SETTINGS FOR COLLECTIVE CONTROL:

DESIGN AND PROGRAMMATIC PROPOSITIONS FOR THE REINFORCEMENT OF RESIDENT SERVICE CAPACITY IN LOW-INCOME HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

by

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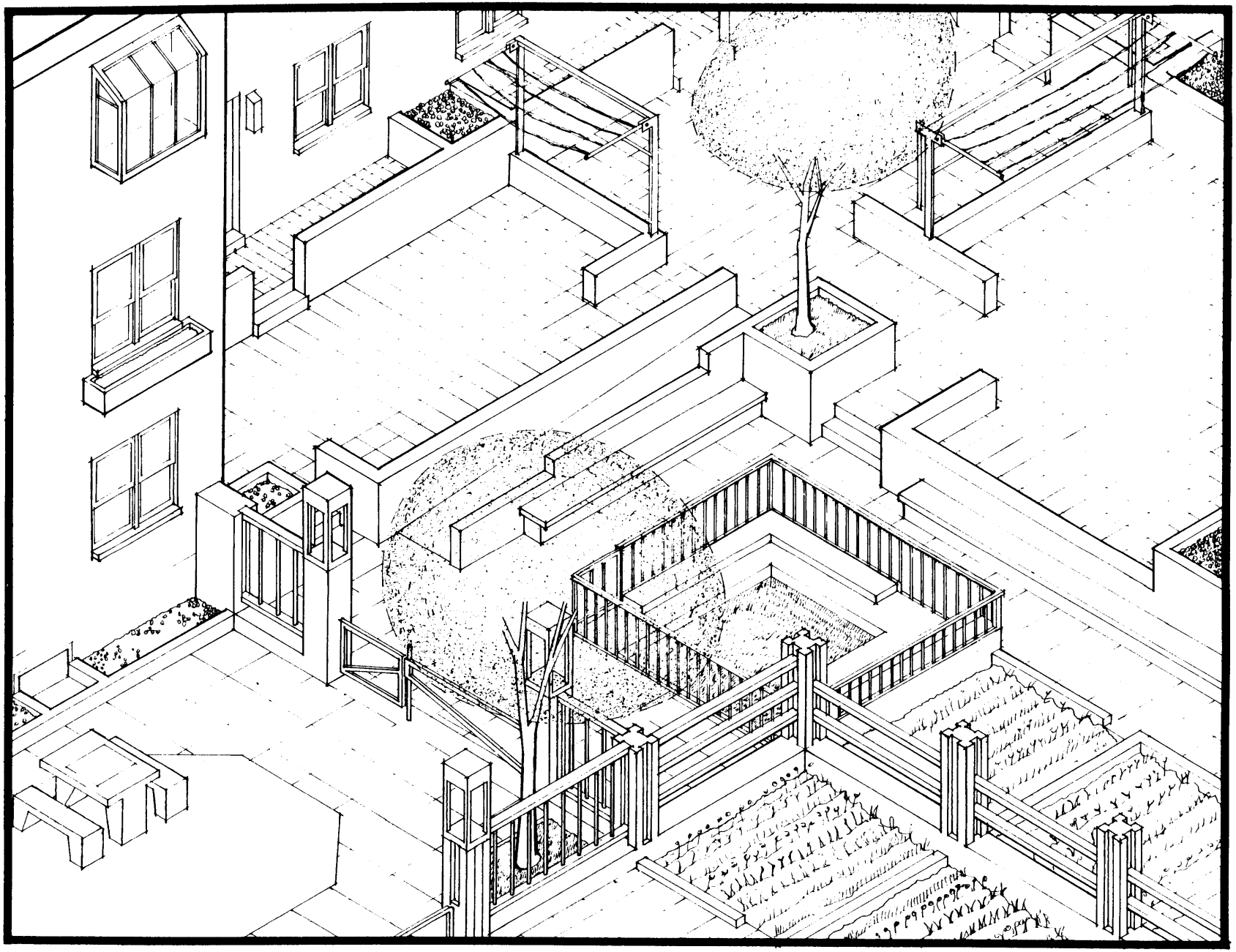

Settings for Collective Control:

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ABSTRACT

Major "redevelopment" projects are being planned and undertaken by the Boston Housing Authority to reverse the "cycle of deterioration" threatening the existence of most of Boston's largest and oldest public housing developments. This thesis focuses on the West Broadway and Franklin Field Developments which have together been earmarked by State and Federal governments to receive a total of nearly $50 million for "redevelopment" programs.

The central problem concerning this thesis is the lack of design and programmatic principles with which to apply not only the information generated by recent housing research but that of the collective service needs, capacities and responsibilities existing for present and future communities in public housing.

The physical and social contexts as the West Broadway Development are examined as the bases for design and programmatic "propositions" generated to define the following "organizational elements": circulation hierarchy, residential clustering, service supports and facilities, and service facility clusters. The propositions are intended to provide explicit definition to existing and potential levels of resident organization and collective service responsibilities, levels which are seen as essential where residents are destined to become increasingly more involved in the management, maintenance and security of their non-private living environment.

The "propositions" are then applied to the Franklin Field development to evaluate their generalizability outside a specific context. The application served both to illuminate a number of new opportunities for and constraints upon the use of the propositions and to distinguish general 'service zones' which represent relatively distinct sets of security and maintenance problems and associations between household clusters.

A compilation of relevant excerpts from recent housing research literature is presented in the Appendices to supplement the analyses, and propositions forwarded for each of the main "organizational elements" as highlighted in the main chapters.

Thesis Supervisor: Tunney Lee
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I am also indebted to those whom I have come across and interviewed during the course of my research, including Peggy Mullen and Don Gillis - Supervisors in West Broadway's Community Organization Department; Phil Horn - Community Organizer at Franklin Field, Myra Macado - Executive Director, Tenant Policy Council; Basil Tommy - Franklin Field Coordinator for the BHA, and the residents of both developments who willingly gave their time and effort.

I would like to register a special thanks to Sandra Howell and Gary Hack, members of my thesis committee, and particularly to Tunney Lee, my thesis advisor for encouragement and guidance since the inception of my interest in space-use programming and multi-family housing. Gratitude must also go out to Maurice Smith, Jack Myer, and Chester Sprague, who combined to make my stay in the Department of Architecture so rewarding.

Appreciation is also forwarded to Liz Manzi for her unfailingly patient typing effort. And ultimately, there is the invaluable assistance provided by Adra Smith, whose stamina and supportive presence, not to mention editing skills, assured a sane and satisfying completion of the document here presented.

To my parents and grandparents

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1. The Larger Problem

The physical deterioration of subsidized housing developments built 25 to 30 years ago is rapidly reaching a point beyond which any attempt at reclaiming them will be simply economically infeasible. High construction costs, due to high inflation and interest rates, have combined with massive budget reductions in Federal and State housing programs to intensify the dilemma.

The problem becomes even more significant when it is remembered that since 1960, virtually no low-income subsidized housing has been built in the U.S., a situation undoubtedly to be continued.

In Boston today, over 10 percent of the population resides in public housing. Approximately 65,000 people occupy an estimated 22,000 family and elderly units,[1] over 14,000 of which are located in large developments built before 1954.[2] And so it goes despite statistics from the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs which revealed that by 1970 in Boston there were 96,045 families in need of public housing assistance.[3] Not only is the shortage of medium standard low-income housing increasing, but such housing is either being rapidly consumed through urban gentrification or being allowed to deteriorate beyond habitability as is the case of the Franklin Field and West Broadway housing developments.

For local housing authorities, the situation translates into one of an increasing multiplicity of physical and social problems waiting to be faced with decreasing financial and staff resources. Local housing authorities, stripped of operating subsidies due to the unmarketability of their developments, are being forced to transfer many of the service and policy making responsibilities over to the residents.

It is understood by the Boston Housing Authority and residents alike that, with the conservative mood affecting government expenditures, and a pressing need for major physical rehabilitation, the present state and Federal money suplied under the pilot modernization program of 1980 may very well represent the last chance to save much of this housing.

The harsh realities impacting the future of

low-income housing have transformed many traditional ideas about what constitutes a healthy living environment. Unfortunately, professional recognition of these ideas has occurred more as a matter of situational reflections supported by government policy rather than out of a conviction for professional research and documentation (See Appendix A: Origins of Form: The First Thirty Years).

Common sense understandings about the most basic conditions necessary to a satisfactory living environment, once ignored out of ideological conflict and for a lack of statistical support, are being substantiated through the efforts of such environmental researchers as Oscar Newman, Clare Cooper, Jane Jacobs, Sandra Howell, John Zeisel, and others.

2. The Immediate Problem

The central problem concerning this thesis is the lack of design and programmatic principles which respond not only to the information generated by recent housing research but to the collective service needs, capacities and responsibilities unique to present and future populations in existing public housing developments. Current government (BHA, HUD, etc.) design standards, codes, and guidelines, while beginning to incorporate research-bread insights, are developed primarily to respond to the requirements of a centralized government bureaucracy (See Appendix A).

Such regulations were not developed to address the organizational needs and reinforce the service capabilities of existing communities, but to define static "minimums" and suggest general features. They found affirmation in a "loose-fit" design ideologies, that flexibility provides freedom and ambiguity accommodates self-expression; an ideology whose assertions, however, have been borne out only where individual (family and members) control over the living environment is constantly maintained. The "loose-fit" ideology, applied to the 'redevelopment' of public housing, where conservative politics manipulate budgets, high rates of attrition and instability inhibit resident investment, service staff are union protected, and where a resident community is already in place, with its own organizational history, is however, unrealistic. There is, as such, little which suggests to architects and planners involved in the 'redevelopment' process

how they might go about reinforcing the definition of existing (and potential) levels of community organization. The immediate need, therefore, is to examine principles and propositions which can give explicit and distinct definition to existing levels of organization and service responsibilities; levels which are uniquely essential in public housing where residents are destined to become increasingly more involved in the management, maintenance and security of their non-private living environment.

B. THESIS OBJECTIVE

The objective of this thesis therefore, is to generate design and programmatic propositions that reinforce resident service capacity in a specific development, with focus here being on the West Broadway Public Housing Development. The propositions are, as such, developed to achieve maximum "registration" (albeit, "tight fit") between those who use, overlook, and surround different spaces and those who are responsible for regulating their use, ensuring that they are clean and safe, and having them become a source of pride for the community(ies) to which they belong. A central assumption here is that people will be more likely to take the aforementioned responsibilities over spaces which serve personal needs/uses, and which are physically and symbollically associated with a specific residential grouping or organizational level. It is also assumed that resident responsibility over shared space is dependent on not only the above mentioned factors, however, but upon the level of control they can exercise over those operational resources which bear upon the space.

The degree of control tenants can exercise over the development and distribution of budgets, equipment and supplies for maintanance, recreation, and community services, can be facilitated by programmatic and design features which accommodate and suggest the evolution of collective associations between residents. A significant objective of shared space programming and design therefore, is the facilitation of these types of collective control. Such a goal, simply stated by Seymour Saronson, can be considered as the "creation of settings." Saronson states that the "creation of settings...referred to any instance when two or more people come together in

new or sustained relationships to achieve certain goals."[4]

1. Constraints

While the ideal setting to create is one where each and every individual household is provided with individual control and privacy over that amount of interior and exterior space proportionate to their needs, the ability to do so in older public housing developments is proving to be very much dependent on a variety of economic, political, physical, and sociological constraints.

It is widely acknowledged that the definition of individual yard spaces goes farther in contributing to the security, identity, and maintenance of a residential environment than almost any other feature. However, the ability to provide 'private' yards is affected both by the arrangement of units within buildings and the density of those buildings over a site. The physical organization of apartments and buildings can be such that the provision of private territory gives rise to conflicting control, use, and social practices. In the more private interior courtyards, where backyards have been desired by the majority of West Broadway residents, conflicts could arise not only out of inadequate "buffers" and associations between different private interior and exterior territories, but also out of the existence of noticeable disparities in the distribution of physical amenities provided different households. The inconsistency of unit to yard orientation that would be necessary, if it were otherwise affordable for every unit to be given its own yard, could neglect the equally important need to establish intelligible territorial orders and associations which can facilitate mutual security and access control interests/responsibilities.

Conflicts due to environmental disparities can be significant where not all units, such as those on second or third floors, are given private yards, ground accesses, or ground accesses to private yards. The following statements by one West Broadway mother indicate the kind of concern existing among many low-income housing residents for problems associated with the provision of "private" yards for ground floor units.

> "If everybody doesn't have their own private yard, it's not the same...

It's very unfair because the same people use it in the same way and pay the same rent. I could see it is one had to pay $400 and the other had to pay $200, then I could see that they would be entitled to more, but it doesn't work that way, that's why I was trying to say that you would have more fairness...

If it (the private yard) were right under somebody's window you're going to be imposing, that's just like when you're sitting on the stairs you're right in front of sombody's window you know, because now, that's all we have to sit on and you try not to get too rowdy...

This could possibly be my yard.... I'm saying this over to myself, I wouldn't want to be...responsible for moving somebody out...the other people in this building would be so jealous that they'll just destory this...

It's just like when you take a lot of rats and put them in a small cage, they'll go after each other, it's just like when you take 12 families and put them in a small building, they start getting on each others case, and you really have to have a lot of control not to be screaming and hollering at your neighbor because of their kids. If you do that (provide private yards) you're going to have problems...ask people around the project what they think and they'll tell you the truth, it will be just about the same thing." (5)

Another condition affecting the 'feasibility' of individual yards can be seen to stem from the negative attitudes and opinions which the residents have of management and maintenance staff. Many of the older residents who have lived longest at West Broadway, and tend to be both more outspoken and have fewer children, have also tended not to emphasize the issue of individual yards as an important design priority. While it is in part a reflection of the communal nature of the old life style, this tendency can be seen to overlie what is for such residents, a fundamental idea of how the development originally looked and was operated by the housing authority. With the development's progressive deterioration, the general level of resident suspicion and animosity toward the housing authority has increased. That can increase the tendency of residents to resist undertaking maintenance and security responsibilities. Resident recognition of this tendency can be seen in the original 1969 Multi-Service Center Proposal, presented to the BHA by the newly formed West Broadway Tenant Task Force Committee, Inc. Amongst the many problems to be addressed by the new Center were the following:

> Fear of management, -the one who controls their living situation, stimulates insecurity and powerlessness over their destiny. Because of these fears the residents may find that the safest course to follow is to keep to yourself and mind your own business.
>
> In this way, the total milieu of the project, attitude toward management and other tenants perpetuates itself in a vicious cycle, which lessens interaction.
>
> The new residents don't know much about the community. They don't know about services, or how to meet their needs. And when they learn they may not respond, because of apathy, isolation, or fear of rejection or physical harm en route." (6)

Residents may view the shifting of such responsibilities to them as just another way of relieving housing authority accountability for problems residents view as having arisen out of staff negligence and deficiencies inherent to the entire housing system. William Diaz, in his 1979 report to HUD evluation the national tenant-management demonstration grant program, writes:

> Tenants may not want tenant management, either because they are satisfied with the management being provided or, if they are not satisfied, because they do not believe it is their responsibility to resolve long standing problems of public housing. (7)

The implication of the abovementioned constraints should not be taken to mean that individual outdoor space for low-income households is not an important physical requirement, nor would not be taken care of were it provided. The advantages, costs, and conflicts of doing so must be weighed with those of alternative designs for individual developments.

There is one constraint which is common to all design proposals however, here termed as "budgetary deflation." The time-lag between redevelopment legislation and actual construction has a history of rendering a budgetary allowance inadequate for meeting goals originally developed for/by residents. There this is indeed a possibility, as is the case at West Broadway and Franklin Field, the choice must be made between spreading the funding evenly over the entire site to the benefit of all residents, or concentrating it in localized areas to the benefit of local groups. It is a choice which the BHA apparently understands as being based upon the effectiveness which such strategies have against a complex cycle of physical deterioration and resident discouragement plaguing its developments. Lewis H. Spence, Director of the BHA stated during

a talk given at MIT that with respect to the two developments in 1980:

> "We were not going to spend the $20 million dollars...(as) a very important first principle...unless we were reasonably certain that there was a fairly good likelihood, at least a reasonable risk...that the capital investment was as likely to be maintained as destroyed. If we were certain that it would be destroyed we weren't going to invest." (8)

The 'even-spread' strategy can be said to typify the BHA's approach to investing past modernization allocations, as well as to be the source of much of the disillusionment and cynicism felt by the residents who saw original proposals watered down by construction delays, inflation, and endless procedural and code requirements. The 'local-completion' strategy, though untested, seems to provide a better guarrantee to West Broadway residents, that the 'fruits of their labors' will in fact ripen, regardless of how few ever get to the 'market place.' As to the strategy chosen for West Broadway, Spence remarked:

> We were not going to do cosmetic rehab...we had to make major changes in the design of...anonymous and undefined public areas...which meant that $20 million dollars was insufficient to do the job. We needed, in fact, roughly $30 million in today's dollars. Therefore it became clear that we could only do portions of the development. (9)

Even though the question as to when and where money for the unfinished portions of the development would come remained unanswered, the 'local-completion' strategy can be seen to better reinforce resident initiatives and participation in the redevelopment process. Increasing resident responsibility in the areas of management and maintenance is understood as a prerequisite to the goal of attaining a "lasting capital investment." It will serve as the most convincing evidence of the program's feasibility and, as such it's worthiness for additional funding.

The organizational capacity and political sophistication of the West Broadway community became evident when they confronted the issue of which sections would be completed in phase one (the $20 million) and which would await further funding. Led by the resident Task Force Board, the West Broadway community opposed the BHA's plan to start with the most stable, consolidated, and front-most areas of the development. The Task Force Board had their architect/consultant draw up an alternative plan which began in the

will be briefly discussed as it serves to further illuminate the extent to which these propositions are affected by a different set of constraints and level of community organization, and are, as such generalizable beyond a specific context. The following is a series of basic assumptions which are here taken to underlie the development of these propositions

2. Assumptions

- that providing every household in the West Broadway and Franklin Field developments with individually controlled yard space is 'infeasible' and that the goal of redevelopment efforts therefore depends upon the creation of settings for collective control wherein distinctive physical and symbolic associations are made to resident based service groups and reinforcement provided their responsibilities.
- that residents will be increasingly looked toward as providers of services formerly the responsibility of housing authority staff.
- that resident capacity to undertake maintenance, security, and management responsibilities will depend upon the level of formal organization they are able to achieve.
- that responsibility for these tasks requires the existence of formally recognized collective relationships at each residential level within the site.
- that the development of collective relationships results from mutually reinforcing relationships between shared needs, service capacity and responsibilities, and physical associations.
- that for physical definition to be meaningful it must help define and reinforce the identity of need serving collective relationships.
- that the formalization of collective relationships into organized resident service groups reinforces its:

    1) operational development and functional performance
    2) value as a mechanism for information dissemination, education and training
    3) value as a source of individual and community identity
    4) value as an incentive for tenant involvement
    5) ability to reinforce other relationships operating at levels above and below.

C. STRUCTURE OF PROPOSITIONS

There exists for the West Broadway Development much information describing the historical development of its social, political, and territorial organization. Its tradition as a politically volatile and resourceful resident community has afforded unique and valuable opportunities for the informal collection of a wide variety of information on resident-service efforts and concerns. It is a type of information considered important to the goal of generating programmatic and design propositions which reinforce those collective service efforts and territorial associations occurring at various levels within a given development. The propositions are intended for 'feasible' application to official redevelopment aims for "lasting capital investments" and "community control."[12]

The main chapters of this thesis have been organized to correspond with four basic types of 'organizational elements' which together, can be considered to make up a given residential setting and which individually, can influence the level of resident collective control over and territorial identity with it.

They are listed below in the order presented:

Chapter 3: CIRCULATION HIERARCHY
Chapter 4: RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING
Chapter 5: SERVICE SUPPORTS AND FACILITIES
Chapter 6: SERVICE FACILITY CLUSTERS

Each chapter is, in turn, organized into the following four sections, which together represent a sequential process found valuable for the generation and presentation of the propositions. They are:

1. Contextual Analysis of West Broadway
2. Functional Objectives for Design and Program
3. Presentation of Design and Programmatic Propositions
4. Research Review (located in Appendices)

They are discussed below in greater detail.

1. Contextual Analysis of West Broadway

The purpose of undertaking an analysis of a specific and evolving context, such as that of West Broadway, is to provide the opportunity for first hand collection and synthesis of information. Such an opportunity is deemed vital to efforts to generate design and programmatic propositions which reinforce both existing collective relationships and territorital identity, and maximize the feasibility of resident controlled

maintenance, security, and recreational services. The emphasis of the analysis will be on existing examples of collective responsibilities, activities and territorial associations found at different residential levels throughout the site. Underlying this is the understanding that 'local' forms and efforts of collective control can represent considerable investment on the part of residents--the recognition of which can support the concerns of residents and serve as incentive for further participation in service efforts. It is a contention supported by this thesis that the reinforcement of resident identity, can best be achieved through design and programming, where it most directly reflects both their existing organizational and service efforts, and social and physical associations.

The presentation of information is roughly structured to make up a sequence of progressively less inclusive organizational levels evidenced within the development. This is to say, for example, that 'circulation hierarchies' existing at West Broadway are discussed first as they serve to define the site, then as they define the 'village', the 'courtyard', the 'building', and ultimately the 'shared entry'.

Information used in the 'contextual analyses' as undertaken in each of the four main chapters (3-6) has been collected through a variety of informal means which include: 1) on-site observations, 2) informal taped interviews with individual residents, housing officials, management, and Task Force Staff, 3) taped design workshop and review meetings between architects, BHA officials and resident groups, and 4) the examination of relevant documents, reports and plans produced by the BHA, architectural firms, resident organizations, and consultants.

2. Functional Objectives for Design and Programmatic Propositions

For each 'organizational element' (Circulation Hierarchies, Residential Clustering, etc.) discussed in this thesis, a general set of functional objectives is developed to clarify those respective conditions considered important to provide in order to reinforce collective service capacity and territorial identity. The objectives represent translations of that information, brought out in the contextual analysis, which is seen as having design and programmatic implications. The

objectives shall serve to direct the generation of specific design and programmatic propositions related to each 'organizational element.'

3. Presentations of Design and Programmatic Propositions

The third section in each of the main chapters is devoted to the presentation of design and programmatic propositions as ways by which the organizational elements described therein can be differentiated to reinforce collective service responsibilities and territorial identity. The mode of presentation is intended to parallel that used for the contextual analyses of the West Broadway Development, in order to emphasize and facilitate the drawing of connections between each. Therefore, proceeding from the most inclusive residential level (i.e. that of the site as a whole) propositions are presented as they have particular application to progressively less inclusive levels of residential organization. The implication is, for example, that propositions presented under Building Level Propositions are to be reinforcing of the territorial identity and service responsibilities of those residents sharing a given building. Diagrams and drawings accompany those propositions for which further explanation as to their application is necessary.

4. Research Review

The final sections of chapters 3-6 are located in the Appendices B, C, and D respectively (Appendix D covers chapters 5 and 6). Here have been compiled exerpts from a wide range of relatively recent housing literature by environmental researchers such as Clare Cooper, Frank Becker, Oscar Newman, and Christopher Alexander. These exerpts have been selected as they bear relevance to the issues covered in each chapter and organized as they correspond to the sequential mode of presentation established for both the contextual analysis and the presentation of propositions. The intent here is: 1) to reveal the diversity of problems, applications; and research perspectives from/for which design and program proposals have/can come, and 2) to supplement the analyses, objectives and propositions set out in the main chapters, as otherwise pertain more specifically to collective levels of service control and territorial identity within a specific development.

5. Presentation of Conclusions

The concluding chapter (Chapter 7) incorporates a brief discussion of the Franklin Field Development as a comparative basis to evaluate the extent to which the propositions, as presented, have application outside the context for/from which they were wrought. The identification of both opportunities for and constraints on their application to this development, which not only has marked physical, social, and political differences from West Broadway, but is currently involved in its own redevelopment process, is intended to afford a more definitive answer to questions on the generalizability of the design and programmatic propositions here presented.

CHAPTER 1 FOOTNOTES

1. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Annual Housing Survey: 1978, U.S. and Regions, Series H-150-78, (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1977).

2. Basil Tommy; "Tenant Management at Bromley Heath: A Case Study." (Unpublished M.C.P. Thesis, Depart. of Urban Studies and Planning, M.I.T., 1979), p. 31.

3. Joseph Fried; Housing Crisis U.S.A. (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 4.

4. Seymour Saronson; The Creation of Settings and the Future Society (London: Jessey-Bass, Inc., 1972), p. 1.

5. Resident of Village G; Transcript from Design Review Workshop at West Broadway Development (South Boston, July 15, 1981).

6. West Broadway Task Force, Inc. Original Multi-Service Center Proposal (South Boston, 1969), p. 7.

7. William Diaz; Tenant Management: An Historical and Analytical Overview (Washington: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, 1978), p. 184.

8. Lewis H. Spence, Director of Boston Housing Authority, Class Lecture on the redevelopment process at West Broadway and Franklin Field Developments (Cambridge, Massachusetts, M.I.T. November 3, 1981).

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid. Spence was quoted as saying "think issues of control are central...building the community organization so that it becomes an instrument of community control and discipline.

CHAPTER 2: ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXTS

A. OVERVIEW

The West Broadway and Franklin Field developments are the two low-income subsidized housing developments in Boston for which money had been specifically earmarked by the state in 1980 for the undertaking of substantial rehabilitation. The combined state expenditure approved for the rehabilitation of these two developments is now nearly $50 million and will likely have to be doubled if the rehabilitation program is to achieve its original goals:

- to make the developments livable physical environments
- to design, negotiate, and implement a co-operative model of management/maintenance services
- to convert the developments into stable, amenable, marketable neighborhoods (1)

For the Boston Housing Authority and the State of Massachusetts, the West Broadway and Franklin Field developments represent a complex and dynamic experiment upon which the fate of a vast majority of the older rapidly deteriorating public housing developments across the state depend. The realization of desired changes in housing policy and the continued attraction of needed federal and state funding will largely depend upon the extent to which the rehabilitation efforts generate significant improvements in tenant satisfaction, development stability, safety, marketability, and public image.

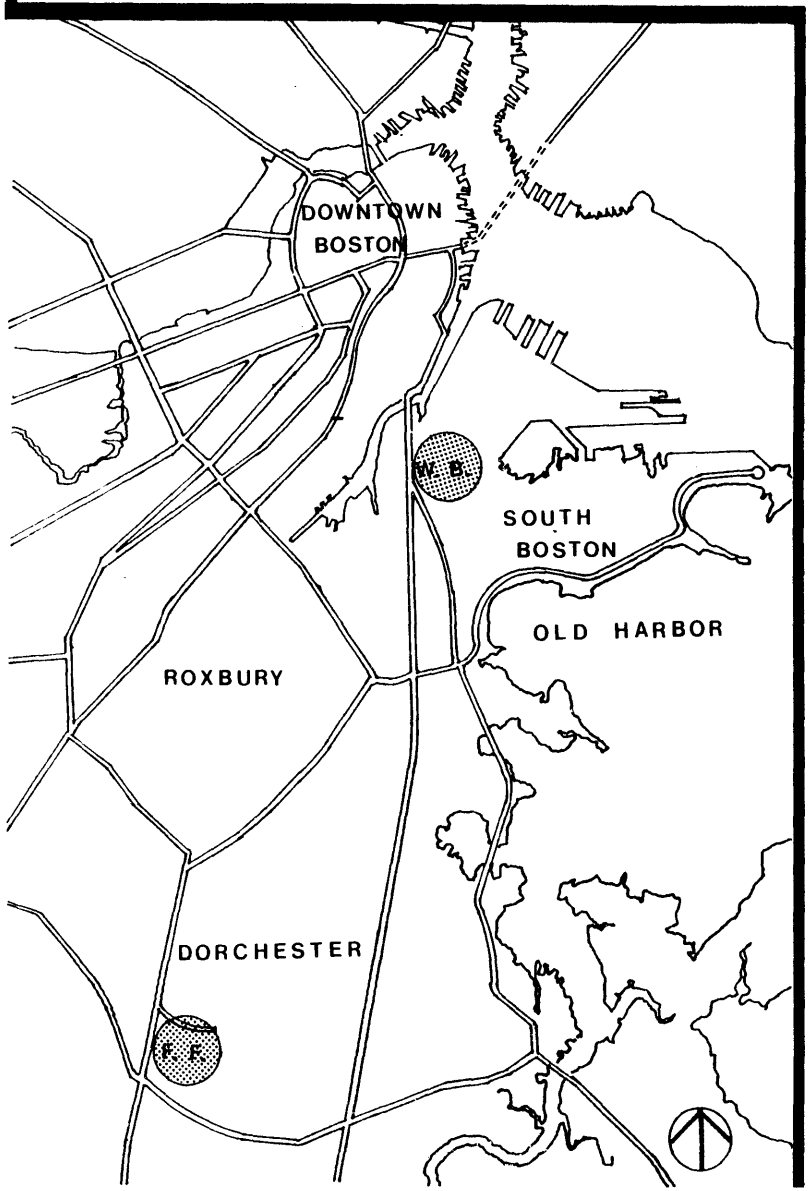
The rehabilitation experiment in Boston is provocative for its juxtaposition under identical program goals, two developments with distinctive parallels and contrasts characterizing their specific social, physical, and political contexts.

The West Broadway Housing Development was built under Chapter 200 acts of 1948. The Chapter 200 program was the first major state-aided housing program, and was authorized to provide low-rent housing for veterans. West Broadway consists of 972 units spread over a site of 27± acres, for a density which is rather high for a low-rise development of 36± units per acre. A 1981 BHA survey showed that 252 or 27% of the units in the development are vacant.

The Franklin Field development was built under the same act in 1953, and represents the third largest Chapter 200 development in Boston. The development contains just over half the number of units (504) found at West Broadway, and is located on a site of roughly 17.5 acres for

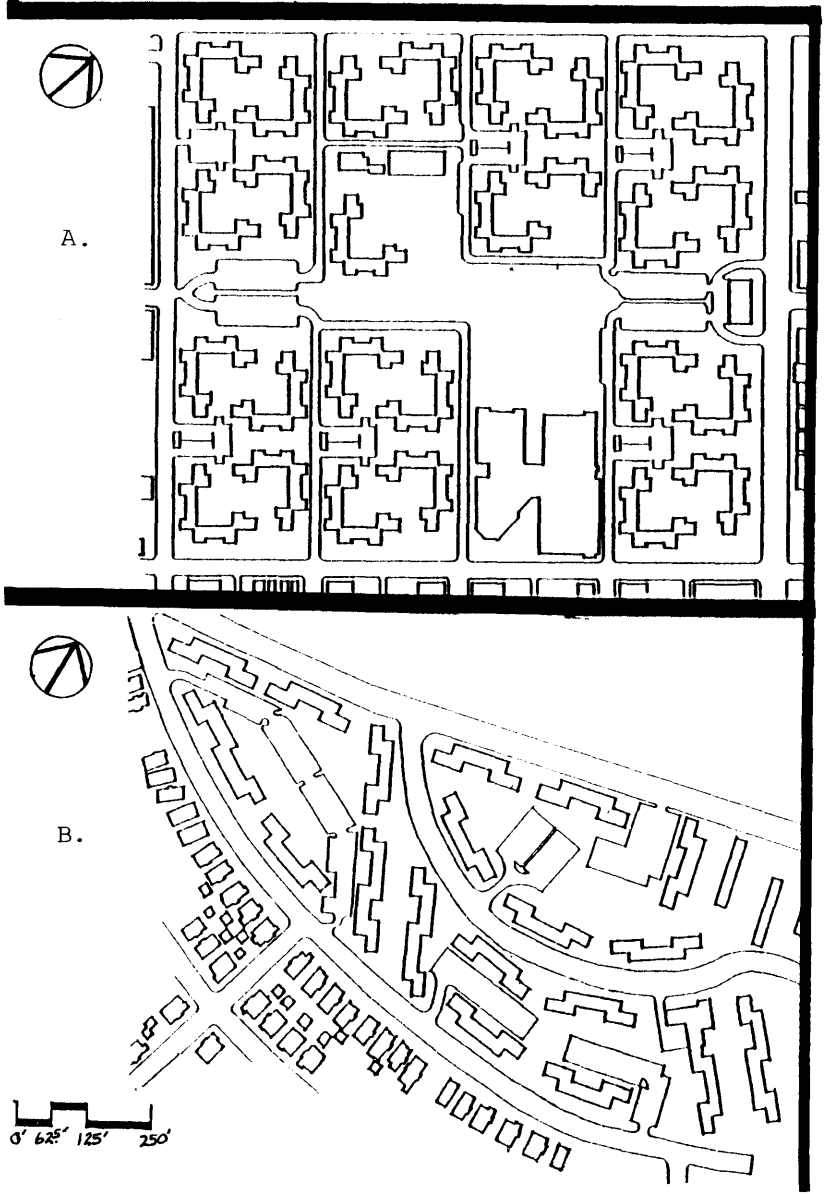
REGIONAL CONTEXT: W.B. - West Broadway

Figure 1. F.F. - Franklin Field



SITE TISSUES: A. West Broadway

Figure 2. B. Franklin Field



a density of 28.8 units per acre; 20% less than that found at West Broadway. Currently 208 or 41% of the units on the site are vacant (compared with 27% at West Broadway).

The physical organization at West Broadway can be described as the result of the repetitive use of a single building pattern and group of patterns over a flat and square shaped site and along a roughly orthogonal street system. The Franklin Field development, on the other hand, is characterized by buildings loosely arranged over a rolling crescent shaped site with variable relation to an informally laid out street system.

A major factor that may represent the most politically volatile issue for the BHA and the State of Massachusetts is that of the different social and political contexts existing for the two developments. The West Broadway is an all white development located in the historically racially segregated community of South Boston, one whose political organization has traditionally been the most powerful in the city. The Franklin Field Development is predominantly black with roughly 15% of the population being hispanic. Franklin Field is located in the District of Dorchester, a district with a predominantly black population and a relatively insignificant influence over city politics (See Figure 1).

The process underlying the selection of these two developments for rehabilitation funding was unabashedly political. It was a process however, which served to equalize the allocation of benefits to each community. An authoritative summary of that process is provided by BHA Director, Lewis Spence, whose illuminatingly candid words were recorded during a talk given to an M.I.T. urban studies class. They are therefore quoted here at length:

> Not long after I arrived...the Massachusetts Legislation considered a bill to provide additional capital to state-aided public housing in Boston. It had started at $50 million and everybody thought that it was never was going to get through the legislature...
>
> Through a series of circumstances that I still don't understand, and with some work by lots of people, including ourselves, it suddenly was raised to $100 million and sailed through the legislature; representing far and away the greatest commitment the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has ever made to public housing.
>
> 20 million dollars of that was specifically, in the legislature, allocated to D-Street (West Broadway), the only specific allocation in the whole legislation. The reason is simple, Senator Bulger of South Boston is

president of the Massachusetts Senate and he wanted to make sure that D-Street got a big chunk of these dollars. Out of $100 million for the entire state, $20 million was targeted to D-Street.

That was due, frankly, with out the Housing Authorities request or initiative or anything. In fact, had I been asked, I probably would have said please don't because we are not ready, I don't know what we would do with it, there are too many problems and oh my God, let's hold off. But there it was, and we rushed in with the usual 'balancing act', at least to get a commitment, that if D-Street was going to get $20 million, then Franklin Field had to get $20 million, because we've got two races in the city, and an emerging third ethnic group in the hispanic community, but at least Franklin Field had to get $20 million. There were informal commitments all around to do that, but nothing in the legislation because that would have disrupted and blown up the whole process, because they were people who would vote for it if it had $20 million for D-Street, but not if it had $20 million for D-Street and Franklin Field, but (who) gave informal commitments to do that...

In addition there were 270 units of section 8 allocations...Normally, Section 8 units go to private developers to build private subsidized housing. In this case it was allocated to a public agency, and the housing authority received 270 units, which could be used for either new construction or substantial rehabilitation. D-Street is actually a state-assisted public housing development. Until the federal dollars appeared, the full responsibility for all the construction and operating costs at D-Street rested with the State of Massachusetts...

The 270 (units) again for purely political reasons was split...between Franklin Field and D-Street... Now what 135 units of Section 8 could do in a 970 unit developement (such as D-Street) other than to rebuild some tiny corner of that development, God only knows. It is evidence of the absolute triumph of politics over common sense... It seemed to me that the Boston Housing Authority...gave two useless things to each community.[2]

2(The preceding quote was taken from a transcript of a lecture by Lewis H. Spence, Director of BHA, given to an urban studies class at M.I.T., Cambridge, Massachusetts on November 3, 1981.)

It is evident from the above remarks, that the recognition of problems and channeling of resources by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have been influenced by a housing authority in the translation, checking and balancing of otherwise conflicting political forces into constructive, be they more palatable, improvements in the city's public housing developments.

Evidence of such diplomatic efficacy is however, fairly recent on the part of the BHA. As

late as 1978, when eight of the state's most needy Chapter 200 developments were selected to share $15 million set aside (out of a $50 million state modernization program (1976)) for the encouragement of pilot modernization programs to demonstrate the feasibility of "comprehensive redevelopment strategies," the West Broadway development received (via a formal contract signed between the EOCD and the BHA) a somewhat disproportionate $6.5 million. West Broadway's share of the "pilot" money was evidently understood to also include actual and quite substantial "modernization" (read: repair and replacement) of the developments basic physical systems. In any case, the total cost of that type of physical modernization for West Broadway was estimated as amounting to nearly twice that provided. Never the less, the social and political organization of West Broadway, whose continued development is considered essential to the long term feasibility of comprehensive redevelopment measures, can be seen to have benefited from such financial transfusions; increasing in breadth and sophistication with each planning task it was given and issue it addressed. The Task Force, in an effort to more effectively organize that input generated in preparation for the "pilot" award, formally expanded its representation to include two members from each of seven "villages" on its board of directors. The BHA had as early as 1969, also given to West Broadway the necessary support for the conversion of 12 apartments into a "Multi-Service Center," and three separate apartments into shared offices for "village" coordinators.

The situation at Franklin Field is quite different. Residents there receive virtually no formal on-site community services, and are without space for a community center, resident meetings, recreation, or offices to support the development of tenant organizations. The Franklin Field development has a resident Task Force Board made up of four members who are elected on an "at-large" basis for two-year terms. The potential influence which the Franklin Field Task Force Board could have upon the level of community organization at Franklin Field has been constrained due to several interrelated factors, some of which are:

1. the lack of proper meeting facilities;
2. the lack of financial and organizational support from the BHA for community service programs;

3. the presence of interpersonal conflicts and suspicions between past and present Task Force Board members;
4. the lack of formal input and feedback mechanisms between and the Task Force.

The architectural and planning consultants, Carr, Lynch and Associates, who have worked with residents at Franklin Field, had as a primary goal, "to actively involve a representative group of Franklin Field residents in the planning process as a means of developing a final redevelopment plan which would most nearly reflect the needs and desires of current population."[3] While their efforts at generating meaningful resident participation were considered "successful," the consulting team had to confront a problem which has characteristically threatened, and sometimes thwarted, efforts in participatory planning in public housing developments: resident skeptiscism. Residents, who have lived in public housing for any period of time and have been subject to unfulfilled program goals and watered-down resident selection policies, are "totally pessimistic" about BHA intentions to improve maintenance and management responsiveness. As the consultants reported, "it was difficult to convince the tenants that this redevelopment would actually happen and that they weren't wasting their time."[4]

B. WEST BROADWAY DEVELOPMENT

The West Broadway development was built in 1949, the first housing development built under the Massachusetts Chapter 200 Veteran Family Housing Program. Containing 972 units, West Broadway is the second largest public housing development in the City of Boston after Columbia Point (1,504 units).

West Broadway is located in the northwest section of South Boston, named after the major commercial artery which passes along the site northwest edge. To the southwest runs Seventh Street, with D-Street and B-Street running along the southeast and northwest sides of the site respectively.

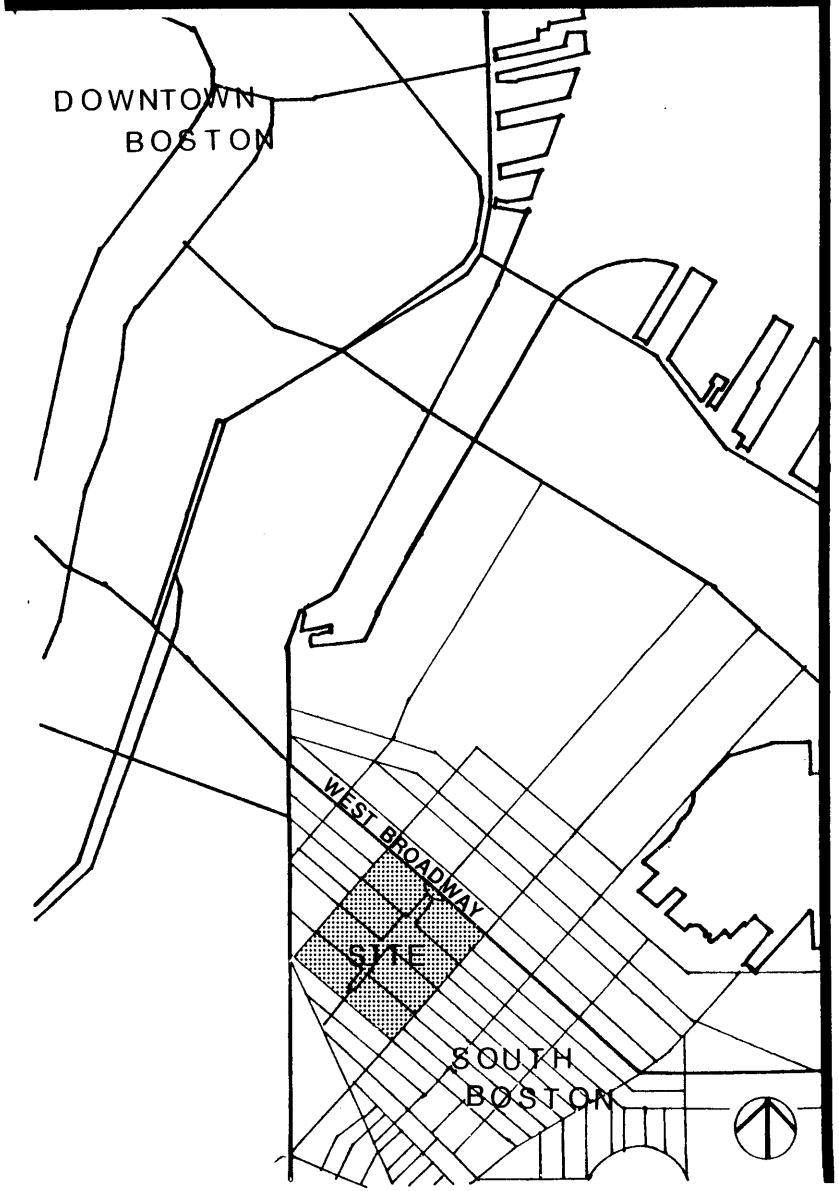
1. Site Context

West Broadway Avenue serves as a major traffic artery and bus route connecting South Boston with the major downtown Boston business districts. Located within two blocks of the development along West Broadway Avenue is the West Broadway

Station of the MBTA's Red Line rapid transit system connecting with the center of South Boston's commercial district. Also along West Broadway Avenue can be found mixture of retail stores, small cafes, bars, laundromats, and light industry. D-Street a 'primary' residential artery which intersects with West Broadway Avenue, is predominantly residential representing two and three story multi-family dwellings and scattered small neighborhood retail and food stores. B-Street which also intersects with West Broadway, consists of a series of small and medium sized industrial plants and vacant lots. Running north and south along the eastern corner of the development is Dorchester Avenue, a major transit route which links Dorchester, South Boston and the Boston Downtown area together.

