that the clubhouse has been incurring due to capital improvements.

The response to initial building settings is also important because they may restrictions on space and flow that are beneath an acceptable capacity for youth. One of the two Charlestown Clubhouse buildings, the

Roxbury Clubhouse, the main Daniel Marr building, and the South Boston Clubhouse, were built from the ground up specifically to function as Boys & Girls Clubs. The Chelsea Clubhouse, the Blue Hill Clubhouse, and the Charlestown Teen Center are retrofitted and gutted old buildings that used to be an old forwarding warehouse, a skating rink, and a church, respectively. The Salesian East Boston Clubhouse retains the original circulation flow and rooms the schoolhouse building was designed for, and the clubhouse is starting to adapt internal rooms for different uses.

The Roxbury Clubhouse stands apart as the only clubhouse that has not undergone significant renovations since its start in 1968. It was designed to be a BGC. Stepping inside the clubhouse, you immediately enter a lobby atrium with a receptionist desk on your right. Almost all rooms on the first and second floor are viewable, as they are separated by glass from the open hallway. A fireplace sits in a depression at center of the atrium with a semi-circle bench facing the hearth. There are banners that are strung from one side of the building to the other above the fireplace. The transparency and circulation flow of this building has made it possible for staff to continually have a view on youth activities while allowing the youth to use a number of different facilities.

Both the buildings that were built as BGC's and retrofitted buildings are sensitive to transparency and surveillance needed in clubhouses. A building that was intended for a different use than a clubhouse and was never fully retrofitted is less likely to have the surveillance and transparency that

many of the clubhouses strive for. In the East Boston Clubhouse, extensive surveillance equipment is used in order to compensate for its solid walls and limited circulation. In summary, when considering building a youth center, it will be beneficial to consider retrofitting and gutting the building in order to make it more appropriate for use.

In the case of the Charlestown Ansin Teen Center and the Blue Hill Clubhouse, the original floor plate dictated the physical bounds within which the clubhouse was contained. The Chelsea clubhouse was not bound to the warehouse into which it was built. In all, it seems possible to create just as appropriate space from the complete gutting and renovation of a building intended for a previous use. The Blue Hill clubhouse's constrained size seems to be a more a product of construction process decisions than of the original container's size and shape.

Implications

Appropriate design response to initial building conditions and a future-oriented building owner perspective is vital to creating a youth center that will house appropriate programs and facilities and deal with limited maintenance and renovation issues.

If the youth center is being constructed on an empty plot of land, then initial condition considerations are obsolete because no physical building limitations exist. However, many of the clubhouses studied were built into old buildings that once served different purposes, such as a warehouse, an ice-skating facility, and a church. In a situation where the initial floor-plate

and out-door pool affected the design of the clubhouse to have smaller indoor space and no indoor pool, expansion is being pursued only after 10 years since construction. However, in the case of the Chelsea Clubhouse, it was able to incorporate an old warehouse structure while also going beyond its floor-plate in the clubhouse that was built. Having the initial building limit what facilities are available and how large they are yields a design that requires more frequent maintenance and less adequately suited facilities for youth.

In the case of the Blue Hill Clubhouse, the building owner, the city of Boston, chose to cut out sections of the plan due to construction costs. This too, limited facilities and reflects a present-oriented view of clubhouse functions. Building owners must have a perspective that reflects the change and growth many of these clubhouses will experience. The East Boston Clubhouse may benefit more from a whole-scale renovation than from piecemeal rehabilitation projects that repair its very old structure.

Understanding current trends and use of spaces is important knowledge that a building owner must have when investing in clubhouses. Pursing the implementation of such knowledge will give building owners a perspective that is valuable and less restrained by current physical and financial situations. Thus, initial building conditions that do not restrain clubhouse size and function and a progressive building owner mentality will yield a clubhouse that has appropriate facilities and will not need to undergo renovations for a significant amount of time, such as the Roxbury Clubhouse.

Proper facilities are important, but they will not happen without proper space. Renovation and expansion projects are expensive and take a toll on clubhouse budgets, which ideally should cover program and staff expenses.

5.3 The relationship between maximizing surveillance & opportunity

Surveillance is an important element that all designers should consider in creating spaces for youth. Because youth are under age, an outside body, the institution that houses the center, is held accountable for all the good and bad that occurs in the clubhouse. In order to avoid liabilities, those in charge need to be able to see as much activity as possible. Thus, surveillance maximization is ideal for youth centers.

Glass walls and multiple interior windows were found in all five of the BGCB clubhouses. The concept of a staff-person being able to see from his or her office through a window, past a room with interior glass paneled walls into a third or even fourth room and/or hallway was pursued in every clubhouse. All walls that faced the atrium in the Roxbury Clubhouse were transparent, allowing for views into and out of the rooms. The teen room renovations in the Salesian Boys & Girls Club allowed a staff-person in an office to look through a library, past a wall of fish tanks, through a game room, and into a teen lounge area. Duvall of the South Boston Boys & Girls Club gestured at his office wall near a stairway and expressed a desire for a window that would allow him full view of the stairway as well as the first floor corridor. He also wanted to cut out the wall that separated the reception

desk area from the entrance hallway, allowing for the receptionist to have prolonged surveillance of entries and exits.

If transparencies were not pursued, then open, connected spaces with movable walls were installed. The Daniel Marr Teen Center is a large, L-shaped room that has distinct sections for recreation, study, and lounging, but its open circulation allows for less staff to have increased surveillance of the different activities within the room. Movable walls and adaptable interior spaces were design elements pursued by both the Architectural Team and Leers Weinzapfel Associates. The main BGCB office also emphasized the importance of adaptable spaces, along with transparencies.

Centralized main circulation in the clubhouses allows for minimal staff surveillance dedicated solely to the activity of working a hallway desk. The cruciform hallway at the Blue Hill BGC allows for a desk worker to view all entries and exits as well as activity in the hallway because of its placement at the joining of the two corridors. Roxbury's central atrium also allows all staff to view both first and second floor activity, an element none of the other clubhouse have. The Chelsea clubhouse's receptionist desk stands at the joint of the entrance hallway and a main corridor, allowing the staff at that area to view all activity.

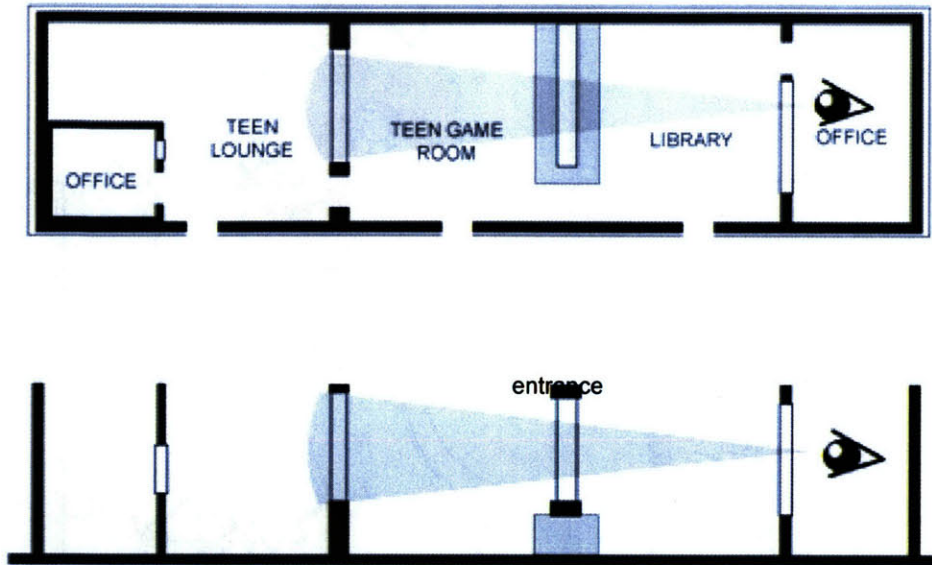


Figure 5a:
A diagram showing the transparencies pursued in the teen rooms of the East Boston Salesian Clubhouse.

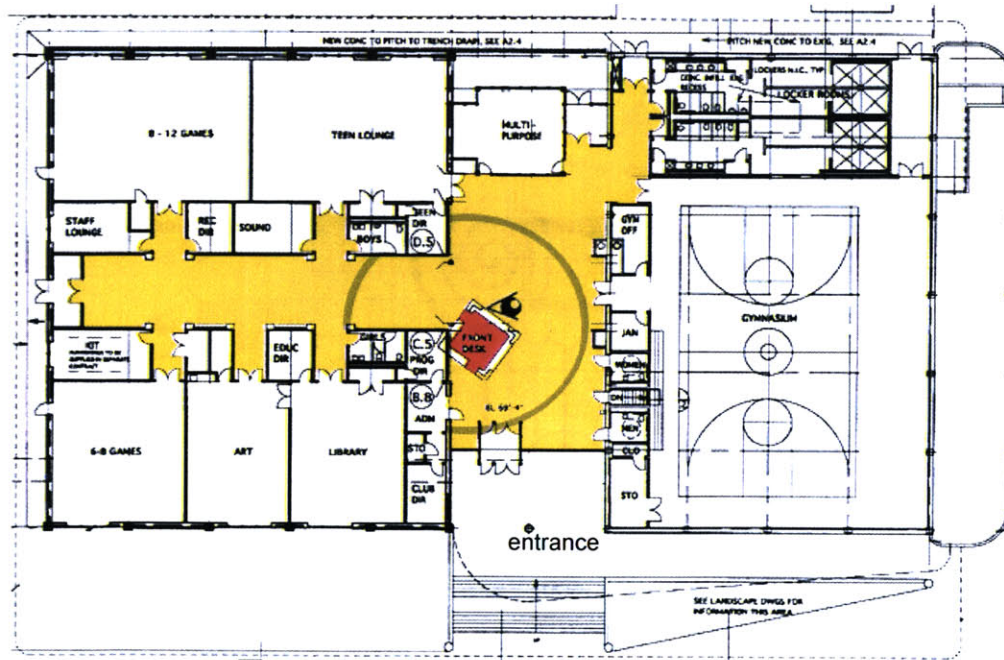


Figure 5b:
The hallway circulation found in the Blue Hill Clubhouse. The dark pink is the reception area, which has a 270° view of all hallway activity

Leers Weinzafel Associates

Figure 5c:
The entrance hallway in the Chelsea Clubhouse. The dark pink is the reception area, which view of the angled entryway and the main corridor axis.

