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**THE MEANING AND EFFECTS OF HIGHRISE LIVING FOR THE MIDDLE
INCOME FAMILY: A STUDY OF THREE HIGHRISE SITES IN NEW
YORK CITY**

City University of New York

PH.D. 1982

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THE MEANING AND EFFECTS OF HIGHRISE LIVING
FOR THE MIDDLE INCOME FAMILY:
A STUDY OF THREE HIGHRISE SITES
IN NEW YORK CITY
by
ELIZABETH A. MACKINTOSH

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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University of New York.

1982

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1982

This manuscript had been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

THE MEANING AND EFFECTS OF HIGHRISE LIVING

FOR THE MIDDLE INCOME FAMILY:

A STUDY OF THREE HIGHRISE SITES

IN NEW YORK CITY

by

Elizabeth A. Mackintosh

Adviser: Professor Susan Saegert

The study was designed to investigate whether or not the widespread condemnation of highrise housing for young families is justified. Past research had found that highrises had many detrimental effects. Governments have restricted or prohibited the construction of highrise housing for families. Because most research on highrises has been conducted on low income populations in poorly designed buildings, and/or in bad neighborhoods, generalizations from such research are questionable.

The study sample consisted of 120 people living at three different middle income highrise sites with excellent reputations located in a good neighborhood. Husbands and wives who had at least one young child were interviewed and filled out questionnaires and time budgets.

The study found high levels of satisfaction with the city, the housing development and the apartment. Most of the sample had no moving plans and felt their ideal home was in the city, not the suburbs. The two demographic groups most attracted to urban highrise living were

families with employed women and people who had grown up in apartments.

People selected the sites to match their self-images and aspirations based on what each site had to offer. Despite this self-selection, levels of satisfaction varied at each site indicating that certain features provided more fulfillment than others.

Design features had a significant effect. More children in the two highrise sites with outdoor play facilities were allowed outside alone and at an earlier age than those in single buildings with no play facilities. Terrace play areas whose access was limited to only residents were the most utilized. Fewer children from upper floors were allowed out alone than those from lower floors. Upper floor families were less satisfied with their housing and reported more tension than lower floor families. However, people preferred living on high floors because of the light, views, and safety. Families in apartments with high densities complained most of crowding and were less satisfied with their housing.

The study findings indicate that highrise housing should not be stereotyped and that well designed and well managed middle income high-rises can provide satisfactory environments for families with young children.

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E. A. M.

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1970, the governments of highly industrialized countries the world over have been putting restrictions on the construction of highrise housing for families with children because of its reported detrimental effects on such households. In the United States, housing construction guidelines for Section 8 housing in the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 state: "Highrise elevator projects for families with children may not be utilized unless HUD determines there is no practical alternative" (U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1974, p. 40671). Design criteria for moderate and middle income government-aided housing in New York State specify: "Whenever possible, concentrate the placement of large apartments on lower floors to maximize surveillance of outdoor space and minimize the need for children to use elevators" (City of New York, n.d., p. 13). Clare Cooper, a well-regarded researcher on the social implications of housing design, has declared: "Highrise is most unsuited for families with children under five as presently designed" (Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975, p. 2).

Even stronger statements come from other countries. The Department of the Environment in England states: "For some groups, e.g. families with small children, all the evidence shows without doubt that this is an unsuitable form of accommodation" (Adams and Conway, 1975, p. 9). The British government is in fact in the process of translating this conclusion into policy: "It is now generally accepted that families with children should not live in highrise dwellings and local authorities are

now building their family dwellings on the ground wherever possible" (Adams and Conway, 1975, memo). In the mid-1970's, the construction of highrise buildings in Denmark and Sweden stopped, as a result of publicity campaigns on the negative effects of highrise living (Michaelson, 1976). In Greece, Doxiadis held a special symposium on the topic in 1971 and according to him, "A great movement has started since then presenting the many detrimental aspects of these buildings by many experts from all over the world" (Doxiadis, 1974, p. 136). Doxiadis states emphatically, "We cannot have the Anthropopolis [City for Human Development] with highrise blocks of apartments" (Doxiadis, 1974, p. 136).

The problem is whether or not such a full scale condemnation of highrise buildings is justified. Generalizations on environments such as "cities are alienating" or "suburbs cause conformity and frenetic neighboring" have, with careful research, usually been shown to be simplistic and require modifications, such as "some people in some cities feel alienated under certain conditions;" or "some individuals in particular suburbs conform or participate in hectic neighboring." My contention is that for the most part, scholarly and journalistic comments on highrise housing are based primarily on highrise housing that:

- a) suffers from poor design qualities and facilities not inherent in this building form;
- b) is situated in poor neighborhoods;
- c) lacks responsive management; and/or
- d) houses low or moderate income populations.

Therefore this building type has not been given the thorough evaluation it deserves, particularly when across-the-board government regulations are being formulated. In addition, because highrise housing is generally

located in urban centers, not in suburbs, the urban location may be associated with highrise housing in a number of important ways that should be understood. Also, some types of families may have developed useful strategies for dealing with it that might be adapted for other families. Therefore this research examined the experience of middle income families with young children in three well-regarded and reportedly well-designed highrise sites to understand why they chose such housing when other alternatives may have been available, and whether or not their experience has been as negative as that of other highrise families previously reported on.

PART I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE EFFECTS OF RESIDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS

Location and Housing Type Attitudes

Aspiration for the Single Family Home

Because of the lack of other housing type options for the middle income family in large American cities, highrise living has often become synonymous with downtown living. The purchase of a townhouse or brownstone in Manhattan is beyond the means of a middle income family. Therefore "location" and "housing type" are interwoven to such an extent that they cannot be easily separated and must be discussed simultaneously.

The virtues of suburban single family house living over the disadvantages of urban apartment dwelling for families have been much commented on. Many studies in English-speaking societies report that families have an enduring desire to own a single family home. Of 748 people surveyed in 32 metropolitan areas of the United States, 85% said they preferred living in a single family house rather than an apartment. Seventy percent were presently living in single-family houses, yet two-thirds living in multi-family dwellings said they preferred living in a private house (Michaelson, 1968). In concluding his four-year study of housing attitudes in Toronto, Canada, Michaelson states that people have "a strong and unyielding aspiration toward the single family house" (Michaelson, 1975, p. 411). Clare Cooper-Marcus and Lindsay Hogue declare that they

have a basic assumption that "most people, and especially families, carry with them a conscious or unconscious memory of or aspiration toward the single family house . . ." (Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975, p. 1).

The advantages of the single family house over the apartment dwelling can be categorized in two ways: (a) the concrete, practical, everyday conveniences, and (b) the symbolic meanings. Regarding the first, the owners of a single family house can control all indoor and nearby outdoor spaces. Having a yard allows children and parents easy access to the outdoors. The average single family house has more interior space than an apartment, and therefore the family in a detached house has far more room to spread out indoors than the apartment family. These issues will be taken up in further detail in Chapter II. The Effects of Design. In addition, the single family house owner can build up equity, a sound financial investment in his/her housing, an opportunity not available to the rental apartment dweller.

There are several symbolic meanings attributed to the single family house. First, the single family home may be viewed as a tangible sign of status, wealth and upward mobility. Second, if located in the suburbs, it may be associated with nature. According to Reisman, the idea of the garden suburb is an "omnipresent dream" which carries "overtones of the Bible, of peasant life and folk imagery. (Reisman, 1958, p. 389). And finally, Cooper believes that people choose homes to represent their unconscious self-images in a tangible way, and that the free-standing single-family house is congruent with most people's image of themselves, as "separate, unique, private and protected" (Cooper, 1979, p. 13). In contrast, the highrise apartment building Cooper feels "is perceived unconsciously as a threat to one's self-image as a separate and unique personality . . . it still may be a long time before the majority of

lower and middle income American will accept this as a valid image of 'home'" (Cooper, 1971, pp. 13-14). However, Cooper is not consistent in her reasoning. She reacts favorably to the increasing popularity of non-traditional house forms such as houseboats, mobile homes and communes.

She asks:

Is it too fanciful to draw a parallel here between the emerging acceptance of new housing forms and the many social movements [civil rights, women's liberation, the hippie sub-culture, the human potential movement, etc.] which are causing many to question the inviolate nature of old self-concepts? . . . the future should see an increasing acceptance of new structures for living as more and more of the populace question that indefinable element of the psyche--the self--for which the house is a tangible symbol (Cooper, 1971, p. 46).

If indeed the symbolic meaning of the house is important, then Cooper's argument above could be used to predict an increased acceptance of the non-traditional highrise housing form, particularly among women whose self-images are undergoing radical changes.

Empirical studies in England and Canada indicate that it is families with young children who are least satisfied with highrise housing because this is the group most adversely effected (Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975). A number of other studies (Bell, 1978; Michaelson, 1975; Rossi, 1965) have shown that stage in life cycle is an important factor in determining when a household moves to the suburban house from the city apartment. Typically, a family stays in the city only while their first or second child is an infant and moves to the suburbs before the children are school age. It is therefore difficult to find studies comparing the attitudes or behavior of families with children in the city and in the suburbs. In reviewing studies that reportedly document the effects or selection of urban or suburban living, it is important that differences between households at different life cycle stages are not being recorded and hence

that this variable is controlled for. Because of this problem, there is a need for more studies examining families in the same stage in the life cycle.

Finally, it should be noted that regarding migration, suburbia holds the advantage (deLeew, Schnare, and Struyk, 1976; Masotti and Hadden, 1973). According to Census Bureau figures, New York City lost an estimated 300,000 to 400,000 middle income tenants from 1970 to 1976 (Morrison, 1976).

Types of Urban Highrise Families

What middle income families would we expect to find in urban high-rises, given the formidable evidence against such a life style? Fava (1958) suggested that families "who are willing to neighbor," chose the suburbs, based on her findings that, in a matched suburban-urban sample, suburban residents on Long Island interacted with neighbors more than urban New York City dwellers did. By default then, those in the city must be less interested in neighboring. A small sample study of urban and suburban families, also a matched sample, did not bear out this hypothesis at all; in contrast, many who strongly emphasized neighborly interaction were more in favor of remaining in the city (Mackintosh, Olsen, and Wentworth, 1977).

According to Bell, "persons moving to the suburbs are principally those who have chosen familism (a high valuation on family living; child-centeredness) as an important element of their life styles as against career or consumership" (Bell, 1958, p. 231). Bell bases this conclusion on two studies. The first, 100 interviews in two Chicago suburbs of people who had primarily moved from Chicago apartments, found that 81% gave reasons which had to do with bettering conditions for children (more

space outside the house, more space inside the house, the outdoors, less traffic, better schools, and cleaner). The second study, using a sample of city and suburban people (matched on income and stage of life cycle) indicated that urban residents rated lower on a five point scale of "familism."

Class and life-cycle stage, according to Gans (1968, p. 37) "go far in explaining the kinds of housing and neighborhood people will occupy," given choices are available. Gans specifies five household types who stay in the city. It is unclear what Gans bases his categories on; one presumes they emerged from all the urban research Gans has done. His groups are as follows: (a) cosmopolites: intellectuals and professionals who choose to be near cultural facilities; (b) unmarried childless households who are in the city temporarily and leave with the arrival of the first or second child; (c) ethnic villagers, working class households who stay in the city because of ties to kin and friends and/or lack the resources to move; (d) the deprived--the poor and handicapped; (e) the trapped--the poor and elderly. Most of the cosmopolites are childless; the few who have children either stay in the city if they have high incomes and employ servants and send their children to private school; or if less affluent, move to the suburbs and are uncomfortable. Cosmopolites and the temporarily childless households have only superficial contracts with local neighbors since their spheres of interest lie elsewhere. This would be consistent with Fava's findings that neighboring was more prevalent in the suburbs; also with Bell's that child-centeredness is associated with the suburbs.

In Michaelson's Toronto sample (Michaelson, 1975), those choosing downtown locations were professionals and technical workers with higher educations; those moving to the suburbs were managers and others with

lower educations. Buyers of single family houses compared to those purchasing townhouses or apartments attached greater importance to advantages of a good investment, a good place to raise children, and privacy. People preferred downtown locations because of their closeness to work, cultural, recreational and commercial opportunities and public transportation. However, in Michaelson's sample, households choosing downtown locations were primarily childless couples or those having older children. Downtown apartment families (like Gans' transient couples who move with the arrival of the first or second child) considered their stay as only temporary; after four years, 90% had moved. Michaelson states: "It was difficult when sampling to find many families with children moving to appropriate downtown highrise apartments. . . . These may have been hindered by unavailability and restrictive management policies" (Michaelson, 1975, p. 172). Because of Manhattan's greater density and higher proportion of multi-family rental units, it is anticipated that its population's housing behavior and attitudes would differ significantly from that in Toronto.

It is expected that the types of middle income families with young children that will be found in urban highrise sites (following Gans' typology) will be:

- a) "cosmopolitans": professionals and intellectuals who value the city's cultural opportunities over child-centered activities; are upper middle class with higher education and income. These are the households who in smaller cities would ordinarily be living in townhouses or brownstones.
- b) "transients": those always intending to move to the suburbs when the appropriate opportunity arises; child-

centered; lower education and income than cosmopolitans.

- c) "upwardly mobile ethnic villagers": people who come from a working class background yet no longer have a working class income; place a high value in maintaining close ties with friends and kin in the city; the middle income highrise is probably a step up from previous housing.

In addition, I propose that current social and economic trends call for three other categories:

- 1) the "blocked cosmopolitan";
- 2) the "blocked transient"; and
- 3) the "dual-career family".

The "blocked cosmopolitan" has all the same characteristics as outlined above with one exception: a lower income. These families will plan to leave the city because they cannot afford a country home, private schools for their children, and/or the high rents required for the amount of space they feel they need in an apartment. Some cosmopolitans with lower incomes may stay in the city and struggle to meet the expenses.

New York City and other aging high density cities have a number of characteristics that make it particularly difficult for the cosmopolitan family to remain within their boundaries. As mentioned previously, owning a brownstone, townhouse or loft is financially prohibitive. These housing types can be purchased in the outer boroughs of Brooklyn, Queens or the Bronx, but long commuting time and poor neighborhood quality are considered too high a sacrifice. Smaller, less dense cities such as Atlanta, New Orleans or Toronto have single family housing close to, or right in, the downtown. Therefore we would expect that there are a group of people in New York City who, if living in a smaller city, would choose the downtown

house, but, because of this housing type's unavailability in Manhattan, either choose the downtown highrise or the suburban single family home. And we would expect that neither choice is totally satisfactory.

In speaking of his Chicago sample, Bell found, "some respondents pointed out that if they could have found the same house in the city they would have preferred to live in the city, they also noted that homes in them cost more than in the suburbs" (Bell, 1958, p. 239). Greer also has observed from his investigations "Many chose suburbia as the only housing available at a price they could afford" (Greer, 1973, p. 157).

Greer goes on to state:

Many persons might settle for equivalent lodgings in the middle of the city. But the point is moot--until new, single-family dwellings, rather than high-rise public housing developments, replace the tenements and row-houses near the center, we will not know how many "suburbanites" are fleeing the city and how many are forced to move outward because no other acceptable housing is available (Greer, 1972, p. 103).

Greer here is basing his comments on research in St. Louis, Missouri. It is difficult to apply conclusions on other metropolitan areas to New York City because of the latter's unique qualities. An exceptionally high proportion of Manhattan's housing is renter-occupied--93%; only 7% is owner-occupied. For all of New York City, the five boroughs, 23% of the housing units are owner-occupied, 74% renter-occupied (City of New York, June 1976).

It is widespread knowledge that Northeastern cities, particularly New York City, are experiencing an economic decline. The cost of living in such cities is higher than other parts of the country and they are losing their population to the Southwest. Between 1970 and 1974, the New York area lost through migration half a million more people than it gained ("Americans on the Move," 1976). Two million five hundred thirty-seven

thousand people migrated from the Northeastern and North Central states to the Southern and Western states between 1970 and 1975. According to Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates, the cost of maintaining a high standard of living for a family of four in New York City is 33% higher than in Houston or Nashville ("Americans on the Move," 1976). January 1976 Census Bureau figures reported that the median New York City rent has risen from \$109 a month in 1970 to \$171 in 1975, a gain of 57%. In contrast, the median income of the families in those apartments rose only 17%, from \$7,165 a year to \$8,935 a year (Morrison, 1976).

In addition, New York City has some "push" factors that other cities may not have. The high proportion of blacks, the high crime rate, and the problematic quality of the public schools are attributes that may drive a potential middle income "cosmopolitan" family from the city to the suburbs. In 1963, Dobriner warned that there is too much emphasis on the "pull" of the suburbs and not enough on the "push" of the city. He cautioned that reliance on verbal responses may be misleading. People may hesitate to speak of violence, racial problems and dirt, and their "pull" answers may be "a polite assertion of the principle of white supremacy" (in Marshall, 1973, p. 134). These push factors are of course partially related to race and poverty. Sample families who say they are moving from the city because of the New York City public schools may be objecting to the racial composition of the schools, crime in the schools, the poor quality of education, or a combination of these. Dislike of crime as a moving reason might be a euphemism for racial tension or it may be a direct complaint about the phenomenon. Other researchers (Goldston, 1977; Nager, 1977) have found middle income respondents have difficulty speaking directly about their feelings on race because of the

social unacceptability. Because this study is focusing primarily on housing issues and tangentially on other dimensions only to set a context for housing attitudes and experience, it would not be appropriate to delve further into the relationship of racial attitudes, schools, and crime; which is not to deny that the complexities of these issues reach beyond the treatment they receive in this study. It is important to understand the role that "non-housing" factors play in families' moving decisions in the ordering of the city's priorities, particularly during a period of scarce resources. Therefore, the study examined this question.

The "blocked transient" wants to move to the suburbs but lacks the financial resources required for a suburban single family home; children may therefore already be school age; the family may at some point be able to move. In 1976, many articles appeared in newspapers reporting that as prices soared for single family homes, purchasing has declined ("Fewer Plan to Buy Home," 1976; Lindsay, 1976). A survey reported August 1976 by Citicorp, parent organization for Citibank, showed only 3.5% of those questioned said they were going to buy a house in the next year or two. In March, 6.8% of those questioned said they planned a home purchase in the near future ("Fewer Plan to Buy a Home," 1976). In his conclusion, Michaelson decries the rising of single family home prices and calls for the more modest basic house which in Canada has been a success (Michaelson, 1976), but in the United States, a failure ("Suburbanites Too Get By With Less Space," 1977).

The "blocked transient" will have the most difficulty admitting his/her present situation. This group feels embarrassed at not yet being able to obtain the "American dream," and may therefore espouse "cosmopolitan"

values as rationalizations. It may be difficult to distinguish "blocked transients" from "cosmopolitans," but hopefully non-directive questions and a relaxed interviewing style will allow this group to indicate its true feelings.

In the "dual-career family," husband and wife desire to be near the opportunities of the urban center so both can pursue jobs and be close to home. They may or may not have "cosmopolitan" values. A small minority now, it appears this group is growing rapidly. Statistics clearly indicate that women with young children are increasingly taking jobs outside the home. In 1970, 57% of white households had both husband and wife working, compared to 43% in 1959. In 1950, only 12% of the married women with spouse present and children under six held a paid job. By 1971, almost 30% of women with such young children were working. And half the married women with spouse present whose children are between six and 17 are now in the labor force, compared to only 28% in the 1950's (Hapgood and Getzels, 1974). According to Labor Department statistics, the percentage of pre-school children with working mothers rose from 29% in 1970 to 37% in 1976; 56% of children under 18 had mothers who work outside the home in 1976, compared to 39% in 1970 ("More Children Have Mothers Who Work," 1977). Women, who comprised 33% of the national labor force in 1960 and 38.1% in 1970, accounted for 40.7% in 1976, a proportion that was not expected to be reached until 1985 by Labor Department forecasters (Lindsey, 1976).

The reasons for women's employment in the middle income population group are unclear. These women may work outside the home of self identity, personal fulfillment or financial reasons. For some couples, a wife's employment is assumed as an equal financial responsibility with

her husband's. For women whose husbands earn less than \$10,000 a year, a second salary may be virtually necessary for survival (Lindsey, 1976). The highest rate of female participation in the labor force occurs in families of average and below average income (Keniston, 1976). Because this study deals with middle income families, the lower income group is not of concern here. Middle income wives who work in families with incomes from \$10,000 to \$15,000 allow the household to maintain its standard of living in an inflationary period (Lindsey, 1976). Because the cost of living in New York City is so high, a second income is probably even more important than it is in other cities. For families in which both parents were in the labor force in 1975, the median income was \$17,200 compared with \$14,300 for families with non-working wives ("More Children Have Mothers Who Work," 1977). In addition, many women are less satisfied with simply the homemaker-mother role and are increasingly returning to school to strengthen jobs skills or pursuing activities outside the home. The low-density suburban location is now infamous for its lack of such opportunities and its negative consequences for women, particularly those with young children who need a flexible schedule and to be close to home in case of emergency. (See below.) A long commute into the city also prevents the suburban husband from coming home quickly and spending extra time on childcare or household tasks.

Whether or not the dual-career couple has a less conventional marriage than couples in which the wife is not working is a matter for investigation. We would think if a wife is working as many hours as her husband, then both would share equally in household and childcare tasks but some empirical evidence has shown this is not the case (Saegert, 1977). Rainwater's comparative study conducted in the 1950's indicated

working class couples tended to have more sharply demarcated roles and more division of labor than middle class husbands and wives (Rainwater, 1959); however, recent evidence indicates the opposite (Saegert, 1977). Because of the urban location's accessibility to jobs, stores, and other activities, we would expect that both the dual-career family and the couple attempting to share homemaking and breadwinning would favor the central city over the suburbs.

Sex Differences

Not only would we expect an increasing number of "dual-career families" favoring the urban location, but also women favoring the urban location more than their husbands. Studies indicate that women have much less to gain by living in the suburbs than men. Based on informal observations, Reisman declared that suburban housewives:

if at all sensitive or well-educated, complain of having their contacts limited to their young children and to a few other housewives in the same boat . . . husbands have opportunities to meet different kinds of people, but not wives . . . In this situation, many women of college education feel trapped, aware of falling behind their own ideals and their husbands in breadth of view and nourishing experience. The various leisure-time activities they undertake do not seem to fill this void (Reisman, 1958, p. 388).

A less journalistic observer, Scott Greer, states:

In our society, rewards are gained on an individual basis and distributed on a marital and kinship basis. The strain involved can be minimized through bringing work and residence together, but it can never be totally eliminated, for the husband (the provider) has a disproportionate amount of freedom. He owns his means of production. Perhaps this is why husband domination is more common in suburbia than in central city (even controlling for race and class); there may be sympathy and gratitude on the part of the dependent wife. I would suggest that she is also trying to protect her means of production--the marriage contract (Greer, 1973, p. 164).

Systematic evidence seems to support the contention that the suburbs hold more disadvantages for women than men. In his four year

study of housing attitudes in Toronto, Michaelson found that suburban wives were most displeased with their location while their husbands were most satisfied. Included in this evaluation were the daily activity, leisure and commerce characteristics of the location. Suburban women's attendance at community activities fell because of the distance to them and suburban housewives spent the most time alone of any group (Michaelson, 1973). Michaelson's work shows that employed women in the downtown house stood to benefit the most from this housing form and location; they had the largest decline in commuting time compared to the wives in all other housing types and locations. Based on analysis of time diary information, Palm and Pred (1976) conclude that the leisure time of the homemaker cannot be enjoyed because she cannot get large blocks of time, uninterrupted by children's, husband's, and repairman's schedules, is far from meaningful activities, and therefore sometimes suffers from enforced unemployment. A number of observers (Abu-Lughod, 1974; Greer, 1973; Pray, 1974; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; and Saegert, n.d.) criticize what they feel is sexist planning by a male-dominated society and call for a "closer integration of home, work place and service and leisure facilities" (Saegert, n.d., p. 10). In our limited sample study of urban and suburban families, we found husbands more inclined to move to the suburbs than wives, and also more satisfied with that location than their wives (Mackintosh, Olsen, and Wentworth, 1977). The tri-state survey, "Choices for '76," conducted by the Regional Plan Association, indicated that women favored middle income urban housing subsidies much more than men; they also favored tightly clustering activities in the suburbs more than men (Regional Plan Association, 1974).

Another reason why men may favor the suburbs more than women is

that as boys growing up, they may have been able to enjoy the outdoors more than their female counterparts. A number of studies have shown that boys are allowed by play further from home and modify the landscape to a greater extent than girls (Altman and Nelson, 1972; Anderson and Tindal, 1972; Coates and Bussard, 1974; Cooper-Marcus, 1974; Fischer and Fischer, 1963; Gans, 1962; Saegert and Hart, 1976). We found in our urban-suburban study that men spoke fondly of their suburban or rural childhoods recalling the building of forts and treehouses and the digging in the mud and sand and wished to give such experiences to their children; women, on the other hand, spoke of the boredom and dullness they experienced in the suburbs (Mackintosh, Olsen, and Wentworth, 1977).

Class may enter into women's differential adjustment to the urban and suburban locations. A number of sociological studies have pointed out that because the working class wife depends much more heavily on the extended family and childhood friends, and is much more reluctant to join organized activities than the middle class woman, she frequently feels lonely and isolated in the suburbs and evidences this stress in a variety of ways, such as marital conflict, neurotic dependence on one's own children for companionship or excessive T. V. watching (Gabor, 1975; Gans, 1967; Newson and Newson, 1968; Rainwater, et al., 1959; Tallman, 1969; Young and Wilmott, 1957). In responding to the question posed by Rainwater, et al. on the desirability of living on the less crowded edge of the city (suburbs), more middle class women wanted that than did not; the reverse was true of working class women who indicated that it meant physical isolation from other people (Rainwater, et al., 1959). On the other hand, the middle and upper-middle class woman may be a more likely candidate for urban highrise living because of her values on cultural

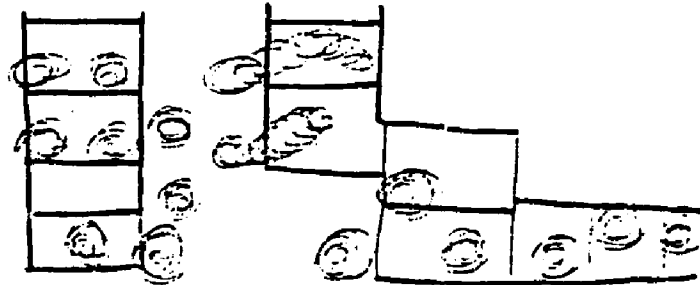
opportunities. The upwardly-mobile working class woman (the former ethnic villager) may be eager for the suburban "dream house" and yet suffer keenly from severing ties with the close friends and extended family left in the city.

Of course the type of suburb influences the amount of social interaction that will take place there. Generalizations, such as those of Doxiadis (see Figure 1 for his illustration of suburban social isolation) are simplistic. The density and type of resident population of a particular suburb effect the amount of social interaction that takes place: in the new, closely-sited, court-yard garden apartments of Park Forest with young upwardly mobile couples, there was intense social interaction (Whyte, 1956); in the expensive, widely-spaced homes of Crestwood Heights which housed older families, there was a lack of strong neighborhood friendships (Seeley, Sim, and Loosley, 1963); and in Levittown, a new track development of single family homes with lower middle class households, social interaction seemed to have been in between these two extremes (Gans, 1967).

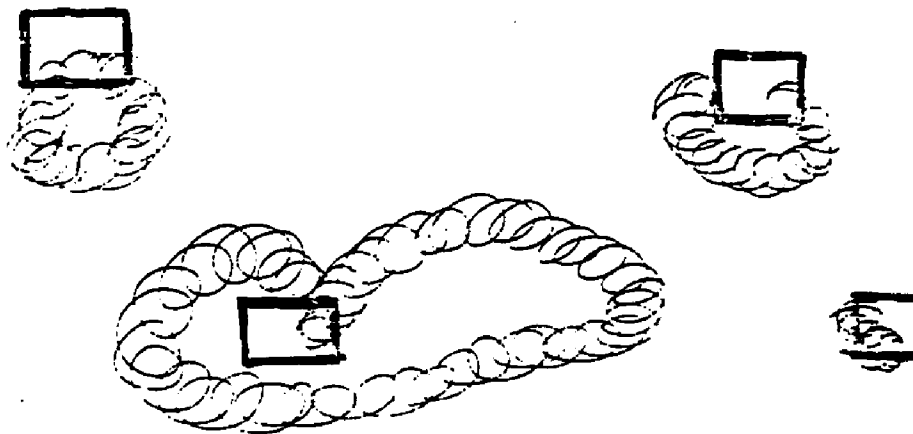
Residential Background

There is a school of thought that contends that experience with highrise living will predispose one to this housing form. Although not speaking specifically of highrises, Renee Dubos states, "If present trends continue, human beings may become even better adapted to crowding as a result of being exposed to city life from the time of childhood (Dubos, 1975, p. 260). Similarly, Lourie has commented:

In some of our inter-city populations, where we've moved families out into new houses, after they've been living in very crowded conditions, giving them room for each child, we find that in some of those families the children refuse to sleep alone in their own



in the past the connections between people were easy



but not any more. if the density is very low because of the dispersed buildings

Figure 1. Doxiadis' illustration of low social interaction in low density suburban setting (Doxiadis, 1974, p. 147).

rooms. Even if some of the adults would have been brought up in very close living conditions, they abandon their rooms and insist on sleeping with others (Lourie, 1975, p. 232).

Michaelson however feels his data refute the theory that highrise experience makes people feel more favorable or adaptable to this housing form. Based on the adult experience of this sample, he states: "Experience with highrise living predisposes the family to move to a house, not to an apartment" (Michaelson, 1975, p. 131). A greater percentage of those moving to houses had highrise experience than among those moving to highrise apartments. Michaelson declares that with more exposure to high-rises, people are less likely to desire them. However, Michaelson is not talking about childhood experience as Dubos and Lourie are. A Canadian 1973 Social Planning Council Study quoted by Michaelson found that of families in highrise apartments, 67% of heads of households had grown up in family-owned houses (Michaelson, 1976). In New York City, a greater proportion of highrise residents may have grown up in apartments in multi-family buildings and may thus have a different opinion from Michaelson's sample.

A suburban background, according to Greer, will leave people particularly indifferent to urban living. He says:

Unless there is a massive shift in preferences, most of these second-generation suburbanites will not evidence either the nostalgia or the repugnance of their parents for the central city. Instead they will probably be unusually indifferent to it, in competition with it when there is conflict. Thus, the job of "saving the central city" will have fewer sympathizers outside the center (Greer, 1973, p. 167).

Class may interact with residential background: the well-to-do childhood suburbanite is probably more likely to become a cosmopolitan professional; the childhood urban apartment-dweller, an upwardly mobile urban villager. And therefore present housing opinions may actually reflect a class

difference, not a residential background difference. These inter-relationships will have to be examined carefully.

Housing Site Attitudes

Outside the Dwelling Unit

There are a number of ways in which we would expect middle income families to deal differently with their housing than those in lower income groups. As income and education increase, residents depend less on the proximal neighborhood for friends and activities; they generally have friends with shared common interests who are not linked to the housing site (Gans, 1968; Michaelson, 1970; Webber, 1964). We would therefore expect that various housing designs would have less effect on the "cosmopolitan" middle income resident than the lower income "localite." Michaelson (1975) found downtown upper-middle income apartment dwellers had as much social interaction as those in other housing types and locations but they were less involved with neighbors. Yet few of Michaelson's downtown highrise sample had children. As mentioned previously, mothers with young children tend to be generally restricted in their movements and are therefore, by necessity, tied to the local neighborhood (Gans, 1968). Consequently, if such parents do not have paid help, we would expect them to interact with nearby neighbors.

We would expect fewer complaints from working women about social isolation. Several studies have pointed out that those women who were lonely in highrises tended to be those that did not go out of the home to work (Adams and Conway, 1975; Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975; Fanning, 1967). Because working women spend less time at home, we would expect them to be less involved with nearby neighbors.

The amount of time children are encouraged to be outside seems to be related to their parents' class. In the suburbs, according to Gans (1967), middle class children were expected to do their homework before going out to play and had less freedom to play on the street than working class children. Urban working class children develop intense involvements with their peer groups outside the home (Gans, 1962). British professional mothers kept close watch on their children; they tended to arbitrate arguments and organize play groups. Working class mothers allowed more aggressive play with less supervision (Newson and Newson, 1968). My pilot research indicates that middle income parents organize intensively, forming play groups, baby-sitting cooperatives, and joint observation arrangements of children from upper floors.

This tendency of middle class mothers to organize for their children may be an important difference between them and the lower class group in relation to highrise living. It may be that cooperative arrangements, both formal and informal, are so successful that they almost totally alleviate the difficulties of highrise living and therefore render highrise problems irrelevant for middle income families. McCarthy and Saegart (1976) comment that defenders of high density claim that people can make manageable social units that alleviate the strains of such living, yet McCarthy and Saegart feel that their research findings on public housing show that such units did not occur. The British government has been investigating exactly this issue. It is examining "the scope and value of any services and facilities (such as play groups, child minding) which could be provided for both children and mothers, which may alleviate some of the problems of those who must continue to live off the ground" (memo attached to Adams and Conway, 1975, p. 2).

Interior Space Use

The few studies of the use of space within the home would lead us to expect differences according to class and income. It is particularly difficult to study interior space use because of the delicate problem of violating the privacy of people's homes. Therefore most investigations must depend on respondents' reports rather than researchers' observations. In several of the British government studies cited below, time budgets were used.

The amount of access, control, noise and type of activities permitted children in the home may have important developmental consequences. According to one study, mothers who allowed their 10 to 18 month old children to roam and explore their living area, who provided them with detailed objects with which to play, and objects on which to climb and move, and who were not meticulous house-keepers seemed to produce children who were more "competent" in the intellectual and social skills required in the classroom and school yard than children of mothers who restricted them with playpens or gates and set a large number of places as out of bounds (Pines, 1973).

In looking at British families, Newson and Newson (1968) observed three types of mothers. Some were continually restraining their children, insisting that play must not be messy or noisy and that furniture could not be used in unconventional ways. Others allowed some freedom modified with some restrictions; the third type had almost no restrictions at all, tolerating all forms of disruptive play that left much wear and tear on the home. The professional and managerial classes were less restrictive because they tended to realize the educational value of messy or noisy play, they had larger houses with fewer children and may have had domestic

help as well. In contrast, the working class family had less sturdy furniture and would be more likely to shoo their children into a yard. An American study (Roy, 1950) indicated that the higher the parent's level of education, the more the parent favored freedom in pre-school play situations. Fathers preferred more restraint than mothers. Gans (1962) reports that working class Italians kept their apartments spotlessly clean. In that particular adult-centered culture, the child was expected to play quietly in a corner.

In some cultures the living room is kept as the "best room," to be reserved for adult entertaining and is off limits to child play. For these families, if a separate "family room" is not provided, children may be forced to confine their play to their bedrooms or the outdoors. Large kitchens have served as "family rooms" in many homes (Gans, 1962; Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1969a). British working class families in small two-story houses preserved the front room as a "best" room and used the back kitchen as a family room. In Council houses which had one large living room with a dining area and a small adjacent kitchen, children played in the living room and a "best room" no longer existed (Newson and Newson, 1968). The same study reports that in private suburban middle class homes, parents treated bedrooms as playrooms. A study of British Council housing found bedrooms to be unpopular places for play and that kitchen-dining areas were used (Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1969a). Another British study revealed that while the majority of children had played in the living rooms of their old homes, after moving to a new project house which offered a second living space, less than a quarter of the children still played in the living room (Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1969a).

After observing New York tenement apartments Schefflen (1971) found that black families kept their living room as a parlour and that children were frequently sent out when there was company. In contrast, Puerto Rican families used the living room as a family room. Members of the Puerto Rican family shared space and had closer physical contact than black families, and children would play or sit on the living room floor if visitors were present. Zeisel (1974) on the other hand reported that Puerto Ricans preserved the living room for display of social and religious symbols and used the kitchen to separate children from adults.

Moderate income families with young children living in New York State financed apartments (which generally had a single living room-dining room space) particularly wanted a separate family or play room so that messy or long-range projects could be carried out without marring the neat appearance of the apartment (Becker, 1974). A sample (Sauer and Marshall, 1972) of moderate income blacks in overcrowded conditions reported that the living room was most often occupied by adults and that they wanted new housing which would permit this exclusive adult use. The low income black adolescents in Ladd's (1972) report spoke of the living room as kind of a sanctuary or forbidden room where one could go for some peace and quiet.

In many of the upper middle class suburban homes observed by Seeley, Sims and Loosley (1963), the living room was frequently kept as a show room with no playing allowed in it. Generally exploring the home by the child was discouraged. Parents were protective of the contents of their house and feared or resented the boisterous behavior of their own or neighbors' children. Children learned to use the back and side doors to protect the living room from dirt and mud. However, these homes had dens,

family rooms, or workshops so that there were alternative spaces for the child's use.

Even within the same social class, different styles of using the home may exist as indicated earlier. Altman and Nelson (1972) in a questionnaire study found that in a lower-middle class sample (living in single family houses) there were two types of families. The first type left doors open more frequently, was informal, ate and entertained in the kitchen, and had more sharing and interaction among members; the second type had firmer boundaries, was more formal, ate in the dining room more often, and had less role sharing and interaction. Families that left doors open more often tended to have more people per room and higher socio-economic status. In a study of middle class families, mothers who were seen as restrictive and coercive (based on observational ratings) limited their children's privacy by controlling the child's bedroom door (Parke and Sawin, 1975). Families that had more restrictive regulations had children who kept their doors open more frequently while entertaining or playing. On the other hand, mothers rated as affectionate and approving toward their children were less private with the children while the children were grooming or dressing in the bathroom.

Becker (1974) felt that some residents in his sample of moderate income multi-family housing could not relate to his question on conflicting activities in the apartment because they had already worked out a strategy to deal with such conflicts. Some approaches were: (a) people used different rooms for different activities at different times; (b) the dominant family members made others do the same activity; or (c) individuals cooperated by using headphones so two different activities could take place in the same room.

Women with young children employed outside the home may be less effected by limited interior apartment space than those not employed because the working mother spends less time inside the apartment, and probably, because of the second income, greater resources would be available for country homes, vacations, private school, paid cleaning help and child care.

In summary, past studies indicate that the difficulty in supervising children who live in highrise buildings may be exacerbated in the case of middle class parents who insist on close observation of children outdoors. They might be expected to keep their children indoors more than working class parents if they are living on upper floors and cannot easily watch their children playing outside. On the other hand, it is anticipated that middle income parents will organize play groups and other cooperative child care arrangements that will alleviate these problems. Also, it is expected that since middle class parents would tend to be less fussy about keeping their apartments in order, they would not mind children playing indoors and tend not to shoo them outdoors or limit them to playing in the bedroom as much as lower income parents. Upper middle class families however may wish to preserve the living room area as a display room just as working class groups, and may run into the same problems. And finally, we would expect styles of interior space use to differ among the same class group.

CHAPTER II
THE EFFECTS OF DESIGN

Inherent and Non-Inherent Features

The list of reasons given in the literature on why highrise apartment buildings are unsuitable for family living is a formidable one. First, it is important to distinguish between those aspects of highrise buildings that are inherent in the design of the building form itself, and those features that are not. Michaelson explains:

It takes no great stretch of the imagination to contemplate buildings with total soundproofing, with cavernous space, with service and recreation facilities near every suite, and so on. We may not expect such buildings under current economic conditions or under current methods of finance but the limitations of the status quo are not necessarily inherent limitations to high rise buildings per se (Michaelson, 1975, p. 60).

All highrise buildings are multi-household structures in which a number of individual units share a common entrance and hallway, and the apartments are at least six stories off the ground, requiring the use of an elevator. Those features that may vary considerably are as follows:

- I. Interior dwelling unit
 - A. Square footage
 - B. Layouts
 - C. Storage
 - D. Soundproofing
 - E. Windows
 - F. Balconies

- II. Semi-private areas
 - A. Garbage disposal
 - B. Corridors/walkways
 - C. Common space/play facilities
 - D. Entrance
 - E. Storage
 - F. Laundry
 - G. Community rooms
- III. Exterior areas
 - A. Landscaping
 - B. Play facilities/equipment
 - C. Facilities for adults
 - D. Siting of buildings in relation to facilities
 - E. Architectural appearance of buildings
- IV. Relationship to neighborhood
 - A. Siting within neighborhood
 - B. Quality of neighborhood
- V. Scale
 - A. Height of buildings
 - B. Number of residents sharing:
 - 1. Floor
 - 2. Elevator
 - 3. Entrance
 - C. Number of buildings
 - D. Number of residents in development
- VI. Non-design characteristics
 - A. Maintenance

- B. Security
- C. Tenure type
- D. Resident population
 - 1. Age, race, ethnicity, household size, income, length of residence
 - 2. Mix of above characteristics
- E. Age of building/history/reputation.

Understandably, no one study has ever evaluated the effects of all these different features, and probably never will. Consequently, past studies must be carefully examined; because several major dimensions may be different, conclusions may not be comparable. As more studies are conducted on highrise buildings, a more sophisticated evaluation of this housing from can emerge which avoids generalizations.

The following discussion will focus on the two most frequently reported adverse effects of highrise buildings on family life:

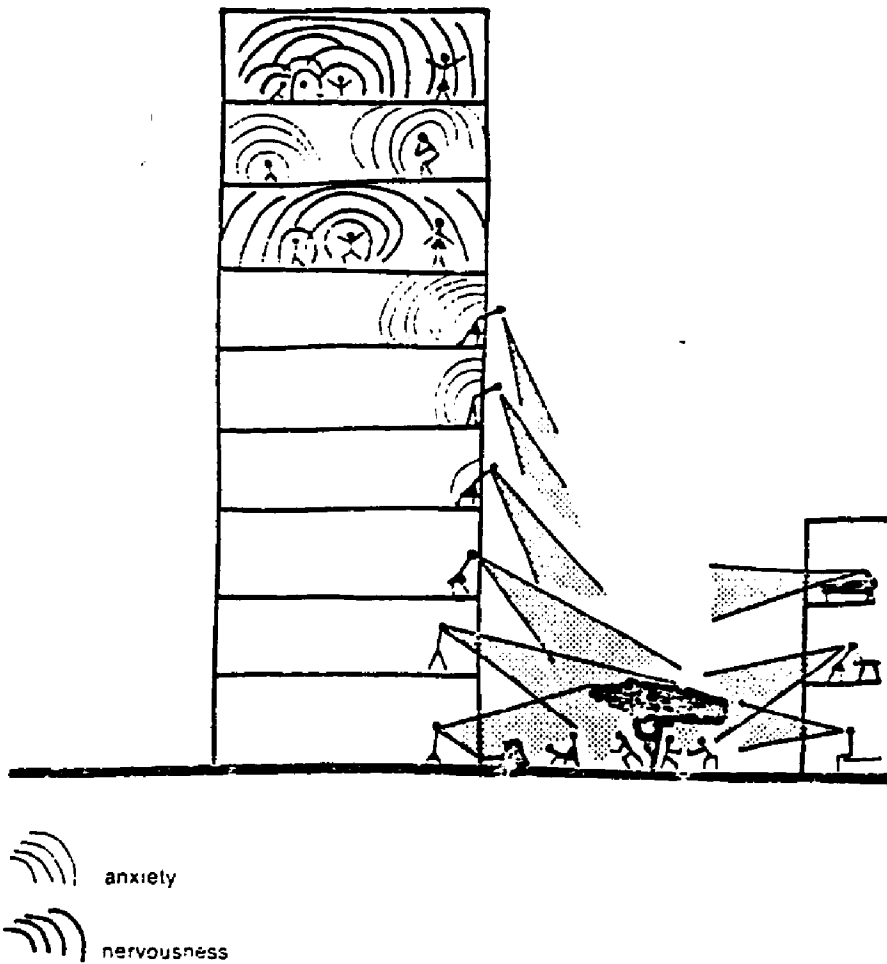
- A. The difficulty of children's access and supervision outdoors (inherent feature);
- B. Problems with limited dwelling unit interior space (non-inherent feature).

There are of course a number of other features of highrise housing that have been reported in the literature to have a negative impact on family life. These issues will not be dealt with at length here because either: (a) they are no longer relevant for 1977 middle income New York City housing; or (b) they are totally self-evident and uncomplicated (though not unimportant). In the first category fall such criticisms as frequent elevator breakdowns or poor garbage disposals. In the second category fall such issues as the need for ample storage and adequate sound-proofing.

Access to Outdoors

The most serious criticism leveled at highrises is that they make access to the outdoors difficult, particularly for children. Use of an elevator is necessary for upper floors--children cannot go out and return home easily and parents cannot easily supervise their children outdoors from the apartment unit which is too far above ground or distant from play areas to view children. Studies on the topic suggest that children who live in upper floor apartments are kept in more and not allowed out to play as much as those on lower floors or single family houses; that the development of a sense of independence and separation from parents is hindered or delayed in highrise or upper floor children; that they have less contact with other children; and that parents with young children on upper floors are also hindered in their social interaction, and are more confined with their children to the dwelling unit, and as a result both parents and children undergo emotional stress. Doxiadis' sketches illustrate how he feels multi-story buildings reduce mother-to-child contacts (see Figure 2).