DISTRICT CONTEXT: West Broadway

Figure 3. Site:

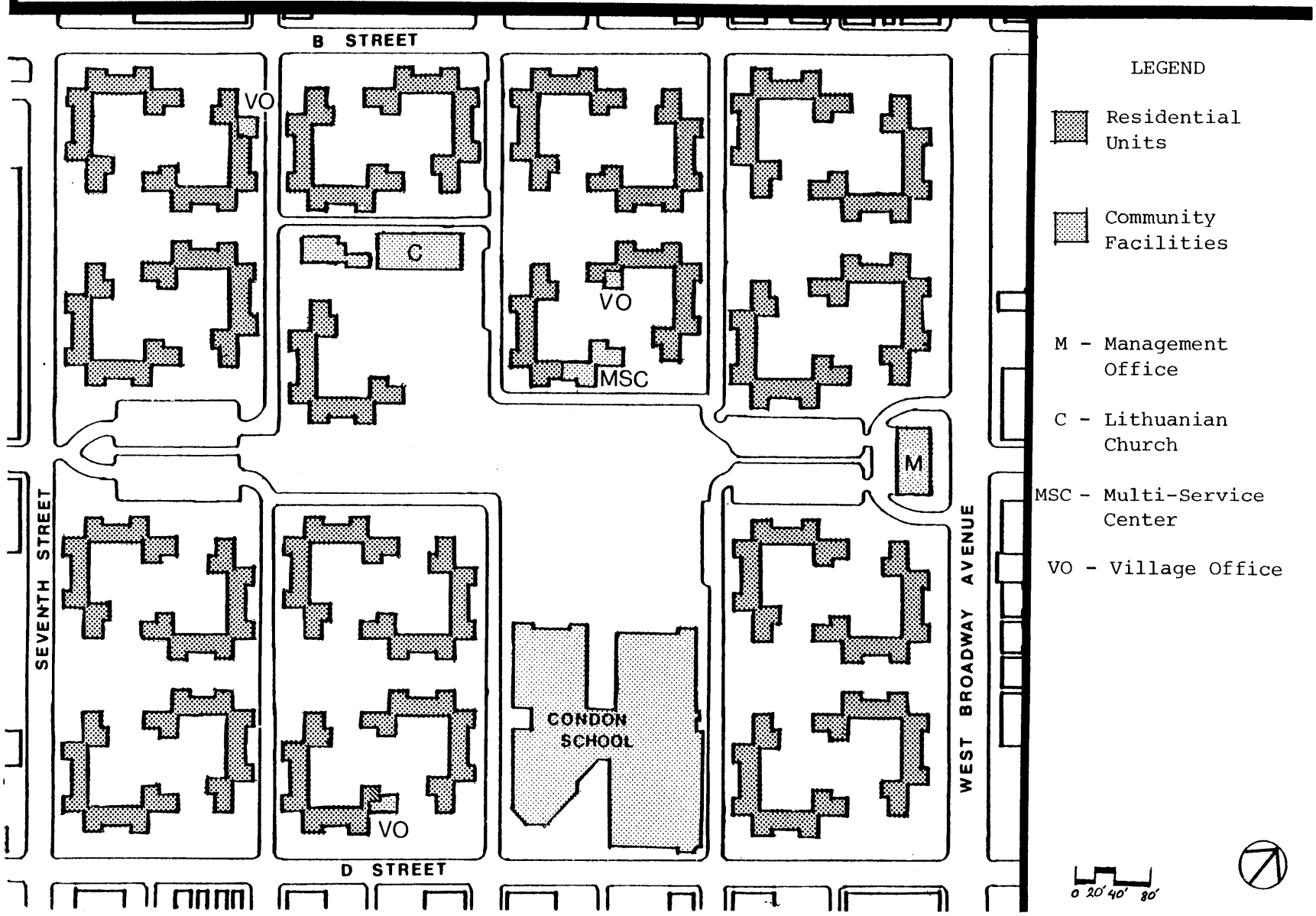


2. Physical Layout

The development consists of 27 three-and-one-half story buildings spread over a site of nearly 20 acreas. All buildings, save one, are clustered in pairs to enclose a total of thirteen 'interior courtyards.' Two pairs of buildings are clustered within residential blocks, totalling seven, as defined by the partial

PHYSICAL LAYOUT: West Broadway

Figure 4.



continuation into the site of the surrounding street network. Each building contains three entrances or addresses for a site-wide total of 81 addresses. Each address serves an interior stairwell which connects to 12 apartments, four per floor. Located within site boundaries, is the Condon Community School, completed in 1975, and along West Fifth Avenue, the Lithuanian Catholic Church, which existed before the development was constructed.

3. Site Conditions

Since construction, the unit total at West Broadway has been reduced by 31 due to "breakthrough," a method for combining adjacent apartments to accommodate large and expanding families. In 1972,12 units in a single building were given over for use as a "Multi-Service Center" to accommodate offices for resident service agencies and organizations.

By 1981, a combination of weak market demand, reduced maintenance capacity and rampant vandalism had led to the evacuation of approximately 253 units. 132 of the vacant units are concentrated in 11 buildings addresses which have been sealed off or "mothballed" by having their doors welded shut, windows boarded and services shut off. Two entire buildings in the southeast corner of the site bounded by D and West Seventh Streets are completely uninhabited and are rapidly deteriorating due to the ineffectiveness of "mothballing" as a deterent to vandalism.

4. Social Context (Based on a January, 1979 Boston Urban Observatory of Status Review Forms filled out by the majority of WB residents in the fall, 1978.)

As of October 1981, the West Broadway development was occupied by approximately 674 households, containing 1960+ persons, for an average of 2.9 people per household. The largest age group was the 10-19 category, representing nearly one-third of the total population with those under 18 years of age numbering as much as 47% or nearly 230 persons. The major statistic characterizing households at West Broadway, not to mention most other housing developments, was that 72% of the households were headed by females. The median age of household heads was 50, with 20% aged 62 or over, and 12% below 25 years of age. Household sizes ranged up to 10 persons, with 11% including 6 or more persons.

Households however, tended to be small, 32% of all households were single individuals, 21% consisted of two persons, and 11% included six or more persons.[5]

Most households (83%) had in common a dependency on one or more of the following sources of financial assistance: Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Supplementary Income, Social Security Benefits, General Relief and Veterans Administration Benefits. Incomes at West Broadway were extremely low; 72% reported in 1977-78 annual incomes below the $5,000 poverty level stipulated by the government that year. Only 5% had incomes exceeding $10,000. As of 1978, only residents in 103 households reported as being employed (17% of all residents). "The proportion of households dependent upon AFDC increased from 41% in 1975 (already high compared to the BHA family development average of 32%) to 46% in 1978. Incomes themselves have appeared to have changed little, despite a significant increase in the cost of living index."[6]

The high number of vacancies at West Broadway reflects a 22% decline in population between 1975 (2582 persons in 859 units) and 1978 (2003 persons in 679 units), at which time the average household size was 3.3 persons. The BHA family occupancy standard was 3.1. The 1975 census showed both figures being a good deal higher than the 1975 city-wide household averages of between 2.6 and 2.7 persons.[7]

CHAPTER 2 FOOTNOTES

1. University of Massachusetts-Boston Urban Observatory; "A Comprehensive Plan for the Renewal of the West Broadway Development,")submitted to the Boston Housing Authority, July 1979) p. II-7.

2. Lewis H. Spence, Director, Boston Housing Authority; Class lecture on redevelopment process at West Broadway and Franklin Field Developments. (Cambridge, MA, M.I.T., November 3, 1981).

3. Carr, Lynch Associates, Inc. and Wallace, Floyd, Ellenzweig, Moore, Inc. in Joint Venture; "Franklin Field Family Housing: Redevelopment Technical Reports," (submitted to Boston Housing Authority, September 25, 1981) p. 127.

4. Ibid. p. 128.

5. University of Massachusetts-Boston Urban Observatory, Appendix A.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3: CIRCULATION HIERARCHIES

A. INTRODUCTION

Spaces designed for pedestrian and vehicular circulation (i.e. pathways and streets) can serve to associate and distinguish, as well as to accommodate different collective activities. As elements of an organizational hierarchy, circulation spaces connect activities of equivalent privacy to common spaces, separate those of different privacy from each other, and contain those which would otherwise conflict with either. The organization and design of streets and pathways as such can significantly influence the level of resident service capacity over and territorial identity with their living environment. This chapter looks at ways which the layout and design of pathways and streets can facilitate 1) the identification by pedestrians and drivers of residential territories and service facilities, and 2) the collective control by residents over maintenance, security, and recreational services necessary for the use of those territories and facilities. The analysis focuses upon circulation patterns existing in the context of the West Broadway Development. It is presented below to serve as the basis both for a general set of functional objectives for the planning and design of pathways and streets in large public housing developments, and for a set of more specific propositions about ways to reinforce resident collective control and territorial identity through design of circulation hierarchies. The reader is then referred to Appendix B (p. 149) where exerpts from relatively recent housing literature have been compiled to supplement those analytical perspectives, design propositions and functional objectives which have been set out.

B. WEST BROADWAY CONTEXT

Circulation patterns found in the West Broadway Development can be seen to contain numerous features which have both reinforced and contrained collective efforts to undertake management, maintenance, security, and recreation service responsibilities. These patterns suggest, however, a physical framework within which to achieve greater definition of territorial relationships between residents in the development.

1. The Site

An important characteristic of the West

Broadway Development is that the surrounding street network was partially maintained in the organization of the site, even through the residential building tissue was abandoned (Figure 3). Despite this fact however, the major vehicular connection from West Broadway Avenue, the primary commercial artery connecting the site with the rest of South Boston, has been interrupted by a recently constructed (1980) management building. This one story building lies in the center of the visual corridor established by the oncoming residential street and its three to four story buildings. The central placement of the management building forces traffic to take one of two indirect routes around its sides. At this point, drivers' options are drastically reduced. He/she has to commit himself/herself to travelling to one or the other sides of the development before receiving sufficient visual information of the route implications. Either way, drivers opting for this seemingly most natural and central of site entrances will find themselves expediently funneled out of the center and back off to one of the side streets outside the development.

This condition has two primary side effects. The first is that it effectively divides the site into residential sections which lack consistency in the vehicular and pedestrian accessibility to the management office, in the number of households contained, and in their relationship to surrounding streets. The second effect is that it effectively forces residents to enter the site from the periphery of the development, down secondary streets (B or D Streets).

This scheme, in discouraging vehicular travel down the center of the site, may have been thought of as having positive security and privacy implications. The discontinuation of surrounding neighborhood streets entering the site does nothing to reinforce pedestrian travel and neighboring between buildings across the site. The arrangement can, as such, be seen to interfer with the development of collective relationships both between residents living in different sections of the development and with the surrounding community. The lack of continuous formal vehicular and pedestrian routes connecting through the center of the site can inhibit resident identification with formal site/community center facilities as well as reduce the level of involvement in informal community activities.

2. "Village" Blocks

Despite a lack of continuity in the street connections, the physical organization of building clusters throughout the site does roughly adhere to dimensional constraints set up by the surrounding network. Due to the nature of the building type and cluster arrangements the narrower of two types of parallel residential arteries present in the surrounding street network was discontinued (Figure). The 'block' established therefore, is the size of two 'typical' surrounding residential blocks. Each block within the development typically contains four L-shaped buildings which contain a maximum of 144 households for a density of roughly 36 units per acre. It is a density which this author estimates as being only somewhat higher than that existing for the surrounding block types.

Interestingly, it was that cluster of buildings circumscribed by streets that was formally recognized as the focus for the 1978 modernization strategy to increase community organization and education efforts. Fittingly the blocks were said to represent individual 'villages.' By the time West Broadway received their $6.5 million state modernization grant in July 1978, Task Force by-laws establishing 'village' representation on the Task Force Board of Directors had already been adopted.

Thus in the case of West Broadway, positive correlations between social and physical organization can be seen as having facilitated the identification and operation of certain collective relationships between residents. While factors that are part of this relationship may be innumerable and are sure to vary from one development to another, the following can be identified in application to the West Broadway Development. The primary physical differention of exterior territories was that provided by the network of streets, here serving to delimit the territory of the 'village'. In this case, that territory under the control of the city (the streets) was distinguished from that for which the residents, albeit the BHA and management, were responsible (namely the buildings, units, and surrounding grounds).

The expression of a positive group identity between residents can be seen as being partially reinforced by a street network which, as the most formal and public of any territory discernible on the site, has served to subdivide

the site into collective groupings within which specific physical associations can be recognized and unique contextual problems can be distinguished

3. Connection to Parking

There are two formal on-site parking areas at West Broadway. They are located at opposite ends of the site off West Broadway Avenue and West Seventh Street (Figure 4). While their location was evidently meant to reinforce the use of these arteries as major vehicular accesses to the site, each connects to separate and limited areas of the development. The physical associations between residential units and the parking areas are, as such, highly variable, if at all.

These parking facilities are neither distinctively off-street or on, occurring as perpendicular spaces double loaded along an interior residential street. This arrangement provides only limited associations between car and building, and effectively turns the street into an otherwise unusable parking lot. It serves to dissociate opposing street edges and can inhibit informal street related strolling, neighboring, and surveillance activities.

The anonymity of these areas, combined with the constant threat of vandalism and theft, has compelled residents to abandon these lots and park in more proximate areas along streets fronts and even within courtyards right up next to their units. Until a recent regulation and stiff fine inhibiting the practice of parking in courtyards was implemented in 1980, it had been widespread.

The abandonment of these on-site parking lots, no doubt, contributes to the disuse of the West Broadway and West Seventh Street accesses, and consequently to the increased use of the individual residential street accesses.

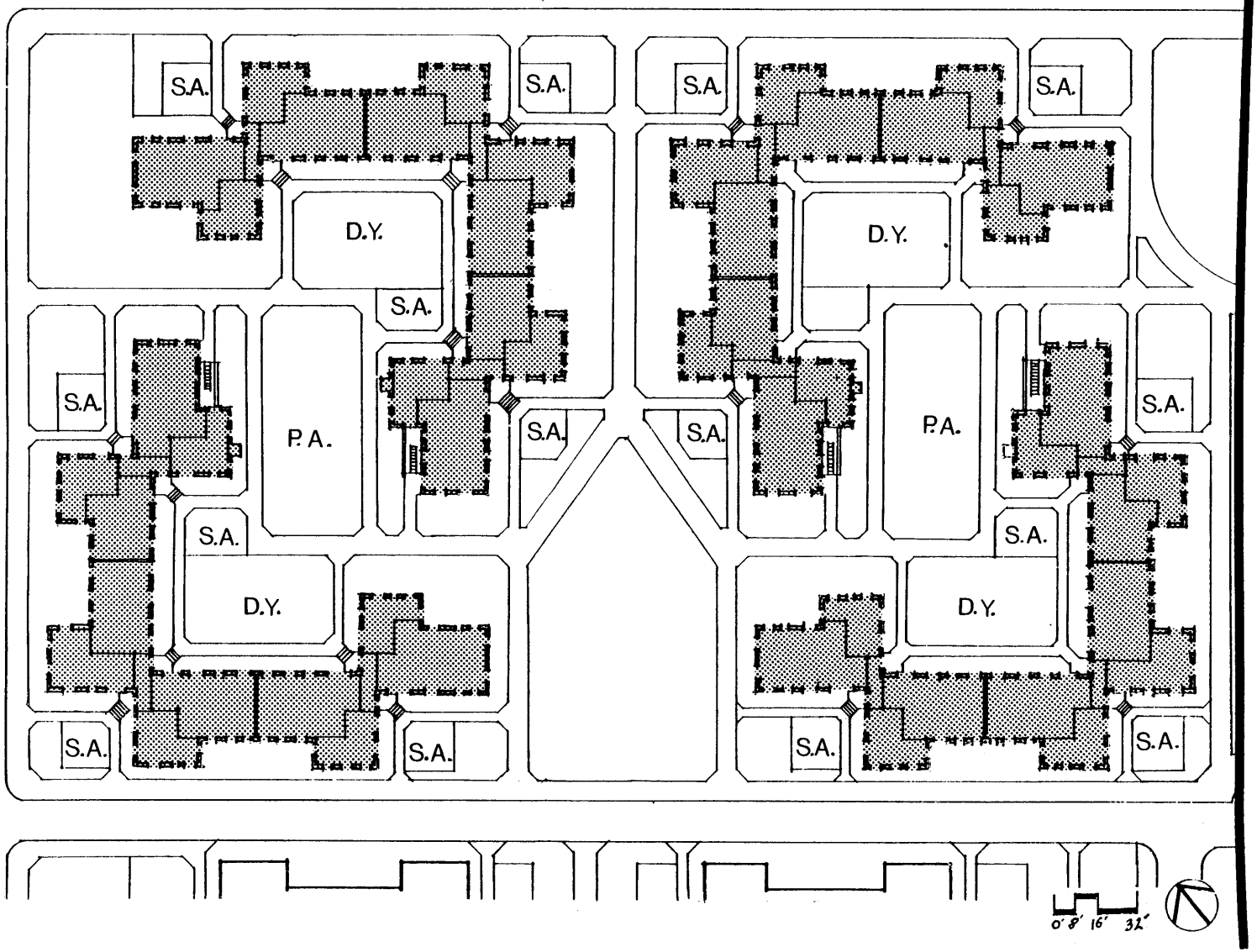
On-street parking is allowed both along residential streets within the development and along surrounding primary and secondary commercial arteries.

4. Pedestrian Pathways

Beyond the existing street network and building arrangements, the site provides minimal definition for non-conflicting pedestrian movement and activity patterns. Originally a complete network of sidewalks interlaced the site. On secondary residential streets within the development sidewalks were provided going down only a single side, separated from buildings by otherwise non-functional

PEDESTRIAN PATHWAYS: West Broadway

Figure 5. (before paved over; c. 1965)



LEGEND

S.A. - Sitting Area

D.Y. - Drying Yard

P.A. - Play Area

'buffer-zones' of grass. Branching off from street sidewalks were others which connected up with each of three street address entries per building (Figure 5).

Also branching from the street were sidewalks that passed in-between pairs of buildings and/or directly into interior courtyards. Once within the courtyard, the sidewalk branched further into pathways leading up to and between each of three courtyard-side address entries.

The seemingly logical progression characterizing pedestrian pathways is however, contradicted in the case of the two courtyard accesses. The two pedestrian pathways providing access to the courtyard prove quite inconsistent in terms of their relation to the street (i.e., number of steps they require in the branching sequence) as well as to the type of street (i.e., secondary or primary) they connect with. As it is, one side of each and every courtyard is visually and physically accessible directly from the street. And for one half of all courtyards, that street is a two-way primary residential (albeit secondary commercial) artery. The second courtyard access, originally designed, was located nearly 80 feet from the street and required a change in direction.

The 'openness' of the courtyards to public access from the street contributes to a far more immediate problem, that being the historic practice of "outsiders" "shortcutting" through both the courtyards and address hallways on their way to and from the surrounding streets. Beyond the inconsistent functional logic of the layout, there was little else to distinguish the more private 'interior' pathways from those paralleling the streets, other than subtle variations in width and visual penetration. As such, all outdoor spaces (and address hallways) were accessible to all people. Since the early 1960's, when maintenence deferrals forced the paving over of all courtyard interiors formerly provided with grass for privacy and play, this problem has only intensified. Asphalting these areas effectively increased the accessibility of these outdoor spaces to include all automobile operators.

The original pedestrian network at West Broadway, despite its level of complexity, lacked both a consistent hierarchal logic and sufficient differentiation between different levels and types of access. These problems taken together have served to significantly undermine the privacy and

territorial control necessary for residents to realize their capacity to provide the maintenance and surveillance required by their living environment.

Presented below is a list of statements setting out general functional (albeit performance) objectives for the design and evaluation of circulation hierarchies.

C. FUNCTIONAL OBJECTIVES FOR THE DESIGN OF A CIRCULATION HIERARCHY

A circulation hierarchy should serve to:

1. to reinforce the identification by non-residents, pedestrians and drivers, of territorial levels recognized and controlled by residents within the development.
2. to reinforce the identification of residents with spaces, features, and responsibilities both within and beyond development boundaries.
3. to establish a comprehensive sequence of formal entrance and exit points to concentrate that circulation activity at points of passage into and out of increasingly more private areas.
4. to provide convenient and explicit areas where management, police, and residents can undertake surveillance responsibilities and intruders.
5. to reduce conflict between pedestrian and vehicular networks and to set up points of confluence within areas which are most public, conveniently accessible, and necessary to use to get to more private levels.
6. to set up building/unit to street relationships which are consistent across the site as a basis for social contact and mutually supportive service responsibilities.
7. to define a range of territorial zones consistent with those existing in the surrounding residential context and those necessary for optimum collective identity (albeit at village, courtyard, street and/or building levels) and service responsibilities.

D. PROPOSITIONS FOR CIRCULATION HIERARCHY

1. Site Organization

a. Establish a centralized, two-way distribution corridor which connects the largest off site commercial artery with smaller residential arteries. Ensure that this central corridor represents the most direct route from this artery to small decentralized residential parking areas to reinforce its use as the entry point to the development

(Figure 6).

b. Reinforce both the use of the central corridor as a major site entry as well as the accessibility of development service offices and meeting areas by concentrating these facilities along the central corridor (See Figure 6).

c. Give to the central corridor, as the most public street within the development, relatively greater visual continuity through the site; in other words, make it longer, wider, and to include more formal and directional landscaping.

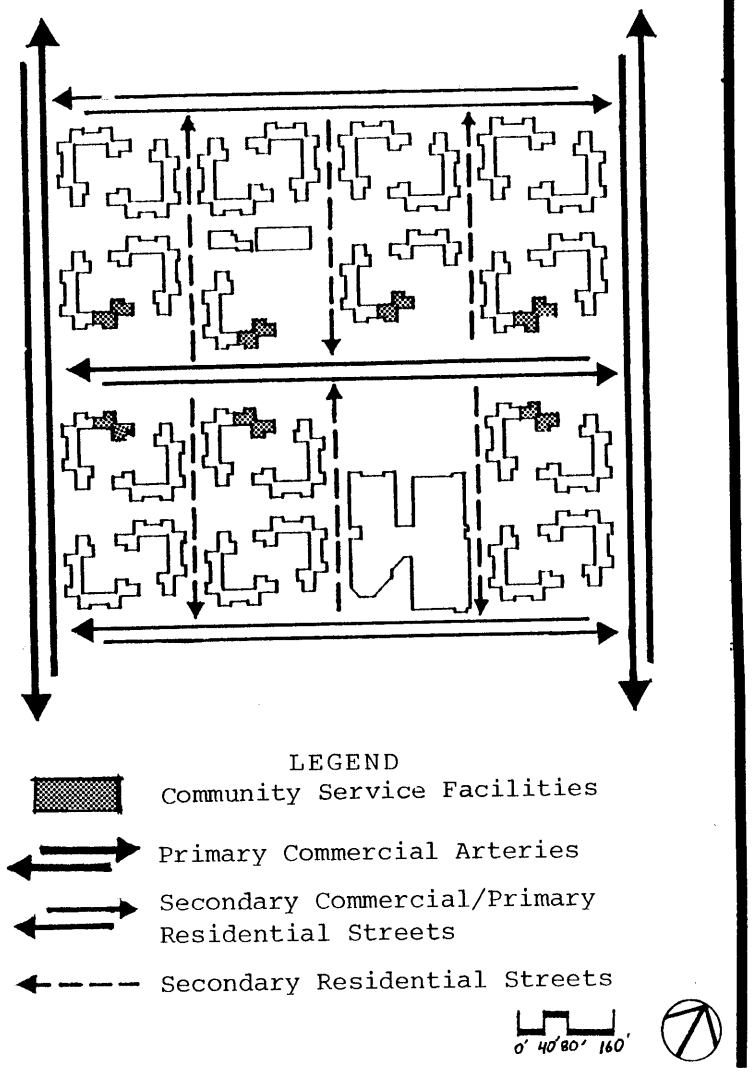
d. Provide on-street parking spaces along the central/access service corridor and outer lying streets only. Provide parallel parking spaces along single, if alternating, sides of the street. Avoid double loading the street with parking to reinforce surveillance, neighboring, and visibility of information across the street and from vehicles travelling down it.

2. Residential Streets

a. Maintain as distinctly residential, secondary streets which connect to the central distribution/service corridor by reserving them for one-way traffic only. Make the direction of traffic down the residential streets lead

PROPOSED: STREET HIERARCHY:

Figure 6. West Broadway



away from the central corridor to discourage use of residential streets as points of entry to the site. Make resident travel to centrally located site and village service facilities sufficiently short and within convenient walking distance so that vehicular travel to these facilities will be primarily by 'visitors' using the more easily surveilled and public service corridor.

b. Further distinguish residential streets through the use of sidewalk and street paving materials, types of landscaping, and lighting elements which contrast with those found in central corridor or spine.

c. Locate all resident parking in small off-street parking lots in order to at once reduce the overall width of the residential street, widen the sidewalk and building front areas, encourage pedestrian neighboring, and increase the visibility and safety of street play. (See Figure 7)

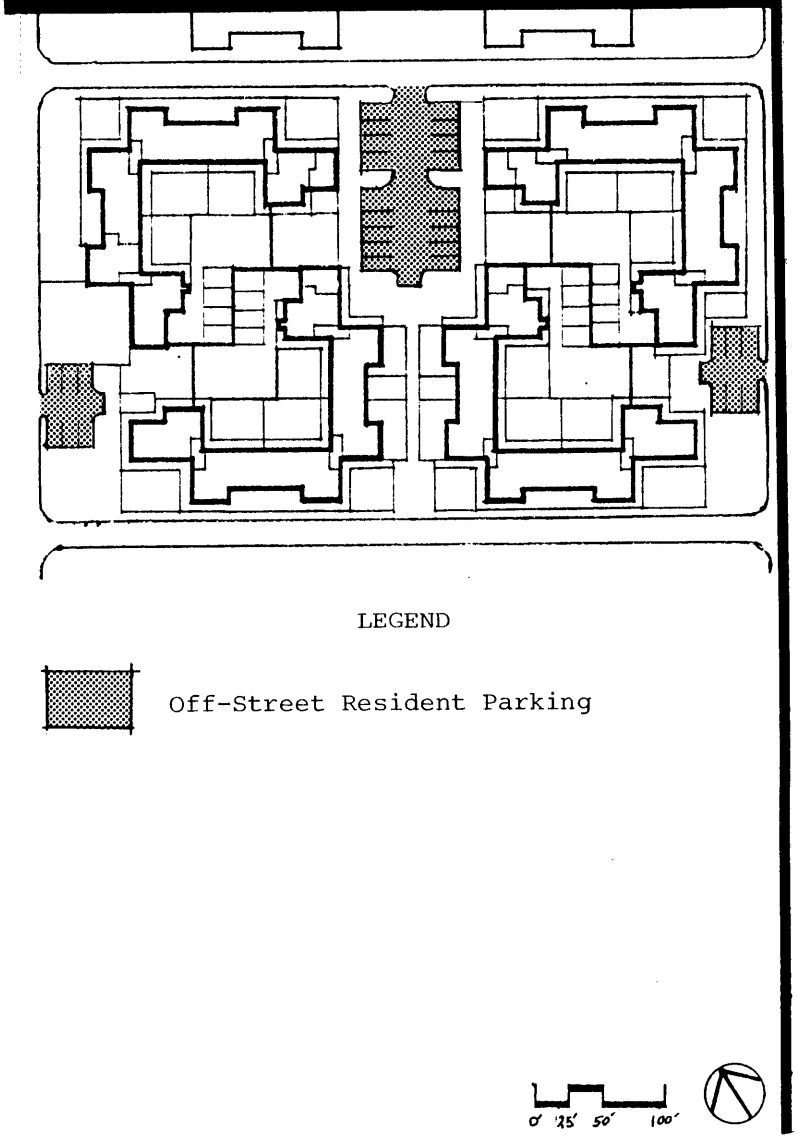
d. Orient off-street parking spaces adjacent to and facing the buildings they serve in order to maximuze surveillability of parked vehicles and associations to their resident owners.

3. Pathways to Privacies

a. Make pathways leading into courtyard areas

PROPOSED: OFF-STREET RESIDENT PARKING:

Figure 7. West Broadway



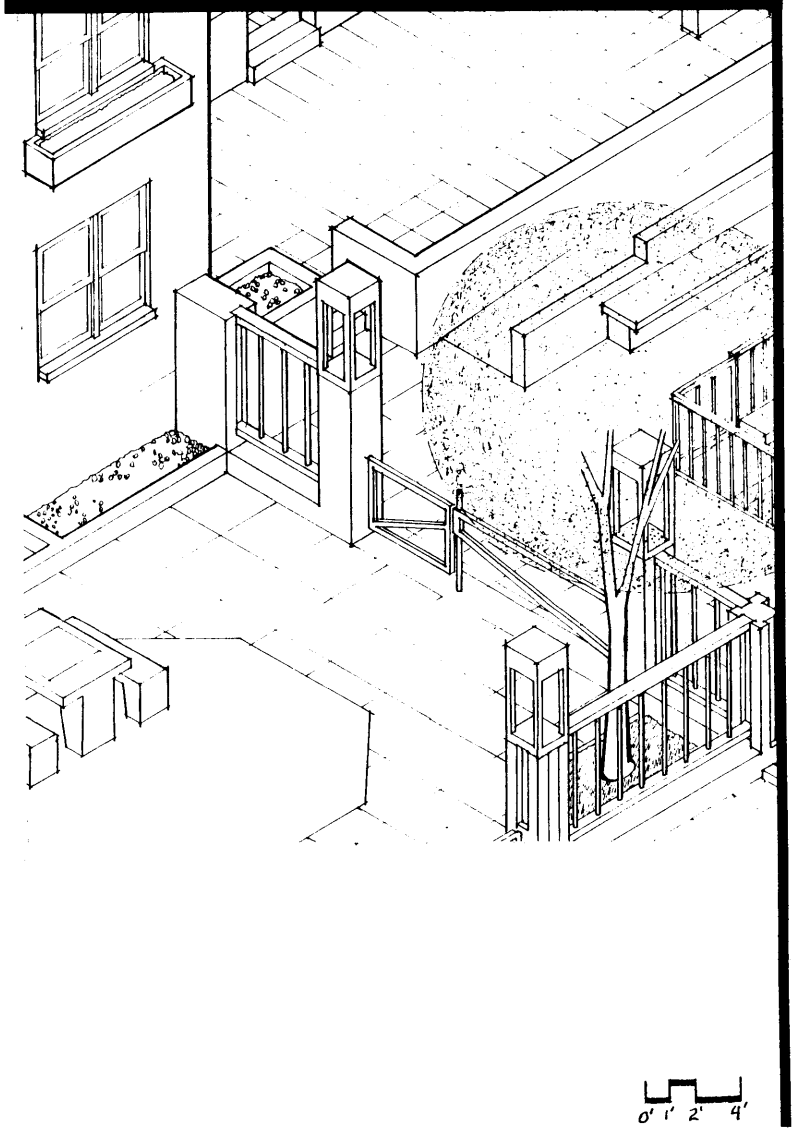
distinctive from those leading to formal streets. Make the more private courtyard areas accessible from pathways connecting indirectly to the street, as afforded through the use of change indirection, material and visual continuity, and use requirements (such as in opening a gateway).

b. To facilitate surveillance, differentiate pathways to more private back areas as early as possible as belonging to that back territory and group of residents. Therefore provide a formal entrance 'gateway' and path differentiation (i.e., different texture, color, pattern, dimension) in direct association with the edge of the more public street or area which it adjoins. Locate this path and gateway in visual and physical association to those households whose backs it leads to (Figure 8).

c. Based upon the understood need to maximize privacy for a given household, the number of households and activity spaces accessed by a given pathway and entrance should be minimized wherever possible. This suggests that both path and entry options along a given street or pathway be provided for each different level of privacy accessible therefrom. In other words, access to the backs of buildings should be

PROPOSED: BUILDING BACK ENTRANCES:

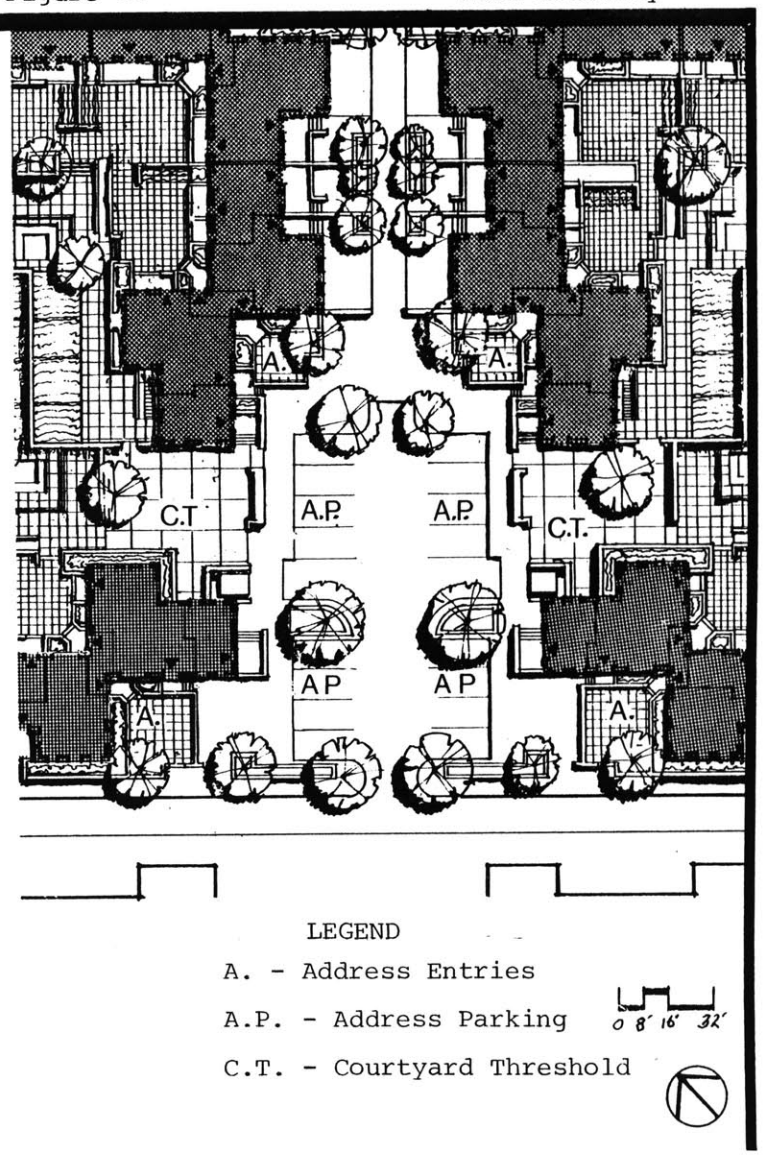
Figure 8. West Broadway



kept separate from the access to the front entries of another, as can happen when front entries do not face the street (see West Broadway Content: Figure 9). It is acceptable however for separate accesses to the private backs of different buildings to share a common connection to a more public pathway or street. It is acceptable to the extent that those households sharing in the use, maintenance, and surveillance of a common territory also have a similar and consistent physical orientation and visual access to it. Collective service responsibilities over shared spaces and accesses are therefore seen as being reinforced by the clustering of households with equivalent physical associations to those spaces and accesses.

PROPOSED: DIRECT ACCESS TO PARKING:

Figure 9. West Broadway



CHAPTER 4: RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING

A. Introduction

The existing physical organization of a housing development can play a dynamic supportive role in strategies to create settings for collective control. The physical clustering of apartments and buildings within a development can create for its households not only problems and conflicts but opportunities for independent, need-serving relationships. The need-serving relationships which have evolved between households at West Broadway can be seen to represent among other things, common associations both to a given residential cluster and to a specific set of problems and conflicts.

These relationships, once evolved, have functioned as 'collective mechanisms' by which residents have addressed new types of problems and coordinated new kinds of services. The development of such collective mechanisms can, in turn, be seen to reinforce the positive identity between its members and the residential cluster in which they live. It is therefore considered an invaluable opportunity toward the goal of collective control to take advantage of existing need-serving collective relationships as 'mechanisms' at once, for generating information on problems and conflicts, for coordinating new kinds of services, and for reinforcing the positive identity of its member households to their residential cluster (albeit physical environment). For designers and planners, doing so can represent an effective means by which to begin to integrate decisions on design and community organization into a comprehensive redevelopment program.

In this chapter the existing physical arrangement of West Broadway households is examined in terms of the ways it can be seen to have created conditions which have given rise to the development of need-serving relationships and then reinforced and/or constrained their performance and territorial identity. This information, as in the previous chapter, serves as the basis for a general set of functional objectives applicable to the design and planning of residential clusters. Then,using both the contextual analysis and the set of functional objectives as a guide, specific design and programmatic propositions are presented for application to the rehabilitation of the West Broadway

development. The reader is referred to Appendix C (p. 155) where exerpts have been compiled from housing literature as a brief review of relevant evidence that has been generated by a variety of different research efforts.

B. WEST BROADWAY CONTEXT

1. The Site

The physical organization of the West Broadway Development is derived from the repetition of a single building type and set of cluster arrangements. The site consists of 27 buildings, all the core walk-up type. Each building contains three "addresses" or stair accesses serving a total of twelve apartments or four per floor.

The relentless institutional uniformity of developments, such as West Broadway, stands in harsh contrast to the urban contexts in which they sit. Their presence has taken on many distorted and perjorative cultural connotations, despite their misrepresentation of resident values and social needs. Older developments, such as West Broadway and Franklin Field, were not designed to reinforce familial values or service responsibilities, but to minimize the bureaucratic, political, and financial burden on governments and their housing agencies (see Appendix A: Origins of Form: The First Thirty Years). Hostilities on the part of the surrounding community toward such urban anomolies is easily transferred to those for whom they were built. As brought out in the earlier analysis on "Circulation Hierarchies," the West Broadway development neither reinforces the potential for a social focus at the site level, nor provides continuous connections between surrounding neighborhoods and commerical arteries.

A recent example however, of the collective consciousness operating between residents at the site level occurred during an open meeting in September, 1981, scheduled to review various schemes for a master plan for the major rehabilitation of the development. The BHA, West Broadway Task Force, Village Panels, and architects were all in attendance. At the meeting the BHA stated its preference as to which villages in the site would be renovated as part of "Phase I", and use up the $20 million budget allocation, and which would wait, at risk, for the receipt of another $10 million from the legislature. The BHA plan focused on the most visible and stable side of the development along the West Broadway artery, and left the "back" and worst

part of the development for later. The Task Force and Village Panels, however, spoke out strongly in favor of an alternative plan which concentrated Phase I work in the "back" villages. Lewis H. Spence, receiver/director of the BHA, who spoke for the BHA at the meeting, later reflected upon the level of consensus that characterized the residents response:

> Everybody wanted their plan, even those who were being disenfranchised by it spoke up loud and clear at the meeting that they wanted it that way, that it was okay with them, they would take the risk, they would wait for Phase 2 as long as the people in back got it. That was so impressive a show of both political competence, of cohesion, of precisely the cohesion that is going to be necessary in order for the community to come together and work as a community during and after the reconstruction, and we really had no choice but to accept it.[1]

2. Courtyard Clusters

The largest physical pattern existing across the site occurs between two pairs of buildings, each with its aforementioned courtyard. This pattern conforms to the street network established outside the development (See: Chapter 3: Circulation Hierarchies: Village Blocks). A pedestrian access to the two courtyards passes through a single central open space between the two pairs of buildings. This space is the only one which is implicitly 'private' to residents living on a given 'block'. It is however without the physical differentiation necessary to define its functional relation to potential user groups (i.e., specifically who uses it, who shouldn't use it, who makes sure they don't). As such, its primary, albeit minimal, purpose is as a spatial buffer.