Architectural Team

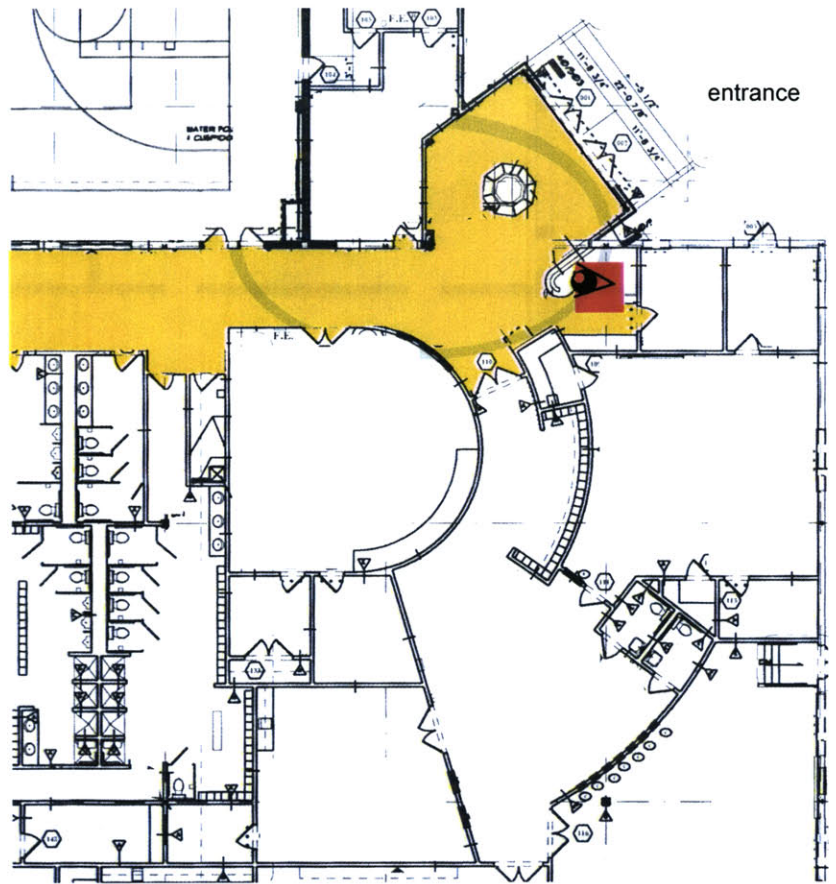
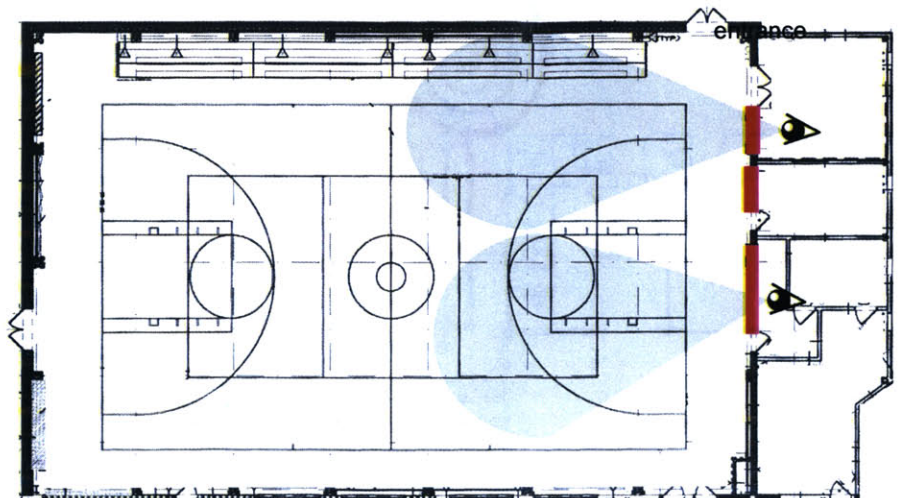


Figure 5d:
The transparencies (red) of staff office views onto the gymnasium at the Chelsea Clubhouse

Architectural Team



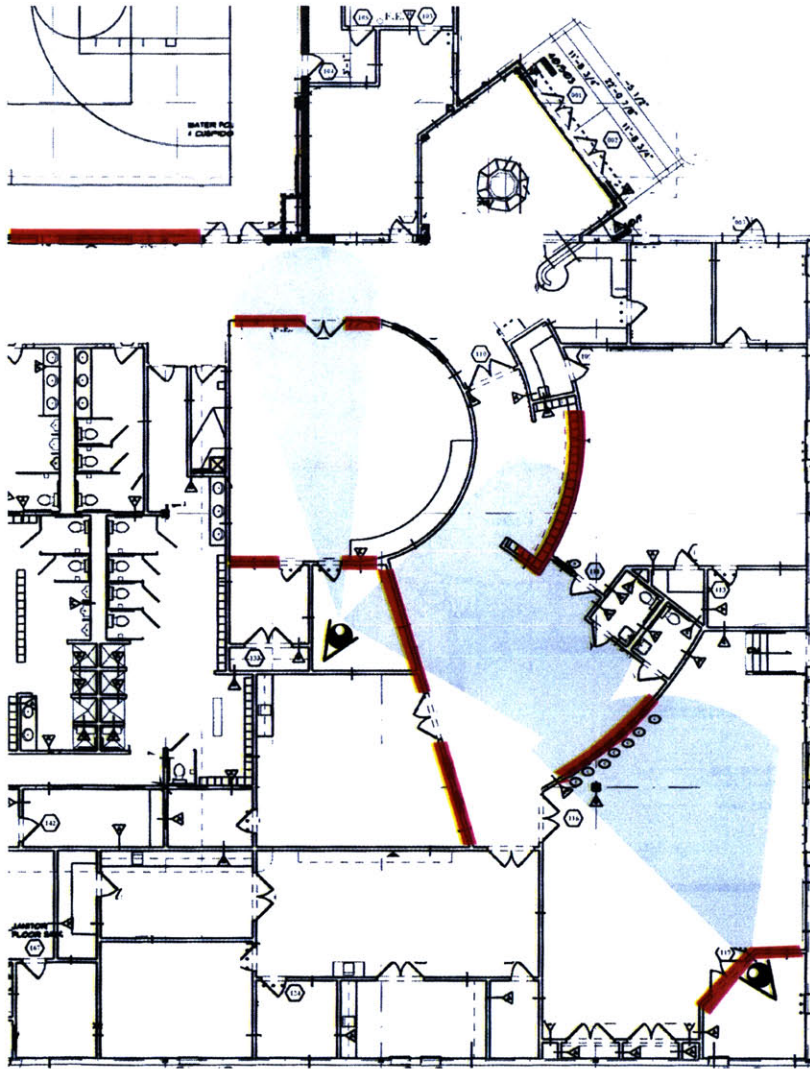


Figure 5e:
Layered
transparencies
(red) through
different rooms
and hallways in
the Chelsea
Clubhouse

Architectural Team

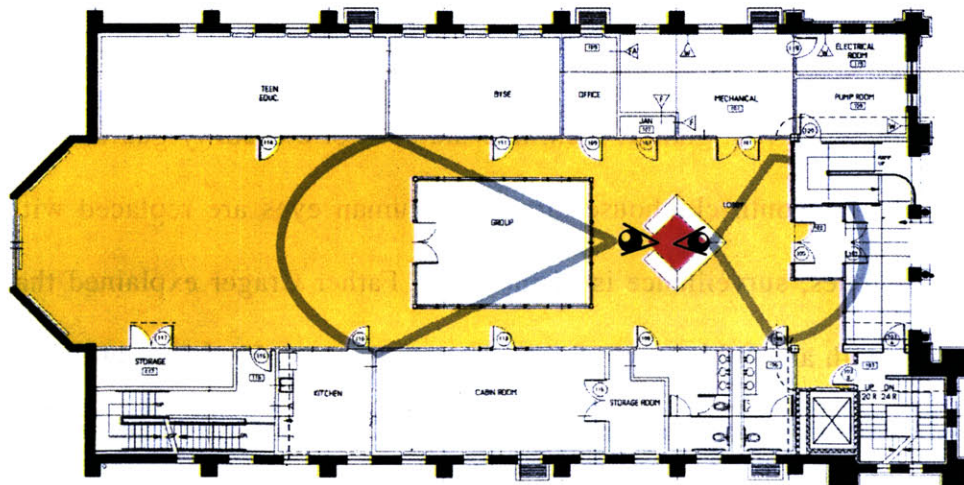
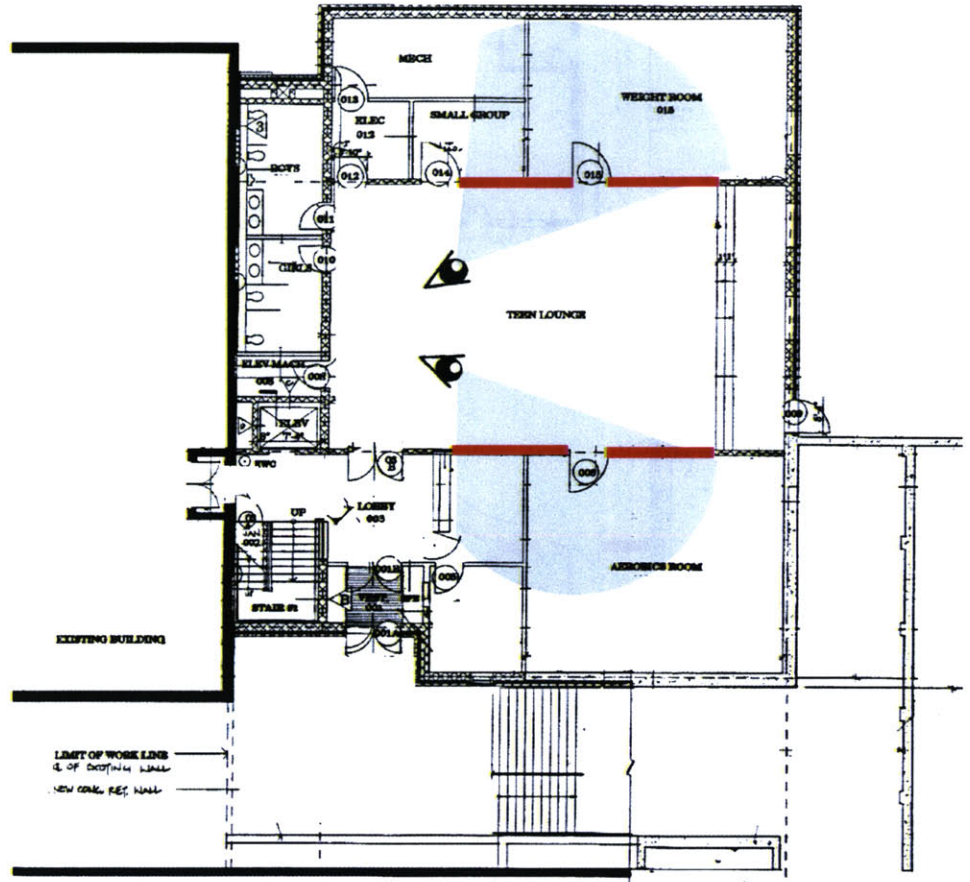


Figure 5f:
The Ansin Teen
Center at the
Chelsea
Clubhouse. The
reception desk
(pink) is able to
view both the
entrance (right)
and behind the
desk through a
glass
conference room
(aka the
fishbowl) in the
teen game area.

*Leers Weinzafel
Associates*

Figure 5g:
 The
 transparencies
 (red) of adjacent
 rooms in the
 teen center in
 the South
 Boston
 Clubhouse.
 Leers Weinzafel
 Associates



In the case of the East Boston Clubhouse, which has few layered transparencies and broken circulation, as well as a fourth of the average staff count, surveillance was achieved by several video cameras that were installed in every room. A highly sophisticated surveillance system makes Father Crager's desk, at first glance, seem like the desk of a security guard rather than that of a youth clubhouse director. Human eyes are replaced with electronic ones; surveillance is maintained. Father Crager explained that because youth are fully aware of the cameras, they exhibit self-control and keep away from questionable activity. However, he also stated that staff try their best not to leave the kids by themselves, stating that youth have a sort of

natural entropy and if left alone, they would get into troublesome situations. He viewed staff's role and the clubhouse's role to be diverters of possible troublesome or illegal activity. This example shows that surveillance ability, if not implemented in the building design, can be pursued and substituted with technology.

The clubs that did have outdoor facilities had some relationship with surveillance from the interior spaces. The executive director's office in the Salesian clubhouse overlooked the asphalt basketball courts, and several cameras guarded the entrance. The outdoor pool at the Blue Hill clubhouse was viewable from the reception desk through a transparent meeting space through a wall of glass. Others, such as the Daniel Marr Clubhouse or the Roxbury Clubhouse, had little relationship to their outdoor facilities. The Daniel Marr main building has no windows that open to the outside, thus rendering it no view of its three separate playgrounds.

Some other surveillance tactics that were pursued were prohibiting use of certain staircases without staff present and disallowing hallway activity outside of rotation periods. Overall, controlling movement in and through various low-visibility spaces seems to be common practice in pursuing surveillance.

The importance of creating an environment of easy surveillance is that minimizing the time, effort, and persons it takes to keep watch over youth allows for staff to engage with and encourage the children in doing their schoolwork, pursuing a hobby, playing sports, or learning a new skill. It

allows for a youth center to have more opportunities to engage youth in healthy activities.