Studies investigating the effects on children and parents of living off the ground have measured children's play patterns and mothers' attitudes and state of well-being through interviews and observations. These studies either compare differences according to floor height within the same building(s) in the same development; or compare low and highrise buildings on different sites, usually in different neighborhoods. In the second case, neighborhood, resident population, and on-site facilities are frequently not controlled for (or used as part of the discussion).



a multi-story residential building creates problems for mother and child who cannot contact each other if the child is in the garden and the mother high up or if they are both enclosed

Figure 2. Doxiadis' illustration of difficult contact between mother and child in highrise buildings (Doxiadis, 1974, p. 93).

Effects on Children

Floor height. In a provocative Danish study based on interviews with mothers and observations of children outdoors, a three-story building development was compared with a 15-story one. Children from the higher building started playing out of doors on their own at a later age and spent fewer hours outside in play than children from the lower one. The percentage of children aged three playing out of doors on their own decreased with the height of their building in the highrise development. Young children in the high buildings had fewer contacts with playmates than those in the low dwellings. The resident populations are claimed to be of "the same social standard." (Income or class characteristics were not specified.) Access to outdoor space may not have been measured in this study however because the author explains that the lowrise development has better facilities for outdoor play and a wind problem in the highrise estate has a hampering effect on outdoor play (Morville, 1969).

A British survey of 15 local authority estates (comparable to our public housing) of varying heights calculated the number of children under 11 years old observed outdoors on estate grounds as a percentage of the resident child population. The report states:

On multi-storey estates where a high proportion of children lived in ground-floor or first-floor flats, more of them played out than where they lived further from the ground. There was no significant difference between the numbers of under 11's seen out on the estates of houses and on estates where a high proportion lived in ground or first-floor flats (Department of the Environment, 1973, p. 14).

The authors caution that the social characteristics of families may not have been randomly distributed throughout all of the estates. There is no assurance that the children observed on the grounds were residents of the housing situated there.

In an informal study reported on by Michaelson (1970) (in which socio-economic variables and neighborhood are not stated) Kumove got the impression, based on unstructured interviews, that highrise children up to the age of seven were less independent of their parents than their counterparts living in single family homes; and past that age, they spent much more of their time outside the dwelling unit. Becker's study (1974) found half as many highrise parents said their children's friends visited every day as was true at the lowrise developments. However, the highrise projects Becker investigated tended to have less play equipment per child, to be located in higher crime neighborhoods and to have poorer populations than the lowrise ones. It is no surprise then that residents in the highrise developments rate their homes lower in terms of "a good place to bring up kids" than people in lowrise projects.

A British Department of the Environment report states that their research has found that parents living on high floors do not allow their children out alone until they are seven years old (Adams and Conway, 1975). This summary of highrise research to date says:

Pearl Jephcott has suggested that people living below the tenth floor can just about manage the stairs in an emergency, can see things going on on the ground and can just communicate verbally with people on the ground: this she sees as an important threshold point (Adams and Conway, 1975, p. 2).

In comparing St. Francis Square, a moderate income integrated low-rise co-op with Geneva Towers, a moderate income predominantly black rental highrise development, Cooper (1974) found more mothers in St. Francis Square said they would let their children under six out to play alone than those in Geneva Towers. The lower rise development, in addition to having a different resident population, also had more landscaping and play facilities.

Rothblatt (1971), studying a New York City public housing project of seven-story buildings with a working class population, found, by using questionnaires, that parents living on floors one through three reported considerably more ease in the supervision of their children than parents on floors four and up. Becker (1976) was surprised at how many residents of highrise development said they could supervise their children when they are outside; see Figure 3. It is unclear how "supervise" was interpreted in this case and whether or not these answers were a reflection of a socially desirable response, or if in fact parents were in close contact with their children. Specifying the nature of the type of communication is important: (a) children merely visible; (b) children and parents wave back and forth; or (c) conversations are held between both parties.

Play facilities. The existence and type of play areas and equipment associated with highrise buildings are features that are, obviously, not inherent to the housing form and may vary considerably from site to site from absolutely nothing to elaborate age-differentiated facilities. The presence, absence and quality of such facilities may effect whether or not parents allow their children out, spend time with them outdoors, or the type of outside activities children pursue. Becker found in studying seven multi-family developments, that tenants' satisfaction of play areas was related to the number of on-site physical facilities, and that in contrast to the lowrise projects, there was "virtually no equipment at the high-rise developments" (Becker, 1976, p. 555). He hypothesized that the vandalism at the highrise projects might be related to the lack of facilities (Becker, 1974). The British Department of the Environment reports that at very high densities as many as 87% of families with children have considered facilities for children's play to be unsatisfactory (Adams and

Number and Percentage of Respondents' Responses to the Interview Question: "Can you supervise your children from your apartment when they are outside? (by development)

Can Your Supervise Your Children?						
Developments	Yes		No		Do Not	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>High Rise</u>						
Twin Parks 6 and 8	15	38	24	62		
Twin Parks 4	12	50	10	42	2	8
<u>Low Rise</u>						
Unity Park	13	54	8	33		
Lake Street Houses	31	89	4	11		
Main Street Houses	11	68	6	32		
Ely Park	43	78	12	22		

Figure 3. Supervision of children from low and highrise buildings in Becker's study (Becker, 1976, p. 556).

Conway, 1975). Cooper-Marcus and Hogue (1975) contend that research evidence shows that children do more passive activities in highrise developments than lowrise ones. This finding may be related more to the lack of play facilities than to the housing form itself.

It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss in detail the pro's and con's of various types of play equipment and play grounds. Clearly if the equipment is unsuitable or unpopular, few children will use it. Evidence shows that responsive equipment such as swings and slides tend to be more popular than static equipment (Becker, 1976; Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975). Hayward, et al.'s comparative study (1974) of three types of playgrounds (traditional, contemporary, and adventure) found that each attracted different types of users and had different activities going on in them. Upon reviewing the literature, Cooper-Marcus and Hogue (1975) recommended hard areas for bicycle riding, materials for building, and soil or sand for digging. To prevent the conflicts between the different age groups he observed, Becker (1976) suggested age-segregated facilities. To provide some supervision of outdoor facilities, particularly difficult in the highrise situation, play leaders are recommended (Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975). Many studies have documented the fact that children play, not only on provided equipment but also, all over the site, in unintended areas, and that this must be taken into consideration in designing the development (Becker, 1974; Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975; Department of the Environment, 1973).

Decks and terraces. Decks or "side-walks in the sky" seem to alleviate some of the difficulties of outdoor access from highrise units. Evidence (Adams and Conway, 1975; Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975) has shown that if the access corridor is wide enough and if nearby neighbors

can tolerate the noise and lack of visual privacy, this area is satisfactory for casual children's play; in this case, we would expect fewer of the negative effects of highrise living as just reviewed. However, if neighbors or management feel the children's noise to be too bothersome, such play will be prohibited.

Several design researchers (Adams and Conway, 1975; Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1974) have recommended communal terraces within sight of apartments. A British Department of the Environment report states: "Where it is not possible for each family to have its own garden, perhaps each block could have its own private space separated from the wider communal area" (Adams and Conway, 1975, p. 8). Such spaces have not yet been systematically evaluated. Newman informally examined Riverbend Houses, a moderate income development in upper Manhattan which incorporated limited access play areas into its design. A common playground is situated on the roof deck of a two-story garage between two sections of duplex apartments. The area is accessible only from within the project by elevator from the lobby. Based on the low crime rate and lack of vandalism in the project, Newman feels this design successfully allows residents the opportunity to watch over and control the space themselves (Newman, 1972). The interior gallery areas at Pruitt-Igoe, a low income public housing project in St. Louis, were intended by the architect to be play areas for young children, but failed to be used this way by residents because, according to Newman, apartment units did not face the galleries and were therefore unsafe (Newman, 1972).

Effects on Parents

Floor height. Critics of highrise buildings contend that because parents, particularly mothers, are "trapped" in their apartments with

their young children who cannot play outside, these parents are under undue pressure. Because the children are home and because there's no communal meeting space, highrise mothers will have fewer neighborly contacts and therefore feel lonely and isolated.

In a carefully controlled study of families in Hong Kong, Mitchell found that as floor height increased, people scored higher on an index of hostility, a measure of deep emotional stress according to Mitchell; this situation was exacerbated by unrelated households sharing the same dwelling unit (Mitchell, 1971). In a study of the wives of British military men stationed in Germany living in four-story apartment houses, Fanning (1967) found an increase in psycho-neurotic disorders as building height increased. It was thought that these women with their young children on higher floors were less able to get out and socialize than were similar women on lower floors. This classic study is cited frequently in literature reviews of highrise living; however, because of the rather unique circumstances the subjects were living under and because four story buildings are really not highrise structures, the study's generalizability would appear limited. In contrast to Fanning's findings, a survey of six British local authority housing estates revealed no relationship between loneliness of housewives to building form or height (Department of the Environment, 1972).

Rothblatt (1971) found residents on floors one through three, compared to those on floors four through seven, had more friendships and informal group memberships, and attributed this to the ease that the former families could get outside. Upper floor residents however reported greater audio and visual privacy than lower floor tenants. In Cooper's study (1974) of a lowrise co-op and a highrise rental development, with

different resident populations and outdoor facilities, women in the highrise project were less likely to know their neighbors and more likely to spend time alone in their apartment with pre-school children.

Newman (1972) found a New York City public housing three and six story lowrise development had less crime and vandalism than a 13-14 story development across the street with an almost identical resident population. Analyzing 1969 crime records for 100 New York City Housing Authority projects, Newman reports that projects with buildings higher than six stories had higher crime rates than those with structures less than six stories. Newman suggests that the opportunities for natural surveillance and resident control are greater in the lower rise units. He believes:

The only difference between a low-income and a high-income development is the presence of fences and guards in the upper-income project, or a doorman provided for each of its buildings. These slight but expensive additions, however, are what make one a workable habitat and the other not (Newman, 1972, p. 23).

Also looking at low income New York City public housing, McCarthy and Saegert (1976) compared three-story, 12 family walk-up buildings to 14-story, 110 family buildings. Using interviews, with scaled indices, they found that a smaller proportion of the highrise tenants felt they could count on a neighbor for a small favor, in an emergency or to come to their aid in the case of an attack. The highrise residents were less active socially with close friends and relatives living outside their building and belonged to fewer voluntary associations, particularly political ones. In addition, they felt more crowded in their building, more detached from the whole project, and more powerless in effecting management decisions. The authors assert that their data indicate that effects of high density are more far reaching than ever before documented. McCarthy and Saegert hypothesize that the highrise tenants must face an

unmanageable number of building neighbors and consequently suffer from "social withdrawal engendered by social overload" (McCarthy and Saegert, 1976, p. 17).

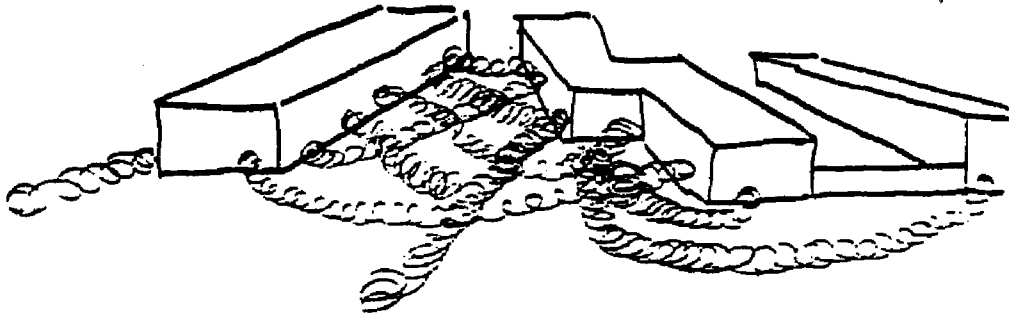
In considering studies such as Newman's and McCarthy and Saegert's, it is important to keep in mind that the attitudinal and behavioral differences found were in comparisons between different sized buildings and not between different floor heights in the same sized buildings as was the case in Mitchell's or Rothblatt's investigations. Consequently, what is being measured are the effects of scale, i.e., the number of people sharing a building, in addition perhaps to the effects of living off the ground. These factors need to be carefully distinguished.

Communal facilities. Several critics of highrise buildings claim that residents suffer social isolation because of a lack of casual meeting spaces. For instance, Doxiadis states, "We will recognize that collecting 200 families in four multi-story buildings does not help people to interact . . . People now really meet in the street (but only for seconds) with many people and cars" (Doxiadis, 1974, p. 145). See Figure 4. The most recent British government report on the subject, "Living Off the Ground," says:

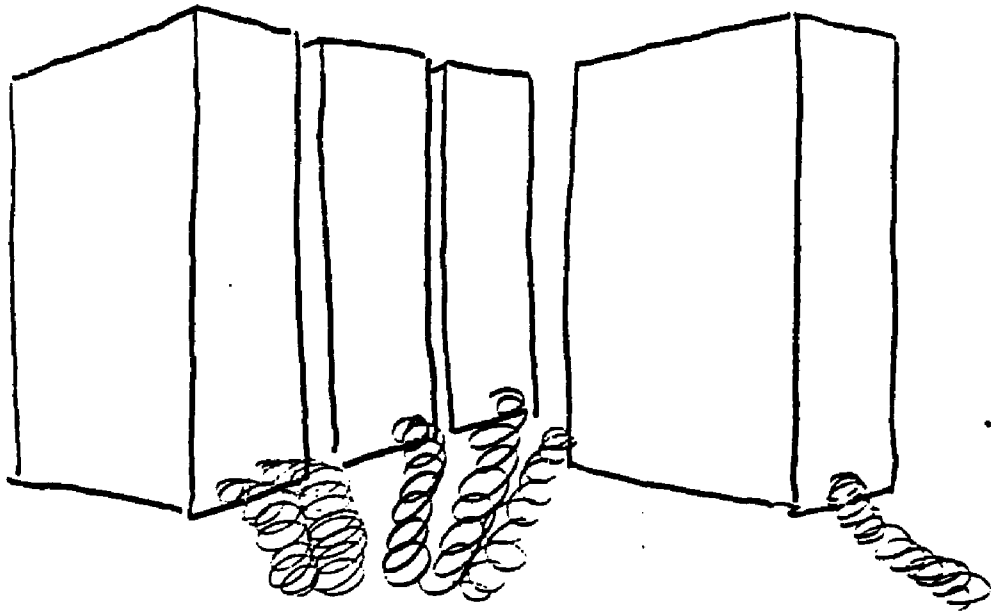
The main inhibition on friendship formation in multi-storey buildings is that there are no neutral areas--semipublic and semi-private (e.g., gardens and front steps)--where people can stand without violating other's privacy and make casual meetings; hence people tend to shut themselves away (Adams and Conway, 1975, p. 7).

In a thorough review of the literature on highrises, Cooper-Marcus and Hogue (1975) conclude that: "Unlike the house-dweller, high-rise residents do not have semi-private transaction spaces (yard, porch, driveway)" (p. 15), and consequently feel socially isolated.

A strong case has been made out for the importance of the provision



... in the low buildings of the past



... in the towers of the present

Figure 4. Doxiadis' illustration of difficult neighbor-to-neighbor contact in highrise buildings (Doxiadis, 1974, p. 146).

of semi-public space and facilities for social interaction by other investigators (Festinger, 1950; Gans, 1962; Newman, 1972; Valins and Baum, 1973; Yancey, 1971). The importance of nearby meeting areas is probably increased for parents who are tied down with young children.

Improved site facilities was one feature among many evaluated in Wilner, et al.'s longitudinal study (1962), comparing a test group of families who moved to new Baltimore public housing (three and eleven story buildings with common play areas on each floor and laundry facilities in each building), with a matched control group who remained in older, deteriorated buildings. The study found that the test group had more day-time interactions with neighbors and helped their neighbors more although there was no change in evaluation of neighbors. The authors had hypothesized that neighbor relations would be different in the new development because there would be less competition over shared facilities (play areas, laundries, toilets) and greater homogeneity among residents.

The outdoor housing site can be designed in one of two ways: either (a) enclosed and cut off from the surrounding neighborhood, by building siting, walls, fences, or shrubbery, or (b) open to the surrounding neighborhood, allowing non-development people easy access to the space and facilities. The former design allows residents and management to screen out access of non-resident "undesirable" users who may behave in socially unacceptable ways, particularly threatening to children. In their design recommendations regarding highrises, Cooper-Marcus and Hogue (1975) strongly urge that the boundary between site and public area be clear so as to discourage outsiders from coming in. Becker's survey of seven moderate income New York State funded low and highrise developments indicates that residents objected to "outsiders" invading their project's

grounds and facilities (Becker, 1974 and 1976). On the other hand, the enclosed site is criticized because it may prevent outsiders from using much needed facilities and may reinforce unnecessary and much resented distinctions between development and non-development people (Goodwin, 1976; Simon, 1970). This whole issue has been the focus of a heated controversy regarding the design of open spaces in New York City privately financed housing. According to the 1961 Zoning Resolution, builders can add six square feet of rentable floor space onto their projects for each square foot of land area that they leave open. With a lack of guidelines, developers have tended to skimp on the amenities and designed plazas not easily accessible to the public (although legally the spaces must be publicly accessible). Proposed design criteria set forth by the city's Urban Design Group specify a certain number of seats, trees, drinking fountains, bicycle parking racks, and other amenities, require the space to be no more than three feet above or below the curb, and have a sign showing it is open to the public (Goodwin, 1976). At hearings on the proposal, developers and citizens' groups, including the Citizens' Housing and Planning Council, objected to the city's generous proposed public access provisions on the grounds that residents and management need substantial control over these areas (Oser, 1977).

Interior Space

The use and effects of interior apartment space interacts with the use and effects of exterior facilities and space. For example, high quality outdoor facilities may take the pressure off a family squeezed into a small apartment; or spacious dwelling units may decrease some of the need for outdoor facilities. Consequently, because access from

apartment unit to the outdoors is such a critical issue in the case of highrise housing, the use and effects of the internal space must be examined.

There is no structural reason why space in highrise apartments must be limited; huge luxury apartments contain many rooms. However, highrise housing is usually the housing form chosen for low, moderate or middle income families because land and construction costs are high and, for this same reason, space in apartment units tends to be limited, particularly in recent construction. From 1975 to 1977, the average new American apartment shrank 6% from 996 square feet to 938 square feet. The living space in an average Mitchell-Lama two-bedroom apartment dropped 32% (Glassman, 1977).

Effects on Adults

Many studies have attempted to show that internal housing unit crowding has negative effects. The findings are not clear-cut. Most early investigations used aggregate data and tried to correlate density to various indices of pathology. Frequently household socio-economic characteristics were not controlled for. In an extensive study by Galle, et al. (1972) using proper controls, the evidence is still ambiguous. A major difficulty is that there is little knowledge of causal links at the individual level with the use of such aggregate measures.

An interview study in Toronto attempting to link measures of aggression to dwelling unit and neighborhood density which controlled for socio-economic factors, revealed that wives' subjective feelings of "crowdedness" in the unit were related to measures of family aggression and physical punishment (arguments, hitting children, etc.); no significant relationships on husbands' feelings or objective density measures

were found (Welch and Booth, 1975). A number of studies (Murray, 1974; Smith and Downer, 1969) point out that people per room may not be the best measure of crowding. As the number of people in the home increase, the opportunities for social interaction do not increase in a linear fashion, but in a multiplying way. These studies suggest a formula to reflect this relationship.

A small sample of interviews with graduate student families in four room apartments and single family houses in Champaign and Urbana, Illinois showed that the husband absented himself more from the smaller units than the more spacious ones. Almost constant contact between mother and child within the unit occurred in the apartments; the amount and type of children's activity had to be restricted; and entertaining in the unit was limited (Choldin, et al., 1975). Comparing single-family house living to apartment living (Choldin, et al., 1975; as in Fanning, 1967) makes it difficult to single out the differential effects of square footage and access unless the square footage is held constant which is almost never the case.

In Wilner, et al.'s study (1962) in which many factors (apartment site, site facilities, etc.) were varied, the respondents in the more spacious public housing units reported feeling more privacy, more comfortable inviting people to the apartment, less bothered about a lack of space, more optimistic, less aggressive, and more satisfied with their personal state of affairs than people who stayed in older, more crowded, run-down housing.

Apartment residents in a number of studies have complained about having to restrict noisy or messy activities and hobbies because of poor soundproofing and limited space (Adams and Conway, 1975; Becker, 1974;

Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975). Becker (1974) asked respondents in seven developments about conflicting activities within the apartment unit and found that less than 36% of the residents indicated this was a problem. There were no differences according to family size. Thirty-seven percent to 58% of the sample felt they had enough room for hobbies in their apartments. Messy activities and ones that could not be completed at one time had to be restricted.

It appears that it is far easier to document people's reports of restrictions in activities (entertaining, studying, hobbies, etc.) than to show negative psychological effects (tension, anxiety, family conflict) as a result of limited interior space. So far, there is little evidence for the latter.

Effects on Children

A number of studies have investigated the possible effects of limited interior space on children. Wilner, et al. (1962) in their carefully controlled comparison study had hypotheses that were based not only on the effects of the amount of space, but also on the influence of improved physical facilities, altered housing image, and access to and quality of outdoor facilities. Findings revealed that the project children had greater and less variable school attendance, were less likely to be ill, and more likely to be promoted at a normal pace. Their intelligence, arithmetic and reading scores were not significantly different after the move; and family activities, arguments and parental interest in the children did not change. But test parents in comparison with controls reported more frequently that their children had a place for homework and their children's friends could come over without getting in the way.

The Wilner study implies that children's socializing in the home

may be effected by limited space. Families in moderate income apartments studied by Becker (1974) reported that when they felt pressured by inadequate space, they restricted the number of friends their children were permitted to invite in. Highrise parents reported that their children entertained fewer friends than lowrise development parents. However, Becker attributes this to the fact that the highrise residents trusted their neighbors and the neighbors' children less than people in lowrise developments.

A number of other studies have tried to link school behavior or performance to the spatial conditions of the home. Booth and Johnson (N.D.) looking at some 700 working class children in Toronto, found no significant relationships between home density and school performance and disease measures. An investigation of 250 Irish school children (Murray, 1974), controlling for family size, social class, housing quality and neighborhood status, showed that children living in homes with more than 1.5 people per room were rated as more aggressive by their school peers. Using the same person per room distribution, a National Child Development study (Wedge and Petzing, 1970), controlling for family size, class, sex, country, and tenure, found that among 16,000 seven-year old children from England, Scotland and Wales, the more crowded children were slightly retarded in their reading and arithmetic scores.

One study (Rodin, 1976) which held the physical environment constant and varied family size, ran a series of experiments with black male children aged 6-9 years old. All lived in the same sized project apartment. Findings revealed that the larger the number of people with whom a child lived, the less likely she/he was to exercise choice by using a switching key to switch from one experimental schedule to another. Rodin

speculates that the child might be exercising less control in the experimental situation because she/he was accustomed to less at home.

As the Choldin study indicated above, one way to deal with limited space is to have one or more members of the family simply absent themselves. Wilner and associates (1962) report that when families moved to improved and more spacious public housing quarters, parents felt that they complained less about their children "spending too much time away from home." Similarly, Mitchell (1971) showed that as the amount of space in an apartment decreased, parents reported having less control over their children because they did not know where they were.

When interior space is limited, often siblings must share bedrooms. A simulated home laboratory study (Smith and Downer, 1969) indicated that school age children who shared a bedroom had less privacy which was defined as "time alone." Wolfe and Laufer (1974) found that children who shared a room gave different definitions of privacy. They spoke of "controlling information," while those who had their own room spoke of "quiet" and "being alone." Children and teenagers in British Council houses seemed to prefer sharing their bedroom with a sibling (Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1969 a, b).

Comments from a number of diverse sources suggest that the strains of limited interior space may be alleviated by partitioning the unit. Renee Dubos has pointed out (1975) that it is important to remember that when Calhoun added sub-sections in his famous rat crowding experiments, he could achieve a population ten times higher without the biological disturbances noted before such additions.

Desor (1972) using a laboratory model room and dolls, found that, holding room area constant, the factors that reduced a feeling of

crowdedness were having fewer doors, adding a bisecting partition, and making the area more rectangular than square in shape. Becker (1974) indicates that duplex units help relieve the tensions of keeping children quiet. Cooper-Marcus and Hogue (1975) recommend that residents be able to take down and put up non-structural walls. The black moderate-income parents in Sauer and Marshall's study (1972) stated a preference for small separate bedrooms for their children. When total space in the home is limited, smaller, individual spaces probably give each individual greater assurance of privacy. Becker (1974) suggests that for moderate income families, an arrangement of small rooms for children with a large communal play area is desirable.

CHAPTER III
IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

As the above review of the literature indicates, research on highrise living has been confined to low and moderate income groups. Public housing has for the most part been examined. Studies have been done on middle income families in lowrise buildings or single family homes but none in highrise developments. It is particularly important to understand this population group's reaction to highrise housing for the following reasons.

Because low and moderate income housing frequently suffers from inferior maintenance and management, poor construction and design, a lack of high quality indoor and outdoor facilities, and tends to be in deteriorated high crime neighborhoods, it is not clear whether research on this housing is documenting the effects of these dimensions, the effects of poverty, the effects of the actual housing form itself, or an interaction between these factors. Research on middle income highrise housing which usually has responsive management and higher quality design and facilities would make at least a step forward in unscrambling some of these variables.

Those aspects of housing design that are most successful with middle income families could be incorporated into future planning for low, moderate and mixed income housing.

Those social patterns that middle income people use that help them to successfully cope with the difficulties of highrise living might be shared with other middle income families to improve their lives in

highrises. Families and their children could be informed and counseled about useful strategies to deal with their environment and the conflicts in it.

Understanding which dimensions of the city, the neighborhood, and housing are most important to middle income families would give information to planners and policy makers on how to set priorities for keeping middle income families in the city. This segment of the population is the one that policy makers desperately want to keep in the central city in order to help stabilize neighborhoods by not only providing leadership and organizational skills but also an economic base to support neighborhood stores, facilities and municipal services.

The British Department of the Environment report, "Living Off the Ground," (Adams and Conway, 1975) states: "Studies in Holland and America have concluded that highrise living is really suitable only for middle and high income groups" (p. 2), citing Newman's Defensible Space as the American source. The DOE report adds, "However, there have been no studies in the country of more expensive flats occupied by higher income or higher class residents, so that the influence of this factor has not been proven" (p. 3).

Newman (1972), based on impressions, hypothesizes:

Middle and upper-income families who choose to live in high-rise buildings in cities, rather than in single family suburban homes, are able to compensate in a variety of ways not open to the poor, they get away for vacations, send the kids to camp or recreation clubs, and take off by subway or car to large regional parks serving the city. Most of these options are simply beyond the means of low income families (p. 24).

The need for research on the middle income group has been urged partly to understand whether or not this in fact occurs (Herrenkohl, n.d.; Mitchell, 1974).

The method chosen for the study was a wholistic small sample approach with the majority of the questions open-ended. This technique was selected because no other studies had been conducted on the topic and therefore important themes had not previously been identified. The research attempted to pick up the nuances and ambiguities in a non-judgemental way. Because this method involves time-consuming intensive interviewing, a large sample would have been infeasible. High cooperation and a rapport are necessary to successfully elicit the type of information desired. A random sample, although usually desirable, in this case would have been too impersonal and therefore inappropriate. Instead, people who had already participated in the study told their neighbors about it and asked them if they would like to be interviewed. This technique resulted in the trust essential for truthful responses to the open-ended questions and the commitment necessary to complete lengthy interviews and questionnaires. The research design and methodology will be described in more detail in the next section.

PART II. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Most research studies have tended to either ignore the entire life style context of residents, while focusing on one dimension of their lives in the environment, or they have focused on people's intentions and not specified in detail the environmental context. Therefore, the study approached the problem from two directions. It looked at how the socio-psychological characteristics of people influence their selection of various environments and then their subsequent adaptation to them, and second, how the social-physical environment molds and affects people's attitudes and behaviors. In this way, I have tried to avoid a purely motivational or deterministic approach, and have used and combined elements of both theoretical positions, as recommended by Michaelson (1975).

To understand the attitudes and experience of middle income families in highrise housing, three major topic areas were covered:

A. Attitudes toward:

1. city/suburban location
2. multi- and single family housing
3. specific design features
4. social setting.

B. Effects of specific design features on family dynamics:

1. floor height
2. existence and quality of shared facilities
3. enclosed vs. open site design
4. apartment size.

C. Strategies and coping mechanisms

1. interior space use
2. site child care arrangements
3. breaks from city living.

To understand any one of the areas outlined above, knowledge of the others is essential. For instance, to understand the meaning of the effects of a specific design feature on a family's life, one must know how this phenomenon fits into the household's entire stance toward the housing itself, and what ways the family deals with that "effect." If parents cannot supervise their children's playing outdoors from their apartment because they live on a high floor and cannot see the play area, we must understand the value this disadvantage has compared to other trade-offs; view, quiet, and safety on an upper floor may be a higher priority than convenient supervision. To take another example, a family may note all the tensions resulting from restricted interior space but count them as minor compared to the worth of living in a heterogeneous community, or the advantage of the woman being able to pursue a career; a family without one of these values may see those stresses as looming much larger. Or to take another example, a family that has discovered a successful way to cope with the lack of interior space, or the difficulty of outdoor child supervision, may feel the "effects" of highrise living much differently than one who has not.

Interviews, questionnaires, and time budgets were administered in four settings, with the following sample distribution:

- Site 1: An older 13-14 story highrise complex: 15 families
- Site 2: A new Mitchell-Lama (government subsidized) complex:
- A. Upper floors: 14 families
 - B. Lower floors: 16 families
- Site 3: Single highrise buildings on the street, not part of a complex: 15 families.

CHAPTER II
DESCRIPTION OF SITES

The three selected housing sites are in the same neighborhood, from East 14th Street to East 34th Street, the East River to Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. (See Figures 5 and 6.) The importance of keeping this one dimension constant is underscored by a conclusion reached by Becker (1976) after studying seven multi-family developments in different neighborhoods; he states: ". . . it appears that the total context in which the development is located may be the most important single factor contributing to parent's satisfaction with the development as a place to raise their children, not the existence of planned play facilities themselves" (p. 571).

Sites 1 and 2 were chosen because they are two examples of popular and well-regarded middle income highrise family developments. They both have long waiting lists. In different ways, they may illustrate "the best" that highrise middle income housing can presently offer and therefore, allow us to give this housing form "the benefit of the doubt."

Site 1: Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village

Stuyvesant Town is made up of 35 buildings on 18 blocks. It contains 8,756 apartments. Peter Cooper Village, with 21 buildings, is on seven blocks and has 2,495 apartments. (See Figures 7 and 8.) Both developments opened in 1947 and are owned by Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Stuyvesant Town was the first urban renewal project in the

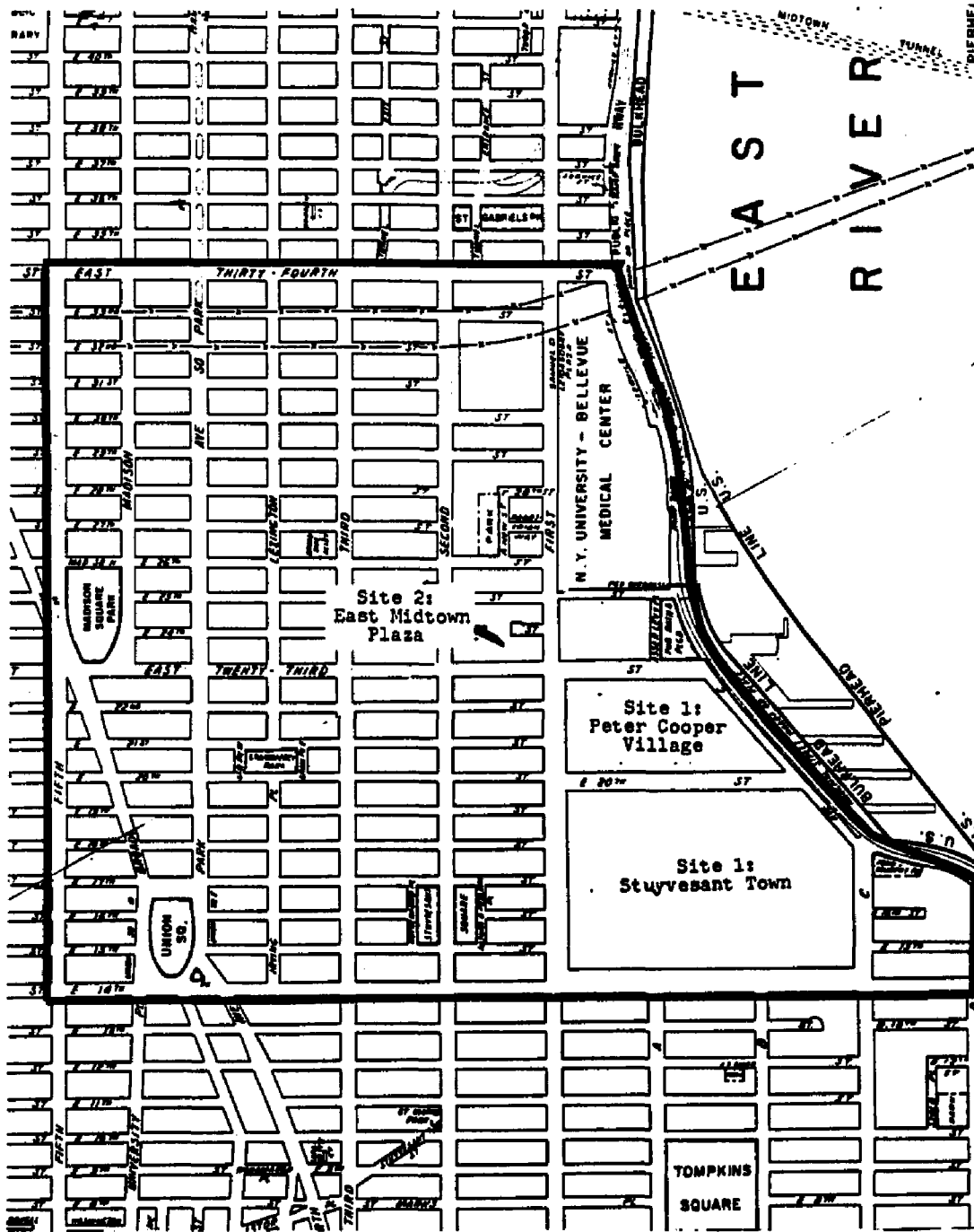


Figure 6. Study area, in detail.

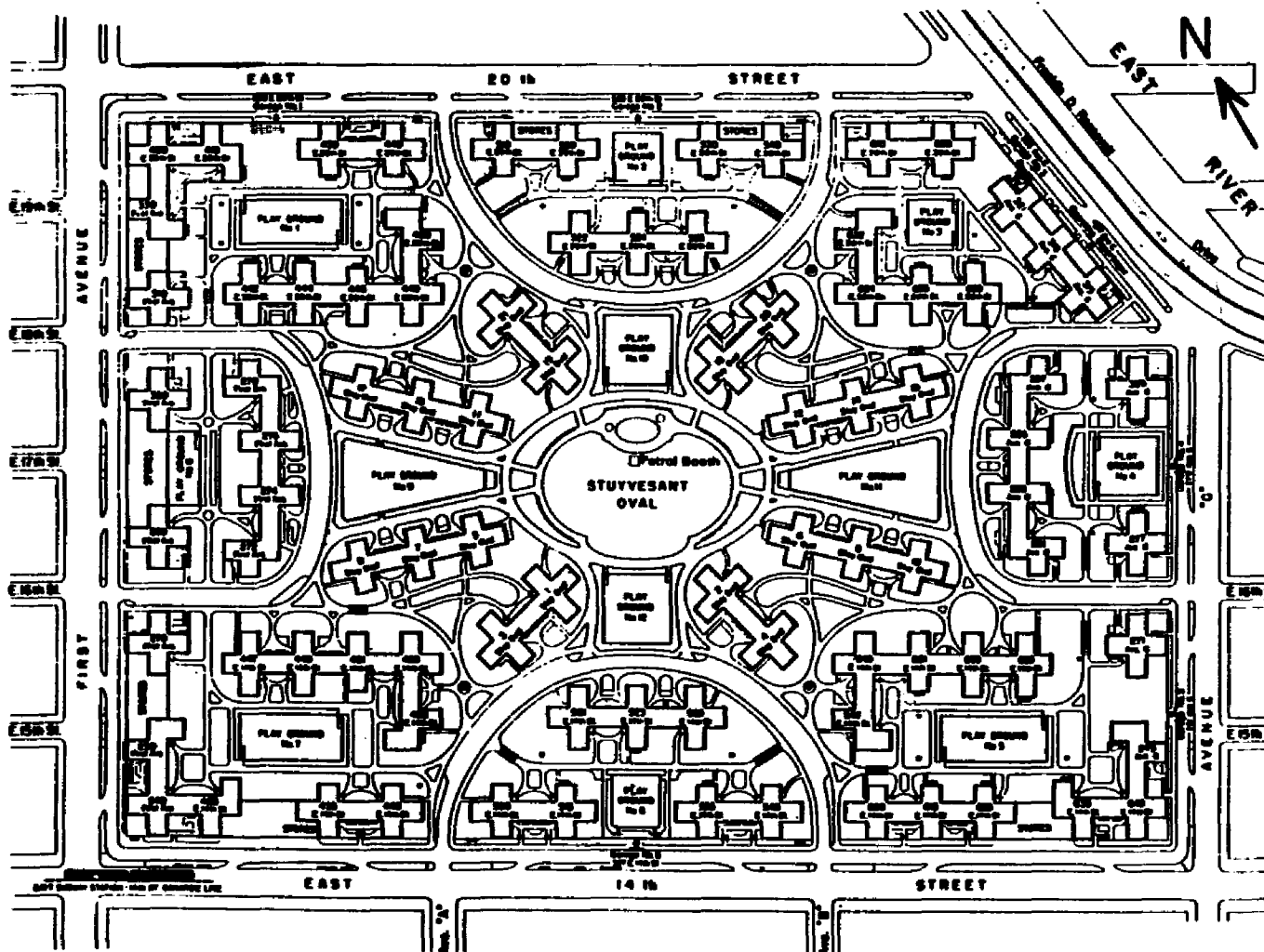


Figure 7. Site plan of Stuyvesant Town. (Courtesy of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.)

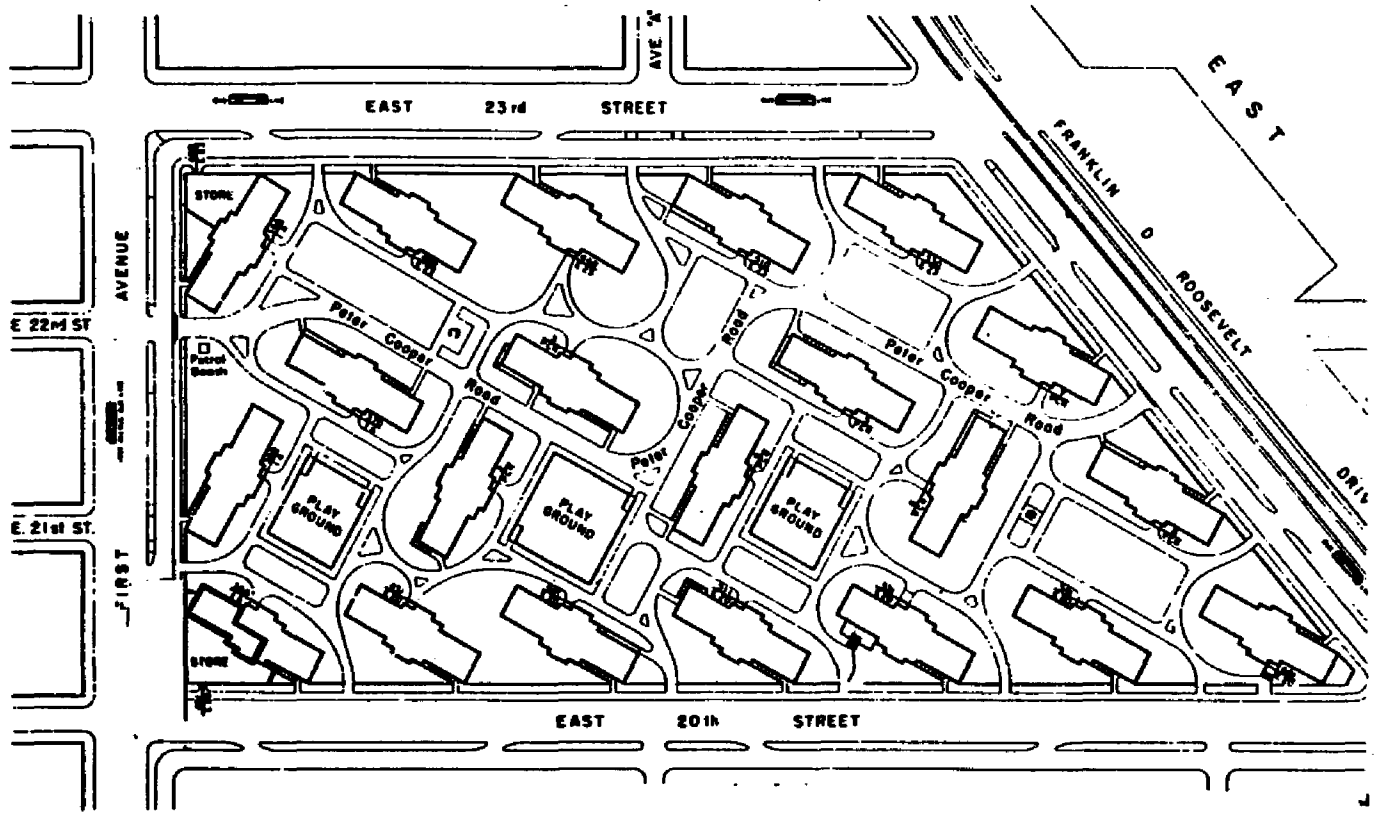


Figure 8. Site plan of Peter Cooper Village. (Courtesy of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.)

United States attempted by private enterprise with public assistance. In the construction of Peter Cooper Village, the City of New York aided Metropolitan by buying land and reselling it at cost to the company.

Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village were designed by Metropolitan Life to be self-contained communities, isolated as much as possible from the surrounding neighborhood. This principle, applied in other Metropolitan Life projects, was intended to insure the company's investment in a stable community that would not be affected by nearby neighborhood deterioration. Metropolitan Life described Stuyvesant Town as "almost suburban in its appeal" (Simon, 1970, p. 26). According to one observer:

Stuyvesant Town was an effort to build a suburb in the heart of the city. . . . All the good things that people who were fleeing the city and establishing themselves in the burgeoning suburbs, Stuyvesant Town proposed to offer: decent housing with adequate space, lawns, and a retreat from the noise and filth of the city. Like the suburbs, it also offered them the comfort of white, middle class neighbors--a shelter from the poor and the black (Simon, 1970, p. 15).

Service streets surround the project; buildings and walls block a view from the street to the central area. (See Figure 9.) Twenty-five percent of Stuyvesant Town's site is taken up with buildings; the rest is devoted to landscaped sections, playgrounds, walks and streets. At the center of the site is an oval shaped park (see Figure 10) nearly five acres. There are 12 age-segregated playgrounds in Stuyvesant Town, three in Peter Cooper (see Figures 11a-c), supervised by a recreation staff of some 20 people who organize preschool activities as well as athletic teams and competitions for the older children. Internal sidewalks also provide spaces for children's play (see Figure 12).

Stuyvesant Town has a 250 man service staff. At both developments, there are guard booths at the main entrances. The security force patrols



Figure 9. Views of Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village from street.



Figure 10. Stuyvesant Town oval.



Figure 11a. Playgrounds for young children.

Figure 11. Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper play areas.