Courtyard clusters typically contain a maximum of 144 apartments with a single atypical cluster containing 108 apartments. However, a 26% vacancy rate has served to reduce that number to a site average of just below 100 units or approximately 280 persons per block.[2] (See Figure)

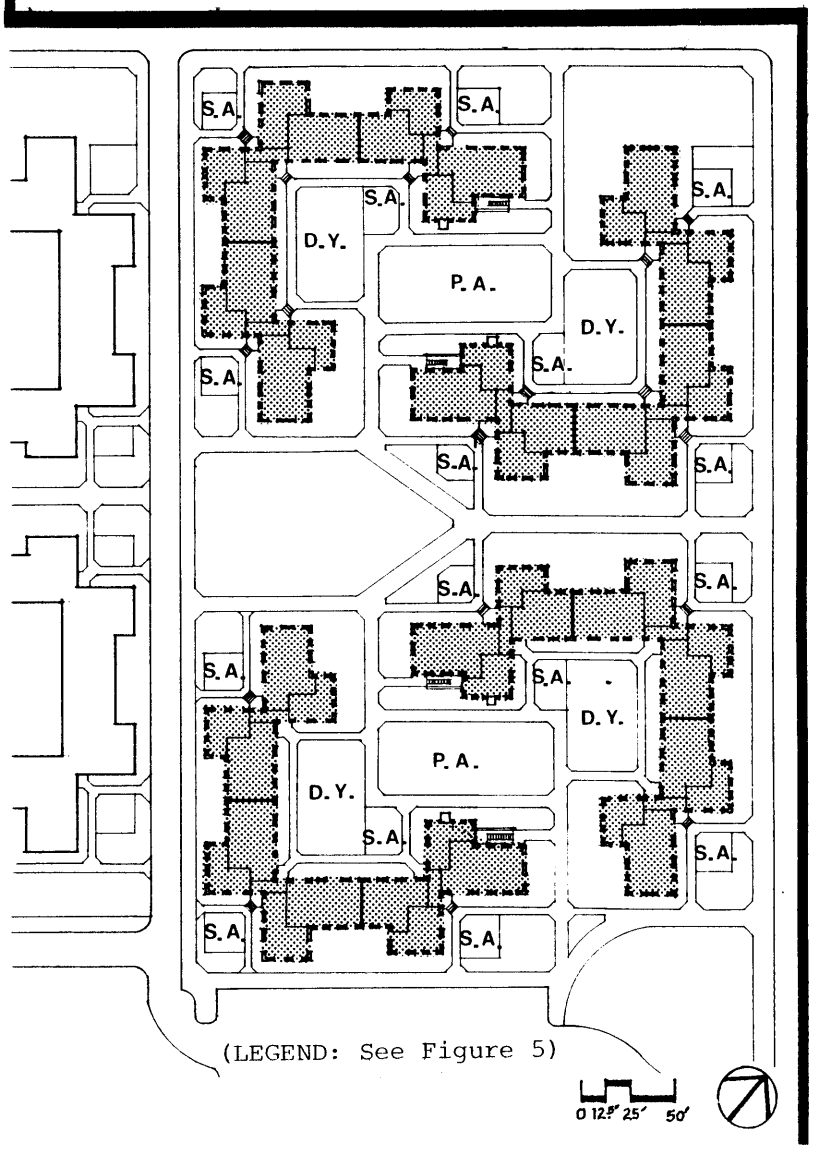
In 1976 the Executive Office of Communities and Developments (EOCD), as part of its sponsorship of the Pilot Modernization Program allocation to West Broadway, made explicit the need for developing increased community support and capacity for resident involvement in the management and maintenance of the West Broadway development. With new funds available ($6.5 million), the BHA,in concert with consultants from the Boston Urban Observatory and members of the West Broadway Task Force Board, supported a strategy

revolving around formal recognition of the courtyard cluster as a basis for such organizational expansion.[3] (See Figure 10)

As if in reflection of the collective spirit and goal of this strategy, it was decided to identify these clusters as "villages." It was however somewhat ironic when residents opted to use a rather anonymous and institutional sequence of letters to identify their villages; resulting in the names "Village A," "Village B," on up to "Village G." The preference by residents for such names is perhaps more understandable when one considers the great concern they have evidenced toward the maintenance of materially inconcspicuous and egalitarian postures in the development. It is a concern which can be seen to have emerged out of the historical practice and advantages of hiding one's wealth from the management for fear of either having one's rent increased or being evicted. It may also stem from a fear of inciting resentment and ridicule, if not theft, on the part of other less fortunate residents in the development. Never-the-less, in being so recognized, the courtyard cluster of four buildings or twelve addresses was evidently considered to encompass that group of households

ORIGINAL: SITE PLAN FOR VILLAGE 'D':

Figure 10. West Broadway



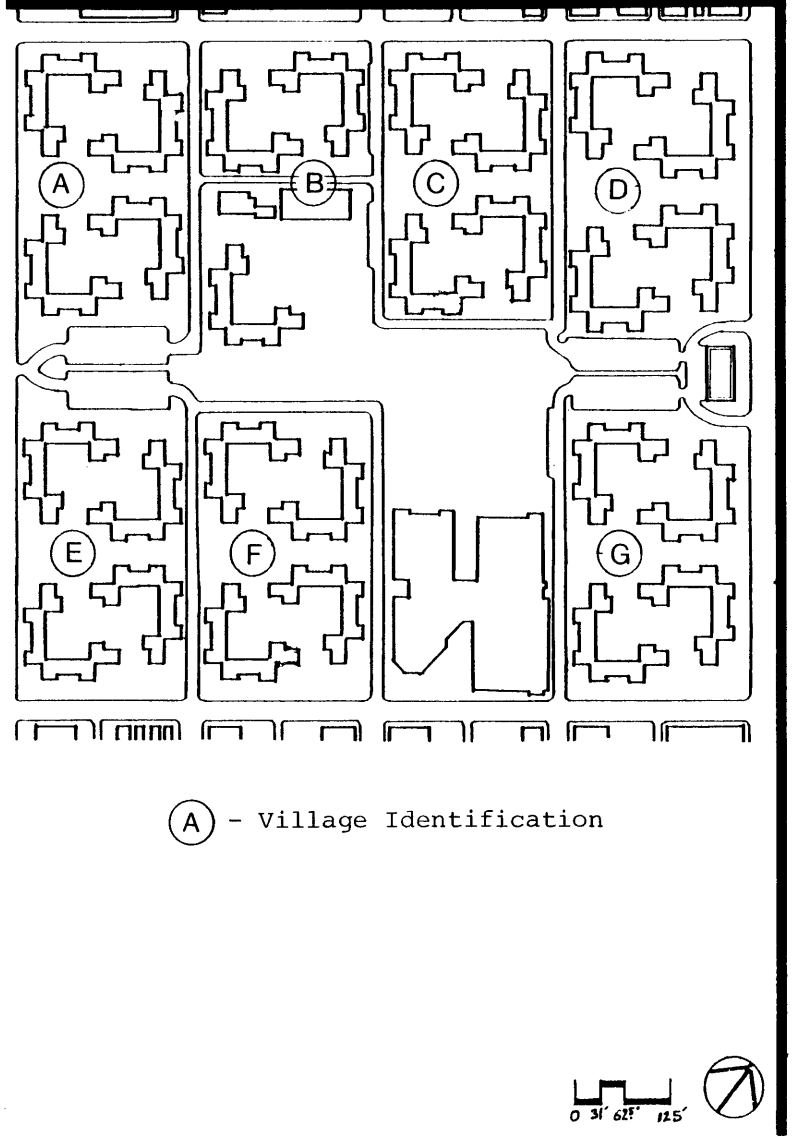
whose existing and potential physical, social, and political associations could support a strategy of decentralized "community organization and education" (See Figure 11).[4]

In the spring of 1978, the Task Force revised its by-laws to expand resident representation on what had been an eight member Task Force Board elected at large. A new fifteen member board was established which included two representatives from each village and one elected at large. With expanded membership and financial support, the Task Force Board has been quite flexible and productive, and capable of sustaining a number of active administrative subcommittees. A year later, however, the need for further resident input and more responsive resident feedback mechanisms perceived by both the Task Force and residents alike. A major concern was to maintain an active role for themselves in decision making processes that had begun affecting the 'pilot modernization program.' Again, the 'village' was recognized as that organizational level at which collective mechanisms' could be created which effectively address that type of concern.

Consequently, the position of the "village coordinator" was created, thereby giving to each

EXISTING: VILLAGE IDENTIFICATION:

Figure 11. West Broadway



"village" a member whose job it has been to coordinate meetings and social events between villabe residents and to report to the Task Force-sponsored Community Organization Department. The 'mechanism' was further developed in 1980 when the Task Force instituted "Village Panels" as regularly scheduled monthly meetings, chaired by the "village coordinator" and open to all residents in a given "village". The formal coordination of meetings at the 'village level' has given residents a flexible mechanism through which they can express individual concerns and interests on a variety of subjects from social events to modernization plans.

3. Building Clusters

Another physical pattern characteristic of the development is the strong association between pairs of L-shaped buildings, totaling a maximum of 72 households. The buildings are arranged with their "closed" sides facing each other to define a larger "closed" area and a 'far'-courtyard space that is effectively common to both.

Despite the direct association to a common courtyard space by address entries and pairs of buildings, there is very little evidence suggesting that this arrangement has positively influenced resident group identity or organization. Peggy Mullen, the other C.O.D. supervisor indicated that while "L-meetings" and "courtyard meetings" were not unheard of when space use conflicts, security, and noise problems arose, they, in any case, predate the creation of the position of village coordinator.[6] The infrequency of such meetings can however, be taken to mean that the courtyard arrangement between two buildings is relatively successful, in not being the cause of recurrent problems requiring organized responses. Another factor, however, that can be seen as constraining the development of such meetings and organized responses could be that for the last 15 years there has been little structured activity such as barbeques, yard sales, bake sales, games and the like occurring in the courtyard. When this area was paved over in the early sixties, allowing cars to freely travel through its center, the possibility for such activities was further diminished.

Even with the asphalt surface and the presence of cars and broken glass, what one can find in any given courtyard are concentrations of children, 5 to 10 years of age, playing on bikes, with toys, or with whatever discarded objects they are able

to pick up out of the nearby dumpster. Originally, the left-over area in the center of the courtyard was planted with grass and designated as a "child play area" communal to the households in both buildings. The grass area, however, quickly turned to dirt and mud, existing as it did without sufficient enclosure and differentiated functional spaces such as for sand pits, gardens, and hard surfaces for bikers and ball games. The tenacity of the children using this space reflects quite clearly the strength of this type of courtyard organization. It has provided a social focus, which, while unreinforced by other spatial differentiation, remains implicitly private to the surrounding households and desirable by children and adolescents for play.

4. Address Cluster

All buildings at West Broadway consist of three common addresses of twelve apartments each. They are arranged to create a single type of 'L' shaped building layout containing a maximum of 36 units. Such a layout has two distinct sides, one being more open and facing the street, the other being more closed and facing a courtyard space. The courtyard edge of each building defines a tight 'near'-courtyard associated with the three building accesses and partially separated from a 'far'-courtyard space.

In the 'near'-courtyard space of each building clothes drying poles are located. Originally located in this area, was also a single 'sitting-area'. While evidently intended to be shared by all residents of a given building, the seating area was located off to one side, directly in front of one of its there address entries. That this sitting area has long since disappeared is understandable given the high probability of conflicts resulting not only from its differential association to a single address group but also from the fact that this group was allowed to congregate outside of a few, inadequately buffered apartments (See Figure 10).

The clothes drying areas in the 'near'-courtyards have long been in very poor condition and have compelled many families to either buy their own washer/dryer or simply to go to the laundromat outside the development. Many of the metal poles have been bent and/or dislodged over time, apparently by negligent drivers and climbing children. Indication of a buildings 'stability' and cohesiveness can be seen in the number of lines that remain stretched between drying yard poles.

Many who use the drying yards bring their own rope, having given up putting in work order forms for replacements, as these are slow in coming, and do not last long once installed. In these areas of the near courtyard there is little interaction, formal or informal, to be distinguished as unique to the residents of an address cluster. Don Gillis, one of two West Broadways Community Organization Department (C.O.D.) supervisors, indicated that formal "L meetings" (i.e., between three addresses) are relatively rare, but are more common in buildings with high levels of household "instability" (i.e., high turnover, large families, few two-parent households, poor maintenance record, least visible areas of the site). The meetings are called either by the "Village Coordinator" or the Task Force Board representatives, usually to address chronic problems such as with physical systems and utilities, rats in the basements, noise, and traffic control.[5]

5. Apartment Clusters

Each 'building address' consists of twelve apartments, located four per floor along a common stair. The address hallway is accessed by two doors, one which faces the street, the other facing the courtyard. All apartments accessed off the stairwell share a single street address which represents a set of mailboxes located just inside the street facing stairwell entry. Windows located off the stairwell are made from glass block, a measure evidently intended to discourage vandalism and reduce maintenance costs in what was to remain an extension of the public domain. Ironically, this type of window renders the stairwell/hallway unsurveillable from the street and vice versa. The use of glass block and the absence of sky-lighting requires an insecure dependence upon artificial illumination during most hours of the day.

Control over access and security of the hallways has been drastically decreased due to the difficulty of keeping "address" entry doors locked where households include young children whose natural activities involve much coming and going. "Open" addresses have given rise to the inimical practice of "outsiders" using hallways as a means of short-cutting between buildings and of gaining access to and vandalizing vacant apartments.

In 1972, new, more secure address doors were proposed to replace those which had fallen into disrepair. As Michael Taylor, then director of

the Boston-based Community Development Corporation (CDC) conveyed, the doors had disengageable locking devices so that during the day children could go in and out without requiring parents to run up and down to open the door each time. At night the locks would be engaged so that only those with apartment keys could enter.

The residents, through the Task Force Board, stipulated that for them to support the use of these doors, an operational system should be instituted whereby an address resident would be given sole responsibility for the dis/engagement of the locking systems on its two doors. The CDC was consequently brought in (by the BHA) to coordinate a system of "building captains."[7]

The CDC served in coordinating the election process for each address, in providing training, and, when events necessitated, as consultants bo "building captains." It is interesting to note that the selection of the name "building captain" can be seen to represent not only the presence of and need for collective relations at the address level, but the abscence at the 'building level' (or address cluster), of similarly immediate territorial conflicts and organizational imperatives.

Another role which "building captains" came to have was that of helping address residents coordinate the development of their hallway cleaning schedule. This schedule stated then, as it does today, which of the four households on a given floor was to be responsible for the cleaning of that floor and the stairs leading up to it, for a period of one month. Today the BHA stipulates in its tenant leases that households are to be responsible for the regular cleaning of their hallways.

The "building captain" has also served to coordinate meetings between residents of an address to deal with such problems as noisy children, unwanted intruders, and unkept hallways, which required group attantion. Conflicts limited to individual floors, however, would generally be mediated informally, often between the building captain and the parties involved.[8]

Formal continuation of the "building captain" system ceased in 1977, when the grant under which the CDC was operating ran out, that being after a one year extension.[9] It was, coincidentally, the year West Broadway received the 'pilot modernization' grant of $6.5 million. When the CDC left West Broadway, the "building captain"

system was without an agency to coordinate elections and training. Why the Task Force Board and the BHA did not take over the system, may have had to to with the fact that by 1977 (and up to the present) a growing number of the door locking systems had fallen into disrepair and could no longer be locked at night. Not having this function to perform may have served to undermine the building captains role in other address affairs.

Despite the lack of formal support, in various buildings in the development the "building captain" function was uniformly carried on by the residents themselves. As Peggy Mullen related, various functions of the "building captain" system were naturally perpetuated by those addresses whose doorlocks remained operable and where there was a higher degree of family stability and low apartment turnover. In Village G, where many of the building captian's mediative, maintenance, and coordinating functions were informally continued by residents,[10] the population is generally older (29 percent of the heads of households are over 62 years of age), lived in smaller households (2.5 persons per household), and had fewer children to deal with (45 percent of all households).[11] Village G is considered "the best" area to live in terms of stability, security, and cleanliness.

Since the dissolution of the "building captain" system, there is indication that address meetings have decreased to some extent. Since this decrease is not matched with a perceivable decrease in the occurance of conflicts at the 'address level', it can be seen to reflect a greater emphasis by the "Village Coordinator" for those problems and general to the 'village' level, such as community services, social events, and security patrols.

During good weather, residents of an address can be seen sitting in groups of three, four or more outside the address entry. Sitting either on the steps or beside them, in light portable chairs, residents spend this time socializing and watching their toddlers and young children playing in the asphalt covered courtyards. The importance of reinforcing this informal meeting practice is quite evident from the words spoken

by one resident of Village E:

> ...most of my outdoor right now is just going down in front of the front door (courtyard side) sitting and talking with anybody in the building, and I like that... a lot of times we get together, like Isla, myself and other members in the building and we talk about problems the building is having...[6]

C. FUNCTIONAL OBJECTIVES OF RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING

Given the above information, it is concluded that the design and planning of residential clusters should contribute to the following functions.

1. the definition of exterior areas in which activities can take place that are explicitly private to residents living in immediately surrounding buildings.
2. the establishment of a collection of households which can support the use, maintenance, and control requirements of those activity/use areas which are private to them.
3. the creation of equivalent visual and physical associations between surrounding resident clusters the activity areas for which they share service responsibilities.
4. the minimization of households sharing address entries and activity spaces adjacent to buildings.
5. the creation of a sequence of territorial associations and common foci as bases for the coordination and physical identity of collective mechanisms through which services necessary for the use of the territories will be performed.
6. the reinforcement of the collective identity of resident groups and their capability of acting as unified bodies in providing efficent and comprehensive input on decisions affecting both development on a whole and the groups as an identifiable constituency.
7. the reinforcement of positive social with the surrounding neighborhood and community by reflecting to the extent possible the physical morphology and privacy gradients existing in the surrounding community.

D. PROPOSITIONS FOR RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING

1. Apartment Clusters

a. Provide at least one private ground access per unit. Locate this access to either the front or back as space and building

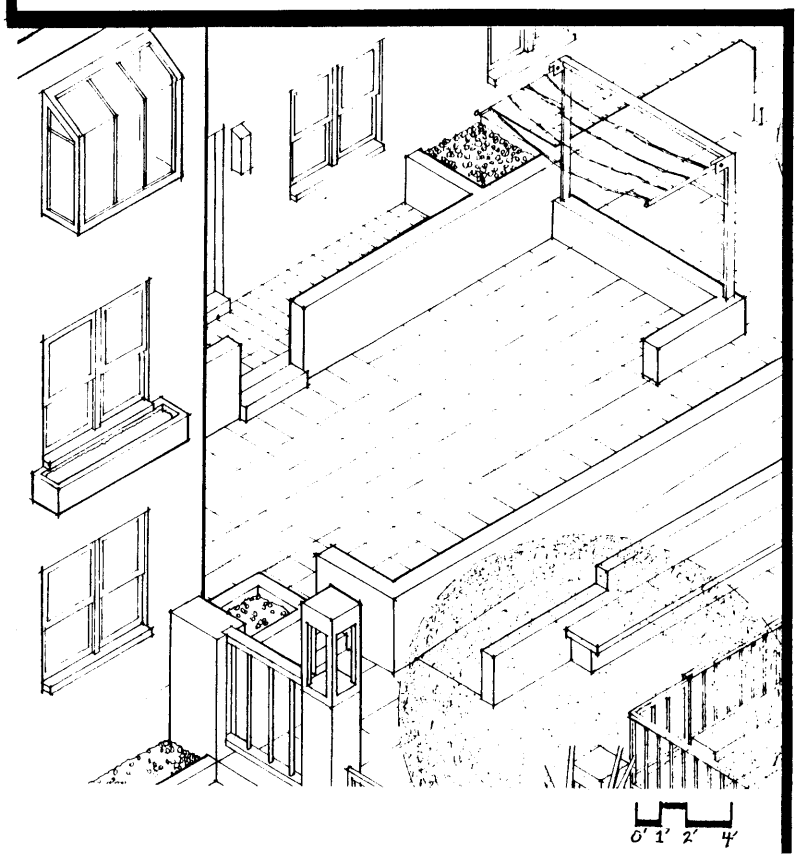
arrangements allow. Where a choice must be made between one or the other, give priority to the provision of private front access so as to establish clear territorial divisions along the most public zone of the street.

b. In shared addresses avoid locating single apartments at end of hallways or stairwells as well as having more than six households sharing any given entry. Either locate no less than two apartments per landing and/or provide lockable doorways at the bottom of the stairwell leading to the lone apartment. The first measure affords mutual surveillance opportunities over the semi-public stairwell. The second measure transforms the semi-public stairwell into a more 'private' entry-vestibule servicing an otherwise isolated single apartment, as may share a given third floor stair landing. This more private entry vestibule can be used to store bicycles and other large objects as well as effectively control individual intruders.

c. Cluster shared and individual back 'entries' so that they open onto common back seating area for 6-12 households. Raise this area above the level of the approaching path, but below the level of the ground floor entries (one or two steps) (See Figure 12).

d. Provide individual entries onto the street with individual steps, thresholds sitting ledge, and flower boxes to encourage neighboring, use and surveillance of the street.

PROPOSED: ADDRESS ENTRY SEATING AREAS:
Figure 12. West Broadway



e. Provide raised seating areas off street entries shared by 2-6 households. Locate entry to seating area directly off street sidewalk to reinforce use and surveillance of street and parking areas.

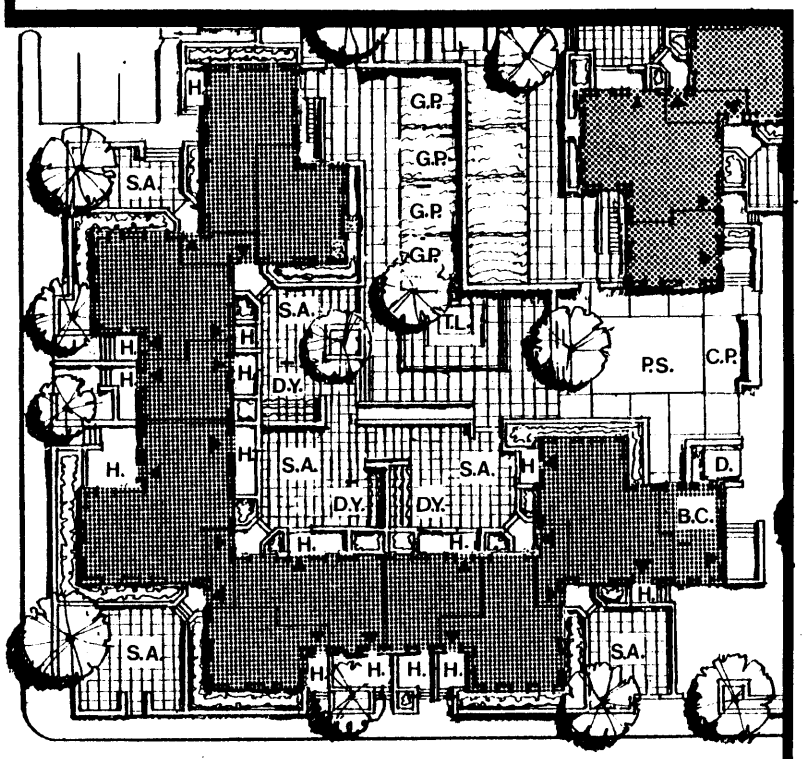
f. Where the choice exists, to increase security of shared front entries and reinforce activity along smaller residential streets, orient entries to shared-entry seating areas to adjoin that street or pathway which is most private.

2. Address Clusters

a. Cluster 'common back seating areas' so that they create clusters of 18-36 households which share a convenient visual and physical accessibility to centrally located 'building back' area such facilities as a tot lot, vegetable and flower gardening plot, drying racks and related pathways. (See Chapter 5: SERVICE AND FACILITIES.) Give each 'common back seating area' its own entry and stair access to 'building back' pathways (See Figure 13).

PROPOSED: ADDRESS CLUSTERS:

Figure 13. West Broadway



LEGEND

B.C. - Building Commons Facility
S.A. - Entry Seating Area
D.Y. - Drying Yard
G.P. - Garden Plots
C.P. - Cooking Pit
P.S. - Play Station
T.L. - Tot Lot
D. - Dumpster Shed
H. - Household Entries

3. Building Clusters

a. Cluster pairs of individual buildings (shared by 18-36 households) so that their more private back areas face one another and create a 'courtyard back' shared by 36-72 household. To clarify possible collective service responsibilities, provide each 'building back area' with its own common entry to the courtyard back. (See Figure 13)

b. Give the 'courtyard back' distinct 'front' and 'back' orientations, each adjoining an area with distinct activity associations and service responsibilities. Locate to the 'front' such facilities as a common cooking pit, picnic area, and building activity rooms while to the 'rear' locate such facilities as a teen game/hangout area, car maintenance and parking area (see Chapter 6: SERVICE FACILITY CLUSTERS) Reinforce association between 'rear courtyard area' and teenage activities by adjoining it with the public and visible outlying streets where access to and from the development is most convenient and least disruptive.

c. Maximize the numeral equality of residents represented in each courtyard building to reduce the likelihood that one or the other will claim or 'territorialize' common courtyard facilities.

4. Courtyard Clusters

a. Cluster pairs of courtyards (shared by 36-72 households) to create individual "villages" of 72-144 households with the collective capacity to provide maintanance, security, and recreational services requiring more specialized equipment and skills. Have the "village" serve as that level from which resident maintenance and security teams are created to provide services for those areas for which more local resident groups are either unable to provide or will tend to pursue and gain unequitable control over.

b. Establish village boundaries so that one edge borders along a public site access and service corridor that is central to the development. Locate along this edge 'Village Centers' where village level meetings and service offices are established (See Chapter 5)

c. Circumscribe each 'village' with pairs of parallel residential streets and more public feeder arteries to associate its physical boundaries with those of village level main-

tenance services. (See Chapter 3: CIRCULATION HIERARCHIES-'VILLAGE' BLOCKS)

5. Village Cluster

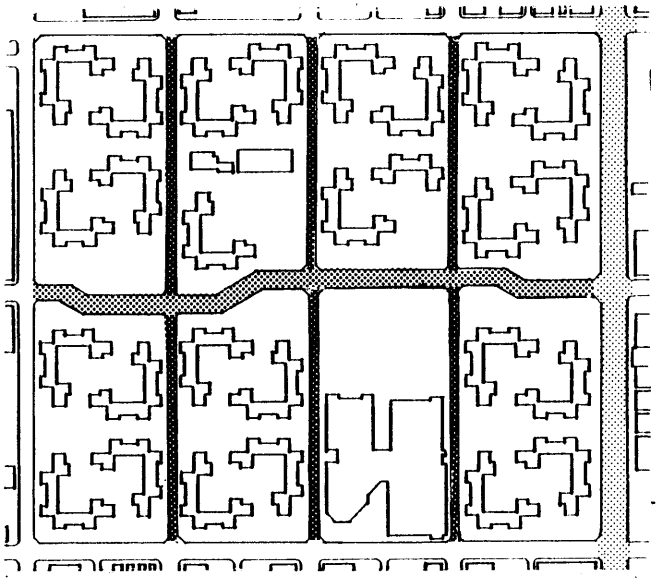
a. Arrange individual villages (shared by 72-144 households) on either side of a central access and service facility corridor. However, maximize the numerical equality between the number of villages on each side to reinforce equal geographic representation in site level political, maintenance, community, and reaction.

b. Orient the site service corridor so that it provides maximally direct and convenient pedestrian access from the interior of the development to the largest surrounding commercial and transit entry (See Figure 14).

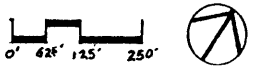
c. Orient villages so that the 'residential fronts' of adjacent villages run parallel to each other, separated by one-way residential streets accessed off central service facility corridor. By creating distinctive 'residential corridors', front door neighboring and informal mutual street and property surveillance can be facilitated. This in turn increases both opportunities for and effectiveness of informal maintenance efforts.

PROPOSED: CENTRAL ACCESSS CORRIDOR:
West Broadway

Figure 14.



- Central service Corridor
- Residential Streets
- Primary Commercial Artery



CHAPTER 4 FOOTNOTES

1. Lewis H. Spence, Director Boston Housing Authority, Class Lecture on redevelopment process at West Broadway and Franklin Field Developments (Cambridge, MA, M.I.T., November 3, 1981).

2. University of Massachusetts, Boston Urban Observatory; A Comprehensive Plan for the Renewal of the West Broadway Development, (Boston, MA, 1979) Appendix A-9.

3. Ibid. p II-7.

4. Ibid.

5. Don Gillis, Supervisor for West Broadway's Community Organization Department, telephone interview on formal resident organizations at West Broadway, (South Boston MA, October 1, 1981).

6. Peggy Mullen, Supervisor for West Broadway's Community Organization Department, Personal interview on formal resident organizations at West Broadway (South Boston, MA, October 5, 1981).

7. Michael Taylor, former Director of the Community Development Corporation, Informal telephone interview on West Broadway "Building Captain" system (South Boston, MA, October 27, 1981).

8. See Mullen.

9. See Taylor.

10. See Gillis.

11. See University of Massachusetts - Boston Urban Observatory Appendix A-4.

12. Village E Resident, excerpt from recording of conversations during Design Review Workshop for Village E, West Broadway Development (South Boston, MA, July 16, 1981).

CHAPTER 5: SERVICE SUPPORTS AND FACILITIES

A. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe: 1) the associations evident between the location, use, and need of past and present community and administrative service facilities, 2) the different types of formal and informal collective responses that have been undertaken by residents to provide such services, and 3) the extent to which the function and identity of such collective efforts have been constrained and/or reinforced by conditions in the physical environment. As before evidence generated from other research efforts in multi-family housing is presented in the Appendix (d), as it provides examples and further insight into these concerns.

A main assumption underlying the present analysis is that the tendency on the part of residents to coordinate and direct their efforts toward the provision of services will increase to the extent that there exist 'collective mechanisms' through which physically associated households can become aware of both shared service/needs and collective service capacity. It is, in other words, posited that greater resident involvement will occur 1) where there exist 'collective mechanisms' which correspond to the needs specific to a given organizational levels or residential clusters (such as between addresses buildings, courtyards, villages, etc.) and 2) where there exist "facilities", and other service supports be they in the form of "teen centers", meeting rooms, information kiosks, or storage lockers, with which to represent and develop each collective mechanism.

The presence of physical service supports and facilities can serve both practical and symbolic functions for the residents who used them. They can also reinforce formal and informal responses to needs for such things as child rearing, building security, and outdoor recreation.

Both, the likelihood of further cutbacks in development operating budgets and the bonafide advantages of providing for comprehensive input by residents, should impart increasing significance to efforts by residents to coordinate and direct the provision of community services. Reinforcement of those efforts should become priority concerns for politicians, housing officials and designers, and be reflected in new

resident employment policies and redevelopment programs designed to support the function and identity of existing resident collective relationships.

B. WEST BROADWAY CONTEXT

Much can therefore be learned about the reinforcement of resident service responsibilities and associations to service facilities at West Broadway by looking at those factors which have underlined their respective development. West Broadway residents have a long record of input and initiative in efforts to improve the provision of services to the development. There are however, many needs, particularly in relation to outdoor maintenance, surveillance, and recreation that remain unsatisfied. Residents nevertheless steadily increase their level of organization and expertise in the promotion and development of a variety of service programs. Major factors contributing to the development of that organization and expertise can be seen to have resulted both in and from the creation of West Broadways 'Multi-Service Center' in 1969.

1. The West Broadway Multi-Service Center

As far back as 1966, West Broadway residents and management had begun meeting on a regular basis to discuss such problems as management, maintenance, and roach infestation.[1] It would not be until the summer of 1968 however that tenant involvement would bring tangible results.

During the summer of 1968, pressures mounting due to a combination of neglected tenant selection procedures, unresponsive maintanance services and the uncontrolled vandalism, came to the surface through a series of violent events. These events, in which a person was fatally shot and another stabbed, were touched off by the reaction which the South Boston community had to the institution of busing and which naturally extended to the existing minority population living in the West Broadway development. Tenants claimed they had received bad press when it implied that racist activities had originated within the development, contending that it was not until the busing issue inflamed the larger, traditionally segregated and white South Boston community, that minority families at West Broadway were mistreated.[2] In any case, it is clear that such events and commentary set the public housing environment out as both a focal point of social

instability and controversy, as well as a convenient battleground upon which potential conflicts could be strategically escalated into violent confrontations.

The public attention the press did provide West Broadway, however, was used by its residents to air many of the complaints had with the BHA and West Broadway management and maintenance services. An election year, the BHA responded to the adverse publicity with a pledge to meet with residents and develop strategies to resolve existing service problems.

At the meetings, residents brought out the existence of particular insufficiencies in social services and recreational programs, particularly as concerned teenagers, minorities, and families in the development.[3]

They presented a proposal for the use of project facilities as a teen drop-in center, and for the purchase of the Catholic Church on the site, to be used as a cultural center. They also requested that the BHA hire tenants to serve on security patrols, hold open meetings between residents, youths, and the police, and bring in more police during the evening hours.[4] The result of the meetings and the proposal was a building 'address' of 12 units was consolidated and turned over to the resident community to be used as a "Multi-Service Center."

Faced with the responsibility of developing center programs, attaining the proper mix of uses, raising funds, and hiring staff, those residents involved in the earlier meetings agreed to become organized as a non-profit organization under the name West Broadway Task Force, Inc. As part of the organizational strategy, the Task Force included the creation of an eight member board of directors to be elected annually and at large by development residents.[5] Their initial purpose was to review all programs offered through the center and actively solicit support and cooperation of independent community service agencies.

The Task Force used the twelve units of the Multi-Service Center to accommodate Task Force staff offices and meeting rooms and what are currently five different community service agencies and their programs. At present (1981), they include:

1) the Use Services Department; which develops educational and recreational programs for teenagers, of which the "Teen Center" and "Alternative

High School" located in the Multi-Service Center are primary examples,

2) Family and Elderly Services, which provide case workers who work on a family by family basis to assist the elderly residents in overcoming whatever personal, legal, and health problems which they might encounter,

3) the ceramics studio, "ABLE", which offers ceramics classes to children in the development,

4) three units from the Tuft's mental health facility, and

5) the Community Organization Department (C.O.D.), which has two supervisors who serve as the supporting staff of the Task Force Board, and receive reports from resident Village Coordinators about village concerns.

The staffing of these service departments has traditionally come from outside the development, a fact that reflects at once the specialized training required for such services as well as the lack of it characterizing development residents.

Thus, in 1969 when it was formed, the West Broadway Task Force, Inc., represented one of the first resident-operated service organizations in Massachusetts public housing. The creation of the Task Force Board provided the residents of West Broadway with their first 'collective mechanism' whereby they could reach broad concensus about service needs and develop ways of tap= ping resources made available to them from the BHA, the surrounding community, and residents within the development.

That same year, the BHA, in response to new Federal modernization program and policy stipulations, gave to West Broadway residents the option to participate in HUD's program planning process in preparation for a similar state funded program that might follow. Numerous residents from West Broadway took active roles in BHA workshops to develop the federal proposal. The West Broadway Task Force Board, in cooperation with BHA staff, helped coordinate and convene resident meetings and formal working committees."[6]

In 1971, when Massachusetts enacted its own modernization program, Task Force members, operating in an everbroadening role as representatives for the West Broadway community, took part in the modernization design reviews, monitoring of BHA decisions, and in the dissemination of information to the development community. A total of

$2,140,985 was allocated over a years period toward the improvement of such things as roofs, kitchens, security screens, exterior lighting, and address doors.[7]

Legislative consideration of a second bill increasing the bonding authorization for the modernization program by $50 million, gave the Task Force another opportunity to represent the needs of the residents of West Broadway, if not for those all across the state. The Task Force had come to serve as the primary resident lobby group in Massachusetts. They were adament in their concerns, forcing the State Department of Community Affairs (DCA) to incorporate a formal role for resident organizations in the modernization process.

In 1976 the EOCD decided to commit $15 million of the amount authorized to support "pilot" modernization programs which would, as stated by the secretary of EOCD:

> Demonstrate the feasibility of several models of LHA (local housing authority), LOT (local tenants organizations), and DCA efforts that will involve the intensive management and the capital improvements necessary to bring the development(s) into its compliance with the state sanitary code, protect capital investments, improve fiscal management practices and and insure a healthy and a safe living environment.[8]

Of the twenty Chapter 200 developments invited to submit letters of intent due to high "physical need ratings," eight were funded during the winter of 1977-78 for consultant services to produce a pilot program "feasibility plan."[9] It was announced by the EOCD in the summer of 1978 that the BHA would be given a grant of $6.5 million to support the West Broadway pilot modernization program.

Throughout 1977, in anticipation of the letter of intent, West Broadway tenants had been actively involving themselves, individually and through the Task Force Board, in the discussion of the modernization goals. The Task Force, in an effort to more effectively organize the increasing resident input generated at West Broadway, formally expanded its representation to include two members from each 'village', thereby increasing the number serving on its board of directors from eight to fifteen members (see Chapter 4: Residential Clustering, Courtyard Clusters p. 54).

As part of the feasibility plan, a detailed study was undertaken in which West Broadway

residents, BHA staff and consultants from the Boston Urban Observatory and University of Massachusetts at Boston, examined and proposed improvements to sub-standard physical conditions, and the provision of management, maintenance, and social services. The outcome was a comprehensive modernization plan based upon the following mutually supportive strategies, designed to reflect the original goals of the pilot program (p. 8).

- to make the environment a livable physical environment
- to design, negotiate and implement a cooperative model of management/ maintanance services
- to convert the development into a stable, amenable, marketable neighborhood.[10]

West Broadway Task Force members, in working with BHA planners and outside consultants, gained precious political experience not only about the bureaucratic process within which they must operate, but also about the benefits that result from doing so as an organized body.

As stated in the report, A Comprehensive Plan for Renewal of the West Broadway Development, submitted 1979 to the BHA and the West Broadway Task Force, Inc. by the consultant team.

> The process of preparing a letter of intent with the participation of a BHA planner and consultants from the Boston Urban Observatory of the University of Massachusetts/Boston, provided (residents) the opportunity to focus on the goals and objectives of a pilot program and to secure the commitment of all potential actors-- the tenants, the BHA, the city of Boston, the funding sources of the West Broadway multi-service center, and local South Boston community and social service groups to work together to support and leverage the contribution of the Commonwealth toward these goals.

It was recognized by the various contributors to the plan, that for the necessary improvements to be made in sub-standard mechanical systems, physical conditions, and adequate site security the improvements must be supported by an increase in proprietary values by the residents. The level of resident organization and the cooperation and commitment experienced with the new BHA staff added realism to the view that for these physical improvements to have lasting effects, other strategies designed to strengthen development based capabilities in management, maintenance, and community services would be essential. Improvement in the living conditions in such developments as West Broadway, it was understood, would only

come as a culmination of these two complimentary processes. Interpreted in another way would be to say that for resident service responsibilities to be developed to include the maintenance and protection of improved physical conditions and activity facilities, the planning of the modification should affirm the efficacy of associated resident organizations, and the physical definition facilitate their control.

This increased size of the Task Force enabled it to support a larger number of standing committees and at the same time improve their productiveness. In 1981, Task Force members were sitting on one or more of five standing subcommittees, listed below along with a brief description of their function:

1) Personnel Committee; reviews employment applications for Multi-Service Center and Task Force staff; makes recommednations on applications and living policy to Task Force Board.

2) Budget and Finance Committee; prioritizes needs and formulates positions on project based budgeting for review by Task Force Board.

3) Revitalization Committee; prioritizes repair and modernization needs for physical plant and BHA.

4) Tenant Selection Committee; reviews cases of and conducts interviews for prespective residents for suitability after approval by BHA.

5) Security and Tenant Services Committee; develops and pursues funding strategies and programs for a) improving development security, and b) Multi-Service Center Facilities.[12]

The Task Force Board sub-committees, and Multi-Service Center Departments can be seen to be responding primarily to service needs shared largely at the site level, or which, as such, are specific to the development as a whole and general to its residents. The Task Force organization can, as such, be understood as an example of a formal 'collective mechanism' operating at that most inclusive associational level "the development site."

While Multi-Service Center Department services are provided by specifically skilled non-resident staff, however, Task Force Board Committees services are provided through the involvement and education of resident (village) representatives.

Another contrast can be made between the type of services which each provide. In general, it can be noted that the Task Force organization

performs the services of 'need-identification' and 'program promotion.' The Multi-Service Center departments, on the other hand, can be considered as performing the service of 'program operation.'

While the type of community-wide services provided out of the Multi-Service Center necessarily requires specilized training, they obviously can neither address the range of service needs experienced nor represent the 'operation' capacities available at all levels of the development.

2. Neighborhood Services

Efforts on the part of residents to develop service 'operation' capabilities can generally be characterized as informal and occurring between groups within smaller scale 'residential clusters' such as at the village, courtyard, building, and address levels.

Evidence supporting the importance of recognizing different collective relationships, their service needs and capabilities as well as the 'residential clusters' to which they belong, can be seen in the case of the present West Broadway Teen Center Facility. The facility is located in the Multi-Service Center and is operated by a non-resident staff of the Use Services Department.

Mothers living in Village A had described, during one of a series of design/review workshops coordinated by redevelopment architects during the summer of 1981, how a certain specific group of teenagers between the ages of 16 and 18 had effectively 'territorialized' the developments single teen activity facility. Complained one mother..."I have heard this from _____ and all of them that those kids run that place, and that's it, you're in there, and can either come in, or forget it." Said another..."They claim that the few people that are in our hall are just out, they're kids right in our area..."[13] They also spoke about the effect which this had on the younger teens:

> Then there's the 13, 14, 15-year olds, and there's a number of them, and they don't really have a place to go they sit out on door steps. When kids go away from the door, God knows where they are and what they're getting into...[14]

It is possible to translate these statements to mean that a 'community-service facility' (the Teen Center), developed to serve the needs of a 'collective relationship' (all teenagers) general

to a large scale 'residential cluster' (the development site) was turned into a new, less inclusive type of 'service facility' (albeit club house) to serve the needs of a more restricted 'collective relationship' (teenagers 16-18 years old) which was associated to a smaller scale 'residential cluster' (the "hallway or shared" address). Such information can be taken to suggest: 1) that activity centers are needed for at least two groups of teens, ages 13-15 and 16-19, 2) that there should be several centers for each provided on the site, and 3) that these centers (especially for the 13-15 age group) should be provided in areas central to that 'residential cluster' in which its users live.