Figure 5h, left:
The windows of staff offices in the South Boston BGC art room



Figure 5i, right:
A typical interior window in the South Boston BGC

Figure 5j, left:
A view through the lounge into the game area in the Charlestown BGC teen center

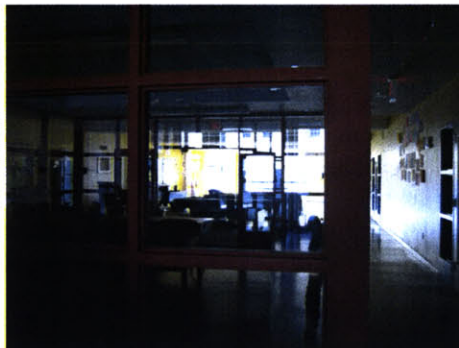


Figure 5k, right:
Internal windows in the Chelsea BGC

Figure 5l, left:
A staff office that looks into both the game room and library in the Roxbury BGC



Figure 5m, right:
The teen center renovations in the Salesian BGC

Implications

It is crucial that youth center building design leads to maximum possible surveillance. All designers should incorporate this element into their designs. All clubhouses pursued transparencies of interior walls and windows or

linked open rooms with uninterrupted flow. The renovations of the Salesian Clubhouse included a three-room teen center that contained such transparencies. Because the number of children that occupy a clubhouse is so high and staff capacities are limited, facilitating surveillance becomes important, so important that thousands of dollars of technology and cameras are invested into maintaining surveillance. Thus, a building that provides physical transparency and surveillance in its walls and hallways does not solicit the need for additional budget funds into cameras and technology. New youth centers should also incorporate glass interior walls, layered transparencies, and maximization of staff-office views. Youth centers that are considering renovations should also invest in building design that maximizes internal transparency and surveillance. Surveillance, above all other elements, is the most important physical design element that will optimize youth center opportunities to provide programs and facilities for youth.

5.4 The relationship between maintenance and opportunity

Maintenance is another element that has consistently been part of clubhouse budgets and efforts. Budgets are exhaustive, however, and any money that goes into capital improvements translates less for activities and staff salaries, which are often very low to begin with. The manner of renovations differs by clubhouse. Both the Chelsea Clubhouse and the

Charlestown Clubhouse have both had substantial renovation projects completed in the past couple years, the Salesian BGC has seen incremental rehabilitation projects each year, and the Roxbury Clubhouse has seen none. Regardless of the manner of renovation, whether is aesthetic, structural, or expanding, there seems to be no relationship with how the children use the clubhouses. The Roxbury Clubhouse, which has not undergone renovations since 1968, had the highest number of users during peak times, while the Salesian Clubhouse and the new Chelsea Clubhouse held comparable numbers of youth. All are bustling and thriving; and the condition of the buildings are again never mentioned in the interviews with children.

It is interesting to note the correlation between maintenance and the initial function and date of the building. Maintenance is more needed when the clubhouse is older than the 1940's. However, those clubhouses that were built on property intended for BGC's from the very beginning are more likely to have a longer time of wait before expansion becomes necessary. The Charlestown Clubhouse, the Salesian Clubhouse, and the South Boston Clubhouse all had their origins in the 1940's or earlier. All had gymnasiums that were too small; larger ones were incorporated in expansions. However, the Roxbury Clubhouse, which was built with both adequate gymnasium and pool facilities that fit today's standards, has not seen expansion since the clubhouse started.

Though the Blue Hill Clubhouse has a gymnasium, it does not have an indoor pool. An outdoor pool, one of the largest in Boston, exists, but its

outdoor state disables use for the majority of the year when temperatures drop. This outdoor pool was adopted from the existing building conditions when the site used to hold an old skating rink and other facilities. An indoor pool facility was stated as a desired item on a wish list. Contrast this with the Chelsea Clubhouse, which did use the old forwarding warehouse as part of its new structure, but was not limited to its size and floor-space. Initial building size should not be the limiting factor in determining the constraints of a building. Thus, even a recently built clubhouse can face expansion needs if the initial conditions are too constraining. This leads us to our next variable.

Implications

The bulk of maintenance projects come from expansion projects. Thus, if a building is designed with adequate facilities that are not constrained by initial building conditions and aimed to serve future, and not just present populations of youth, maintenance budgets and costs will be significantly reduced. Thus, this emphasizes the need for a building owner perspective that is able to pursue a vision beyond present limiting financial and physical conditions. This, with a design unlimited by initial building restraints, will lead to a lower maintenance level that is ideal and allows for a larger percentage of the budget to be dedicated to staff and programs for youth. Low maintenance is an ideal effect caused by a proper response to initial conditions, which emphasizes the importance of having appropriate starting conditions in the formation of a youth center.

5.5 The role of facilities in creating opportunity

There are number of facilities that are consistently included in these youth centers; the BGCB in particular has a “department” formula for a set of programs that are pursued across its five clubhouses, thus often requiring a similar set of rooms dedicated to the same purposes. After interviewing the youth and observing their activities, I have come upon a number of conclusions about the demand of certain facilities over others.

Recreation areas have the highest demand of all facilities found in clubhouses. By this, I mean fitness recreation areas and social recreation (“game-room”) areas. During visitations to each clubhouse, the game-rooms had the greatest concentration of pre-teen children. Pool tables, foosball, arcade and video games, air hockey, ping-pong, four-square: these are all activities that had clusters of children, anywhere from three to nine of them, crowded around. If there were lounge areas nearby, these too would spill over with youth. Younger children often responded when asked what they liked about the clubhouse “it’s fun here” or “you get to (do activity X)”. A clubhouse with 120 children in an area can expect, around 4PM, to have 25%-30% of its children in the game-rooms.

The age group of children using gymnasium facilities is slightly older, as many teens replied when asked why they like it at their specific clubhouse, “I come to play ball here.” Basketball was always the one sport that was being held in all the clubhouse gyms. The half of all teen responses for each clubhouse mentioned being able to play basketball for leisure or being part of

a basketball league. Though the Salesian main clubhouse has a very small, old gym in its basement, it has expansive blacktop courts surrounding it; a third of its youth were outside shooting hoops. The opportunity to play basketball seems to be the most magnetic pull the clubhouses can have on teens; thus it would be prudent to invest in having sufficient gymnasium facilities to host such activities. Basketball courts can also expect to host a fourth or a third of its users.

Though the pool was mentioned in several children's answers, during my visits, there were never more than three youth in the water. Two clubhouses had the pool closed because of a lack of a trained staffperson for that season or just that day. I have seen the Blue Hill Clubhouse's outdoor pool and seen how busy it can be in the summer; however, in the month of April, during which I did most of my visits, the pool does not seem to see much use, though it is popular and imprinted in the minds of users. Perhaps I was visiting during the wrong hours to witness pool use.

With all the hype about "bridging the digital divide", one would have expected the **computer rooms** to be used at maximum capacity, meaning, if a room has twenty computers, one would expect at least 20 students in that space. However, this was the not case throughout the clubhouses. My visitation hours were between 4PM to 5:30PM. What I did notice was a correlation with computer use and computer room programming.

In computer rooms that were holding specific training sessions for internet or software use or homework-use only sessions, computers were used

at best half-capacity. However, in clubhouses where computers could be used for games and internet surfing, every computer had a user; in rooms where it was allowed, a number had two users sharing one computer. The Salesian Clubhouse & Blue Hill Clubhouse, which allow the computers to be used for games, had computer rooms that always had a child seated in front of a screen. Thus, the conclusion is that computer rooms are more attractive to youth, in particular pre-teen youth, as a means of recreation than one of learning.

Homework and education rooms were not often used at maximum capacity; since this is also linked to the number of staff and their abilities, it is difficult to pinpoint the reason for this. However, they were often used; in particular, those that had developed homework-help programs held many children in education rooms. The Chelsea Clubhouse in particular had about 20-25% of its youth in its homework and education rooms. These rooms were not limited to homework, and often, games and computer usage were allowed. It seems that allowing some amount of recreation in the education rooms was common practice in the South Boston, Chelsea, and Charlestown Clubhouses, which held the highest numbers of students doing homework in their rooms. “I come here to do my homework” was also a common answer that youth gave when asked why they use the clubhouse.

Though these were the most popular answers and the rooms that saw the most use, there were children that used the art rooms, the kitchen for cooking classes, and the music rooms. However, these were often much

smaller numbers of youth that were there because of a specific interest. The only art room that was maxed out was in the Roxbury clubhouse, where 25 students were all creating swirls of glue and glitter in the art room. Roxbury, however, had the highest number of students using the clubhouse from 4-5PM, at 190 youth.

A number of these clubhouses did not have **outdoor facilities**, as many are in denser urban areas without much open space. The Salesian East Boston Clubhouse's outdoor courts were well-used, but this is also likely because the interior gym is very small. A number of the staff-persons interviewed expressed a desire to have outdoor facilities or be closer to outdoor spaces. The Chelsea Clubhouse faces basketball and tennis courts; however, Kraft stated that he keeps away from those courts because of the drug activity and drunken persons that frequent the property. I wonder if the Salesian courts are a safer, no-danger zone for its users because it is on private property. Father Crager pointed across the street and candidly remarked that there was a gang-house nearby. The answer may not be being near public parks, but having outdoor spaces that are part of the clubhouse structure. The Dan Marr Clubhouse had two playground areas that were being used by 6-8 year olds in the day-care program.

Implications

Due to the high frequency use and response associated with recreation-related facilities, youth centers should be created with adequate facilities for athletic and social recreation. *Full size* basketball courts, game rooms, and pools

should be key facilities that are included in all youth centers, as they seem to be guaranteed youth attractors. Adequate facilities again are constrained by building size, and an inappropriate response of the initial conditions of a clubhouse-to-be may lead to a recreation facility capacity that is inadequate and in need of expansion much sooner than desired, such as the Blue Hill Clubhouse. Adequate outdoor facilities, if a feasible luxury, should be pursued as well so that a clubhouse may provide a range of services both indoors and outdoors that is under the surveillance and protection of the youth center. In summary, facilities should be created as close as possible to maximum capacity and use in order to avoid frequent and early expansion and to serve youth needs.

5.6 The relationship between age-sensitive interior design & opportunity

Age-appropriate interior design and circulation are features that both architects and clubhouse directors consider when renovations and designs are drafted. When both the Architectural Team and Leers Weinzapfel Associates, who are the two architects the BGCB use in renovation, were interviewed, bright colors and durable materials were both mentioned as important elements.

While discussing the materials used, Mark Rosenschein of the Architectural Team remarked “I was amazed at how destructive the kids can be.” Before you get images of children running around with bats, understand that this his way of emphasizing the need for durable materials that could

bear rigorous activity. Lisa Lewis commented similarly on the need for durable, easily replaceable building materials. This should also be common practice for youth centers in the future.

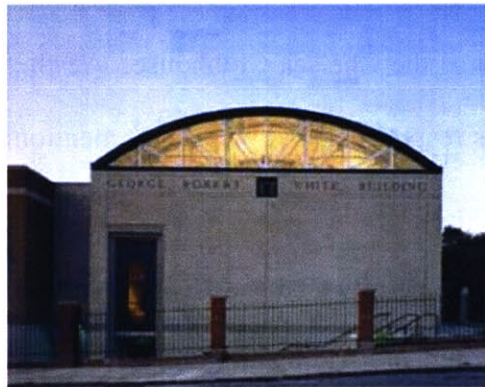
I have specified interior design versus overall design for a number of reasons. There is not a great difference in how many children use the center based on its exterior façade. Some of the most bland-looking clubhouses that have had very little artistic interventions with exterior facades seem to hold the same attractive power as those that have been brightly colored and festively designed on the outside, such as the Chelsea Clubhouse. Aesthetic beauty did not affect staff or children's responses, as it was never mentioned in interviews.

However the look or feel of the building exterior, the clubhouses consistently spent money and energy into renovating interior spaces. The areas where this is most appropriate are rooms for teens. Though most building architectural plans are reviewed primarily by staff, when renovating rooms many clubhouses have involved teens in the look and feel of their spaces. This is where most clubhouses have had "community input". They have held focus groups and rigorously involved teens in not only stating what they want but also gaining a sense of ownership of their space. Several teen centers use variations of the overall clubhouse design; couches are often black leather, and large, wide-screen TV's almost always are in these rooms. These items add more appeal to the teen centers and add to the clubhouse's

ability to draw teens, whom overall all clubhouses seem to want to attract and retain within their system.