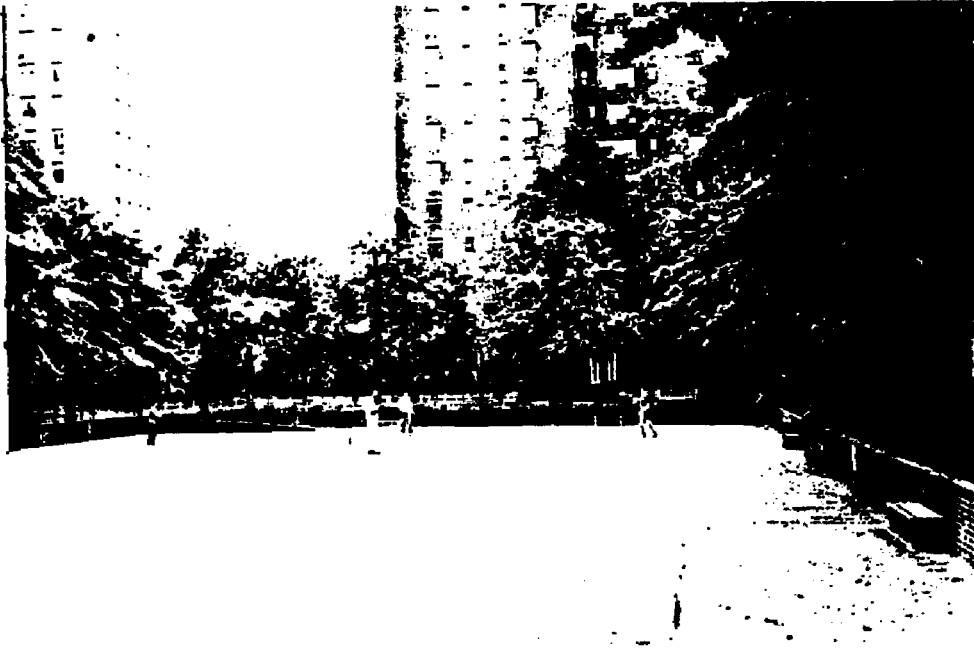


Figure 11b. Paddle ball and ping-pong for all ages.



Figure 11c. Basketball courts for older children and teenagers.



Figure 12. Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village internal sidewalks.

in motor carts over the sites. (See Figure 10.) In 1970, telephone security systems were installed in all the buildings. Reports from all sources (Greenhouse, 1969; Schuman, 1974; Taylor, 1973) claim that the maintenance is excellent.

The architecture of the buildings themselves closely resembles traditional public housing. Thirteen and 14 story red brick identical structures with double-loaded corridors, the developments, from the street, are difficult to distinguish from a New York City Housing Authority project.

The rents are considered a bargain at both complexes, particularly at Stuyvesant Town which, in 1974, had its 20 year tax abatement extended by the State Legislature. The tax abatement will decrease at a rate of 10 percent a year until it is phased out. The project has also been placed under rent stabilization (Schuman, 1974; Taylor, 1973). Some objected to the fact that "over-income" tenants do not pay a "surcharge" as they do in Mitchell-Lama buildings, and were therefore being unnecessarily subsidized. Roger Starr, one of the architects of the 1974 tax abatement bill, said the loss of taxes to the City would be off set by increased stability among thousands of tenants (Schuman, 1974).

Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village have solid reputations for good family living along with histories of racial discrimination. Families are selected by a screening process which includes a visit to the applicant's present apartment. The original tenants were well-educated veterans returning from the war with good professional or business prospects (Greenhouse, 1969). According to an original tenant,

This was like a big campus right after the war. It was a very happy time. We were all in the same boat, every husband just starting out, every wife either pregnant or pushing a baby carriage. No one was competing. Our doors were open all the time (Greenhouse, 1969).

Stuyvesant Town housed primarily Irish and Italian Catholics and Jews. Among each of these groups, very strong communities and territories developed; groups of buildings and specific playgrounds were the turf of each group. As the population aged, fights were not uncommon (Greenhouse, 1969).

Robert C. Weaver called Stuyvesant Town "the classic example of the use of financial controls to perpetuate residential segregation" (Weaver, 1948, p. 226). When Stuyvesant Town opened, the President of Metropolitan Life openly stated that blacks would not be accepted into the development. Consequently, Stuyvesant Town faced a variety of law suits. In addition, in the construction of the development, 3,000 families were relocated from the site who could not be accommodated in the new housing because the rents were too high for them. Peter Cooper also became embroiled in controversy when the nearby United Nations wished to reserve apartments for its staff and encountered discriminatory policies. In the late 50's a city law prohibited Metropolitan from further discrimination. Yet even in the late 60's there were only an estimated 84 blacks in a total population of 22,405 in Stuyvesant Town (Simon, 1970). After pressure from the City Commission on Human Rights, Met Life in 1968 promised to by-pass its waiting list to admit minority groups. The 1970 Census shows that Stuyvesant Town's non-whites have increased from 90 to 641 in 10 years. In that time period the population declined from 22,000 to 19,000 (Taylor, 1973). The number of children younger than 10 had dropped by two-thirds since the previous census.

Stuyvesant Town's self-contained design has been linked to its unfortunate discriminatory practices. Critics have contended that the development excluded its lower income neighbors both socially, through

its tenant selection policies, and physically, through its enclosed design. One of these critics, Arthur Simon (1970) wrote a book pointing out how he felt the project was a glaring example of how public and company officials fail to translate personal values into corporate and public actions. He claimed that it perpetuated racial and economic polarization in America. Speaking of the details of the site design, Simon states "These things helped to give Stuyvesant Town the appearance of a fortress cut off from its neighbors" (p. 30). A Councilman who opposed the project called it a "medieval walled city" (p. 31).

It is highly unlikely that another project as large and with as much green open space and recreational facilities as Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village will be built in a high density city. Such large pieces of land cannot be assembled today because (a) planners and developers ethnically and politically can no longer relocate such large numbers of people and (b) high land and construction costs generally require higher density housing with less open space. Even so, there may be ways in which we can apply to new housing the successful attributes that these older developments have and avoid their errors.

Site 2: East Midtown Plaza

East Midtown Plaza is located diagonally across the street from Peter Cooper Village (see Figure 13). It is a 746 unit Mitchell-Lama housing co-operative. Mitchell-Lama housing was designed for middle income families when it was authorized by a 1955 State law that provided for city or state aid in the form of long term low-interest mortgages and tax exemptions. The law specifies family income limitations. The first stage of East Midtown Plaza containing 510 apartments was completed in

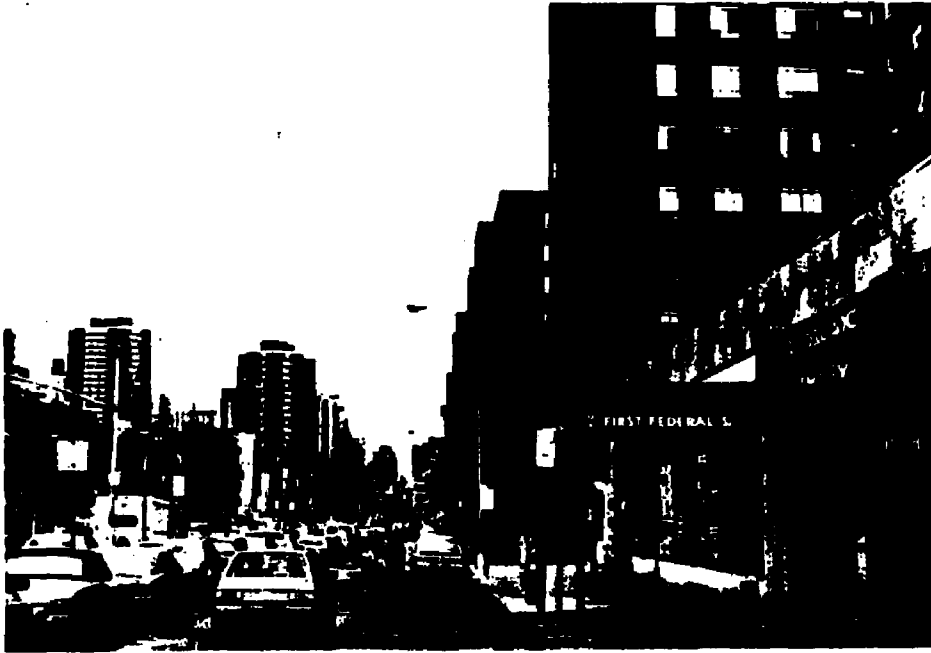


Figure 13a. East Midtown Plaza in left background, Stuyvesant Town in right foreground.

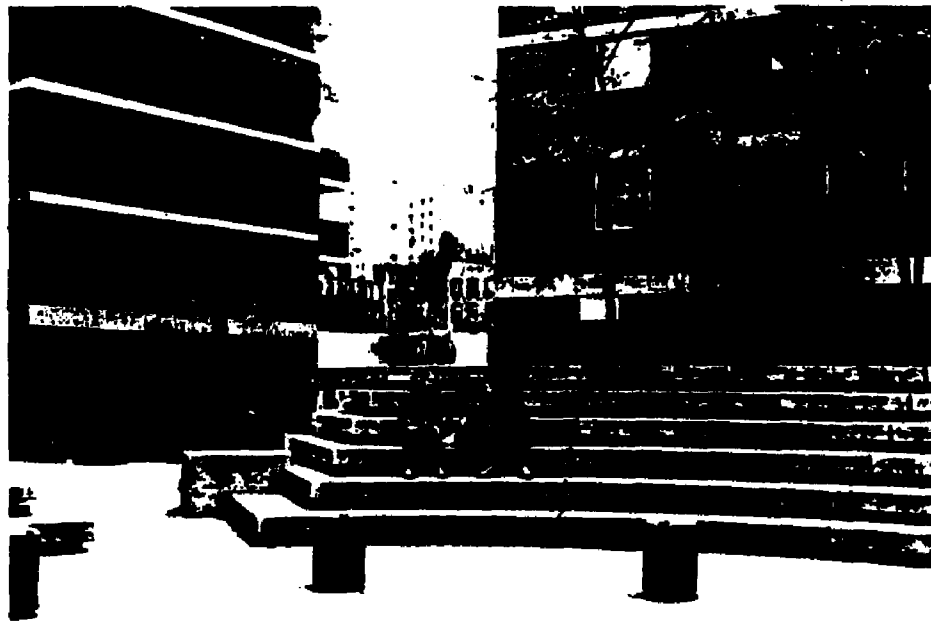


Figure 13b. East Midtown Plaza in foreground, Peter Cooper Village in background.

Figure 13. East Midtown Plaza in relation to Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village.

1972. The cost of 73% of these apartments was increased by a "skewed" formula so that costs were spread and 27% of the apartments could be rented to low income families. Sixteen percent of the low income apartments received aid from the low rent assistance program; 11% were subsidized by other apartments (Asbury, 1971). Because of rising maintenance costs, the 236 units in the second stage of East Midtown Plaza which opened in 1974 are not part of a "skewed" payment program and therefore do not house low income families. Also, as low income apartments become vacated in Stage 1, they are treated as middle income units.

East Midtown Plaza illustrates in many ways the latest and most advanced thinking in design theory. Designed by Davis, Brody Associates, the development in 1973 was given the Bard Merit Award for Excellence in Architecture and Urban Design by the City Club of New York. The awards of merit are given to architecture signifying "design skill, client awareness, and sensitivity to surroundings" (Huxtable, 1973). East Midtown Plaza has also received the New York State Association of Architects Award for Excellence in Design, and the Municipal Arts Society Certificate of Merit.

The design is similar to Riverbend (described on page 39). It is a combination of tall towers (22-28 stories high) and lowrise structures (9 and 11 stories high). (See Figure 14.) There are three terrace playgrounds next to laundry rooms that are accessible only through the buildings themselves. (See Figure 15.) Near these internal play areas are duplex units with outdoor corridors that are reached by elevator. The architects consciously attempted to avoid the monotonous exterior appearance of a project like Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper as well as provide a wide variety of interesting apartment layouts. In contrast to Stuyvesant

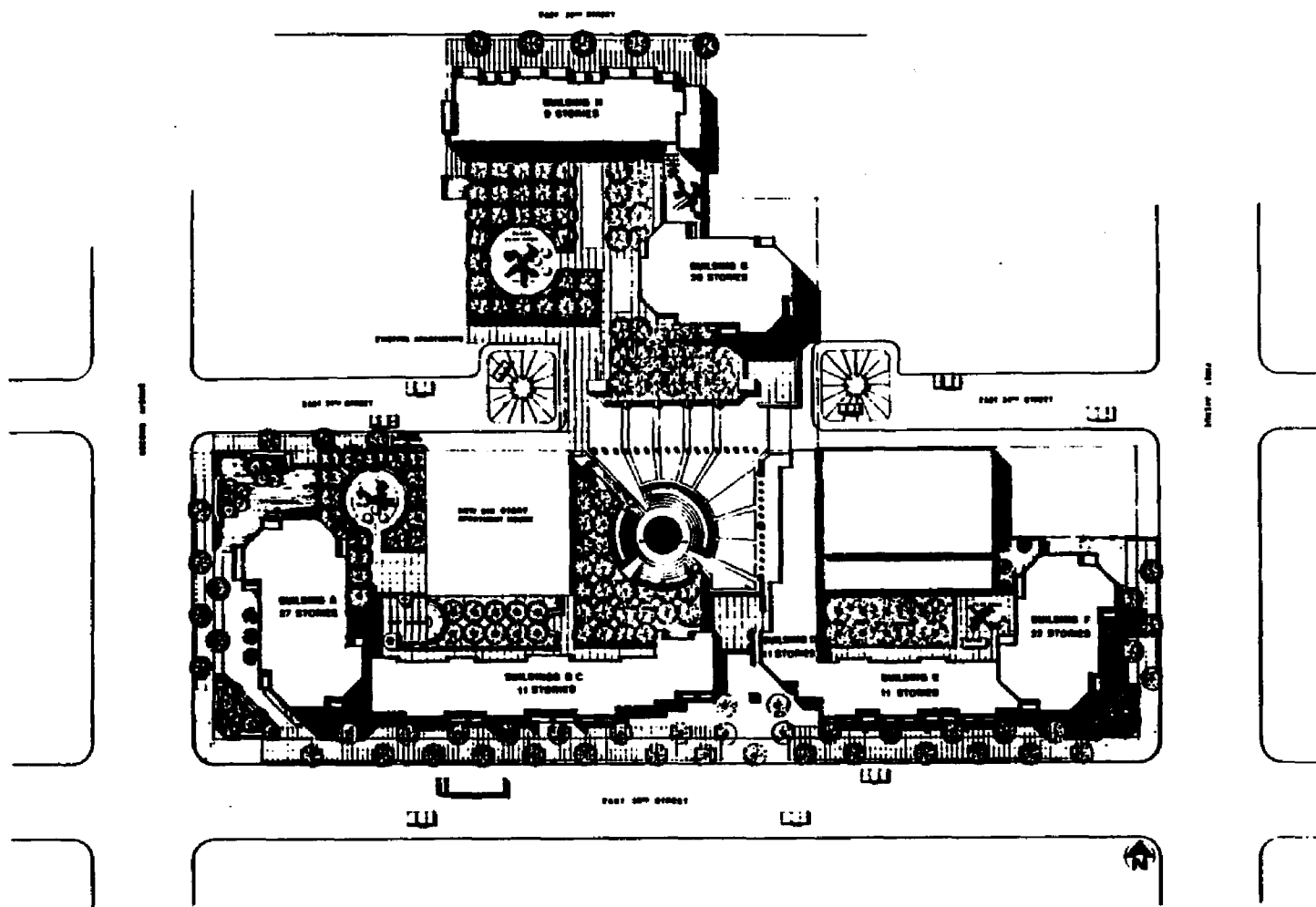


Figure 14. Site plan of East Midtown Plaza.

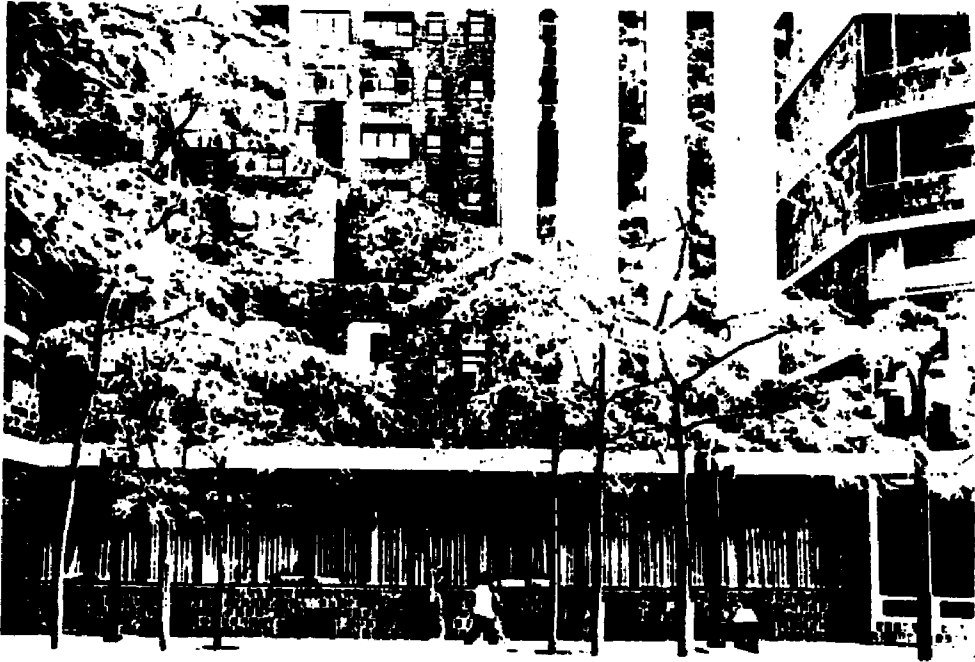


Figure 15. East Midtown Plaza terrace playground.

Town and Peter Cooper Village where there is only one three bedroom apartment per building, and no four bedroom apartments, East Midtown Plaza is made of 15% (112 apartments) three bedroom units and 2% (15) four bedroom units. There are several community rooms in each of the three sections of the development.

East Midtown Plaza's open site plan reflects a very different philosophy that Metropolitan Life Insurance's closed plan in Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village. Instead of segregating itself from the surrounding area, the development was intended to integrate itself with the rest of the neighborhood. A consultant's report to the City, "Bellevue Environs," recommended that East Midtown Plaza be part of a larger pedestrian system linking other parts of the neighborhood:

The new plazas, shops and parks could be designed not only to serve Bellevue South residents but also to attract people from the far sides of Second Avenue and 23rd Street. In this way, the new development could help unify East Midtown . . . Interior spaces should be linked from one end of the quadrant to the other. It should be made possible for a child to make his way safely from 23rd Street all the way to 30th by himself (Davis, Brody and Associates, 1970, p. 20). (See Figure 16 for recommended pedestrian system.)

East Midtown Plaza's open space, "the plaza," is easily accessible to the surrounding area. (See Figure 17.) No guard booths stand at entrances. In the plaza, there is one playground (see Figure 18), a circular cement fountain, and seating for adults. (See Figures 19 and 20.) There is no grass; what few trees and shrubbery were originally planted are gone. The buildings have buzzer-telephone systems at their entrances. Guards are positioned at building entrances in the evening. During the day, guards patrol the entire development.

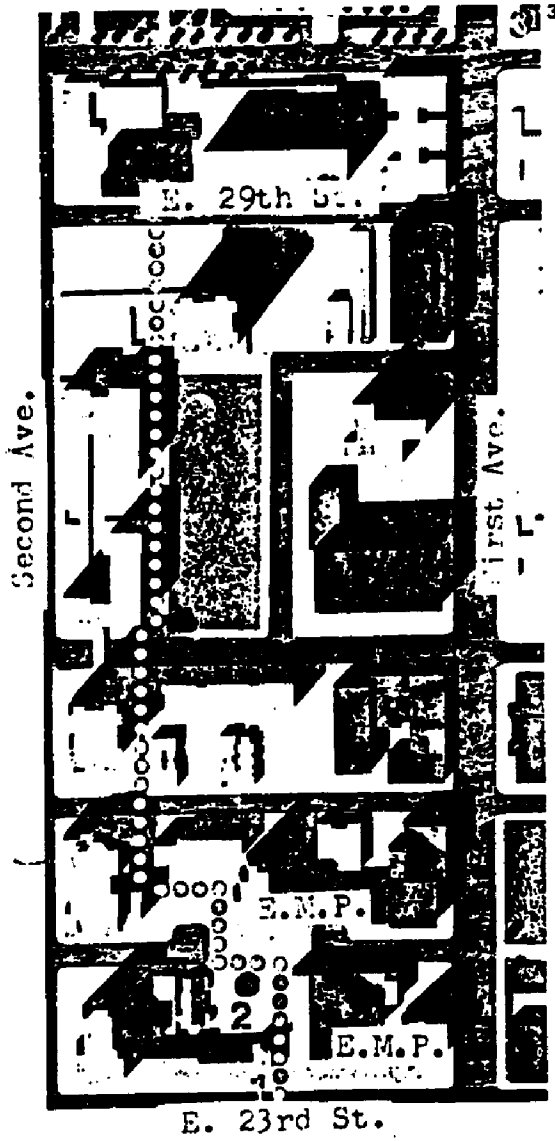


Figure 16. Pedestrian system which includes East Midtown Plaza.

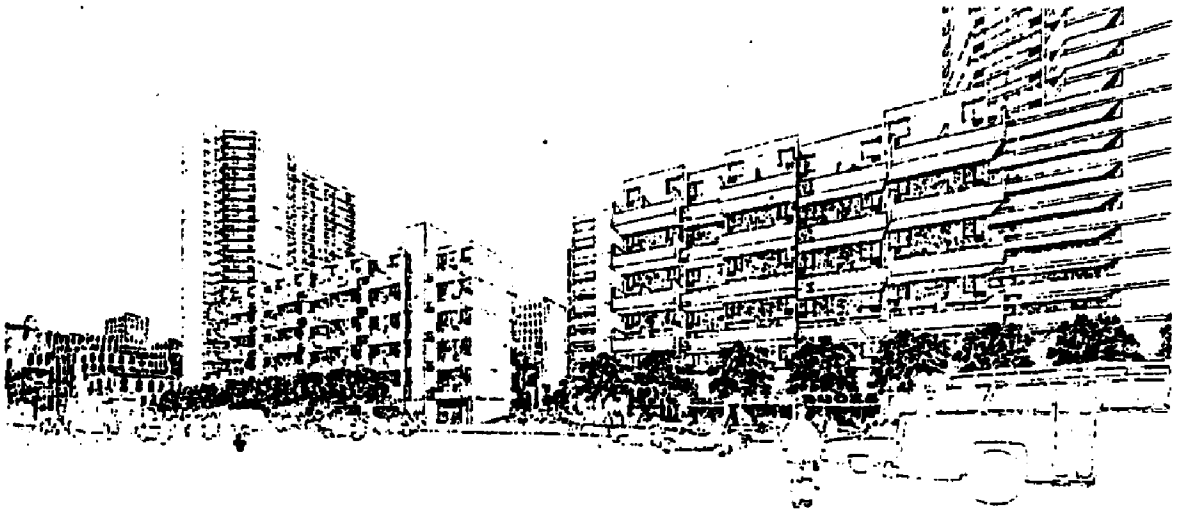


Figure 17. View of East Midtown Plaza
from 23rd Street.

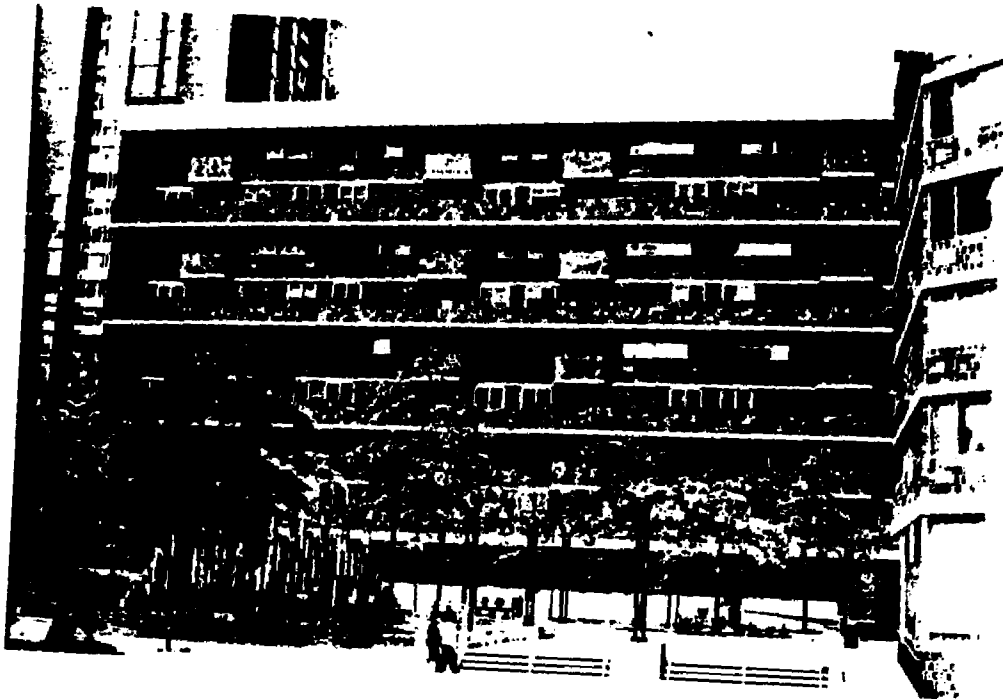


Figure 18. East Midtown Plaza street level playground.

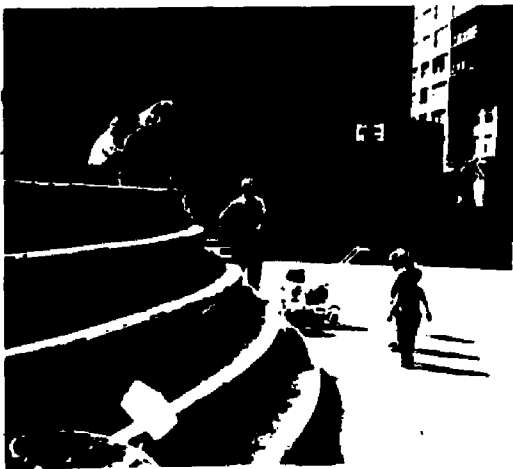
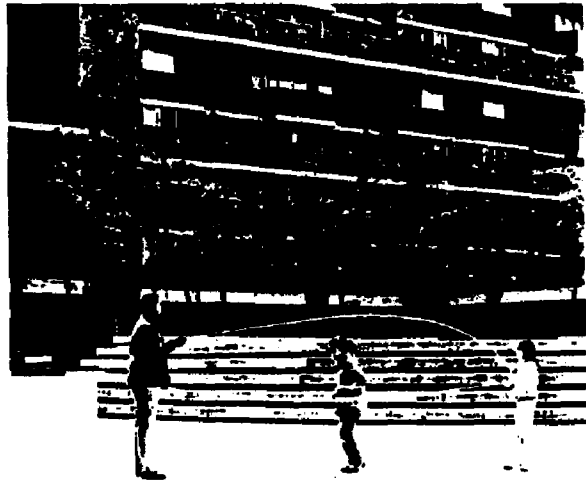
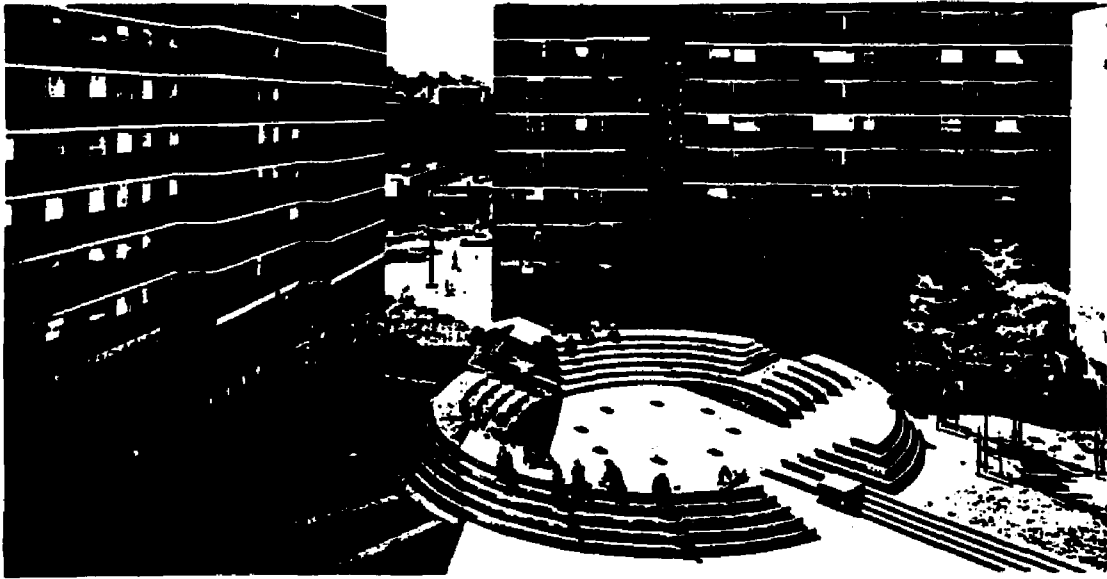


Figure 19. East Midtown Plaza. Cement fountain area in plaza.

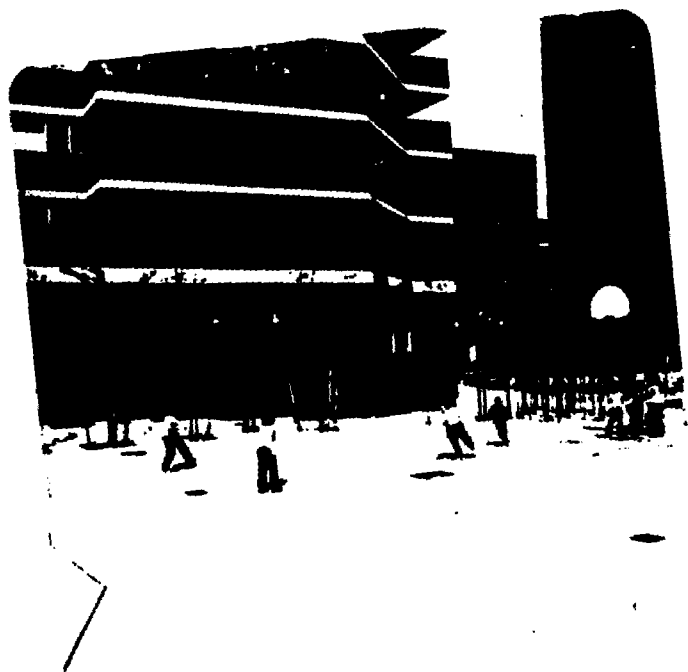


Figure 20. East Midtown Plaza. Plaza area near 24th Street.

Site 3: Single Highrise Buildings

Candidates for this category were any single highrise buildings that were located in the area bounded by 14th Street, Fifth Avenue, 34th Street and the East River and did not have outdoor space and facilities shared with other buildings. Therefore these dwellings are in the same general neighborhood as Sites 1 and 2. The buildings were chosen through referrals to families living in them using the "snow-ball" technique to be described shortly. Residents in thirteen different buildings were studied. Typical buildings are shown in Figure 21.

In an ideal research design, tenure, facilities, building design and population composition would be tightly controlled, but as with much field research, sites must be chosen from what is naturally available (just as families must choose their own housing from what's available). These sites illustrate well the real opportunities available to a family wishing to locate in Manhattan. The costs of brownstones and most lofts are prohibitive in Manhattan to middle income populations. A range of sites was chosen so that not only could sub-hypotheses be tested, but also, so that whatever patterns of behavior or opinion are found that are universal, then we know they are not just a function of a specific housing form. This approach in no way assumes that all families will be identical living in these three sites; some self selection will naturally occur. Therefore the differences among the three site populations will in itself be a subject for examination.



Figure 21. Typical single highrise buildings.

CHAPTER III
DESCRIPTION OF METHOD

The number of households distributed across sites is as stated above. Both husbands and wives were interviewed with a tape recorder for approximately one hour. (See Appendix A for interview schedule.) Wives were interviewed by a female, husbands by a male. Both were interviewed in one visit, out of ear shot of each other. At the end of the interview, husband and wife were given a questionnaire (see Appendix B) along with a time diary for a weekday and a Sunday which wife and husband filled out separately (see Appendix C). These materials were sent back to the investigator in the mail. Scaled questions on reasons for staying in the city and leaving the city were added for Sites 2 and 3 to improve on the kinds of answers received at Site 1, where the study began. The interviews were conducted over a year and a half period from January 1976 to June 1977.

All families were obtained through the "snow-ball" method of referral from one family to the next. Although it may be argued that such a technique does not result in a representative sample, knocking on doors is out of the question in middle income developments which prohibit solicitation; a letter/send back postcard technique is time consuming and has the same risks of non-representation. Referral through friends and neighbors is a very comfortable technique because the investigator already has been checked out by the previous interviewee and found to be reputable.

Families with at least one child between the ages of two and ten were eligible for the sample.

By using open-ended questions, allowing the respondent to speak in his or her own words, and by covering a range of topic areas, it was hoped that the investigation would allow for both hypothesized relationships to be tested and unanticipated inter-relationships to emerge on their own. Also, the purpose of some of the research was not to prove anything, but to describe the experience and feelings of the sample families. The open-ended technique also allowed the interviewer to probe unclear answers and to pursue promising avenues of discussion. The utility of the "time budget" has been clearly demonstrated by Michaelson's work (1975).

All interviews were transcribed off tape recordings. Time budgets were coded. The responses to open-ended interview questions were content analyzed. Two coders put answers into categories. The coders achieved very high reliability. Based on 10% of the sample, they had 91% reliability using a formula from Holsti (1968). (See Appendix D.) Analysis of variance, chi-square tests, and multiple regression analysis were used in analyzing the data. It should be noted that answers to open-ended questions, because they were volunteered, are more salient and carry more weight than responses to direct questions or scales.

CHAPTER IV
HYPOTHESES AND ISSUES WITH CORRESPONDING
INTERVIEW AND QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

The study investigated a number of questions. In some cases specific findings were expected; in others, there were definite hypotheses. The following is a list of questions the study tried to address along with corresponding instruments or parts of the research design. "I" indicates items on the interview schedule; "Q" indicates an item on the questionnaire. Major topic areas are referred to relevant sections of the literature review.

I. Location and Housing Type Attitudes (Chapter I)

- A. What are the priorities of sample families re housing location? What priority is housing, among other factors such as schools, crime, proximity to work, etc.? It is expected that because of the unique qualities of New York City, schools and crime will be strong "push" factors; because of changing sex roles, it is expected that proximity to work and services for women will be rated high.

I 3 (Manhattan); 4 (suburbs); 16, 17 (moving plans); 22 (indices on staying and leaving city); 25 (effects); 52 (wife's work).

- B. What sub-groups are expected to be found living in urban highrises? Which groups would be expected to be most

satisfied? Six sub-groups are expected:

1. Cosmopolitans

- put high value on cultural opportunities of city
- professionals, intellectuals
- higher education than other groups
- higher income than other groups
- most satisfied with city and present housing
- least interested in leaving city or housing
- likely to have country home
- likely to send children to private school
- participation in local and non-local social organizations and child care arrangements.

2. Blocked cosmopolitans

- same values as above
- lower income than above
- cannot afford country home
- cannot afford private school
- ambivalent about city and present housing
- unclear on moving plans
- participation in local and non-local organizations.

3. Transients

- higher value on family life (child-related issues) than cosmopolitans
- lower value on city's cultural opportunities than cosmopolitans
- higher value on single family home and freedom for children and adults outdoors

- less professional or intellectual occupations
 - less education
 - lower income than cosmopolitans
 - consider present housing temporary, plan on moving to suburbs
 - wife is not pursuing career
 - conventional marriage
 - participation in local social organizations and child care arrangements.
4. Blocked transients
- same values and life style as transients
 - lower income than transients preventing firm moving plans to suburbs
 - ambivalent about city and present housing
 - unclear about moving plans
5. Upwardly mobile ethnic villagers
- grew up in poor urban housing, working class, close-knit community
 - highest value on local social interaction
 - high interaction with relatives and friends
 - low participation in formal organizations and child care arrangements
 - wife not working
 - conventional marriage
 - difficult to predict housing attitudes--may be turning into either cosmopolitans or transients.
6. Dual-career families

- both husband and wife pursuing job or career
- high satisfaction with city and present housing
- lower value on suburban single family house than transients
- no plans to move
- if wife presently working, low participation in local social organizations and child care arrangements.

Measures:

income: I 53

occupation: (husband) I 21a; (wife) I 29, 52; Q 4 (wife and husband)

education: Q 3

age: Q, page 1

residential background: I 58, 59

values on city and suburbs: I 3 (Manhattan); I 4 (suburbs); I 22 (scales on staying and leaving); I 23 (effects); I 24, 24, 26 (ideal home)

value on single family home: Q 2 (detached home); I 24, 25, 25 (ideal home); I 27 (symbolic meaning)

satisfaction with city and present housing: Q 11 (satisfaction scales)

moving plans: I 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20

participation in social organization and child care arrangements: I 30 (child care); I 43, 44 (organizations)

interaction with neighbors: I 41 a-h

interaction with relatives and friends: Q 9, 10

schooling for children: I 31, 32

country home: I 50

conventionality of marriage: Q 7 (rating scale); Q 8
(responsibilities scale)

sharing of household and child care tasks: analysis of
time budgets.

C. Do wives and husbands hold different opinions on location and housing type? Differences between wives and husbands are expected as follows:

1. Husbands will be more inclined to move to suburbs than wives.
2. Husbands will value suburban single family home more than wives.
3. Wives will be more satisfied with city and present housing than husbands.

(See above measures.) I 18 (different opinions than spouse).

D. Does childhood or adult experience with multi-family housing influence present opinions on highrise housing? It is expected that the factors outlined above may be stronger predictors.

(See above measures.)

II. Effects of Design Features on Family Dynamics (Chapter II)

A. What effect does floor height have? A number of differences are expected:

1. Lower floor (1 - 6) parents will report easier supervision of their children outdoors than upper floor parents.
2. Lower floor children will play outside at an earlier age and be outside alone more during the day than upper floor children.

3. Upper floor mothers will spend more time with their children, either indoors or outdoors than lower floor mothers.
 4. When play areas are visible from the apartment unit, the effects will be in the same direction as above for lower floor families.
- B. What effect does living in a complex of buildings with shared play facilities have? It is anticipated that:
1. Single building (Site 3) mothers will spend more time with their children than development (Sites 1 and 2) mothers.
 2. Single building (Site 3) mothers interact less with their neighbors than those in developments (Sites 1 and 2).
 3. Single building (Site 3) mothers will belong to fewer local social organizations and child care arrangements than those in developments (Sites 1 and 2).
- C. What effect does enclosure of site facilities have? It is expected that:
1. Children and parents will use enclosed facilities (Site 1) more than publicly accessible facilities (plaza, Site 2).
 2. Children of families with physical and visual access to interior access 2nd floor play areas (Site 2) will play there outside alone more and at an earlier age than children of families who lack such access (some at Site 2), (Sites 1 and 3).
- D. What effect does the number of people per room have? It is anticipated that the more persons per room in the apartment, the greater the number and the more serious the complaints on

family conflicts and tensions over space.

- E. Does being tied to the child as a result of one or more of the design features above have an effect on the parent? It is expected that mothers may report more personal tensions and conflicts.

Measures:

supervising child outside/child allowed outside: I 28 a-d (plus additional questions)

amount of time child outside or inside: analysis of time budgets

amount of time parents outside, inside, with child: analysis of time budgets

interaction with neighbors: I 40, 41

participation in local social organization and child care arrangements: I 30, 43, 44

family/personal tensions and conflicts: I 23 (effects); I 33 - 37 (space use); 54 (Cantril ladder).

III. Strategies and Coping Mechanisms (Chapters I and II)

- A. What co-operative child care arrangements do people have that might alleviate the difficulties of highrise living? It is anticipated that the sample will participate, in varying degrees in mutual assistance arrangements such as play groups, babysitting and walking pools, informal babysitting arrangements and supervising children outdoors.

I 30.

- B. What breaks to people take to get out of the city? How important are these to the sample families? It is expected that some families will own country homes, rent vacation

houses, take trips, visit suburban or rural relatives and send children to camp out of the city, all ways of relieving the tensions of city and apartment life.

I 50 a-d.

- C. Do the same families have different ways of using interior apartment space? Do some ways appear more successful than other ways? It is anticipated that families that divide the space into zones or territories may report few family conflicts and more personal privacy.

I 33 - 39 (space use and conflicts); 23 (effects); 8 (changes).

IV. User Feedback on Specific Design Features (Chapter II)

In addition, several questions were included to not only shed light on the above issues in a general way, but also to provide feedback to architects and planners on a number of specific design features of interest.

apartment layout: I 6, 7, 8

management practices: I 10

design of community rooms, play spaces, plaza, lobby/corridors:

I 10

importance of co-operative housing: I 14

noise: I 28a

apartment hindering activities: I 47

housing reflection of self: I 56, 57

list of design recommendations/rating scale of importance: Q 1.

PART III. FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

The findings will be discussed using the same framework that the literature was reviewed with and the hypotheses were listed by. This structure reflects the basic research approach of the study to equally investigate social and physical determinants and to understand their interface.

First, the effects of the sample's demographic characteristics (income, education, women's employment status, etc.) are dealt with. Then findings on major design features are reviewed. Differences between the three housing sites, including demographics, housing attitudes and lifestyles, neighboring behavior and access to outdoor play facilities are discussed in the chapter on design in addition to the results on floor height and apartment density. Following is a chapter on the best predictors of moving plans and housing satisfaction combining both demographic and design features in stepwise multiple regression analyses. A chapter on residents' strategies and coping mechanisms and a chapter on user feedback on specific design features complete the findings section.

Each chapter concludes with a summary and discussion of the implications of the findings in that chapter. Part IV will summarize and discuss the major findings from each chapter.

CHAPTER I
DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

Sample families were typically made up of well-educated, professional, middle income parents in their thirties and at least one young child. (See Table 1.) All families had a husband and a wife. The majority (62%) had two children; a quarter had only one child. Compared to the rest of the country, sample parents were relatively old (mean age: 36 and a half) for the age of their children. Only 10% of sample parents were under 30 years old; 28% were above age 40. The ages of the youngest children ranged from babies to 8 year olds. The average age of the youngest child was 3½. Over a third of the youngest children were under 2 years old. Oldest children ranged from 1½ to 18 years old, with an average age of 6½. Only 20% of the oldest children were more than eight years old. Sample women on the average were three years younger than sample men (35 versus 38), $F(1, 80) = 5.51, p < .05$.

The sample was well-educated. Fifty-eight percent had some graduate education; only 3% did not have some college education. Men and women did not differ significantly in their educations. All men were employed; the majority worked in Manhattan. Their occupations were highly professional, including jobs in the fields of law, business, finance, medicine, teaching, research, art, advertising, computer technology and psychology. (See Table 2.) Sixty-one percent of the sample's women held jobs outside the home. Fifteen women (25% of all the women) worked in

Table 1
Demographics of Sample

(Variable)	Number	Percent	Mean
Age	N = 84		36.5 years old
24-29	(8)	10%	
30-34	(28)	33	
35-39	(25)	30	
40-44	(16)	19	
45-49	(4)	5	
50 +	(3)	4	
Education	N = 111		2.6
High School (1)	(3)	3%	
College (2)	(44)	40	
Graduate School (3)	(64)	64	
Number of Children	N = 60		1.9
1	(15)	25%	
2	(37)	62	
3	(7)	12	
4	(0)	-	
5	(1)	2	
Youngest Child's Age	N = 60		3.5 years old
Under 1 year old	(8)	13%	
1-2	(15)	25	
3-4	(19)	32	
5-6	(11)	18	
7-8	(7)	12	
Oldest Child's Age	N = 60		6.3 years old
1-2	(5)	8%	
3-4	(14)	23	
5-6	(20)	33	
7-8	(9)	15	
9-10	(8)	13	
11 +	(4)	7	
Income	N = 57		\$35,921
\$22,500	(13)	23%	
27,500 - 32,500	(16)	28	
37,500 - 42,500	(18)	32	
47,500 - 60,000	(10)	18	

Table 1--Continued

(Variable)	Number	Percent	Mean
Women's Employment Status and Mean Household Income N = 55			
Not Employed	(23)	40%	\$32,262
Part Time Employment	(15)	25	35,357
Full Time Employment	(21)	35	42,143
Location of Employment (Men and Women) N = 95			
Manhattan	(81)	85%	
Brooklyn	(5)	5	
Bronx	(5)	5	
Queens	(2)	2	
Elsewhere	(2)	2	
Number of Bedrooms N = 60			
1	(4)	7%	2.4
2	(32)	53	
3	(19)	32	
4	(5)	8	
Monthly Payment for Apartment N = 59			
Under \$300	(4)	7%	\$441
\$300 - 399	(14)	24	
400 - 499	(21)	36	
500 - 599	(12)	20	
600 +	(8)	14	
Length of Residence at Present Apartment N = 60			
Less than 1 year	(6)	10%	3.9 years
1 - 2 years	(19)	32	
3 - 4	(11)	18	
5 - 6	(16)	27	
7 - 8	(3)	5	
9 +	(5)	8	
Length of Residence in Building or Development N = 60			
Less than 1 year	(1)	2%	5.5 years
1 - 2 years	(15)	25	
3 - 4	(11)	18	
5 - 6	(14)	23	
7 - 8	(7)	12	
9 - 10	(4)	7	
11 - 12	(4)	7	
13 +	(4)	7	

Table 1--Continued

(Variable)	Number	Percent	Mean				
Floor Height	N = 59		8.0				
1 - 3	(16)	27%					
4 - 6	(17)	29					
7 - 9	(7)	12					
10 - 12	(8)	14					
13 - 15	(0)	-					
16 - 18	(4)	7					
19 +	(7)	12					
Childhood Residential History	N = 104						
House	(47)	45.2%					
Both house and apartment	(26)	25.0					
Apartment	(31)	29.8					
<u>Breakdown</u>							
<u>Number of Subjects By Number of Homes Lived In</u>							
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percent of All Locations</u>
Suburbs, single family home	41	8	5	1	1	(56)	31%
Manhattan apartment	10	4	1			(15)	8
Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens apartment	30	5	4	4		(43)	24
Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens one or two family house	17	4	1	1		(23)	13
Other city or town apartment	11	3	2	1		(17)	10
Other city or town, form of house	19	3	1	1		(19)	13
<u>Did You Have Your Own Room?</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>					
	N = 96						
No	(41)	43%					
Yes	(55)	56					
Adult Residential History	N = 99						
<u>Summary</u>							
House	(7)	7%					
Both	(31)	31					
Apartment	(61)	62					

Table 1--Continued

(Variable)	<u>Breakdown</u>					Total	Percent of All Post-College Locations
	1	2	3	4	5+		
Small town college housing	41	3	1			(74)	
City college housing	19	1				(20)	
Lived at home during college	17	2				(19)	

Suburbs, single family house	14	2				(16)	6%
Manhattan apartment	44	34	12	8	7	(105)	42
Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens --Apartment	27	10	1			(38)	15
Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens --A form of house	9	2				(11)	4
Other city or town-- Apartment	19	14	3	1		(37)	15
Other city or town-- A form of house	15	5	4	2		(26)	10
Foreign country	18					(18)	7

Table 2
Men's Occupations

<u>N = 60</u>	Number	Percent
Law	(13)	24%
Business	(9)	16
Art	(5)	9
Medicine (Doctor)	(4)	7
Finance	(4)	7
Research, Statistical Analysis	(3)	5
Advertising	(3)	5
University Teaching	(3)	5
Public School Teaching	(2)	4
Computer Technology	(2)	4
Psychology	(2)	4
Architecture	(1)	2
Other	(4)	7
No Information	(5)	9

full time jobs. About half of these women were teachers. Of the 21 women who worked part time, about a third worked at home. (See Table 3.)