As for the capacity of residents to provide supervisory services for an increased number of teen-center facilities, "Village A" mothers seemed to think that the two 'villages' could share supervisory responsibilities. As one suggested: "the (village) offices could share time; certain days for a certain village, and certain activities scheduled for those villages."[15] When one mother was asked if adults in her village would be willing to provide supervisory services, most agreed with the response of the mother who said:

> Oh sure, I'm quite sure they would volunteer, I know I would...I'd take my work and go up there. If they did have places to go where they had games and so forth it would put down the delinquincy.[16]

In the past, residents have attempted to respond to the perceived need for teenage activity centers within their neighborhood (albeit, residential cluster). As one mother recalls:

> One time we had a cellar, and they (teenagers) met (with) M__ W____ and her husband down there, but there were no lights down there, and we had to put them (the teenagers) out when it got dark...But then they started to see rats down there, and stopped going down there...They were doing a good job and they really cleaned the cellar up good, the kinds did, and they painted the walls three different colors...[17]

Another spoke of her own past personal efforts in adapting the basement of her building into a small activity center for its young people.

> To me basements are...an awful lot of wasted area, I don't see why something couldn't be setup in our cellar, I wouldn't care about the noise...Our cellar is all cement. Carol and I went down there and swept the whole place out thinking that they (children of that building) were going

> to leave us, and McNamara (former West Broadway manager) said "no way..." and we were going to supervise it our selves, and it would be at no cost to them. I was going to put my son's pool table down there and bring all the games down...they said 'no room down there." And then Tim (the maintenance man) said that he didn't want a crap room in the section that he had to go into... We have no maintenance man cleaning up our front or back, we take care of it ourselves.[18]

Most illuminating was the following statement by a mother who noted how, in serving to provide teenagers with an activity focus within their associational level, the teenagers served to provide a feeling of security for its other members.

> Most people feel safe as long as there are kids that age (teens) around, their protecting their territory as far as the kids are concerned and then the parents who live in that area feel protected.[19]

In a community where 72% of households (1979) are headed by females, it is understandable how the informal security service provided through the localized activity of an areas teenagers could warrant the above actions which their parents have taken. In having attempted to provide both supervisory services and a facility within their neighborhood for use by its teenagers, these parents were attempting not only to provide more constructive activities for their children, but also to reduce the threat of "outsiders" and the vandalism with which they were associated.

In the original Multi-Service Center proposal given to the BHA in 1969, residents pointed to the provision of a neighborhood 'meeting hall' as a constructive step toward the resolution of conflicts and problems encountered when federal and state stipulations for racially balanced developments were first enforced at West Broadway in 1967.

> The lack of any decent meeting hall in the project prevents the Task Force or anyone from having any meetings, get togethers, socials, bean suppers, Spanish nights, etc. If people never have the opportunity to get together, then, even their next door neighbor who isn't Spanish is a stranger. We have a church hall in the project, but it isn't open for community use. The B.H.A. could contract for the use of the hall for events, under proper supervision.[20]

Other suggestions in the proposal were for the provision of programs and monetary

inducements to reinforce the social service capacity inherent to more localized 'collective relationships.' They include suggestions to:

> 6. Organize programs around natural areas such as court yards, buildings, etc. This is where the Puerto Rican kids have to make it. Take trips with all the kinds from that area to state parks, etc.
>
> 14. Establish some sort of "buddy system" for Puerto Rican families. A family in each building could be selected to help and assist a Puerto Rican family. The helping family could be given Spanish lessons and paid some kind of salary to act as management aid to help Spanish speaking families.[21]

These suggestions very much reflect the awareness which many residents had for their collective capabilities. They were apparently aware that, in order for them to respond to development problems, they would have to work together, and that working together would be the easiest and more productive when with those they shared problems with, and who had the same vested interest in the improvement of their part of the development.

A housing survey of West Broadway, done in 1965, had already informed residents of the correlation between physical clusters and social relationships across the site. It concluded that:

> For the most part friendship circles are small, usually restricted to the immediate building, back court, and the other side of the project is, for all practical purposes, another world.[22]

Vehemence about the importance of local efforts in addressing community needs was evident in the words of former West Broadway resident, Arthur Jabobs, who had done a lot of work organizing football, basketball, and baseball teams for youngsters in the development before he left in 1974:

> It's about time that all the people here started doing something for themselves and stopped leaving it all up to the Task Force members to do.
>
> I've seen all sorts of people knock themselves silly sitting on god damn committees and still nothing gets better. I work all day and I can't sit on committees. I payed my rent, or used to, and kept my place clean I figured I was doing my part.[23]

In the Multi-Service Center Proposal (1969), residents recognized that for them to become involved in the provision of maintenance services, the services should be provided by those residents for whom the need exists, and be identified with collective relationships corresponding to less inclusive residential clusters in the development:

Improvement projects will be initiated on a self-help basis, to increase tenant concern and responsibility for his home and neighborhood. The goal here is to involve the residents in self-help projects which will effect their life situation and give them a sense of competency over their life situation as well as change the negative aspects of their environment.

1. Establish floor groups in each building of the project for the discussion of problems and provide a channel for communication and action. These groups would work closely with the Task Force.

2. Provide organization and staff services to the Task Force which is concerned with the total project environment.

3. Organization of self-help projects, such as tot-lot improvements, yard sweep-ups, painting of hall ways, tenant supervised tot-lot programs.

4. Work closely with the Task Force in securing needed services and maintenance work from the Housing Authority.[24]

The Task Force Board, can be seen here as envisioning for itself an important role in the development of resident maintenance responsibilities. While it saw itself as directly responsible for those service needs of the "total project environment," it would also have coordinated the organization of resident 'operated' programs and their promotion to the BHA. For the BHA, however, such maintenance program proposals must have represented a considerable departure from existing staffing agreements and the desired level of bureaucratic accountability.

The untenability inherent to a city-controlled, non-resident maintenance service system was quite clear to Arthur Jacobs, whose statement to that effect received press coverage in 1973:

> Maintenance in D-Street is so bad if the maintenance men lived here they would be disgusted. Maybe then they would start to care more for it. But they just come to work in morning and go home at night and forget all about it. They won't even stop to put a light in the hall.[25]

The comments of another, a long-term male resident from Village C, recorded during a 1981 design/review workshop, reveal the mounting frustration which residents have experienced with the existing staffing system.

> Let me tell you about the employment here; he used to walk around with a tool box, they did away with that

> and he walked around with a wrench, he did away with that, and he walked around with a screw driver, he did away with that, and then had hands in his pockets. Let me tell you a story about this place... You can't fire the bastards.[26]

The BHA's inability to respond constructively to many of the residents maintenance proposals can be seen to stem in part from the alledged use of maintenance staff employment contracts as a source of political 'debt-service' by Agency and City-government leaders to supportive constituencies. Any attempt, however, to determine the substance of such allegations is beyond the scope of this thesis.

By 1974, residents in several buildings had instituted a "security patrol" program whereby parents in households within a given address would take turns sitting in their hallway and occasionally patrolling the outside of their building.[27] The lack of BHA support for the new program however would prove detrimental as soon as dropping temperatures made sitting in their concrete and tile hallways increasingly unpleasant. The exasperation which one group of residents felt after having invested their own time and money into improving the one shared space onto which all their living rooms directly opened, is documented in a newspaper article which appeared then:

> The tenants of 2 Joyce Hayes Way in the D Street Project, as of December 1, 1974 have ceased to patrol their building due to the cold hallway. The tenants of this building who were the first to successfully patrol their building seven (7) nights a week, said that they would not patrol because they were not given heated hallways like they were promised.
>
> The tenants of this building were also the <u>first</u> to, with much time and patience, paint and design their hallway with recognition from different groups from other projects throughout the city.
>
> All the work done in this hallway, including the buying of the paint for three (3) landings was done by the tenants.[28]

While the BHA continued to hedge on the question of supporting resident building maintenance and security service programs, the Task Force Board, with the help of planning consultants, paid for out of their operating budget, was able to take advantage of the increasing resident interest, input and publicity generated by the 1976 "Pilot" Modernization Program, and most recently

in 1980 by the $20 million 'redevelopment' program.

The Task Force was successful in gaining financial support from the BHA for an expanded Task Force Board, new resident held "Village Coordinator" positions, and the conversion of three apartments across the development into Village Coordinator offices and meeting rooms. During this period the Board chose to divide the development into seven "Village" clusters. As previously mentioned, the "village," in consisting of two pairs of buildings, each arranged around a courtyard, was evidently considered to encompass that group of households whose physical organization and membership could support a strategy of decentralized "community organization and education."[29]

It is interesting that up until the Task Force sought to reinforce the 'block' or "village" level associations, the "village" level cluster had not been evident as a formative factor in those collective relationships and programs formed either to 'identify needs' or to 'operate' services. Aside from having considered 'courtyard clusters' to contain a sufficient number of households to perform anticipated responsibilities, other factors that may have suggested the "Village" system are 1.) the repetition of a regularly sized block and number of buildings, as defined by the surrounding orthogonal street network, 2.) that, as exemplified in the relative isolation and household stability of Village G and the vandalism and vacancies plaguing the "back villages," buildings and courtyards are exposed to locational and street related problems that can be seen as distinctive to given 'blocks', and 3.) that 'seven' is a manageable number to be given dependable representation on a central policy and program development board, such as the Task Force Board requires. This would seem to indicate that the primary collective service functions reinforced at the "village" level would, at this point, be in the identification of "service needs" and/or the "promotion" of programs, and less so in the 'operation' of programs. This observation is borne out to some extent by the most recent organizational development at West Broadway- the institution, in 1980, of "Village Panels", or regularly scheduled monthly meetings, open to all residents of a given village. "Village Panels" are chaired by the "Village Coordinator,"

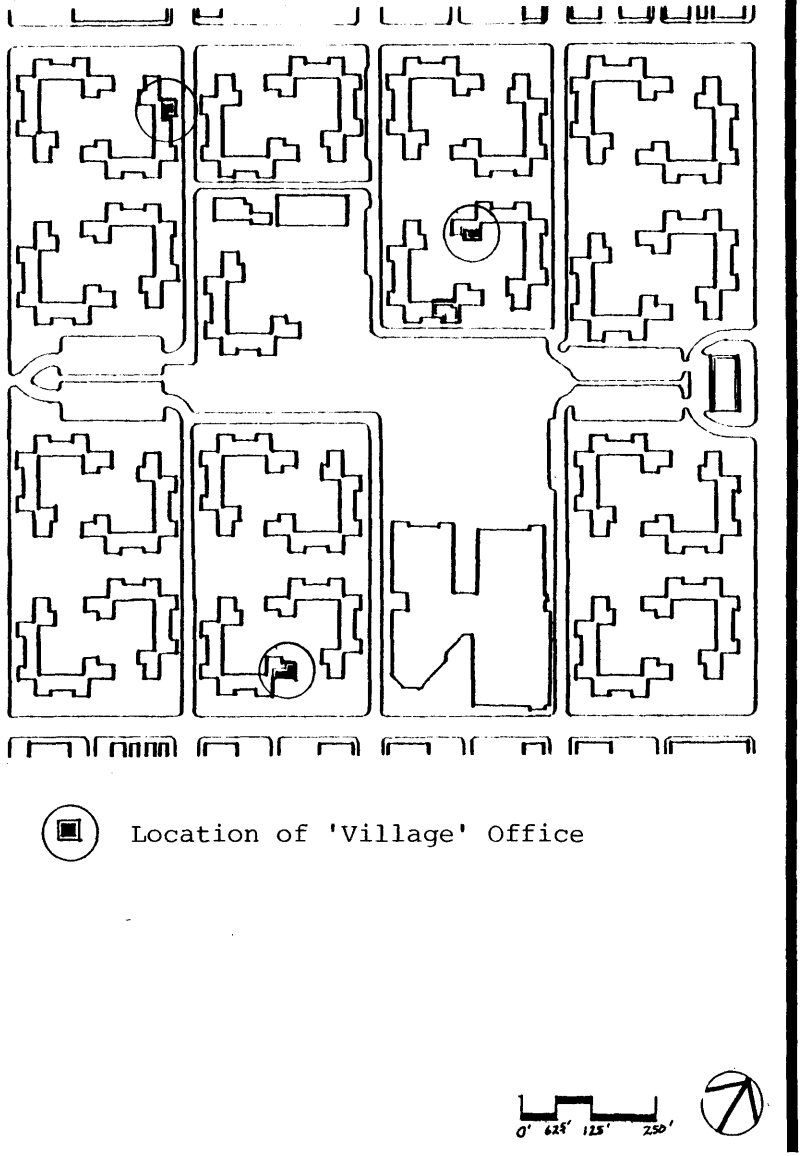
who reports to non-resident supervisors serving in the Community Organization Department.[30] The supervisors work with the Task Force Board on program and policy development.

The organization of formally scheduled meetings and the general accessibility of both the "Village Coordinator" and the "Village Representative" on the Task Force Board can however, be seen as having indirectly reinforced the development of a diverse array of collective interactions at that level. Residents have approached their "Village Coordinators" at various times since 1980 for assistance in organizing and promoting social activities between village residents. One now finds village groups organizing Halloween parties, such as Village B did in 1981, as well as bake sales, roller-skating parties for children and Christmas parties for families.[31]

There is presently little correspondence, however, between the location of the three "Village Coordinator" offices (containing the "Village Panel" meeting rooms) and the actual village which they serve; or as would have both provided a symbolic and practical focal point for collective activities at that level as well

EXISTING: LOCATION OF 'VILLAGE' OFFICES:

Figure 15. West Broadway



as made the offices more accessible to and supportive of informal activities. Currently, two of the "Village Offices" and meeting rooms are shared by two villages each (formerly two bedroom apartments) and a third is shared by three villages (formerly a three bedroom apartment). The shared "Village Office" and meeting rooms are neither centrally located nor consistently oriented within the development. One facility is located along a secondary commercial artery (D Street), another is located on a short residential loop (Orton Marotta Way), on a corner of the development. The third is not located along a street, but looks onto the interior space of a courtyard. While there may have been numerous budgetary and spatial constraints which gave rise to such organizational inconsistency, it is clear, given the variety of informal efforts and resources which residents have historically shown they are ready to invest, that much can be gained through a more stringent pursuit and enforcement of community priorities. (See Figure 15)

At present, because the village facilities are shared, 'village level' functions must be scheduled and organized through the "Village Coordinators." It is the "Village Coordinator" who controls the keys and therefore the access to the facility. These factors can be seen as constraints upon the use of the facility for more informal and small scale activities which, at present, characterize most resident efforts at performing social service and maintenance functions.

Reinforcement by the "Village Coordinator" of resident maintenance functions is apparently uncommon as of yet, occurring, when it has, largely for functions undertaken at the village level. C.O.D. Supervisor, Peggy Mullen has noted that a few "Village Coordinators" have made attempts at organizing village-wide spring cleanings, that included hallways, basements, sidewalks, and courtyards;[32] there was no indication however that the approach was so effective as to have been embraced by all "Village Coordinators."

An illuminating example of a typical maintenance service function for which the "Village Coordinator" is required was described during an interview with the "Village Coordinator" of Village D. She described her role in the replacement of apartment and hallway light bulbs:

the resident who wants a burned out light bulb replaced is expected to tell their "Village Coordinator" who then tells the management office, which then notifies the maintenance man assigned to the resident's own village (each village has one maintenance man). The maintenance man then registers the request as part of his daily assigned duties, which he will complete when he can (usually the next day).[33] The "Village Coordinator" represents an added step in an already distended maintenance operation; a step, which while having evidently increased the accountability and of the management and maintenance staff, has focused attention and efforts away from those for whom such "accountability" would never have been an issue (i.e., hallway and apartment users).

The following tendency therefore could be seen to exist with regard to the evolution of collective activities: that to the extent that residents have been dependent on such village level 'collective mechanisms' as a source of support for the provision of community services, so has been the type and form of the needs respectively addressed, inasmuch as they tend to be those general to the membership (albeit village) served by those mechanisms. This is merely to suggest that "Village Coordinators" and "village panels" have tended to reinforce village level activities or those sufficiently common to the needs of an average of nearly 100 households (1978) or 286 residents. One can only conject however, about the types of community expression that would emerge should formal collective mechanisms be instituted between those fifty households and 143 residents which, on the average, share a courtyard, or between half that number, which live in a given building.[34]

That collective service efforts at the "village" level can be seen as stemming in part, from the reinforcement provided by the availability and use of village facilities and its officers, points to the potential collective service capacity that could be realized from increasing both the accessibility and recognizability of these and other smaller scale.

BHA resistance aside, the ability of residents to undertake maintenance and security service responsibilities can be seen as depending, in part, upon the extent to which they can informally and conveniently undertake those tasks

which are within their immediate collective capabilities.

Service tasks would as such, be of the type that are generally routine in occurence, can be performed with few tools, and which require little specialized training. The tasks would also tend to be 'non-singular' in function, often indirectly performing a combination of maintenance, security, and social functions. Simple examples of this could be found in the casual street surviellence opportunity afforded while cutting the grass or tending the garden, or in the communication of a continuing interest in enforcing territorial boundaries by the repainting of a gate or sign. The aforementioned efforts by mothers in Village A to provide a place for their teenagers to go when their protective presence was appreciated, serves as another example.

Examples of 'non-singular' service functions at West Broadway represent some of the most enduring forms of resident involvement in the provision of services. Perhaps the most common example is that represented in the practice by residents living in the same "address," of sitting outside the "address" entry on the steps or in portable chairs. It is a practice which not only gives the opportunity, as one resident put it "to find out what problems the building is having" (See CHAPTER 4: RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING: APARTMENT CLUSTERS p. 48), but to supervise the activities of their young children, surveil the drying yards when their laundry is up, and keep outsiders from cutting through their address hallways. Another example might be seen in the practice, primarily by male adults, of parking their cars as close as possible to their units. While spoken of primarily as a way of keeping a closer eye on it to deter car thieves and vandals (a justified concern at West Broadway), the close association of car to residence can also be understood as an identifying display of ownership and individual taste.

The point that can be made is that many of the service functions performed by residents occur within a larger "context" or "setting" of mutually supportable activities, expressions and physical associations. And that it is the supportive relation to such activities, expressions, and physical associations, on which the service functions for which residents can be

responsible largely depends. This is, perhaps, merely to say that the ability of residents to realize their need-serving capacity will be greatly enhanced if, 1. those perceiving the need and those providing the service, if not one and the same, remain within the same residential cluster, and 2. the type of service provided is not isolated as a task without expressive and practical value to that person and his/her immediate peers. The implication which this has for design and programmatic goals is that they should account for the effect which the location, equipment, and design of activity area has on the convenience, identity, and social experssion of those groups which not only use the space, but which are intended to maintain it. And where the group which uses the area is unable to perform the basic maintenance and security functions necessary (for reasons of age, skill, strength, and/or position), these needs should be within the capacity of those involved in activities located in convenient and non-conflicting association.

The vital relationship which association, identification, and social expression have to resident involvement in maintenance, security and formal-use activities, should be reinforced by designers and space-use programmers. They should seek to provide physical supports and facilities which are explicit in their descriptive reference and practical application to user groups, their collective responsibilities, and to the "organizational levels" of which they are a part.

C. Functional Objectives of Service Supports and Facilities

Service supports and facilities can serve:

1. to compliment the function and identity of existing collective relationships between residents.
2. to increase the convenience, identity, and social expression of those groups which not only use a given space, but which have the capacity to maintain and surveil it.
3. to enable another resident group or 'collective relationship' to perform these functions not within the service capacity of the primary use group (albeit for reasons of age, skill, strength, and/or position).
4. to distinguish for pedestrians pathways, entries, and activity areas/facilities which are 'private' to a given address, building, courtyard, and/or village. (Example: graphic information including signs and color coding.)
5. to identify specific collective relationships (such as between the 'teens' of a given courtyard or the elderly of a given building) which have service responsibilities over a given area or facility, and the use and service rules which they seek to enforce.
6. to accommodate the display of identity and investments (e.g., flower boxes, common trophy case in Village office, green house windows).
7. to facilitate the dissemination of information about community activities (e.g., information kiosk, poster wall, notice board).
8. to enable residents to hold ad hoc meetings, parties, community service and recreational activities with other residents sharing their address, building, courtyard, and/or village, (e.g., generic meeting room put per building).
9. to enhance the visibility and control of primary (public to more private) entry areas (e.g., locate activity or common facility as formal part of the most public entry, thereby providing a source of more constant surveillance where it is most needed).
10. to enable residents to conveniently store and check out equipment and supplies needed for maintanance, recreation, and social activities (e.g., Village maintenance and equipment counter run out of Village Coordinator's office).
11. to provide visible landmarks for each associational level or residential cluster as a focal point of expression common to those sharing it, (e.g., a distinct village center).

D. PROPOSITIONS FOR THE DESIGN AND PROGRAMMING OF SERVICE SUPPORTS AND FACILITIES.

The following are examples of design and space-use programming propositions that might be generated in an attempt to accomplish the aforementioned functions.

1. Organizational Structure

a. 'Support Clusters'

At each 'organizational level' for which collective relationships and resident service capacity are evidenced and/or can be reinforced, appropriate 'service facilities' can be created. A 'service facility' can be understood as representing 'clusterings' of both 'practical' and 'descriptive supports.' They are considered as important elements of design, programmatic, and administrative efforts to facilitate collective control over community, maintenance, and security services.

b. Service Facility Supports

The following set of 'practical' and 'descriptive supports' shall serve as the outline upon which will be based propositions for resident operated 'service facilities' at each 'organizational level' within the development.

1) Practical Supports:

a) Purpose

b) User Groups

c) Location

d) Capacity

e) Equipment and Operation

f) Access Control and Surveillance

g) Resident Service REsponsibilities

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display

b) Color, Materials, and Design

c) Signs

c. Hierarchy of "Service Boards"

Coordinate the operation of individual 'service facilities' by creating a hierarchy of progressively more inclusive 'service boards'. Create a 'service board' or 'panel' for each village that is chaired by an elected "Village Coordinator" and comprised of "Building Captains" and 'officers' of those resident groups involved in building and village maintenance service operations. Create a 'site service board' that is chaired by the Task Force Board and is comprised of "Village Coordinators . Have the 'Site Service Board' operate as a Task Force Board subcommittee and/or with direct dependence

on consultation and 'apprenticeship agreements' with the BHA management and maintenance staff. Make the primary functions of 'service boards'/committees the identification of local service and budgetary needs and in the promotion and coordination of local service programs.

d. Resident Service Contracts

1) Require residents who wish to become members of a resident service group, to enter into a "Resident Service Contract' agreement with their "Village Coordinators" (Site Maintenance Teams contract with Community Organization Department Supervisor). The contract requirement is intended to facilitate the development resident service responsibilities and the coordinated participation of each resident as a member of a specific service group.

2) Require each member of the service group to have signed the 'Service Contract.' Allow no less than five members to make up a resident service group.

3) State in the contract the range of incentives that may apply for residents who are thinking about anticipating in service groups with service contracts; a) financial inducements for members of site and village 'service teams' and for "Building Captains" and 'Service Group Officers,' b) equipment use priveledges - allow only 'service groups' checkout priviledges for recreational, light construction, and maintenance equipment, c) reward for quality service performance - give promotion to village and site level 'Service Teams' which include more money and responsibilities and better physical facilities and offices.

4) Make the continuation of priviledge, promotions, and pay dependent on 'performance reports' made by the building captain (for building level groups) or the "Village Coordinator" (for village level groups) to the Community Organization Department which will then make recommendations to the Task Force Board about appropriate actions.

5) Make the contract good for a twelve month period, after which it must be renewed or pay and use priviledges will be discontinued.

2. Site Level Propositions

a. 'Site Service Center' (see Figure)

1) Practical Application:

a) Purpose - to accommodate community service requiring specialized

non-resident staffing and equipment.

b) User Groups - all households within the development.

c) Location - locate 'Site Service Center' along most direct access to largest commercial artery outside the development.

d) Capacity - have 'Site Service Center' accommodate: i) offices for Task Force Board support staff and non-resident service department, ii) activity rooms for board and committee meetings and presentations, iii) assembly and recreation hall, iv) day care and laundromat facilities.

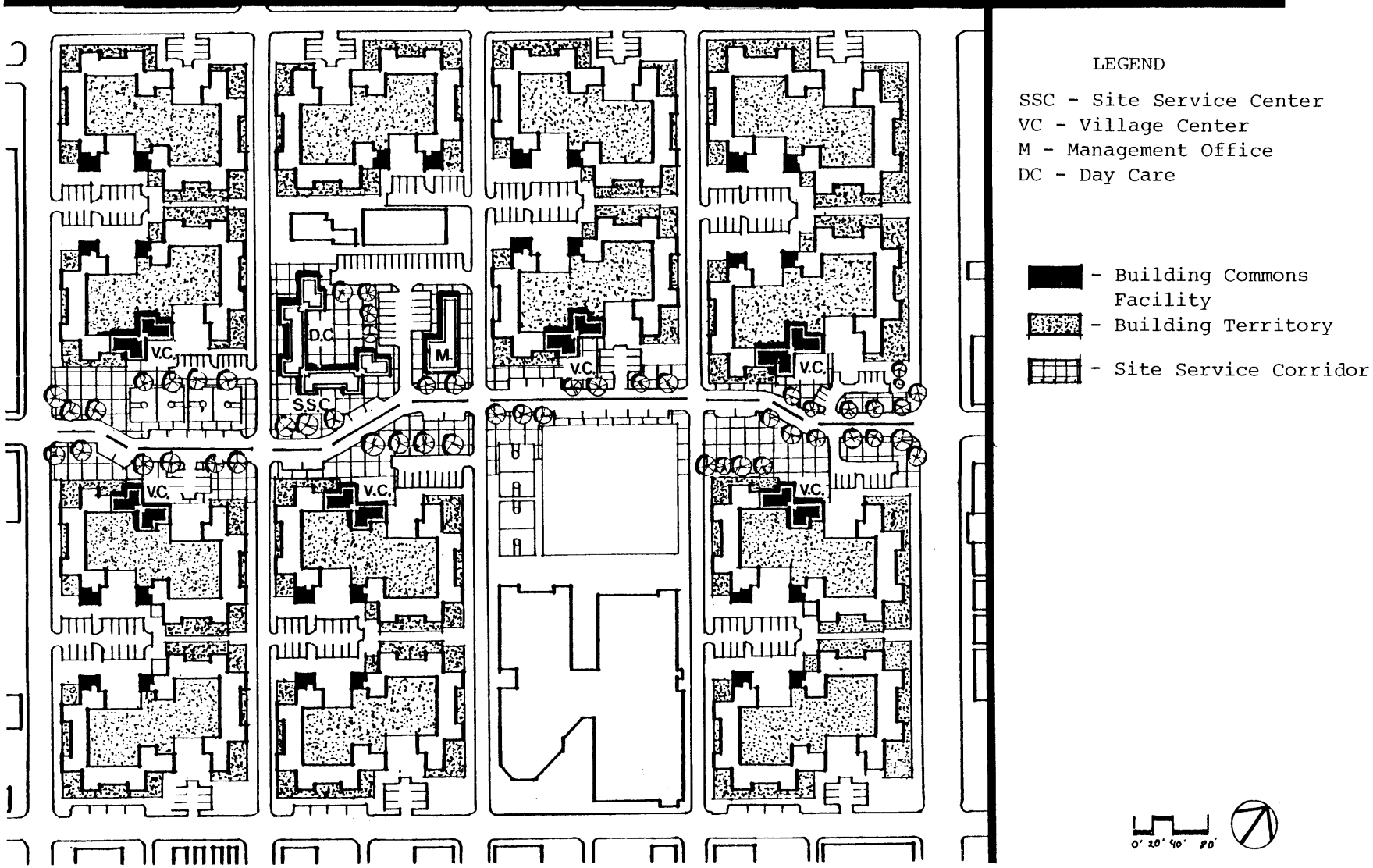
e) Equipment - locate in 'Site Service Center' a 'central storage and distribution department' for such things as paint, repair tools, maintenance and recreation equipment that goes then to each 'Village Service Supply and Checkout Office' for use by resident 'service group officers.'

f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) locate 'Site Service Center' along major pedestrian vehicular access to residential streets enabling daytime surveillance and orientation where it is most needed; ii) surveillance of site facilities would be responsibility of police patrol.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) create a 'Resident Task Force Board' made up of two elected resident representatives from each 'Village' to identify community service needs and promote programs for the 'Site Service Center,' ii) create a 'Site Service Committee' under the 'Task Force' and made up of resident 'coordinators' from each village to coordinate overall operation of each village level 'service boards,' equipment supply, and 'village maintenance teams', iii) create a 'Site Service Team' overseen by the 'Site Service Committee' which is responsible for regular maintenance of site facilities. iv) create a "Community Organization Department" to assist "Village Coordinators" with the development of

PROPOSED: SITE SERVICE CENTER:

Figure 16. West Broadway



physical service, and service contracts' between building, and address groups and the 'Village Office.'

2) Descriptive Supports:

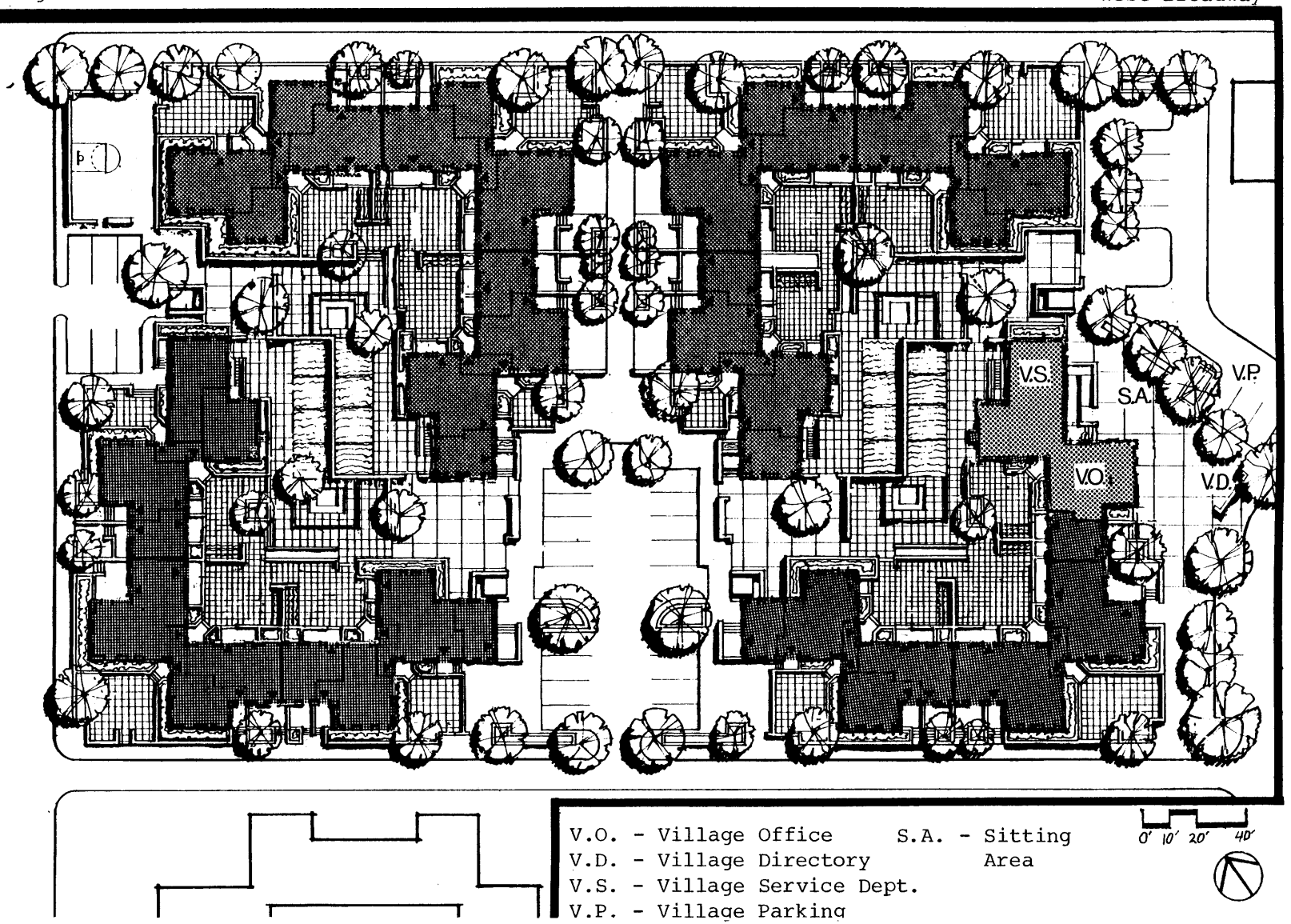
a) Information and Display - i) locate the entrance of the 'Site Service Center' adjacent to a 'seating and meeting area' to accommodate ongoing discussion in and about the 'Center,' ii) locate the entrance and seating area so that it is adjacent to and defined by an information kiosk and poster wall/partition containing calendar of development events, programs, jobs, car pool opportunities, etc.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - i) use colors, materials, and design style which are distinctive to the 'Site Service Center' as a focal point and orienting landmark of the development, ii) paint the aforementioned 'supports' for information and display with bright colors so that they are visible and readable from a distance, iii) make entry canopies for 'Site Service Center' higher, larger, and more brightly colored than residential canopies, iv) use windows in the 'Site Service Center' which are larger and more open (particularly around the entry area) than residential windows, v) provide public parking for outsiders and non-residential personnel both on and off the street outside the 'Service Center,' vi) provide landscaping and lighting which is more formal and focal and affords convenient nighttime surveillance from street, vii) incorporate all colors distinctive to each village together on the doors and/or canopies of the 'Site Service Center,' viii) provide a partially shaded but fully enclosed outdoor 'play yard' adjacent to 'Site Day Care Facility' for convenient and safe use for day care activities.

c) Signs - i) provide a 'site directory' along the most public vehicular access into the site so that outsiders can read from their car where each

PROPOSED: VILLAGE CENTER:

Figure 17.



'village', 'village center', and parking areas are located, ii) have the 'site directory' appear as a diagrammatic map using color coding which corresponds to that distinctive to each village, iii) locate the formal name given to the 'Site Service Center' on a sign clearly visible from the street, if not from the primary entry point into the development.

3. Village Level Propositions (72-144 households)
   a. 'Village Center' (see Figure 17)
      1) Practical Application:
         a) Purpose - to facilitate the distribution of maintenance and recreation supplies and equipment to resident groups for the village, building, and address service activities, and to assist in their organization.
         b) User Groups - all households within a given village (72-150 households)
         c) Location - locate each center along the 'site-service corridor', the busiest, and most convenient pedestrian and vehicular route through the development.
         d) Capacity - locate in the 'Village Center' such things as: office for "Village Coordinator", village meeting/activity rooms, equipment storage rooms, checkout counter for equipment, outdoor seating area, etc.
         e) Equipment - base resident checkout of maintenance and recreational equipment and supplies on a fixed use period (6, 12, 24 hours) and then only by the 'officers' of service groups which have contracted with the "Village Coordinators" office.
         f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) locate 'Village Centers' along the 'site-service corridor', the most public and well used and easily patrollable vehicular route through the development; ii) provide 'Village Center Visitor Parking' spaces in front of each 'Village Center' along the 'site-service corridor'; iii) establish 'village patrols' made up of residents to safeguard village streets, pathways, and

common areas from vandalism and intruders and to report problem situations to the police.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) elect a "Village Coordinator" for each village to chair village-level 'Service Board' and to organize village level distribution of maintenance supplies and equipment to the 'Village Service Office', and to formalize 'service contracts' between the village and resident 'service teams;' ii) form a 'Village Service Board' made up of official representatives of maintenance and recreational 'service groups' operating at the village, building, and address levels; iii) "Building Captains" should also be present on the 'Service Boards.' The 'Service Board' should meet regularly to identify organizational, program, and budget needs and resolve personnel problems; iv) organize 'village maintenance teams' out of the 'Village Service Office' to conduct routine maintenance on 'Village Center' and all grounds shared by all buildings; teams should also, however, conduct basic electrical, plumbing, and repairs outside the informal capabilities of the building- and address-level service groups.

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - i) locate outside the front and most public entry to the 'Village Center' a paintable and tackable poster wall for information display, and a common area for informal village activities, such as bake and yard sales, group rendezvous, presentations, etc.; ii) provide 'display case' in the 'Village Coordinators Office' for village memorabilia such as trophies, newspaper clippings, photographs, etc.

b) Colors, Materials, and Design - i) give each village its own distinctive color, appearing on street-front window millions and metal landscape furniture; ii) give each village its own distinctive entry canopy, stoop, and door design; iii) make the 'Village Center' entry and access more bright in

color, more open and formal than the residential entrances, make entry canopies, doors, and windows higher and wider.

c) Signs - i) in large, high contrast lettering, locate the 'Village Center' sign on its front entry canopy; this should be easily readable from the street; ii) locate the names of the facilities located within the 'Village Center' on the walls outside the Center entrance; ii) locate a 'Village Directory' and 'address map' on a 'poster wall' in the 'Village common area' so that it is visually accessible from the street and 'Village Center' visitor parking.

4. Courtyard Level Propositions (36-72 households)

a. 'Play-Station' (see Figure 18)

1) Practical Applications:

a) Purpose - for a supervisable but separate place for adolescents (ages 7-12) to play.

b) User Groups - adolescents living in households sharing a 'courtyard back', who begin to explore parts away from home, but which still benefit from informal supervision and confined areas associated with 'home turf'.

c) Location - i) locate 'play-station' in the 'semi-public' front access-threshold to 'courtyard backs' defined by apartment buildings, ii) locate 'play circuit' connecting with 'outside' (i.e., more public) village and street-play activities.

d) Capacity - enable the 'play-station' to accommodate ballgames, bike riding, climbing, hiding, and sitting between small groups of adolescents (6-15)

e) Equipment - make play equipment permanent and durable (such as masonry ball wall and hard ground surface materials) which do not require regular storage, formal checkout and maintenance.

f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) locate along outside edge of 'back commons

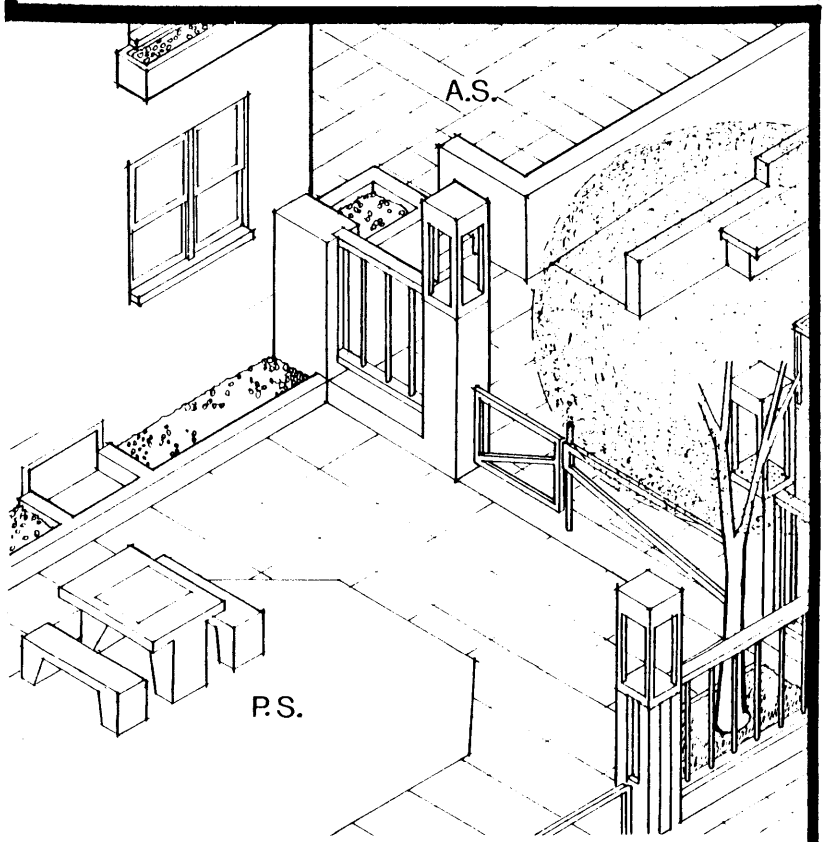
area' private to each building for equal accessibility; ii) locate along front access-threshold to courtyard connecting building backcommons to off street parking area and indirectly to street; iii) make the primary access to courtyard transparent and well lit, make 'rear' courtyard accesses opening up to the street distinctively secondary and more quickly constricted; iv) provide large lockable and vandal proof gates at court yard entries; provide at least one entry with a double gate for service truck access (min. 12'); v) make the 'play station' visible to but separate from adult entry sitting areas and tot lots.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - make 'play-station' maintenance and repair a 'village level' service responsibility (unless it belongs to an individual building).

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - i) metal wall elements in the 'play-station' should accommodate paint and be

PROPOSED: COURTYARD THRESHOLDS/COMMONS:
Figure 18. West Broadway



LEGEND

P.S. - Play Station

A.S. - Address Entry Seating Area

conveniently repaintable; ii) play station can serve as a support for display of adolescent solidarity, as a place belonging to them, but near to home.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - i) make paving materials describe activity areas and games encouraged in 'play-station', ii) paint window mullions, joints, and sills within the courtyard back a lighter shade of the village color appearing on front elements, iv) paint surfaces interior to the adolescent play station with the 'courtyard back' color.

c) Signs - locate signs on courtyard entry walls which prohibit unescorted non-residents (of the courtyard) after dusk.

b. 'Cooking Pit and Picnic Area' (see Figure 19)

1) Practical Application:

a) Purpose - to enable residents to eat outdoors and in large groups during temperate seasons

b) User Groups - all households (36-72) sharing a given 'courtyard back'

c) Location - locate this area within the front access-threshold to the courtyard, back, so that residents from surrounding courtyard buildings have similarly convenient access and physical association.

d) Capacity - make each outdoor eating area accommodate small gatherings and larger picnics (5-20) people)

e) Equipment - i) provide 'cooking pit' with a minimum of two cooking grates and fire pits; ii) provide trash bins nearby for convenient cleanup; iii) make 'cooking pit' conveniently accessible to water spigot and fire lane.

f) Access Control and Surveillance - same as for 'play station'

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) make light cleanup the responsibility of immediate user groups; ii) make routine maintenance and repair responsibility of 'Village Service Team'; iii) have 'cooking pit' grates kept at 'Village Service Office' where they can be reserved and checked out by adult members of a given 'courtyard'.