Another design element that has without question been standard through the clubs has been the separation of teens from non-teens. Often, they are in separate rooms, and teens are not held to the same rotation schedule that the younger children are. If the building plans allowed for it, the teen rooms are even further removed from the rest of the clubhouses'

Figure 5n:
The entrance to the teen center is below grade at the bottom floor of the gymnasium building adjacent to the main clubhouse.



activities and may even be in different buildings. Several clubhouses have separate entrances for teens into their specific spaces, even if they are in the same building as the others, which may

facilitate the feeling of exclusive ownership. The BGCB project manager, Lisa Lewis, stated that this is a policy and design concept that they stand by. Both teens and non-teens do not like to be associated with the other. The non-BGCB clubhouses have also created separated spaces for teens. The East Boston Clubhouse is in the middle of finishing up renovations for its teen rooms. Father Crager expressed both the teens' and non-teens' delight at this separation, which would enable both parties to enjoy their activities without feeling encroached upon. Separate space, and even separate identity, is needed for older age groups of youth.

Implications

The age appropriate interior design is important but holds lower priority than the aforementioned variables. Age-sensitive design and circulation was pursued in several of the clubhouses. Though it is ideal, it is not absolutely necessary. Teens will always be given a room, even in the buildings that were not expressly designed for separation between teens and non-teens. In observing the clubhouses, many teens that were present during peak hours mingled with the others in the computer rooms, basketball courts, and education centers. Non-teen presence did not stop the usage of such spaces. Also, teens happen to use the clubhouses at later hours; thus, even time acts as a separator. It is valuable to give teens their own space, and this practice should be pursued. However, even clubhouses that do not completely delineated teen buildings will have teen rooms, fancy or not, that will be used.

Also, age-appropriate interior design and coloring are often pursued by designers to provide a cheery and vibrant atmosphere. Though this is valuable, I did not see a difference in the numbers of children that use a clubhouse or how they use the clubhouse, based on clubhouse interior design and coloration. Age-appropriate interior design is also ideal, but should not take priority over providing proper facilities and maximizing surveillance. More important than coloration is material durability, which is needed for an age group that is particularly unforgiving to delicate building materials.

Youth centers should take care to install materials that will stand wear and be easily replaced.

5.7 The effect of good design

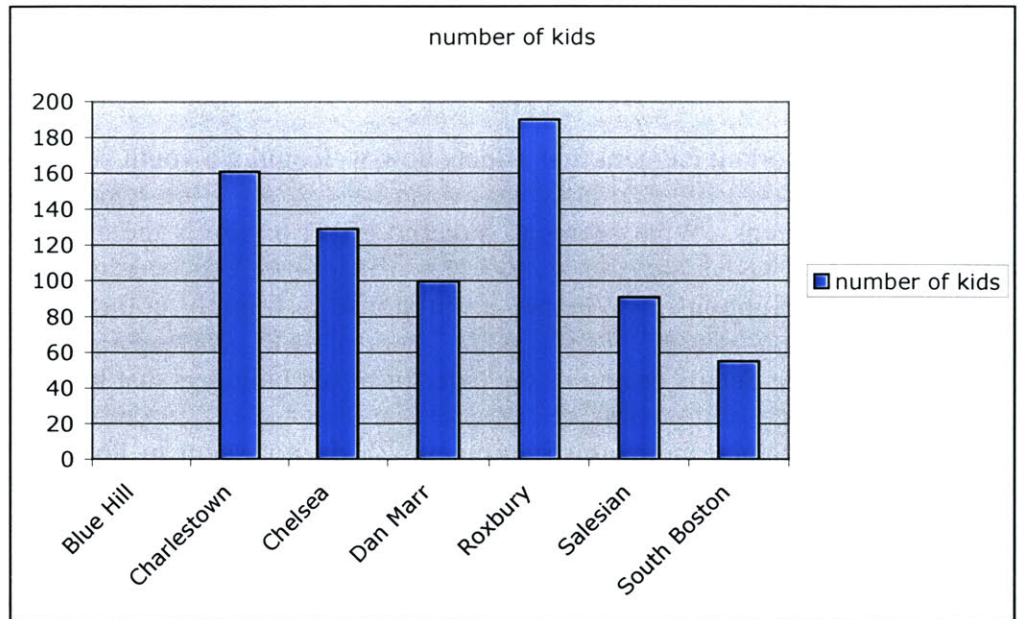
Design that matters seems to be linked mainly to appropriate initial responses to building conditions, a future-oriented building owner perspective, and surveillance maximization. A design that follows these elements seems to lead to low maintenance, adequate facilities, and budgets that can take dollars from capital improvements and apply them to programs and people instead.

Chapter 6: Design Elements That Do Not Make a Difference

It was stated in the previous chapter that age-appropriate interior design is an important element that affects how welcoming a youth center is, particularly to teens. What seems to have no effect on use is the **exterior design** of the clubhouse. Whether a clubhouse is brightly colored with interesting façade details or retains the exterior of old buildings that have not been retouched since their construction, youth do not seem to hold such variables into account when using a clubhouses. Either way, there is no difference in the appeal of the clubhouse. In the survey of different clubhouse staff, “inviting building architecture” scored a 3.16 out of 5 for its importance in the clubhouses working well, the lowest ranking out of many variables including safety and programs. Even those staff-persons who were a part of clubhouses whose architects had won prizes for design did not view the architecture to have a highly significant role in the clubhouse functioning well. In addition, when interviewed, children never mentioned the look or feel of the place.

The chart below lists the number of users that were found during peak hours. There are some time differences; note that 4-5PM had the largest number of youth recorded, which could affect the smaller numbers during 3PM.

Figure 6a:
The number of kids using each clubhouse during the time of observation



Blue Hill	Charlestown	Chelsea	Dan Marr	Roxbury	Salesian	South Boston
	4:30	5:45	5:00	4:00	4:00	3:30

time (PM)

Compare this user observation with the facades of clubhouses:

Clubhouse	Exterior descriptions
Blue Hill	The sole building visible on a large field Located on a major road One story Grey masonry units, bright yellow and red entrance Quasi-transparent hallway entrance façade Won the Halston Parker Prize for the most beautiful building in Boston
Charlestown	Building on a incline off of side streets Banner stating BGCB uses visible from far away Three story Old, ornate building façade on main clubhouse Red brick on both buildings An underground tunnel connects the two
Chelsea	Building in a residential area near tennis courts Colored blue, purple, orange, green Has curved and non-rectilinear outside shapes One and two story

Daniel Marr	Located on a street parallel to a main road Main building has no windows to the outside; concrete Three story Teen center colors: salmon, brown, fairly non-descript
Roxbury	Located on major road Brown brick, doors are blue; no transparency Two story
Salesian	Located in residential area Old schoolhouse building; red brick Poor building condition Two and a half story
South Boston	Located in residential area Red brick and grey masonry units Two story

The most colorful and playful clubhouse exterior did not correspond with the highest number of peak-hour users. In fact, the clubhouse that had the highest use during peak hours had very little relationship to the outside other than its low-key entrance marked by the sign “Roxbury Boys & Girls Club”. Charlestown also had a high amount of use during peak hours. Though its building façade has an ornate stone portion to it, the only truly visible part of the club is the banner with the clubhouse name emblazoned across it. This sign is visible from many streets away and asserts a presence of a BGC, even if the façade itself is not very visible, as is the case with the Blue Hill BGC.

Implications

This leads me to advise designers to spend the bulk of their innovation and energy on the interior design of youth centers. Exterior design does not seem to have much effect on how clubhouses are used; facades are never mentioned by users, and staff themselves do not value

exterior architecture. Renovations have been for expansion and internal facility repair. Regardless of the exterior building, youth will use the clubhouse. Thus, designers should allocate appropriately the energy and budget that is needed for interiors. Colors and shapes do not seem to make a difference in use. Visibility of some sort, just knowing that the club is there seems to be all that is needed at times. Thus, designers should not prioritize exterior design above other variables.

Chapter 7: Non-design Elements That Make a Difference

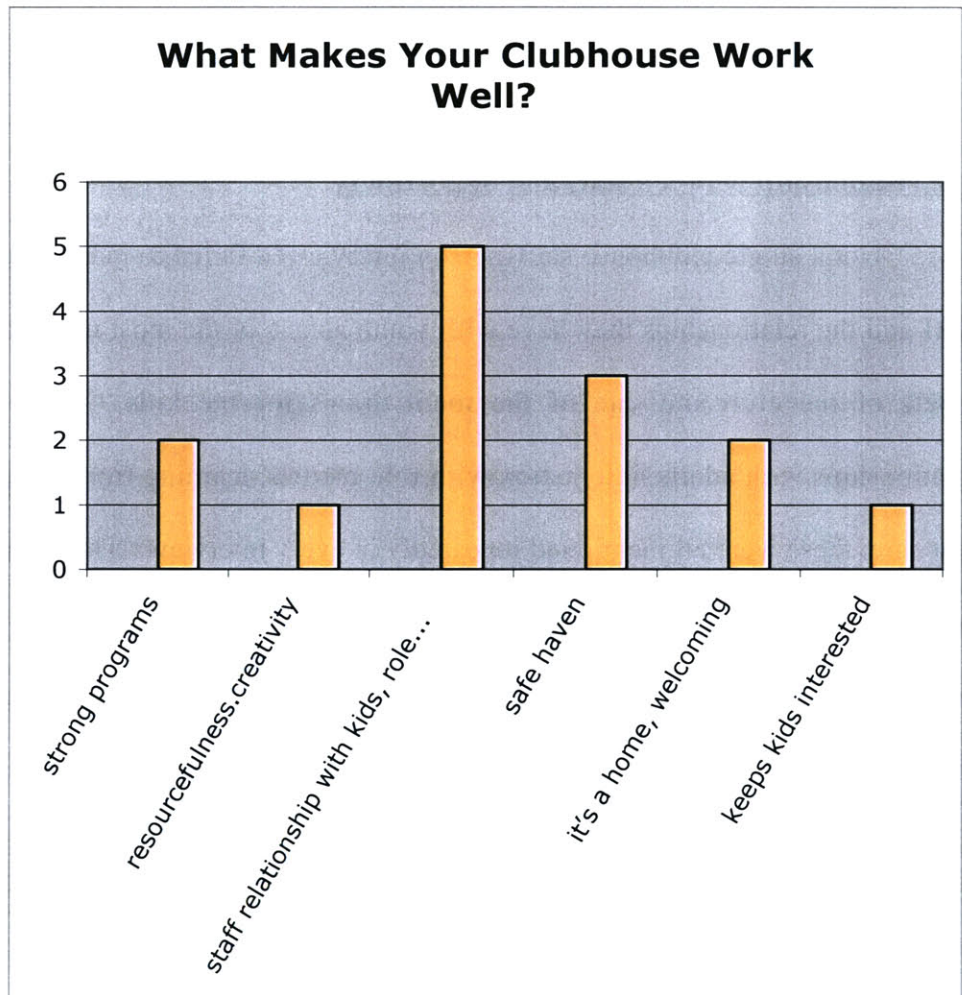
Good design is important, but design alone cannot create maximum opportunity for youth center success. Programs, staff, and clubhouse policies all affect how youth centers operate and how they take advantage of good design or are hindered by inadequate design provisions. The variables in this chapter are elements that I have observed to affect youth center opportunity. Youth center organizers should take these observations into account as they plan about how to make youth centers serve well their intended populations.

7.1 The relationship between staff and opportunity

Not a single clubhouse staff-person interviewed failed to mention the staff and the relationships they have with youth as one of the most important assets of the club and one of the main draws for the kids. Positive relationships with adults, interaction with role models, learning from people that care: these were all mentioned repeatedly in every interview. This in line with the BGCA missions statement of helping youth to become better citizens. Six out of the seven clubhouses voted a 5 out of 5 for the importance of staff in their clubhouses working well, the seventh giving it a 4.