The sample's income (an average of \$35,921) was middle to upper middle income. The sample broke up somewhat evenly into four income groups. (People were asked to identify the range their income fell into. The findings use the midpoints of those ranges.) The lowest category has incomes of \$22,500. The highest category includes incomes from \$47,500 to \$60,000. The sample's incomes may seem high by national standards, but they are not that high for New York City. The U. S. Labor Department's annual report on urban family budgets rated New York City as one of the worst places to live economically among 40 cities. According to the report, it took \$31,655 to maintain a high standard of living in metropolitan New York in 1977. (New York Times, 1977.)

Households in which the woman worked, either full time or part time, had a mean income of \$38,071, \$6,000 higher than the average income of families with non-working women, $F(1, 54) = 3.02, p < .10$. Families with full-time employed women had mean incomes of \$42,143; those with part-time employed women, \$35,357; and those with no women employed, \$32,261, differences which tended to be significant, $F(2, 53) = 2.92, p < .10$.

The sample lived in relatively small homes. About half the sample families lived in two bedroom apartments. A third had three bedrooms. By New York City standards, the monthly rent or charge was comparatively low. People paid an average of \$440 a month. Sample families were paying only about 15% of their incomes for rent. This is considerably lower than the 25% of income usually considered reasonable. According to a 1979 Bureau of the Census report, more than half of all renters in New York City were paying more than 25% of their incomes for rent (Goodwin, 1979).

Table 3
Women's Occupations

(36 Women Working)	Number
<u>Full Time</u>	
Public and Private School Teaching	5
University Teaching	2
Research	1
Law	1
Medicine (Doctor)	1
Architecture	1
Computer Technology	1
Psychology	1
Marketing	1
Private Business	1
Total	1
<u>Part Time</u>	
<u>Out of Home</u>	
Typing, Bookkeeping, Clerical	3
Social Work, Counseling	2
University Teaching	1
Public School Teaching	1
Law	1
Art	1
Journalism	1
Insurance	1
<u>In Home</u>	
Market Research	2
Editing	1
Typing	1
Writing	1
Music Lessons	1
Non-profit Organization	1
No Information	1
Total	21

Sample families had lived in their present apartments a mean of almost four years. Forty percent had been there five or more years. Some people had lived in another apartment in the same building or housing development before moving to their present apartment. Fifty-six percent of the sample lived in the same building or development five or more years (average for sample: 5½ years).

Compared to other studies' highrise populations, more of this sample lived on higher floors. A third of the sample families lived on floors 10 - 26. Forty-one percent had apartments on floors 4 - 9, and 27% lived on the first through third floors.

The sample had grown up in a variety of housing environments. Forty-five percent had lived in a house exclusively in their childhood, 30% in only an apartment, and 25% in both a house and an apartment. Of all the locations people had grown up in, 37% were in the outer boroughs (Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens), 31% were suburban, 23% were in other towns, and 8% in Manhattan. Adult residential history was defined as the housing a person lived in after he or she graduated from college. Sixty-two percent of the sample lived exclusively in apartments, 31% in both apartments and houses; and only 7% in a house. The most common place people lived in was another apartment in Manhattan.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW

Housing Attitudes

The sample was asked to rate their satisfaction with New York City, their housing development or building and their apartment on a seven-point scale (7 indicating the most satisfied). The sample was most satisfied with New York City and least satisfied with the apartments. (See Table 4.) Eighty-nine percent registered satisfaction (categories 5-7) with New York City; only 4% said they were dissatisfied. Slightly fewer (84%) said they were pleased with their building or development. About three-quarters of the sample (77%) reported satisfaction with their apartments. Fourteen percent were dissatisfied. Altogether these are relatively high levels of satisfaction. It appears that the sample as a whole was basically urban-oriented, yet was not altogether happy with their apartments.

The sample was also asked to rate their lives in general using a Cantril ladder with the top rung (10) representing the best possible life, the bottom rung (1), the worst. The sample put itself on an average at 7.5, a fairly high level. When asked to explain their ladder ratings, people gave most often as positive reasons family, marriage and career. Needing more money, career, and housing were the most frequently mentioned negative reasons. (See Table 5.)

The decision to stay in the city or move to the suburbs was for many

Table 4
Housing Satisfaction for Total Sample

(Variable)	Number	Percent	Mean
Satisfaction with New York City N = 86			5.8
1 Not at all	(1)	1%	
2	(2)	2	
3	(1)	1	
4 Neither satisfied or unsatisfied	(5)	6	
5	(19)	22	
6	(33)	38	
7 Very	(25)	29	
Satisfaction with Building or Development N = 81			5.8
1 Not at all	(0)	-	
2	(2)	3%	
3	(3)	4	
4 Neither satisfied or unsatisfied	(8)	10	
5	(12)	15	
6	(30)	37	
7 Very	(26)	32	
Satisfaction with Apartment N = 86			5.1
1 Not at all	(0)	-	
2	(6)	7%	
3	(6)	7	
4 Neither satisfied or unsatisfied	(8)	9	
5	(29)	34	
6	(25)	29	
7 Very	(12)	14	

Table 5

Cantril Ladder Reasons for Total Sample

(Ladder 1: Worst life 10: Best life)

Total Sample Mean: 7.5

N = 117

	Number	Percent
<u>Positive Reasons</u>		
Family, children	(59)	50%
Marriage	(38)	32
Job, career	(38)	32
Housing, apartment	(24)	21
Self	(13)	11
Enough money	(13)	11
New York City	(10)	9
<u>Negative Reasons</u>		
Need more money	(44)	38%
Job, career	(34)	29
Apartment, housing, space	(28)	24
Self, personality	(7)	6
New York City	(6)	5
Stuck with children at home	(6)	5

Note. Percentages are based on the total sample, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%.

families extremely difficult. Neither the suburban home nor the type of city apartment people could afford were seen as a good choice. A fairly large portion of the sample, 38%, had no idea whether they would remain in the city or not. (See Table 6.) Slightly over half the sample (53%) said they were definitely not moving. A few (9%) had decided to move and were actively looking for, or in the process of buying, a house in the suburbs.

The sample was asked "What would be your ideal home assuming finances were not a consideration?" Table 7 shows that three-quarters of the sample said some form of a city home, a townhouse, an apartment in a luxury apartment house, or a larger version of their present apartment. The rest of the sample was evenly split between wanting a suburban house or a rural house. It appears that most of the sample would prefer to live in the city if they could afford it.

The sample was specifically asked whether the suburban single family house had any special or symbolic meaning for them. This question elicited comments on the importance of owning a house regardless of its location and on negative feelings about the suburbs, as well as symbolic meanings of accomplishment and security. (See Table 8.) Most people felt that ownership brought with it a sense of control, security, and a feeling of permanence. Some thought the suburban single family home symbolized high status and a peak of accomplishment. About a third felt this housing had no symbolic meaning. The suburbs were also viewed by some people as socially and culturally isolated and narrow. A few families (11 families, 18% of the sample) owned houses in the country, usually in upstate New York. These families said that the desire for ownership and its benefits were satisfied by having this second home.

Table 6
Moving Plans for Total Sample

N = 120	Number	Percent
No moving plans	(63)	53%
May move in five years	(36)	30
Totally undecided	(10)	8
Definitely moving	(11)	9

Table 7
Ideal Home for Total Sample

N = 120	Number	Percent
Suburban home	(17)	14%
Rural home	(15)	13
City home	(90)	75
City brownstone or townhouse	(22)	18%
City home and country home	(45)	38
City luxury highrise or elegant, older apartment house	(10)	8
Larger version of present apartment	(13)	11

Table 8

Does the Suburban Single Family House Have A
Special Meaning to You? ("Symbolic" Meaning)

N = 120	<u>Total Sample</u>	
	Number	Percent
Ownership, security and permance is important and good	(45)	38%
Social isolation/narrowness of suburbs is bad	(45)	38
Ownership, sense of control	(36)	30
Suburban home has no symbolic meaning	(35)	29
Cultural isolation/narrowness of suburbs is bad	(29)	24
Status of house acknowledged but claimed as unimportant	(22)	18
Sense of accomplishment is important and good	(20)	17
Ownership of house acknowledged but claimed as unimportant	(12)	10

Note. Percentages are based on the total sample, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%.

On a questionnaire, the sample was asked whether it agreed or disagreed with the statement: "Ultimately, with economic conditions favorable, a detached home is the most desirable goal for families like mine." The majority of the sample (67%) disagreed with the statement. (See Table 9.) This finding reinforces the other results that indicate the sample's urban, multi-family housing orientation.

Summary and Implications

Sample families as a whole were oriented to city living in multi-family housing. The majority had no intentions of moving from their present highrise homes and were highly satisfied with the city and their housing development. The majority were satisfied with their apartments, but not highly pleased. Most of the sample felt ownership of one's home was desirable but not in the suburbs, and not necessarily in the form of a detached home.

The sample's reported levels of housing satisfaction are consistent with the findings in other studies. Michaelson's middle income Canadian sample of 123 downtown apartment dwellers were more satisfied with "location" (94%) than their "home" (87%) (pp. 320-322). A greater portion of Michaelson's sample registered satisfaction than this sample, 5% more in the case of location, 10% more for the home. Michaelson hypothesized that the high satisfaction levels reported by his downtown apartment sample, which was primarily childless, were due to the sample's viewing their housing as temporary, as a step on the way to the suburban single family home. Therefore, according to Michaelson, any problems with downtown apartments were seen as minor because the sample did not have to live with them for a long time. If Michaelson's explanation is correct, then my sample's somewhat lower satisfaction may partially be due to the

Table 9

Attitude Toward Detached Home

"Ultimately, with economic conditions favorable, a detached home is the most desirable goal for families like mine."

N = 87	Number	Percent
1 Strongly agree	(10)	12%
2	(7)	8
3	(4)	5
4 Neither	(8)	9
5	(22)	25
6	(18)	21
7 Strongly disagree	(18)	21

fact that most people had no moving plans and therefore looked at their housing as fairly permanent. In light of this explanation, plus the fact that the sample all had at least one young child, their levels of satisfaction were indeed rather high.

Sixty-six percent of the low and moderate income residents in the 37 government subsidized housing projects Francescato, et al. investigated (1979) said they were satisfied "with where you live." The higher levels of satisfaction reported by my sample are not surprising since middle income people have more resources and far greater housing options than low and moderate income groups.

Sixty-one percent of Michaelson's Canadian downtown sample agreed with the statement that the detached home was their ultimate goal (p. 343) in direct contrast to the 67% of my sample who disagreed with the statement. These results illustrate the difficulty of generalizing findings from one city to another.

Because more people said their ideal home was in the city than the number who said they were definitely staying in the city, it appears that (at least for the type of people studied) if suitable housing were provided in the city, these people might not leave for the suburbs. The sample's positive feelings about ownership indicate that owning a home in the city is important to this group of people and gives justification to the tremendous increase in conversion of older apartments to condominiums and co-operatives and the construction of this type of housing, and reason for encouraging this trend. In 1979, the State Attorney General's Office allowed co-operative sales offerings to proceed in 261 properties with 12,000 apartments, the large majority in New York City (Oser, 1980).

The sample's registering less satisfaction with their apartments

than the city or their housing development indicates that improvements in apartments are called for. Findings on the sample's feelings about their apartments which will be discussed in the chapter on the physical environment will provide insight into the type of improvements needed.

The next portion of this chapter will deal with the trade-offs of city and suburban living as seen by the study sample.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Manhattan and Urban Living

Understanding which attributes of city living most attract and repel middle income families will aid policy makers who wish to keep these families in the city. A number of questions, both open-ended and scaled, dealt with these issues.

Advantages

Manhattan's most important attributes, according to the sample, were proximity to work, cultural opportunities, social stimulation, and general convenience. Open-ended questions on why people chose to live in Manhattan, what the best things about Manhattan are, city living's effects on adults, and a seven-point scale question on reasons why people want to stay in the city are all consistent in this finding. (See Tables 10, 11, 12, and 13). Seventy-eight percent of the sample said they chose to live in Manhattan because it was close to their or their spouse's job. Because they did not have to commute to work, people felt they not only avoided that inconvenience, but also could spend more time with their families. This was particularly important to men who put in very long hours at their jobs and women who worked full time. The sample spent an average of 23 minutes getting to work. Seventy-nine percent of the sample spent 30

Table 10

Why Do You Choose To Live in Manhattan?

N = 120	<u>Total Sample</u>	
	Number	Percent
Close to job, work here	(93)	78%
Vitality, stimulation, culture	(71)	59
No commute	(63)	53
"Love city"	(47)	39
Familiar	(28)	23
Social diversity	(18)	15
Friends close by	(11)	9
Essential for job	(9)	8
No maintenance	(6)	5
Better neighborhood	(4)	3

Note. Percentages are based on the total sample, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%.

Table 11

What Are the Best Things About Living
in Manhattan?

N = 120	<u>Total Sample</u>	
	Number	Percent
Culture, stimulation	(92)	77%
Close to work	(88)	73
Convenient to stores, facilities	(88)	73
Diversity of people, social interaction	(47)	39
Public transportation	(36)	30
Job opportunities	(14)	12

Note. Percentages are based on the total sample, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%.

Table 12
Reasons For Staying in the City

N = 90	1 7
	Not Important Very Important
	<u>Mean</u>
Culture	6.4
Can walk	6.3
Convenient, close to work	6.2
Expose child to culture	6.2
Diversity of people	5.9
Work easier for wife	4.9
No maintenance of house	4.7
Social contacts easier	4.5
Housing cost	3.5

Note. These questions were only asked at Sites 2 and 3.

Table 13

Effects on Adult Living in City Apartment
Versus Suburban Home

N = 120	<u>Total Sample</u>	
	Number	Percent
<u>Advantages</u>		
City's cultural diversity more stimulating	(72)	60%
City adults do not have tension and inconvenience of commute	(65)	54
City husband has more time with family because no commute	(56)	47
City's social diversity more stimulating	(44)	37
Easier for wife to have a job in city	(43)	36
City tempo faster, more stimulating	(33)	28
Social contacts easier in city	(32)	27
No house maintenance, no hassle	(24)	20
<u>Disadvantages</u>		
Limited apartment space creates tension, crowded feeling	(64)	53%
City parent forced to supervise child outdoors	(58)	48
Limited apartment space allows less privacy	(39)	33
Outdoor recreation harder in city	(24)	20
Limited apartment space creates family tension and conflict	(20)	17
Fast pace, crowded city creates more tension	(14)	12
Home entertainment harder in city apartment	(13)	11

Note. Percentages are based on the total sample, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%.

minutes or less traveling to work; a third spent 15 minutes or less. (See Table 14.) Another study of people very similar to this sample (Mackintosh, Olsen, and Wentworth, 1977) found people spending an average of one hour commuting from the suburbs to the city. Suburbanites spend over an hour extra round trip each day in traveling to work. About half the sample used public transportation to work (buses or subways); 28% walked. (See Table 14.)

Sample men had time to walk their children to school. They could come home for dinner and, if necessary, return to the office after the children were in bed. These men's comments are typical statements on commuting:

We gave it a lot of consideration and the main reasons for not living in the suburbs is the fact that it means two hours of commuting time--most any place you live--and that's time I can spend with the children.

I had a prejudice against commuting. I grew up in a commuting town on Long Island I may work around the clock, this kind of thing, and it's much more convenient to be able to grab a cab and be home in twenty minutes than grab a cab and be home with problems of trying to get out to Long Island or New Jersey.

Working in Manhattan was also very important for the pursuit of certain careers, especially art design, communications, finance, advertising, and research. The following comments indicate the importance of Manhattan for career development:

I chose to live in New York because of my business. I'm a photographer and if you're going to make it any place, you make it in New York. I'm freelance and run my own business . . . this is a competitive town in the graphic arts. And I, in order to get started at what I want to do well, I'd have to live in a major city.

I might be able to do some of this work (securities) in one or two places in California or in Chicago and that's it . . . there are basically about a dozen people that I can talk to in New York as far as that goes.

Table 14
Travel to Work

<u>Mode</u>			
N = 109		Number	Percent
Bus		(32)	29%
Subway		(24)	22
Walk		(31)	28
Car		(13)	12
Other (cab, train, work at home)		(9)	8
<u>Travel Time</u>			
N = 70	Mean = 23 minutes		
< 15 minutes		(23)	33%
16 - 30		(32)	46
31 - 45		(10)	14
46 - 60		(3)	4
61 - 76		(1)	1
> 76		(1)	1

Manhattan is where my future is, [advertising] it's where I can probably make the most money and make the biggest contributions.

The cultural and social vitality of Manhattan was also a very important attraction for the sample. People felt they were in the center of everything: museums, theater, art, new ideas, etc. They also felt contact with the wide variety of people in the city enriched their lives.

Typical comments were:

All my life I wanted to live in Manhattan . . . it's not necessarily the conscious element or the obvious things that people find exciting about New York, you know, the theater, the cultural events, I mean those are all there and we take advantage of them but I just think it's energizing. I enjoy it, I enjoy the streets, the people, the stores.

. . . almost effortlessly you know you're at the center of things . . . and also you can tune into what's going on and you meet people who are doing their things.

There is a certain romance and excitement to being a New Yorker.

I really love the city. It still makes my blood move very quickly.

The only housing related advantage the sample saw in city living was the freedom from maintaining a house. This attribute of urban life was mentioned by 20% of the sample as an effect on adults and rated as only moderately important as a reason for staying in the city.

Disadvantages

As hypothesized, crime and schools were seen as the worst aspects of city living. (See Table 15, 16, and 17.) In the open-ended interviews, 58% of the sample said that crime and safety problems were one of the worst things about living in Manhattan. Generally, people tried hard not to let the fear of crime bother them too much, but it often was in the back of their minds and altered their behavior, particularly at night. Without specific solicitation, people often spoke of crimes they, their

Table 15

What Are the Worst Things About
Living in Manhattan?

N = 120	Total Sample	
	Number	Percent
Crime, safety problems	(70)	58%
Dirt	(39)	33
Expensive	(35)	29
Less freedom for child outside	(33)	28
Bad public schools	(26)	22
Noise	(18)	15
Polluted air	(17)	14
No nature	(15)	13
Athletics difficult	(7)	6

Note. Percentages are based on the total sample, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%.

Table 16
Reasons For Leaving the City

N = 90	1 7
	Not Important Very Important
	<u>Mean</u>
Poor schools	5.0
Poor environment	4.8
Crime	4.6
Little outdoor freedom for child	4.4
Lack of apartment space	4.2
No equity in house	3.0
Lack of recreation outdoors	3.0

Note. These questions were only asked at Sites 2 and 3.

Table 17
 Effects on Child Living in City Apartment
 Versus Suburban Home

N = 120	<u>Total Sample</u>	
	Number	Percent
<u>Advantages</u>		
City child exposed to more culture	(74)	62%
City child exposed to more social diversity	(61)	51
City child has more playmates	(39)	33
City child is more aware	(29)	24
City child is more sophisticated	(28)	23
City family members closer	(25)	21
City child more socially assertive	(15)	13
<u>Disadvantages</u>		
City child has less outdoor freedom	(91)	76%
Public schools are a problem	(54)	45
Less nature is available for city child	(44)	37
More dangerous in city for child	(43)	36
Not enough privacy in apartment/sharing bedroom bad	(31)	26
Restriction on child because of noise bothering neighbors	(21)	18

Note. Percentages are based on the total sample, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%.

family, or neighbors had experienced. A man in a single building explained:

I've been mugged, the apartment has been broken into. We have steel gates on each of the windows . . . We put them up because we were robbed and everybody else in the building up and down the chain either was robbed or have steel gates up.

Other representative comments were as follows:

The biggest thing is fear of the things that can happen to my children. Cause we've had friends who've had things happen; my brother's girlfriend was raped, for instance.

Crime and lack of safety--well. Of course it's impossible . . . I do take a cab home at night, I never take public transportation home at night . . . You have to take precautions . . . I really want to live here in a healthy sense in a sane way.

I'm not afraid of New York and I don't consider New York a scary place to live, but at the same time, I think you have to be on your toes. You've gotta have to know whose walking behind you if you hear footsteps.

Compared to the rest of New York City (including all the boroughs) the actual crime rate in the study area is moderate. In 1977, the 13th Precinct, which takes in most of the study area, had a citywide rank of "51" for the number of crimes per 1,000 population. This rank was based on 73 precincts with "1" equal to the highest crime rate and "73" the lowest crime rate (New York City, Department of City Planning, 1977). Compared to the rest of the country, the actual crime rate in the study area appears high. In 1977, 22 crimes were committed against persons per 1,000 population in the 13th Precinct. In other words, for every 100 people approximately two were victims of personal crimes. One hundred ten crimes per 1,000 population were committed against property, or one out of ten people experienced such a crime. (These statistics are probably exaggerated because some victims are not residents of the area.)

"Poor schools" were rated as the most important reason for leaving

the city. The quality of the New York City public schools was a most controversial topic. At the time of the interviews, the public schools were experiencing a series of severe budget cut-backs. Many people agonized over whether or not they should send their children to the public schools. On the one hand, most people were reluctant to send their children to private school because of the costs and exclusivity, but on the other hand, they were afraid that the public schools did not offer a high quality education. The neighborhood public school for the study area is P.S. 40. This school is considered one of the city's better schools. Most of the students at P.S. 40 read above grade level. The school is not entitled to the same funds the federal government provides for children who read below grade level (Chambers, 1979).

Fifty-seven percent of the sample felt negatively about the public schools; 25% were ambivalent. (See Table 18.) Of the 41 families who had school age children, 44% had children in public schools, 41% had children in private or parochial schools, and 15% had children in special programs for gifted children run by the public school (admission by exam). Fifty-five percent of parents with pre-school children said they intended to send their children to public school, while 45% said they would send them to private or parochial school. (See Table 19.) The sample therefore was very divided over its opinions and utilization of the public schools. Comments ran a wide range:

I think public education is the way children should be educated . . . Public education offers a heterogeneous experience that you can't get in the private school . . . And it's something that really as citizens we pay for, and we ought to make it the best we can and take advantage of it.

I'm a believer in public education . . . I don't like preppies . . . but the pressure on me has been such so that I'm very much entertaining the idea that my daughter is going to have to go to a private school since the public schools are awful.

Table 18
Attitudes On Schools

N = 81	Total Sample	
	Number	Percent
Feels public school offers poor quality education	(33)	41%
Complains about high costs of private schools	(28)	35
Dislike public school generally	(27)	33
Ambivalent about public school	(20)	25
Likes public school quality of education	(19)	23
May move because of poor public schools	(14)	17
Parent active in public school activities/politics	(12)	15
Likes public school social diversity	(9)	11
Doesn't like exclusivity of private schools	(9)	11
Feels there's violence in and around public schools	(6)	7

Note. Percentages are based on the total sample, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%.

Table 19
School Attendance

N = 60 (All Women)	<u>Total Sample</u>	
	Number	Percent
Pre-school child in private nursery	(21)	35%
Pre-school child in church/parochial nursery	(8)	13
Intend to send child to private school	(6)	10
Intend to send child to church/parochial school	(7)	12
Intend to send child to public school	(16)	27
School age child in private school	(8)	13
School age child in church/parochial school	(9)	15
School age child in P.S. 40	(17)	28
School age child in P.S. 61	(1)	2
School age child in program for gifted children	(6)	10

Note. Percentages are based on the total sample, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%.

We were very dedicated to sending our children to public school but it just is not possible, especially with the city's fiscal crisis, which caused the public schools to be totally inadequate aside from the problems within the schools, you know, the sort of violence.

The school situation is always one that has bothered us . . . In fact, about the second week of school this year my little girl came home and said, "We don't have enough toilet paper to go around because it's not in the budget this year for us," and the teacher wrote a note asking if some of us could contribute a roll of toilet paper . . . I wondered what else maybe was cut out.'

"Poor environment" was the second most important reason people gave for wanting to leave the city. In open-ended interviews, the sample expressed their unhappiness with the noise, the polluted air, the dirt (including dog dirt), and the lack of nature.

The lack of freedom for children outdoors was also seen as an important disadvantage of city living. Twenty-eight percent of the sample said this problem was one of the worst aspects of living in Manhattan. In discussing the effects on children living in a city apartment versus a suburban home (see Table 11), the sample mentioned the lack of outdoor freedom most often. These are comments from residents of single buildings:

I think as a mother being responsible for raising children the main drawback is that the children have so little freedom, they have so little physical and psychological independence until they are rather old. My daughter just in the past year since she was seven has been coming up in the elevator by herself . . . and just within the last month she's been going out Sunday morning and crossing the street to the Bagel Nosh . . . In almost any other circumstances it would be, you know, bad child rearing to let a child go for so long without more independence than that.

I was driving up near Tarrytown . . . and there was a little girl about four years old, my daughter's age, who was running along on the sidewalk and on the street. That's the kind of freedom that she's not going to know about and that just hurts me and I'm sorry about that.

People did not mention the lack of space in an apartment as one of the worst things about Manhattan, although almost a third said that the

expensiveness of Manhattan, which included the high cost of housing, was a negative attribute. Lack of apartment space was not rated high in importance as a reason for leaving the city. However, in discussing the effects on adults of living in a city apartment versus a suburban home, people most frequently mentioned as a negative effect that limited apartment space creates tension and a crowded feeling. Over half the sample said this. Apparently the sample of people studied do not put as high a priority on their housing as on other factors, but are very aware of the problems created by the lack of space.

Summary and Implications

Living in the city was a trade-off for sample families. On the one hand, they enjoyed the proximity to work, unique job opportunities, and the highly diverse social and cultural stimulation and, on the other hand, they had to endure fear of crime, perceived poor quality of public schools, noise and dirt, a lack of greenery, and restrictions on their children's freedom outdoors. These findings are not surprising. They do, however, have definite implications for the City's allocation of resources for services.

Most of the issues raised by the sample are the same as those identified in a recent report on priorities for New York City: "Setting Municipal Priorities, 1982," compiled by two professors, one at the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration, the other at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business (Haberman, 1981).

The importance of proximity to work and general "convenience" of city life emphasizes the significance of public transportation for the sample. Half the sample took buses or subways to get to work. The

deteriorated condition of the mass transit system has been a topic of consideration for the public and policy makers. The report "Setting Municipal Priorities, 1982" claims that the city's mass transit system is deteriorating rapidly and faces increased deficits (Haberman, 1981). Additional funding, increased fares, and improved productivity have been offered as answers. A detailed analysis of the solutions to this service problem, as well as the others to be discussed, is beyond the scope of this paper. It is simply sufficient to state here that the findings provide support that priority treatment be given to public transit.

Middle income families also value the city's cultural opportunities. The city has had zoning policies that provide incentives for theatres and has encouraged cultural events. These policies are recommended to keep middle income families in the city. Support for ethnic restaurants and small stores as well as the larger institutions such as operas and museums should also be a priority. The city's diverse cultural events and resources should be well publicized to improve the image of the city.

It is certainly not surprising that crime was mentioned as one of the worst aspects of living in the city. A Gallup Poll of 3,200 people found that among the city dwellers, crime was the second most frequently given reason for wanting to move out of the city. Two people in ten said this. Fewer than one person in 20 said so 20 years ago. The present rate was even higher for people living in the core areas of big cities (The New York Times, March 2, 1978). Every year Community Boards, New York City's community representatives from 59 districts in the city, prioritize city agencies in their order of importance. Last year (1980) all the Boards gave top priority to the Police Department. Partially as a result of those priorities, the city has put additional resources into

the Police Department and dramatically increased the staff of that Department. Based on felony arrest rates and response time to emergencies, the "Setting Municipal Priorities, 1982" report found that the city's police services greatly deteriorated in 1978 and 1979 and the trend appeared to continue into 1980 and 1981 (Haberman, 1981). The prevention of crime and the perception of safety are complex issues beyond the scope of this discussion. However, it is clear that the safety of the average citizen must be improved to keep the middle income family in the city. Sample families who lived in a relatively low crime area were not only afraid for their safety but also had too many stories they volunteered about themselves, their friends or neighbors being victims of serious crimes.

The quality of the city's public schools is another much discussed issue in the city. The urban middle class family is inclined toward using public education for financial and philosophical reasons but hesitates because of public school safety and educational quality problems. The city's policy makers are painfully aware of this issue. Mayor Koch has directed the city's school chancellor to seek ways to make public education more attractive to middle class families. The Mayor has stated that a key factor for middle class parents in determining whether to move or stay in the city is how to keep their children in a good public school or to find the means to finance a private school education. The Mayor said:

What the middle class desires desperately is to save monies they are now expending in private schools. In many cases, the middle class will not send their kids to public school for two reasons: they don't believe the education to be adequate in many schools and they are afraid for the personal safety of their children (Chambers, 1979, p. B4).

Improvements to the public schools being considered include increasing

the programs for the intellectually gifted, giving middle-class parents a greater choice of schools to which they can send their children, and expanding ability grouping of students.

Of the environmental concerns listed by people, the ones that can be addressed by the city are the quality of the air, the cleaning of the streets and the provision of nature in the form of parks. During the city's fiscal crisis, the departments concerned with the environment, such as Sanitation and Parks, lost staff, equipment, and maintenance funding. The losses are reflected in deteriorating services. For example, the percentage of streets rated "Acceptable to Clean" has been steadily dropping from 1975 to 1980 (Haberman, 1981). Pollution and dirt were among the major reasons people gave for wanting to leave cities according to a Gallop Poll in 1978 (The New York Times, March 2, 1978). Because "poor environment" was the second most important reason people gave for wanting to leave the city, these issues which are less obvious than crime and schools should be taken seriously by policy makers.

Problems with restrictions on children's access to the outdoors will be discussed in greater depth in a later chapter. Some design features that ameliorate, but not eliminate, the problem will be highlighted.

The flight of the middle class from central cities continues to be a problem. The U. S. Bureau of the Census Annual Housing Survey data show that families with husbands and wives where the head is younger than 65 continue to more likely be in the suburbs (Roistacher and Young, 1980). The previously cited Gallop Poll found that more than a third of those living in cities would move out of the city if they could (The New York Times, March 2, 1978). Despite many journalistic observations that

"gentrification" of cities is a major trend, there is no evidence that people are returning to the city from the suburbs (McBee, 1978). In the 1970's, New York City's population declined at a rate of 119,000 a year. It is predicted that the population will continue to decline in the early 1980's but at a slower rate, 87,000 a year (Haberman, 1981). New York City's population dropped 11% from 1970 to 1980 according to the latest U. S. Census data (Lewis, 1981). If policy makers wish to retain middle income families in the central city, greater attention must be given to those services most important to these people and to targeting efforts at those middle income sub-groups most inclined toward remaining in the city. Identifying these sub-groups is the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III
RESIDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS

Introduction

It was expected that various population sub-groups based on demographic variables would be identified as having different attitudes toward the city and their housing. The demographic variables thought to have the most impact were income, education, women's employment status, and sex. The role of these variables in housing and urban values was investigated as well as the effect of childhood and adult residential history and age. The findings show that women's employment status and childhood residential history explained the sample's attitudes toward their housing and the city better than income, education, age or adult residential history.

Dual-Career Families

It was anticipated that families in which both husband and wife were working would place a lower value on the suburban single family home, register high satisfaction with the city and present housing, and have no plans to move out of the city. It was expected that if the wife was presently working, she would have low participation in local social organizations and childcare arrangements. Most of these predictions were confirmed by the findings.

A dual-career couple in this discussion will be defined as a couple

in which both husband and wife are employed either full or part-time. Thirty-six sample families (62%) fit into this category. The findings compare dual-career couples (see Table 20) and employed women to unemployed women (see Table 21). Where appropriate, distinctions will be made between full and part-time employed women.

Dual-career couples had more education than single-career couples, $F(1, 107) = 14.55, p < .0001$. They also had, not surprisingly, higher incomes (\$38,071 versus \$32,262), $F(1, 54) = 3.02, p < .10$. The difference was more pronounced for families with full-time employed women, $F(2, 53) = 2.92, p < .10$. Dual and single-career families did not differ in the number of children they had or the ages of the children.

As anticipated, dual-career families were more committed to remaining in the city than single-career families (61% had no moving plans as compared to 39% of the couples with only the husband working) ($\chi^2 = 4.59, d.f. = 1, p < .05$). The suburban single family home was rated as less important by dual-career couples, $F(1, 85) = 3.62, p < .10$. For 26% of the single-career couples, the ideal home was seen as a suburban house. Only 7% of the dual-career couples said this ($\chi^2 = 6.86, d.f. = 1, p < .01$). No woman working full-time said her ideal home was a suburban house ($\chi^2 = 5.72, d.f. = 2, p < .10$). Seventy-one percent of the dual-career families felt that the commute from the suburbs was too long, compared to 50% of the single-career couples ($\chi^2 = 3.55, d.f. = 1, p < .10$).

Typical comments by women working full or part-time follow:

(Why chose to live in Manhattan?) Well, I work and my husband works and we're ten minutes from our work by living where we are And if I do have a problem where the kids are sick, I'm ten minutes from the house.

We always thought since we both worked if we lived near where I worked then I could spend more time with the kids.

Table 20

Dual-Career Couples Versus Single-Career
Couples Findings

	<u>Percent</u>		χ^2 with d.f. = 1	Significance Level
	Dual Career	Single Career		
Why chose to live here?				
Families with children	15.3%	37.0%	6.14	p < .05
Good mix of people	18.1	37.0	4.34	p < .05
Worst aspect of present housing?				
Neighborhood has poor neighbors	23.6	8.7	3.31	p < .10
Why choose Manhattan?				
Familiar	15.5	37.0	5.93	p < .05
Worst about Manhattan?				
Less freedom for child outside	35.2	15.2	4.65	p < .05
Athletics difficult	9.9	0.0	3.23	p < .10
Suburbs: Commute too long	71.2	50.0	3.55	p < .10
Effects on adult, city living:				
Easier for wife to have job in city	45.8	21.7	6.03	p < .05
City's cultural diversity more stimulating	47.2	82.6	13.31	p < .0005
Preschool child in private nursery	47.4	16.7	4.79	p < .05
Describe people here? Warm, friendly?	27.1	44.4	2.97	p < .10
Ladder rating, positive reason: Job, career	40.0	20.0	4.14	p < .05
No moving plans	61.1	39.1	4.59	p < .05
Ideal home: Suburban house	6.9	26.1	6.86	p < .01
Percent of good friends in building or development	11.6	22.9	F (1, 111) = 7.42	p < .01
Importance of suburban single family detached home (7 = Not important)	5.0	4.2	F (1, 85) = 3.62	p < .10
Rating of marriage (7 = Very traditional)	4.6	3.1	F (1, 45) = 9.23	p < .005
Satisfaction with building or development (7 = Very satisfied)	5.6	6.1	F (1, 79) = 3.66	p < .10

Table 21

Employed Women Versus Unemployed Women Findings

	Percent		χ^2 with d.f. = 1	Significance Level
	Working Women	Non-Working Women		
Why chose to live here?				
Play areas, outdoor facilities	11.1%	43.5%	6.44	p < .05
Why choose Manhattan?				
Close to job, work here	80.6	56.5		p < .10
Effects on adult, city living:				
Easier for wife to have job in city	52.8	26.1	3.07	p < .10
City's cultural diversity is more stimulating	52.8	82.6	4.22	p < .05
Effects on child, city living:				
Public schools are a problem	38.9	69.6	4.13	p < .05
Ideal home:				
City	83.3	65.2	} 5.05	p < .10
Suburbs	5.6	26.1		
Rural	11.1	8.7		
Specific spot that's yours?				
No	55.6	26.1	3.82	p < .10
Would you like to see people more, less or same?				
More because of job and/or children	57.1	22.7	5.18	p < .05
Rating of marriage:			F (1, 39)	
(1 = Very untraditional, 7 = very traditional)	4.6	3.3	= 8.1	p < .01
Percent of good friends in building or development	13.0	25.7	F (1, 49) = 3.74	p < .10
Reasons for staying in the city: (1 = Very important)			F (1, 38)	
Convenient, close to work	6.2	4.9	= 4.35	p < .05
Reasons for leaving the city:			F (1, 40)	
No equity in house	2.5	3.9	= 4.09	p < .05
Crime	4.6	5.8	F (1, 40) = 2.97	p < .10

(Consider the suburbs?) We immediately ruled that out. Because my husband's place of business is in Manhattan and I don't want him to commute--fatherless, husbandless marriage. Plus I think it is a rather horrendous pursuit to have to go through every day. And I want to keep up my career, I don't want to commute either.

For us the commute to work seemed an unnecessary chore . . . I would like to go back to work full time. I am working part-time, and I feel I really like the idea of being near to home, if you have to get back in an emergency.

Dual-career families did not have higher satisfaction with the city and their housing as was expected. Single-career couples tended to express more satisfaction with their building or development, $F(1, 79) = 3.66, p < .10$. Perhaps because a large majority of the dual-career couples do not plan to leave the city or move from their present housing, they feel forced to take these environments seriously and are more bothered by the problems that arise. The single-career couples who plan to leave the city have the luxury of taking their environments less seriously.

Dual and single-career couples have distinguishable opinions on city living and housing. Women working outside the home rate proximity to work as a reason for staying in the city as more important than non-working women, $F(1, 38) = 4.35, p < .05$. Dual-career couples felt that it was easier for a woman to have a job in the city ($\chi^2 = 6.03, d.f. = 1, p < .05$). They also gave as a positive reason for their self-rating on the Cantril ladder, "job or career" ($\chi^2 = 4.14, d.f. = 1, p < .05$). In contrast, single-career couples chose more frequently to live in Manhattan because it was familiar ($\chi^2 = 5.93, d.f. = 1, p < .05$). They more often mentioned that the city's cultural stimulation was an advantage of city living ($\chi^2 = 13.31, d.f. = 1, p < .0005$). Single-career couples were bothered more about children's restricted freedom outside ($\chi^2 = 4.65,$

d.f. = 1, $p < .05$). Women without jobs more frequently mentioned that public schools were a problem ($\chi^2 = 4.13$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$) and gave more importance to not having equity in a house, $F(1, 40) = 4.09$, $p < .05$, and crime, $F(1, 40) = 2.97$, $p < .10$, as reasons for leaving the city.

Theoretically men and women could equally participate in cooperative childcare arrangements. However, in this study fathers did not take equal responsibility. All men worked full-time while the employment status of the women varied. Working mothers, as expected, were less involved in local childcare arrangements such as playgroups ($\chi^2 = 6.43$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$) and babysitting pools. They used instead full-time babysitters ($\chi^2 = 6.68$, d.f. = 1, $p < .01$) (see Table 22). Non-working mothers had a greater percent of their good friends located in their building or development than working mothers, $F(1, 49) = 3.74$, $p < .10$. However, there was no difference in the number of residents the two groups knew by name or the number of people they visited in apartments. The two groups also did not differ in the location of their three best friends or the frequency they see them. There was also no difference in the responses to the question "How much do you have to do with the people here?" Apparently having a job does not alter neighboring patterns to a great extent among women, but only decreases the quantity of close friendships that are developed in the building or project. Over half the working mothers did say that they would like to see people more but couldn't because of job and/or children. ($\chi^2 = 5.18$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$). Dual-career couples also had fewer of their good friends in their building or development than single-career couples (23% versus 12%), $F(1, 111) = 7.42$, $p < .01$. Single-career families more often described their neighbors as "warm,

Table 22

Childcare Arrangements By Working
and Non-Working Mothers

N = 60	Percent Non-Working Mothers	Percent Working Mothers	χ^2 with d.f. = 1	Significance
All day babysitting	0.0%	33.3%	7.68	p < .01
Child presently in playgroup	43.5	11.1	6.43	p < .05
Feels playgroup is good for mothers	26.1	5.6	3.45	p < .10
Feels playgroup is good for children	43.5	8.3	8.15	p < .005
Presently in baby- sitting pool	30.4	8.3	3.43	p < .10

friendly" people ($\chi^2 = 2.97$, d.f. = 1, $p < .10$).

Although working and non-working women did not differ in whether or not they got enough privacy, more working women (56% versus 26%) said that they did not have a spot of their own in the apartment ($\chi^2 = 3.82$, d.f. = 1, $p < .10$). This finding may be partially explained by the fact that unemployed women spent about an hour more inside the apartment both on a Sunday and on a weekday. (See Tables A and C in Appendix.) They therefore probably had greater use of the apartment without interference from their husbands. On an average weekday, working women spent about 5 hours at their job and traveling to and from it. During this time, non-working women were involved in childcare, active recreation, shopping and other miscellaneous activities. On a Sunday, working women spend an average of 89 minutes more than their husbands doing dishes, cleaning the apartment, preparing food, and caring for the children. These women spend no time at their jobs on a Sunday, whereas their husbands average 56 minutes working and traveling back and forth to their job. (See Table C in Appendix.) As a consequence, despite their busy week, working women spent an average of 33 minutes more than their husbands on a Sunday "working" at household and family chores.

Summary and Implications

Previous studies have pointed out the advantages and disadvantages of the urban and suburban location for men and women. Past research, however, has not differentiated between dual and single-career families. My findings emphasize the importance of the distinction. Dual-career couples were more committed to remaining in the city than single-career couples. No full time employed women saw the suburban single family home as her ideal home.

Researchers and feminists have frequently stated that suburban living is disadvantageous for women because of the lack of public transportation, the cultural and social isolation, and the increased home maintenance. (See literature review plus Stimpson, 1980; Wekerle, Peterson and Morley, 1980.) These observers have claimed that men have the best of both worlds by commuting into the stimulating city during the day and retreating to the quiet, safe suburbs at night and on the week - ends. Saegert and Winkel (1980) add another dimension to this issue by looking at the problem of location as trade-offs for both men and women. They balance the discussion by pointing out that for women urban living has the advantages of many convenient social, cultural and employment opportunities but the disadvantages of crime and inadequate housing. They claim that since women identify their sense of self with "home," this identification cannot be satisfied in the cramped apartment living available in the city. The suburban home can satisfy women's identification needs, and provide a good environment for raising children, an important issue for mothers.

Saegert and Winkel, in their study of 436 people in the suburbs and the city, do not distinguish between dual and single career couples but their findings are consistent with the results of my study. They found that regardless of employment status urban men and women placed a higher value on working outside the home than suburban women. They also found that those suburban women most dissatisfied at their homes were those who wanted to do things outside of their homes. The urban sample performed fewer sex-typed household tasks than the suburban sample.