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - the cooking pit and picnic area' can serve as a support for the display of social relationships, culinary skills, generosity, etc.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - partially define possible seating/eating arrangements through the provision of use surfaces which are permanent and durable, preferably out of masonry and concrete construction.

c) Signs - locate sign on overlooking wall describing cleanup duties and cooking grate checkout procedure.

c. 'Refuse Disposal Shed' (See Figure 19)

1) Practical Applications:

a) Purpose - for safe, clean, unoffensive, and convenient means of disposal for courtyard buildings.

b) User Groups - teens and adults living in buildings around a given courtyard.

c) Location - locate adjacent to off street parking lots and within each courtyard access threhold for convenient access by both residents and disposal trucks.

d) Capacity - make the bins small enough so that they fill up within a weeks time so as to prevent garbage from decomposing and developing disturbing odors, and from becoming interesting to neighborhood youths.

e) Equipment - i) make the shed so that residents can dump their garbage into refuse bins from the courtyard side, (such as through a swinging or lifting door); ii) provide a refuse bin that can be mechanically pulled out of the shed, from outside the courtyard by a refuse truck, lifted into its hold, lowered and pushed back into the shed; iii) provide steps up to the aperture through which garbage is thrown into the bin so that it is within lifting range of shorter arms and is less likely to be spilled during dumping.

f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) give the refuse bin high walls and the disposal shed a cover or roof so as to 'prevent' (albeit, discourage) both children from climbing in and carrying out objects to play with, and

rain from getting in and increasing the odor problem, ii) see Location; iii) see Equipment.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - aside from the refuse removal responsibilities of each individual household, give the task of repainting the refuse disposal shed and keeping the area around it clean to the courtyards adolescent and/or teen groups (such as scouts, clubs, friends, etc.).

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - taking out the trash affords informal opportunities to surveil the courtyard 'threshhold' activities, and parking lots; it also gives residents a chance to meet and converse with neighbors.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - i) enclose immediate interior disposal area with fence to prevent spreading of garbage into adjacent spaces, ii) make walls of refuse disposal shed permanent and durable, and homogeneous with the building construction (use masonry), iii) make the bin shed cover and disposal area fence repaintable as desired by and expressive of the youth groups who are responsible for the area's neatness.

c) Signs - i) provide signs which state pickup schedule, disposal procedure, and virtue of keeping area neat; ii) provide a 'signature' of that youth group responsible for cleaning and painting shed and disposal area.

5. Building Level Propositions (18-36 households)

a. 'Generic Commons Room (See Figure 19)

1) Practical Applications:

a) Purpose - to accommodate informal and small scale social activities and services between building residents.

b) User Groups - to accommodate small gatherings (6-20 of elderly for such things as card games and bingo nites, parties and scout meetings for youth, adults for bake sales and 'garage' sales, and households for organizational meetings coordinated by 'Building Captain'.

c) Location - locate 'Commons Room' facilities on the first floor adjacent to

'front access threshold' to 'courtyard back'.

d) Capacity - for intermediate size games (10-25 persons).

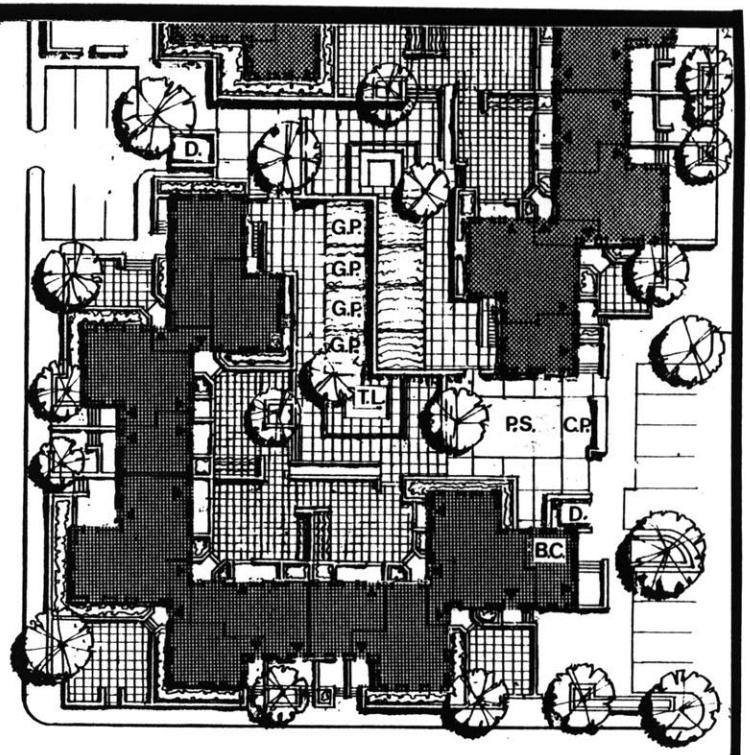
e) Equipment - i) provide furnishings which are heavy, sturdy, and durable in their construction; ii) locate off primary use-space a large storage closet, iii) provide bathroom and kitchenette for convenient storage cleanup and food preparation.

f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) locate entry to 'commons room' off of access threshold to 'courtyard back' and pathways which are both indirectly connected to street and visible from private 'building back' areas and surrounding apartments; ii) locate the 'commons room' to overlook the front entry to the more private building back to afford informal nighttime surveillance of that entry; iii) give "Building Captain" control of key and use-schedule for the Commons Room.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) elect a paid "Building Captain" from

PROPOSED: BUILDING LEVEL COMMON FACILITIES:

Figure 19. West Broadway



LEGEND

B.C. - Building Commons Room
G.P. - Garden plots
C.P. - Cookong Pit and Picnic Area
P.S. - Play Station
T.L. - Tot Lot
D. - Dumpster

0 8' 16' 32'

building residents to control key and use-schedule of 'Commons Room' and to coordinate address/hall cleaning assignments; ii) make light cleanup the responsibility of groups using the room; iii) make 'light maintenance' (painting, lightbulb and glass replacement, etc.) the responsibility of the 'Building Captain', iv) make 'heavy maintenance' (plumbing, electrical, construction, furniture replacement, etc.,) the responsibility of the 'Village Service Team' and site maintenance staff.

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - locate an 'information tack up board' and sign-up sheet outside 'Commons Room' entry for use-scheduling and activity promotion.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - i) make 'Commons Room' entry distinct in color and design, and separate from address entries; ii) interior should be brightly colored and acoustically insulated.

c) Signs - paint in high contrast colors on commons room entry the name 'Building Commons' or the like.

b. Vegetable/Flower Garden (see Figures 19, 20)

1) Practical Application:

a) Purpose - for households and elderly, second and third floor apartments that with to grow plants for food, natural freshness and/or display.

b) User Groups - adults and elderly of a given building.

c) Location - locate in more private 'building back' areas of each courtyard.

d) Capacity - make 'common garden' to accommodate subdivision into smaller individual plots no less than 100 sq. ft. (approx. 8' x 12') for use by single households or group members

e) Equipment - i) provide garden tools which can be checked out at 'Village Service Office'; ii) locate a water spigot and hose within reach of the garden area.

f) Access Control and Surveillance - locate the garden within 'building back' area and in view of both address 'entry seating areas' and the entry to the 'back' areas of each building so that the gardening

activity affords opportunities for casual surveillance of those areas and vice versa.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - create an elderly 'gardening club' in each building for garden tending responsibilities and/or enable residents to apply to "Building Captain" in spring for individual plots.

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - i) the garden offers the opportunity for display of vitality and pride of a building's households; ii) the gardening activity offers the opportunity for adult and elderly neighboring.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - i) make sure the garden plot is exposed to summer sun no less than six hours per day; ii) shape the garden so that it has a distinctively long dimension which parallels a 'building back' pathway and allows both convenient access and subdivision.

c) Signs - locate sign on overlooking wall which identifies garden tending group and their care stipulations.

c. 'Tot Lot' (see Figure 19)

1) Practical Applications:

a) Purpose - for safe confined space outside where young 'pre-school' children can play under supervision of adults.

b) User Groups - 'pre-school' children living in households of a given building.

c) Location - locate in the 'building-back' area with convenient visual and vocal access to all address entry seating areas of a given building.

d) Capacity - accommodate a minimum of eight to ten children.

e) Equipment - use non-mechanical, low-maintenance play features such as sand pit, slide, rope swing, etc.

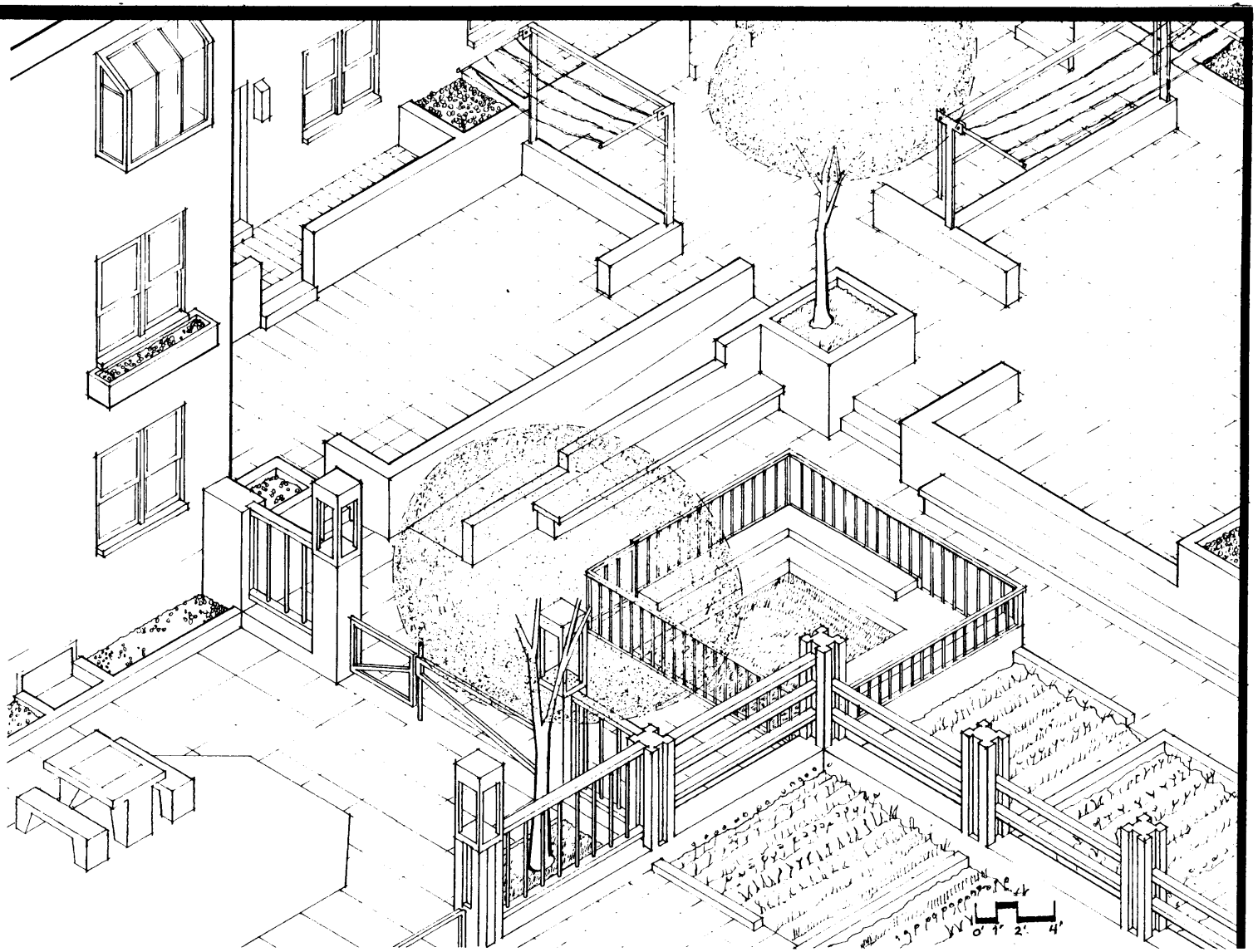
f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) make area encloseable insofar as to prevent children from wandering out of view of address entry seating areas and keep dogs from getting into the tot lot area; ii) see: Location.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) make the parents of children living

PROPOSED: BUILDING BACK:

Figure 20.

West Broadway



in a given building responsible for keeping the 'tot lot' swept and monitored, ii) make "Building Captain" responsible for developing 'tot-watch program' and cleaning-schedule whereby parents whose children play in the 'tot lot' work in teams to monitor and clean the lot for given periods during the day or week; the arrangement can serve as an informal cooperative type of 'day care'.

2) Design Supports:

a) Information and Display - a 'tot lot' affords the opportunity both for parents to display their children and family values and for young children to display themselves to their parents.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - i) blunt all corners and edges in 'tot lot' as a safeguard against injury; ii) make a 'tot box' or 'play pit' two wide steps down from sidewalk level to serve both as a focus for gethering and sitting children and as a containment for toys and balls; iii) paint play equipment, hardware, and related fencing a color distinctive to the building (such as the same color as the building commons room door and stair railings).

f. 'Storage Lockers'

1) Practical Application:

a) Purpose - to have a place where households can store large and seasonally used items such as bikes, lawn chairs, books, clothes, furniture, tires, etc.

b) User Groups - Households, a given building.

c) Location - in the basement or first floor of each building.

d) Capacity - provide one storage compartment for each household approximately the size of a large closet or no less than 100 sq. ft.

e) Equipment - i) build lockers together into a wall from floor to ceiling using conventional stud wall construction, ii) make the individual storage compartment doors opague and accommodating of metal combination-locking devices,

iii) provide single door access to 'storage locker room'; make this door heavy gauge metal with dead bolt locking device and burglar alarm.

f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) locate the 'storage locker room' entry within the territory the courtyard back; ii) see Equipment, iii) locate storage locker room entry within clear view of address entry seating areas and surrounding apartments; iv) give "Building Captain" sole control of key to 'storage locker room' and "Village Coordinator" the master key to the compartments.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) give "Building Captain" responsibility of opening 'storage locker room' door and accompanying resident compartment users to retrieve and/or leave items; ii) give each household head responsibility for key and for combination to storage compartment locks; iii) give the 'Village Service Team' responsibility for general maintenance of and the "Building Captain" responsibility for light replacement and the issuing of locks.

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - unnecessary.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - i) see Equipment; ii) paint exterior of storage locker room door color distinctive to building level equipment.

c) Signs - provide signs outside buildings commons room which describes locker compartment reservation and use procedure (contacting Building Captain, etc.).

g. 'Mailroom'

1) Practical Applications

a) Purpose - to provide building residents with a lockable room in which household mail boxes and delivery slots are located for convenient and controlled access to mail boxes.

b) User Groups - all households living in a given building.

c) Location - adjacent to 'front access threshold' and 'courtyard back' and resident off-street parking lot.

d) Capacity - i) to accommodate thru circulation of 10-20 residents; ii) mail boxes

will accommodate only flexible envelopes, small boxes will be left at 'Village Service Office' to be picked up.

e) Equipment - individual metal mail boxes, and delivery bags concealed behind single sturdy front panel.

f) Access and Surveillance - i) have 'mail room' door be locked and well-lighted at night, and visible from surrounding apartments and street; ii) locate mailroom adjacent to service vehicle parking for convenient delivery.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) give "Building Captain" responsibility for unlocking and locking mailroom door in the morning and at night respectively; ii) give each household a key which works for both their mail boxes as well as apartment doors; iii) give "Building Captain" responsibility for 'light-maintenance' of 'Mail Room ' and the 'Village Maintenance Team' responsibility for heavier maintenance and repairs.

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - i) having a common area to walk to retrieve mail can afford neighboring and surveillance opportunities; ii) locate in mailroom a 'notice board' for building residents.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - same as for 'Generic Commons Room', p.

c) Signs - locate in mailroom signs describing pickup and delivery schedule and daytime hours when mailroom will be open.

6. Address Level (6-12 households)

a. Entry Seating Areas (see Figure 19)

1) Practical Applications

a) Purpose - to provide a place where adults can go and sit outside, talk to their nieghbors, and keep an eye on their children.

b) User Groups - adults using a limited number of apartment entrances, shared and separated.

c) Location - i) locate seating area

directly off the front and back entry thresholds to shared hallways and/or individual apartments; ii) provide 'front entry seating areas' for only those apartments without direct ground access, i.e., who must share hallways and address entries.

d) Capacity - have seating area accommodate a small group of no less than eight seated adults each with a view of either the street front or the 'courtyard back' area.

e) Equipment - (See: e. Drying Lines)

f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) locate back 'entry seating area' within 'building back area' and adjacent to address entries; ii) raise 'entry seating area' above courtyard, building and street pathways and below apartment and hallway entry levels; iii) give each 'back entry seating area' convenient visual and vocal access to 'building-courtyard back' entries, tot lots, drying lines, cooking pits and play stations; iv) give each 'front entry seating area' convenient visual and vocal access to residential streets, sidewalks, and offstreet parking area(s).

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) assign the sweeping and/or painting of 'back entry seating area' to adults in households which have direct ground access to outside; ii) assign front entry seating area cleanup to adults in households which share the lower floors (first or second) of adjoining hallways; iii) assign the "Building Captain" the task of coordinating the floor, hallway, and seating area cleanup schedules.

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - i) provide plant boxes along walls and windows defining the seating area for privacy and small-scale gardening by individual households; ii) locate under shared address entry canopies an information tack-up board for the formal distribution information relevant to surrounding households; iii) address related seating provides opportunity for

informal neighboring and discussion between small groups of residents.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - i) use permanent, durable materials for quarter-height wall and plant boxes enclosing the seating area; make homogeneous with that used in the building exterior; ii) make seating area wall height low, transparent and otherwise appropriate for adult sitting (18-20 inches provide ramp to entry seating areas for handicapped access) paint shared address canopies a different color from individual address canopies; shared entrance canopies should be taller and wider than for non-shared entries.

c) Signs - i) while there is little apparent need for signs in relation to the courtyard 'back entry seating areas,' provide signs for 'front seating areas' which describe reception procedure for outsiders (basically ring buzzer, and wait in entry vestibule); ii) make front address numbers for all apartments large and clearly visible from street.

e. 'Drying Lines' (see Figures 19, 20)

1) Practical Applications:

a) Purpose - for a secure and convenient place outside to dry clothes.

b) User Groups - households sharing a given 'address entry seating area' (6-12 households)

c) Location - in courtyard back, in each raised address entry seating area of a given building.

d) Capacity - provide no less than two parallel lines, which can be further sub-divided as use territories for between two and four users.

e) Equipment - i) avoid poles in space at all cost for when the drying area is not in use (such as in colder months) they keep little else from going on in that space; use sturdy hooks on buildings or poles located on a half height wall doubling as light poles; ii) make them conveniently accessible and shorter in span for easier sub-division.

f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) See: Location; ii) activity of hanging laundry affords opportunity for courtyard and tot lot surveillance.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) require individual households to purchase from 'Village Service Office' at a discount price, special hanging line (comes with hanging hooks attached) offered in short lengths appropriate to pole and hook spans; ii) have "Building Captain" assign adults of households sharing 'address entry seating areas' the responsibility for tending adjacent grounds and painting its poles and hardware.

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - the hanging of laundry can serve to display concern for individual and family cleanliness and to neighbors, offer an opportunity for conversation.

b) Color, Materials, and Design - i) Have drying poles and hardware painted color and/or pattern distinctive to building; ii) Orient drying lines to run perpendicular to building edge and between each address entry seating area so as to maintain contact with adjacent tot lot activities from ground floor apartments and to better define seating area boundaries.

c) Signs - unnecessary

7. Household Level (individual households)

a. Household Plant Boxes (see Figure 20)

1) Practical Application:

a) Purpose - for added privacy and small-scale gardening by individual households.

b) User Groups - all households

c) Location - i) locate light-weight detachable 'plant boxes' outside of main living space windows (kitchen, dining, living) of second and third floor apartments; ii) locate permanent ground level 'plant boxes' around entire perimeter of each building with openings.

d) Capacity - i) make detachable 'plant boxes' accomodate medium size (6"-10" diameter) potted plants; ii) make ground level 'plant boxes' wider to accommodate shrubbery and, in some places, small trees.

e) Equipment - i) each main living space window for upper story apartments should have built in 'sill clips' that accept detachable 'plant boxes.' ii) gardening tools can be checked out from 'Village Service Office' for short-term use.

f) Access Control and Surveillance - i) 'plant boxes' can serve as both a physical and visual buffer; ii) gardening affords surveillance opportunities.

g) Resident Service Responsibilities - i) detachable 'plant boxes'can be checked out on a long-term basis by upper story apartment dwellers from their 'Village Service Office'; ii) the installment of plants, other than entry related shrubbery and trees is responsibility of individual households.

2) Descriptive Supports:

a) Information and Display - i) gardening activity offers opportunity for display of community are household pride as well as for informal neighboring; ii) plantings can differentiate individual apartments and express personal tastes in immediate living environment.

b) Color, Material, and Design - i) make 'plant boxes' paintable, as desired by users; ii) make ground level 'plant boxes' permanent and of a material homogeneous with building; iii) make ground level 'plant box' run from ground to window sill; iv) fill ground level boxes with dirt covered with a thick layer (6"-10") of gravel to slow weed growth when not in use, but to enable gardening option by removing gravel.

c) Signs - unnecessary.

CHAPTER 5 FOOTNOTES

1. University of Massachusetts/Boston Urban A Comprehensive Plan for the Renewal of the West Broadway Development, (Boston, Massachusetts, July 1979) p. II-4.

2. West Broadway Task Force, Inc., Original West Broadway Multi-Service Center Proposal, (South Boston, Massachusetts, 1969).

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. See University of Mass./Boston Urban Observatory, p. II-5.

6. Ibid. p. II-5.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid. p. II-6.

10. Ibid. p. II-7.

11. Ibid. p. II-6.

12. See West Broadway Task Force.

13. Village A, Resident-Architecture, Design/ Review Workshop, transcript of recorded discussions. Frenchman/Lane/Frenchman Associates, West Broadway Development (South Boston, Massachusetts, July 13, 1981).

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. See: West Broadway Task Force, Inc.

21. Ibid.

22. BHA Social Survey, West Broadway Development, June-August 1965.

23. Unidentified Newspaper clipping in West Broadway Multi-Service Center Portfolio, circa. 1973.

24. See: West Broadway Task Force, Inc.

25. See: West Broadway Multi-Service Center portfolio.

26. Village C Resident-Architect Design/ Review Workshop, transcript of recorded discussions, West Broadway Development (South Boston, Massachusetts, June 18, 1981).

27. See: West Broadway Multi-Service Center Portfolio, circa. 1974.

28. Ibid.

29. See: U. of Mass./ Boston Urban Observatory, p. II-7.

30. Peggy Mullen, Supervisor, Community Organization Department, transcript of informal interview, West Broadway Development, (Oct. 21, 1981).

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Informal interview with Village D Coordinator, Janet Rakouskas, West Broadway Development, October 21, 1981.

34. See: U. of Mass./Boston Urban Observatory Appendix A, Table A-I, p. A-3.

CHAPTER 6: SERVICE FACILITY CLUSTERS

A. INTRODUCTION

The provision of services by one resident group, for an activity 'facility' which is used by and/or shared with other groups represents a condition basic to 'non-singular' service relationships. 'Non-singular' service relationships typify the informal service efforts undertaken by West Broadway residents. Seldom is there a strictly one to one relationship between use, maintenance, and security responsibilities, however desireable. To the extent, however that 'non-singular' service relationships are necessary, by virtue of too little space and/or program funding, they should be physically associated and administratively reinforced. Indeed, design, programming, and administrative planning can be developed around existing and/or potential non-singular resident service responsibilities so as to create 'clusters' of mutually supportive service facilities and non-conflicting use-groups.

Two major factors can be isolated as having significant influence upon the successful undertaking of 'non-singular' service relationships; 'territorial conflict' on the one hand, and 'territorial associations' on the other.

B. TERRITORIAL CONFLICT

Within a given residential cluster there inevitably exist a number of resident groups with different use-needs and schedules for certain spaces and activities; each will have different supervisory and maintenance capabilities as well. When two groups share in the use of a given facility or area, and their space-use schedules coincide, then depending on the extent to which free and open collaboration between the members of the groups has been inhibited, there will tend to be territorial conflict between each group over the use and control of that facility. Territorial conflict, as evidenced at West Broadway, can result in either the territorialization of a space by a single group (e.g., West Broadway teen center, p. 63) or its virtual abandonment (e.g., building drying yards, and on-street parking). Ideally, a resident group should not have space-use conflicts with another group for which they are undertaking service responsibilities.

C. TERRITORIAL IDENTITY OF SERVICE FACILITY AND RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERS

Territorial conflict is further intensified by the notorious lack of spatial differentiation in the outdoor environment of such older subsidized housing developments as West Broadway and Franklin Field. There is little in these environments to assist residents in utilizing space efficiently and controlling it against outsider intruders. If residents are to maintain and surveil such spaces as well as use them, then all areas of the site must be given over not only to specific activity facilities, but to specific groups of residents. The design and location of that facility should therefore, not only separate it from other facilities, but distinctively associate it to a specific group of residents. For groups with non-singular service responsibilities however, their facilities should also be distinctively, though secondarily, associated to those facilities in the service facility cluster for which the groups provide services. This is to say that a resident group can not be expected to provide its own service, let alone those for others, if it does not have a distinctive facility and focus around which to re-affirm its own collective interdependence.

D. FUNCTIONAL OBJECTIVES FOR DESIGN AND PROGRAMMING OF SERVICE FACILITY CLUSTERS

To summarize this discussion, the ability of resident groups to provide 'non-singular' resident services as part of a service facility cluster can be understood to increase where:

1) there exists a minimum number of other resident groups with which a resident service group must share a service facility (i.e. service capacity increases as sharing decreases).

2) each resident group has an activity facility used exclusively by its members.

3) the resident groups can carry out both its use and non-singular service activities without interference from other groups.

4) surrounding service dependent groups and facilities are part of the same residential cluster as is the 'service providing' group

5) there is no territorial conflict (albeit correspondence of uses schedule and facilities) between service dependent resident groups and service providing resident groups over the facilities (albeit pathways, entries, etc.) they must share.

6) the facilities are distinctively associated as belonging to a specific 'service facility cluster.'

7) there exists in each service facility cluster a 'dominant' user group due to the exclusiveness of their activity facility and their responsibility for providing maintenance and surveillance services for other facilities within the cluster.

E. SERVICE PROPOSITIONS FOR FACILITY CLUSTERS

Discussion of proposed 'service center clusters' will be based upon those service facilities and resident service responsibilities set out under the proposals previously presents in this chapter. The propositions will consist of information on the following design and programmatic issues as illuminated in the immediately preceeding paragraphs.

1) Clustered Facilities:
2) Primary Service Groups:
3) Territorial Associations:
4) Contrasts to Reduce Conflicts:

1. Site Level Facility Cluster

a. 'Site Service Corridor' (See Figure 21)

1) Clustered Facilities:

a) 'Site Service Center' Building
b) 'Village Service Center' Building
c) information post and site directory
d) Site Center Seating Area
e) public pathways
f) off-street parking for 'Site Service Center'
g) Off-Street Parking for 'Village Service Centers'

2) Primary Service Groups:

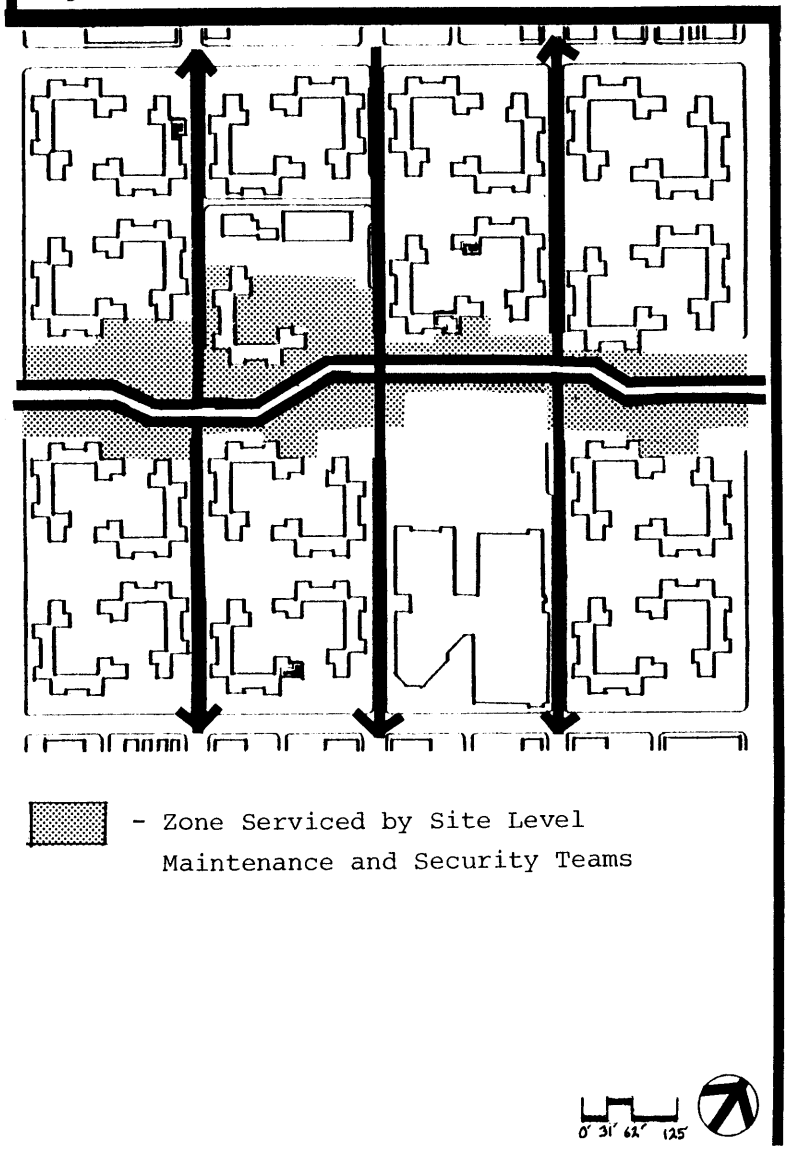
a) Make the maintenance of site facilities a,c,d,e,and f (above) the responsibility of 'Site Maintenance Team.'Headquarters for 'Site Maintenance Team' in the 'Site Service Center' 'Supply and Distribution Department.'
b) Make security services of all site level facilities and spaces the primary responsibility of the City Police Department.
c) Assign services for 'Village Center' to 'Village Maintenance Teams' and 'Security Patrols.'

3) Territorial Associations:

a) Locate along central access corridor

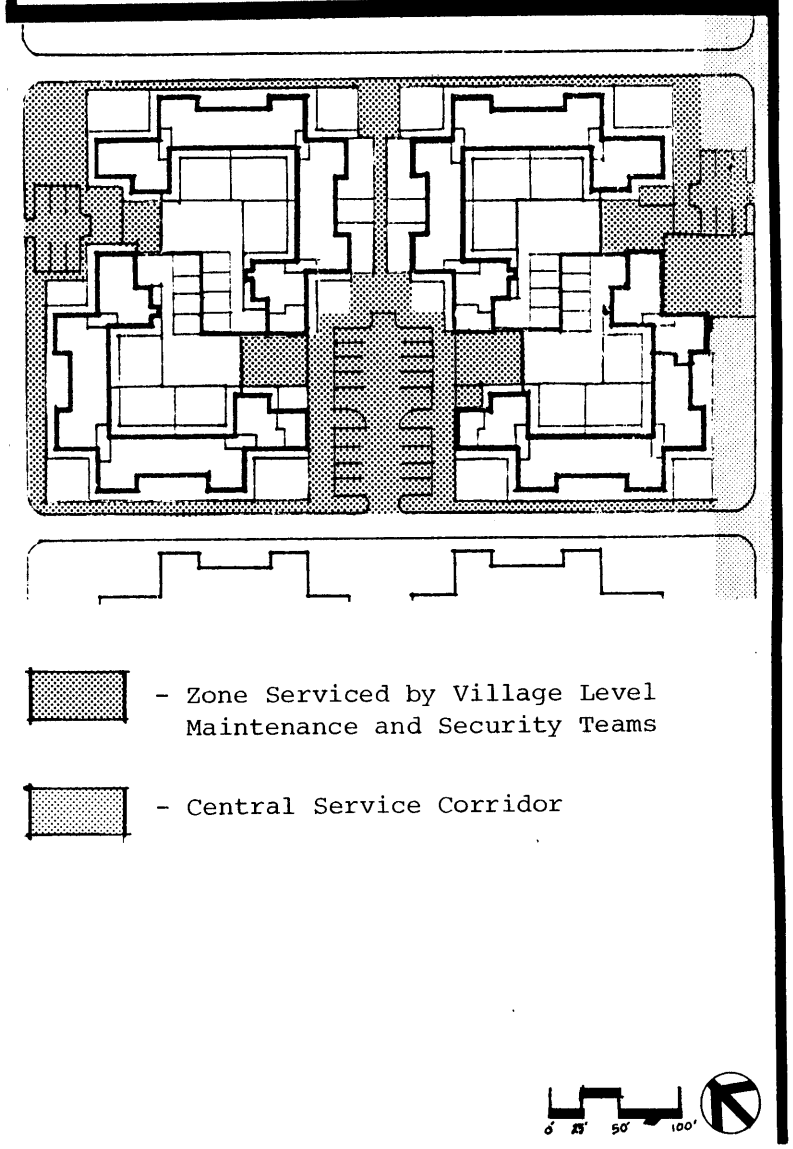
FACILITY CLUSTER: SITE SERVICE CORRIDOR:

Figure 21.



FACILITY CLUSTER: VILLAGE CENTER:

Figure 22



'Site' and 'Village Service Center' clusters.

b) Use a single, distinct type of masonry paver for the central public pedestrian access into the site.

c) Group the 'information post', 'site directory' and 'seating area' in 'common space' adjacent to 'Site Service Center' building. Enclose/define the space through the use of boardering trees, and landscape furniture. Make the ground surface a continuation of the masonry used in most public pedestrian pathway.

d) Use trees, shrubbery, and other landscape furniture to create a directional pattern parallel with the central access corridor.

4) Contrasts to Reduce Conflicts:

a) Use a masonry paver for the central pedestrian pathway which contrasts with that used for pathways elsewhere on the site (i.e., to 'Village Center,' 'courtyard back,' 'building back,' and front pathways).

2. Village Level Facility Clusters

a. 'Village Center' (See Figure 22)

1) Clustered Facilities:

a) 'Village Center' Building

b) 'Village Center' Visitors Parking

c) 'Village Commons,' (seating area, information station, landscaping)

2) Primary Service Groups:

a) Assign regular maintenance service or Village Center Cluster to a Village 'Resident Maintenance Team,' headquartered in 'Village Service Office,' overseen by the "Village Coordinator" and coordinated by "Community Organization Department" which operated under the developments "Task Force Board"

b) Assign regular security and surveillance services to Village 'Resident Security Patrol' which is organized similarly to the maintenance teams.

3) Territorial Associations:

a) Make the boarders of the cluster territory clearly visible by changing surface materials along an intelligible line such as along a sidewalk, curb, edge of seating area, and entry points.

b) Make the space shared by the clustered facilities positive and singular. Locate trees, shrubs, seating walls, and signs so that along with adjacent 'Village Center' building, they serve to define the edge, entrance, and dimension of the village cluster territory.

c) Use the same type of masonry paver for the 'village commons' area and the street front sidewalks that border each village.

4) Contrasts to Reduce Conflicts:

a) Where the 'village cluster' encompasses a parking area, create a masonary pedestrian crossing at parking entrance, to connect pathways in either side and to assign parking to 'Village Center' Staff and guests.

b) Use a masonry paver for village pathways and common areas which contrasts in color, texture, and pattern with that found at courtyard, building, and address levels.

c) See Village Center: Color, Materials, and Design, p. 84.

3. Courtyard Level Facility Clusters

a. 'Courtyard Commons' (See Figure 23)

1) Clustered Facilities:

a) 'Cooking pit and picnic facility'

b) Adolescent play station

c) Courtyard pathways

2) Primary Service Groups:

a) Assign regular maintenance services to 'Village Maintenance Team'

b) Assign casual surveillance responsibilities to residents in surrounding buildings.

3) Territorial Associations:

a) Enclose at least one side of the facility cluster with a heavy but transparent wall (see: Chapter 6: Walls for security and contact p.114) which defines a continuous 'back' for the cluster territory. Build the cooking pits near this wall and of the same concrete material.

b) Use a concrete surface paving for the pathway that leads from the entrance in the 'courtyard back' to the 'commons' continuing it into the 'commons area' to expand into the specific territory of

the adolescent play area.

c) See Adolescent Play Station: Color, Materials, and Design, p. 87.

4) Contrasts to Reduce Conflicts:

a) At the entry point to the 'courtyard back'pathway, make a change in color, pattern, and texture of the concrete paving surface from that outside the 'courtyard back.'

b) Locate a two-door gate at the entrance to the courtyard with one door being wide (eight feet) and opened only for service vehicles and the other being narrow, (four feet) for regular pedestrian use.

c) Elevate the ground level of the 'cooking pit and picnic area' one step above that of the 'adolescent play station' and courtyard pathways.

d) Use a masonry surface paving for the 'cooking pit and picnic area' which contrasts in color and texture with the concrete surface of the play station and pathways.

e) See Adolescent Play Station: Information and Display, pp. 86-87.

b. 'Courtyard Threshold' (See Figure 23)

1) Clustered Facilities:

a) 'Refuse disposal shed'

b) Off-street parking

c) Water spigots and drain for auto-maintenance

d) Half-court basketball

e) Wall seating

2) Primary Service Group:

a) Assign regular maintenance services to teenage residents of a given building, as a 'service group' coordinated and overseen by the "Building Captain"

b) Where this 'cluster' is central to and shared by more than one building then create a 'teenage service group' at the 'village' level to be coordinated and overseen by the "Village Coordinator" and "Community Organization Development" Staff under the "Task Force."

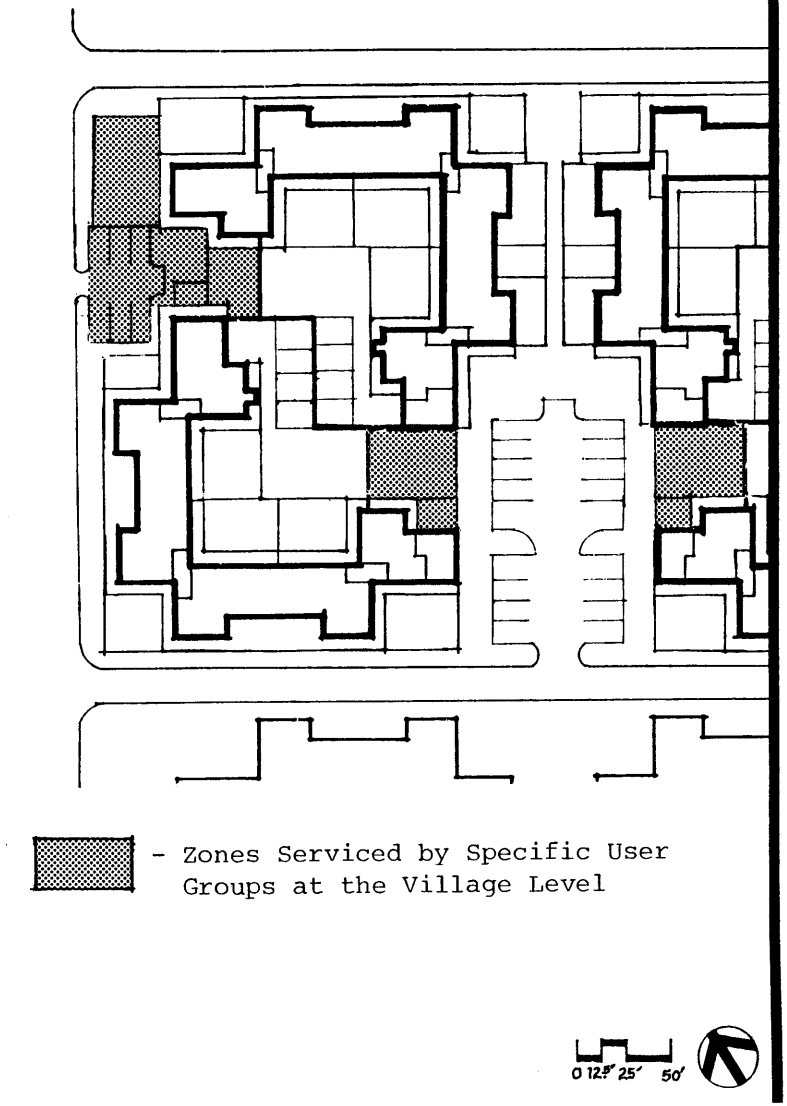
3) Territorial Associations:

a) Group together outside the rear entrance to off-street parking area, refuse disposal shed, teen game surface and ball wall, water spigots and drain,

b) Include all but the 'refuse disposal

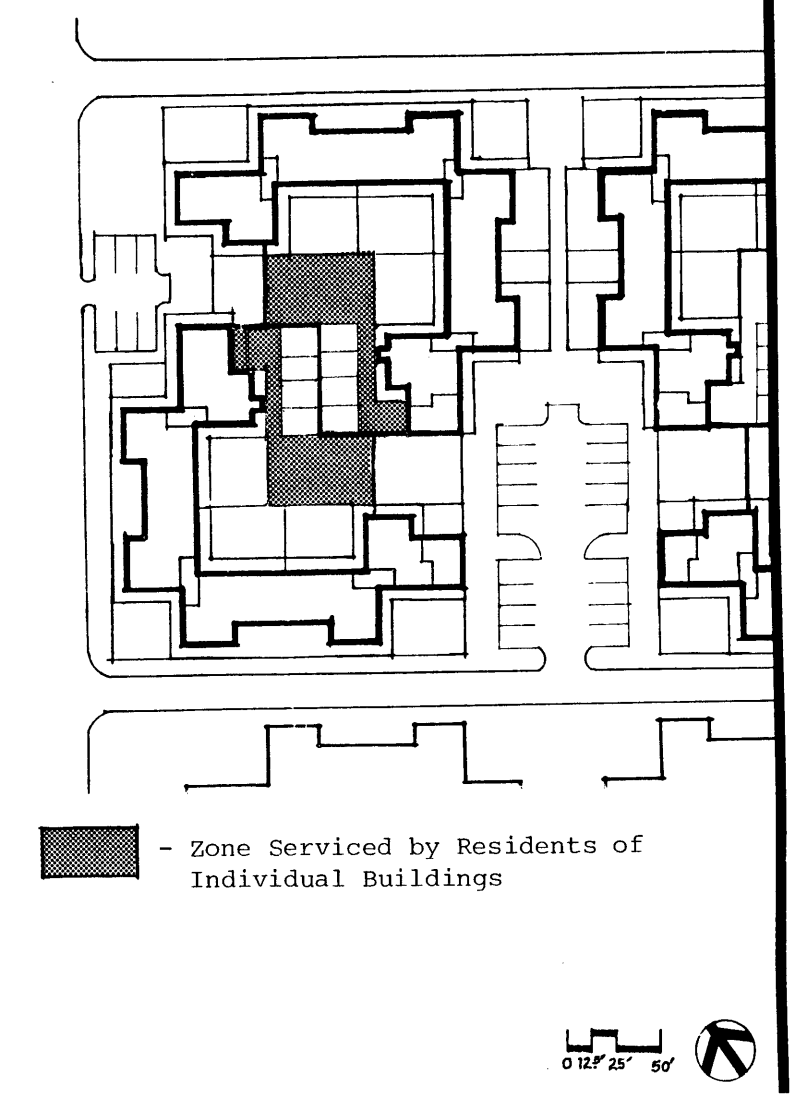
FACILITY CLUSTERS: COURTYARD THRESHOLD/ COMMONS: West Broadway

Figure 23



FACILITY CLUSTERS: BUILDING BACKS:

Figure 24 West Broadway



shed' outside the front entrance to the 'courtyard back.'

c) Locate wall for seating along outside edge of parking lot and half-court basketball facility.

d) If cluster is 'building specific' paint metal hardware and landscape furnishings same color as appears on hardware and furnishings in the 'building back' (namely the tot lot, and drying yard). If the cluster is 'village specific' use the color appearing on the front window and door elements a color common to all building fronts within a given "village."

e) Use dark asphalt surface paving for game spaces, parking lot, and related pathways.