The staff-persons interviewed, whether they were executive directors or operations directors or in any other position, all had an uncanny ability to remember kids' names as they walked around the clubhouse. I witnessed little children running up to staff and junior staff, hugging them along their legs. Older teens would nod once as a sign of acknowledgement and respect. Admonishments about running, wearing headphones, or inappropriate activity would be listened to quietly and with little questioning.

Figure 7a:
The number of responses per clubhouse characteristic when staff were asked "what makes your clubhouse work well?"



Father Cramer mentioned that the youth, if asked the question, would "vote for staff with their feet". Several directors mentioned that treating the

youth, particularly the teens, with care and respect was crucial in keeping them at the clubhouse and differentiating themselves from other places for youth. Many of the youth interviewed, however, talked more about the programs, opportunities to play sports or do homework, and avoiding street danger before mentioning staff-persons when asked why they like it at the clubhouses. It's very possible that they take that element as a given, tied so much with the club that it does not occur to them to mention it as a separate factor. Some teens, however, did mention that "they're very user-friendly here" and "they (are) cool here".

There is an inextricable link between staff and programs. Teaching backgrounds, experiences in working with youth, licenses, and flexible hours are all needed for those in staff-positions, as many programs are dependent on their planning and execution. Technology directors and staff, athletics coordinators, art and music teachers, social workers, chefs, etc, all have their set of activities to plan and a schedule to follow depending on the rigor of the programming in the club. The average term for a full-time person is around 5 years. Many, though, have been there for over a decade. They know the clubhouse; they have watched many youth grow into adulthood. This is likely why interviewees so strongly advocated staff. Programs rely upon the staff-person that runs them; without staff, a program dies. Two of the clubhouses interviewed with large pools did not have them open because the aquatics staff-person had left, and a search for a new teacher was in process. If clubs had any discontinued activities, it was because they were specific

programs such as a boxing club or an outdoors club that was reliant on staff interests and abilities. Strong, committed staff are important to a youth center working well.

More staff, more resources for staff, more funding for staff: almost all the clubhouses interviewed mentioned some sort of resource addition to their staff team as an item they would place on their wish list. “I wish we could pay them more” or “I would give them better space and equipment to carry out their activities” were common statements. Staff that left often did so with major life changes such as marriage or the birth of a child, which creates greater consumption and a demand for higher income the clubhouse cannot

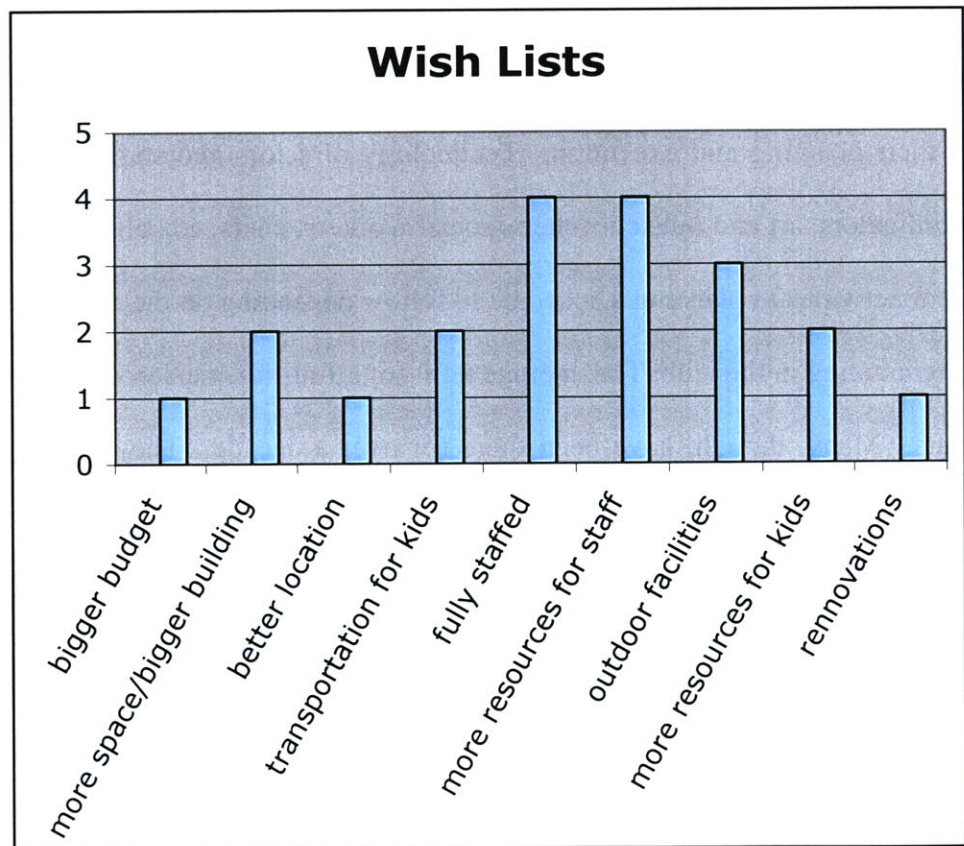


Figure 7b:
Frequency of
mentioned
items on a
wish list
unlimited by
funding and
budgets

afford. Understaffing was a common perceived problem, regardless of how busy the clubhouse seemed at the time of the interview.

Implications

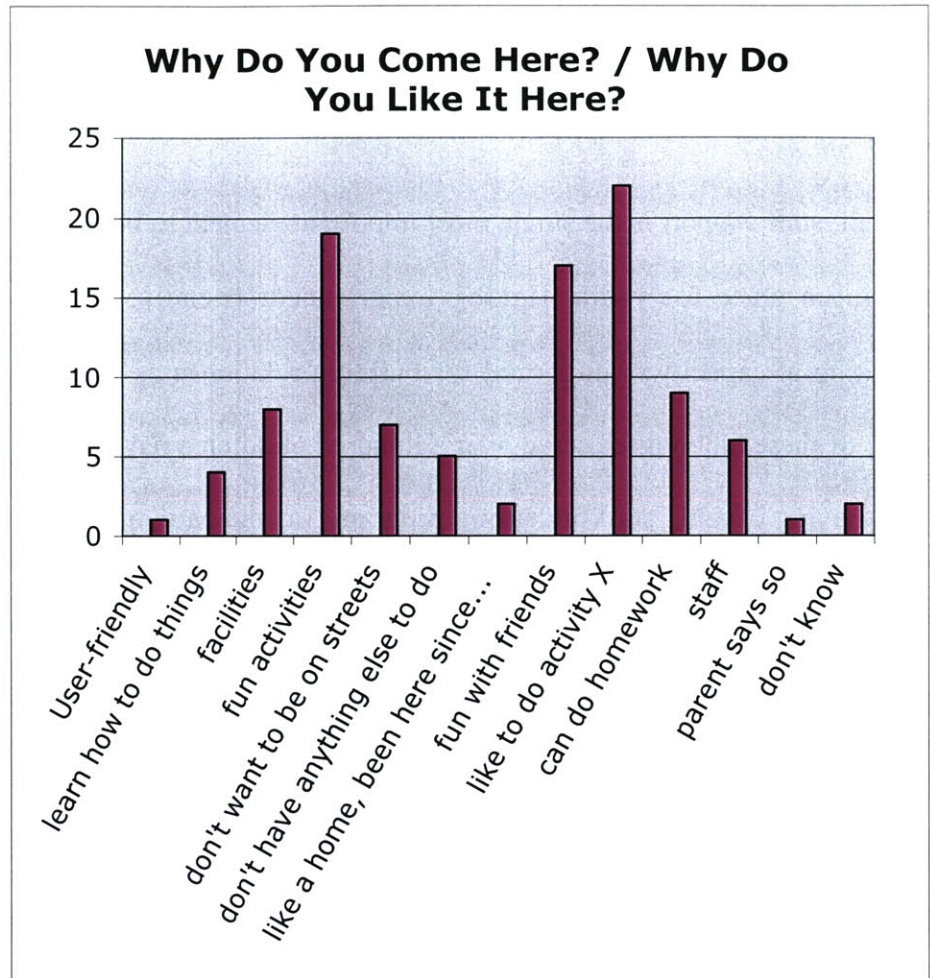
Overall, staff support is the single most important element to budget for when creating a place for youth. Having experienced, friendly, capable staff operating at capacity is important for building relationships with youth, as many of these clubhouses serve over a hundred children a day. What results from having capable staff are strong programs, as they are only as effective as the people that organize and lead them. While strong programs are unequivocally important in youth centers functioning well, they cannot survive without staff-persons running them effectively. Thus, youth centers should invest energy into staff and providing staff with resources to run programs.

7.2 The relationship between programs and opportunity

The difference between programmatic implementation across clubhouses has been discussed in the previous sections. Thus, I will not enter that part of the discussion again. What is important about programs is their ability to draw youth to the center, regardless of how developed those programs are.

“It’s fun here” or “you get to do (activity X) here” were the two most common answers that youth gave when asked why they like it at their specific clubhouse. Many times, specific activities such as swimming,

Figure 7c:
Responses
of youth



basketball, and fields trips were mentioned. Getting help with homework was also a common response, though not nearly as popular as those having to do with fitness recreation. The most common response among teens was “I come to play ball” (meaning basketball). None of these reflect the specific nature of programs other than that they are there.

When staff were asked how important they believed their programs were to the success of their center, all responded with either a 4 or a 5 out of 5. Program resourcefulness, creativity, making it fun for the kids, keeping

interest in the clubhouse: these were all listed also as things that the clubhouses did well.

The answers of staff and youth do not match up word for word; however, they both show heavy value in the programs that are existent. Whether or not those programs are highly developed seems to make no difference in kids attending the clubhouses. The simple fact of the matter seems to be that they are there, accessible. They stick out in the minds of users. A common response among the youth was “I got nowhere else to go.”

Thus, it seems that having a basic program involving various types of recreation, games, and educational help is all that is needed to draw youth in. Keeping them there, particularly the older teens, may be more of a challenge, which is where program creativity and resourcefulness come in. Comments about learning things that are not taught in the schools were also given. Some clubhouses have junior staffing programs; other have college visitation trips, and one even managed to organize a cultural exchange program to Japan for thirteen girls. In addition to this, SAT preparatory classes, substantial scholarships, and leadership-fostering forums are offered for teens. These things should be considered as a youth center prioritizes programs and their development.

Implications

Strong programs and fun activities seem to make heavy impacts on youth. These programs seem to be dependent on staff abilities and availability.

Thus, while having well-functioning programs are important, it is more important to make sure that the staff who will run activities are provided.

7.3 The relationship between seasonal adaptability and opportunity

This is an important element of the clubhouses, but it is not clear how to judge this capability without bias. The changing seasons come with temperature differences and vacations, all which influence clubhouse activity. The common shared statement from staff about youth activity was that “when the weather gets nicer, you see less kids.” They seem to find other places to socialize, to have fun, as the warmer weather, longer days, and vacation times permit. However, I think there are a number of factors to consider as clubhouses think about how to adapt to seasonal differences; if youth being on the streets means more trouble, this bodes poorly for the summer. In fact, the BGCB responded to Mayor Menino’s call and decreased its pre-summer break period in order to open its doors earlier to youth. There are two aspects to my recommendations: the physical and the programmatic. First, the physical:

Many of the clubhouses do not have outdoor facilities. It makes sense that brighter days causes one to crave more sunlight and outdoor activities;



Figure 7d:
The pool at
the Blue Hill
BGC

teens in particular have a weaker showing during warmer weather. However, having outdoor basketball courts and fields in which to engage in other types of

recreation or socialize outside might provide a safe space for youth to enjoy the outdoors. As stated before, the asphalt courts surrounding the Salesian Clubhouse, as visually unappealing as it might seem, were well-used because of the basketball hoops and balls that the clubhouse provided. The weather was beautiful that day. The Blue Hill Boys & Girls Club also has a covered outdoor basketball court, as well as the outdoor swimming pool, which are popular in the summer. Though outdoor playgrounds would also be a great asset, the biggest concern seems to be in retaining teens during the warmer weather.