The issue may be more of a question of "matching" life-styles (employment aspiration) than sex differences. It would be interesting to study in greater depth the differences in the concept of "home"

between dual and single career couples. One would expect that as careers became more important to women, their identities would be less dependent on the "home." On the other hand, "homemaking" may continue to be a stronger factor than would be expected for employed women. The time budget analysis in my study showed that women working outside the home continue to assume more of the homemaking and childcare duties than their husbands although less than their unemployed female counterparts. These findings are consistent with other time budget study results (Wilensky, 1968 as cited in Saegert and Winkel, 1980).

Women are entering the labor force in increasing numbers. More than half of all mothers with school age children now work outside the home; a third with children under the age of three are employed. If these trends continue, more "mismatches" between women who have career aspirations and/or must work for economic reasons and who also live in the suburbs will occur. Women's employment outside the home has profound psychological implications. A recent study of 300 women aged 35 to 55 concluded that "women who work enjoy greater self-esteem and suffer less anxiety and depression than women who do not work" (Albin, 1981). Demographic trends also show that more women who live in the suburbs are working outside the home than ever before (Fava, 1980).

The finding in this study of no difference in apartment satisfaction between employed or non-employed women or dual or single career couples may indicate that career-oriented people despite their high value on urban job and social opportunities still wish they had more adequate "homes," although this desire is not such a priority that they would move out of the city. Planning for this group of people should therefore improve their housing despite the fact that they will tolerate many inconveniences.

After reviewing current demographic trends, Elizabeth Roistacher and Janet Young (1980) conclude, "Households with working women should be a target population for any attempts to retain or attract households to the nation's cities. In particular, two-earner families, with their high incomes, are potentially significant contributors to city revenues" (p. S224). In the most dense central cities such as New York City, high-rise housing is the only affordable housing option for middle income families and therefore should be planned for accordingly.

Childhood Residential History

No predictions were made on how childhood residential history would influence present opinions on highrise housing. Some observers have speculated that childhood experience with highrise living predisposes people to live in highrises as adults, but there has been no evidence for this. The present study simply views the childhood residential history and its impact as an area for exploration.

Discussions during interviews with the sample brought out four themes relating to childhood residential background. People who grew up in suburban single family houses seemed to fall into two categories: those who assumed the suburban lifestyle was natural and what they always had planned for, and those who had negative feelings about the suburban experience and wished to reject it. As the quantitative data will indicate, the first group's opinions were more prevalent. People who grew up in apartments also seemed to fall into two categories: those who wanted to continue living in the city because it was familiar and had pleasant associations, because they had close ties to friends and relatives in the city and because a suburban single family house was viewed

as a strange, perhaps frightening, unknown that required too much maintenance; and those who viewed the move to the suburbs as upward mobility, as a symbol of achievement. Interview discussions gave the impression that people who grew up in apartments came from families with incomes lower than the families of those who grew up in a suburban single family home. Some had come from very poor backgrounds. For them, their present housing which was definitely middle class, was a step up and a sufficient achievement. The first group of people who grew up in apartments, those who wanted to stay in the city and in their present housing, seemed to be more common as the quantitative findings will point out.

People who grew up in houses said more often that their ideal home was a suburban house, $F(2, 114) = 4.05, p < .05$. (See Table 23.) They spoke more about ownership and a sense of control being important for that housing form ($\chi^2 = 5.94, d.f. = 2, p < .10$). Those with a house background also had more inclination to move out of the city (see Chapter V, Best Predictors of Moving Plans and Satisfaction). They had more relatives out of the city that they visited regularly for vacations ($\chi^2 = 6.69, d.f. = 2, p < .05$). The minority group of people who grew up in a house and who had a negative image of the suburbs as boring and socially stultifying are probably represented in the following two findings. Over half the people from houses said the best aspect of Manhattan was the diversity of people and the social interaction ($\chi^2 = 9.18, d.f. = 2, p < .05$). Twenty percent said that the city child is more socially assertive than the suburban child ($\chi^2 = 5.35, d.f. = 2, p < .10$).

People who grew up in apartments said they chose to live in Manhattan because it was familiar ($\chi^2 = 8.10, d.f. = 2, p < .05$), and they

Table 23

Childhood Residential History Findings

	Percent			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	House	Both	Apartment		
Why chose present home?					
Convenient neighborhood, close to stores	17.6%	0.0%	8.8%	7.09	p < .05
Familiar neighborhood	33.3	11.8	38.2	6.83	p < .05
Best about housing:					
Good maintenance, management	39.2	14.7	35.3	6.11	p < .05
Why chose Manhattan?					
Familiar	17.6	15.2	41.2	8.10	p < .05
Best about Manhattan?					
Convenience to stores, facilities	74.5	87.9	58.8	7.33	p < .05
Diversity of people, social interaction	54.9	33.3	23.5	9.18	p < .05
Worst about Manhattan?					
Expensive	37.3	30.3	14.7	5.12	p < .10
Athletics difficult	2.0	0.0	14.7	6.63	p < .05
Effects on adult, city living:					
Easier for wife to have job in city	27.5	29.4	52.9	6.53	p < .05
No house maintenance, no hassle	11.8	14.7	38.2	9.76	p < .01
City's cultural diversity more stimulating	52.9	52.9	76.5	5.59	p < .10
Symbolic meaning suburban single family home:					
Ownership, sense of control	32.0	41.2	14.7	5.94	p < .10
Effects on child, city living:					
City child more socially assertive	20.0	5.9	6.1	5.35	p < .10
Pre-school child in private nursery	60.0	18.2	13.3	12.86	p < .005
Leisure time activities:					
Culture, museums, opera	39.2	35.3	67.6	8.92	p < .05

Table 23--Continued

	<u>Percent</u>			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	House	Both	Apartment		
Ladder self-rating/negative reason:					
Need more money	26.0	53.1	41.2	6.31	p < .05
Vacations:					
Visit out of city relatives regularly	33.3	47.1	17.6	6.69	p < .05
	<u>Mean</u>			<u>ANOVA</u>	
	House	Both	Apartment	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>
Ideal Home					
1 = City					
2 = Suburban	1.6	1.4	1.1	4.05	2, 114
3 = Rural					
Reasons for staying in the city:					
No maintenance of house	4.4	4.1	6.0	6.45	2, 83
Reasons for leaving the city:					
Crime	4.0	4.9	5.1	2.46	2, 83
Lack of apartment space				3.36	2, 82
Lack of recreation outdoors				6.13	2, 83
Location of closest relatives:					
1 = Building/Project 5 = Outside NYC					
First relative	4.4	4.3	3.7	6.80	2, 73
Third relative	4.9	4.5	4.5	3.88	2, 61
Frequency of contact with relatives:					
1 = Daily 5 = Monthly					
First relative	4.4	4.3	3.7	6.80	2, 73
Second relative	6.2	5.3	5.0	3.02	2, 73

chose their present home because the neighborhood was familiar ($\chi^2 = 6.83$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$). A major theme for these people was that apartment living meant no house maintenance. This advantage was rated as more important by people with apartment backgrounds than those with house backgrounds as a reason for staying in the city, $F(2, 83) = 6.45$, $p < .0005$, and more frequently mentioned as an effect on city living on the adult ($\chi^2 = 9.76$, d.f. = 2, $p < .01$). People who grew up in apartments seem to take advantage and value the city's cultural opportunities more than those who grew up in houses. They spent more of their leisure time pursuing cultural activities (museums, opera, theater, etc.) ($\chi^2 = 8.92$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$), and spoke more of the city's cultural diversity for adults ($\chi^2 = 5.59$, d.f. = 2, $p < .10$). Over half the people who grew up in apartments felt it was easier for a woman to have a job in the city, compared to 28% of the people who grew up in houses ($\chi^2 = 6.53$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$). Needing more money was more of a negative factor in the lives of people who came from apartments than those from houses ($\chi^2 = 6.31$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$). People who grew up in apartments were bothered more by crime, $F(2, 83) = 2.46$, $p < .10$, by lack of apartment space, $F(2, 82) = 3.36$, $p < .05$, and by lack of recreation outdoors, $F(2, 83) = 6.13$, $p < .005$.

The close relatives of people who grew up in apartments lived closer to them than the relatives of people who came from houses. (See Table 23.) People from apartments also had more frequent contact with their relatives.

There were no significant differences by childhood residential background on satisfaction with New York City, with the building or development and with the apartment. This might be explained by the existence

of two sub-groups with opposite opinions within the house background and within the apartment background groups, as outlined above.

The following comments illustrate the various groups and their themes.

People who grew up in a house with positive attitude toward suburbs:

(Single building man planning to move to the suburbs:) I grew up in the suburbs in a single family house . . . To me, in one sense, it's a natural place to live, the natural way to live.

(Stuyvesant Town woman planning to move to suburbs:) I've always lived in a house. I had my own room. A very pretty house . . . As far as I'm concerned, I have found apartment living an adjustment, I really have. It's something I never had to cope with in the house. We all kind of had our own place to go.

(Single building man planning to move to suburbs:) I lived in one home in the state of Indiana until I graduated from high school . . . I'd like more space, more quietness than what we have here And also the security. I've had less security here in the city than what I've seen elsewhere.

People who grew up in a house with a negative attitude toward suburbs:

(East Midtown Plaza woman who plans to stay in city:) I lived in a suburb in New Jersey . . . I have a stereotype of the suburban woman, more than the suburban family, and it's one that I don't want to fit into . . . I went back to work three years ago and I said I couldn't work in the suburbs, I couldn't drive to work, drive the kids to school, and do all the shopping.

(East Midtown Plaza man who says he's "fairly permanent":) We had a private house. We played in the backyard. There was a lot of woods within the area. The negative aspects were that there was nothing to stimulate you culturally. It becomes boring. The fact that I grew up in a small town made me want the culture and convenience and activities of the city and yet also want the greenery of more rural areas.

(Single building woman who doesn't want to move to the suburbs:) I grew up in a suburb and when I make judgements about what I expect suburban living to be I don't do it out of ignorance of the situation . . . I don't particularly want any part of it.

(The following comment from an East Midtown Plaza woman with no moving plans is an interesting turnaround:) You go full cycle.

I hated the suburbs, the beautiful houses with the swimming pools and tennis courts. Now I see that's very nice. Really very nice. Only recently have I come to appreciate it.

People who grew up in apartments who have a positive image of city life:

(An East Midtown Plaza man with no moving plans:) I lived in Stuyvesant Town The biggest thing is that I have no apprehensions about New York . . . We like the city, we appreciate it. We're really fans. Other people think we're crazy, I mean, the people who live in the suburbs think we're crazy.

(An East Midtown Plaza woman who will probably stay:) I was born here, I mean, I am a native Manhattanite. I love Manhattan and I love the city.

(A single building man with uncertain plans:) I've never really lived in a house. I grew up in Manhattan. I've lived in an apartment my entire life. I don't know what it's like to live in a house. I do know that I don't like to fix things. So the more of those kinds of things that I can have someone else do, the happier I am.

(An East Midtown Plaza woman with no plans to move:) I grew up in Brooklyn. Manhattan to me is the only place to live. I definitely want to raise my kids in the city. I didn't want a house. I didn't want to be out in the suburbs. I probably wrongfully equate suburban life with isolation . . . I grew up in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn which is not the suburbs and I thought that was very cut off. To me, the focus of my life, ever since I was a child is "the city," as we used to call Manhattan.

(An East Midtown Plaza man who says he is "permanently" there:) I've always been in an apartment and when we go out to the Island it's marvelous but I always feel this is a luxury, it really feels like a home . . . I grew up in the Bronx . . . I lived in a third floor walk-up building. My grandparents lived in the building, my aunt and uncle lived in the building. If you wanted to visit a neighbor as we did, you just rang and you walked in and didn't wait.

People who grew up in apartments who have a suburban orientation:

(A Stuyvesant Town woman who has uncertain moving plans:) I grew up in Boston, and I grew up in an apartment my whole life. I thought I would never want to bring children up in an apartment. My grandfather had one of the bedrooms so I had to be in with my brother . . . So I guess I am pretty used to apartments although when I first got married, I'd thought I'd buy a house right away.

(A Stuyvesant Town woman who grew up there and is buying a house in New Jersey:) Of course it wasn't an easy decision to leave

the city. I mean it takes so long to learn how to survive here that who wants to give up that skill! . . . It was a difficult decision for us to move. I will always be a Manhattanite no matter how long I live in Jersey We're moving because, one is financial, no tax shelter here . . . and the schools-- it could be as much as \$4-6,000 a year . . . and I feel that athletics should be a part of every person's life, and also the living space.

Summary and Implications

People who grew up in apartments opted for highrise living because it was familiar, it meant no major maintenance responsibilities, and relatives and friends were nearby. This group of people most closely resembles the originally hypothesized sub-group labeled "upwardly mobile ethnic villagers" (based on Herbert Gans' observations). However, only some of the characteristics of the "ethnic villagers" hold true for this sample. People who grew up in apartments did indeed come from more working class, closely-knit communities. And they did have more to do with their relatives who lived closer by than people who grew up in houses. These attributes were expected for the "upwardly mobile ethnic villagers." It had been predicted that this group would not have employed women and would have conventional marriages. There were no differences between apartment and house people on this dimension, probably because economic necessity, increased education, and societal changes in women's roles have modified the ethnic villager women's stance toward employment outside the home. No predictions had been made as to whether "upwardly mobile ethnic villagers" would prefer to remain in the city or not. It is clear that if this group is most closely identified with the group of people who grew up in apartments in their childhoods, then this sub-group prefers urban to suburban living.

A recent study of 51 college students in two-person and three-person

dormitory rooms found that those who had previously lived in suburban areas reported feeling more crowded than those from urban or rural areas (Walden, et al., 1981). The authors speculate, "It may be that suburban dwellers place more importance on space than do urban or rural dwellers . . . persons from suburban areas may be more sensitive to the effects of higher density living conditions" (p. 221). The reasons why people from different childhood housing backgrounds react differently to the same housing environment, and their desire for different locations for their homes is certainly a topic that deserves further investigation.

People who grew up in apartments, the "new ethnic villagers," are a population sub-group that planning efforts for urban multi-family housing should focus on. Demographic trends for the nation have shown a large net emigration from central cities to suburban and nonurban areas. If this trend continues, it would be expected that the majority of people would grow up in houses out of the city and tend to prefer that lifestyle in adulthood. There are, however, two counter-trends. First, single family homes are beginning to become out of the financial reach of middle income families. Either urban highrises or suburban row or condominium housing may become more of a norm. Second, a "backlash" reaction against the suburban lifestyle is occurring among a sub-group of people raised in suburban homes. These people prefer urban multi-family living. These trends should be carefully watched to understand the future demand for urban highrise housing.

Income and Education

Based on income and education, it was anticipated that two basic sub-groups would be distinguished: "cosmopolitans:" people with higher

incomes and educations who would highly value the city's cultural opportunities, be most committed to staying in the city, be most satisfied with their housing, send their children to private school, and have a second home in the country; and "transients:" people with lower incomes and educations who would highly value family life and the suburban single family home, consider their present housing as a temporary stop on the way to moving to the suburbs, and have fewer women pursuing careers. Most of these predictions were confirmed.

Income was a much stronger factor in distinguishing sub-groups than education. First the differences in lifestyle between higher and lower income groups will be discussed (see Table 24) and then differences in housing attitudes will be dealt with (see Table 25).

People with higher incomes had more graduate education, $F(1, 103) = 4.91, p < .05$. More women in higher income households tended to be employed, $F(1, 54) = 3.02, p < .10$.

As would be expected, higher incomes "buy" more housing, household services, private schools and vacations. The apartment density (persons per bedroom) was lower for upper income families, $F(3, 116) = 2.73, p < .05$. Sixty percent of the highest income group employed full-time babysitters ($\chi^2 = 13.13, d.f. = 3, p < .005$). Families with an average income of \$39,900 used some type of day-time babysitter; families with mean incomes of \$33,500 did not have any day-time babysitters, $F(1, 48) = 3.39, p < .10$. Upper income households also had more housecleaning help, $F(1, 55) = 6.46, p < .05$. Instead of babysitting help, lower income groups used playgroups ($\chi^2 = 6.72, d.f. = 3, p < .10$). As family income rises, private schools tend to be more frequently utilized, $F(2, 57) = 2.87, p < .10$. A major difference between lower and higher income households is

Table 24

Income Findings: Lifestyles

	<u>Percent By Income</u>				χ^2 with d.f. = 3	Significance Level
	<u>\$22,500</u>	<u>\$27,500</u>	<u>\$37,500</u>	<u>\$47,500</u>		
	N = 26	N = 32	N = 36	N = 20		
Full time babysitter	6.3%	18.8%	10.5%	60.0%	13.13	p < .005
Child presently in playgroup	43.8	31.3	10.5	10.0	6.72	p < .10
School age child in church/parochial school	6.3	11.1	10.5	40.0	6.61	p < .10
Car--Yes, keep in commercial garage	6.7	0.0	31.6	0.0	11.40	p < .01
Car--Yes, keep on street	33.3	6.3	5.3	18.3	6.50	p < .10
Vacations:						
Own house out of city	28.1	3.1	11.1	40.0	14.52	p < .005
Travel regularly	59.4	56.3	58.3	100.0	12.99	p < .005
Own sailboat	0.0	6.3	0.0	20.0	13.16	p < .005
Go skiing in winter	0.0	0.0	13.9	10.0	8.85	p < .05
Rarely take vacations	12.8	25.0	8.3	0.0	8.00	p < .05
ANOVA						
					<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>
Number of people visit in apartments in building or development	4.3	7.2	7.6	4.2	2.72	3, 109 p < .05
Number organizations	.78	2.0	1.7	1.6	4.50	3, 116 p < .005
Apartment density (Persons/bedrooms)	1.9	1.9	1.6	1.7	2.73	3, 116 p < .05
<u>Mean Income</u>						
School						
Private		\$39,896			} 2.87	2, 57 p < .10
Public		31,848				
Both		34,615				

Table 24--Continued

	Mean Income		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level
Babysitters					
Have full, part-time, or babysitter/housecleaner	\$39,900	}	3.39	1, 48	p < .10
Don't have any babysitter	33,500				
Housecleaner					
Have one	\$42,500	}	6.46	1, 55	p < .05
Don't have one	33,864				
Woman's Employment Status					
Single-career families	\$32,262	}	3.02	2, 54	p < .10
Dual-career families	38,071				

Table 25

Income Findings: Housing Attitudes

	Percent By Income				χ^2 with d.f. = 3	Significance Level
	\$22,500 N = 26	\$27,500 -32,500 N = 32	\$37,500 -42,500 N = 36	\$47,500 -60,000 N = 20		
Why chose present home?						
Better, good neighborhood	28.1%	37.5%	41.7%	10.0%	6.69	p < .10
Familiar neighborhood	12.5	25.0	36.1	45.0	7.93	p < .05
Co-op, owning an apartment	6.3	31.3	22.2	15.0	6.90	p < .10
Best about place where living?						
Good mix of people	0.0	18.8	5.6	10.0	7.89	p < .05
Good space	18.8	15.6	33.3	50.0	9.18	p < .05
Trees, grass	0.0	3.1	16.7	5.0	8.8	p < .05
Worst about place where living?						
Old building, maintenance problems	6.3	28.1	36.1	0.0	8.95	p < .05
Limited apartment space	25.0	28.1	36.1	0.0	9.20	p < .05
Effects on adult, city living:						
City husband has more time with family because no commute	25.0	46.9	55.6	65.0	9.88	p < .05
Limited apartment space creates tension and feeling of crowding	40.6	68.8	66.7	25.0	14.15	p < .005
Symbolic meaning of suburban single family house:						
Sense of accomplishment is important and good	32.3	9.4	13.9	10.0	7.44	p < .10
Suburban home has no symbolic meaning	12.9	40.6	22.2	50.0	10.99	p < .05
Effects on child, city living:						
City child exposed to more social diversity	40.6	68.8	58.3	33.3	8.34	p < .05
City family members closer	12.5	31.3	13.9	38.9	7.64	p < .10

Table 25--Continued

	<u>Percent By Income</u>				χ^2 with d.f. = 3	Significance Level
	<u>\$22,500</u> N = 26	<u>\$27,500</u> -32,500 N = 32	<u>\$37,500</u> -42,500 N = 36	<u>\$47,500</u> -60,000 N = 20		
How would you describe people in building or development?						
Upper middle class	0.0	3.1%	19.4%	20.0%	10.45	p < .05
Active, community-minded	3.4%	28.1	16.7	10.0	7.65	p < .10
Ladder self-rating/reasons:						
Positive: Housing, apartment	20.0%	18.8%	11.4%	40.0%	6.50	p < .10
Positive: New York City	10.0	6.3	0.0	25.0	10.49	p < .05
Negative: New York City	3.3	0.0	14.0	0.0	9.04	p < .05
					<u>ANOVA</u>	
					<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>
Reason for leaving the city: (1 7 very important)						
Poor schools	5.5	5.7	4.1	4.9	2.18	3, 80 p < .05
Ideal Home:						
City		\$37,355			} 2.65	2, 111 p < .10
Suburban		30,192				
Rural		32,667				
Satisfaction with building or development (1 7 very satisfied)						
2 - 5		\$31,881			} 7.04	5, 69 p < .0001
6 - 7		33,981				

the type of vacations they take. Forty percent of the highest income group owned houses out of the city ($\chi^2 = 14.52$, d.f. = 3, $p < .005$). One hundred percent of this group traveled regularly, compared to about 60% of the other income groups ($\chi^2 = 12.99$, d.f. = 3, $p < .005$). Thirteen to 25% of the two lowest income groups reported rarely taking vacations ($\chi^2 = 8.00$, d.f. = 3, $p < .05$). Some upper income families also said they owned sailboats ($\chi^2 = 13.16$, d.f. = 3, $p < .005$); others said they go skiing in the winter ($\chi^2 = 8.85$, d.f. = 3, $p < .05$).

Differences in housing attitudes between high and low income groups were, with a few exceptions, as expected. The suburban single family home had less "symbolic" meaning to upper income people ($\chi^2 = 10.99$, d.f. = 3, $p < .05$). Lower income individuals tended to say that the suburban home represented a sense of accomplishment which was important and good ($\chi^2 = 10.0$, d.f. = 3, $p < .10$). The ideal home of people with an average income of \$37,355 was in the city, those with an income of \$32,667, in the country, and those with \$30,192, in the suburbs, $F(2, 111) = 2.64$, $p < .10$. A majority of the people in the two highest income groups said that the city husband has more time to be with his family because he has no commute ($\chi^2 = 9.88$, d.f. = 3, $p < .05$).

Because upper income families had more space per person in their apartments, it makes sense that they expressed more satisfaction about apartment space. Fifty percent of the highest income group said that good space in their apartment was one of the best attributes about the place where they were living ($\chi^2 = 9.18$, d.f. = 3, $p < .05$). In discussing the reasons for their self-rating on the Cantril ladder, housing or apartment was mentioned more frequently by upper income people ($\chi^2 = 6.50$, d.f. = 3, $p < .10$). Limited apartment space was given as one of

the worst aspects of their housing by 25-36% of the three lower income groups and not mentioned by anyone in the highest income group ($\chi^2 = 9.20$, d.f. = 3, $p < .05$). The three lower groups also more frequently mentioned that limited apartment space creates tension and a feeling of crowding ($\chi^2 = 14.15$, d.f. = 3, $p < .005$). Lower income groups probably felt more crowded because besides having less apartment space, they took fewer vacations and had fewer outlets outside their apartments than did the highest income groups.

Because upper income families can send their children to private schools, they are less impacted by the public schools. It follows that people in the lower income groups gave more importance to "poor schools" as a reason for leaving the city.

It is surprising that moving plans did not differ by income group. It is also surprising that upper income people did not express more satisfaction with New York City or with their apartments. Higher income people did express more satisfaction with their building or development, $F(5, 69) = 7.04$, $p < .0001$.

Educational background does not appear to be a very significant factor in distinguishing differences in the sample's lifestyle or housing attitudes. For some analyses, the lowest two educational levels were grouped together because there were so few in the lowest category.

As previously reported, people with more education had higher incomes and represented a higher proportion of dual-career families. (See Table 26.) It follows that "job" or "career" were given more frequently as positive reasons for ladder self-ratings by more educated people ($\chi^2 = 8.09$, d.f. = 1, $p < .005$). (See Table 27.) Culture was rated more important as a reason for staying in the city by those with higher

Table 26

Education Findings: Lifestyle

	<u>High School and College</u> N = 47	<u>Graduate School</u> N = 64	χ^2 with d.f. = 1	Significance Level	
Child presently in playgroup	38.5%	10.0%	4.84	p < .05	
			<u>ANOVA</u>		
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	
Income	\$33,424	\$38,475	4.91	1, 103	p < .05
Single-career families		2.4	14.55	1, 107	p < .0001
Dual-career families		2.7			
(2 = High school/college)					
(3 = Graduate school)					

Table 27

Education Findings: Housing Attitudes

	<u>Percent By Education</u>		χ^2 with d.f. = 1	Significance Level
	<u>High School and College</u> N = 47	<u>Graduate School</u> N = 64		
Why chose present home?				
New apartment	2.1%	14.1%	3.36	p < .10
Best buy, rent reasonable	61.7	81.3	4.31	p < .05
Best about place where living?				
Design, layout of apartment/building good	6.4	25.0	5.38	p < .05
How would you describe people in building or development?				
Professional, well-educated	12.8	27.9	2.77	p < .10
Warm, friendly	46.8	24.6	4.87	p < .05
Ladder self-rating: Postive reason				
Job, career	17.8	46.0	8.09	p < .005
			ANOVA	
	<u>Mean</u>		<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>
Reasons for leaving the city: (1 . . . 7 very important)				
No equity in house	5.6	4.6	6.35	1, 75
Little outdoor freedom for child	5.2	4.0	6.46	1, 75
Lack of apartment space	4.7	3.8	4.49	1, 78
	<u>High School</u>	<u>College</u>		
Reasons for staying in the city:				
Culture	4.0	6.6	6.5	3.51 2, 71
				p < .05

educations, $F(2, 71) = 3.51, p < .05$. In contrast, no equity in a house, $F(1, 75) = 6.35, p < .05$, little outdoor freedom for children, $F(1, 75) = 6.46, p < .05$, and lack of apartment space, $F(1, 78) = 4.49, p < .05$, were all given more importance as reasons for leaving the city by less educated people.

People did not differ by educational level on their answers to questions about ideal home, symbolic meaning of suburban home, or satisfaction with the city or their housing.

Summary and Implications

Income was a more powerful factor in distinguishing housing attitudes than education. This may be due to the generally high educational background of the sample and the lack of differentiation between people. All but 3% of the sample had attended college or graduate school.

Upper income families enjoyed lower density apartments, used more babysitters and housecleaning help, more often sent their children to private schools, and took more vacations than lower income families. The lifestyle that upper income families could afford therefore ameliorated a number of urban problems: tight apartment living, the city's lack of nature and restrictions on children's outdoor freedom, and questionable public schools. It follows that upper income people held more favorable attitudes about living in the city than lower income people.

It was expected that families with lower incomes would be planning to move to the suburbs and those with higher incomes planning to stay in the city. No differences were found however. The lower income groups who would ordinarily have had more concrete plans to move to the suburbs may have had to drop or delay such plans because of the cost of suburban homes. At the time of the interviews, mortgage interest rates and

suburban home prices were beginning to rise and may have interfered with some families' plans. The lower income groups did state their ideal home was a suburban single family house and did place more symbolic meaning in this housing form than upper income groups. Presently, the record high interest rates for mortgages, the high purchase price of homes, and the larger down payments required are pricing many traditional home buyers out of the market. According to a report prepared by the Mayor's Office of Construction, at the median price of \$80,000 for a one-family house on Staten Island, an annual income of \$36,800 to \$42,650 is required by lenders to sustain monthly mortgage payments at 15% interest rates (Smith, 1981, p. 21). This would mean that the sample's two lower income groups (assuming no change in income) would not be able to afford such a single family house.

Although upper income families had fewer persons per room in their apartments and registered more satisfaction about space in their apartments than lower income families, they did not express more general satisfaction with their apartments. Perhaps people with more money might expect that they should be able to afford more luxurious quarters, but because of present market rentals and prices of apartments, an even higher income is necessary to obtain such housing. A similar explanation may explain the lack of difference between income groups in their satisfaction with the city. Upper income people may be expecting a better lifestyle in the city but are disappointed because of the deterioration in city services such as transportation, police, sanitation, and schools.

In summary, the classic "cosmopolitan" and "transient" sub-groups that have been previously identified by other observers were found in this sample with modifications. The dual-career, upper middle income family,

regardless of educational level, is the "new cosmopolitan" family, able to afford additional services and committed to urban living. The single career, lower middle income family, with more traditional values, is the "old transient" family aspiring to the suburban single family home life-style.

Sex Differences

It had been anticipated that men would value the suburban single family home more than women, that they would be more inclined to move to the suburbs, and therefore less satisfied with city living than women. None of these expectations were confirmed. The findings do indicate that spouses mismatched in career and life style expectations were in great conflict over whether or not they would remain living in the city.

There were no significant differences between men and women on satisfaction (with New York City, housing development, or apartment), the importance and symbolic meaning of the suburban single family home, or the ideal home. Men and women did differ, however, on what they felt was best and worst about their housing, city living, and about what they thought were the effects of city life. (See Table 28.) These differences reflected traditional sex roles. Proximity to work ($\chi^2 = 6.58$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$) and a good buy ($\chi^2 = 5.87$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$) were mentioned more by men than women as the best features of the place where they were living. Women, on the other hand, cited as more important than men "social contacts easier" ($\chi^2 = 15.84$, d.f. = 6, $p < .05$) and "can walk, not drive to stores, restaurants, etc." ($\chi^2 = 13.31$, d.f. = 6, $p < .05$) as reasons for staying in the city. Reflecting their role as "breadwinners," more men (65%) than women (43%) said that an effect of

Table 28

Sex Differences Findings

	Percent		χ^2 with d.f. = 1	Significance Level
	Women	Men		
Best about place where living:				
Close to work	33.3%	58.3%	6.58	p < .05
Good buy, costs	48.3	71.7	5.87	p < .05
Worst about place where living:				
Looks like a project, appearance bad	21.7	6.7	4.39	p < .05
Effects on adult, city living:				
Do not have tension, inconvenience of commute	43.3	65.0	4.83	p < .05
City parent forced to supervise child outdoors	63.3	43.3	4.05	p < .05
Home entertainment hard in city apartment	34.6	15.4	5.52	p < .05
Limited apartment space creates tension, crowded feeling	62.3	43.3	4.05	p < .05
Have much to do with people here?				
Not much, very superficial	27.6	50.0	5.23	p < .05
A lot	34.5	15.5	4.60	p < .05
Would you like to see people more, less or same?				
More, friends have left Manhattan	11.9	0.0	5.26	p < .05
Reasons for Ladder Rating:				
Positive: Family, children	35.9	66.1	9.3	p < .005
Positive: Job, career	19.3	45.1	7.67	p < .01
Positive: Housing, apartment	12.3	28.3	3.69	p < .10
Negative: Need more money	28.1	46.7	3.55	p < .10
Negative: New York City	10.5	0.0	4.67	p < .05

Table 28--Continued

	<u>Percent</u>		χ^2 with d.f. = 1	Significance Level
	Women	Men		
Reasons for Staying in the City: (6-7: Very Important)				
Convenient, close to work	73.3%	92.9%	8.67	p < .10
Social contacts easier	43.1	28.2	15.84	p < .05
Diversity of people	77.7	54.6	11.88	p < .10
Can walk	93.1	69.0	11.22	p < .05
Reasons for Leaving the City: (6-7: Very Important)				
Poor environment	53.3	40.4	13.31	p < .05
Lack of apartment space	41.8	26.1	10.68	p < .10
Lack of recreation outdoors	20.5	9.5	12.76	p < .05

of city living is that adults do not have the tension and inconvenience of a commute ($\chi^2 = 4.83$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$).

Reflecting their traditional role of "homemakers," women complained more than men that limited apartment space creates crowding and tension ($\chi^2 = 4.05$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$). They also said that home entertainment was harder in a city apartment ($\chi^2 = 5.52$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$). The poor quality of the city's environment (noise, dirt, pollution, lack of green, open space) also bothered women more than men ($\chi^2 = 13.31$, d.f. = 6, $p < .05$). Women mentioned more negative effects of city living for both the adult ($\chi^2 = 19.61$, d.f. = 8, $p < .05$) and for the child ($\chi^2 = 13.32$, d.f. = 6, $p < .05$). The complaint that the outside appearance of their housing was bad (that it looked like a project) was mentioned by more women than men ($\chi^2 = 4.39$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$).

Men and women did not differ significantly on their Cantril ladder self-ratings. But they did differ on the reasons they gave for the rating. Men gave more positive reasons ($\chi^2 = 7.32$, d.f. = 1, $p < .01$). They more often said marriage ($\chi^2 = 9.3$, d.f. = 1, $p < .005$), job or career ($\chi^2 = 7.67$, d.f. = 1, $p < .01$) and housing or apartment ($\chi^2 = 3.69$, d.f. = 1, $p < .10$) were positive factors in their lives. Women more often said "New York City" was a negative factor in their life (none of the men said this) ($\chi^2 = 4.67$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$). Men said that needing more money was a problem ($\chi^2 = 3.55$, d.f. = 1, $p < .10$).

Women's greater involvement and concern with social contacts has been repeatedly found in other studies. Women in this study also said they had more to do with people in the building or development than men ($\chi^2 = 4.60$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$). In response to the question, "Would you like to see people more, less, or the same?" no men said they would like

to see friends more who had moved out of Manhattan, but 12% of the women said this ($\chi^2 = 5.261$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$).

The sample was asked, "Do you and your spouse have the same or different opinions on your housing and its locations?" Almost 60% of the sample said they held the same opinions as their spouse, while the rest of the sample was divided almost equally between husbands or wives feeling more pro-city. (See Table 29.) Where mismatches in housing desires occurred in couples, the cases in which wives who wanted to stay in the city and husbands who wanted to move to suburbs seemed the most difficult. Husbands in these cases wanted to own property and have a sense of permanence. Their wives, on the other hand, were usually starting or about to start a career or job and were afraid that it would be difficult to find work in the suburbs, or impossible to commute into the city and be in close touch with their children. These women also worried that their determination to find a job might fade if surrounded by suburban women who didn't work. The other case, in which a woman wanted to move to the suburbs and her husband didn't, usually involved a wife who wanted a more gracious life style and more freedom for her children, while her husband didn't want to commute and wasn't very interested in their housing per se. The roots of some conflicts between husbands and wives about staying in the city lay in the difference in their housing backgrounds; one partner may have grown up in a house, the other in an apartment. (See section on Childhood Residential History.) The following comments illustrate the intensity of the conflict between some husbands and wives:

We do differ about it. It's a very complicated issue. Basically, he wants to have a feeling of permanence, he wants to own something. We've been renting for 17 years and we don't own any property anywhere I have a dozen reasons why I don't want to go. I really don't want to go . . . I think it's going

Table 29

Do You and Your Spouse Have the Same or Different
Opinions on Your Housing and Its Location?

N = 113	Number	Percent
Same	(67)	59%
Wife more pro-city	(25)	22
Husband more pro-city	(21)	19

to be very hard for me to get back to work, to find a job, a good serious job . . .

My husband always has this thing that he wanted a house . . . I never lived in a house, "so what you don't know," but to me, maybe I would like it, I don't know.

(Her husband:) She'd like to stay in the city and would like to remain in this development, if not this apartment [East Midtown Plaza].

My husband has always wanted to move to the suburbs because he is a frustrated carpenter and he looks around and he doesn't know what to do. And we always thought at some point we would be moving out because of the school situation. As it turns out there has always been this underlying tension between us . . . About two years ago my husband turned to me and said, "You won." (East Midtown Plaza Resident.)

(Her husband:) I wanted to get out of the city. I did not want to stay. I wanted to buy a house and she did not want that because once she did that she would be isolated and she would not be able to work.

I could very readily move to the suburbs . . . My wife not so-- she wants to live in New York City for the rest of her life; she likes the activity.

(His wife:) To him owning property is far more important. You see, I don't care if I never own any property . . . I never really lived in a house. It's hard to envision.

Time budget analysis by sex indicates many significant differences.

Sample men worked an average of eight hours on a weekday and spent 48 minutes traveling to and from their job; women spent an average of 2 hours on a job and 21 minutes traveling to and from it. (See Table E in Appendix.) (Sixty-three percent of the women answering the time budget were employed.) In the six hours not spent working, women were doing housework (including washing dishes, cleaning the apartment and preparing meals), childcare, volunteer work with others, reading, shopping, and other miscellaneous activities. It is interesting that on a Sunday (see Table H in Appendix), although men spent 46 minutes working at the office and 10 minutes traveling there and back, totaling 56 minutes, women spent 131 minutes more than men washing dishes, cleaning the apartment, preparing meals, and caring for the children, a difference of 75 minutes

or 1½ hours, indicating that the sample women assumed more of their traditional role tasks on a Sunday when their husbands were free to do them. All women in the sample spent on a weekday an average of about three hours more inside the apartment than their husbands and about 25 minutes more at playgrounds.

Summary and Implications

Men and women did not differ on housing satisfaction, moving from the city, the importance of the suburban single family home, or their ideal homes. Differences had been expected. It is interesting that the study found instead significant differences between dual and single career couples on most of these dimensions.

Sex differences, reflecting traditional roles, were found in people's opinions on the positive and negative qualities of their environment. The general picture the findings give is that the sample women were more bothered by their housing and the city's environment than the men but enjoyed the social contacts the city provided. Sample men, on the other hand, liked the proximity to their jobs and took more pleasure in their housing than women but worried about having enough money. These findings are reinforced by the time budget data which showed that women spent more time inside the apartment, and more time performing "homemaker" duties, even on Sundays, than men. The home environment therefore had a greater impact on the women's lives than the men's. These results are consistent with other research.

As women are increasingly inclined to pursue meaningful careers (and present demographic trends indicate that this will be the case), we would expect more conflicts between husbands and wives over housing location based on the study findings. It will be interesting to see if men

will ever assume their equal share of homemaker duties and if they ever do, whether or not their desire for a suburban single family home which requires more maintenance will diminish.

CHAPTER IV
DESIGN DIFFERENCES

Introduction

The study was set up in such a way as to test a variety of physical design hypotheses. Findings on the effects of different highrise sites, floor heights and apartment densities will be discussed in this chapter. A major portion of the chapter will deal with the differences between the three highrise sites studied: who chose the sites, their reasons, their housing attitudes, neighboring behavior and children's access to outdoor play facilities.

Site Differences

Sample Description by Site

It had been anticipated that different types of people would probably chose to live at each of the three housing sites. No hypotheses were made however on what those differences would be.

Residents at the three housing sites did not differ significantly in income or their children's ages. Single building residents tended to be older and more educated, while Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village people tended to be younger and less educated. (See Table 30.) The number of children each family had differed by site, $F(2, 79) = 4.47$, $p < .05$. Families in single buildings had fewer children than the families in the other two sites. The largest families were at East Midtown Plaza,

Table 30
Demographics By Site

(Variable)	<u>MEAN</u>			ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level
	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings			
Age	35.2	36.5	39.7	2.51	2, 79	p < .10
Education: 1 = High School 2 = College 3 = Graduate School	2.4	2.7	2.7	2.65	2, 79	p < .10
Income	\$35,568	\$35,804	\$34,457			
Number of Children	2.0	2.1	1.5	4.47	2, 79	p < .05
Youngest Child's Age	3.4	3.5	3.7			
Oldest Child's Age	6.1	6.6	5.0			
Floor Height	4.9	9.0	9.2	4.60	2, 115	p < .05
Number of Bedrooms	2.2	2.6	2.2	5.54	2, 117	p < .01
Apartment Density	1.87	1.60	1.97	5.31	2, 117	p < .01
Length of Residence in Present Apartment	2.9	3.3	6.2	16.68	2, 117	p < .001
Length of Residence in Building or Development	6.7	3.6	8.2	24.58	2, 117	p < .001
Monthly Payment for Apartment	\$365	\$472	\$451	4.86	2, 38	p < .05
Women's Employment Status (N = 60)				<u>χ^2</u>		
Full Time Employment	0.0	27.6%	46.7%	11.10	4	p < .05
Part Time Employment	33.3%	37.9	33.3			
No Employment	66.7	34.5	20.0			

which was specifically designed to provide apartments for families, including not only two but three and four bedroom apartments. Sample apartments in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and the single buildings had fewer bedrooms than those in East Midtown Plaza, $F(2, 117) = 5.54, p < .01$. Apartment density was calculated by dividing the number of persons in the family by the number of bedrooms. Differences between sites were significant. The single buildings, with an average density of 1.97, had the highest density. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village was in between with 1.37 and East Midtown Plaza had the lowest density at 1.60, $F(2, 117) = 5.31, p < .01$.

The number of women employed outside the home differed significantly by site ($\chi^2 = 11.10, d.f. = 4, p < .05$). The majority of the sample women at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village did not work outside the home. None of the women at that site held full time jobs. Almost half the single building women worked full time. Eighty percent of all the single building women were employed either full or part time. Two-thirds of the East Midtown Plaza women had full or part time jobs.

Length of residence varied by site. Single building families had lived in their apartments twice as long as the families at the other two sites (an average of 6 years compared to 3 years), $F(2, 117) = 16.68, p < .001$. Single building residents had lived in their buildings the longest, a mean of 8 years. East Midtown Plaza residents had lived the shortest time in their building or development (4 years compared to 7 years at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village), $F(2, 117) = 24.58, p < .001$. Because East Midtown Plaza opened in 1972 and 1974, it follows that the sample's length of residency should be shortest at that site. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village opened in the late 1940's and the single

buildings were probably constructed in the 1950's and 1960's. The findings will show that the single building sample was a more stable group than the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample which will be labeled as "transient."

Residents in East Midtown Plaza paid the most per month for their apartments (\$472). Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents in rent stabilized apartments paid the least (\$365); single building residents paid in between (\$451), $F(2, 38) = 4.86, p < .05$. (These are, of course, 1976-77 rents; 1981 rents are about \$100 more per month.) Because East Midtown Plaza is a Mitchell-Lama "co-operative," an initial payment (the equivalent of a large security deposit) is required. Sample residents paid a mean "downpayment" of \$4,167.

The average floor height varied by site. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village had a mean floor height of 5, compared to 9 at East Midtown Plaza and the single buildings, $F(2, 115) = 4.60, p < .05$. Because the highest floor at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village is 14, and the highest at East Midtown Plaza is 28, these differences are understandable.

The childhood backgrounds of residents at the three housing sites differed. Almost half the East Midtown Plaza sample had grown up in apartments in the Bronx, Brooklyn or Queens, compared to about a quarter of the residents at each of the other two sites ($\chi^2 = 6.20, d.f. = 2, p < .05$) (see Table 31). None of the residents in single buildings had come from apartments in other cities or towns, compared to 20% of the East Midtown Plaza sample, and 17% of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample ($\chi^2 = 6.78, d.f. = 2, p < .05$). Over half the people at East Midtown Plaza did not have their own room when growing up, a higher proportion than the samples at the other two sites ($\chi^2 = 5.44, d.f. = 2,$

Table 31

Childhood Residential History Site Differences

	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	Percent		χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
		East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings		
Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens apartment	23.3%	46.7%	26.7%	6.20	p < .05
Other city or town apartment	16.7	20.0	0.0	6.78	p < .05
Did you have your own room? No	38.1	52.9	25.0	5.44	p < .10

p < .10).

Summary and Implications

Different groups of people were attracted to the three housing sites. The Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample was primarily made up of young, single-career couples with less education. East Midtown Plaza residents, mostly dual-career couples, had come from apartments in New York City's outer boroughs and had relatively large families. They had apartments with the most bedrooms and least density. The single building sample had lived in their buildings a long time and were older, well-educated, dual-career couples. These demographic differences will partially explain some of the site findings which will be discussed next.

Differences in neighboring and children's outdoor play activity were predicted between sites; however, differences in attitudes and values about urban life and family life style between residents of the three sites had not been anticipated to the degree found in the study. First, the attitude and value differences between site residents will be discussed. Then their neighboring and social behavior will be looked at. And finally, the effects of physical design on family dynamics will be examined.