4) Contrasts to Reduce Conflicts:

a) Locate outside the front entrance to the 'courtyard back' the same facilities located outside the rear entrance, except for the 'refuse disposal bins' which require frequent intrusion of service vehicles and a means of restricting the spread of spilled garbage.

b) Use an asphalt surface paving for parking areas, pathways, and game surfaces such as would contrast in color, texture and pattern with those in the 'courtyard back.'

4. Building Level Facility Clusters

a. 'Building Service Office'

1) Facilities Clusters:

a) 'Generic Common's Room'

b) 'Building Storage Locker'

c) 'Building Post Office'

2) Primary Service Group

a) Give "Building Captain" control over access to 'building service rooms.'

3) Territorial Associations:

a) Locate the building 'Storage Locker' inside the entry to the 'Generic Common's Room.'

b) Locate the entry to the building service rooms within the 'courtyard back,' near the front entrance, but outside the 'building back area' (see following facility cluster).

4) Contrasts to Reduce Conflicts:

See: 'Generic Common's Room,' Color,

Material and Design; Signs, pp. 89-91.

b. 'Building Back' (See Figure 24)

1) Clustered Facilities:

a) 'Tot Lot'

b) 'Drying Yard'

c) 'Vegetable/Flower Garden'

d) 'Building back' entries and pathways

2) Primary Service Group:

a) Assign responsibility for maintenance and surveillance services of building back cluster to adults (parents and elderly) living in a given building.

b) See Tot Lot: Resident Service Responsibilities, p. .

c) See Vegetable/Flower Garden: Resident Service Responsibilities, pp. 92-94.

3) Territorial Associations:

a) Group together in the immediate back of each building the aforementioned facilities by a common wall with a single front and rear entry.

b) Use masonry pavers and wall bricks which are identical to those used in the constructions of the building.

c) Paint hardware and exposed metal equipment and landscape furnishings the same color as the commons room doors and windows and as for such elements as were employed in the building access 'cluster'outside the courtyard.

4) Contrasts to Reduce Conflicts:

a) Sink the entire 'tot lot' area one step (six/seven inches) and the sand pit a second step down from the building back pathway and adjacent drying yards.

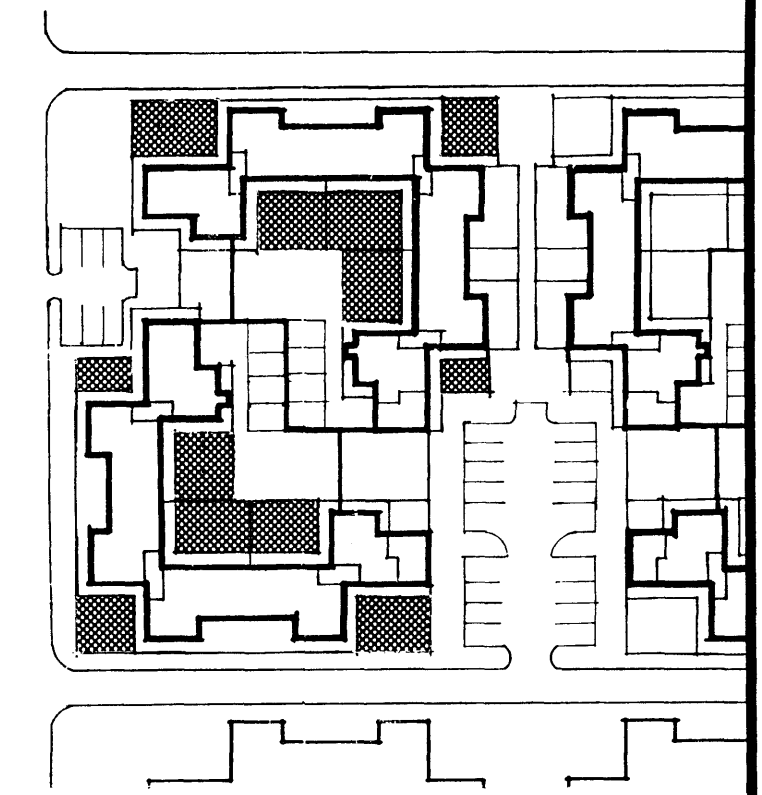
b) Use different pattern masonry paver to distinguish the surface of the pathway from that of the drying yard and the tot lot.

c) Give each 'building back cluster' its own front and rear entry within the courtyard back and its entries.

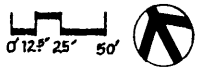
d) Separate individual address seating areas from 'building back' facilities by raising the seating areas up three to four steps (as height allows given need to preserve a final level change for the 'address thresholds'). Enclose the 'Address Entry Seating Areas' with a wall made of a masonry identical to that used in the building. Make this

FACILITY CLUSTERS: ADDRESS LEVEL:

Figure 25. West Broadway

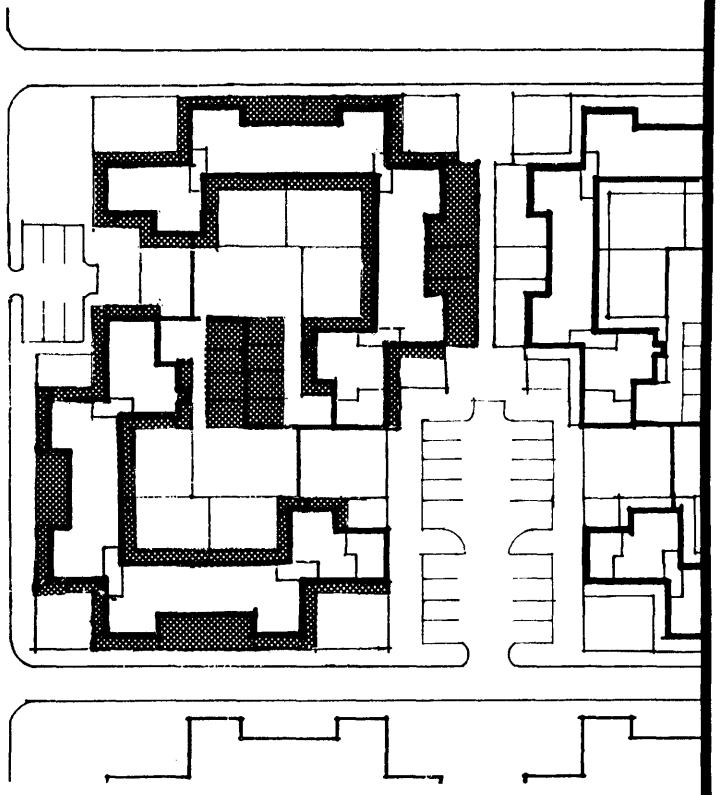


- Zone Serviced by Residents Sharing Adjacent Addresses

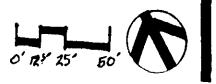


FACILITY CLUSTERS: HOUSEHOLD LEVEL:

Figure 26. West Broadway



- Zone Serviced by Individual Households



wall a height such that only those within the seating area can conveniently use it for sitting.

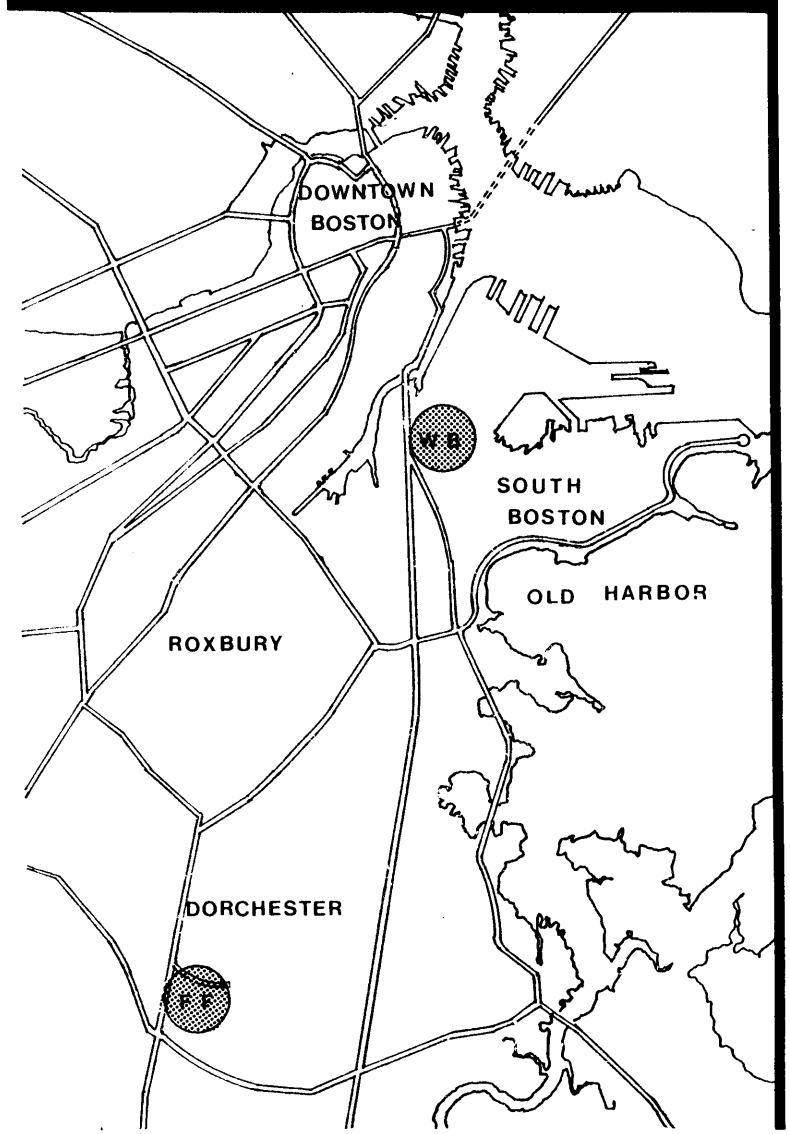
e) Make walls used to subdivide exterior spaces in the courtyard entry and 'building back' areas higher, but similarly transparent, particularly around entry points where prior usual access greatly increases security (See Figure 20). A combination of a wide masonry footing for sitting, supporting a rigid steel fence for usual transparency, topped off by a wide railing to encourage wall leaning and communication between such separate building territories as the vegetable/flower gardens can minimize conflicting requirements for security, privacy, communication and definition.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND DISCLAIMERS

A final chapter is necessary to discuss the applicability of those propositions here presented to other developments where "redevelopment" programs are to be undertaken. The purpose of doing so is 1.) to evaluate the usefulness of the propositions as general design and programming tools, 2.) to further illuminate constraints effective upon the creation of settings for collective control, 3.) to clarify the basic functional elements represented by propositions which reinforce collective service capacity and territorial identity.

With these ends in sight, the discussion will look briefly at the Franklin Field Development, a development whose economic, physical, and community contexts, as previously noted, stand in marked contrast to those of West Broadway. Similarities do exist however, such as in consisting of the same building type (three-story core walk-up), and in being earmarked for the same amount ($20 million) in the same redevelopment legislation (see pp. 23-24), and can serve to make the comparison more provocative and specific.

REGIONAL CONTEXT: W.B. - West Broadway
Figure 27. F.F. - Franklin Field



The aforementioned contexts will be discussed separately and then together as they combine to influence the feasibility and function of the propositions in application to Franklin Field.

A. FRANKLIN FIELD CONTEXT

1. Economic Context

The financial picture for the "redevelopment" program at Franklin Field looks to be less constraining than for that at West Broadway, due in part to the investment at Franklin Field of the formerly divided allocations of 270 units worth of Section 8 subsidies (see pp. 23-24); an amount apparently added to the $20 million already committed. Because Franklin Field contains only 51.7 percent of the West Broadway unit total (504 versus 975 respectively), the average dollars per unit available to the former is also substantially greater. The BHA has accepted plans to "reclassify" unit capacity levels of both developments to reduce their total population by roughly 30 percent. The plan has negative implications for those on growing eligibility lists but serves to free more money and space for the expansion and upgrading of apartments and can reduce the number of units sharing building address entries.

The contrasting economic picture for the two developments however, may be offset in time, if West Broadway residents are successful in their efforts at gaining further funding. It is evidently accepted by BHA planners, due to the general lack of resident organization at Franklin Field and political influence in the surrounding community, that to make similar plans for supplemental funding from the state is not wise, necessary or otherwise. There is as a result, added pressure at Franklin Field to spend investments more evenly across the development.

Such an 'even-spread' spending strategy, while seemingly well subsidized, may also, as are being considered at Franklin Field, include such things as construction of new indoor community and recreation facilities. Questions of priority between 'community' versus 'household' amenities aside, these types of plans however, can quickly, and with the passing of time, render others infeasible where they would not be otherwise. In other words, the economic feasibility of such features as individual yards, if only for three- and five-bedroom units

located on the ground floor (estimated as 55% of the total), could be severely reduced by the simplistic and premature prioritization (and consequent "stripping") of environmental 'amenities.'

It seems likely that where one finds 'even-spread' spending strategies, one will also tend to find greater priority given to 'even-spread' amenities as well (e.g., fewer and more inclusive Pressure on the Authority to avoid the appearance of preferential provision of 'amenities' and the subsequent intergroup friction and loss of credibility, resulting when a more 'fixed' allocation doesn't get spread evenly perhaps underlies this tendency.

A secondary function of this discussion is as a lead-in to the following disclaimer: that this thesis does not mean to hold out 'settings for collective control' as an equally acceptable alternative to those controlled by individual households. It is the unequivocal conclusion of environmental researchers that, beyond basic mechanical systems and service infrastructure, priority should lie with the 'even-spread' of individually controlled domains. To the extent that this is possible, the 'overlapping' proposals forwarded in this thesis can be deemed secondary, being considered in application strictly to those spaces and facilities which must otherwise remain shared and under collective control, due to a combination of physical, economic, and/or political constraints.

2. Physical Context

In terms of its physical layout as well, the Franklin Field site is much more open and less constraining than West Broadway (see Figure 29). The impression is enchanced to some extent by the rolling site topography and large open spaces of the adjacent Franklin Field Recreation Area, but is substantiated by the developments' unusually low overall density of 28.8 units per acre across a site totalling 17.5 acreas. This contrasts noticeably with West Broadway whose 27± acre site makes for an unusually high density of 36± units per acre. The contrast is further magnified by the most recent BHA survey (summer 1981) showing 208 or 41 percent of the units at Franklin Field (1981) to be vacant, compared to West Broadway where 27 percent lie vacant.

The physical organization of the Franklin Field site is both informal and asymmetrical, a

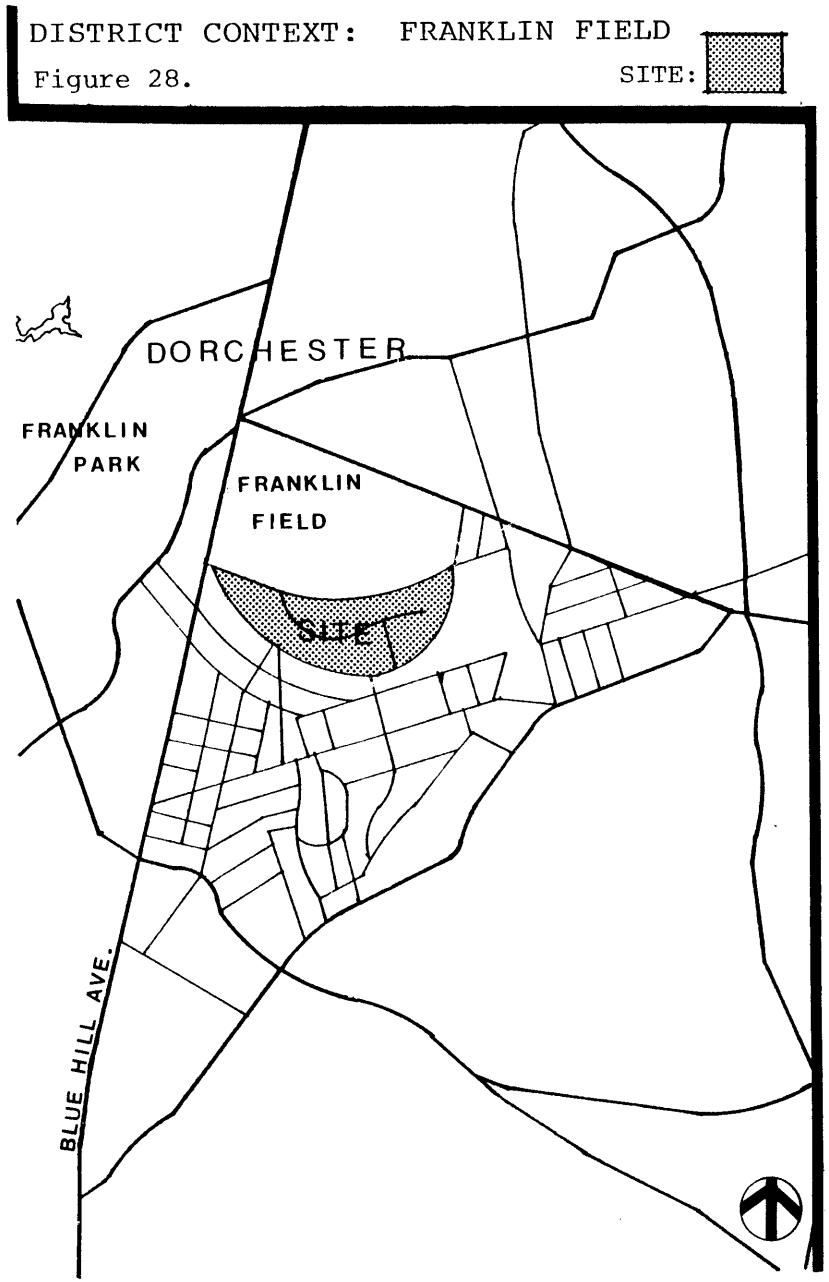


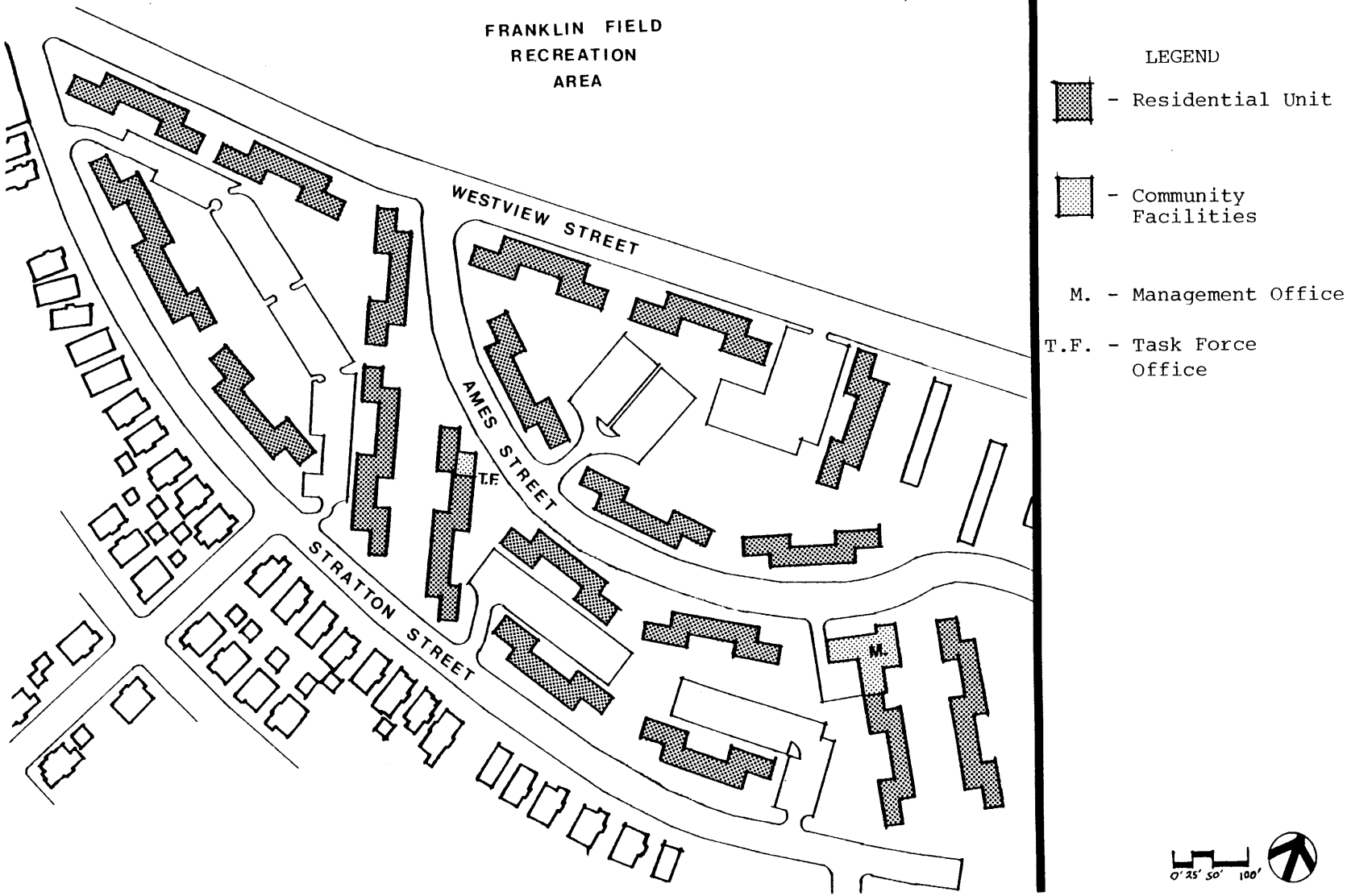
Figure 28.

condition largely resulting from the designers response to the crescent shape and topography of the site. Site boundaries are as such defined by only two streets, Stratton and Westview (see Figure 29). Stratton Street is a small, two-way residential street, connecting the development to the quiet residential area to the south. The neighborhood along Stratten Street is characterized by two- and three-family houses and a relatively stable population, a fact suggesting the abscence of negligent landlords and residents. The eastern edge of the development adjoins the BHA's more contemporary, low-income, elderly development. To the north, Westview Street passes between the development and the 45 acre Franklin Field Recreational Area. One block to the east, Westview connects up with Blue Hill Avenue, a major commercial artery connecting the districts of Dorchester, Mattapan, and Roxbury.

From all appearances, the development would seem well situated, given the proximity of both Franklin Park, Boston's largest natural park, and Blue Hill Avenue (see Figure 28). Unfortunately these features haven't proven to be the 'amenities' they could be. The difficulty of patrolling Franklin Park underlies an extremely

PHYSICAL LAYOUT: FRANKLIN FIELD

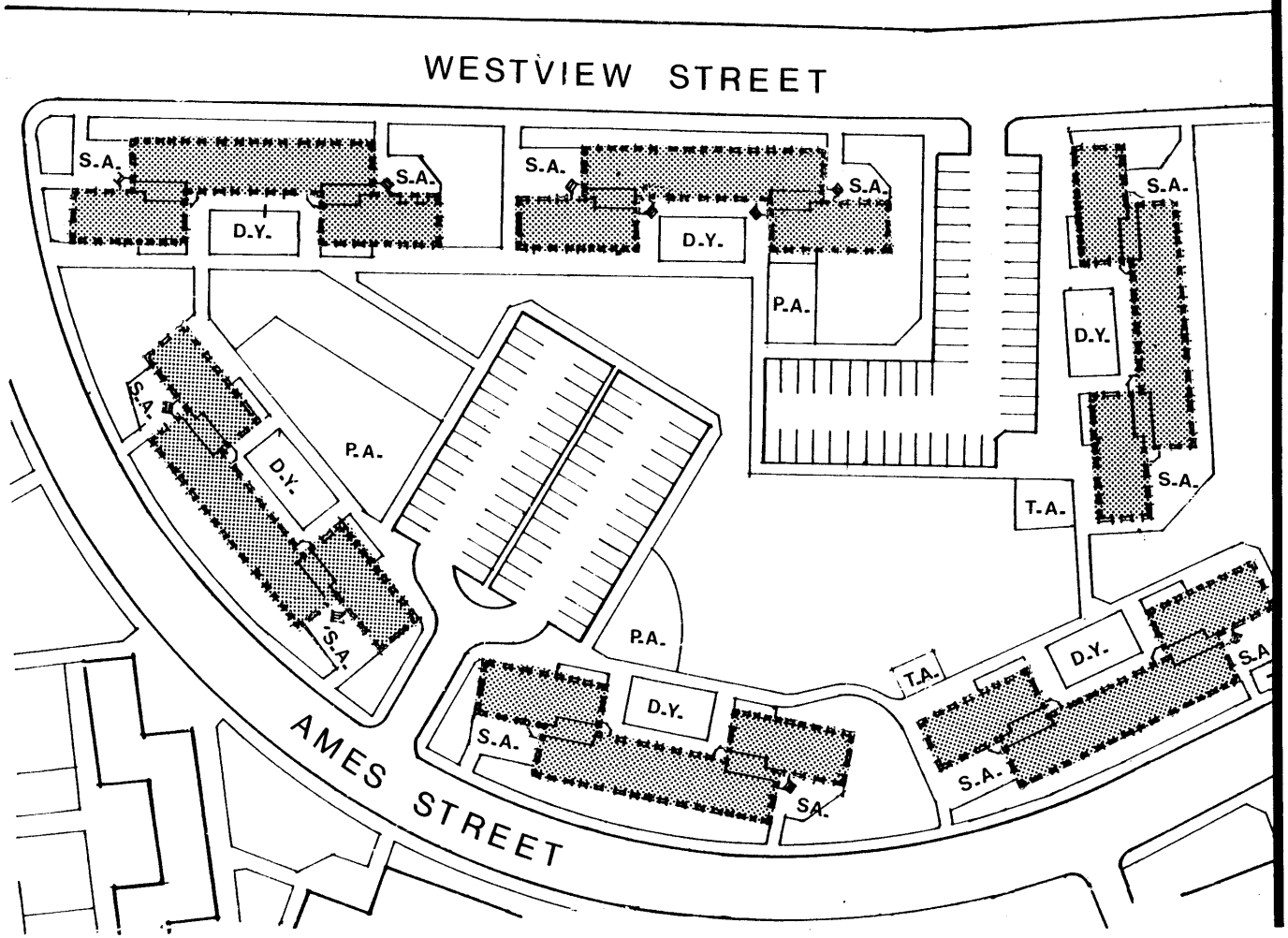
Figure 29.



EXISTING: COURTYARD CLUSTER:

Figure 30

Franklin Field



LEGEND

D.Y. - Drying Yard

S.A. - Sitting Area

P.A. - Play Area

T.A. - Tot Area

high vulnerability to crime and as such, a general reluctance on the part of the community to take advantage of it.

The section of Blue Hill Avenue within walking distance from the development is depressed, but well used by development residents. In this area can be found a small laundromat, several sandwich shops, a pharmacy, clinic, hairdresser, and a few variety shops.

Westview Street, as the most direct access to Blue Hill Avenue from the development is also the most well used by pedestrians and drivers alike. The point nearest to Blue Hill Avenue, at the intersection of Westview and Stratton Streets is a popular gathering place for teens and adults. Known as "the Wall" for the medium height stone wall which runs along the eastern edge of the development, it is also perceived by many adults and young women as "an unpleasant and dangerous point to pass."[1] The concentration of activity along "the Wall" reflects not only the absence on seating areas elsewhere on the site, but the fact that this is the most visible and well used entry point to the development. This area of Westview Street therefore can be considered appropriate for the location of youth service facilities.

Off Westview Street and into the site winds Ames Street, informally connecting up with Stratton Street before dead-ending as a cul-de-sac in the adjacent elderly housing complex. Ames Street effectively divides the sites' 19 buildings into two sections of six and thirteen buildings.

While Ames Street serves as the only vehicular access through the interior of the site, and to the management and maintenance facilities located therein, its seemingly natural function as a central service corridor is compromised by the fact that only one of the developments five off-street parking lots can be accessed off it (see Figure). All parking lots servicing the large section of 19 buildings are accessed off Stratton Street, evidently to take advantage of its more residential usage. The one lot accessed from Westview Street across from the public reaction area represents one of the developments most severe security problems.[2]

All parking lots are located in the three interior spaces enclosed by clusters of six buildings each, which represent between 144

and 168 apartments. These interior spaces differ both in shape and area, and are highly variable in their orientation to surrounding buildings. Together they contain nearly 380 parking spaces for a present population that has fewer than 90 cars (0.3 per family), and that "chooses to park these cars on the street when possible."[3] Presently these areas are generally unlit and dangerous after dark. During the day, because of their deteriorated state and inappropriate configuration, only the most minimal recreational and play activities can be accommodated.

The influx of cars and pedestrian activity associated with the use of the Franklin Field Recreational Area, particularly on weekends during the warmer seasons, commonly gives rise to shortages of desireable Westview Street parking spaces for residents, as well as to disturbing congregations of young men in the vicinity of the basketball court and street edge.

3. Community Context

Presently there are roughly 295 residents living in Franklin Field. A survey conducted by the BHA during the summer of 1981 revealed that 96% of the heads of households receive some kind of financial assistance, relying primarily on AFDC and SSI money. Correspondingly, the survey found that 96% of the households were headed by women, 83% of which were black, the rest being hispanic. Only 4% of all households were headed by males. Of the total population, 68% were below 20 years of age, and of the 42% which were adults, only 4% reported as being unemployed.[4]

Unlike West Broadway, the Franklin Field Community has received minimal BHA support and direction over the years concerning the setting up of community service offices and program facilities. Consequently the development is without its own formal space in which to hold resident meetings, focus youth activities, present local service agency programs, etc. Most community 'services' that do exist represent resident efforts to secure and maintain facilities and coordinate their activities. A local boy scout troop maintains a basement in building 30 on Stratten Street, in which they hold weekly meetings. On weekends, adults use the basement as a social center for organized parties. There

are presently two on-site 'stores' run by separate residents, one is located in the owners apartment and the other in a truck.[5] Residents have expressed displeasure at the high prices charged by these stores. The stores apparently exploited the inconvenience of taking the bus, which stops on the other side of the Franklin Field Recreation Area in order to get to the nearest supermarket. It is also reported that teen groups have "unofficially" claimed a number of vacant units throughout the development as club houses and hangouts.[6]

The BHA has given over one apartment on 21 Ames Street to the Franklin Field Task Force, primarily for work space. In the summer months, this apartment is also used as the headquarters for the childrens free lunch program. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Franklin Field has a Task Force Board made up of four members elected at-large for two year terms. The boards responsiveness to resident concerns and organizational opportunities over the last several years has been severely hampered by bitter political rivalries between various active residents and their constituencies. The "at-large" election system can be seen as a contributing factor in as much as it compells community leaders to focus upon what are often polarizing political issues in order to maintain constituencies. A geographically based system such as at West Broadway could do much to reduce such tensions and bring a rearrangement of political and administrative priorities.

In the fall of 1981, the Local Tenant Policy Council* was successful in convincing the BHA to disperse money to various of its developments so that residents could hire their own consulting and support staffs to assist them in becoming more effective participants in the redevelopment process and subsequent expansion of service responsibilities.[7] A single "community organizer" was budgeted for Franklin Field and has been working out of an apartment off Ames Street since his arrival in the fall. His immediate concerns have been: 1) to set up a service organization between female heads of households, 2) to coordinate a "Building Captain" hall maintenance

*The Local Tenant Policy Council (LTPC) is a city-wide tenant advocacy organization created in 1963 in response to the states modernization program of that year. The LTPC consists of an eight member Policy Council (TPC) elected from the cities developments and a Board of Directors made up of two representatives from each.

program, and 3) to establish working relationships with the development youth, Task Force Board, redevelopment architects, and management staff.[8]

During an interview with the "community organizer" Phil Horn, he stressed the need "right now" for added staff support and youth workers to assist him in addressing the concerns of what he called his many "bosses."[9]

The development's management and maintenance offices are located at the other end of Ames Street in two separate buildings. As noted in Redevelopment Technical Reports on Franklin Field, presented to the BHA by the redevelopment program's architectural team: "The current management had indicated that the organization and general performance of the maintenance crew could be more efficient."[10] The poor performance is something which the architects point out as being:

> "...particularly the result of a communication problem between the management office and the maintenance office. Each office is located in a separate building and work orders must be conveyed via the telephone from both the night and daytime staff."[11]

As with West Broadway, the BHA's resident lease contract stipulates that residents are to be responsible for the cleaning of their of shared stairwells and entryways. There is however, no "coordinator" or "building captain" system as yet at Franklin Field to organize and enforce such responsibilities. The trash and dirt in most shared addresses serves to indicate that the lease stipulation has only minimal effect.

B. Propositions: Applicability and Function

The aforementioned contexts existing at Franklin Field represent both constraints upon and opportunities for the application of many of the design and programmatic propositions presented in this thesis.

The potential distribution and security control functions of the 'Central Service Corridor' proposal is presently compromised at Franklin Field due to the absence of formal street connections off Ames Street to the outlying Westview and Stratton Streets. Successful application of the proposal depends on the ability to make these connections serve as more private one-way residential streets and

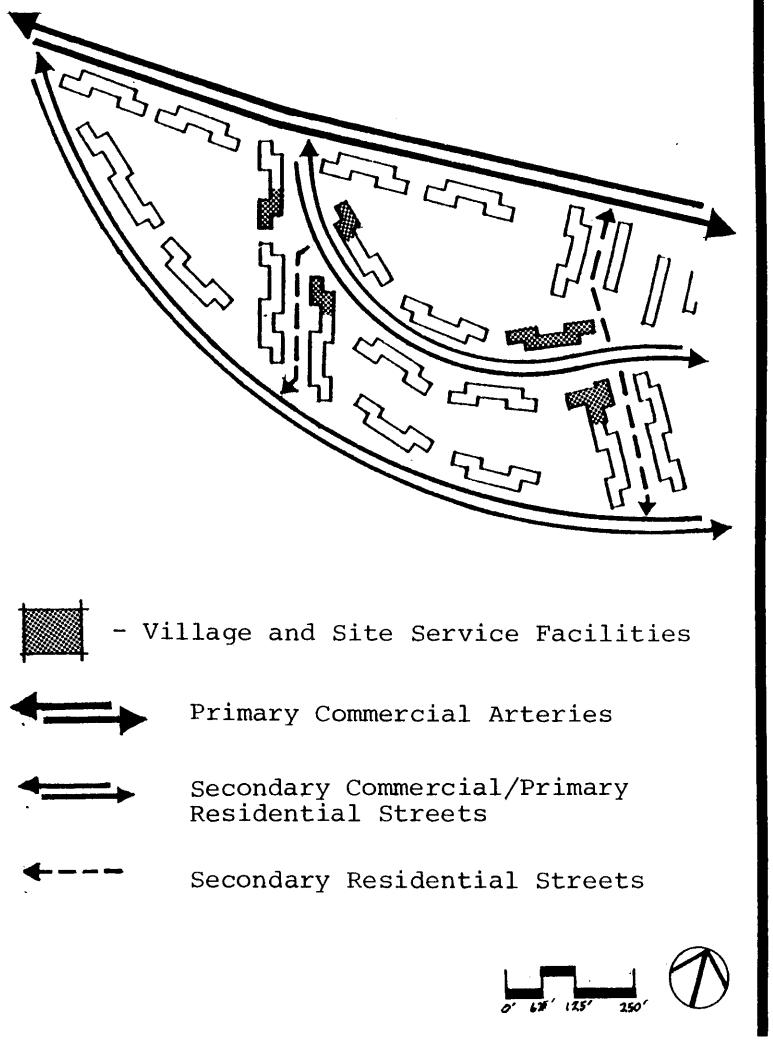
therefore as accesses to building entries. Residential streets should serve to regularize the orientation of buildings to street private back areas. The streets can be located at Franklin Field to define large building clusters with common 'back' orientations and distinctive sets of service requirements (see Figure 33).

At Franklin Field, three such "villages" of six or seven buildings each can be so defined to represent an average number of 120 households per "village" (based on target population of 360 families).[12] This average is slightly higher than that currently existing at West Broadway (approximate average is 100 units per village), but is within the numerical range put forth in the original proposition (between 72-144 households). Higher numbers of households per "village" would seem to be more acceptable however, in developments such as Franklin Field, where the level of resident organization and general collective involvement is low relative to that of the West Broadway community.

Greater collective identify and involvement at the "village" level can be reinforced by focusing upon these levels for resident input

PROPOSED: STREET HIERARCHY:

Figure 31. Franklin Field



early on in the programs' planning and design stages. Such 'localized input' can serve to identify unique sets of problems related to site orientation, age, and ethnic mix, and it can contribute to strategies to increase resident organization and collective service capacity. For the contribution to be realized however, the 'localized input' must be reflected in and reinforced by relocation strategies, such as in containing guarrantees to residents that they will be allowed to return to their original "village", if not buildings, after having vacated them for rehabilitation. The politically sophisticated Task Force Board at West Broadway was successful in forcing the BHA both to accept a plan for on-site relocation, and to pledge that as many residents as possible would be able to return to their original buildings and "villages" once construction of their units has been completed. Residents at both developments share the fear that once off the site, they would not only be unable to return due to increasing demand, but once they do, would be put in with a group of unfamiliar troublesome newcomers.

The large size of the interior spaces and the relatively more open building configurations afford opportunities not readily existing at West Broadway for the creation of individual household yards. Complimentary to this is the argument that, in a development such as Franklin Field where the level of resident organization and collective service capacity is initially low, the importance of maximizing individually versus collectively controlled spaces should be greater.

Even so, the cost of vertical breakthroughs and major unit changes required to give more apartments private ground access to yards, can be prohibitively expensive. Alternatives can be considered, such as the creation of detached yards or large subdivided gardens with enclosed plots assigned to individual units, as proposed for West Broadway buildings on p. 91. Claiming such space for use by individual households can serve to decrease potential problems arising from spaces for which collective service 'mechanisms' are difficult to develop and sustain (see Figure 19). As it is indicated in Chapter 5, the distinctive association of such garden areas to a specific building can compliment a number of

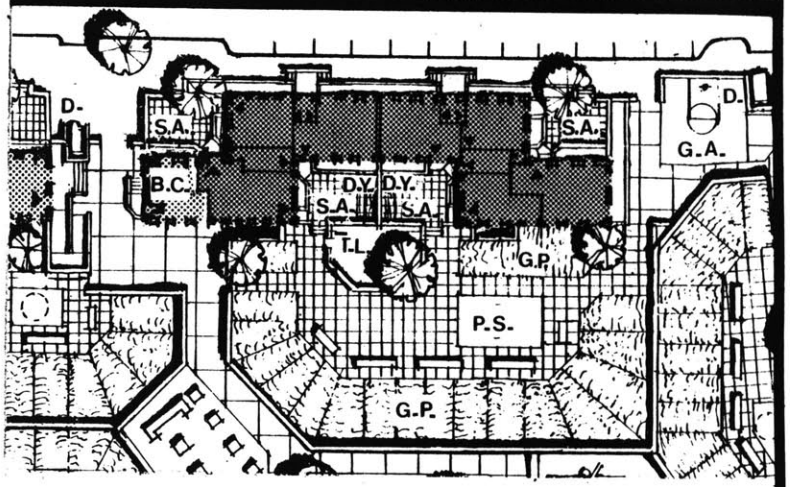
other informal surveillance, maintenance, and social functions shared between residents at the level.

The provision of formal enclosures and individual 'front' and 'back' entries to the 'building back' territory, remain relevant and feasible propositions regardless of the amount of exterior space given over to individual control (see Figure 32). Site topography, which at Franklin Field is rolling and minimally useful, should correspond as much as possible to major territorial subdivisions such the 'building back' areas. Site regrading should be taken to make level changes occur either along the walls or garden areas of the territories. By concentrating the sites level changes within the more public courtyard pathway and activity areas it is possible to minimize the levels and space consuming ramps necessary for handicapped persons to negotiate.