The caveat is that due to the fact that the BGCA is held accountable for all actions, youth are not allowed to use the facilities outside of clubhouse hours. The Salesian clubhouse director told of how they used to leave a hole in the fence for youth to climb through if they wanted to play basketball; however, this was ill-received by the BGCA lawyers, and they have discontinued that policy. Anita Sutton of the Roxbury Clubhouse remarked, “No, they’re not allowed to use the courts after hours. But they climb the fence anyway.” As it is impossible to be held accountable when are not present, one resourceful policy may be to bring in the basketball hoops when the clubhouses closes, a practice that the Daniel Marr Clubhouse follows.

It will be useful to think about what kind of appeal an indoor space has, not in the mild weathers of spring and fall, but in the sweltering heat of summer. Air conditioning and shade are both appealing characteristics that clubhouses can have, particularly the newly renovated buildings.

However, these physical recommendations must be accompanied by some programmatic changes. As it stands, all the BGCB clubhouses change their hours once the summer hits; they hold day camps that run from 8AM to 5PM, and the prices are much higher and charged per week or for two weeks. The regularity of the clubhouse schedule is interrupted, and the prices, though they can be subsidized by scholarships, becomes expensive, particularly for low-income families.

Figure 7e:
Membership fees for Boys & Girls Clubs

clubhouse	School year fee / year	Summer fee
Blue Hill Clubhouse	\$25	\$125/2 wks
Charlestown Clubhouse	\$25	\$140/2 wks
Chelsea Clubhouse	\$25	\$240/7 wks
Daniel Marr Clubhouse	\$5	none
East Boston Clubhouse	\$10	\$125/wk
Roxbury Clubhouse	\$25	\$75/wk, teens free
South Boston Clubhouse	\$25	\$100/wk

Figure 7f:
Operation hours of Boys & Girls Clubs

clubhouse	School year hours	Summer hours
Blue Hill Clubhouse	1-8PM, MF	8:30AM-6PM
Charlestown Clubhouse	1-8PM, MF	9AM-4PM
Chelsea Clubhouse	2:30-9PM, MF	9AM-4PM
Daniel Marr Clubhouse	3-8:45PM, MF; 9AM-5PM, S	9AM-11PM
East Boston Clubhouse	2:30-8:30PM, MF	7AM-6PM
Roxbury Clubhouse	12:30-8PM, MF	8:30AM-4:30PM
South Boston Clubhouse	2-9PM, MF	12-6PM

Of all the clubhouses interviewed, the Daniel Marr BGC was the only one that did not charge a summer-specific fee overall, and the Roxbury Clubhouse kept its summer programs free for teens. The Dan Marr Clubhouse, as well as the Salesian Clubhouse, also doubled the amount of time it was open in a day. This was unusual; all other clubs transferred their

7-8 hours of open school-year time into an earlier range of open hours. The other aspect that the Daniel Marr Clubhouse differs in is that it does not switch functions from a clubhouse into a day camp in the summer. Though it has summer-specific programs and activities, it does not have a summer-day-camp-identity into which almost all the BGCB clubhouses change. Of all the clubhouses interviewed, the Roxbury Clubhouse was the only one that reported having more kids use the clubhouse during the summer than during the school year. It was interesting hearing Anita Sutton comment on the composition of clubhouse users: “They’re different kids. They’re visiting their grandparents, their parents; they’re only here in the summer. And there’s a lot of more them. When the school year comes, it’s all different kids again.” The majority of other clubhouses reported seeing the same kids, but less of them. It should be explored how much of the neighborhood family structure (grandfamilies, divorce rates, etc.) affects Roxbury’s summer influx, and similar summer admission fee waivers should be implemented for teens to see what effect it has in attendance. Such study may yield better answers for why Roxbury has higher attendance rates.

I question the statement that warmer weather creates minimal attendance. Warm weather might, but hot, uncomfortable weather may draw users. The clubhouses should study use during comfortable and uncomfortable outdoor temperatures, particularly those that have centralized air conditioning. Pricing, programmatic changes, and changed hours also make me question whether it’s just the warmer weather or the programmatic

changes that occur in the summer that change user patterns. Longer summer hours translates into a need for more staff; many of the clubhouses expressed a need for more staff. Staffing capacity, particularly in the summer, may affect how youth value the center.

Another variable to explore is the role of transportation in decreased summer hours. Many students reach the clubhouses by school-bus; these buses stop running from their schools to the clubhouses in the summer. The clubhouses that are reached by walking mostly also stated a decrease in summer use; however, it would be valuable to see what percent of youth can no longer access the clubhouse because of the discontinuation of a school bus service during the summer. Thus, it can be expected that less youth will use clubhouses during the summers, but the exact reasons remain to be explored more in depth. Trial runs should be made as little variables as possible to test whether or not youth really decrease their summer attendance based on warm weather alone.

Implications

Seasonal adaptability is also ideal for a youth center, a Boys & Girls Club, to serve its youth as a constant public space throughout the year. Having outdoor facilities, affordable summer programs, and consistent summer hours are key components of seasonal adaptability. However, outdoor facilities should take a back-seat to indoor facilities, as it is the indoor facilities that youth will be using for most of the year due to Boston's colder precipitous climate. Outdoor facilities and programs and hours that are inviting to youth

in the summer as well during the school are ideal, but they are luxuries compared to what is most needed; a well-functioning, youth-friendly space that operates well for most of the school-year. In addition, extensive summer activity is reliant on summer staff; as it stands, many clubhouses report being understaffed and are not at a point where they can think about additional staffing concerns in the summer. Thus, unless a youth center is at a point where it can afford to address such concerns, it should prioritize having full staff capacity, good programs, maximum building surveillance, and best possible facilities to provide a space for youth.

7.4 The relationship between accessibility and opportunity

Accessibility mostly means the physical aspect of the word; most clubhouses did not rely on publicity to attract more club members, though excellent public relations has helped the BGCB with raising support. However, word of mouth and the clubhouses' general good repute seem to be enough to draw a quorum of youth that will bring their friends to the clubhouse.

Most youth walk to the clubhouses. When asked how the children get to the clubhouses, the most common response was that they reach the places by foot. Many are in close proximity to residences, such as the South Boston, East Boston, and Daniel Marr clubhouses, which have residential buildings as next-door neighbors. Thus, it is valuable to place a youth or community oriented building within walkable distance to residences.

The second most common answer was school-bus drop-offs. A number of the clubhouses were special designated after-school destinations; this was an arrangement that partnered with the public schools, executable upon written parental consent. The South Boston Clubhouse and the Blue Hill Clubhouse, for example, seemed to rely mostly on school-buses as mode of arrival. The director of a clubhouse that did not have such a partnership expressed frustration with the lack of coordination with the public schools in the neighborhood; afternoon bus schedules were not allowed to deviate from their norm, so that if the clubhouse were closed for a certain holiday, the schoolchildren would still be dropped off in front of a building with closed doors. Strong partnerships should exist with public schools concerning transportation from schools to clubhouses. The public schools' busing systems should also accommodate holiday schedule interventions.

It was interesting to note that a majority of the clubhouses served mostly residents, even with the proximity of MBTA buses and subway stations nearby. The Roxbury Clubhouse is located near a bus station, where over twenty different lines converge at Dudley Station, and the Blue Hill Clubhouse has a bus stop that runs frequently and stops right in front of the clubhouse. These two clubhouses, along with the East Boston Clubhouse, reported having a significant minority of non-residents use the clubhouses. The Roxbury Clubhouse was the only one that mentioned the MBTA as a significant mode of transportation. However, the Charlestown, Chelsea, Daniel Marr, and South Boston Clubhouses reported mostly resident youth to

be its users, though all have either or both MBTA stations or bus stops nearby.

However, the Chelsea clubhouse director stated as one of his wish list items a desire to move the clubhouse to a location closer to the heart of the neighborhood (if costs were not a limiting factor). As a visitor, I had the most difficulty getting to this clubhouse. The bus that runs from the nearest subway station to the bus stop closest to the clubhouse runs every 30-40 minutes, which is more than double the amount of time needed to wait at bus-stops near other clubhouses. The clubhouse is not located near subway stations, and an infrequent bus line is not conducive to patronage from non-residents. All clubhouses, or community-oriented buildings, for that matter, should be located near a mode of public transportation that runs on a frequent and regular basis.

A number of the clubhouses have special shuttles or have tried a clubhouse-supported transportation service. All of the BGCB clubhouses have vans with the clubhouse insignias painted on the side. However, of these, the Charlestown clubhouse is the only one that mentioned an active drop-off service that is still in place. The other clubhouses had tried, but it was too costly an expense to keep up with regularly. Regardless, a transport system was another item that came up several times on directors' wish lists. It seems to be a worthy investment, but only if several other programmatic priorities within the clubhouse are met.

Transportation means accessibility, and with a young patronage that cannot drive, it becomes important that clubhouses are reachable by foot or public transit. Parents cannot simply take off of work to drop their kids off after-school one day; this is a costly demand to have on households that have lower income averages. Thus, coordination with public schools, careful planning of the location of buildings, and possible shuttle systems should be pursued.

Implications

Accessibility is no doubt an important element to a clubhouse. Many of the clubhouses placed in residential districts were walked to; those that weren't were serviced heavily by school-buses and at times by public transportation. Thus, though it is valuable to place a clubhouse near residential areas, clubhouses do not necessarily rely on walking members to fill their facilities. Partnerships with the public school busing systems are equally as important for many of the clubhouses as the proximity of the physical clubhouse buildings. These transport agreements can be made regardless of location. Clubhouse directors should actively pursue agreements with the public schools. Maximized accessibility will be fruitless, however, without a facility that can hold the youth the school-buses bring.

7.5 The relationship between bureaucracy and opportunity

Bureaucracy seems like such a heavy, often disliked word. Yet, it is interesting to compare the five clubhouses under one bureaucratic structure

versus the two that are more independent. There exist significant differences in program and function between the two types.

The Boys & Girls Clubs of Boston is the umbrella organization that encompasses the Charlestown, Chelsea, Blue Hill, Roxbury, and South Boston Clubhouses. These clubhouses rely upon the funding raised by its main Boston office, which draws upon support from federal, state, and municipal grants and private donor contributions. Fundraisings galas and dinners are organized by the office. Significant design projects and renovations are handled at the BGCB level, though the individual clubhouses have input, and special staff are dedicated to overseeing such projects to completion. The burden of fundraising and distributing budget items is shared between the main office and the clubhouse personnel.

Contrast this to the Daniel Marr Clubhouse and the East Boston Clubhouse. They have different bureaucracies, but the difference is that they lie outside of the BGCA. The Daniel Marr Clubhouse is associated with the Marr Family, which set up the clubhouse in memory of the deceased colonel. The daycare program within the clubhouse is virtually a full-fledged school; none of the other clubhouses are anywhere close to serving 100 pre-schoolers a day, nor do they have the trained personnel for such an endeavor. The daycare program has earned considerable respect and is a major responsibility of the clubhouse. Thus, the club functions in part as a business. The East Boston Clubhouse is also different in that it is answerable to a religious overseeing body, the Catholic order of Salesians in New York. The Salesians

provide two staff and their salaries, as well as significant funding for the budget. Both Clubhouses receive the federal BGCA grants and United Way support; as for other grants from private donors and city awards, they need to research such things themselves.

The BGCB clubhouses share similar programs and interest-specific groups within each clubhouse. Each clubhouse lists an expansive list of programs offered in similarly colored green bulletins. The Daniel Marr clubhouse has a number of the same facilities, but not as many smaller groups such as a leadership forum, a step team, and an outdoors club. The East Boston Clubhouse did not have a listing of its programs; it followed its activities by what was going on each room designated for a specific activity. It has a noticeably smaller number of programs.

Upon visitation, I noticed that the primary draw of the non-BGCB clubs was based around social and athletic recreation. I did not see many youth in the computer rooms or the education rooms. In the BGCB clubhouses, there were always significant numbers of youth, approximately 20-30% of the total users, in the education facilities. This may be the result of more rigorous programming and staffing priority of tutors and teachers, all of which is likely to be emphasized more by the BGCB. Since educational aid is desired in enhancing the lives and future potential of youth, it will be valuable to view how the BGCB budgets for and provides educational programs.