Housing Choice

Families selected their apartments at the three sites for different reasons. The varying design, facilities, and type of residents at each site attracted people looking for different kinds of housing. About 70% of the total sample said they chose their apartment because its costs were reasonable and/or it offered more space (see Tables 32 and 33). Distinct

Table 32

Why Did You Choose to Live in Your Present Home?
Total Sample and By Site

N = 120	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>By Site</u>			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	Number	Percent	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings		
Best buy/rent reasonable	(83)	69%	76.7%	71.7%	56.7%		
More space	(82)	68	60.0	73.3	66.7		
Close(r) to work and/or convenient neighborhood	(44)	37	53.3	26.7	40.0	6.32	p < .05
Better/good neighborhood	(38)	32	13.3	40.0	33.3	6.62	p < .05
Familiar neighborhood	(34)	28	33.3	15.0	50.0	12.56	p < .005
Young families/many children and/or sense of community	(31)	26	46.7	26.7	3.3	14.74	p < .01
Play areas/outdoor facilities	(29)	24	40.0	28.3	0.0	14.23	p < .001
Coop-owning apartment	(23)	19	0.0	35.0	6.7	19.65	p < .001
Good apartment and/or building design	(20)	17	6.7	26.7	6.7	8.64	p < .05
Good maintenance	(16)	13	23.3	3.3	23.3	10.38	p < .01
Good schools	(12)	10	6.7	16.7	0.0	6.67	p < .05
Old apartment or building in poor condition	(12)	10					

Table 32--Continued

N = 120	<u>Total Sample</u>		Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings	<u>By Site</u> <u>Percent</u>		Significance Level
	Number	Percent				χ^2 with d.f. = 2		
New apartment	(10)	8	0.0	15.0	3.3	7.2	p < .05	
Good management	(9)	8	6.7	1.7	20.0	9.73	p < .01	
Middle class	(9)	8	16.7	6.7	0.0	6.13	p < .05	
Mixed race and/or classes	(8)	7	6.7	16.7	0.0	6.67	p < .05	

Note. Total sample percentages are based on the total sample's respondents, 120. Percentages by site are based on the number of respondents at each site. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, percentages for the total sample and for each site add up to more than 100%.

Table 33

Ranking By Site of Eight Most Frequently
 Given Answers to the Question:
 "Why Did You Choose to Live
 in Your Present Home?"

Stuyvesant Town/ Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings
1 Best buy/rent reasonable	Best buy/rent reasonable	More space
2 More space	More space	Best buy/rent reasonable
3 Close to work/convenient	Better/good neighborhood	Close to work/convenient
4 Young families	Co-op/owning apartment	Familiar neighborhood
5 Play areas	{ Good apartment/building design Young families Play areas Close to work/convenient	Better/good neighborhood
6 Familiar neighborhood		Good maintenance
7 Good maintenance		Good management
8 Middle class		Old apartment/building in poor condition

site differences appear beyond these reasons.

People chose East Midtown Plaza because the neighborhood was good and the development was a co-operative. They liked the sense of community, play areas, and building design. The duplex apartment was an attraction. Almost half of the East Midtown Plaza apartments (14 out of 30) were duplexes.

Typical comments from East Midtown Plaza residents were:

In addition to the size of the apartment, I liked the looks of the building very much, I thought it was done very well architecturally, I liked the play areas that they had for children.

Well, the playing areas were great and the fact that we have three bedrooms. We like the idea of a duplex because the kids can stay upstairs and we can be downstairs.

I thought it was architecturally very smart, very good looking buildings.

When it first opened, East Midtown Plaza had a mix of middle and low income residents. This feature was only attractive to 10% of this sample.

Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village were chosen for their proximity to one's place of work and their generally convenient neighborhood. The presence of other young families in a community and the development's outdoor play areas and facilities were also important. Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village were perceived as well maintained middle class developments in a familiar neighborhood. Residents of Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village said:

Well, we chose it for a variety of reasons. First, the rental at the time was quite reasonable, and in general, the way the apartments were maintained, in relation to the grounds, the park area--within the place. Secondly, we had several friends who were living in this neighborhood and so we wanted to be near them and we wanted of course to live in Manhattan.

The rent was reasonable. And because it was a nicely, beautifully maintained place. It was a middle class community.

It was economical. A nice neighborhood and close to work.

Single buildings could not be chosen for their special design features or sense of community. Residents in single buildings gave a narrow range of reasons for their housing choice. Positive attributes of the neighborhood were given: convenience, familiarity and good quality. Fifty percent of the single building residents said they had picked their apartments because the neighborhood was familiar. These people had either grown up in the neighborhood or settled there during college or their first job. Good maintenance and good management were other reasons people gave for choosing their apartment in a single building. Characteristic responses of single building residents to the question, "What qualities attracted you to this building or neighborhood?" are as follows:

I don't think there were any qualities. Basically I think we were looking for a modern highrise and we chose this apartment because it had two bedrooms on a high floor and it was available.

We essentially had no particular impression of the building before we moved in. It just happened to be one where we found a two bedroom apartment that was fairly reasonable.

We happened to be down here and we found an apartment that we thought was something we would like and I was familiar with the area because I had served in the Air Force for a while on Sixteenth Street and I knew the area on the whole East Side.

Attitudes and Lifestyles

Moving plans. Differences on moving plans between the samples at the three sites were dramatic. (See Table 34.) A majority (67%) of the East Midtown Plaza sample said they had no moving plans for the future compared to 43% of the single building sample and 33% of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample ($\chi^2 = 10.26$, d.f. = 2, $p < .01$). East Midtown Plaza residents typically said:

Table 34

Moving Plans and Housing Attitudes By Site

	Percent			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village N = 30	East Midtown Plaza N = 60	Single Buildings N = 30		
Moving Plans					
No moving plans	33.3%	66.7%	43.3%	10.26	p < .01
Definitely moving	13.3	3.3	16.7	5.10	p < .10
Ideal Home					
Suburban home	26.7	13.3	3.3	6.78	p < .05
Symbolic Meaning of Suburban Single Family House					
Ownership, security, and permanence is important and good	63.8	26.7	34.5	11.62	p < .005
Suburban home has no symbolic meaning	10.0	41.7	24.1	10.18	p < .01
Sense of accomplishment is important and good	36.7	5.0	20.7	14.76	p < .001

Note. Percentages are based on the number of respondents at each site.

It was always temporary until about a year ago [when the family moved from an East Midtown Plaza two bedroom apartment to a three bedroom apartment] and I think this apartment had a lot to do with it, the fact that we have three bedrooms and it's comfortable.

Originally I thought of it as something temporary. Before we moved here, we moved every two years. Now I'd like to stay here. I feel a sense of permanence.

This is the first time in my life that I feel permanent.

Single building residents tended to give less definite answers:

I don't think either one of us has reached a decision of which alternative is preferred. If it were an easy situation, I would have figured it out. I'm looking very carefully at it.

Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village people spoke of being unsure or having concrete moving plans:

We don't know how long we'll stay. We both would kind of like to stay in the city and buy a summer house, but we don't know what Stuyvesant Town is going to be like. We don't know too much about the future.

We have been looking for a house for the last year or so. We want to move to the Village of Bronxville.

Ideal home. Twice as many Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents (27%) said a suburban house was their ideal as did East Midtown Plaza residents (13%). Even fewer single building people (3%) gave this answer. ($\chi^2 = 6.78$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$.)

Symbolic meaning of suburban single family home. Sixty-three percent of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample said that the suburban house provided ownership, security and a sense of permanence that was important and good. Less than half of the families at the other two sites responded this way. ($\chi^2 = 11.62$, d.f. = 2, $p < .001$.) In direct contrast, the East Midtown Plaza sample indicated that the suburban home had no symbolic meaning. ($\chi^2 = 10.17$, d.f. = 2, $p < .01$.) Typical

comments about the importance of ownership and the meaning of a single family house were very descriptive:

I'd like a place where I could use my hands. This [apartment] is somebody else's place that I'm staying in and I don't have that sense of permanence, even if I stay here another twenty years. Ownership is important and that's why I'd like a big place in the country.

You have a piece of paper that says this is yours, to do with what you want, for as long as you live, to give it to whoever you want. It is really something. And there isn't an awful lot in the world for middle class people that is theirs.

I guess it has some image for me. I guess of breaking out of a lower middle class environment to one called upper middle class.

East Midtown Plaza residents' comments were usually different from those above:

I don't see it as a symbol of success because it would cost me less to have such a home than to live here.

I just don't have the compulsion to own a house and I don't think it's a source of wealth in this classical, economical kind of feeling where they say that land is a source of value, I don't feel that by not owning land that I have not achieved economically.

It doesn't have any big meaning to me.

Attitudes on urban living. Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper

Village families viewed urban living as much more negative both for adults ($\chi^2 = 7.54$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$) and for children ($\chi^2 = 12.58$, d.f. = 2, $p < .001$) (see Tables 35 and 36) than did the families at the other two sites. The priorities of each site's residents differed significantly. Very dramatic is the 68% of the East Midtown Plaza sample stating that an advantage of city living is that it is easier for the wife to have a job in the city. ($\chi^2 = 12.12$, d.f. = 2, $p < .005$.) (See Table 37.) Fifty percent of the single building sample felt this way; only 30% of the Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village sample did. Public transportation was seen as one of Manhattan's best features by more of the East

Table 35

Effects on Adult Living in City Apartment
Versus a Suburban Home

N = 120	<u>By Site, Percent</u>		
	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings
Low Negative (0-2 answers)	30.0%	58.3%	60.0%
High Negative (3-9 answers)	70.0	41.7	40.0

$\chi^2 = 7.54, d.f. = 2, p < .05.$

Table 36

Effects on Child Living in City Apartment
Versus a Suburban Home

N = 120	<u>By Site, Percent</u>		
	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings
Low Negative (0 answers)	30.0%	68.3%	63.3%
High Negative (1-4 answers)	70.0	31.7	36.7

$\chi^2 = 12.58, d.f. = 2, p < .005$

Table 37

Attitudes on Urban Living By Site

	<u>Percent</u>			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village N = 30	East Midtown Plaza N = 60	Single Buildings N = 30		
Why Do You Choose to Live in Manhattan?					
Familiar	30.0%	13.6%	36.7%	6.84	p < .05
Essential for job	0.0	6.9	16.7	6.00	p < .05
What Are the Best Things About Living in Manhattan?					
Public transportation	13.3	39.0	30.0	8.13	p < .05
Job opportunities	6.7	6.8	26.7	8.58	p < .05
What Are the Worst Things About Living in Manhattan?					
Crime, safety problems	66.7	66.1	36.7	8.13	p < .05
Less freedom for child outside	20.0	22.0	46.7	7.22	p < .05
Effects on Adult Living in City Apartment vs. Suburban Home					
<u>Advantages</u>					
City's cultural diversity more stimulating	90.0	51.7	46.7	15.21	p < .01
Easier for wife to have job in city	30.0	68.3	50.0	12.12	p < .01
<u>Disadvantages</u>					
City parent forced to supervise child outdoors	66.7	38.3	50.0	6.47	p < .05
Home entertainment harder in city apartment	20.0	11.7	0.0	6.30	p < .05
Effects on Child Living in City Apartment vs. Suburban Home					
<u>Advantages</u>					
City child has more playmates	66.7	27.1	10.3	23.02	p < .001
City family members closer	33.3	11.9	27.6	6.43	p < .05
<u>Disadvantages</u>					
Public schools are a problem	73.3	33.9	41.4	12.76	p < .005
Restriction on child because of noise bothering neighbors	40.0	13.6	3.4	14.91	p < .001

Midtown Plaza residents than those at the other two sites. ($\chi^2 = 8.13$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$.)

Job opportunities in general were seen as one of Manhattan's best attributes by more of the single building residents than people at the other sites. ($\chi^2 = 8.58$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$.) Single building residents more frequently said they had chosen to live in Manhattan because it was essential for their job. ($\chi^2 = 6.00$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$.)

The only positive feature of urban living that Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village residents spoke of more than the people at the other two sites was the city's cultural diversity being more stimulating than the suburbs. ($\chi^2 = 15.21$, d.f. = 2, $p < .001$.) Ninety percent of these residents made this comment compared to about half the people at the other sites.

In their attitudes about public schools, one of the most controversial features of urban living, site differences were striking. In commenting on the disadvantages of city living for children, 73% of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample mentioned the poor quality of the public schools, 41% of the single building sample said this, and only 34% of the East Midtown Plaza sample mentioned it. ($\chi^2 = 12.76$, d.f. = 2, $p < .005$.) (See Table 38.) Almost no single building resident felt positively about the New York City public schools. Over half this sample disliked the public schools generally, felt they offered a poor quality education, had violence, or may be the cause for moving out of the city. Eighty percent of the single building parents sent, or intended to send, their children to private or parochial schools (see Table 39). East Midtown Plaza residents were the most positive about the public schools. Thirty-six percent liked the quality of education offered. However, even

Table 38

Attitudes on Schools By Site

N = 81	<u>Percent</u>			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings		
Feels public school offers poor quality education	61.9%	25.6%	47.6%	7.99	p < .05
Dislikes public school generally	33.3	17.9	61.9	11.87	p < .005
Ambivalent about public school	4.8	41.0	14.3	11.30	p < .005
Likes public school quality of education	19.9	35.9	4.8	7.68	p < .05
Likes public school social diversity	28.6	7.7	0.0	9.57	p < .01
	<u>Summary</u>				
	<u>Stuyvesant Town & Peter Cooper Village</u>	<u>East Midtown Plaza</u>	<u>Single Buildings</u>		
More negative	43.3%	21.7%	56.7%		
More positive	16.7	28.3	3.3		
Positive = negative	40.0	50.0	40.0		
	$\chi^2 = 14.78, d.f. = 4, p < .01$				

Table 39

School Attendance By Site

N = 60 (All Women)	Percent			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings		
Pre-school child in church/parochial nursery	6.7%	3.1%	31.3%	8.94	p < .05
Intend to send child to public school	20.0	37.5	6.3	5.80	p < .10
School age child in private school	0.0	9.4	37.5	10.17	p < .10
School age child in church/parochial school	33.0	9.4	6.3	5.92	p < .10

<u>Summary</u>			
	<u>Stuyvesant Town & Peter Cooper Village</u>	<u>East Midtown Plaza</u>	<u>Single Buildings</u>
Private/parochial	46.7%	20.0%	80.0%
Public	20.0	60.0	6.7
Both	33.3	20.0	13.3

$\chi^2 = 19.49, d.f. = 4, p < .001$

Midtown Plaza parents, a group committed to urban life, had many doubts about the public schools and were severely torn over whether or not they should send their children to the local public school. Forty-one percent were ambivalent. As easy solution was having a child smart enough to be admitted to the "gifted child" program at Hunter school, which was the case for six children at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and East Midtown Plaza.

Other lifestyle indicators. Subjects were asked to rate their marriages on a scale from 1 (very traditional) to 7 (very non-traditional). The sample as a whole rated their marriages as exactly in-between (4.0). Consistent with other findings, Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village couples tended to rate themselves as the most traditional (3.75); single building couples were in the middle (4.0); and East Midtown Plaza couples were the least traditional (5.3), $F(2, 78) = 3.13, p < .10$. As mentioned previously, a far greater proportion of the women in the single buildings and East Midtown Plaza were employed than the women in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village. None of the families at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village employed an all-day babysitter, while about a third of the single building and a quarter of the East Midtown Plaza families did. ($\chi^2 = 5.29, d.f. = 2, p < .10$.) (See Table 40.) Forty percent of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village parents did have part-time babysitters compared to 13% of the parents at the other two sites ($\chi^2 = 5.20, d.f. = 2, p < .10$).

Another indicator of lifestyle is the type of leisure time activities people pursue. More people at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village said they played tennis than the people at the other two sites ($\chi^2 = 10.72, d.f. = 2, p < .005$).

Table 40

Child Care Arrangements for Total Sample
and By Site

N = 60 (Total Sample Families)	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>By Site</u>			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
			<u>Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village N = 15</u>	<u>East Midtown Plaza N = 30</u>	<u>Single Buildings N = 15</u>		
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>					
<u>Cooperative Arrangements</u>							
Child is presently in a playgroup	(15)	25%	33.3%	16.7%	31.3%		
Child was formerly in a playgroup	(19)	32	60.0	23.3	25.0	6.70	p < .05
Feels playgroup is good for mothers	(8)	13	46.7	6.7	0.0	16.48	p < .001
Feels playgroup is good for children	(13)	22	66.7	10.0	0.0	25.02	p < .0001
Has informal "switching" arrangements	(9)	15	26.7	13.3	6.3		
Presently in babysitting pool	(11)	18	33.3	23.0	0.0	5.94	p < .10
Presently in walking pool	(13)	22	26.7	23.3	6.3		

Table 40--Continued

N = 60 (Total Sample Families)	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>By Site</u>			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
			<u>Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village N = 15</u>	<u>East Midtown Plaza N = 30</u>	<u>Single Buildings N = 15</u>		
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>					
<u>Paid Babysitters and Housecleaners</u>							
Full time (all day) babysitter	(12)	20%	0.0%	23.3%	31.3%	5.29	p < .10
Part time babysitter	(13)	22	40.0	13.3	12.5	5.20	p < .10
Joint babysitter- housecleaner	(6)	10	6.7	6.7	18.8		
Housecleaner	(14)	23	26.7	23.3	18.8		

Note. Total sample percentages are based on the total number of respondents, 60. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%. The percentages by site are based on the number of respondents in each site.

Satisfaction with environment and life in general. People in East Midtown Plaza tended to be the most satisfied with New York City of the three groups, $F(2, 78) = 2.79, p < .10$. Ninety-four percent of the East Midtown Plaza sample were pleased with the city. (See Table 41.) East Midtown Plaza residents also had the highest average satisfaction with their development, $F(2, 78) = 4.30, p < .05$. Forty percent of the residents at East Midtown Plaza gave the highest rating (7) of satisfaction to their development. The total of those satisfied in East Midtown Plaza was 89%. People at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village were also highly pleased with their development: 95% were satisfied. Only about half of the single building residents were satisfied with their buildings. The Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and East Midtown Plaza samples registered more satisfaction with their apartments than the single building sample, $F(2, 78) = 3.59, p < .05$. Ninety percent of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents were satisfied with their apartments, 77% of the East Midtown Plaza people, and 65% of the single building residents.

The sample's answers to questions on what is best and worst about the place where they were living give insight into their satisfaction ratings. Compared to the single building residents, Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and East Midtown Plaza people mentioned more frequently that the sense of community, families with children, and the play areas were best. (See Table 42.) These topics will be discussed in detail shortly. Regardless of site, the sample felt their apartment rent, the proximity to work, and the convenience of the neighborhood were good. A notable 30% of the East Midtown Plaza sample said the design was one of the best attributes of the place where they were living. By far the

Table 41

Housing Satisfaction By Site

N = 86	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	Percent	
		East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings
<u>Satisfaction with New York City</u>			
Dissatisfied	0%	2%	15%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	15	4	0
Satisfied	65 > 85	57 > 94	65 > 85
Very satisfied	20	37	20
<u>Satisfaction with building/development</u>			
Dissatisfied	0	4	18
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	5	7	25
Satisfied	75 > 95	49 > 89	31 > 56
Very satisfied	20	40	25
<u>Satisfaction with apartment</u>			
Dissatisfied	0	17	20
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	10	7	15
Satisfied	90 > 90	57 > 77	50 > 65
Very satisfied	0	20	15

Table 41--Continued

N = 86	1 7						ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level
	Not At All		Very Satisfied						
			<u>By Site</u>						
	<u>Total Sample</u> Mean	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings					
With New York City	5.8	5.60	6.05	5.25	2.79	2, 78	p < .10		
With Development	5.8	5.80	6.03	5.00	4.30	2, 78	p < .05		
With Apartment	5.1	5.35	5.27	4.31	3.59	2, 78	p < .05		

Table 42

What Is Best About the Place Where You're Living?

N = 120	Total Sample		By Site			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
			Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village N = 30	East Midtown Plaza N = 60	Single Buildings N = 30		
	Number	Percent					
Good buy/costs, rent	(72)	60%					
Sense of community/good neighbors	(56)	47	60.0%	53.3%	20.0%	11.79	p < .005
Close to work	(55)	46					
Safe, good play area; facilities	(51)	43	83.3	43.3	0.0	42.66	p < .00001
Convenient neighborhood, close to stores	(49)	41					
Families with children	(43)	36	50.0	43.3	6.7	15.19	p < .001
Good maintenance, management	(37)	31					
Friends; friendly, familiar neighborhood	(37)	31					
Good space	(33)	28	10.0	33.3	33.3	6.14	p < .05
Good neighborhood	(33)	28					
Design/layout of apartment/ building good	(23)	19	3.3	30.0	13.3	10.06	p < .10
Own apartment	(14)	12					
Good schools	(13)	11					
Good mix of people	(10)	8					
Safe building	(10)	8					
Trees, grass	(8)	7	23.3	0.0	3.3	18.21	p < .0001

Note. Total sample percentages are based on the total number of respondents, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%. The percentages by site are based on the number of respondents in each site.

majority of comments on the worst things about the place where people were living had to do with neighborhood safety and crime. (See Table 43.) East Midtown Plaza residents were particularly bothered by a nearby methadone clinic which had many patients who hung out both in the development's plaza and on the adjacent streets. Single building people who tended to live uptown from the two developments, closer to 34th Street, were upset by the proliferation of prostitutes, winos, and derelicts on their streets. Despite East Midtown Plaza resident's unhappiness with their neighborhood, this group still had high satisfaction with their development. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents whose development is more isolated from the surrounding neighborhood complained the least about neighborhood safety. Some of the biggest complaints of the single building people had related to attributes of their buildings: the lack of play areas and poor maintenance. These features will be dealt with further on.

No significant differences were found between sites on the Cantril ladder self-ratings. The only significant site difference on reasons for Cantril ladder self-ratings was that Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village women complained that they were "stuck with the kids at home." ($\chi^2 = 6.41$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$.)

Summary and Implications

Residents at the three housing sites had clearly distinguishable opinions on urban living. They also kept different lifestyles. East Midtown Plaza residents were most committed to living in the city as a permanent way of life. The majority had no moving plans. Of the residents at the three sites, East Midtown Plaza people were most satisfied with New York City. They had the most positive feelings about the city's

Table 43

What Is Worst About the Place Where You're Living?

N = 120	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>By Site</u>			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	Number	Percent	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village N = 30	East Midtown Plaza N = 60	Single Buildings N = 30		
Bad neighborhood/poor safety	(43)	36%					
Methadone clinic	(39)	33	6.7%	51.7%	20.0%	21.31	p < .0001
Bums, derelicts in project or neighborhood	(32)	27	6.7	30.5	40.0	9.26	p < .001
Limited apartment space	(30)	25					
Neighborhood buildings have low income, poor neighbors	(21)	18					
No or not enough play facilities for children-- lack of outdoor freedom	(19)	16	6.7	13.3	30.0	6.69	p < .05
Rigid management rules	(18)	15	16.7	21.7	0.0	7.45	p < .05
Looks like a project/outside appearance bad	(17)	14	33.3	11.7	0.0	14.32	p < .001
Not enough building/project security guards/doormen	(14)	12	3.3	21.7	0.0	11.81	p < .005
Old building/maintenance problems/heat, leaks, water	(10)	8	0.0	1.7	30.0	24.65	p < .0001
Noise between apartments	(7)	6	16.7	3.3	0.0	8.95	p < .05

Table 43--Continued

N = 120	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>By Site</u>			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	Number	Percent	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village N = 30	East Midtown Plaza N = 60	Single Buildings N = 30		
Not enough resident control over project	(5)	4					
Not a sense of community	(5)	4					
No air conditioning	(5)	4	13.3	0.0	3.3	8.97	p < .05
Nothing bad	(3)	3					

Note. Total sample percentages are based on the total number of respondents, 120. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total to more than 100%. The percentages by site are based on the number of respondents in each site.

public schools, and put a high value on public transportation and the opportunities urban living provides for women to have jobs. Mass transit has previously been linked to mothers' working and access to jobs. East Midtown Plaza residents rated their marriages as the least traditional. The highly cosmopolitan orientation of the East Midtown Plaza sample can be partly explained by the high proportion of dual-career couples and of people who lived in apartments when growing up. Also a high proportion of the East Midtown Plaza sample came from the city's outer boroughs. As discussed in Chapter III, Residents' Characteristics, these two demographic types are associated with a cosmopolitan attitude toward the city. Compared to the other two sites, the architectural design and tenure type at East Midtown Plaza imply more commitment to the city. The site is integrated rather than segregated from the rest of the neighborhood. The "co-operative" arrangement, although not a genuine co-operative, requires a greater financial commitment than the other housing sites. East Midtown Plaza residents chose their apartments for specific housing reasons with high expectations. They were attracted to the co-operative arrangement, the sense of community, the play areas and the good interior and exterior design. East Midtown Plaza people apparently were not disappointed. These features were spoken of as the best attributes of the housing. East Midtown Plaza residents registered a high level of satisfaction with their development. Because apartment densities were lowest at East Midtown Plaza, it follows that the residents reported fairly high satisfaction with their apartments. (Apartment density will be discussed in greater depth in a later section.) The finding of high satisfaction at East Midtown Plaza is consistent with the results of a study of another Mitchell-Lama development one block north

of East Midtown Plaza. A majority of the sample of 52 tenants at Phipps Plaza West (Degnore, et al., 1980) rated their housing as being close to the best possible place for them to live. Three-quarters had no moving plans.

The type of people who chose to live in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village contrast sharply to those who selected East Midtown Plaza as their home. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents are the classic middle class urban "transients" that the literature frequently refers to. These families stay in the city a few years while the children are young and then move to the suburbs when the children are school age. More Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village people had plans to move to the suburbs. They saw the suburban single family home as the ideal and attributed more positive meaning to it than those at the other sites. The only attribute of the city that this sample valued more highly was the city's cultural stimulation, a feature that is probably disposable to people aspiring to a suburban lifestyle. Urban culture can still be sampled occasionally from the suburbs. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents thought urban living had more negative effects than the other two groups and were more bothered by the city's public schools. Their marriages were the most conventional. The women complained of being stuck with the kids at home. The attitudes and lifestyle of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper sample can be partially explained by the high proportion of people who grew up in houses in this group and their lower age and education. It is interesting that the conscious "suburbs in the city" image of Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village attracted people oriented to suburban living. These residents chose the closest substitute to the suburbs in the city that they could find. Almost a

quarter of this sample mentioned that the trees and grass were one of the best attributes about the place where they were living. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents were highly pleased with their housing, having chosen it for the convenient neighborhood, sense of community and play areas. These features were seen as the development's best attributes.

The single building sample is less easy to characterize. This group certainly did not see the suburban single family home as their ideal and attribute much meaning to it. The city's job opportunities were important to the single building people. This sample seemed to include more people in the fields of finance, advertising, architecture and the arts. Although oriented to urban living, the single building sample was the least satisfied with New York City, their buildings, and their apartments. Their dissatisfaction might partially be explained by this group's having the lowest income (although not significantly different) and the highest proportion of full-time employed women. Single building residents chose their apartments not so much because of positive attributes of their housing, but for the good qualities of the neighborhood, familiarity and convenience. It follows that this sample was least satisfied with their buildings because they gave more building-related complaints than the other two samples. Their buildings had less to offer than the buildings in the other two developments. It also makes sense that single building residents were most dissatisfied with their apartments. They had the highest apartment density of the three groups. It will become more apparent in the discussions on neighboring, play facilities, and apartment density why East Midtown Plaza and Stuyvesant Town people were more satisfied with their housing than single building

residents.

These findings vividly illustrate the need to avoid stereotypes of highrise buildings. Not only did each of the highrise sites have its own strengths and weaknesses, but each site attracted residents with different lifestyles, housing aspirations and attitudes toward urban living. People tended to select sites that would match their particular needs and self-images, and yet satisfaction with each site varied significantly.

Neighboring and Social Behavior

It was predicted that residents in housing that has shared facilities on site (Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and East Midtown Plaza) would have more to do with their neighbors than residents in housing that lacks such shared facilities (single buildings). This hypothesis was definitely confirmed.

In response to interview questions on the percent of good friends, the number of residents known by name, and the number visited in one's own building or project, the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample gave considerably higher number than the East Midtown Plaza sample, which in turn gave much higher answers than the single building sample. (See Table 44.) Residents in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village said they knew an average of 70 other residents by name in their development; East Midtown Plaza residents knew an average of 38; the single building residents, 22, $F(2, 98) = 15.73, p < .0001$. An average of nine residents are visited in apartments by the Stuyvesant Town Peter Cooper Village sample; six by the East Midtown Plaza sample; and three by the single building group, $F(2, 98) = 5.25, p < .01$. Twenty-five percent of Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents' good friends live in their building or

Table 44
Neighboring By Site

	<u>Total Sample</u> Mean	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	<u>By Site</u> <u>Mean</u>		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level
				Single Buildings				
Percent of good friends in building or project	16%	24.6%	10.8%	3.7%	3.72	2, 38	p < .05	
Number of residents known by name in building or project	40.6	70.0	38.4	22.0	15.73	2, 98	p < .0001	
Number of residents in building or project that visit in apartment	6	8.9	6.1	3.2	5.25	2, 98	p < .01	

development, 11% for East Midtown Plaza residents and 4% for single building residents, $F(2, 38) = 3.72, p < .05$.

Development residents have, in addition to shared facilities, a much larger potential pool of people they could know than the single building residents. Another way of interpreting the data on neighboring is to look at the figures as a percent of the available population people could draw on. The number of potential neighbors residents at each site could be in touch with was calculated. (See Table 45.) At Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village, a realistic unit for people to get to know each other might be the cluster of buildings that share a play area. Each cluster is made up of approximately 10 buildings (see Figure 7, page 70) with about 1,040 apartments. East Midtown Plaza has three clusters, each around a play area (see Figure 14, page 74), with about 250 apartments in each group. A typical highrise building of 20 floors with 12 apartments per floor would have a total of about 240 apartments. East Midtown Plaza residents knew the highest percentage of their potential neighbors (15%); single building residents followed with 9%, Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village, with 7%. East Midtown Plaza people also visited the greatest proportion of their potential neighbors. Single building and Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents visited the same percentage of their potential neighbors.

If these neighboring patterns are interpreted along with data on the length of residency, then the East Midtown Plaza groups appears even more social and Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents, less social. The East Midtown Plaza sample had lived in their buildings an average of four years; the single building sample twice as long (8 years) and the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample, almost as long as

Table 45
 Potential Neighbors and Percent Known
 and Visited By Site

	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings
Potential Neighbors (Number of apartments)	1,040	250	240
Percent of potential neighbors known by name	7%	15%	9%
Percent of potential neighbors visited	1%	2%	1%

the single building people (7 years). The East Midtown Plaza residents got to know a relatively large number of people in the comparatively short amount of time. Theoretically, Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents could have known relatively more people compared to the single building sample since they had lived in their buildings about the same length of time and had so many more people to draw upon to know. It is notable however that the quality of the neighborly relationships differs between the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and single building samples. A quarter of the former's good friends are located in their project, only 4% of the single building residents' good friends are in their building.

Questionnaire data on the location of the subjects' three closest friends and the frequency of contact indicates that the relationships at East Midtown Plaza are the most intense. (See Tables 46 and 47.) There were no site differences on the location of people's first best friend; however, about 15% of the East Midtown Plaza sample had their second and third best friends in their development while the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper sample had no second best friends and only 4% had third best friends located in their development. Despite living in their buildings the longest of the three samples, single building residents did not list any close friends in their buildings. East Midtown Plaza residents see their closest friends more frequently than those in the other sites (second friend: $\chi^2 = 39.44$, d.f. = 16, $p < .001$; third friend: $\chi^2 = 25.65$, d.f. = 16, $p < .10$). (See Table 46.) It is interesting that single building residents regardless of the location, see their closest friends less frequently than people at the other sites.

Although single building residents had little to do with their

Table 46

Location of Closest Friends

Location of Closest Friends	<u>Total Sample</u>		Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	<u>By Site</u> <u>Percent</u>		χ^2	D.F.	Significance Level
	Number	Percent			Single Buildings				
<u>First Friend (N = 86)</u>									
Building/Project	(14)	16%	33.3%	13.6%	0.0%				
Neighborhood	(7)	8	4.2	11.4	5.6				
New York City	(25)	29	12.5	31.8	44.4				
New York-other boroughs	(17)	20	20.8	15.9	27.8				
Long Island	(1)	1	0.0	2.3	0.0				
New Jersey									
Outside N.Y. Metro area	(22)	26	29.2	25.0	22.2				
<u>Second Friend (N = 84)</u>									
Building/Project	(6)	7%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	}	20.95	10	p < .05
Neighborhood	(6)	7	0.0	11.9	5.6				
New York City	(29)	35	29.2	26.2	61.1				
New York-other boroughs	(22)	26	37.5	23.8	16.7				
Long Island									
New Jersey	(3)	4	0.0	7.1	0.0				
Outside N.Y. Metro area	(18)	21	33.3	16.7	16.7				

Table 46--Continued

Location of Closest Friends	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>By Site</u>			χ^2	D.F.	Significance Level
			Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings			
<u>Third Friend (N = 80)</u>								
Building/Project	(7)	9	4.2	14.6	0.0	} 25.31	12	p < .05
Neighborhood	(3)	4	0.0	0.0	0.0			
New York City	(26)	33	29.2	29.3	46.7			
New York--other boroughs	(20)	25	37.5	24.4	61.7			
Long Island	(2)	3	0.0	4.9	0.0			
New Jersey	(2)	3	0.0	4.9	0.0			
Outside N.Y. Metro area	(20)	25	29.2	22.0	26.7			

Note. Percentages in first column are based on the total sample. Percentages by site are based on the sample at each site.

Table 47

Frequency of Contact With Three Closest Friends

	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>By Site</u>			χ^2	D.F.	Significance Level
	Number	Percent	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings			
<u>First Friend (N = 83)</u>								
Daily	(13)	16%	20.8%	17.1%	5.6%			
2-3 times/week	(10)	12	12.5	14.6	5.6			
Weekly	(13)	16	12.5	19.5	11.1			
Bi-weekly	(9)	11	8.3	9.8	16.7			
Monthly	(12)	14	4.2	14.6	27.8			
Once every 2-3 months	(7)	8	12.5	2.4	16.7			
Once every 4-6 months	(7)	8	8.3	7.3	11.1			
Once every 6-12 months	(8)	10	12.5	12.2	0.0			
Less than once a year	(4)	5	8.3	2.4	5.6			
<u>Second Friend (N = 79)</u>								
Daily	(4)	5	0.0	10.3	0.0	} 39.44	16	p < .001
2-3 times/week	(12)	15	0.0	20.5	25.0			
Weekly	(13)	16	8.3	20.5	18.8			
Bi-weekly	(8)	10	12.5	7.7	12.5			
Monthly	(17)	22	45.8	5.1	25.0			
Once every 2-3 months	(14)	18	12.5	23.1	12.5			
Once every 4-6 months	(5)	6	20.8	0.0	0.0			
Once every 6-12 months	(2)	3	0.0	5.1	0.0			
Less than once a year	(4)	5	0.0	7.7	6.3			

Table 47--Continued

	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>By Site</u>			χ^2	D.F.	Significance Level
			Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings			
	Number	Percent						
<u>Third Friend (N = 74)</u>								
Daily	(5)	7%	0.0%	10.5%	8.3%	} 25.65	16	p .10
2-3 times/week	(10)	14	8.3	15.8	16.7			
Weekly	(7)	9	4.2	15.8	0.0			
Bi-weekly	(9)	12	25.0	5.3	8.3			
Monthly	(12)	15	12.5	10.5	41.7			
Once every 2-3 months	(16)	22	20.8	26.3	8.3			
Once every 4-6 months	(4)	5	12.5	0.0	8.3			
Once every 6-12 months	(2)	3	0.0	5.3	0.0			
Less than once a year	(9)	12	16.7	10.5	8.3			

Note. Percentages in first column are based on the total sample. Percentages by site are based on the sample at each site.

neighbors, they did not express dissatisfaction with their relationship with people in their building. For the sample as a whole, in response to the question, "Are you satisfied with your relationship with people here?" only eleven out of 113 people (10%) said "no." There were no significant differences between sites. Most single building residents were not interested in socializing with their neighbors and in fact, a number expressly stated that they would not like it:

I think you get more involved in involuntary relationships in [a development, a complex of buildings] a communal life. I think that is positive as well as negative and for me it happens to be mainly negative . . . I like the sort of relationships that you can maintain with people in the city, I like sort of a combination of physical proximity with psychological distance.

We've been sort of good New Yorkers in the sense that we tend not to know the immediate neighbors. We're cordial but we have no social relationships . . . I wouldn't want to be bosom buddies with people who live and share the walls.

Here you don't have the support of neighbors and I guess all in all I like living outside of a real community building.

Single building residents were not so alien from their neighbors that they could not ask for help if they needed it. In response to the question, "In an emergency, would you ask a neighbor to care for your child?" the single building sample did not respond differently than the other two samples. Only six people in the entire sample said they couldn't ask for such help.

It was expected that the residents in developments would be part of development or building-related groups or organizations and that single building people would not. The findings bear this out. The sample participated in a variety of cooperative childcare arrangements. The most elaborate was the "playgroup" which consisted of four to ten mothers who took turns taking care of each other's children several hours a week. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village mothers had the highest playgroup

participation. (See Table 40, page 195.) A third of the families there were presently in a playgroup and 60% had formerly been in one ($\chi^2 = 6.70$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$). Single building mothers were also involved in playgroups. A third had a child presently in one and a quarter had formerly participated. The use of the other two sites' playgrounds was important to the single buildings' playgroups. This will be discussed in more detail in the following section on outdoor play facilities.

Another cooperative childcare arrangement was the "babysitting pool" in which parents trade hours of babysitting time. None of the single building families were part of a babysitting pool, while 23% of the East Midtown Plaza families were and 33% of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village families were ($\chi^2 = 5.94$, d.f. = 2, $p < .10$).

Participation in these cooperative childcare arrangements is impossible or difficult for working mothers. Because 80% of the single building women worked part of full time, their low participation in these cooperative efforts may be due in part to their employment status.

Because East Midtown Plaza is a co-operative, with a resident co-operative board, and because there are community rooms, spaces for residents' use, there are additional opportunities for people to get together. Residents formed a food co-op, a wine co-op, an exercise class, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, and other organized groups. New groups were continually forming. Furthermore, East Midtown Plaza is a relatively new complex and formal residents' groups are probably not yet at their full strength.

After "good costs or rent," the most frequently given answer to the question, "What is best about the place where you're living?" was "sense of community or good neighbors." Sixty percent of the Stuyvesant

Town/Peter Cooper sample mentioned this attribute, 53% of the East Midtown Plaza sample and 20% of the single building group. ($\chi^2 = 11.79$, d.f. = 2, $p < .005$.) (See Table 42.) Many Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents gave glowing descriptions of the sense of community they felt at their developments in response to the question, "What is best about the place where you're living?"

Here I was very quickly, very easily able to not just meet people, but people that I really enjoy. And as my child grew up, he had friends immediately, there was no effort, because as soon as you are out on the playground, there are other children. He is part of an on-going community. I think for New York City, establishing a kind of community is terribly important.

There are so many groups, companionship with your peers, people you have a lot in common with. Everyone is friendly. It's like living in a small community but you are within the city. I think this is just unique.

A feeling of community. A feeling of neighborly kinship with other people. There are people with whom you find your level of communication and that you find a friendship with.

East Midtown Plaza residents also spoke of a sense of community, but including co-operative activities:

You get a flavor of community here, which is really incredible. It's wonderful. There are a lot of women like myself who are, let's say, older mothers who worked and are not just housewives. I really like the whole idea of the food co-op, the babysitting pools and just the feeling of community. I am very happy here.

The best things have been the availability of children kind of things. There are lots of families living here, there are lots of kids. My daughter has a lot of friends in the building. We've become friends with some of the people . . . you don't have to belong to anything, even though there is an effort to make us all kind of a community . . . I've been drawn into things --a food co-op, a wine co-op, an exercise group.

The best thing is that it's a very well maintained building, it's as spacious as we thought, and as a co-operative, there's a certain community spirit that's very pleasant and that's lacking in other places.

A sense of community was closely tied to having other families with children in the building or complex. Single buildings did not have many

other families with children. Often there were few or no other children to play with. People at the development sites more often said that having "families with children" was one of the best characteristics of their home ($\chi^2 = 15.19$, d.f. = 2, $p < .001$). In discussing the pro's and con's of city and suburban living for children, many more of those at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village thought the city child had more playmates than the suburban child. ($\chi^2 = 23.02$, d.f. = 2, $p < .0001$.) (See Table 37.)

Subjects were asked to describe the people in the place where they were living. The most common answer the sample as a whole gave was "diversity, mix of people." (See Table 48.) Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and East Midtown Plaza residents described their neighbors as middle class, friendly, family-oriented, professional, and community-minded. Single building residents supplied significantly fewer descriptions and in eight instances could not describe people in their building at all.

Summary and Implications

As predicted, residents in housing with on-site facilities were more involved with their neighbors than people living in housing with no shared facilities. In most cases, people who wanted a sense of community explicitly chose the development sites for that feature and those who wanted a more impersonal relationship with their neighbors chose single buildings which allowed for a more anonymous existence. As a consequence, 90% of the total sample was satisfied with their relationships with their neighbors.

The intensity of neighborly relations at East Midtown Plaza is noteworthy. East Midtown Plaza residents had lived in their development three years less than Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village people. East

Table 48

How Would You Describe the People in
This Building or Complex?

N = 117	<u>Total Sample</u>		Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	<u>By Site</u> <u>Percent</u>		Significance Level
	Number	Percent			Single Buildings	χ^2 with d.f. = 2	
Diversity, mix	(66)	56%					
Middle class	(46)	39	55.2%	41.7%	17.9%	8.60	p < .05
Warm, friendly	(41)	35					
Family-oriented	(29)	25	51.7	20.0	7.1	16.70	p < .005
Professional, well-educated	(25)	21	24.1	28.3	3.6	7.14	p < .05
Active, community-minded	(18)	15	3.4	26.7	3.6	12.04	p < .005
Upper middle class	(12)	10	24.1	5.0	7.1	8.17	p < .05
Single building, can't describe	(8)	7	0.0	0.0	28.6	22.68	p < .0001
Cold, unfriendly	(5)	4					

Note. Sample percentages are based on the number of people in the total sample. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total more than 100%. Sample percentages are based on the number of people in sample at each site.

Midtown Plaza also has many fewer apartments than Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village. There may be several reasons for the great involvement of East Midtown Plaza residents in each other. First, people who want to interact in a communal effort probably chose co-operatives. Second, because the development had just opened and most of the sample were original tenants, there were many initial organizing efforts necessary including electing a Board of Directors for the co-operative. Third, the many community rooms had been provided specifically to facilitate group activities. And finally, the scale of East Midtown Plaza may have facilitated the sense of community. Because East Midtown Plaza has 746 apartments, the whole development can organize a function, for instance, an annual Halloween party. Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village have a total of over 11,000 apartments. One cluster of buildings alone is larger than East Midtown Plaza in its entirety. The scale of Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village is not too large to prevent a sense of community but it probably does not allow for the intense involvement that can take place at East Midtown Plaza.

Participation in some of the co-operative childcare arrangements, particularly play groups, requires women who are either not employed or who work part time. The high participation of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample in such arrangements therefore may be partially explained by the fact that none of the mothers there worked full time; two thirds held no jobs. Likewise the low participation in co-operative childcare arrangements by the single building families can be partially accounted for by the high proportion of women who worked full time at that site (47%) and were consequently unavailable for play groups and other arrangements. The large number of employed women in single buildings

might explain the low neighboring rates and the lack of contact with people in general that this sample had. No significant differences were found however between working and non-working women at each site on any of the neighboring variables. Furthermore, two-thirds of the East Midtown Plaza sample women were employed and this group had substantial interaction with their neighbors.

The findings in this section show that communal facilities and a co-operative setting enhance residents' interactions. Individual buildings with no shared facilities allow residents to avoid undesired interaction with their neighbors. Designers should be aware of the consequences of both designs. There is no "right" or "wrong" environment. The type of people should determine the kind of housing that is needed.

In contrast to their indifference to neighboring, single building residents did feel that the lack of outdoor play facilities for their children was a problem. This topic will be discussed in the next section.

Children's Access to Outdoor Play Facilities

It was predicted that the children of families living in housing developments with enclosed play facilities would be outside alone more than children of families living in buildings with access to only public playgrounds. The findings confirm this hypothesis.

East Midtown Plaza and Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village both have on-site playgrounds. None of the single buildings had any play facilities. Seventy-three percent of the residents in East Midtown Plaza said they allow their child out alone; 39% of Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample said this, and only 14% of the single building families could report this ($\chi^2 = 21.61$, d.f. = 2, $p < .0001$). For the sample as a whole, the average age of children who were allowed out alone was 6.4

years old. Children permitted out alone at East Midtown Plaza were younger than at the other two sites (6.0 years old versus 7.5 years old). The mean age of children allowed out alone of non-working mothers (who presumably could spend more time with their children outside) is lower at East Midtown Plaza (6 years old) than at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village (8 years old), $F(1, 7) = 6.55, p < .05$.