While Franklin Field lacks the intermediate 'courtyard size' found at West Broadway, that size was not found to have had strong association to either the service problems perceived or the collective responses made by residents. Consequently the service responsibilities proposed

PROPOSED: BUILDING FACILITY CLUSTER:

Figure 32. Franklin Field



LEGEND

S.A. - Address Seating Area

T.L. - Tot Lot

G.P. - Garden Plots

B.C. - Building Common Facility

D. - Dumpster

P.S. - Play Station

G.A. - Game Area

D.Y. - Drying Yard

were between groups at either the address (6-12 households), building (18-36 households), or "village" (72-144 households) levels where different types of problems were considered as being more efficiently addressed. One can conclude therefore that the correspondence at Franklin Field between physical clusters and service responsibilities is potentially greater and more adaptable to the respective propositions. An example of this can be seen in the application of the proposal for "Courtyard Threshold" service facility clusters (Chapter 6, pp. 108-111). At Franklin Field, this cluster, including such facilities as the 'cooking pit and picnic area' and the 'adolescent play station' becomes a distinctive part of the "village" territory and more clearly under the 'jurisdiction' of "village" level 'service teams' (see Figure 33). At West Broadway while these facilities were also under "village" jurisdiction, they were located at the 'threshold' of courtyards shared by only two buildings.

Accordingly, at Franklin Field, 'Village Service Teams' and 'Security Patrols' (pp. 86-89) would be responsible for the maintenance and patrol of public pathways leading through the interior of the "village" courtyard. This becomes an important service function in such large courtyard spaces where there is the need for a well-defined "village" (albeit, public) pathway connecting 'building back' entries to the outside.

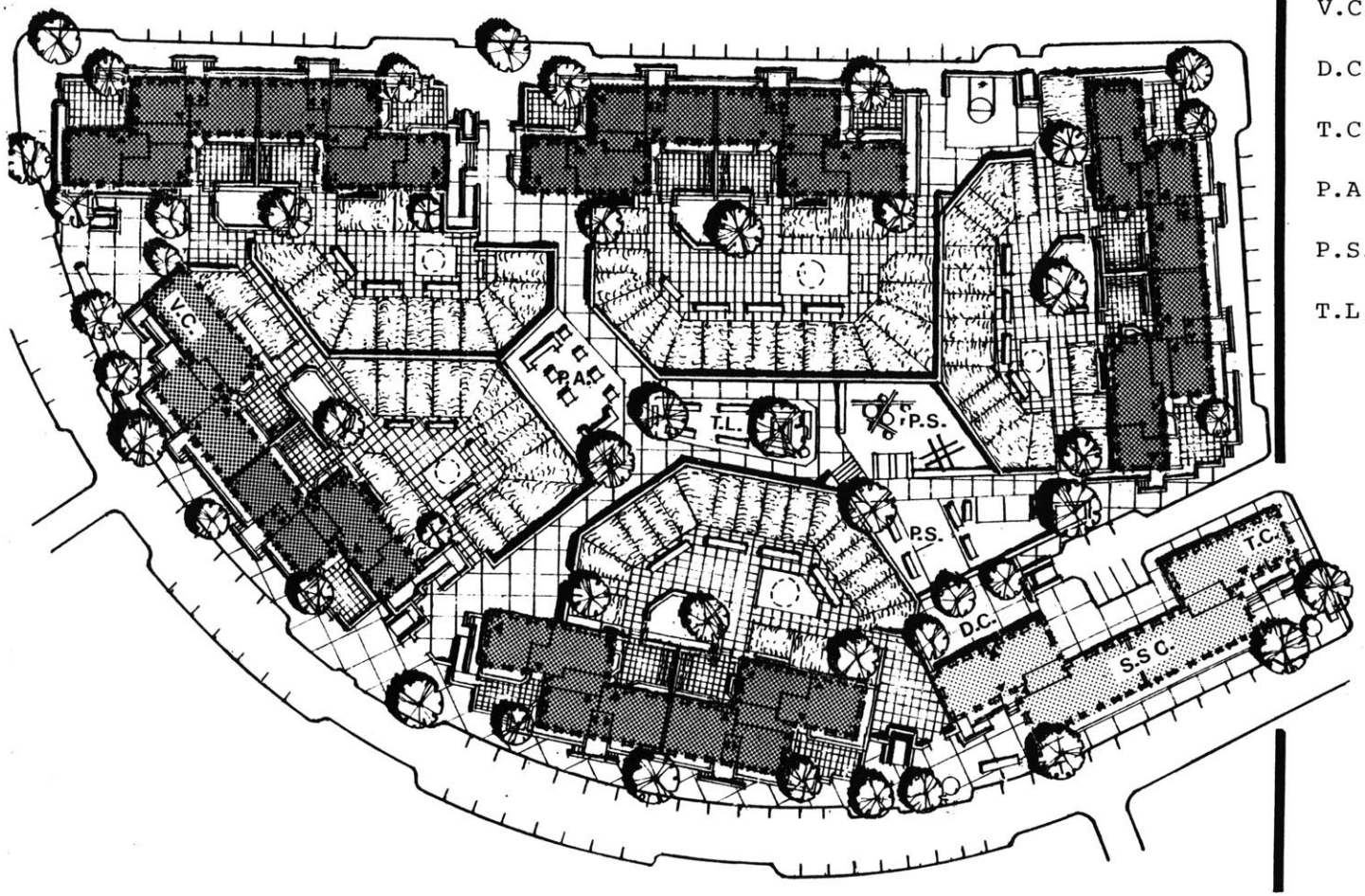
Each "village" at Franklin Field can be conveniently provided with three 'courtyard thresholds' located between pairs of buildings, the pathways from which intersect in the center of the courtyard (see Figure 33). The intersection of pathways creates an opportunity not encountered at West Broadway, one which calls for a specific cluster of facilities such as found at the 'courtyard threshold', but at a larger scale (i.e., a greater number of permanent masonry tables for table games and larger recreational equipment for adolescents).

The points between buildings not functioning as 'courtyard thresholds,' can serve as more private 'courtyard backs' accessible from only the adjacent 'building backs' a condition present at West Broadway (see Figure 17). The result is, however, a different sort of circulation hierarchy, based upon a more public courtyard pathway which connects to 'building

PROPOSED: 'VILLAGE' FACILITY CLUSTER:

Figure 33.

Franklin Field



LEGEND

S.S.C. - Site Service Center

V.C. - Village Center

D.C. - Day Care

T.C. - Teen Center

P.A. - Picnic Area

P.S. - Play Station

T.L. - Tot Lot

back' entries, which in turn give access to 'courtyard backs' shared by pairs of buildings.

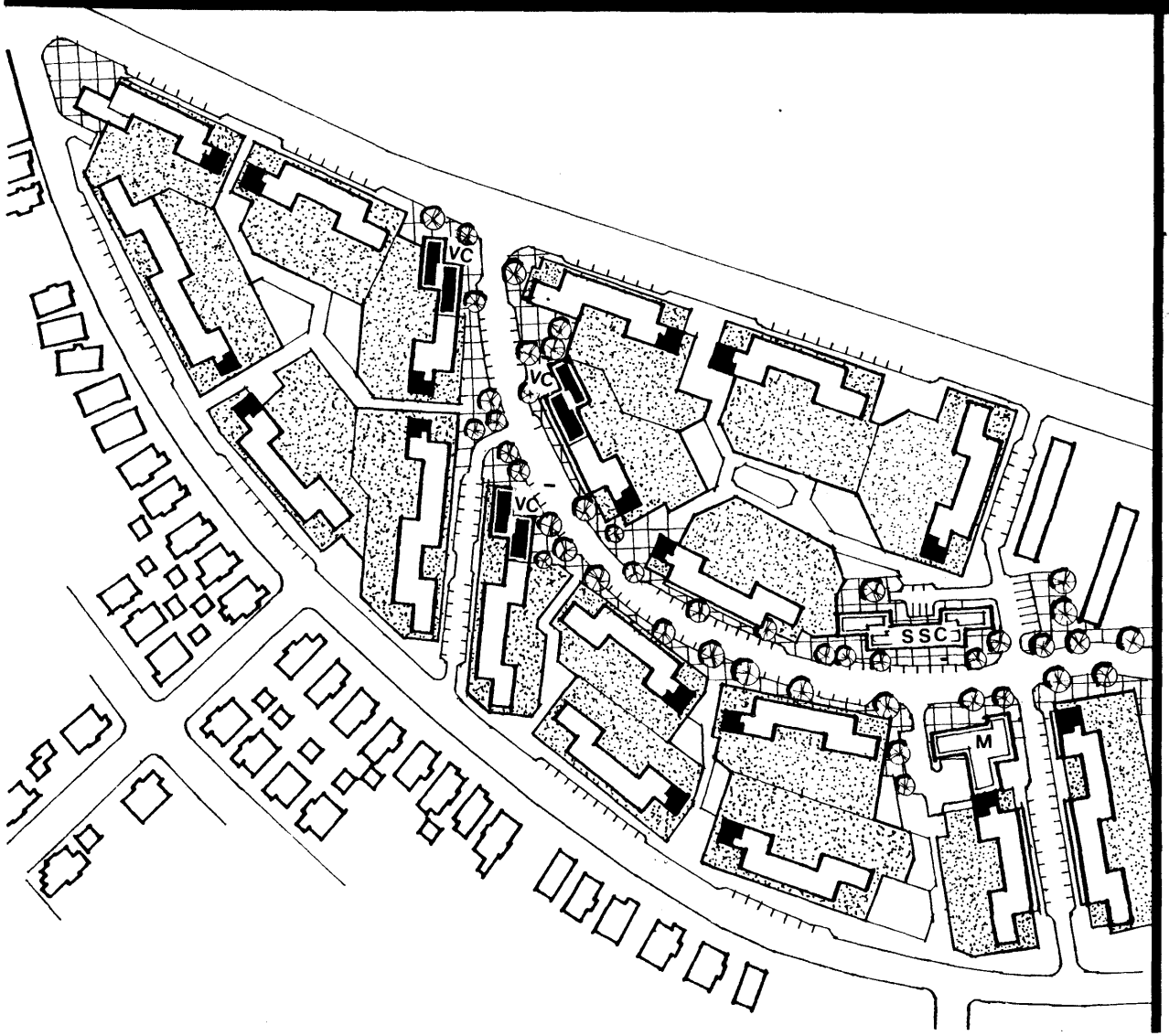
The ability to provide off-street resident parking at Franklin Field, as is possible at West Broadway (see Figure 7) is severely limited by the absence of sufficiently large open spaces existing between the 'interior' courtyard and 'threshold' areas and the street. As shown in the scheme proposed, (see Figure 34) most buildings at Franklin Field lie along two-way residential streets. This contrasts to that proposed for West Broadway where the smaller block type affords a greater number of one-way streets. Consequently, due to both of the aforementioned conditions, all resident parking at Franklin Field is located along the street. Representing another exception to what has been previously proposed, is the resulting condition where both Ames Street, serving as the 'central service corridor', and the new one-way residential streets have been double loaded. Spaces designated for the residents of different buildings are located along side each, directly outside of the owners windows. Spaces for each building are separated by widenings in the sidewalk outside of the 'courtyard-threshold' and 'back' areas (see Figure 33). The alternative of providing small perpendicular on-street lots would neither be sufficient for the surrounding address, nor enchance the continuity and safety of activity along the corridor and more highly used access areas.

There are two different building configurations at Franklin Field representing differences in building length (197'5" and 277'81/2"), number of stairwells/addresses (two and three) and total apartments contained (24 and 36). The primary consequence of the inconsistency however, should only be evident in terms of the average number of residents using adjacent 'courtyard thresholds' and building level facilities; a number which, in most cases, would be less and therefore, more advantageous than that existing at West Broadway, where all buildings contain 36 apartments.

The above discussion serves, more than anything else, to distinguish those 'elements' in the propositions which are more fixed and structural from those which are more flexible and interchangeable. Flexibility can be seen to exist in terms of specific user groups and

PROPOSED: SITE SERVICE CENTER AND CORRIDOR:

Figure 34. Franklin Field



LEGEND

S.S.C. - Site Service Center

V.C. - Village Center

M. - Management Office

- Building Commons Facility

- Building Territory

- Site Service Corridor

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activity facilities located in a given space, for many of the activities undertaken by different user groups living within a given household cluster can be mutually supportive, while others will tend to be disruptive and in conflict. Chapter 6 proposes different mutually supportive combinations of service facilities, while at the same time identifying a progression of 'service zones' such as 'village centers', 'courtyard access thresholds', 'building commons', and 'address entry areas.' The 'service zones', as such, have been found to be applicable to both the West Broadway and Franklin Field Developments,in representing relatively distinctive sets of security and maintenance problems and physical associations to specific household clusters.

In looking at the evolution of resident service efforts, it is clear that the tendency has been one of creating 'mechanisms' which respond to sets of problems recognized by the given groups sharing them. Early resident recognition of collective problems at West Broadway was no doubt facilitated by the violent events and political controversy of the 1960's. With South Boston's violent busing protests, residents focused upon site level community service problems, resulting in a proposal for the subsequently established West Broadway Multi-Service Center. More recently, recognition of collective problems has crystallized through the residents' preparation for and participation in a series of modernization and redevelopment programs.

If an original site level 'mechanism' (such as a "Task Force Board") works effectively, as it has at West Broadway and has yet to at Franklin Field, it will both further facilitate the perception by smaller constituent groups of the specific problems* which they share, and assist in the coordination of that groups' effects to respond to them.

And for designers and planners who are to leave their lasting mark upon the environment, the basic function should be similar. As represented in the propositions put forth in this thesis, it is a function which may be translated

*The use of the term 'problem', instead of the term 'need' is meant to emphasize that what is a tangible or administrative condition experienced within a given setting. The term 'problem' as it is used here can be considered to be synonymous with 'practical requirements.'

as the physical articulation, and localization, a set of service 'problems' perceived and activity facilities used by specific household clusters. In other words they should design and program to create 'service zones' which 1.) confine related sets of service problems (maintenance, surveillance), 2.) create exclusive associations between them and specific household clusters (user groups), and 3.) facilitate the ability of residents to collectively undertake their resolution (activity facilities).

The latter can be accomplished by bringing together, in and around the 'service zone', mutually supportive activity facilities and user groups such as with 'tot lots' and 'adult seating areas'. Much positive informal collective activity can be indirectly generated by residents' efforts to resolve that set of shared problems contained within a 'service zone' and vice versa.

Successful registration of these three central design and programmatic functions is seen as a necessary antecedent to anything but the most cosmetic conveyance of territorial identity and neighborhood health. Further research is needed into ways of reinforcing the collective and individual resident service capacity in public housing through the coordination of design development and resident organization strategies. This thesis represents the long way around, but perhaps one of the few which remain for the low-income residents of public housing.

CHAPTER 7 FOOTNOTES

1. Carr, Lynch Associates, Inc. and Wallace, Floyd, Ellenzweig, Moore, Inc. in Joint Venture, Franklin Field Family Housing: Draft Development Plan and Program, (Prepared for the Boston Housing Authority, September 25, 1981) p. 29.

2. Ibid, p. 5.

3. Ibid. p. 4.

4. Boston Housing Authority Resident Survey, Franklin Field Housing Development (summer 1981), presented by Carr, Lynch Associates, Inc. and Wallace, Floyd, Ellenzweig, Moore, Inc. in Joint Venture, Franklin Field Family Housing: Redevelopment Technical Reports, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Sept. 25, 1981) pp. 191-92.

5. See Carr, Lynch et al. Franklin Field Family Housing: Draft Development Plan and Program, p. 7.

6. See Carr, Lynch et al. Franklin Field Housing Redevelopment Technical Reports, p. 30.

7. Personal interview with Phil Horn, Community Organizer at Franklin Field, Dorchester, Massachusetts (December 2, 1981).

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. See Carr, Lynch et al., Franklin Field Housing Redevelopment Technical Reports, p. 38.

11. See Carr, Lynch et al. Franklin Field Housing Draft Development Plan and Program, pp. 35-36.

APPENDICES:

A. ORIGINS OF FORM: THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS

B. RESEARCH REVIEW: CIRCULATION HIERARCHIES

C. RESEARCH REVIEW: RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING

D. RESEARCH REVIEW: SERVICE SUPPORTS AND FACILITIES

APPENDIX A:

ORIGINS OF FORM: THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS

A. ORIGINS OF FORM: THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS

Introduction

In form and function, public housing developments have been very much the product of a progressively simplified bureaucratic pyramid, one which arose in the wake of a succession of economic and political crises and behind the ideological smokescreen of functionalist dogmatism. By looking briefly at the history of public housing policy and the effect which it has had on the physical, managerial, and social organization of public housing added insight can be provided into the design, management, and policy-making responsibilities which must be re-evaluated if there is to be a meaningful correction of the present problems plagueing the public housing system today.

It is possible to characterize the formative years of Federal involvement in housing as those either in preparation for, amidst, or recovering from wartime conditions. Government experience in homebuilding, before the outbreak of World War I, was directed solely toward government workers. With the war, however, the need to accommodate a large civilian work force near rapidly growing wartime industrial installations led to the establishment of such programs as the Emergency Fleet Corporation for naval installations (1917) and United States Housing Corporation (USHC, 1918). Through both agencies the Federal government would loan money for the construction of housing either directly or through dividend corporations.[1]

After the war, congress, anxious to return to the 'free enterprise' system of housing production, quickly terminated these programs and called for the sale of all government built and managed housing. Over 30,000 units, built three years earlier for $119 million, were sold at a cumulative loss of $75 million.[2]

The American Institute of Architects, emboldened by the political vision and maturity exhibited within the profession, lobbied heavily in favor of continuation of these programs into peacetime. A 1920 article in the AIA journal went so far as to endorse the New York Labor Party housing platform, which implied advocation for the complete nationalization of housing production.[3]

Roosevelt's National Recovery Act

The more popular free enterprise ideology

however, was quickly superceded when responsibility for recovery from the 1929 stock market crash and the ensuing nationwide economic depression fell into the hands of newly elected Franklin D. Roosevelt. By 1933, as part of Roosevelts' National Recovery Act, a central component of Roosevelts' New Deal Program, the Work Progress Administration (WPA) and the Public Works Administration (PWA) were established to deal with national problems of unemployment and sub-standard housing. The Housing Division of the PWA was given the responsibility of designing a national housing program, thereby becoming the first publicly owned organization for the construction of housing. After attempting various low-interest loan and granting schemes to local municipal agencies, the PWA, in 1934, began a policy of direct intervention and control over project development. By 1937, fifty-one projects in 36 cities were constructed by the PWA Housing Division.[4]

The depressed economy however had deleterious effects on the building industry and architectural profession. With little construction going on and commissions virtually non-existent,there was considerable incentive for architects and builders to adopt the social rhetoric and "public works type functionalism" of Roosevelts' "New Deal" programs. Under the given conditions it was possible for the PWA to tap the wealth of many of the nations best architects, planners and builders. Unfortunately, aside from the generally high level of craftmanship in the housing, the only distinctive consequence of this 'collaboration' was in the general validity it gave to the PWA's policy rationalizations for evermore minimal project designs. As Columbia professor Richard Plunz states, as to the progressive institutionalization of housing form:

> The PWA deliberately simplified site issues by employing certain idealized truisms such as the removal of through traffic from project sites. Community input was discouraged since the living habits of future residents were considered to have a negative influence on design; "usable information" was to be translated by social workers.[5]

Plunz also notes how the repetition of apartment groupings over a site was encouraged by the PWA's architectural fee structure, citing a 1935 article in Architectural Record, which stated "the fee for architectural service is in accordance with a definite schedule and varies from a rate of 6 percent of construction costs up to $100,000,

and up to 2% on $10,000,000. The fee is based on a repetition of units, with no unusual ground conditions." He adds that "for large projects this schedule obviously provided no monetary incentive for architects to break away from negative schemes."[6]

The development of guidelines for PWA projects were attempted with respect to both management and design. The PWA's document, Unit Plans represents an early but limited attempt by the Housing Division to show architects acceptable ways of translating their guidelines. These minimal design solutions must have been quite influential given the abstract and unenforceable nature of the guideline terminology which tended to reduce the most meaningful design standards to "simplistic legalities." Still others, such as Gropius' infamous solar/ground cover study, were adopted by virtue of being the only bureaucratically intelligible site criteria available at the time.[7]

A primary goal of PWA policy-makers was to optimize the relationship between the number of families and the amount of usable outdoor space. As such, the design of outdoor space was expected to conform in the same way to an overall set of rudimentary assumptions about human needs for sunlight, the dimensional requirements for recreational and social activities, and the deterrence of crime and vandalism. The economic simplicity of this thinking was glorified in "city in the park" and "apartment in the garden" images popularized by Le Corbusier and other "progressive" social reformers of the day. Professional credibility was thusly given to the PWA "recommendation" for a 25% site coverage. "Site coverage recommendations" simplistic as they were, had the effect, as Plunz points out, of allowing almost any building geometry to work anywhere, and thereby, of easily satisfying the bureaucratic need for design control.[8]

Housing Act of 1937

With the passing of the United States Housing Act in 1937 and the replacement of the PWA by the United States Housing Authority (USHA), Federal design guidelines for project apartments and sites became at once "more stringent, more abstract, and more defined in terms of asthetic imagery."[9] The most distinctive change under the new Housing Act of 1937 however, was to establish state and local authorities in all U.S.

metropolitan centers and empower them, as public corporations to locally administer those programs formerly administered at the Federal level by the PWA.

This modest attempt by the Federal government to decentralize administrative responsibilities serves as an early indication of a growing national conservatism. By this time a second economic recession termed "the most precipitous decline in American History"[10] had dropped industrial production by a third, income by 12%, drove the unemployment rate up to 19%, and sent the building industry into another severe slump.[11]

In 1939 the USHA published the study Planning the Site which presented for local authorities and developers a collection of acceptable project images and building arrangements. Gropius' ground cover diagrams were transformed into a specification of minimum space dimensions between two buildings, established as a function of their height. As Professor Plunz points out, "such rules did not lend themselves to easy graphic representation for complex building forms, and were therefore usually (diagramatically) represented by simple "ribbon shapes." "Unfortunately," he concludes, "what was easy to represent was also easy to approve."[12]

The centralization effort embodied new concerns for management strategies and tenant eligibility criteria. Underlying these strategies was the concern that government subsidized housing should not be competitive with the private housing industry, nor suggest to the voter/taxpayer a physical compatibility to private housing. Several years after the act went into effect a document published by the Public Housing Administration stated the following about housing developments under its sponsorship:

> ...initial cost must be kept low to maintain public acceptance of the program and to reflect the requirement of the statute that the dwellings not be elaborate or extravagant design and construction.[13]

As an integral part of the 1937 act, the section on tenant selection can be seen to illuminate the existence of government intentions in conflict. The act was not designed for the very poor nor those on public assistance, but for families, a mother, a father, and at least one child, who were former occupants of substandard housing and evidenced middle-class aspiration of values.[14] Local authorities were set out under the act as having the primary

responsibility for the community well-being of its developments, but the act was incomplete as to operational strategies for doing so. Local authorities therefore adopted their own implicit criteria which they would employ on a discretionary basis to determine "family suitability." Elizabeth Wood, former Executive Director of the Chicago Housing Authority, wrote that it was common for local authorities, in zealous pursuit of a stable tenantry for their projects to look:

> ...at the housekeeping, the rent receipts, the quality of the furniture, the way the children looked, and... ...questions about the children at school. They checked with police departments for crime records. They checked with the Social Service Exchange for social service registrations. Some of them even called on the landlord of the neighbors of the applicants. The families were thoroughly selected and there was no question that they were all middle-class aspirers and completely responsible.[15]

Rigorously upheld tenant selection standards, along with the influx of community services due to an inspired management personnel helped make the first USHA developments the scene of a satisfied tenantry, actively involved in community wide classes, clinics, recreational, and monetary activities.

Unstated in the act however, was an administrative measure which exposed the serious fundamental problems and conflicting realities of accommodating a dynamic social phenomenon in a bureaucratically frozen institutional setting. Administrators, proceeding in a fashion consistent with the goals, stated by the 1937 act, to provide housing to low-income residents, set maximum income limits for project residents, and required the eviction of families whose incomes exceeded the limits. Thus as Wood recalls:

> ...the year after the initial occupancy families became ineligible if their incomes had risen more than 25% above the ceiling for admission... it was a known fact that there no houses available at the rents these families could afford but never-the-less that was the rule.[16]

The eviction stipulation sat in direct conflict with the management goals, which Nathan Straus stated in his opening address to the USHA:

> ...(not) considered exclusively in terms of property maintenance and rent collection and such matters...(and) not based upon profits but upon the development of community spirit and human relationships... he must not only encourage the individual to express himself but also help him to realize that he is part of the community.[17]

The problem came to a head at the beginning of World War II, when defense contractors were unable to attract workers from nearby developments because of tenant fear of being over-income. Another war and another crisis, Wood states that:

> ...the government was practically hysterical at the inability to get workers and afraid of the public reaction that would result if families whose incomes exceeded the minimum level continued to live in the projects.[18]

With the beginning of WW II the government was forced to declare an administrative moratorium on "over-income" evictions.

Lanham Act of 1941

The nation's economic and political situation began to stabilize in the late 30's and early 40's, but as the Federally bolstered "war economy" developed the public housing program began to falter.[19]

In 1941, Title VI was added to the 1937 Housing Act, authorizing mortgage insurance to builders who provided new homes in critical defense areas. The passage that year of the Lanham Act, was however, more dramatic as it authorized congress to divert low-income housing funds to the development of temporary and permanent housing for persons involved in national defense work.[20] Lower design and construction standards ensued as shortages in quality materials and skilled contractors increased, a fact sanctioned by the government and condoned by administrators as a "necessary casuality of war."

Verterans Emergency Housing Act of 1946

After the war ended, expectations of a post-war economic boom and Federal priority given to housing post-war veterans, put U.S. low-income housing programs onto the budgetary shelf. Veterans had returned to what had become the most acute housing shortage in U.S. history and the government had to intervene. Despite continuous legislative efforts (Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, 1944) to take the public housing program out of war-time hibernation, expectations of a post-war economic boom led Congress to shift its attention to the stimulation of single family homebuilding under the Veterans Emergency Housing Act of 1946 and other liberal mortgage insurance programs.[21]

State and local governments, left to face the low-income housing shortage on their own, were allowed by the Federal government to convert

many of the "temporary" wartime developments into permanent housing. They understood the modernization of such housing as they could, usually on a piece-meal basis, putting in new equipment and materials as they became available. The physical consequences, however, were highly detrimental to the social image and physical quality of public housing.

Housing Act of 1949

Congress finally responded with a program designed to help relieve the pressures mounting on its nation's cities due primarily to major post-war demographic rural-to-urban shifts. Known as the Housing Act of 1949, the program authorized massive slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs, as well as funds for the enlargement of the public housing program. The act also set out to place greater emphasis on local needs. In doing so it served to relieve the Federal government from responsibility for generating more sophisticated development design and administrative guidelines. First priority for the 800,000 units to be constructed under the act would be given to those families displaced by the redevelopment process.[22]

The Housing Act of 1949 represented the turning point in U.S. public housing, for it effectively opened its doors to what was the poorest part of the population, many of whom, by virtue of their lack of political power, were displaced during the "clearance" of their ghettos. The act, as such, implicitly did away with tenant selection, while at the same time being quite explicit in its re-institution of over-income evictions.[23]

Amazingly, the low physical standards effective during wartime were not substantially upgraded. Throughout the 40's and into the 50's the architectural profession was divided on the issue of public-assisted versus free-enterprise housing. The 1949 Housing Act drew only mild support from a rather reticent AIA during its five year incubation period in a congressional subcommittee. The bill was however, vigorously supported by the short-lived, "star-studded" American Society of Planners and Architects (ASPA), passing a resolution to that effect in 1946. In April 1947, at the annual convention, ASPA president Karl Koch delivered a "scathing rebuke" of AIA's unconvincing support of the bill.[24]

Plunz comments on the changing attitudes of the AIA:

> Historically it is interesting to note the changes in the AIA attitudes towards legislation at three critical times; the "gentlemens agreement" over the dumbbell tenament in 1879, dictated by the insecure credentials of a new profession; the agressive support in 1919 by a young, secure, and activist profession; and the disinterest in 1946 by a conservative establishment.[25]

And so potential project architects, seeing their design budgets cut to the bone, their public contracts under suspicion of political corruption, and a potentially lucrative practice in single family houses and office buildings, had little soul-searching to do in shunning public housing projects. When an architect did take a job, because it exceeded reasonable cost limits, it would be "stripped" in design review meetings.

With the accommodation of lower-income tenants, came lower rent collections and a parallel decrease in operating and maintenance budgets. These reductions would soon be reflected in official management policy as typified by the bulletin which the Chicago Authority received from the Public Housing Administration, which read:

"A housing authority is not the proper agency to provide personnel for direct program leadership or supervision...from here on all social work is to be done by the appropriate and properly funded local social work agencies."[26] Later another Federal directive forbade all authority employees from living on the developments "except those who had to be available to handle emergencies." With the directive, laments Wood, "a whole corps of our leadership was kicked out. Many of us had found resident staff a source of voluntary help that we could not have afforded to fund."[27]

The physical condition of the developments began to rapidly deteriorate. The number of multi-problem families increased as did statistics for delinquency and crime, all coming at a time when management, maintenance, and community services were undergoing formal budget and staff reductions. Lower rent collections and increasingly tight operating budgets compelled project managers to use maintenance funds for operating expenses, gambling that future modernization money would pick up the slack. It proved to be a costly assumption.

1960's

In the sixties, new HUD commissioner for public housing Marie McGuire, set out to reform design and construction standards by changing the Federal rules and restrictions which had precipated earlier problematic designs. About the same time, as Wood points out, the newly created Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) "set forth as national policy the unprecedented statement, ... it is the policy of the United States to see that opportunities are given to everybody to reach their utmost capacities."[28] Consistent with this statement was OEO's support of long overdue urban development programs in "citizen" and "tenant" participation.[29]

Housing policy at the Federal level, however, has remained constrained not only by ideological values, but by short-sighted economic and functional optimization, and support from universities, architects and environmental researchers.

The lack of clarity in government policies and standards is condoned under the rationale echoed from HUD's central office that "it would be undemocratic to have standards in anything that is social."[30] By 1969, city audits showed that 83 of the nations largest Housing Authorities were operating in the red, near bankruptcy.

It was in the 1967 speech by Elizabeth Wood, who was brought into HUD to study ways of improving management, that the first rudimentary social goals of the Federal housing policy since the 1930's were put forth. The 1967 goals, presented below, in fact bear a considerable resemblance in content and form to those stated back in the 30's by Nathan Straus:

> First Goal: Public housing management should contribute to the social and economic advancement of its tenants directly by adopting management policies and practices which are conducive to social and economic betterment, and indirectly by securing community services to serve the same ends.
>
> Second Goal: Management policies of local housing authorities should be so designed that public housing projects provide homes for a broad cross-section of low-income households, so as to avoid concentrations of the most economic and socially deprived households.
>
> Third Goal: Management policies and practices should be conducive to making families feel that the buildings they occupy are, in fact, their homes, and the projects their neighborhoods. Only if residents feel this way will they want to spend time and labor taking good care of their dwellings and working for the good

character and appearance of the project.[31]
In summation of the first thirty-plus years of public housing policy, from which have come the housing developments of concern to this thesis, the following can be said.

The expert housing planners and developers whose experience served to guide the PWA's Housing Act of 1937, had as their principle organization models such pre-depression, middle-income, singly and/or cooperatively owned developments as Radburn, Sunnyside and Hillside. (p. 63, Wood) These developments however, did not serve to convey just what the actual burden would be on housing designers, managers, and social servants, when a development served low income occupants lacking the organizational and proprietary incentives correlated with ownership. The exclusive relationship between ownership, design and proprietary activities had not been sufficiently recognized nor advocated and was therefore easily suppressed by requirements bureaucratic intelligibility. With bureaucratic intelligibility came operational ambiguity, complimentary contributors in the maximization of governmental control over expenditures and their political consequences.

The federally precipitated divergence which subsidized housing developments had from the successful housing models of the 20's, was the impact upon the attitudes and behaviours adopted by its inhabitants.

By 1952, through the Housing Act of 1949, public housing policy had successfully stripped development managers of community involvement, social services funds, sufficiently trained staff, and a well-balanced tenant population. Ruthless enforcement of over-income evictions, along with an already family destabilizing welfare system, combined to undermine natural incentives for and capacity of resident housholds to satisfy their maintanance, security and community service needs. Public housing policy had progressively abolished whatever positive incentives existed for tenants to make economic and social investments in their developments.

With both the tenants and the management officially prohibited from satisfying the vital functions of the living-environment, development environments rapidly turned into cultural wastelands. Many continue to exist today with their apartments placed as vulnerable islands of privacy amidst an asphalt sea of public space.

Appendix A Footnotes

1. United States Housing Corporation, Report, Vol. 2, Washington D.C., 1919, II:p. 397, Table III.

2. Richard Plunz, "Institutionalization of Housing Form in New York City, 1920-1950," (Chapter 15 in Housing Form and Public Policy in the United States, Richard Plunz, ed; New York, Praeger Publishers), p. 158.

3. See John Irwin Bright, "Housing and Community Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Architects, VII (July, 1920), pp. 276-277.

4. See Robert Fischer, Twenty Years of Public Housing (New York: Harper and Brother, 1959), pp. 82-91.

5. Plunz, pp. 178-179.

6. Plunz, p. 179.

7. Plunz, p. 179.

8. Plunz, p. 179.

9. Plunz, p. 180.

10. Paul K. Conkin, The New Deal (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967), p. 96.

11. Conkin, p. 96.

12. Plunz, p. 180.

13. Timothy L. McDonnell, The Wanger Housing Act (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957), p. 147.

14. Elizabeth Wood, "Idea's and Realities in Subsidized Housing Since 1934," (Chapter 7 in Housing Form and Public Policy in the United states, Richard Plunz ed.; New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), p. 64.

15. Wood, p. 64

16. Wood, p. 65.

17. Wood, p. 63.

18. Wood, p. 63.

19. See Michael Jacobs, "The Origin of Federal Housing Policy and the needs of the State," (Chapter 8 in Housing Form and Public Policy in the United States, Plunz, ed.; New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), p. 81.

20. Plunz, p. 184.

21. Plunz, p. 190.

22. Wood, p. 66.

23. Ibid.

24. Plunz, p. 180.

25. Plunz, p. 190.

26. Wood, p. 67.

27. Wood, p. 68.

28. Wood, p. 68.

29. Wood, p. 68.

30. Wood, p. 69.

31. Wood, p. 31.

APPENDIX B:

RESEARCH REVIEW: CIRCULATION HIERARCHIES

1. Site Level Circulation
2. Village Level Circulation
3. Building Level Circulation
4. Address Level Circulation

APPENDICES - RESEARCH REVIEW

User needs research in multi-family housing, as has been undertaken over the past ten-plus years by such social scientists as Clare Cooper, Brank Becker, Oscar Newman, and John Zeisel can offer added insight into those conditions and issues significant to the organization of circulation patterns. The following exerpts have been extracted from a wide range of relatively recent housing literature as they compliment the task at hand of developing a set of designed programmatic propositions which can reinforce resident service capacity and territorial identity over individual and shared spaces in their living environment.

B. RESEARCH REVIEWS: CIRCULATION HIERARCHIES

1. Site Level Circulation

Rhodeside et al., 1970

"Children use more central, active areas for play rather than the quieter outskirts. There was an average of 10% of children on wheeled vehicles. On one estate with many unobstructed paths 20% of the children were on wheeled vehicles." (p. 35 Zeisel, 1981)

Zeisel, 1981

"Research shows that wayfinding for outsiders is important to residents when they call for police and taxis and when they want to direct visitors to their dwellings." (p. 10)

Saile et al., 1981

"Residents were likely to follow the most direct route whether or not it coincided with or crossed roads, footpaths, or parking courts"--invalidating designers' plans. Paths across playgrounds stood out most. There people had trampled the grass in diagonal paths across rectangular areas. (p. 17)

Shopping and service facility routes get most pedestrian traffic. (p. 17)

Routes in winter are more direct, particularly on house to car journeys." (p. 33)

Zeisel, 1981

"Site design decisions that have to do with such items as the placement of buildings, location of entrances, and location of facilities all influence the natural pathways that people develop--short cuts. The relation of the site to off-site facilities that residents can use, such as schools, stores, and parks also influence the creation of natural pathways that may lead to 'trepass'." (p. 12)

Becker, 1974

"Across a range of low-rise developments from 35% to 38% of residents felt unsafe in some areas of the development. This feeling related mostly to children and teenagers circulating around the side. In high-rise developments the percentage of residents feeling unsafe ranged from 53% to 67%." (p. 114)

Alexander, 1977

"Build a system of paths designated as bike paths with the following properties: bike paths are marked clearly with a special, easily recognizable surface (for example, a red asphalt surface). As far as possible they run along local roads, or major pedestrian paths. Where a bike path runs along a local road, its surface may be level with the road--if possible, on the sunny side; where a bike path runs along a pedestrian path, keep it separate from that path and a few inches below it." (p. 291-292)

2. Village Level Circulation

Cooper, 1975

"80% of those whose apartments faced the street liked this arrangement. 60% of those whose apartments faced courts liked their arrangement." (p. 76)

Boston Housing Authority, 1981

"The layout of pedestrian paths must reflect established traffic patterns on the site and shall be paved. Since the sidewalks are frequently used by children for playing, the walks must be wide enough for a bicycle, and pedestrian to pass one another. 'Play circuits' should be provided where ever possible to take skateboards, bikes, etc., off heavily travelled paths." (p. K1-2)

"Non-residents taking legitimate shortcuts through the site shall be accommodated by the appropriate location of sidewalks. Since the community facility will be used by the surrounding neighborhood this building must be located to minimize any intrusion intruders will make on the site." (p. K1-2)

Alexander, 1977

"Lay out pedestrian paths at right angles to roads, not along them so that the paths gradually begin to form a second network, distinct from the road system, and orthagonal to it. This can be done quite gradually--even if you put down one path at a time, but always put them in the middle of the 'block' so that they run across the roads." (p. 270)

3. Building Level Circulation

Zeisel, 1981

"Children over age six ride bicycles, roller skate, and run on public pathways near dwelling units. As children get older they can be seen standing around, watching activity, and meeting others, on access paths near parking areas. Both activities require that pathways be thought of in broader terms than only pedestrian circulation." (p. 35)

"These activities create conflict among housing residents. The sizes that regulations specify for walkways are seldom adequate to accommodate both childrens play and people walking at the same time. Housing entrances, because they are between public and private places, generate

activity children like to play near, by providing a constant and dependable flow of pedestrian movement. Planning sufficient place for children's play around public pathways can minimize conflict between children and others who use these areas purely for circulation." (p. 35)

ERDS, 1971

"When pathways do not follow natural pedestrian pathways, and are not unimpeded and direct, holes in fences and other problems result." (p. 108-110)

Becker, 1974

"Hard, paved surface are used for bicycles, tricycles, and other wheeled play, and public areas such as sidewalks and courtyards were clearly a magnet for social activity for a variety of age groups (elderly excepted)." (p. 25)

Zeisel, 1981

"An insider public area might be a short cul-de-sac street with eight houses or a rural country lane. In this zone, residents are likely to notice outsiders and cautiously ask them if they need any help. This is a way of taking responsibility for shared use of the area."

Alexander, 1977

"We need three distinct kinds of paths for each neighborhood cluster:
1. Path along services, wide and open for activities and crowds, paths that connect activities and encourage busy through traffic.
2. Paths remote from services, narrow and twisting with many at right angles and dead ends.
3. Intermediate types of paths linking the most remote and quiet to the most central and busy areas." (p. 194)

4. Address Level Circulation

Zeisel, 1981

"For example, natural pathways pedestrians make between building entries and other destinations (such as laundromat or play areas) profoundly impact unit privacy. The more designers are made aware of this type of side effect the more they can do to avoid privacy conflicts." (p. 78)

Becker, 1974

"At low-rise developments...the most heavily used areas (for children's play) were the paved pedestrians paths (22%) and the front semi-private areas (38%)." (p. 140-140a)

Zeisel, 1981

"When pathways are not explicitly located and planned to accommodate these natural trips, people make short cuts: across other people's property, across grassy areas leaving dirt paths, next to resident's private windows." (p. 11)

Cooper, 1978

"...A better use of the front spaces would have been wider pathways to allow for

children's play. There is no indication that consideration was given to childrens needs in pathway design." (p. 53)

Becker, 1974

"The area closest to the dwelling unit itself was most used by pre-schoolers for play, primarily because of the ease of supervision this location afforded adults." (p. 25)

Alexander, 1977

"Bring the system of bike paths to within 100 feet of every building, and give every building a bike rack near its main entrance." (pp. 291-292)

Saile et al., 1972

"In two projects 'many of the residents' problems with the houses and yards are caused by the concentration of people in some areas of the sites. The arrangement of kitchen entrances, drying areas, footpaths, and car parking areas encourage a great deal of activity on the paved areas outside the kitchens...The small grassed areas set in the paving on this side of the house have little chance to remain green with all this activity." (p. 39)

Zeisel, 1981

"Research shows that residents often like to sit out along pathways, especially near building entrances, watching others go by and meeting friends. Residents do not always sit on benches planned for them. Sometimes they bring their own chairs when bench locations do not provide the social connection or flexibility they want." (p. 25)

APPENDIX C:

RESEARCH REVIEW: RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERS

1. Village Clusters
2. Building Clusters
3. Address Clusters

C. RESEARCH REVIEW: RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERS

1. 'Village' Clusters

Newman, 1975

(Major site planning guidelines are)
"2. The positioning of buildings, shrubs, and fences so as to clearly define particular areas of a site for the use of specific families.
3. The choice of building types and their positioning so as to develop close physical associations between the interior areas of buildings and the adjacent grounds.
4. The placement of amenities--recreation, parking, planting--within areas defined for the use of particular inhabitants." (p. 109)

Zeisel, 1981

"Residents tend to develop a sense of territory more easily about places which only they pass through, they have direct physical access to, they can see from living areas of the unit, others can identify as theirs, and which can be or already somewhat separated from places shared by a larger group of people." (p. 53)

Alexander, 1977

"Men seek corner beer shops, where they spend hours talking and drinking; teenagers, especially boys, choose special corners too, where they hang around, waiting for their friends. Old people like a special spot to go to, where they can expect to find others; small children need sand lots, mud, plants and water to play with in the open; young mothers who go to watch their children often use the children's play as an opportunity to meet and talk with other mothers." (p. 349)

"Outdoors, people always try to find a spot where they can have their backs protected, looking out toward some larger opening, beyond the space immediately in front of them." (p. 558)

"In order to have a reasonable amount of contact and in order for playgroups to form, each child must be able to reach at least five children in his age range. Statistical analysis shows that for each child to have a 95 percent chance of reaching five such potential playmates, each child must be in reach of 64 households.... (therefore) Lay out common land, paths, gardens, and bridges so that groups of at least 64 households are connected by a swath of land as the connected play space for the children in these households." (pp. 346-7)

Cooper, 1975

"In Easter Hill Village Cooper compared units with entries from cul-de-sac courts to units with entries direct from street. Courts facing entries were more intimate but also lead to greater contact with neighbors, more gossip, and less privacy. 60% of the residents with cul-de-sac entries liked them. These residents often used their back doors to avoid the scrutiny of the neighbors on the court. Of the residents with entries facing the street, 80% liked what they had. One resident said, "it seems more like a private home, facing the street." (pp. 75-6)

Zeisel, 1981

"Research shows that there is another type of social activity, commonly called neighboring, which is impromptu and takes place as a by-product of carrying out daily tasks: coming and going, taking out the garbage or laundry, supervising children near the dwelling.
The design implications of this type of activity do not lie in providing recreation space and site furnishings. They lie in such things as building entries relating to each other around a common court, laundry yards visible to several units where children end up playing, and cul-de-sac (dead end) streets that groups of residents can claim as theirs." (p. 28)

Alexander, 1977

"There is a need for smaller and more private kinds of common land shared by a few work groups of a few families. This common land in fact forms the very heart and soul of any cluster....(it) makes it possible for people to feel comfortable outside their building and their private territory, and, therefore, allows them to feel connected to the larger social system--though not necessarily to any specific neighbor." (p. 337)

ERDF, 1971

"Children tend to play where parents can see them. As a general rule, buildings that faced on each other developed social ties. Recommendation: Divide larger housing developments into small social areas of approximately 40 homes or 160-200 persons." (p. 92)

"This area is a place where everyone can meet. The authors point out, however, that residents need a more private place for meeting others." (p. 128)

Anderson et al., 1978

"Creating community-use areas close to clustered housing, fosters gardening, games, and other social activities and inhibits crime." (p. 16)

Saile, 1971

"65% of all outdoor adult weekday leisure activity consisted of sitting and standing near a doorway watching kids and socializing, 1/2 at a kitchen door, and 1/2 at a living room door. The peak hour in the summer was 8 p.m." (p. 33)

Alexander, 1977

"The fundamental unit of organization within...(an)...identifiable neighborhood --is the cluster of a dozen houses...