BGCB-based bureaucracy also seems to yield programs such as opportunities for junior staff (teens who enter into positions for responsibility), a program followed more informally by the other clubhouses. The BGCB has entered into a number of partnerships with nearby institutions such as the Museum of Fine Arts, Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Media Lab. CityYear, Boston Community Learning Centers, and Boston Centers for Youth and Families. This has translated into fields trips, partnerships with community-oriented events, and access to institutional art and technology. The coordination of one body with these many groups most likely facilitated the ease with which the five clubhouses could benefit from these partnerships. Thus, the responsibility of such coordination is again lifted upon individual clubhouse personnel and transferred to a main office, allowing clubhouse staff to worry other things, such as investing in the youth.

However, bureaucracy isn't necessarily the ideal in all respects. One distinction to notice is that the two clubhouses that are open on Saturdays as well as during the week are the two non-BGCB clubhouses. This is not a factor of budget, as some of the other clubhouses have individual budgets that are two or three times as large. The Saturday clubhouses are the ones that also have significantly lower membership fees. The reasoning has been that membership fees generate fairly insignificant revenue compared to what is needed for clubhouse budgets. It is not necessarily a factor of staff either, for the Daniel Marr Clubhouse has an abundance of staff-people while the East Boston Clubhouse has a staff body that is much lower than the average. In

particular, the Daniel Marr clubhouse does not deviate to summer day-camp costs that all the other six clubhouses follow. This may be because of a greater staff capacity. Overall, however, it seems to be a programmatic priority. If youth are to be “kept off the streets”, how do consistently empty Saturdays without access to a clubhouse work to fulfill that goal? Some of the clubhouses in the BGCB have tried Saturday openings with limited attendance; others have not and want to give it a try. As with my warning about summer attendance being linked to transportation, this too may be the case on Saturdays for some that cannot reach the clubhouse by foot. It requires more investigation into the link between transportation and attendance on Saturdays. The goal also may not be to have the same number of kids as during the weekday, but to have a steady quorum of youth that come and would have no place to go otherwise.

Nonetheless, there are trade-offs to consider. A centralized bureaucratic system seems to lead to more developed programs at a higher cost, resulting in higher membership fees and limited days of availability. A more independent clubhouse seems to have less developed programs at lower cost and greater availability. Thus, youth or community centers should keep this in mind in planning for a new building.

Implications

Bureaucracy is not a necessity. A completely independent youth center may open its doors in a neighborhood and be responsible, from top-to-bottom, for funding, program, staffing, etc. What is beneficial from a bureaucratic entity

is a organization of funding efforts that an office, not individual clubhouse personnel, is responsible for. This allows clubhouse to focus on youth and programs. In the case of a bureaucratic body that is responsible for the construction of several youth centers, it may have a wealth of knowledge and precedents that will equip it better to converse with designers and contractors as buildings are created or renovated. However, bureaucracy is expensive; higher membership fees and staff budget costs may occur. A youth center may or may not choose to be part of a bureaucratic entity; in the case of the BGCB, it is experienced and practiced in its field, so it may seem a worthy investment.

7.6 The relationship between neighborhood risk and opportunity

This might seem a strange relationship to follow. Neighborhood risk and crime are not desirable things; yet, they are all consistent conditions that each of the clubhouses face. The previous neighborhood background chapter showed high likelihood of crime in each of these neighborhoods that the clubhouses call home.

When teens were asked why they come to the clubhouse, here were a couple responses:

“To stay out of trouble.”

“To stay off the streets.”

“I don’t want to be out there on the streets.”

One teen in the Roxbury clubhouse, when asked why she comes to the clubhouse, looked at me and started methodically reciting, “I come here to enrich myself...”, at which the junior staff-person showing me around sharply remarked, “Be real (insert name). Don’t tell her what you think she wants to hear. Tell her why you’re here.” At this, the girl paused, looked at me again, laughed and said, “Alright, so I come here because I don’t want to be out there on the streets. And you know when I’m on the streets, it’s no good.” She also mentioned basketball, future opportunities, and hanging out with friends as additional factors.

The frequency of these responses leads me to believe that the risk associated with a neighborhood, of being out *there* on the streets, drives many to find a safe haven away from the streets. The Boys & Girls Clubs provide just that. Some of the teen responses were hesitant; others were immediately volunteered. Regardless, many gave answers that valued the safety and distance they have from out *there*. This, coupled with other variables of caring staff, facilities, and programs, seem to be important in keeping youth in the clubhouses.

Safety received the highest marks from staff: all seven voted a 5 out of 5 for the importance of safety in a clubhouse working well. When asked what they do well, many replied “we’re a safe-haven”. They’d point to the crack-house or gang-house down the street and imply that the bounds of the safe-haven are sharply within their property only. Violence and poor behavior is not tolerated in the clubhouses. Sometimes temporary

suspensions are exercised on those that bully other youth or act out of line; other clubs have a three-strikes-you're-out policy.

It seems that neighborhood risk and crime creates an ideal situation where youth centers may function well because it drives youth who wish for a different pastime and environment away from the streets into the clubhouses. It is this environment in which the BGCA wishes to engage and make a difference. They are putting themselves in the right places.

Implications

Neighborhood risk is not a necessary ingredient for a successful youth center. Youth centers may exist in neighborhoods that do not have high risk associated with them; it is more the specific mission of the BGCA that requires clubhouses to serve at-risk, lower-income youth. It seems that when a clubhouse is located in high-risk neighborhood, it becomes a safe-haven as well as a recreation and education center, which is an attractive element for those who wish to stay away from trouble. Thus, coupled with other elements of friendly staff, good programs, etc., neighborhood risk acts as a catalyst for youth center use. One can predict then, that a youth center in a high-risk area is likely to have youth visit its facilities for the safe environment it provides.

Chapter 8: Recommendations

8.1 Design that matters

The findings regarding the importance of programmatic elements of youth centers, such as activities, staff, and accessibility, are not surprising. Programs are dependent on the people who run them and often times can only be as good as their managers. Accessibility as a variable also seems to be an intuitively obvious characteristic of importance. A beautifully designed clubhouse without capable management and programs will never succeed as a magnet for youth activity without ensuring that youth can enter the clubhouses as safe havens of enjoyable activity and memorable relationships.

What is interesting is that in the quest to discover if design truly makes a difference, a multi-faceted approach to interior design was found to significantly impact the usability and management of a clubhouse, while architectural elements involving the exterior seem to have no effect on youth centers. In a nutshell, this seems to indicate that the inside, not the outside, matters.

This is strange to conclude in light of the fact that many of the newest clubhouses, such as the Blue Hill Clubhouse and the Chelsea Clubhouse, have substantial material and coloration to make the exteriors as visually pleasing as possible. The Chelsea Clubhouse stands out as a brightly colored blue, purple, orange and green mass of curved and angular shapes in the middle of a grey and brick neighborhoods. The Blue Hill Clubhouse's bright

yellow and red entrance hail all as they approach the sole building that occupies a large field.

Yet, these clubhouses do not vary in user frequency from those that have brown or red brick non-descript buildings with limited transparencies. In fact, the clubhouse with the highest recorded use during peak hours was the Roxbury Clubhouse, which has been part of an expansion or renovation project in the past four decades. Both the Roxbury and Daniel Marr buildings are large, rectangular buildings who exterior solidness of materials and limited interaction with the outside strike in viewer on approach.

What is the difference? The Roxbury and Daniel Marr clubhouse were built during eras when the city was considered the worst of social evils. White flight, a rise in crime, and ethnic minority concentration were all associated with both Roxbury and Dorchester. Housing depreciation and the lack of public funds that come with a lower income tax base all had a part in decreasing the value of these neighborhoods' public services. If anything, the limited interaction that these two clubhouses have with the outside indicates that these clubhouses were built to be safe havens, tiny community centers for youth tucked away from the "mess" of the city. The Daniel Marr main building is solid concrete, no windows. Its entrance is hardly inviting; one gets the impression that once entered, nothing from the outside, including a stray bullet, can pierce through those walls.

The Chelsea and Blue Hill Clubhouses were built very recently. Community meetings were held, and significant processes were undertaken

to ensure that the clubhouses could serve their youth well and also at times serve the community for different meeting functions. There is something about the clubhouses that suggest that they are flagship buildings, particularly the monolithic Blue Hill Clubhouse. The pressures behind designing a clubhouse, a youth center, may be very different today that they were decades ago. What used to be enclosed, deaf-and-blind-to-the-world safe-haven buildings are now community markers; symbolism, community meaning, and other such design pressures are behind designers and owners as such buildings are being established. Though this is another thesis topic that cannot be answered in this paper, have such design requirements for internal community spaces really helped to increase the opportunities present in facilities? Within this paper, such design developments that have increasingly involved the exterior seem to make no difference.

8.2 Designing future youth centers: the Roxbury Clubhouse model

If there were to exist such a thing as the most valuable player award for clubhouse buildings, I would give it to the Roxbury Clubhouse. This is not to undervalue the work and success of all other clubhouses; they all are part of a team of youth centers working towards the same purpose. In terms of a clubhouse that distinguishes itself, especially in the categories previously discussed, I propose following the model of the Roxbury Clubhouse.

Maintenance has been low and expansions non-existent in the Roxbury Clubhouse. Considering that more recent clubhouses have

expanded or are undergoing plans of expansion, this difference is striking. Though it is likely tied to the executive director's priorities, the clubhouse is under the same BGCB bureaucracy of which the expanded clubhouses are a part. Thus something beyond the program and budgeting, something in the design of the space, has helped to keep capital improvement costs low and thus free up more budget space for programs and staff. This is valuable and such be emulated.

The ease of surveillance in the clubhouse is also one of the best. The open atrium and glass interior walls allow staff to view multiple rooms and activities at once. During rotations, the bustle of users gives the atrium hallway an ambience of intense activity, contributing to a feeling of community. Staff offices look into rooms through glass walls on both sides, and youth are hard pressed to find spaces to cause trouble unsupervised.

The clubhouse was also built with pool and gym facilities that meet today's standards, even after nearly forty years. This indicated a designer and owner perspective that allowed for large, future-oriented spaces. The expansion that the Roxbury Clubhouse is slated for is not due to small pool or gym size, as was the case with the South Boston and Charlestown expansions. It is because the clubhouses simply needs more space in general to serve its intense use overall. This clubhouse had the highest peak hour use and all of its rooms were well used during times of observation.

The Roxbury Clubhouse also is located near frequently running public transportation and has many school buses drop off youth after school. The physical and programmatic accessibility of this clubhouse should be imitated.

As for seasonal adaptability, this clubhouse was also the sole clubhouse that saw more use in the summer. Particularly in neighborhoods where crime is high, youth centers should be creative in attracting users during summer hours. Further studies should be done to determine what about the Roxbury Clubhouse has enabled it to keep its appeal during summer hours.

Overall, the Roxbury Clubhouse is a youth center that maximizes surveillance, minimizes maintenance and expansion needs, and attracts users continually successfully. It has been able to offer a variety of innovative and appealing programs to its youth. This example is valuable in future designs of youth centers.

8.3 Relevance to community centers

This paper began with a discussion of current debate about the relevance and importance of public spaces. It introduced community centers as privatized, indoor public spaces and youth centers as a specialized form of community meeting space. What I hoped to gain from this research were recommendations from observations about youth centers that could then be applied to the more general category of community facilities.

Chapters five through seven discussed the applications that designers and youth center organizers can pursue from these findings. However, are

these conclusions still relevant to other centers of communal activity, for public space even? The analyses of the previous chapters are still applicable, but may have different degrees of relevance.

What is necessary in a tightly controlled, high-surveillance, extensively programmed youth center may not be needed in community facilities. Community centers require less surveillance than what is exerted in watching over youth; outdoor public spaces require even less control and surveillance other than the natural, informal ones formed by friends, family, and neighbors that use the outdoor spaces. Community centers and outdoor public spaces may actually require some private, less transparent spaces that allow intimate, low visibility meetings to happen. Thus, this variable does not have the same weight it held before.