It was assumed that if no on-site play facilities were provided or that such facilities were not useable by children by themselves, parents would be forced to either accompany their children outside to play or keep their children indoors with them. In either case, it was assumed that the more time parents spent with their children, the greater the indication that outdoor play areas suitable for unsupervised play were unavailable. It was predicted that if access was poor to outdoor play facilities and parents and children had to stay indoors together more, increased family tensions might be a possible consequence. Time budget analysis shows that on a Sunday single building parents spent 50 minutes with their children at a playground; Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village parents almost 20 minutes; and East Midtown Plaza parents only 8 minutes, $F(2, 78) = 4.00, p < .05$. (See Tables E-H in Appendix.) On a weekday, East Midtown Plaza parents spent only four minutes at a playground; the single building parents, 25; and the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village parents, 35, $F(2, 8) = 4.64, p < .05$. The higher figure for the latter site may reflect the fact that mothers at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village (most of whom were unemployed) often used the outdoor play time as an opportunity to socialize with other people in the development.

On a Sunday, the single building parent spent a significantly greater amount of time indoors with his or her child and spouse (2½ hours compared

to 50 minutes in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and six minutes in East Midtown Plaza), $F(2, 78) = 4.21, p < .05$. No such difference was found for the weekday.

Single building parents did not overtly indicate that having to be with their children more, either indoors or out, resulted in family tension. This would be difficult to admit. However, in contrast to their indifference toward neighboring, single building residents did feel that their children's poor access to outdoor play facilities was a major problem. Thirty percent said that the lack of outdoor freedom for their children was one of the worst disadvantages of the place where they were living, a significant difference from the other sites ($\chi^2 = 6.69, d.f. = 2, p < .05$). (See Table 43.) In discussing the worst things about living in Manhattan, the single building sample also more frequently mentioned this problem ($\chi^2 = 7.22, d.f. = 2, p < .05$). (See quotations in Chapter II.) Fewer people in East Midtown Plaza (38%) mentioned that a negative effect on an adult living in the city was being forced to supervise a child outdoors (single buildings, 50%; Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village, 67%). ($\chi^2 = 6.47, d.f. = 2, p < .05$.) None of the single building residents mentioned that good play facilities was one of the best features of the place where they were living, in contrast to 83% at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village, and 45% at East Midtown Plaza ($\chi^2 = 42.66, d.f. = 2, p < .00001$). (See Table 42.) The low percent for East Midtown Plaza can be explained by another category made in response to the question, "What is best about the place where you're living?": "good design or layout of apartment or building" which frequently included the play facilities (East Midtown Plaza, 30%; single buildings, 13%; Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village, 3%) ($\chi^2 = 10.06, d.f. = 2, p < .01$).

Play facilities at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village were supervised. A number of activities, including organized athletic games and arts and crafts were offered. These additional services were appreciated by residents as these comments indicate:

This is absolutely the best place for children. There are a lot of children around here, and secondly there's grass, there's trees, there's playgrounds, and they're all staffed, there's recreation facilities.

They have a fairly large recreation staff here. They offer a number of things that are very good. They offer a free indoor play group for children, arts and crafts for pre-school children, during holiday times they offer either a carnival at Halloween or Santa's arrival, either in the children's playground.

Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents spoke frequently about how pleased they were that their development's open space and playgrounds were separated from traffic and the general public's use. (See Figures 7-12, pp. 60-68 and Figure 22.) This comment from a woman living in Stuyvesant Town is typical:

You can just walk downstairs and there are playgrounds. The kids can ride their tricycles or big wheels through all the walks here; they are not on the streets. Here its all enclosed, you can sit on a bench and they can run around the whole place and you can still see them. You are not worried every minute they are going to dart out in front of a car.

East Midtown Plaza has one playground in its "plaza" at street level which is open to the public and three small playgrounds at second floor level which are accessible only through the building. (See Figures 14-20, pp. 74-80 and Figure 23.) The importance of the interior play areas was even greater than anticipated. These playgrounds were intended for young pre-school children but because parents were so hesitant to allow their children to use the public plaza playground, school age children played in the interior areas as well. Parents complained that the more public street level playground was used by tough non-resident children who



Figure 22. No trespassing sign at Stuyvesant Town/
Peter Cooper Village playground.

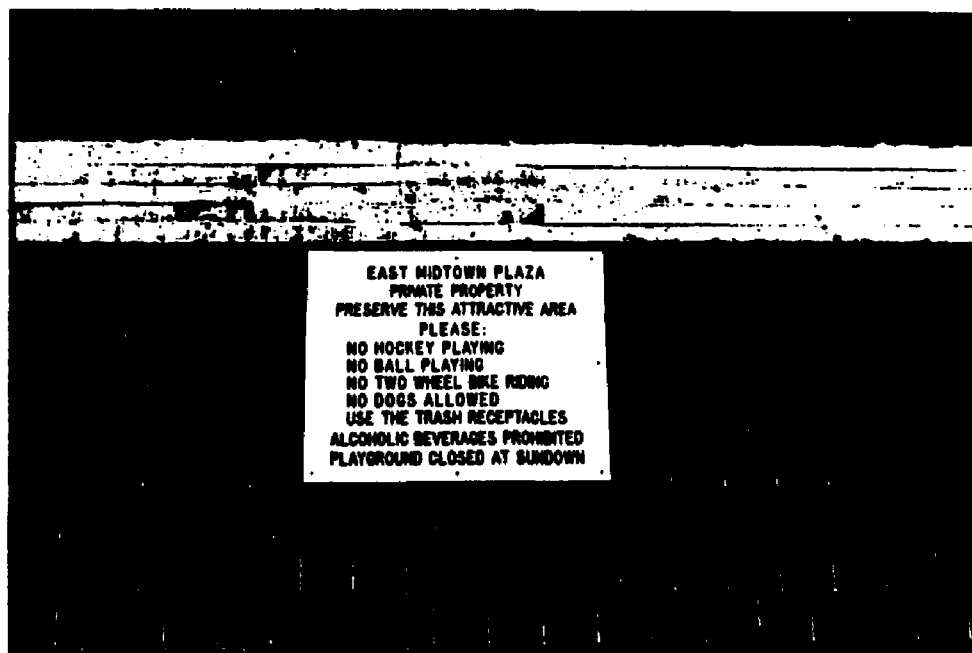


Figure 23. Private property sign at East Midtown Plaza.

intimidated or roughed up East Midtown Plaza children. There were also other dangerous people using the plaza according to parents. (A more detailed discussion on the use of the plaza and residents' opinions on it is in the section on design features.) Parents said the equipment in the interior play areas was not designed for the older children and that there was not enough space to accommodate both the younger and the older children. The interior play areas were heavily used and despite the problems that resulted from such heavy use, were much appreciated. The following comments give a more vivid picture of the use of the play areas. The first statement is from a woman who moved from Peter Cooper Village to East Midtown Plaza.

The facilities in a sense were better there. There was a nice playground that was more self-contained, there wasn't public traffic moving through the development.

We've thought a lot about the playground spaces here. There's a problem in that they were usurped by tough kids from a few blocks away . . . the kids living here are afraid to go in their own playground.

We thought about a move to the suburbs but we have most of the advantages here of privacy and having independence from my five year old. She can go visit friends outside in the building and play on the second floor and I don't have to be with her all the time. I don't have to walk and sit in the playground, which I can't stand to do.

The first floor playground is a lovely playground but I can't let my kid stay there by herself because there are problems of the kids from the neighborhood coming in and taking it over. They come in groups of fifteen and some of them are ten or twelve, so a five year old has no way to hold their own in that situation.

I feel for kids it is a great place, because my children have many friends, right in the complex. They can go from floor to floor, at will. They can play on the second floor without feeling uptight about it. It is secure.

The playgrounds that are removed from the street are a nice thing. I mean, our four and a half year old runs around and plays by himself and on a Saturday I don't see him.

A lot of parents feel it is just safer for their children to be at the second floor playground rather than downstairs which is open to everyone. So it winds up that this little playground which was designed for toddlers is being used by all the kids in these two buildings and it is not adequate for that certainly.

As expected and as the statements above indicate, children were allowed to play alone in the interior play area at a younger age than in the public plaza. (See Table 49.) Of all the sample's children permitted to play outside, 19 were under six years old. Ninety-five percent (18 out of 19) were children permitted to play unsupervised in the East Midtown Plaza second floor playground. ($\chi^2 = 29.02$, d.f. = 12, $p < .005$.) (The table may be a bit misleading because parents gave more than one play location not all of which children were allowed to visit by themselves.) Only one child under six years old was permitted use of Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village facilities alone.

A very interesting finding is that single building residents used the public play facilities at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and East Midtown Plaza. East Midtown Plaza residents used Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village playgrounds. (See Table 50.) The developments' facilities were therefore serving not only residents but also people in the nearby neighborhood. A third of the single building sample used East Midtown Plaza's public playground. None of the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample used that play area, reflecting the superiority of their own facilities. Having a friend at a development eased the way towards its use as these comments from single building mothers indicate:

We use East Midtown Plaza very frequently. First of all, my daughter knows some people who live there, and you know, it's nice. We use that and when we used to live on 23rd Street when my daughter was little, I used to go to Stuyvesant Town.

We do go to Peter Cooper and Stuyvesant Town either because the children have friends there and when we visit friends we use those playgrounds and they have organized activities. They

Table 49

Age of Child Allowed Outside Alone By Play Area Location

N = 45	<u>Under 6 Years Old</u>		<u>6 Years Old and Up</u>		χ^2	D.F.	Significance Level
	<u>N = 19</u>		<u>N = 26</u>				
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent			
East Midtown Plaza plaza	(11)	57%	(16)	62%	28.40	12	p < .005
East Midtown Plaza 2nd floor interior play area	(18)	95	(14)	54	29.02	12	p < .005
Playground at 19th Street and 2nd Avenue	(6)	32	(5)	19			
Peter Cooper Village facilities	(1)	5	(10)	38	29.92	12	p < .005
Stuyvesant Town facilities	(0)	0	(8)	31	29.95	12	p < .05
Kips Bay facilities	(0)	0	(2)	8			
Other	(0)	0	(2)	8			
Gramercy Park	(0)	0	(1)	9			
Tutor City playground	(0)	0	(0)	0			
In front of own building on sidewalk	(0)	0	(2)	8			

Note. Percentages are based on the number of people in each age category.

Table 50

Where Does Your Child Play Outside?

N = 60	<u>Total Sample</u>		Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village N = 15	East Midtown Plaza N = 30	<u>By Site</u> <u>Percent</u>		χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	Number	Percent			Single Buildings N = 15			
East Midtown Plaza plaza	(41)	68%	0.0%	72.3%	33.3%	29.59	p < .00001	
East Midtown Plaza 2nd floor interior play area	(36)	60	0.0	76.6	0.0	51.38	p < .00001	
Playground at 19th Street and 2nd Avenue	(33)	55	5.6	44.7	47.6	9.81	p < .01	
Peter Cooper Village facilities	(23)	38	55.6	19.1	23.8	8.81	p < .05	
Stuyvesant Town facilities	(21)	35	77.8	6.4	19.0	36.38	p < .00001	
Kips Bay facilities	(13)	22	0.0	6.4	47.6	23.29	p < .00001	
Other	(7)	12						
Gramercy Park	(6)	10	0.0	0.0	28.6	19.96	p < .00001	
Tutor City playground	(4)	7	0.0	0.0	19.0	12.98	p < .005	
In front of own building or sidewalk	(2)	3	0.0	0.0	9.5			

Note. Percentages for the total sample are based on the number of people in the total sample. Because more than one answer could be given, the percentages total more than 100%. The percentages by site are based on the sample size at each site.

have recreation workers and so if the children are visiting friends there they get involved in those organized things.

The use of development play facilities by non-residents was a sensitive issue. Many East Midtown Plaza residents would have preferred their plaza playground's use restricted to only residents. The following comment from a single building parent presents the other side:

I'm disturbed by the trend that I noticed across this new place down here. They have a nice little playground and I tried to bring my daughter there to play and I was told no, she can't play because she doesn't live here . . . I don't feel any more comfortable with it at Kips Bay than I do over here. I think the play facilities should be for anybody who lives in the proximity. I think it's okay that contemporary buildings incorporate play facilities but I don't think that those people who happen to live because of whatever status they are, whether it be poor on one hand or rich on the other, should be penalized.

Over half of the total sample (55%) used the nearby New York City public playground at 19th Street and 2nd Avenue. (See Figure 24.) This playground was therefore very important to the sample but unfortunately was not being well maintained at the time of the interviews, as a single building resident explains:

Our children usually play in the playground on 19th and 2nd. It was an excellent playground for children up until this past year. We have five years of experience with it and it was well maintained. Quite often during the year, bums, sad as it may be, would go in and throw bottles, or break glass, or throw empty beer cans, or whatever, or teenagers throwing cans into the sandbox or something, and the next morning there would be an attendant who would come out and clean up the park on a daily basis. They also had clean sand in the sandbox every year but the maintenance of the park has gone down in the past year.

Since the study's interviews, the playground at 19th Street and 2nd Avenue has been renovated as Figure 24 shows. The park's maintenance also appears to have improved.

Not surprisingly, fewer single building residents (30%) said they could see from their window their children outside than people at the

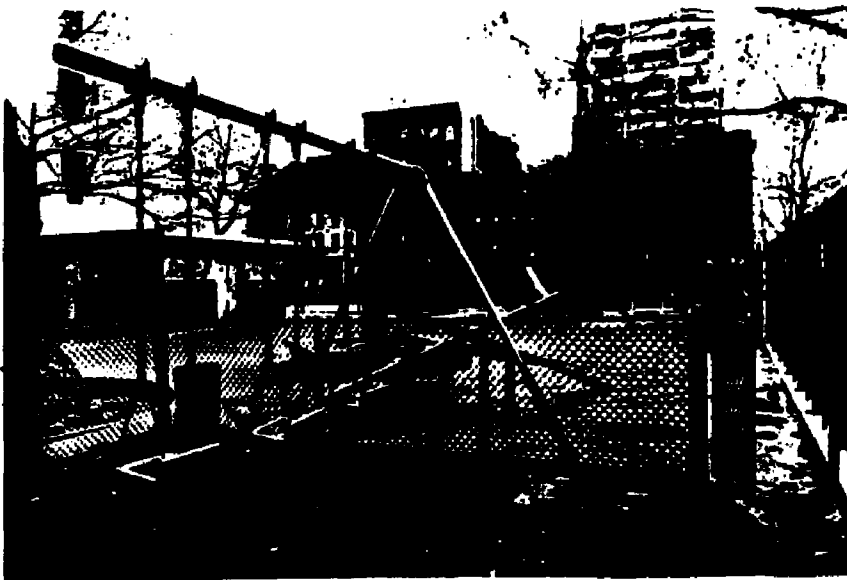


Figure 24. Public playground at East 19th Street and 2nd Avenue.

other two sites (both 78%) ($\chi^2 = 8.75$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$). (See Table 51.) As predicted, visibility from the window was related to whether a child was allowed out alone and the age of the child permitted to go out alone. If the child could be seen, he or she was more likely to be allowed out alone. ($\chi^2 = 6.47$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$.) Younger children were allowed out alone if visible from the apartment window, $F(7, 33) = 5.06$, $p < .001$.

Summary and Implications

The existence and type of play areas near highrises have a very dramatic effect on residents' lives. This is a very important finding that planners and designers should be aware of.

Fewer children in buildings with no on-site playgrounds were allowed to play alone outside than children from housing with such facilities. The single building children also had to be older than the development children before they were permitted to play outside by themselves. On weekends single building parents spent more time both indoors and at the playground with their children. It is difficult to assess the consequences, if any, of this increased contact between parents and children (future research should do that), but single building parents were troubled by the limited access their children had to the outdoors and frequently brought up the problem in response to a variety of interview questions.

It might be argued that because a high percentage of single building mothers worked during the week that they wanted to spend more time with their children on weekends and therefore the time budget data do not reflect design differences but variations in lifestyle. Other time budget analyses however indicate this is not the case. There were no significant

Table 51

Can You See Your Child Outside From Your Window?

N = 55	<u>Total Sample</u>		Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	<u>By Site</u> <u>Percent</u>			χ^2 with d.f. = 2	Significance Level
	Number	Percent		East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings			
Yes	(39)	71%	77.8%	77.8%	30.0%	8.75	p < .05	
No	(16)	29						

differences between working and non-working women for total sample on any time or activity categories for Sunday (Tables C and D in the Appendix are blank, indicating no significant results). Furthermore, analyses of time budget data taking each site separately comparing employed and non-employed women on Sunday showed no significant differences.

The question of public access to housing development playgrounds is an issue that planners and policy makers must be sensitive to. On the one hand, the need for public access is great. Families in highrises with no facilities need well-maintained, well-equipped playgrounds nearby. Housing development play areas that are close-by fill some of that need. On the other hand, playgrounds whose access is restricted to only the housing development's residents are so popular and well-utilized by the development's families that children are allowed to play on them alone at very young ages. More children are permitted to play on them unsupervised. The findings indicate that highrise families would greatly appreciate and utilize many, large, well-equipped, restricted-access play areas and that such playgrounds would increase children's outdoor freedom. East Midtown Plaza's compromise of providing both public and private play areas is one solution. The findings also show that the upkeep of the City's public playgrounds is of great importance. The better equipped and maintained the City's playgrounds are, the less the pressure will be for outsiders to need to use housing developments' play facilities.

The effects of the limitations on children's freedom outdoors found in this study should be investigated by future research. Perez and Hart (1978) contend that "serious restriction of exploration will deny a child the ability to develop into a competent, happy individual and is to be avoided at all costs" (p. 5).

Floor Height

It was anticipated that lower floor apartments would provide easier access to the outdoors for children and that as a consequence, lower floor parents would allow their children to play outside alone at an earlier age. Lower floor parents would therefore need to spend less time with their children. It was also expected that the more visible the outdoor play area, the more meaningful this advantage of lower floor living would be. Most of these hypotheses were confirmed.

Because floor height differed significantly by site, some floor height data was analysed within each site. There were no significant differences in the number of children each family had or the age of the oldest child by floor. The age of the youngest child was slightly higher on lower floors (1-5) (3.9 years old) than on the higher floors (6 and above) (3.2 years old), $F(1, 18) = 3.82, p < .10$. This difference does not appear large enough to distort floor height results.

Floor height made a difference in residents' report on the visibility of their children outside from the apartment window. Ninety-two percent of the people on floors one through five said they could see their child, while only 50% on floors six and above said they had such visibility. ($\chi^2 = 9.38, d.f. = 1, p < .005$.) Whether a resident had a high or a low floor in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village did not appear to make a difference for window visibility, but at East Midtown Plaza, 100% of the low floor residents had window visibility compared to 60% of the upper floor people. ($\chi^2 = 6.08, d.f. = 1, p < .01$.) In contrast, 100% of the single building lower floor residents had visibility but none on the upper floors said they did. (Fisher's Exact Test, $d.f. = 1, p < .01$.) More families who could see their children outside from the window

allowed their children to go outside alone than families who couldn't see their children outdoors ($\chi^2 = 6.47$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$). Also, if there was visibility, children were allowed out alone at a younger age, $F(7, 33) = 5.06$, $p < .001$.

As expected, lower floor parents more frequently allow their children outside by themselves than higher floor parents, $F(19, 63) = 3.14$, $p < .0001$. At East Midtown Plaza, 94% of the lower floor parents said they allowed their children out alone compared to only 60% of the upper floor parents ($\chi^2 = 5.13$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$). At East Midtown Plaza, lower floor children more frequently play in the second floor interior play areas, $F(19, 63) = 2.71$, $p < .005$. Sixty-two percent of the upper floor East Midtown Plaza children play at the playground at 19th Street and 2nd Avenue compared to only 17% of the lower floor children. ($\chi^2 = 7.52$, d.f. = 1, $p < .01$.) This is understandable since the second floor interior play area is more visible and accessible from the lower floors.

The age of those children who are allowed outdoors by themselves did not differ significantly by floor height as anticipated. There were also no differences by floor height when each site was examined separately.

Time budget analysis indicates that parents spent more time with their children on Sunday, as expected, but not necessarily on a weekday. (See Table 52.) Upper floor parents spent almost one hour more with their children than lower floor parents on Sunday, $F(17, 61) = 2.21$, $p < .05$. Most of the extra time was spent in the apartment, about 45 minutes. The only other significant difference between upper and lower floors on a Sunday was the amount of time spent in passive recreation (movies, museums,

Table 52

Time Budget Analysis: Floor Height,
Significant Differences

	Mean Number of Minutes		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level
	Floors 1-5	Floors 6 & Over			
Total Sample N = 81					
<u>Time/Place: Sunday</u>					
Total with child out	158.6	170.9	2.16	16, 53	p < .05
Total with child	365.5	420.2	2.21	17, 61	p < .05
Women N = 44					
<u>Time/Place: Weekday</u>					
In with husband and child	65.8	27.0	7.73	1, 42	p < .01
<u>Activities: Sunday</u>					
Passive recreation	20.0	66.6	4.23	1, 39	p < .05
<u>Activities: Weekday</u>					
Childcare	42.6	84.9	3.90	1, 42	p < .10
Eat with child	66.9	42.4	4.69	1, 42	p < .05
Personal preparation	48.7	34.1	5.35	1, 42	p < .05
Study	26.6	0.0	3.98	1, 42	p < .10

etc.). Upper floor mothers spent about 45 minutes more in this activity than lower floor mothers, $F(1, 39) = 4.23, p < .05$.

Time budget findings on a weekday are not as clear-cut. There were no significant differences by floor height of parents' total time spent indoors or out with their children on a weekday. A few isolated differences by floor height were found. For instance, upper floor mothers spent about 45 minutes more on a weekday caring for their children (dress, bathe, nurse), $F(1, 42) = 3.90, p < .10$. But lower floor mothers spent more time in the apartment with their husbands and children, $F(1, 42) = 7.73, p < .01$; more time eating with their children, $F(1, 42) = 4.60, p < .05$.

Upper floor residents more often mentioned that a disadvantage of city living is that limited apartment space creates a feeling of tension and crowding, $F(19, 98) = 1.79, p < .05$. People on lower floors registered more satisfaction with their development than those on the upper floors, $F(16, 53) = 2.93, p < .005$. Within the East Midtown Plaza sample, 100% of the low floor residents rated their satisfaction with their development as a 6 or 7 (7 being the highest), while only 63% of the high floor residents used this rating ($\chi^2 = 9.32, d.f. = 4, p < .10$).

Although upper floor residents have less satisfaction with their development and report apartment tension more frequently, they still say they prefer living on upper floors rather than lower floors. Eighty-five percent of the upper floor sample generally preferred higher floor living, but so did 65% of the lower floor sample. Upper floor living, particularly in New York City, is very attractive. (See Table 53.) People prefer the views, the light, the quiet, and the safety. Low floor apartments' advantages of better access for children outside and the alternative

Table 53
Comments on Floor Height

N = 83	Number	Percent	Lower	Upper	ANOVA	D.F.	Significance
			Floor Residents Prefer	Floor Residents Prefer			
Prefer higher; better view	(29)	35%					
Prefer higher; quieter	(26)	31					
Prefer higher; more light	(22)	27		X	1.98	18, 63	p < .05
Prefer higher; safer	(12)	14		X	2.22	19, 63	p < .01
Prefer low floor; elevator not necessary	(11)	13					
Prefer low floor; better access for child outside	(11)	13	X		1.92	19, 63	p < .05

Note. Percentages are based on the total number of respondents in the sample, 83. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, percentages total more than 100%.

of using stairs instead of elevators are not given high priority. High floors' light and safety were mentioned more often by upper floor residents; low floors' access for children, mentioned more often by lower floor residents.

The lack of enthusiasm for lower floor apartments regarding children can be partially explained by the sample's response to the question, "Do you think it would be easier raising a child on a low floor?" Fifty-one percent of those answering the question said, "No, the outdoor area is dangerous, so you can't allow a child out alone." (See Table 54.) People emphasized that a low floor would make no difference because children in Manhattan couldn't go outside alone anyway because of the traffic, general security problems and lack of visibility from the apartment. When the outside space is separated from traffic and the general neighborhood (like Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village) and visible from the apartment, the advantages of lower floor living become more relevant.

The issue of safety runs throughout residents' comments on floor height:

You would never let your kid go running around on 23rd Street, not at this age [5 years old]. With this traffic I would never, ever feel comfortable, although there are kids about a year older than her who are out already. (East Midtown Plaza resident.)

I wouldn't let my children come and go casually on the first or second floor either. (Single building resident.)

I think that once you learn to ride the elevator it doesn't matter where you live because I can't see the street on this side anyway. I don't know if I could if I lived on a lower floor. (Single building resident.)

I could see how that [watching children from low floor, easier access for children] could work in the suburbs where they have condominiums and they watch from the back kids in the playground. There are no traffic problems, no automobiles, but here the high

Table 54

Do You Think It Would Be Easier Raising
A Child on a Low Floor?

N = 59	Number	Percent	Lower	Upper	ANOVA	D.F.	Significance
			Floor	Floor			
			Residents	Residents	F		Level
			Said	Said			
No, the outdoor area is dangerous, can't allow child out alone							
	(30)	51%					
Yes, easier, can see child from window			X		2.59	18, 40	p < .01
No, it's dangerous to live on a low floor				X	1.91	18, 40	p < .05
No, stairs are more dangerous than elevators							
	(7)	12					
Yes, easier, child can use stairs							
	(7)	12					
<u>Summary</u>							
			<u>Lower</u>	<u>Higher</u>			
			<u>Floors</u>	<u>Floors</u>			
Easier			54.5%	17.1%	$\chi^2 = 7.10, d.f. = 1, p < .01$		
Not Easier			45.5	82.8			

Note. Percentages are based on the total number of respondents in the sample, 59. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, percentages total more than 100%.

view is really nice and a lower apartment has no view. (Single building resident.)

The first floor in Manhattan is out, first of all, it's a lot dirtier and easily accessible for security reasons. I wouldn't live on the first floor. (Single building resident.)

I'd rather have my children use the elevator than the stairway. Living on the ground floor has its pro's and con's. Sure, the kids can run in and out, but the con being its so accessible to thieves through the window. (Peter Cooper Village resident.)

The following comment is from a Peter Cooper Village mother who lived on the second floor. It illustrates the advantages of lower floor living in a protected environment.

My children like being on the lower floor. My younger boy [aged 5½] loves looking out this window. He sees his friends outside sometimes and they'll call out. This way they can walk down the stairs and I can look to see if they got down there all right and they only have to come up one flight by elevator.

Only 55% of the lower floor residents thought it was easier living on the lower floor for raising a child, but this was significantly greater than the 17% of the upper floor residents who thought it was easier ($\chi^2 = 6.10$, d.f. = 1, $p < .01$).

Some observers and researchers have stated that people living on lower floors, because their access outside is better than upper floor people, will have more to do with their neighbors. That phenomenon was not expected in this study, and was not found. There were no significant differences by floor height on answers to questions on the percent of good friends in the building or development, the number of people that could be named or were visited, how much residents had to do with neighbors, whether they would like to see people more or less, and descriptions of other people in the building or development. There also were no differences by floor height on these measures when each site was examined individually.

Summary and Implications

The findings show that, as expected, upper floor parents have less visibility of play areas and less frequently allow their children to go outside alone than lower floor parents. These results are consistent with other research results as reviewed. The fact that over half of the East Midtown Plaza sample on high floors said that they could see their children outside further illustrates the development's successful design. Upper floor residents complained more of apartment tension and were less satisfied with their building or development than lower floor people. More people on lower floors thought it was easier to raise children on low floors than did those on higher floors. This response is similar to Williamson's (1981) finding in a German study that more upper floor occupants than lower floor ones thought that children in the highrises were less happy than children elsewhere.

Time budget analyses by floor height were inconclusive. The findings for Sundays contradict those for weekdays. Upper floor parents spent more time with their children on Sundays than lower floor parents but this was not true for weekdays. Lower floor parents appeared to spend more time with their children on weekdays than upper floor parents. The findings on Sunday may be a clearer indication of family patterns because all mothers are home that day; on weekdays some work part or full time and are away from the apartment part of the day.

It is very interesting that despite the hesitation to allow children out alone in Manhattan, lower floor residents actually allow their children outside alone more frequently than upper floor families. This advantage of lower floor living for children is not perceived by most of the sample. Upper floors are generally preferred over lower floors for

for their view, light and safety. A thought-provoking finding from a study (Schiffenbauer, 1979) of college students is relevant here. Students in identically sized dormitory rooms who lived on upper floors felt their rooms were larger and felt less crowded than students on lower floors. Sample families might be enjoying such a feeling of spaciousness when they spoke of preferring the "view" on upper floors. This certainly is an area which should be investigated further.

The genuine advantages of lower floor living for children's access should be publicized so that families with children can make an informed choice (if they have any!) of floor location for a highrise apartment. With such knowledge, people may still give more priority to "view," light and safety. Designers should not limit family apartments to lower floors but should provide a variety of choices.

Apartment Density

Many negative effects have been attributed to crowding or high housing density. It was anticipated that the more persons per room in an apartment, the greater the number and the more serious the complaints of family conflicts and tension over space. The findings are consistent with these expectations.

Each household was given a density rating by dividing the number of persons in the family by the number of bedrooms. For instance, a family of four living in a two bedroom apartment would get a density rating of two. Number of bedrooms was chosen as a factor for density because it was deemed the most important part of the apartment. Total square footage might have been a better measure but was unavailable for the single building sample. The mean density of the total sample was 1.76. Density

varied significantly by site (see Table 30). Single building apartments were most dense; East Midtown Plaza apartments, the least.

Sample families in higher density apartments had more complaints about space and privacy than those in lower density situations. Those with a density of 2 or over had these complaints; those whose density was about 1.6 were more satisfied. This means that difficulties begin when the three person family in a two bedroom apartment has another child, and really needs a third bedroom. In discussing "What is worst about the place where you are living?", the higher density subjects answered more frequently "limited apartment space," $F(1, 111) = 47.2, p < .05$. (See Table 55.) Lower density families tended to say, in response to the question, "What is best about the place where you are living?", "good space," $F(1, 104) = 3.41, p < .10$.

More people in higher density apartments than lower density ones felt that the effects on adults living in a city apartment versus a suburban home were that "limited apartment space creates tension and a crowded feeling," $F(1, 111) = 13.84, p < .0001$. They also more frequently said "limited apartment space allows less privacy," $F(1, 111) = 23.34, p < .0001$. On the other hand, lower density people complained that "the fast pace and crowded city create more tension," $F(1, 103) = 9.98, p < .005$. Higher density parents thought that the effect on a child living in a city apartment was "not enough privacy in the apartment and/or sharing bedroom is bad," $F(1, 102) = 22.97, p < .0001$. An advantage of tight apartment living according to higher density parents is that "city family members are closer," $F(1, 102) = 22.97, p < .0001$. When asked directly whether or not they got the privacy they wanted, there was no significant difference between the high and low density people.

The following comments, all from single building people living in two bedroom apartments with two children, give an idea of how crowding felt to them.

[Worst?] The lack of space. I want more room. I feel as if my books are going to close in on me any minute . . . I really feel like I'm squashed. It makes me crazy and believe me, one of my favorite things is reading the Real Estate section of the New York Times every week.

We're all fairly close together, we're pretty much on top of each other . . . There's no way of temporarily relieving the pressure, but I don't think that's necessarily negative because I don't think that if you're always just saying to them, go outside and play, then you're not really confronting whatever it is.

The biggest drawback for me is the lack of space . . . I find that the spatial constriction is bad. One of the things that I have done that I'm not used to doing is I have joined a club that I find very useful for all the wrong reasons theoretically. In other words, not for the social aspect . . . if I had a house, I would go down to the cellar.

An additional bedroom is definitely the most needed space for the sample families. When asked "What would you use an extra 150 square feet for?" higher density people said "another bedroom," $F(1, 111) = 19.29$, $p < .0001$. And when questioned if they would pay an extra \$100 a month for the additional space, the high density people said "yes," $F(1, 101) = 4.04$, $p < .05$; the lower density people, to whom the space would be less important said "I would if I could," $F(1, 100) = 4.38$, $p < .05$.

The effects of high density on family space use are revealed by the answers to the question, "Where does the family spend time together?" Over half the total sample answered "the living room." About a quarter said "the dining area." (See Table 56.) People who said they had enough privacy also gathered with their family in the living room. ($\chi^2 = 4.07$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$.) Low density families used the dining area to gather more than the high density families, $F(1, 103) = 10.82$, $p < .001$. High density households utilized the parents' bedroom to gather, $F(1, 103) =$

Table 56

Where Does the Family Spend Time Together?

N = 105	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>Mean Density</u>		ANOVA		Significance Level
	Number	Percent	Said	Not Said	F	D.F.	
Living room	(62)	59%					
Dining area	(25)	24	1.49	1.90	10.82	1, 103	p < .001
Parents' bedroom	(18)	17	2.09	1.76	3.15	1, 103	p < .10
No where special	(11)	10	2.09	1.77	3.29	1, 102	p < .10
Child's bedroom	(2)	2					

Note. Percentages are based on the number of people in the total sample, 105. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, percentages total more than 100%.

3.15, $p < .10$. Families in two bedroom apartments with two children who share the second bedroom are forced to give the use of the dining or living room to one of the children for homework or play while the other child uses the bedroom. A television set is then put in the parents' bedroom and the family gathers there. As a consequence, the parents lose the privacy of their bedroom.

Given the above findings on apartment density, it is not surprising that higher density residents registered lower overall satisfaction with their apartments, $F(5, 80) = 4.67, p < .001$. They also gave more importance to a lack of apartment space as a reason for leaving the city, $F(6, 78) = 2.09, p < .10$.

Summary and Implications

Apartment density affects not only people's well-being but also their perception of their apartments and urban living in general. Families living at higher densities were less satisfied with their apartments, complained more about restricted space, crowding and the limited privacy for adults and children in apartments than did lower density families. Higher density living affected families' use of their apartments. Parents' bedrooms functioned as living rooms when a second child needed to be separate from a sibling who was using a shared bedroom.

No significant differences were found between high and low density residents' claims to having enough privacy for themselves. It seems likely that as Wolfe (1978) has found, people at varying densities achieved different types of privacy. Wolfe discovered that children in higher density homes defined privacy more in terms of controlling information while children at lower densities spoke of privacy in terms of being alone. Another possibility is that the higher density people in my sample obtained

privacy by leaving their apartments as the man in the third quotation did when he joined a social club to get away from his apartment.

Harmful effects of high density on adults have been difficult to show as the Literature Review pointed out. The findings indicate that high density people complained more but were not necessarily hurt by their crowded apartment living. Because adults can escape their apartments, the effects of crowding are probably not as significant on them as they are on their children. The Literature Review reported on some studies that have shown detrimental effects of density on children. Recently Saegert (1981) found that public housing children who lived at higher apartment densities were rated by their school teachers as having more behavior disturbances, had lower vocabulary scores, were angrier more often, and bothered by more homework interruptions than children who lived in lower density apartments.

An additional bedroom is the most sought after room by higher density families. The lower density at East Midtown Plaza reflects the conscious design decision to include two, three, and four bedroom apartments to comfortably accommodate families. Although bedrooms were small at East Midtown Plaza, they were highly appreciated and more important than additional space elsewhere in the apartment.

Designing buildings with two, three, and four bedroom apartments is recommended not only to avoid possible detrimental crowding effects, but also to keep middle income families from leaving the city.

CHAPTER V

BEST PREDICTORS OF MOVING PLANS AND SATISFACTION

The preceding chapters have reviewed study findings on a number of demographic, housing attitude and site variables and their relationship to housing satisfaction and moving plans. In order to summarize and compare the relative contribution these variables had to satisfaction and moving plans, a number of multiple regression analyses were conducted. Housing satisfaction and moving plans were focused on because an understanding of which elements are most important to satisfaction and moving plans will show policy makers and designers which factors they should focus on to improve housing or the urban environment.

Stepwise multiple regression analyses were run on four sets of predictor variables:

1. demographic predictors;
2. demographic predictors by site;
3. housing quality predictors;
4. combined predictors (demographic, housing quality and lifestyle/housing attitude predictors together).

Demographic Predictors

Multiple regression analysis was conducted using the following independent variables:

- age
- education

- income
- single/dual career status
- childhood residential history
- adult residential history.

These variables were chosen because they seemed to be, from other statistical findings and interview discussions, the best potential predictors of moving and satisfaction. (Table 57 indicates how these predictor variables were put into the analysis.) The dependent variables used in the multiple regression analysis were:

- MOVING: 1 = No moving plans
2 = Totally undecided
3 = May move in 5 years
4 = Definitely
- NYCSAT: Scale rating of satisfaction with New York City
(1 Not at all . . . 7 very)
- DEVSAT: Scale rating of satisfaction with building or
development
(1 Not at all . . . 7 very)
- APTSAT: Scale rating of satisfaction with apartment
(1 Not at all . . . 7 very)

In the correlation matrix for the multiple regression analysis, none of the independent variables were correlated. The prediction value of the six independent variables was not very high for any of the dependent variables. Independent variables with significant F values will be reported on.

Not surprisingly, given the previously reported findings on the effect of residents' characteristics in Chapter III, the multiple

Table 57

Demographic Predictors Used in Multiple
Regression Analysis

AGE:	Actual age
EDUCAT:	Education
	1 = High school
	2 = College
	3 = Graduate school
INCOME:	Actual income
MOWORK:	Woman's employment status
	0 = No employment: single-career couple
	1 = Employment: dual-career couple
HISTYC:	Childhood residential history
	1 = House
	2 = Both
	3 = Apartment
HISTYA:	Adult residential history
	1 = House
	2 = Both
	3 = Apartment

regression analysis indicated that people who plan to remain in the city grew up in apartments and are part of a dual-career couple. (See Table 58.) The relationships between these variables have been discussed at length. Younger people were more satisfied with New York City. Higher satisfaction with one's building or development was registered by people with lower incomes and younger ages. The relationship between income and development satisfaction runs counter to the test results discussed in the chapter on residents' characteristics.

Demographic Predictors by Site

Because some of the demographic variables varied significantly by site (see pages 258-259), each site was run individually using the same demographic predictors as above. The results of these tests by site did not contradict any of the multiple regression findings for the total sample. They simply showed that some demographic variables were more important predictors at some sites but not at others. (See Table 59.)

The analysis on just the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village sample shows that single career couples and people with higher educations plan to move. At East Midtown Plaza, younger people planned to move more than older ones. No demographic variables for the single building residents were significant predictors of moving. Of all the satisfaction scales by site, the only one that showed significance was the satisfaction with development scale with the East Midtown Plaza sample. Lower income residents at East Midtown Plaza registered more satisfaction with the development than upper income residents.

Housing Quality Predictors

A number of management, housing features and neighborhood attributes

Table 58

Demographic Predictors of Moving Plans
and SatisfactionStepwise Multiple Regression Analysis

	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Plan to Move</u>						
Childhood residential history-- house background	.23962	.05742	- .33137	4.67	1, 66	p < .05
Single career status	.33761	.11398	- .59315	4.17	1, 66	p < .05
Adult residential history-- house background	.36096	.13029	- .28663			
Education--higher	.37346	.13947	.22327			
Age--younger	.38517	.14835	- .16893D-01			
Income--higher (Constant)	.38856	.15098	.48749D-05 3.5340			
<u>Satisfaction with New York City High</u>						
Age--younger	.25976	.06748	- .47821D-01	4.78	1, 66	p < .05
Childhood residential history-- apartment background	.30297	.09179	.24748			
Income--lower	.34915	.12191	- .16537D-04			
Adult residential history-- apartment background	.35326	.12479	.12124			
Education--lower (Constant)	.35658	.12715	- .11401 7.6327			

Table 58--Continued

	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Satisfaction with Development High</u>						
Income--lower	.30961	.09586	-.28993D-04	6.89	1, 65	p < .05
Age--younger	.39855	.15884	-.34249D-01	4.79	1, 65	p < .05
Adult residential history-- apartment background	.41780	.17456	.29664			
Education--lower	.43331	.18776	-.23054			
Single career status	.43948	.19314	-.19776			
Childhood residential history-- apartment background (Constant)	.43996	.19357	.30507D-01 7.9544			
<u>Satisfaction with Apartment</u>						
(No predictor variables significant.)						

Table 59

Demographic Predictors by Site of Moving
Plans and Satisfaction

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis

	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Plan to Move</u>						
<u>Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village</u>						
Single career status	.33065	.10933	-1.18926	6.35	1, 19	p < .05
Education--higher	.51207	.26221	.97206	4.18	1, 19	p < .05
Childhood residential history-- house background	.55632	.30949	- .79653D-01			
Income--lower	.57609	.33188	- .17897D-04			
Adult residential history-- house background	.58363	.34063	- .40807			
Age--younger (Constant)	.59683	.35621	- .33813D-01 3.3631			
<u>East Midtown Plaza</u>						
Age--younger	.46660	.21772	- .85987D-01	8.91	1, 32	p < .01
Adult residential history-- house background	.51841	.26875	- .34444			
Single career status	.54392	.29585	- .31739			
Childhood residential history-- apartment background (Constant)	.54833	.30067	.91290D-01 5.6417			

Table 59--Continued

	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Single Buildings</u> ¹						
<u>Satisfaction with New York City</u> ²						
<u>Satisfaction with Development High</u>						
<u>Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village</u> ¹						
<u>East Midtown Plaza</u>						
Income--lower	.39561	.15651	-.42619D-04	5.94	1, 32	p < .05
Adult residential history-- apartment background	.43834	.19214	.32466			
Dual-career status	.46744	.21850	.42695			
Age--younger	.48015	.23054	.23590D-01			
Childhood residential history-- apartment background	.48140	.23174	.48010D-01			
Education--lower	.48235	.23266	.66377D-01			
<u>Single Buildings</u> ¹						
<u>Satisfaction with Apartment</u> ²						

Notes: ¹No predictor variables significant.

²No predictor variables significant for any site.

have been shown by other studies to be related to housing satisfaction. The following predictor variables which relate to housing quality were used:

- Maintenance/management
- Building appearance
- Building safety
- Apartment spaciousness
- Play facilities
- Satisfaction with neighbors
- Neighborhood--positive and negative comments
- Privacy (in apartment)
- Apartment density
- Floor height.

These variables, with the exception of density and floor height, were made up from comments people gave to the open-ended questions "What is best about the place where you are living?" and "What is worst?" (See Table 60 for a breakdown of the specific responses that went into each variable.)

Of all the housing quality predictors, floor height was the only significant variable to predict moving plans. (See Table 61.) People on upper floors had more plans to move out of the city than people on lower floors. This finding is consistent with the results discussed in the section on floor height, which showed that upper floor residents were less satisfied with their development than lower floor residents. Unexpectedly, privacy (getting enough in apartment) was the best predictor of satisfaction with New York City. People who said they got enough

Table 60

Housing Quality Predictors Used in
Multiple Regression Analysis

Responses to:		
	What is best about the place where living?	What is worst about the place where living?
MAINT:	Good maintenance/management	Maintenance problems
PHYSAP:	Design/layout of apartment/ building good	Appearance bad
BLDGSAFE:	Safe building	Not enough security
SPACIOUS:	Good space	Limited apartment space
PLAYFAC:	Safe, good play area/ facilities	Not enough play facilities
NEIGHPOS:	Good neighborhood Close to work Convenient neighborhood Good schools	
NEIGHNEG:		Bad neighborhood/poor safety Methadone clinics Bums Neighborhood buildings bad/ low income
PRIVACY:		Not enough Don't need Have enough
DENTEN:		Number of persons divided by number of bedrooms
FL:		Floor height

Table 61

Housing Quality Predictors of Moving
Plans and Satisfaction

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis

	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Plan to Move</u>						
Floor height--higher	.18633	.03472	.27604D-01	4.10	1, 114	p < .05
Neighborhood--fewer negative comments	.23987	.05754	- .11355			
Neighbors--less satisfaction	.27448	.07534	- .13513			
Apartment--less spacious	.30822	.09550	- .11714			
Building safety--less	.31914	.10185	- .96083D-01			
Privacy--not enough	.32593	.10623	- .11910			
<u>Satisfaction with New York City High</u>						
Privacy--enough	.31130	.09691	.61041	8.80	1, 82	p < .01
Building safety--more	.34256	.11735	.27559			
Neighbors--more satisfaction	.35845	.12849	.12680			
Density--more	.37799	.14288	.30389			
Apartment--more spacious	.40597	.16481	.16171			
<u>Satisfaction with Development High</u>						
Neighbors--more satisfaction	.26852	.07210	.21685	5.98	1, 77	p < .05
Building safety--more	.33320	.11102	.29898			
Privacy--enough	.36298	.13175	.20475			
Neighborhood--more negative comments	.37499	.14062	.10463			
Building appearance--better	.38496	.14820	.97489			

Table 61--Continued

	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Satisfaction with Apartment High</u>						
Density--less	.32698	.10692	-.74512	9.82	1, 82	p < .01
Play facilities--better	.36565	.13370	.14142			
Building safety--more	.39852	.15882	.24291			
Building appearance--better	.42183	.17794	.13575			
Neighbors--more satisfaction	.43372	.18812	.10581			

privacy reported higher levels of satisfaction with New York City than people who said they didn't have enough privacy. Satisfaction with neighbors (a sense of community) was the best predictor of development satisfaction, a finding that is consistent with the previously reported results on neighboring and social behavior. Finally, density was the only significant predictor of satisfaction with apartment. This follows from the previously reported density findings. Although not at a significant level, building safety was a predictor variable which almost reached significance for all three types of satisfaction (New York, development and apartment).