People will not feel comfortable in their houses unless a group of homes forms a cluster, with the public land between them jointly owned by all households." (p. 198)

2. Building Clusters

Alexander, 1977

"Herbert Gans, in The Levittowners (New York: Patterson, 1967) has collected some powerful evidence for this tendency. Of the 147 people to be surveyed, 91% said

they visited those people "immediately across the street or next door;" 93% of all the neighborhood visiting engaged in by the subjects is confined to this spatial cluster"...there is a house on either side, one or two across the street, one directly behind, and across a garden fence." (p. 198)

Boston Housing Authority, 1981

"Each building and unit should have a definite front and back. Fronts are typically associated with the street, where the cars are parked, and where units are entered. Back doors should also be provided for individual units not only for convenience but also to help establish private territory at the back of the buildings. The goal is to define as much of the building edges as possible as private territory associated with a particular unit in order to discourage loitering in these areas. Buildings should be paired so that so that fronts face fronts and backs face backs." (p. K1-6)

Gans, 1967

Discussing curved through streets in Levittown: "Neighboring rarely extended more than three or four houses away in each direction, so that the 'functional neighborhood' usually consisted of about 10-12 houses at the most, although people did say hello to everyone on the block." (p. 156)

"Fully 82% of the respondents mentioned compatibility as the reason for choosing the neighborhood they visited more frequently." (p. 159)

3. Address Clusters

Portas, 1967

"Stairs are used as meeting places. They are also a source of conflict with neighbors." (p. 144)

Francescato et al., 1977

"The perception that other residents were friendly and well behaved was a very important component of overall satisfaction." (p. ES-5)

"The more other residents in the (public housing) development were perceived to be similar to oneself the higher the level of satisfaction with other residents and with living in that development." (p. ES-4)

Gans, 1967

"Unless residents are similar (age, sex, etc.) and have some interests in common, physical meeting places are not sufficient to create friendship--acquaintances are found, however." (Zeisel, 1981, p. 30)

Gans, 1968

"Only residents who are relatively like each other will become friends merely because they live next to one another." (Zeisel, 1981, p. 30)

Zeisel, 1981

"Having only a small number of residents (6-10) sharing an entry stairwell enhances nieghboring, security, privacy, and a high level of maintenance." (p. 29)

ERDF, 1971

"In the same housing development, door areas in row-houses are not vandalized, while door areas of apartments are vandalized. Between the two types there are differing degrees of spatial definition of what is owned. Apartments in a large apartment house stairwell have the least amount of building-buffer." (p. 128)

Cooper, 1975

"In the courts near houses that faced onto shared courts in St. Francis Square there was much children's play creating noise problems. Space in the courts was shared space and the boundary between the court and a resident's 'front yard' was not delimited; fencing of front yards was not allowed. Children therefore often played on somebody's front lawn without seeing any distinction. This was so on lawns at houses that faced the street. There the physical and territorial distinction between sidewalk and lawn was clear." (p. 77)

Weideman et al., 1979

"All units had private access to yard space: however the definition of what space was under whose control was unclear. There were no physical markers to delineate areas, nor were there consistent management rules to intercede when conflicts arose. For example, a number of residents wished to have flowers or a small garden in the space next to their unit. Yet they were often unsuccessful because children of other residents (and pets) played in the same area..." (p. 7)

Zeisel, 1981

"Having only a small number of residents (6-10) sharing an entry stairwell enhances neighboring, security, privacy, and a high level of maintenance. Social problems associated with residents sharing common stairwells are not necessarily a direct function of physical design. Often they result from bad management and maintenance." (p. 29)

Department of Environment, 1971

"The general preference is for a hall, providing a neutral space in which to deal with visitors whom one wished neither to leave on the steps nor to invite to meet the family." (p. 9)

Saile, 1971

"Approximately 1/3 of all children observed were in drying areas just outside kitchen doors. 36% of all observed toddlers' play was on paved areas near kitchens as contrasted with 13% toddlers' play in the "toddlers' play area" further away." (p. 26)

Children tended to sit out with adults around kitchen and living room doors, with older children usually forming their own groups around toddlers' play areas. (p. 27)

Saile, 1972

"Drying areas and the paths and grass just outside of the kitchen accommodate 40% of all activities observed: toddlers' play, sitting out by all ages, routes to and from the kitchen door, drying clothes, minor repair, and so on." (p. 32)

Newman, 1975

"Of all the mechanisms that contribute to the creation of zones of influence, number is the key. The fewer families that share the entry to a building, the greater will be each families association with the grounds below and the greater will be their desire and ability to participate in maintaining the grounds and guaranteeing safety." (p. 106)

Cooper, 1970

"The degree of neighboring in St. Francis Square was intense. 99% of all families knew one or more other families on their stairwell enough to say hello to; more than 3/4 knew all five other families." (p. 10)

Boston Housing Authority, 1981

"Units at the base of the mid-rise buildings and in the low-rise buildings will, to the extent possible, have private entries at grade. These private entries shall have a residential feel and clear delineation between semi-private and public space."

"Access to Units--(units on the upper floors ...accessed through common vestibules and lobbies.) Covered entrances marking the transition zone from public to semi-private space should be considered. The lobby areas shall be clearly visible from outside for security." (pp. K-1.1/1.2)

"All entries in the mid-rises and the entries of handicapped low-rise units must comply with all pertinent architectural barrier requirements." (p. K-1.6)

Cooper, 1970

"Groups of all 6 units on a stairwell become a voting unit, because of shared problems like storage and trash in the halls." (p. 9)

"One of the most frequent initial contacts of new residents in the Square was one of the other five families sharing the same entry stairway (6 apts. on a 3 story stair) '....The coop organization arranged that each stairway would select a representative to act as spokesman for that group to certain coop meetings...two-thirds of those interviewed reported that they had at some time gotten together with other families on their stair to decorate, clean, or paint the hallway and stairs. It is clear from casual observation that the degree of this cooperation and feeling of 'togetherness' among stairway residents varies considerably. In some cases the hall is poorly kept up...in other cases (there are decorations like small tables with bowls of flowers, and pictures.)" (pp. 8-9)

"The biggest problem for residents was kids dropping litter and trash when they carried garbage out. Almost one-half the respondents mentioned this." (p. 9)

APPENDIX D:

RESEARCH REVIEW: SERVICE SUPPORTS AND FACILITIES

1. Site Level Supports and Facilities
2. Village Level Supports and Facilities
3. Building Level Supports and Facilities
4. Address Level Supports and Facilities

D. RESEARCH REVIEW: SERVICE SUPPORTS AND FACILITIES

1. Site Level

Zeisel, 1981

"A sense of community among residents of a housing development is often induced more by joint action on common problems and shared conflicts than by environments in which people's homes are physically grouped. Nevertheless an environment can play a role in providing residents with information about meetings and events of common interest." (p. 21)

Chicago Housing Authority Survey, 1970

"CHA's record in providing on-site space for community services...follows the guidelines of the Federal and State governments...These policies permitted provision of community space on site only where facilities in the surrounding community did not meet the need." (p. 32)

"The aim should be to encourage and help the residents to take on more responsibility by forming independent corporations to operate laundries, beauty shops, credit unions and stores, and to operate some direct social welfare services such as day care centers, leisure-time programs for children." (p. 53)

Diaz, 1979

"A tenant strike or severe conflict situation between tenants and the housing authority can serve as the genesis for tenant management." (p. 176)

"How many committed, enthusiastic Joan Howells, Sharlene Belangers, Barons and McCormacks, or Ellis Ashs are there to buoy tenant management programs during difficult stages?...experience shows that such people seem to be key ingredients to the successful implementation of tenant management." (p. 153

Chicago Housing Authority, 1979

"The Robert Taylor Homes, Inc. was an independent group of women who operated the laundromat facilities in Robert Taylor Homes and which provided social and educational activities for the members." (p. 163)

"The bulk of the self-sponsored community service activities were of social and recreational nature: Little Leagues, Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts, Children's library, tutoring groups, children's and teen-age clubs and interest groups (arts and crafts, bands, etc.), tot lots, trips, fairs, and other special events, skating, athletic, etc. Some were educational in a more or less formal sense, especially tutoring and study help." (pp. 164-165)

Alexander, 1977

"We believe that small self-governing groups are not only most efficient, but also the only possible source of job satisfaction. They provide the only style of work that is nourishing and intrinsically satisfying.
Therefore: encourage the formation of self-governing workshops and offices of 5-20 workers. Make each group autonomous--with

respect to organization, style, relation to other groups, firing and hiring, work schedule. Where the work is complicated, and requires larger organization, several of these work groups can federate and cooperate to produce complex artifacts and services." (pp. 402-403)

Diaz, 1979

"In the final report on the demonstration, Shannon and Luchs draw a number of instructive conclusions from the experience.

It is possible to develop and sustain a pattern of resident participation in management.

Management can 'learn to adjust its traditional role to accommodate the participation of residents in the management process.' The report noted, however, that management was 'more time consuming and emotionally draining" as a result of tenant involvement though the' rewards compensated for this effort." (p. 35)

Chicago Housing Authority, 1970

"'The following specific suggestions were prepared by the Residents' Advisory Committee which has been a most valuable aid in the development of the survey findings.

1. A committee of women residents should be appointed for the purpose of inspecting a sample of new refrigerators, stoves and other equipment before it is purchased by CHA.
4. Residents should be informed of the specific responsibilities of the janitors--what they can do and cannot do, their hours of work, etc.
8. The clause making it possible for janitors and other CHA staff to enter apartments without permission should be deleted from the lease.
9. Resident newspapers and leaflets should be used to inform residents of the service to which they are entitled." (pp. 54-55)

Rowan, 1970

"...to encourage tenant initiated maintenance efforts, inducements might be offered...in the form of materials, tools and equipment that may be borrowed, training and counselling services, and even extra manpower if required--in the form of an organized manpower pool drawn from low employment households, vista volunteers or local service organizations."

"The high-employment families represent those that might be able to take of maintenance responsibilities within time availability constraints, while the low employment families constitute a labor pool available, potentially, for "force account" (tenant) maintenance and rehabilitation projects. Since such families are also associated with lower income levels, compensation for such services would also end to raise their per-capita income

"(This study) suggests measures such as raising the upper eligibility limits on family earnings; providing tenants with the opportunity to supplement their income --without penalty--through compensation for the performance of maintenance,

improvement or management tasks (equity through shares in the development might be substituted for monetary compensation in a manner similar to the Turnkey 3 program); or a number of other means."

Chicago Housing Authority, 1970

"Some aides have organized groups of young adults and adults in the hope that these groups could be related later to ongoing agency programs. In some situations this leadership function was continued for an indefinite period of time since whether the group did not want to transfer to an agency or the agency did not have the space or the staff resources to assume responsibility for the group." (p. 158)

Chicago Housing Authority, 1970

"CHA has made considerable progress during the last two years in involving residents in CHA operations. Residents in significant numbers have been employed on the CHA staff as maintenance workers, clerical workers, newspaper reporters, and community representatives...
Attention should be given to such short-term objectives as increasing the number of residents on agency boards and committees, increasing the number of residents employed by agencies and involving residents' groups on evaluation of programs." (p. 28)

Diaz, 1979

"One of the responsibilities of TAB members was to develop tenant associations at their respective developments. These were built upon rudimentary ad hoc groups that had emerged in the rent strike." (p. 102)

Chicago Housing Authority, 1970

"Planning for the location of facilities should be directly related to the wishes of the people who will use the services and to developing better relations between public housing residents and the total community..." (p. 34)

"Resident Advisory Committees have been established at each management unit. Residents have been encouraged and helped to be responsible for a wide range of activities such as Little Leagues; tutoring classes; sponsorship of Boy Scouts and Girl Scout groups; teen-age clubs; trips, fairs and other special events. Residents have also organized other self-help projects such as cooperative buying clubs and cooperative laundries." (p. 28)

"Another type of independent organization was the Altgeld Murray Community Council which was organized to unite the efforts of the residents living in Altgeld Gardens-Murray Homes with the organized groups and service agencies in improving living conditions." (p. 163)

Hipsham, 1967

"Meeting space should be made available in each project. Regular "gripe sessions" between tenants and managers could facilitate mutual understanding, particularly if the managers themselves understand that expressions of tenant disatisfaction are not a reflection on them." (p. 125)

Chicago Housing Authority, 1970

"When asked whether they would make use of a good day care center program in the vicinity, 55 percent of the families indicated they probably would. Somewhat over half of these would apparently use "full-time" day care, or roughly between one-fourth and one-third of all families with children under six years. (about the same proportion of mothers indicate they would seek work or job training under such arrangements.)" (p. 228)

Alexander, 1977

(Features of a Town Hall:)

"1. It is a community territory for the group it serves; it is made in a way which invites people in for service, spontaneously, to debate policy, and the open space around the building is shaped to sustain people gathering and lingering.
2. It is located in the heart of the local community and is within walking distance of everyone it serves." (pp. 237-238)

"A lively process of community self-government depends on an endless series of ad hoc political and service groups, functioning freely, each with a proper chance to test its ideas before the townspeople. The spatial component of this idea is crucial. Allow the growth of shop-size spaces around the local town hall and any other appropriate community building. Front these shops on a busy path, and lease them for a minimum rent to ad hoc community groups for service, or political work, trial services, research, and advocate groups." (p. 243)

Newman, 1975

"As a design tool, symbolic barriers achieve their greatest utility when used to define boundaries of zones of transition...Symbolic barriers include elements like low fences, shrubs, steps, changes in ground level, changes in paving texture, light standards, open portals and so on." (p. 109)

"Real barriers include elements like buildings, fences and walls. They require entrants to possess mechanical opening devices, etc..." (p. 108)

Boston Housing Authority, 1981

"Surface material for all areas shall be designed and selected to be appropriate for the intended uses and to be easily maintained. Hard surfaces are to be avoided in areas where such surfaces may be hazardous to children at play (i.e. under swing sets). All lawn areas should be sodded so as to provide the development with a finished appearance." (pp. K-2.2, 2.3)

"There currently exists a problem of speeding cars on this street. Various options should be explored to make this street safe for children and parked cars. Cross walks shall be coordinated with pedestrian paths and material changes should demonstrate the crossing." (p. K1-3)

Cooper, 1978

"Ignored by designers and housing agencies are repeated surveys in residential areas of all types and income groups which show that most people select a place to live in as much by overall neighborhood appearance as by the individual house, and that greenery and quality maintenance rank very high in neighborhood attractiveness." (p. 54)

Cooper, 1970

"Residents at St. Francis Square preferred trees over larger living room or larger kitchen. 70% rated landscape as "very important." (p. 4)

"More than 90% thought that the way the outdoor areas looked at St. Francis Square made a difference in how they felt about the place as a whole. The greenery made the whole place seem alive, 'feel good', less like a 'project'." (p. 4-5)

Boston Housing Authority

"The color of the lighting should be considered. Lamps should be of the same type wherever practicable. Avoid mixing types within an area except where necessary to provide color balance." (pp. K-2.18-2.19)

Boston Housing Authority

"Long-life high pressure sodium lamps should be used wherever possible, and will be required for all fixtures where relamping will requre special equipment. All lamps shall be protected from vandalism by height, location shatterproof lenses and diffusers, solid construction, guards, rigid mounting, or any combination of the foregoing. Fixtures may be pole mounted, mounted on building walls and soffits, bollard types, or built into site structures and improvements." (pp. K-2.18-2.19)

"Site activity areas must be fully equipped with durable furnishings and equipment, selected and distributed throughout the development to provide a variety of recreational options suited to the needs of residents." (p. K-2.3)

"Landscaping--The attractive and sensitive design of the site is one of the most critical means of establishing resident satisfaction. The site must be seen as a unified design: every portion of the site must be dealt with and programmed." (p. K-2.3)

"The use of a wide range of paving and edging material is encouraged to give variety to the site. A system should be established coordinating shape, texture, and color of these materials with the overall site plan." (p. K-2.3)

"The appropriate illumination of all portions of the site is critical to the success of the redevelopment effort. Proper lighting design will complement the building, increase the usefulness of recreation and activity areas, provide identification of circulation, building entrances and like features, and enhance security without interfering with residents within the buildings."

"Developers are encouraged to arrange for ...pole lighting for roadways, drivers and parking lots...All pole lights must be protected from vehicular damage by appropriate barriers or raised concrete bases." (pp. K-2.18-2.19)

2. Village Level

Alexander, 1977

"We know that this center of activity, since it is a service, should occur in the boundary between subcultures, should help to form the boundary between subcultures, and should therefore be located in the area of the boundary--not inside: the community, but between communities." (p. 151)

"Set up a playground for the children in each neighborhood. Not a highly finished playground, with asphalt and swings, but a place with raw materials of all kinds--nets, boxes, barrels, trees, ropes, simple tools, frames, grass, and water--where children can create and recreate playgrounds of their onw." (pp. 369-370)

Cooper, 1975

"Ample research from case studies of residential areas indicates that...preschool children play more frequently in and around the entry to their house, and that children of all ages play more frequently on hard surfaces than on soft surfaces," (p. 53)

Zeisel, 1981

"Residents often spend more time maintaining their cars while meeting friends in parking areas near their dwelling unit. Residents dislike parking lots that are not designed to allow them to wash and maintain their car. These are needs especially of teenagers. Some guidelines propose including lockable storage compartments in parking areas but not too far from the dwelling unit to be certain they are used." (p. 19)

Becker, 1974

"Becker found that both teenagers and adults used parking lots to maintain their cars and meet people. Researchers observed up to 60% of all teenagers in a housing development and up to 18% of all adult outtoors at one time period." (pp. 140a-140b)

Alexander, 1977

"Since we certainly want the community to correspond with the catch basin of its 'center', it is possible, then, that the center be placed off-center, in fact, at that point in the community which lies toward the center of the larger city." (p. 152)

"Centralized Service programs reached very few people in their target areas; the staff of these centers quickly took on the red tape mentality, even where they were chosen specifically to support neighborhood programs; and, most discouraging of all, the centers themselves were seen as alien places and the experience of using them was,

on the whole, debilitating to the people ...Like all syndromes, this one can only be broken if it is attacked on its several fronts simultaneously. This means, for example, organizing neighborhoods and communities to take control of the functions that concern them; revising city charters to grant control to local groups; and making places in communities and neighborhoods, that set up home bases for the consolidation of this power--the local town halls." (pp. 238-239)

Vogelsang, 1974

"Interdependence of neighbors is fully as important as professional services. House committees of tenants provide a valuable service to management and to each other: visiting the sick, reporting situations that need attention; taking maintenance complaints; providing food for the convalescent, flowers for those who die; guides for visitors; and sources of general information. In short, by care in tenant selection, provision of a thoughtful environment, adroitness in indication how one can help the other, activities and motivation to participate, companionship, emotional support and security, we achieve our goal... the applicants' skills, interests, and former work patterns will alert the manager to volunteer possibilities of teaching skills to others or providing help as needed." (p. 150)

Chicago Housing Authority, 1970

"Clear divisions of responsibility between agencies using the space and CHA have been determined and included in the leases. The only serious problem of maintenance has occurred in the use of social rooms and deprogrammed apartments that are shared on a scheduled basis by resident groups, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. In these cases no clear responsibility for maintenance can be determined and it has become a point of concern for residents." (p. 34)

"CHA's experience paralleled that of housing authorities in other cities. The demand for community facilities was so great that the original community buildings and social rooms were not sufficient to meet the need to house agency services and the activities of residents' groups. Consequently, additional space was found in basements of high-rise buildings and converted into social rooms...Later, apartments on the first and second floors were converted into community space. At the time of the survey, CHA had made available to agencies and resident groups 23 community buildings, 68 social rooms, and 297 deprogrammed apartments." (p. 33)

"It is recommended that the providers meet regularly in each neighborhood housing unit for the purposes of working out improved patterns of cooperative care, and communication with residents about how this is to be delivered." (p. 37)

Diaz, 1979

"More diffuse, long-term benefits which have occurred in these programs may not provide sufficient incentives to

participate." (p. 185)

Alexander, 1977

"Bernard Bass (Organizational Psychology, Boston: Allyn, 1965, p. 200) has conducted an experiment relating group size to participation...(his results show that) there is no particularly natural threshold for group size; but it is clear that the number who never talk climbs very rapidly. In a group of 12 one person never talks. In a group of 24, there are six people who never talk... (We found) that the spatial distribution of meeting rooms is often as poorly adapted to the actual meetings as the size distribution. (In comparing) the distribution of classrooms in different sectors of the University of Oregon with the distribution of faculty and student offices, (it was found that) the meetings work best when the meeting rooms are fairly near the participants offices. The discussions which began in the meeting rooms are able to continue in the office or the laboratory. When the meeting rooms are a long walk from offices, the chances of this kind of informal business are drastically reduced. Therefore: Make at least 70% of all meeting rooms really small, for 12 people or less, locate them in the most public parts of the building, usually scattered among the work place." (pp. 713-715)

Boston Housing Authority

"Fencing shall be provided to define private yards and functional areas, screen equipment, and increase security for the development. Types of fencing used must be selected for durability and function. Plantings, such as hedges, used to define yards shall be reinforced with durable fencing...

Service walks, service entries, archways, and similar areas shall be adequately illuminated so as to permit supervision from the buildings by the residents." (p. K-2.18-2.19)

Cooper, 1975

"Near houses that faced onto shared courts ...children's play created noise problems. Space on shared courts was shared space and the boundary between the court and a resident's 'front yard' was not determined; fencing of front yards was not allowed. (p. 77)

Newman, 1975

"Tot lots should be designed with clearly demarcated peripheries so as to both protect the activities taking place within them and to discourage very young children from wandering off...

...Small children, one to five years of age, have been found to show a preference for playing in outdoor areas immediately adjacent to their dwellings--preferably just outside the door--in both single-family dwelling units and in multiple dwellings...Such facilities can also serve to create a semiprivate buffer zone separating the private zone of the building interior from the more public zones of the

project and surrounding street...This juxtaposition of interior and exterior facilities provides the opportunity for easy, continuous monitoring of outdoor areas by residents within the building. An additional security benefit accrues from this juxtaposition: the entry to the building now also falls under the continuous observation of residents." (pp. 112-113)

3. Building Level

Chicago Housing Authority, 1970

"The largest development, Robert Taylor Homes, had 28 residents' building councils and 18 teen-age councils which were represented on the Resident Council. These groups dealt most directly with routine matters of security and maintanance as well as community service. These building groups usually received staff assistance from community and tenant relations aides." (p. 162)

Diaz, 1979

"While monthly meetings of individual building residents are encouraged, performance has been uneven: some groups have met frequently, others seldom, if at all. Involvement of the tenants, if it occurs, happens primarily through the elected board members, each of whom, as noted, is assigned to organize and remain in touch with particular buildings at the development."

Rowan, 1970

"The Public Space Study also showed... that high turnover rate concentrations were generally associated with poor physical condition. Confined to specific buildings, such concentrations came about, initially, because longer term residents also tended to cluster in specific buildings--keeping apartments in those buildings off the rental market. Perhaps it serves to identify a user group who, under a policy of differential maintenance service based on need, should receive a greater than average share--those in residence over 12 years. One would think, however, that this group, after a long history of relationships with management, might already be receiving special services."

Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Feasibility Report, 1970

"The conclusion of this effort should mark the beginning of the Bromley-Heath Tenants Organization whose initial base would consist of building captains participating in the campaign and members of the Interim Tenant Committee. During the first several months of the BHTO, emphasis would be placed in two areas:
(1) the organization of other buildings culminating in the election of building representatives to the BHTO
-and
(2) the development of programmatic efforts around critical issues at Bromley-Heath." (p. 42)

"The sharing of responsibilities and the maximizing of the control of services by the tenants, leads to a new relationship between the BHA and the Bromley-Heath tenants. The basic instrument for this relationship is the "management agreement" between a tenant Management Corporation and the BHA. Such an agreement would give the tenants the legal authority to provide all management and maintanance services to their buildings." (p. 31)

Rowan, 1970

"...to avoid interfering with the propinquity necessary for the development of the peer group networks of similarly tenured families, it is felt that larger apartments may still be evenly distributed without undue separation of similar sized small to medium apartments likely to be occupied by those in the later life cycle stages."

"The evidence, disclosed by the Public Space Study, that clusters of similarly long term tenured families may be conducive to improved conditions in the collective environment does, however, suggest(s)...that policy measures aimed at encouraging such clusters should be developed. What kind of environment might encourage tenure clusters?
First, since such clusters appear to occur within single buildings, it suggests that propinquity is an important factor in the development of the kine of social network conducive to bringing collective action to bear on the environment. The relationship between tenure and age...implies that such tenure clusters may also be made up of similar peer groups who may share the same life cycle stage."

Newman, 1975

"All other things being equal, the smaller the number of individuals required to share a particular facility, the greater will be each individual's feeling of possession.
For example, if a site planner can provide 10 pieces of play equipment for the use of 100 families, he can either place all 10 in one central area to serve the entire 100 families, or he can divide up the 10 pieces of equipment so that each piece is assigned for the use of a specific group of 10 families. The second choice is the preferred one to ensure both the use of the equipment and its longevity. (p. 106)
However, not all amenities can be allocated with this range of choice. Some large facilities, such as basketball courts or ball fields, must serve a large group of families to justify their inclusion in a site plan. However, rather than group two or three such large facilities together, as is commonly done, it is better to assign each of them to the smallest possible group of families." (p. 106)

Boston Housing Authority, 1981

"Services--Consideration must be given to the removal of trash from the buildings without conflict with high activity areas (i.e., playgrounds, tot lots, etc.).

Provision shall be made for the safe storing of individual trash cans if they are used by the 3,4 and 5 bedroom units." (Appendix K)

Cooper, 1970

"Residents did not mind walking a little further to garbage cans at the side of apartments rather than have them close-at-hand. The cans were smelly because of inadequate collection." (Zeisel, 1981 p. 88)

Saulter, 1969

"Of 168 respondents (n=168) the following numbers reported each type of yard use: In general, evening use was heavy (Appendix).

61 sitting
44 playing (especially children)
35 cooking and eating
11 gardening
9 entertaining
3 storage
4 other" (Zeisel, 1981, p. 58)

Zeisel, 1981

"When provided, balconies are almost always used for storing certain items year-round, such as outdoor furniture and maintanance equipment. Residents state that they prefer to leave certain items outside--wet mops, cleaning equipment, and so on--for reasons of dwelling unit maintenance. Other items, such as barbeques and outdoor furniture become part of a family's as a result of having an outdoor space." (p. 62)

Zeisel and Griffin, 1975

"39% of interviewed families (n=56) did store objects in 6-unit stairwells. Of families with children (n=36) 53% stored objects in stairwells. Of families without children (n=20) none (9%) stored objects in stairwells...
Larger families (4 or more children) store objects in stairwells more than smaller families (3 or less children)...
Families who live on the third floor with a landing that is exclusively theirs tend to store objects there more than families on the first and second floor. This is true for larger and smaller families." (p. 64)

Rowan, 1970

"Consequently, most of the improvement indicators were extra-functional (painting, applying wall or floor surface materials, etc.): the kinds of tasks that most tenants can perform with few tools and almost no training. What this suggests is that, if maintenance assignments are reallocated among existing staff and tenants, the former might be able to concentrate on the more functional problems, while tenants take over a portion of the tasks related to more extra-functional environmental aspects."

Cooper, 1970

"In St. Francis Square, residents had problems storing trunks, suitcases, appliances, furniture, rarely-used items and brooms. Half the respondents felt that there was not enough storage." (p. 24)

Department of the Environment, 1971b

"Almost all tenants had large items to store--whether they lived in houses or apartments. When there was place provided for bulk storage--whether a garage or a large closet--residents were satisfied." (pp. 50-51)

Zeisel, 1981

"Families...need to store objects... snow tires, camping equipment, bicycles, and barbeque grills...items, like bicycles and baby carriages, demand daily storage and immediate access. If secure places are not available...near the home, they will end up in the way of traffic and other activities..." (p. 88)

Cooper, 1972

"Over 1/2 of the respondents with basements use them for storage." (p. 31)

"Front porches that are enclosed at the top are ideal for storing non-waterproof objects such as furniture." (p. 86)

Cooper, 1974

"Over 81% of the residents on both high and low rise buildings wanted age-separated play facilities, with appropriate equipment for different aged children." (p. 23)

Cooper, 1975

"Lawn: 54% of respondents preferred to take care of front lawns rather than Housing Authority." (p. 310)

"Gardening: The degree to which gardens were developed (32% of respondents) seemed to be directly related to the length of stay of the residents." (p. 85)

"Repairs: 38% of all respondents used their yards for repair jobs." (p. 310)

Hipsham, 1967

Apartments are painted for new tenants, if they are in bad condition: old tenants are sometimes given paint to paint their own. (p. 115)

Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Feasibility Report, 1970

"Maintanance procedures at Bromley Heath are often ill defined and in many cases appear not to exist..."

"Tenants in Bromley-Heath as in all BHA projects, are expected to perform janitorial functions in their buildings. This policy extends to all residents, even occupants of dwelling units for the elderly, for whom it is clearly unreasonable." (p. 10)

"Tenants surveyed, with few exceptions, replied, "no" to the question of whether tenants should be asked to clean their halls." (p. 11)

"Some tenants demonstrate their animosity towards management by being pointedly uncooperative whenever they have the opportunity. This inconveniences management but inconviences for management are

ultimately paid for by the tenants in the form of poor service." (p. 23)

Hipsham, 1967

"Among existing regulations, the following might well be reconsidered: the prohibition of all pets (surely birds and fish, at least, might be exempted); the ban against personal touches such as window boxes, shelves, and pictures; the prohibition of the installation of extra locks, which are often needed both for actual and psychological security." (p. 124)

"Tenants' present responsibility to clean public halls should either be eliminated (since it is a constant source of friction, and the job is customarily done haphazardly and resentfully) or different means found to gain tenant acceptance and cooperation." (p. 125)

"Most tenant complaints regarding maintenance concern the general indifference of maintenance personnel and the length of time it takes maintanance men to respond to requests for repairs within individual apartments." (p. 125)

Alexander, 1970

"Consciously or unconsciously, a person walking works out his path some distance ahead, so as to take the shortest path. (See T. Porter, A Study of Path Choosing Behaviour, University of California, Berkeley, 1964)...
Locate the entrances so that once the building comes into view, the entrance, too, comes into view; and the path toward the entrance is not more than 50 feet along the building." (p. 540)

Boston Housing Authority, 1981

"Building appearance--The buildings shall be differentiated in such a way as to create a residential image and scale. This can be achieved through several means including, individually designed entrances, color, variety of planting and window variation." (p. K1-1)

"The roofing of the low rise buildings must be replaced. This fact, along with the continual maintenance problems of flat roofs and the need for substantially increased insulation, warrants the examination of a pitched roof solution."

Alexander, 1977

"Arrange the roofs so that each distinct roof corresponds to an identifiable social entity in the building or building complex."

Boston Housing Authority, 1981

"Make sidewalks wider at building entrances and intersections. Sitting 'nodes' should be situated along pedestrian circulation systems. It is imperative that major pedestrian paths bypass the elderly buildings and clear buffers are created to keep children out of those site areas reserved for elderly use." (P. K1-2)

Alexander, 1977

"If you are planting trees, plant them

according to their nature, to form enclosures, avenues, squares, groves, and single spreading trees toward the middle of open spaces. And shape the nearby buildings in response to the trees, so that the trees themselves, and the trees and buildings together, form places which people can use." (p. 800)

ERDF, 1971

"Even police and firemen cannot find addresses" at Arrowhead...
On 21 occasions, in a four-week period, 34 persons were observed having difficulty in locating addresses in Arrowhead." (p. 115)
Suggestions include: color coding, kiosks, and information signs."

Becker, 1974

"Becker found that both teenagers and adults used parking lots to maintain their cars and meet people. Researchers observed up to 60% of all teenagers in a housing development and up to 18% of all adults outdoors at one time period." (pp. 140a-140b)

Taylor, 1978

"Young adults (ages 20-30), especially males, sought out places of high publicity and immediacy to their peers--a chance to be out-front, which indicated that their special "theatres" might be disposed along routes which assured them high visibility." (p. 403)

Zeisel et al., 1981

"Residents often spend time maintaining their cars while meeting friends in parking areas near their dwelling unit. Residents dislike parking lots that are not designed to allow them to wash and maintain their car. These are needs especially of teenagers. Some guidelines propose including lockable storage compartments in parking areas but not too far from the dwelling unit to be certain they are used." (p. 19)

Saile et al., 1972

"In two housing developments the major worry of parents about children's play outside is "trouble with older children", 54% in Orton Keyes and 41% in Fairgrounds Valley." (p. 38)

ERDF, 1971

"The authors recommend both basketball courts and larger fields for teenagers to play football so that these older children will not disrupt the recreational activities of young children playing near their dwellings." (p. 99)

Zeisel, 1981

"For use as a display case, building edge areas...must be clearly identified with a particular unit or unit cluster, separable from public areas, and easily accessible from a unit. The resident display ...contributes greatly to the sites' image in the minds of the residents as well as outsiders...

Residents use the outside wall of where they live--windows and doors to... identify themselves...(name sign on the door) and express group solidarity and membership to neighbors." (p. 76)

Saile, 1972

"Drying areas and the paths and grass just outside of the kitchen accommodate 40% of all activities observed: toddlers' play, sitting out by all ages, routes to and from the kitchen door, drying clothes, minor repair, and so on." (p. 32)

Zeisel,

"The more residents feel that they can use a physical space as they like (for such things as sitting out) and can change it physically to reflect their personal tastes, the more likely they are to maintain it...
The more a place seems like it belongs to someone',...neighbors and outsiders alike...will be less likely to invade it and mess it up. Residents tend to develop a sense of territory more easily about places which: only they pass through, they have direct physical access to, they can see from living areas of the unit, others can identify as theirs, and which can be or are already somewhat separated from places shared by a larger group of people." (p. 53)

4. Address Levels

Cooper, 1965

"Front yards in Easter Hill Village served as a buffer between units and the sidewalk. But because the boundary between sidewalk and yard was not clearly delineated, the buffering did not work well." (p. 74)

Cooper, 1967

"One-half of the residents of Easter Hill Village would have preferred some front yard fencing." (Zeisel, 1981, p. 56)

Ray et al., 1972

"Residents ranked backyard fencing second out of 20 in importance as a modernization feature." (p. 16)

Zeisel et al., 1981

When outdoor spaces adjacent to dwellings are not clearly marked as belonging to a particular dwelling unit, outsiders tend to use it as if it were an extension of public area. This is seen as an intrusion by residents, minimizing their use of these places, and maximizing potential conflict. (p. 55)

Boston Housing Authority

"Lighting of pedestrian walkways shall provide adequate illumination of walks and surrounding areas to provide security and surrounding areas to provide security and safety, without glare, excessive brightness, or inappropriate overspill. Lighting must highlight stairs, ramps,

grade changes, and other hazards. Building entries shall be lighted for security consistent with design, as shall common interior areas visible from the exterior." (pp. K 2.18-2.19)

Alexander, 1977

"Make a transition space between the street and the front door. Bring the path which connects the street and entrance through this transition space, and mark it with a change of light, change of sound, change direction, a change of surface, a change of level, perhaps by gateways...." (p. 552)

Mautz and Kaplan, 1974

"Display and individualization is quite evident by virtue of such things as distinguishing doors." (p. 77)

Zeisel, 1981

"For apartment dwellers above the ground, the outside wall represents the symbolic equivalent of a front yard in a single family house. The more difficult it is for residents to use doors, the more anonymous and uncontrolled these outside spaces will feel." (p. 76)

Alexander, 1977

"Build a special bench outside the front door where people from inside can sit comfortably for hours on end and watch the world go by. Place the bench to define a half-private domain in front of the house. A low wall, planting a tree, can help to create the same domain." (p. 1123)

Cooper, 1975

"Residents used their front porch for display by keeping plants there, by painting porches individual colors, and by designing them specially. They also used backyards and front yards for display." (p. 91)

Zeisel, 1981

"Residents use the outside wall of where they live--windows, and doors--to communicate to others in a similar way. They identify themselves to others (name sign on the door) and express group solidarity and membership to neighbors (Christmas trees and ethnic statues in windows, political posters on door)." (p. 76)

Cooper, 1975

"Gardening in the backyard was in expression and display of creativity for residents." (p. 89)

Becker, 1974

"Placing potted plants, decorative fences, hanging objects outside, making small flower gardens, and buying lawn furniture were the most common types of personalization." (p. 144)

Cooper, 1978

"Surveyed residents wanted the exteriors of their houses to look different from those on either side, and the architects did good jobs of creating identity on tight

budgets. In fact, the designers' work on the building facades was their most significant contribution to the improvement of the overall environment. To individualize units, the architects separated houses with white battens and painted 2 adjacent units in varying earth tones. (Existing studies show that color is the architectural feature most readily perceived by non-designers.) Porch roofs, formerly flat and sometimes used for storage or illegal access to upper windows, were pitched and reshingled in warm terra cotta tones." (p. 51)

Cooper, 1970

"A trade off question was asked, in which respondents living in low rise, walk up houses had to say how they would have chosen--at the design and planning stage --if they had had the choice between trees or a larger living room, trees or a larger kitchen, etc. In every case, 60% or more opted for trees rather than improvement in the apartment. The items which were most frequently chosen in place of trees were those features missing from the apartment which caused some people concern: notably, a separate DR. space in the K for a washing machine, and a private garage." (p. 5)

Zeisel, 1981

"One major use residents make of space outside the unit which they feel is their territory is to communicate to others--planting and maintaining flowers which say they are good neighbors, sings which identify who they are, religious statuary which say they are members in good standing of another type of community." (p. 76)

Department of the Environment, 1969

"A design recommendation about landscaping for flats: "Housewives and old people who are home all day and have no gardens of their own will welcome sitting out places sheltered from the wind and sited well away from children's play spaces" and made to look like spaces-not-for-play." (p. 4)

Boston Housing Authority, 1981

"Individual building and unit identification is critical to the BHA, and is an important aspect of the redevelopment. Manipulation of color, window sizes, entryways, window boxes, sinage, etc. is encouraged. However, the aesthetic concern shall in no way come before the liveability criteria outlined in this package. The developer shall make every effort to satisfy liveability and aesthetic goals simultaneously." (p. K 1-6)

Newman, 1975

"The entries to buildings and the paths approaching them should be directly related to the grounds areas assigned to particular residents. Play and parking areas should be placed within these defined zones, as this will further assist residents in adopting proprietary attitudes and in exerting their territorial perogatives. These attitudes on the part of residents will, in turn, serve as natural deterrants to

crime and vandalism." (p. 107)

Boston Housing Authority, 1981

"The entries of all buildings should be designed to facilitate easy identification for residents, postmen, delivermen, etc. Supergraphics are not a suitable way to accomplish this." (p. K 1-6)

"All units having direct access to grade shall have new entry designs incorporating stairs, railings, landings, etc. Each entry shall have a covered landing, an entry light, mailbox, and unit number which is a street address. Care must be taken in design and materials selection to avoid an institutional and repetitive design while carefully responding to issues of maintenance and durability. The existing common entranceways and associated stonework are to be removed completely unless they are thoughtfully reused as individual entries." (pp. K 1-7)

Zeisel, 1981

"Conflicts often result from lack of definition of private and public areas and lack of adequate sound insulation between public access areas and adjacent dwelling units." (p. 69)

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