Also, since it is possible that community centers are less dependent on programs led by trained supervisors and more open to peer management and elected or volunteered personnel, the emphasis on capable staff may also be to a lesser degree. In the case of outdoor spaces, it may be more important to establish a consistent maintenance crew and system to ensure the constant visual beauty of the public space. Staff-persons are still important, but they may be responsible for different things.

Appropriate facilities and spaces are always necessary, though it may be more unpredictable to determine exactly what is appropriate, as some community centers may desire recreation spaces, while others will advocate for health facilities, or others may ask for meeting spaces. Outdoor spaces

may contain gardens, tot-lots, or plazas, but they may not be used for a number of reasons, such as an unforgiving climate, dangerous neighborhood conditions, or litter. Thus, it is more difficult to determine what is needed in such spaces because no set formula is the answer.

Programs are also important for places such as community centers; however, they may not be dependent on rigorous programming, and those programs may be less dependent on facilities and staff. Senior citizens can play bridge and bingo in a variety of rooms; informal health clinics can happen in gyms or meetings spaces. Community centers have the potential to serve a wider audience; this widening of a target population makes the facilities and programming needed more flexible and open-ended.

In terms of buildings, it seems wise for community centers to be unrestricted by their initial conditions. They may face expansion needs in ways that I am not equipped to answer in this document; however, it is likely that an understanding and friendly building owner perspective is desirable, since it may be possible to plan for a community center that will be less likely to be hindered by maintenance and expansion issues with the support of the building owner.

It is also questionable whether or not age-appropriate design and circulation are applicable to community centers and public spaces. It seems wise to separate children from adults in community centers, and those places can go even further to separate teens from non-teens. Outdoors spaces can follow natural delineation by the use of playgrounds and tot-lots.

Accessibility is an important aspect that all facilities and spaces should have. Community centers should also look into having school-bus drop-offs if they have the capacity to hold so many children. Placing parks, plazas, and neighborhood-use buildings within residential walking distance or near frequently running transit systems is a desirable practice to follow.

Seasonal adaptability is a characteristic that very few open spaces, with the exception of a few such as Rockefeller Plaza, have. However, designers of both indoor and outdoor neighborhood spaces should consider how seasonal changes will affect use and what programs and policies should accompany the use of such spaces. Ice-skating and sledding could happen in a park. Community centers may have to understand, like youth centers, what they can do in the warmer weathers to serve its constituents. However, since a drop in visits is not necessarily a negative indication as it can be for the clubhouses interviewed here, seasonal adaptability may not be as important a consideration to follow.

Bureaucracy is again an element that does not need to exist in community centers, though it is probably necessary in public outdoor spaces. The same observations of the pros and cons of bureaucracy involving youth centers apply here.

Neighborhood risk may make a beautiful open space an undesirable place. The tennis courts across from the Chelsea Clubhouse were not used because of illegal activity that occurs there. For open spaces, high neighborhood risk may make such places unusable and unfriendly to

neighborhood residents. The same risk that drives youth to youth centers may also spur residents to use a community center. That also remains to be explored.

Conclusion

Design makes a tangible difference. I have found this satisfying answer, the opposite of my hypothesis, as I studied these clubhouses. This conclusion is also welcome because it suggests that good design is also valuable to lower income communities, something I had been doubtful of at the start of this thesis. I invite the reader to explore how else design makes a difference in spaces for community activity.

Works Cited

- Bolotnick et all. Recreation Facilities. Publications in Architecture & Urban Planning. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee: Milwaukee 1984.
- Childs, Mark C. Squares: A Public Place Design Guide for Urbanists. University of Mexico Press: Albuquerque. 2004
- Grant, Jill. The drama of democracy: contention & dispute in community planning. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*. Winnipeg: Dec 1995. Vol. 4, Iss. 2; p. 334.
- Grant, Jill. Next generation neighborhoods: finding a focus for planning residential environments. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*. Winnipeg: Dec 1997. Vol. 6, Iss. 2; p. 111.
- Hajer, Maarten and Reijndorp, Arnold. "In search of New Public Domain." NAI Publishers: Rotterdam, 2001
- Harper, Jonathan. Community Center. *Lambda Book Report*. Washington: Oct 2002. Vol. 11, Iss. 3; p. 43
- Hester, Randolph T. Neighborhood Space. Stroudsburg: Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross, Inc. 1975.
- Hester, Randolph T. Planning Neighborhood Space with People. Van Nostrand Reinhold Company: New York. 1984.
- Kuo, Frances, William Sullivan, Rebekah Levine Coley, and Liesette Brunson. 1998. Fertile ground for community: Inner-city neighborhood common spaces. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. 26, 6: 823-51.
- Lackney, Jeffrey A. and Moore, Gary T. Educational Facilities for the Twenty-First Century: Research Analysis and Design Patterns. *Publications in Architecture and Urban Planning Research*. R94-1, 1994.
- Madanipour, Ali. Public and Private Spaces of the City. Routledge: New York. 2003.
- MEXICAN COMMUNITY CENTER. *All Things Considered*. Washington, D.C.: Nov 24, 1997. p. 1.

Moore, Gary T. et al. Recommendations for Child Care Centers. Children's Environment Project: Milwaukee. 1979

Talen, Emily. The Problem with Community in Planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*. Columbus: Nov 2000. Vol. 15, Iss. 2; p. 171-175.

Whyte, William. The Essential William H. Whyte. Fordham University Press: New York 2000.

Whyte, William. City. Doubleday: New York 1988.

	Boston	Charlestown	Chelsea	North Dorchester	South Dorchester	Roxbury	East Boston	South Boston
population	589141	28282	35080	28775	63340	56658	38413	29965
white	291561	11946	13424	10241	19012	2742	19078	25327
black	140305	539	1971	7003	26432	35441	1177	741
Asian	44280	761	1626	3788	6066	355	1553	1166
Hispanic	85089	14990	16984	4075	64.93	13827	14990	2244
other	9732	46	999	1931	2360	1964	511	120

	Charlestown	Chelsea	North Dorchester	South Dorchester	Roxbury	East Boston	South Boston
white	42.24%	38.27%	35.59%	30.02%	4.84%	49.67%	84.52%
black	1.91%	5.62%	24.34%	41.73%	62.55%	3.06%	2.47%
Asian	2.69%	4.64%	13.16%	9.58%	0.63%	4.04%	3.89%
Hispanic	53.00%	48.42%	14.16%	10.25%	24.40%	39.02%	7.49%
other	0.16%	2.85%	6.71%	3.73%	3.47%	1.33%	0.40%

Appendix A: Race Statistics for Boys & Girls Club Neighborhoods

Appendix B: Population Statistics for Boys & Girls Club Neighborhoods

spalding data

	people/ hhld	median age	median hhd inc	median home value	home-own	violent crime risk index	property crime risk index	median age
national	2.6	36.5	\$38,353	\$126,047	63.40%	3	3.2	36.5
Boston	2.5	36.7	\$68,313	\$259,721	61.00%	2.7	3.3	36.7
Charlestown	2	33.9	\$57,287	\$297,400	29.40%	7	7	33.9
Chelsea	2.6	31.4	\$41,220	\$157,700	26.90%	7	7	31.4
Dorchester	2.8	29.6	\$36,853	\$135,500	21.00%	8	7	29.6
East Boston	2.3	34	\$39,209	\$151,600	28.10%	7	7	34
Roxbury	2	33	\$40,488	\$204,100	17.10%	7	6	33
South Boston	2.1	34.8	\$43,534	\$194,700	28.60%	8	7	34.8

	Blue Hill	Charlestown	Chelsea	Dan Marr	Roxbury	Salesian	South Boston
<i>function</i>							
What facilities does your center have?							
Are you on a rotation schedule?	Y	Y			Y	y	
pool			X	x			x
gym	x	x	X	x	x	x	x
work-out room		x	X	x			x
computer room	x	x	X	x	x	x	x
art room	x	x	X	x	x	x	x
education room	x	x	X	x	x	x	
science room/ lab		x					
multi-purpose room		x		x			x
auditorium		x	X				x
performing arts space		x	X		x		
music room		x					x
games room	x	x	X		x	x	x
teen room	x	x	X	x	x	x	x
computer room		x	X	x		x	x
ed center		x				x	
meeting spaces		x	X			x	x
snack/kitchen room		x	X	x		x	
daycare room		x		x	3 rooms		x
social worker		x	X				
playground				x		x	
chapel						x	

Appendix C: Existing facilities

Appendix D: Hours and Terms of Use

	Blue Hill	Charlestown	Chelsea	Dan Marr	Roxbury	Salesian	South Boston
The center is used more in...							
winter/school year	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
summer/vacation					X		
	s- field trips			different kids			
When, if ever, is the center crowded?							
2-3PM							
3-4PM	X	x	x		x	x	x
4-5PM	X	X	x	X	X	X	X
5-6PM		X	x	X	X	X	x
6-7PM				x	x	X	
7-8PM						X	
8-9PM						x	
When are your "quiet" hours? How many kids are there during those hours?							
1-2PM	x	x			x		
2-3PM						x	X
3-4PM				x		x	x
6-7PM		x					
7-8PM		x	x				
8-9PM			x	x			
	teen center is unpredictable						

Staffing	Blue Hill	Charlestown	Chelsea	Dan Marr	Roxbury	Salesian	South Boston
How many staffpersons work at the center?							
paid staffpersons (full)		15	15	13	40	30	4
paid staffpersons (part)			10	3	80		20
junior		7	10	some of the above		96-7 j	15
volunteer staffpersons:	20-25	30 tutors	20-22		425 30-40		150
		70-80 volunteers		more than half special events	20 senior citizens	umpires, etc	
				15 of them are steady weekly presence			
How long does the average staffperson work at the center?							
full time	3-5 years	10+ yrs	5-6yrs	16 yrs	5 years	3 yrs	16 yrs
volunteer	1 year						
What qualifications must a staffperson have in order to work with youth?						subscribe to Salesian dept head- BA preventive system	depends on position
	CORI-checked	check interview	exp with kids	alums come in-	good sense of what's going on		
	depends on dept	degrees-certs	connect with kids	people in comm-	often don't have degrees		
Do you have a board?	n?	y	y	y	y	y	y
how many		1	30	businesspeople	50	14	12
	in the past, had 5-6, including boston police, CEO's from community centers	expertise, influence	no parents	community, business	community	lawyers, construction, accountants, insurance agents--	biz, teachers, former club members, parents
Who makes up the board?						don't raise money that well, but exert pol. Influence	
parents on board?		commissioner O'toole		parents	good board- very active		

Appendix E: Staff Capacities

	Blue Hill	Charlestown	Chelsea	Dan Marr	Roxbury	Salesian	South Boston	
What are three items you would put on a wish list for the center?								total
bigger budget					1			1
more space/bigger building	1					1		2
better location			1					1
transportation for kids			1				1	2
fully staffed	1	1			1	1		4
more resources for staff		1	1	1			1	4
outdoor facilities		1				1	1	3
more resources for kids				1	1			2
renovations							1	1

Appendix G: Wish Lists

Appendix H: Interviews with Youth

Reason for coming/why they like it here								
	Blue Hill	Charlestown	Chelsea	Dan Marr	Roxbury	Salesian	South Boston	
User-friendly						1		1
learn how to do things				1	2	1		4
facilities			3	3	1	1		8
fun activities		3	4	3	5	1	3	19
don't want to be on streets/in trouble					3	3	1	7
have nothing else to do			5					5
like a home, been here since xxxx					1	1		2
fun with friends		2	2	1	4	3	5	17
like to do activity X		2	3	10	1	2	4	22
can do homework		1	1	1	1		5	9
staff		1	2	1			2	6
parent tells her she has to			1					1
don't know		1			1			2

Counts							
	Blue Hill	Charlestown	Chelsea	Dan Marr	Roxbury	Salesian	South Boston
number of kids		161	129	100	190	91	55
time of note		4:30 PM	5:45 PM	5:00 PM	4:00 PM	4:00 PM	3:30 PM

1-24-07 9:00