Combined Predictors

It was thought that certain essential indicators and attitudes about urban living might predict moving plans and satisfaction. Table 62 lists these variables. Lifestyle/housing attitude predictor variables were combined with the demographic and housing quality variables to give an indication of which variables were most important in determining moving plans and satisfaction. A number of stepwise multiple regression analyses were run before arriving at the final equations.

Table 63 summarizes the stepwise multiple regression analyses for the combined predictors. Thirty-seven percent of the variation in moving plans is predicted by four variables: satisfaction with New York City, career status, childhood residential history, and rating of importance of the detached home. People who plan to move are less satisfied with New York City, are part of a single career couple, grew up in houses and think the detached home is important.

More of the variation in satisfaction with New York City can be accounted for than the variation in the other dependent variables. Six

Table 62

Lifestyle and Attitude Predictors Used
in Multiple Regression Analysis

Attitudes About Housing and Urban Living

BEST:	Number of "best" attributes mentioned about place where living
WORST:	Number of "worst" attributes mentioned about place where living
MBEST:	Number of "best" attributes mentioned about Manhattan
MWORST:	Number of "worst" attributes mentioned about Manhattan
IDEAL:	1 = City apartment or townhouse 2 = Suburban house 3 = Rural house
ADULTPO:	Number of "positive" effects of city living on adult mentioned
ADULTNG:	Number of "negative" effects of city living on adult mentioned
CHILDPO:	Number of "positive" effects of city living on child mentioned
CHILDNG:	Number of "negative" effects of city living on child mentioned
ATITUDPO:	Number of "positive" attributes of public schools mentioned
ATITUDNG:	Number of "negative" attributes of public schools mentioned
DETACH:	Scale rating of importance of suburban single family home (1 Very important . . . 7 not important)
MOVING:	1 = No moving plans 2 = Totally undecided 3 = May move in 5 years 4 = Definitely
NYCSAT:	Scale rating of satisfaction with New York City (1 Not at all . . . 7 very)
DEVSAT:	Scale rating of satisfaction with building or development (1 Not at all . . . 7 very)
APTSAT:	Scale rating of satisfaction with apartment (1 Not at all . . . 7 very)

Table 62--Continued

<u>Reasons for Staying in the City</u>	
Scale rating (1 Not important . . . 7 very important)	
CTYSTAY:	1 Convenient, close to work
	2 Culture
	3 Housing cost
	4 Social contacts easier
	5 Work easier for wife
	6 Diversity of people
	7 No maintenance of house
	8 Expose child to culture
	9 Can walk
<u>Reasons for Leaving the City</u>	
CTYLEAV:	1 Crime
	2 Poor environment
	3 Poor schools
	4 No equity in house
	5 Little outdoor freedom for child
	6 Lack of apartment space
	7 Lack of recreation outdoors
<u>Lifestyle Indicators</u>	
TUDO:	How much do you have to do with the people here? 1 = Not much, superficial 2 = In between 3 = A lot
PERCENT:	Percent of good friends in building or development
NAME:	Number of residents known by name
VISIT:	Number of residents visited in apartment
SEE:	Would you like to see people more, less, or about the same? 1 = Less 2 = Same, about right 3 = More
ORGAN:	Number of organizations member of
MAR:	Scale rating of marriage (1 Very traditional . . . 7 very non-traditional)
<u>Closest Friends and Relatives</u>	
Location:	1 = Building/project 5 = Long Island, New Jersey and outside New York metropolitan area
FR1 LOC:	First friend's location
FR2 LOC:	Second friend's location

Table 62--Continued

FR3 LOC:	Third friend's location
R 1 LOC:	First relative's location
R 2 LOC:	Second relative's location
R 3 LOC:	Third relative's location
	Frequency of contact: 1 = Daily
	9 = Less than once a year
FR1FREQ:	First friend frequency of contact
FR2FREQ:	Second friend frequency of contact
FR3FREQ:	Third friend frequency of contact
R 1FREQ:	First relative frequency of contact
R 2FREQ:	Second relative frequency of contact
R 3FREQ:	Third relative frequency of contact
LADDER:	Self-rating on Cantril ladder 1-10
LADERPO:	Number of "positive" reasons for ladder self-rating
LADERNG:	Number of "negative" reasons for ladder self-rating

Table 63

Combined Predictors of Moving Plans
and Satisfaction

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis

	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Plan to Move</u>						
Satisfaction with New York City--lower	.45563	.20760	- .30379	18.34	1, 70	p < .01
Single career status	.53523	.28647	- .46451	7.63	1, 70	p < .01
Childhood residential history-- house background	.56899	.32375	- .29657	3.75	1, 70	p < .05
Detached home--more important	.60593	.36715	- .13256	4.60	1, 70	p < .05
Floor height--higher	.61898	.38314	.20568			
Adult residential history-- house background	.62022	.38467	- .69756			
(Constant)			5.1819			
<u>Satisfaction with New York City High</u>						
Moving--less plans	.45563	.20760	- .29686	18.86	1, 72	p < .01
Worst attributes about New York City --fewer	.55598	.30911	- .15556	10.43	1, 72	p < .01
Negative effects of city on adult-- fewer	.61074	.37300	- .13820	7.13	1, 72	p < .01
Detached home--less important	.64840	.42042	.18151	5.65	1, 72	p < .05
Age--younger	.68799	.47333	- .35180	6.83	1, 72	p < .05
Privacy--enough	.71391	.50967	.41443	4.97	1, 72	p < .05
Satisfaction with development--high (Constant)	.72457	.52500	.13436	6.4042		

Table 63--Continued

	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>Significance Level</u>
<u>Satisfaction with Development High</u>						
Satisfaction with apartment--high	.48652	.23670	.29060	22.33	1, 72	p < .01
Income--lower	.56583	.33156	- .27119	10.08	1, 72	p < .01
To do with neighbors--more	.61738	.38116	.33904	5.61	1, 72	p < .05
Satisfaction with New York City--high	.64921	.42148	.18401	4.81	1, 72	p < .05
Age--younger	.66305	.43964	- .27694			
Neighbors--more satisfaction	.67272	.45256	.10206			
(Constant)			4.3204			
<u>Satisfaction with Apartment High</u>						
Satisfaction with development--high	.48652	.23670	.42382	24.50	1, 79	p < .01
Density--less	.57319	.32854	- .81253	10.67	1, 79	p < .01
Satisfaction with New York City--high	.60784	.36947	.26236	5.00	1, 79	p < .05
Positive effects of city on child	.63354	.40137	- .40424	4.05	1, 79	p < .05
--less						
Play facilities--better	.65481	.42885	.17909			
Building safety--more	.65814	.43315	.11544			
(Constant)			2.7049			

predictors explain 51% of the variation in satisfaction with New York City. Those who are highly satisfied with New York City have few moving plans, spoke of few negative attributes about the city, few negative effects of the city on adults, thought the detached home wasn't very important, were young, and had enough privacy in their apartments.

People who registered high satisfaction with their development were also highly pleased with their apartment, had lower incomes, were very involved with their neighbors and highly satisfied with New York City. High apartment satisfaction was predicted by high development satisfaction, low apartment density, high New York City satisfaction and (unexpectedly) fewer positive comments on the effects of the city on children.

Summary and Implications

A series of stepwise multiple regression analyses indicated that the sample's moving plans and levels of satisfaction with New York City, their development and their apartment can best be predicted by a combination of demographic, physical design characteristics and personal attitudes toward housing and lifestyle. These findings powerfully illustrate the complexity of people's attitudes toward the environment. No one or two factors fully explain why people adopt a particular position. For instance, two demographic characteristics, women's employment status and childhood residential history, only partially predicted people's moving plans. Two attitudinal variables, satisfaction with New York City and rating of importance of the detached home, had to be added. And finally, a physical design feature, floor height, completed this study's list of significant predictors of moving plans. These findings imply that population trends have the most influence on moving plans.

The physical environment, people's housing, indirectly determines moving plans through satisfaction with New York City, which in turn is partially predicted by satisfaction with development, which is partly determined by apartment satisfaction. Therefore, planners and policy makers by manipulating the housing stock can indirectly effect whether people remain in or leave the city.

Satisfaction with New York City depended on no physical design features, only one demographic attribute (age) and a number of attitudes: moving plans, negative feelings about the city and its effects, the importance of the detached home and a feeling of adequate privacy. Because satisfaction with New York City is so dependent on attitudes rather than demographics or design features, it appears to be an area more likely to vary with current attitudes or philosophies than the other types of satisfaction.

It appears that designers and housing planners can have the most impact on people's satisfaction with their development or apartment. Development satisfaction was determined by two variables that had to do with neighbors: how much people were involved with their neighbors and how pleased people were with their neighbors. Planners and managers can encourage neighborly interaction by the construction of shared facilities, co-operatives and an amenable mix of tenants. The finding that people with lower incomes and younger ages are more satisfied with their development implies that managers and planners may need to find additional ways of pleasing older, more affluent residents.

It makes sense that satisfaction with one's apartment was not predicted by any demographic variables. The apartment is a relatively

small unit of the physical environment. Pleasure with the larger surrounding environmental context, the development and the city, strongly determined happiness with the apartment. Three specific physical features were important to apartment satisfaction: apartment density, play facilities and building safety. These are all elements of the physical environment that planners and managers have some control over.

In comparing the results of this research to the findings of a study of residents in 37 low income government subsidized housing projects (Francescato, et al., 1979) some interesting similarities and differences are evident. The latter study asked people how satisfied they were "with where you live." One of the strongest predictors of this satisfaction was satisfaction with management and rules. For my middle income sample, with a few exceptions in the single buildings, management practices and maintenance were not issues. Building or development management was good and taken for granted. This finding points out the poor quality of management and the significant distance between management and residents in low income projects, a phenomenon that does not usually occur in middle income developments. The Francescato study also found that general satisfaction was strongly predicted by satisfaction with the degree of protection from crime. Safety was a moderately important predictor in my study. This is probably because middle income developments are usually located in safer areas than the neighborhoods that lower income projects are in and because middle income tenants have less to fear from their neighbors.

A major similarity in the findings of the two studies is the importance of satisfaction with other residents. The composition of housing development populations and the feelings of residents toward one

another is an area that planners, designers, and managers should pay more attention to.

The Francescato study found that residents' satisfaction with the developments' appearance was a strong predictor of general satisfaction. My study did not find this factor an important determinant, probably for the same reasons why management was not an issue. Middle income projects tend to appear well maintained, and reasonably well-built. A factor containing several measures of spaciousness was fourth in importance in predicting satisfaction in the Francescato study. The factor was not based on actual apartment density but on comments on enough room in the apartment, privacy from other family members and neighbors, and crowding in the development. In my study, actual apartment density and feelings on privacy in the apartment were strong predictors.

Future housing research which utilizes measures of satisfaction and predictors which are identical to those used in other studies would be most useful. Intelligent comparisons could then be made between different types of housing and varying resident populations.

CHAPTER VI
STRATEGIES AND COPING MECHANISMS

Because highrise housing puts additional demands on the individual and the family, it was anticipated that sample families would utilize a variety of coping strategies to deal with these difficulties. An understanding of these strategies will be useful not only for planners and architects designing highrise housing but also for the families who live in this housing form. Three coping mechanisms will be discussed: cooperative childcare arrangements, use of vacations, and interior space use strategies.

Cooperative Childcare Arrangements

It was expected that sample families would be involved with a variety of cooperative childcare arrangements that would alleviate some of the difficulties of highrise living with young children. Because highrise living in the city usually requires more supervision of the child outdoors and because tight apartment space can put additional strains on family members, arrangements that relieve parents of constant supervision of, and contact with, their children should decrease some of these pressures. A number of mutual assistance arrangements were indeed used by sample parents.

The most formal arrangement was the "playgroup," in which four to ten mothers took turns caring for each other's children a few hours a

day. This arrangement obviously requires the mother to be home during the day and therefore was most enthusiastically utilized in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village where women's employment was lowest. The playgroup relieved mothers of their children several mornings or afternoons a week and allowed them to do activities that were difficult to pursue with a child under foot. The playgroup also provided a way for women to get to know each other and children to have contact with others their age. Thirty-four families, 57% of the total sample, either were presently participating in a playgroup or had done so in the past. (See Table 40.) A typical enthusiastic comment on the playgroup follows:

It's great. A real benefit. I jog during that time. . It's time every day to myself, and also I get a few things done without having the baby crying.

In good weather, the playgroup met outside. When the weather was bad, the playgroup met in the apartment or at East Midtown Plaza, in the community room, or was cancelled. Parents were not always anxious to have four to ten pre-schoolers in their apartment. Therefore the community room at East Midtown Plaza was a much appreciated design feature in terms of playgroup use and certainly facilitated this arrangement. "A playroom inside your building" was one of the most highly rated design features by the sample. (See Table 72.)

Another formal arrangement was the "babysitting pool" in which babysitting time instead of money was used as the method of exchange. A quarter of the sample families used this arrangement. Here a mother points out the benefits:

I love the babysitting co-op There are 33 families in it. We go out a lot and I have never had any trouble getting a sitter . . . and you feel very secure in that you have either a father or mother sitting with your kids.

"Walking pools" were also formed in which parents would take turns walking a group of children to school. Almost a quarter of the sample joined a walking pool.

A less formal arrangement was "switching" children: parents exchanged watching children indoors or outside. Some mothers preferred this over a playgroup because they could trust one person more easily and have more flexibility. A Stuyvesant Town mother described this arrangement as follows:

There are so many girls with young children that you can call them and say, "Hey, I need two hours; take them," and she does. But I pay her back two hours at some other time.

Parents at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village but not at the other two sites reported that they felt other families would keep an eye on their children outdoors. A typical comment was:

You know a lot of people here, so you're fairly certain that when your kids go out, somebody'll be around that knows them; so that if anything happens to them, if they fall off a bike or smack their heads on the concrete or something, that there'll be somebody around that they know.

Another way that the strains of urban apartment living can be eased is the use of regular day-time babysitters and cleaning people. About half of the sample families, 31, had some type of paid daytime babysitting help. (See Table 40.) Twenty percent had a full-time babysitter who was necessary for families with women employed full-time (25% of the sample). Another 22% had a part-time babysitter; 10%, a joint babysitter/house-cleaner; and 23% a housecleaner. Since 35% of the sample women worked part-time, these part-time babysitters were a necessity rather than a luxury.

Summary and Implications

Formal and informal cooperative childcare arrangements, particularly playgroups, were utilized by sample families. These organizations seemed to alleviate some of the child supervision problems related to highrise living. The childcare arrangements found in this study of middle income families appear to be something that would be very useful to other families living in highrises. The provision of nurseries and day care centers would be another way that children living in highrise housing could be supervised. Some study families also used day-time babysitters. Research and experimentation in other highrise housing should be conducted on the types of cooperative arrangements used and the feasibility of adapting the types found in this study.

In designing outdoor play areas for middle income highrise developments, architects should leave enough space to accommodate both playgroup and non-playgroup children so mothers can easily supervise the children they are responsible for. Indoor playrooms or community spaces are highly recommended so that playgroups can meet there in the cold weather.

Vacations

It was anticipated that because the sample families were middle income, they would be able to take vacations away from the city and could therefore be relieved of some of the tensions of city living.

Of the total sample, 87% took some type of vacation regularly; only 13% rarely took vacations (see Table 64). People traveled, visited relatives out of the city, or went to country houses. A third of the sample owned or rented a house outside the city. People were asked if a break from the city was important to them. Reflecting the vacation patterns just described, 88% said a break was important, 12% that it didn't matter.

Owning a car, although not essential for travel out of the city, played an important role in the sample's getting out of the city even for a day trip. Over half the sample families (63%) owned a car. There were no differences between sites on car ownership. People living in developments did have the opportunity to garage their cars, at a cost, in development parking garages. Fifty-eight percent of the sample's cars were kept in these garages. The rest were either kept on the street or in a commercial parking garage. (See Table 65.)

Most of the sample gave very strong statements on the importance of getting out of the city. Many said they simply could not endure city life if they didn't go to the country or travel. Families that owned houses out of the city said that the house not only relieved the pressures of city living but also satisfied their needs for ownership. A range of typical comments follows:

We have a second home and that's important. You said something before about privacy. There are times when I absolutely have to get away and if you don't have a place to go it's berserk time.

I think that if we couldn't get out of New York on the weekends, it would be terrible but since we can, I think some people must find it very offensive that they can't get out on weekends but weekends we go out on a sailboat and sail away into our own private world, so the contrast is a good thing.

Table 64
Vacations

N = 120	Number	Percent
Vacation regularly (at least once/year)	(78)	65%
Visit out of city relatives regularly	(39)	33
Own house out of city	(22)	18
Rent house out of city	(21)	18
Rarely take vacations	(15)	13
Own sailboat	(6)	5

<u>Importance of Vacations</u>		
N = 113	Number	Percent
Break or vacation from city is important	(100)	88%
Break or vacation from city is not important	(13)	12

Table 65
Car Ownership

Do you own a car?		<u>N = 60</u>	
If yes, where do you keep it?		Number	Percent
<u>YES</u>		(38)	63%
		<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent of Car Owners</u>
	Keep it in housing project garage	(22)	58%
	Keep it on the street	(9)	24
	Keep it in another garage	(7)	18

I think a break from the city is important and we think it's very important to have our car. We would not be without it. We are out every weekend, even if we just drive around the city we take a drive and we always go camping every weekend during the summer.

It is vital to get out of the city, even though it is a very exciting place to live. You need a rest, you don't need all that stimulation so often. The noise is abrasive. My mother bought a summer house four or five years ago and we go up there on the weekends in the summer. We have a car and can get out for a drive.

I find everything is "rush, rush, rush" in the city. Everything you got to do--"hurry up and get to this place." That's the only thing, you need to get a break and get out of the city and just relax. Maybe once a month I will go to my mother's house and spend a weekend. Or I'll end up at my mother-in-law's at night. I went to Nassau in the spring. In the summertime we go to do different things, like Disney World.

Another advantage of vacationing out of the city was the outdoor freedom children could enjoy. The following quotation is from a family that spent the summer in a house on the Connecticut shore that they had inherited from an aunt.

The time last summer was so good because my children really had a good time, and were cheerful most of the time because they were outside a lot. It's on the water and they went swimming. And it was very relaxing for all of us It was the first time I ever had the experience of having other kids knock on the door, early in the morning and say, "Can Jimmy come out and play?" And we let him go out.

Summary and Implications

The prevalence of vacationing among the middle income study sample indicates that these breaks may be providing outlets from city tensions that lower income families may not have. The lack of such breaks may significantly aggravate problems in highrise and crowded apartment living for lower income people. It would be interesting to compare tension levels of urban families with and without outlets from the city and also to research the vacation patterns of lower income highrise families.

The finding that the sample placed great importance on breaks from the city to relieve urban and apartment tensions argues for the provision of accessible recreation areas with low-cost overnight accommodations within the New York metropolitan area.

Interior Space Use

Because space inside apartments is limited, at least for middle income families, it was expected that some people would encounter problems with the use of space and with obtaining privacy. It was also anticipated that some families and individuals would adopt strategies in coping with limited spaces that were more successful than others. These expectations were confirmed.

As anticipated, obtaining privacy in the apartment was difficult for the sample. Almost half (41%) said that they could not get the privacy that they would like. (See Table 66.) About half of these people said they couldn't get privacy because their children wouldn't allow it. These people, usually mothers, contended that regardless of the environment, young children simply won't leave you alone. People who said their children wouldn't allow them privacy typically stated:

You never get privacy when the kids are awake--just forget it, it's a disaster. They're kids and you could be anywhere and they could be after you.

I think the main thing that I don't get privacy from my kids. Now, I don't know if I had more space if I would get it either, but certainly, in this particular situation I don't--they're always there.

Slightly over half the sample said they could get the privacy they'd like. And five people said that privacy wasn't important to them.

Half the total sample said they had a specific spot in the apartment

Table 66

Do You Get the Privacy in the Apartment You'd Like?

N = 118	Number	Percent
Yes	(60)	51%
Yes, because I get up early or stay up later	(5)	4
Total YES	(65)	55%
No	(26)	27%
No, because children won't allow it	(21)	18
Total NO	(48)	41%
Don't need privacy, not important	(5)	4

that was theirs, and half said they didn't. (See Table 67.) The most frequently mentioned place was one's bedroom. The next most mentioned spot was a chair or couch in the living room.

Of the 74 people who might bring work home, 43% said that when they bring work home, it's hard to concentrate on it. (See Table 68.) People complained that their children were constantly interrupting them and that it was difficult to find an uncluttered or unused surface to work on. About a third of those who could bring home work said they stayed at the office longer to get the work done rather than bring it home. People who had enough privacy said they brought work home but it wasn't a problem ($\chi^2 = 7.65$, d.f. = 1, $p < .01$), while those who didn't have enough privacy reported a problem working at home ($\chi^2 = 3.74$, d.f. = 1, $p < .10$).

These findings, that half the sample cannot get enough privacy and don't have a spot of their own, and that people are having difficulty doing their work at home, indicate a serious problem in space use exists for a good portion of the sample. Because apartment density was not significantly related to any of the above issues, it appears that either density is not a critical factor affecting privacy or that some families have found ways to achieve privacy that others have not.

A number of questions asked how people used space in their apartments. Parents were asked if they had any arrangements or rules for their children's space use in the apartment. Forty-four percent said they had no arrangements; 27% said they didn't allow their children to play or bring toys in the living room; and another 28% said they had other arrangements, which included prohibiting children's play in the master bedroom. (See Table 69.) These rules or arrangements must have succeeded in preserving parents' privacy because significantly more people who said

Table 67

Do You Have A Specific Spot That's Yours?

N = 118	Number	Percent
None	(58)	49%
Yes, bedroom	(32)	27%
Yes, chair or couch in living room	(13)	11
Yes, other	(9)	8
Yes, study or den	(6)	5
Total YES	(60)	51%

Table 68

Do You Bring Work Home? Is It A Problem?

N = 74	Number	Percent
Yes, it's a problem	(32)	43%
Yes, but not a problem	(27)	36
No	(15)	20
Do you stay at your office longer to get work done, rather than bring it home?		
Yes	(26)	35%

Table 69

Do You Have Any Arrangements Or Rules For Your
Children's Use of Space in the Apartment?

N = 113	Number	Percent
No arrangements or rules	(50)	44%
Discourage or don't allow child play or toys in living room	(31)	27
Other arrangements	(32)	28

they had no arrangements said they didn't have privacy because their children wouldn't allow it. ($\chi^2 = 3.99$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$.)

People were asked where the family spends time together. A little over half said the living room. Others mentioned the dining area, parents' bedroom, and a child's bedroom. (See Table 56 in section on apartment density.) If people said the family gathered in the living room, then they reported more privacy ($\chi^2 = 4.07$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$). Members of families that gathered in the master bedroom reported that doing work at home is a problem ($\chi^2 = 3.64$, d.f. = 1, $p < .10$). More people who stated they lacked privacy were part of a family that gathered in the master bedroom ($\chi^2 = 5.71$, d.f. = 2, $p < .10$). This would be understandable since the most popular spot to call one's own was the bedroom; if the family gathered there, it would be difficult to maintain privacy there. Having a spot of one's own in the apartment was related to whether or not people had enough privacy. More people who had such a spot said they had privacy ($\chi^2 = 8.32$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$).

The following comments indicate how some people got privacy for themselves.

The children don't come in the bedroom here at night--we have the room here to ourselves at night, so that is privacy--if my husband wants to work he can close that door and work here at the desk, so that's privacy.

The area in which I've been able to sort of establish a private space is extremely limited and one has to constantly defend it. I have a desk and I have a corner around it and we have a couple of chairs and I sort of build myself a barrier literally.

By and large, we have enough privacy but I think it's the way we live because quite often I will take care of the kids and my wife will do something or vice versa, I can go out and do something and she can do something else and we'll take turns taking care of the kids so that the other can have some time and it works out well.

The sample was asked whether family members had specific conflicts over the use of space and if so what they were. Because people had difficulty speaking directly about family conflicts, this question did not elicit many answers; 38% said they didn't have any problem. (See Table 70.) The most frequently reported conflict was children's difficulties in a shared bedroom. One child would want to bring a friend in or do homework while the other would interrupt. The use of the bathroom was another frequently mentioned problem. One bathroom for a four or five member family, sometimes all of whom had to leave at the same time in the morning, created conflicts. The sound from televisions, stereos, and radios bothered family members although many solved this problem by using earphones.

The sample was asked to imagine that they were advising a family from the Midwest who'd never lived in an apartment before on how to cope with tight apartment living. People gave a wide variety of answers, sometimes with much humor. (See Table 71.) The most common piece of advice was that each person should have his or her own space. Sometimes, to give each child a place of their own, people, particularly in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village, gave children the largest bedroom in a two bedroom apartment and then partitioned that bedroom. (See Figure 25.) Families in single buildings with only one bedroom converted the dining area off the kitchen into a second bedroom or simply partitioned off part of the living room. (See Figure 26.) Different members of the family also used the same space at different times of the day to achieve some territoriality or privacy. The sample emphasized that it was important that everyone be flexible in a small apartment and respect each other's needs. People also advised that small furniture that could be intensively

Table 70

Conflicts Over Apartment Space Use

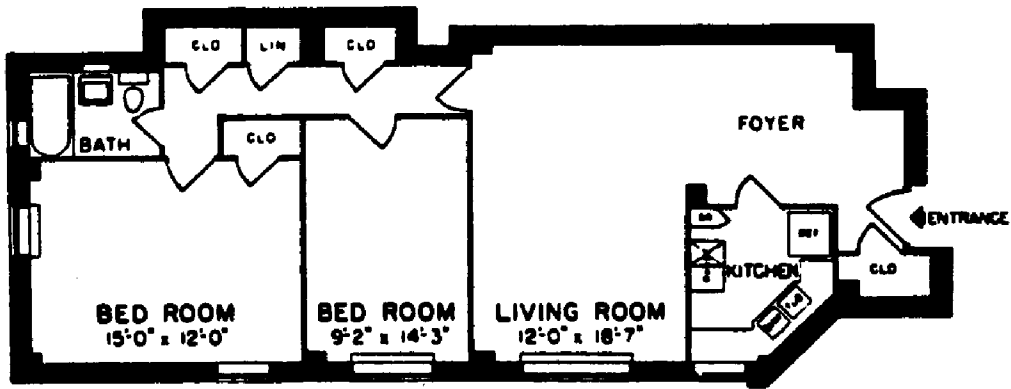
N = 113	Number	Percent
No problem	(43)	38%
Children conflict or fight in shared bedroom	(18)	16
Use of bathroom	(14)	12
Conflicts over T.V., programs or noise	(13)	12
Work or studying difficult	(13)	12
General problem	(12)	11
Children's toys, playing in living room	(11)	10
Activity or hobby difficult	(6)	5
Other problem	(3)	3

Table 71

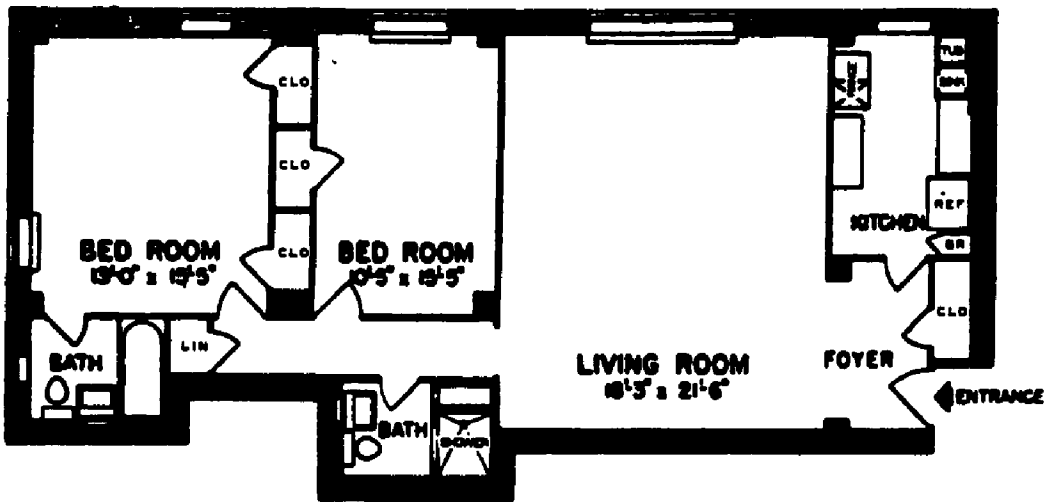
Advice on Tight Apartment Living

N = 115	Number	Percent
A place for each person (including scheduling of time and place)	(20)	17%
Everyone cooperates, respect for others	(14)	12
Small, functional, comfortable furniture	(12)	10
Minimum of possessions, throw out things	(11)	10
Have closets, storage	(9)	8
Keep apartment neat, no clutter	(5)	4
Share space	(4)	3
Get maximum space you can afford	(4)	3
No rules, no restrictions	(4)	3
Get along with less privacy	(3)	3
Go outside	(3)	3
Don't know	(25)	22

Note. Percentages are based on the total number of respondents, 115. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages can total to more than 100%.



Stuyvesant Town



Peter Cooper Village

Figure 25. Two bedroom apartment layouts in Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village. (Courtesy of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.)

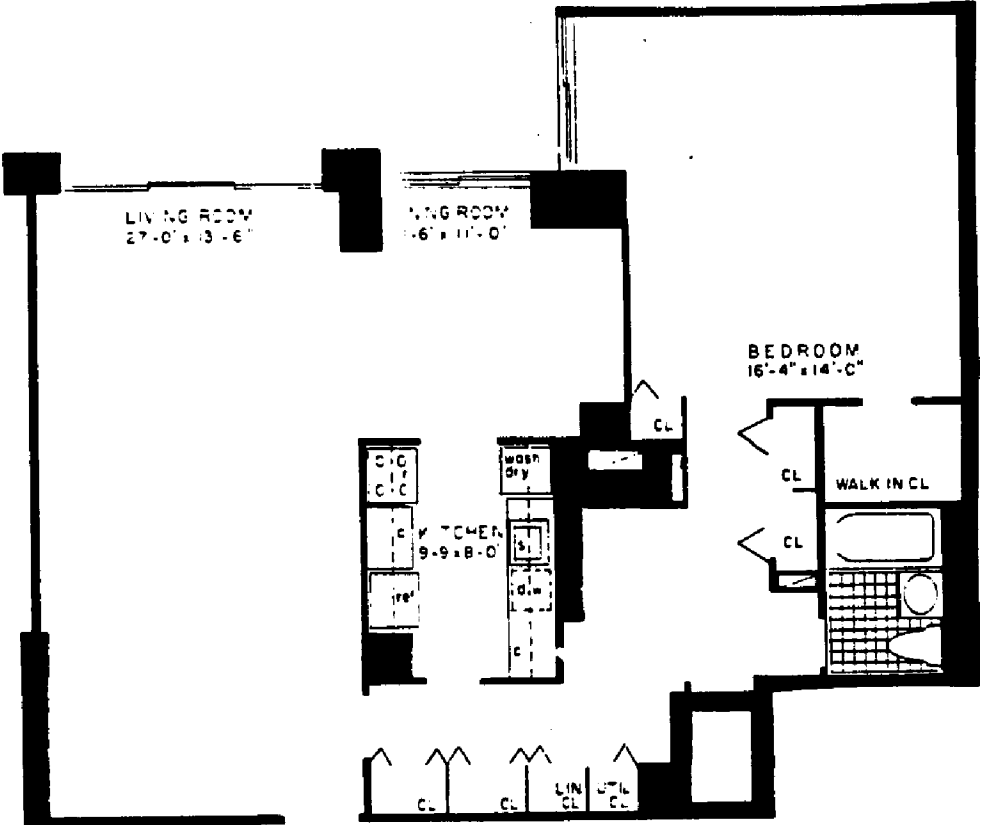


Figure 26. One bedroom apartment in a single building.

used was important. Storing possessions away, keeping the apartment neat and throwing out unnecessary things were also recommended. A representative sample of the types of advice people gave follows:

I would advise them to get as many rooms as they could afford. If it's a matter of larger rooms and less of them, or smaller rooms, particularly bedrooms, and more of them, I would advise more.

Well, I think that Japanese have the answer--a sense of courtesy, individual courtesy toward one another; and a sense of privacy, so that even though they may make love in a room that is just divided by a bamboo screen, a paper type thing, there's a sense of that's their space and their business. When I say to the kids "I really want to be alone now," they know, and they're developing that toward us.

We chose not to put drapes up and not to leave furniture all over and I think in any of the newer apartments in New York City you must underfurnish.

Get rid of as much as you can and live a Spartan life, don't buy books but get them from the library and return them. We stopped buying books about five years ago.

Sell everything you have!

Be very flexible, cool and loose.

Give everybody a break, kids are people too.

Live lightly on the land!

Get one more room than you need, put a big lock on it and hide in there!

Get a large bottle of sleeping pills!

Summary and Implications

About half of the sample could not get enough privacy in their apartments and did not have a spot of their own in the apartment. Of those who took work home, about half had problems completing it. Families who had rules or arrangements for their children's use of apartment space achieved more privacy than those who didn't have such arrangements.

Families that gathered in their living rooms had more privacy than those who got together in their master bedrooms. These findings indicate that there are space use strategies that families can adopt if they wish to achieve maximum privacy in their apartments. It would be interesting to research these patterns further and, if confirmed, to educate families on how they can make the most of their available space.

Sample families thought the most important way to deal with tight apartment living was to provide a space for each person. The partitioning of master bedrooms for children's use and the creation of second bedrooms out of dining areas and living rooms bears this opinion out. This finding indicates that bedrooms in new or renovated apartments should be constructed so that they can be easily divided. Windows, radiators and doors should be placed to facilitate partitioning. Dining or living room spaces that can be sensibly converted to bedrooms are also recommended. Apartments with more, smaller bedrooms are preferred over apartments with fewer, larger bedrooms.

CHAPTER VII

USER FEEDBACK ON SPECIFIC DESIGN FEATURES

The sample was asked a number of questions on specific housing design features to obtain user feedback for architects and planners. This section will begin with a discussion of features in semi-public spaces, including architectural appearance of buildings, play areas, landscaping, common open space and differences between two types of buildings at East Midtown Plaza. The discussion will then move to semi-private space features and deal with entrance galleries, community rooms and lobbies. Then various features within the apartment--storage, kitchens, terraces, soundproofing and wiring will be examined. Residents' reactions to East Midtown Plaza duplexes will be reported on. Finally, the sample's feelings about their building or development's management practices, including maintenance, security, and cooperative ownership, will be explained. The generalizations drawn in this chapter should be viewed with caution because the sample was small and may not be representative. Further study is necessary to confirm these results.

Semi-Public Spaces

Architectural Appearance of Building

The exterior design of their housing was not a major priority of the sample but it was noticed and commented on. As explained earlier, the design of East Midtown Plaza was one of the reasons people chose to

live there ($\chi^2 = 8.64$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$) and was seen as one of the development's best attributes ($\chi^2 = 10.06$, d.f. = 2, $p < .01$). In contrast, the architecture of Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village was criticized by both residents and outsiders. A third of the residents there said that the worst aspect of their development was the exterior appearance. Almost no one at the other sites said this about their housing ($\chi^2 = 14.32$, d.f. = 2, $p < .001$). When asked if they had considered living at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village, 20% of the residents at the other sites said the development was too institutional and looked too much like a "project" (a public housing project). Typical comments from Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper residents were:

It looks like a prison. All these buildings are exactly alike.

You know the idiomatic connotations to the word: "projects?"
It's said that way: "the projects."

I'm tired of the sameness. All the apartments are exactly alike. They're well constructed, they certainly perform your basic everyday needs, but I'm tired of it.

The opinions from residents at the other sites is represented in the following statement:

I didn't really consider living at Stuyvesant Town or Peter Cooper Village because I gathered there were such long waiting lists. We also didn't like so many buildings all the same shape and size and everything else altogether.

The exterior appearance of single buildings was not mentioned as an issue one way or the other by the sample.

Play Areas and Facilities

The play facilities for children at each of the three sites have already been discussed in some detail on the section on site differences. As mentioned previously, the excellent facilities at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and East Midtown Plaza were one of the features that

attracted residents ($\chi^2 = 14.33$, d.f. = 2, $p < .001$) and were spoken of as one of the housing's best characteristics ($\chi^2 = 42.66$, d.f. = 2, $p < .00001$). None of the single building residents mentioned play facilities as a positive attraction of their housing. Single building residents complained that one of the worst things about their housing was the lack of such facilities ($\chi^2 = 6.69$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$). The very much appreciated advantages of the interior play areas at East Midtown Plaza have been noted in detail already.

In rating the importance of a series of housing design suggestions, the total sample, on the questions about play areas, rated visibility from the apartment as most important (see Table 72). As previously reported, if play areas were visible parents more often allowed children outside alone than in cases with no visibility. Children were also permitted out alone at an earlier age. The next most important play area feature was "a playroom in the building." Such a room would allow children to play together during bad weather and would facilitate playgroups. "Better play equipment on the playground" was rated next most important. The playground equipment was a particular issue for East Midtown Plaza residents. In responding to the question: "Are there any facilities, services, or management practices you would change or add," (see Table 73) the East Midtown Plaza sample most often mentioned the equipment and supervision in their play areas. The East Midtown Plaza sample's distress over non-residents' use of the street level playground and the resultant over-utilization of the second floor play areas has been previously explained. Residents at East Midtown Plaza also said they wished the equipment in the play areas was more interesting and traditional. The type of play equipment they described is the kind that is at the older Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village, as these comments indicate:

Table 72
Housing Design Suggestions

N = 40	1 7 Not Important Very Important							
	<u>Total Sample</u> Mean Rating	Stuyvesant		Single Buildings N = 5	ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	
		Town/Peter Cooper Village N = 12	East Midtown Plaza N = 23					
Storage within apartment	6.1							
Grass outside	5.6							
Play areas visible from apartment	5.2							
Playroom in the building	5.0							
Better play equipment on playground	4.8							
Facilities for teenagers	4.5							
Deck	4.4	2.7	5.2	4.8	5.92	2, 37	p < .01	
Bathroom for child outside	4.3							
Soundproofing between apartments	4.0							
Play leader in playground	3.9	2.5	4.9	2.8	7.05	2, 37	p < .005	
Duplex apartment	3.5							
Plot of ground for garden outside	2.9	1.7	3.0	5.0	5.59	2, 38	p < .01	
Outdoor seating	2.3							

Table 73

Are There Any Facilities, Services or Management
Practices You Would Change or Add?

	Total Sample		Stuyvesant Town/ Peter Cooper Village		East Midtown Plaza		Single Buildings	
	N = 101		N = 23		N = 59		N = 19	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Improve play areas (equipment, maintenance, supervision)	(24)	24%	(1)	4%	(23)	39%	(0)	0%
Plaza is too public, too rough	(16)	16	(0)	0	(16)	27	(0)	0
Improve lobby	(16)	16	(0)	0	(15)	25	(1)	5
Improve security	(12)	12	(0)	0	(10)	17	(2)	11
Enclose plaza	(11)	11	(0)	0	(11)	19	(0)	0
In plaza, poor activity separation/allow active sports	(11)	11	(0)	0	(11)	19	(0)	0
Community rooms: charge too high/access difficult	(11)	11	(0)	0	(11)	19	(0)	0
Improve maintenance which is presently poor	(9)	9	(1)	4	(0)	0	(8)	42
Add grass, more greenery	(8)	8	(0)	0	(8)	14	(0)	0
More for older children, teens	(8)	8	(2)	9	(6)	10	(0)	0
Doormen, instead of guards	(8)	8	(0)	0	(8)	14	(0)	0
Allow for air conditioning	(8)	8	(8)	35	(0)	0	(0)	0
Allow for washing machines	(7)	7	(6)	26	(1)	2	(0)	0
Improve/enlarge laundry facilities	(6)	6	(0)	0	(3)	5	(3)	16
Other ideas	(26)	26	(5)	22	(14)	24	(7)	37
Pleased as it is	(3)	3	(0)	0	(1)	2	(2)	11

I think there could be a few more things in the playground downstairs on the first floor. It would be nice if there were some sandboxes. It would be nice if there were some swings, things like that that kids like to play with. It would also be nice if they were fenced in, or something. It's bad architecturally but I think it would be better for the kids--they would be able to use it more.

My daughter [5 years old] doesn't like the playground on the second floor. There's a climber and a slide and I frankly feel it's kind of dangerous. She can go on it if she wants but it doesn't excite her one bit. The other one, the plaza playground, is not bad, but she would rather go to the dinky little playground on 20th Street that has swings and so we go there.

"A bathroom for children outside" and "a play leader for the playground" were rated as less important. The latter feature was seen as more important by East Midtown Plaza residents ($F = 7.04$, $d.f. = 2$, $p < .005$) because conflicts between children of different ages occurred on the second floor interior play areas and more serious problems took place between resident and non-resident children in the street level plaza play area.

Additional facilities for teenagers were rated as moderately important by the total sample. Ten East Midtown Plaza and nine Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents thought such facilities should be added to their developments.

Landscaping

In the sample's ratings of a list of thirteen housing design suggestions "grass outside" was rated the second most important. (See Table 72.) Fourteen percent of the East Midtown Plaza sample said they wished there was more greenery around their development. A typical comment from an East Midtown Plaza resident was:

But as far as the design of the whole place goes, I think there should be more greenery--grass and trees. It's absolute total concrete space down there.

In contrast, Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents thought the trees and grass around their development were one of its best features ($\chi^2 = 18.21$, d.f. = 2, $p < .0001$). Characteristic comments from these residents were:

It's so nice to have all the greenery around. It's so peaceful in here; you don't hear any traffic.

I guess we have some salvation because of all the trees, they can absorb carbon monoxide.

Although the suggestion "a plot of ground for a garden outside" was low priority for the total sample, single building residents, probably reflecting their lack of any outdoor space, rated this feature as fairly important, $F(2, 38) = 5.59$, $p < .01$.

Public Access to Common Open Space and Facilities

Access by non-residents to Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village's open spaces and facilities is restricted because they are private property. Security guards and recreation workers question strangers engaging in inappropriate behavior and have the authority to expel them from the development if necessary. Over half the Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents stated that the insular layout of their development was good. People were pleased that the site is a distinguishable area that can be patrolled by the private security force, that outsiders can be challenged easily, and that the development is shut off to traffic, resulting in additional safety for child play and a reduction in noise.

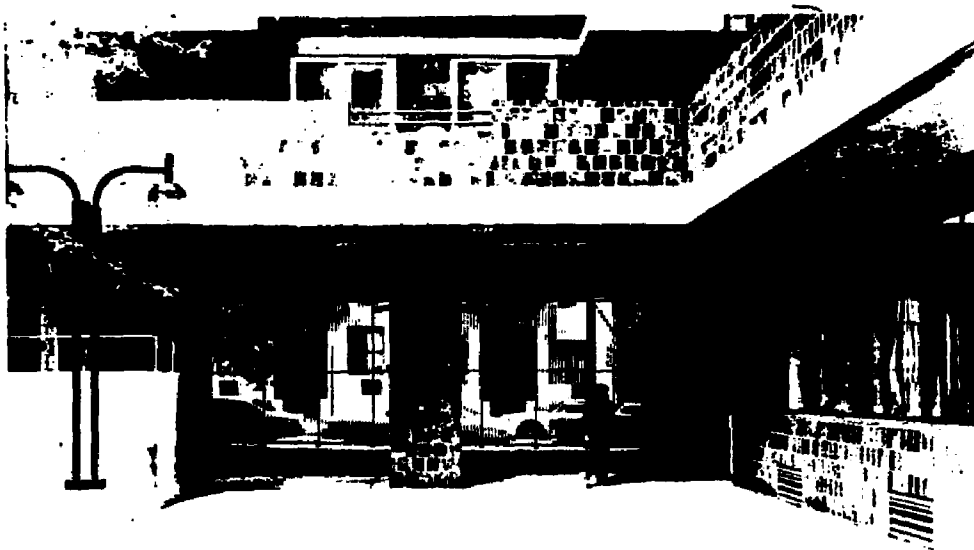
The question of public access to East Midtown Plaza's common open space and facilities was the most controversial issue in the development. Comments about the street level plaza were lengthy and emotional. Everyone spoke about the plaza in great detail. The plaza was intended for

the use of the surrounding community as well as the residents, and was therefore designed in an open, inviting way. Generally, residents complained that undesirable outsiders intruded on the space. Nearby hospital staff ate their lunch in the plaza, patrons from McDonalds brought their food there, methadone clinic patients nodded out on the fountain, bums and winos hung out and rough children from the nearby lower income housing played in the plaza and its playground. The designers' original goals have certainly been achieved, much to the distress of residents.

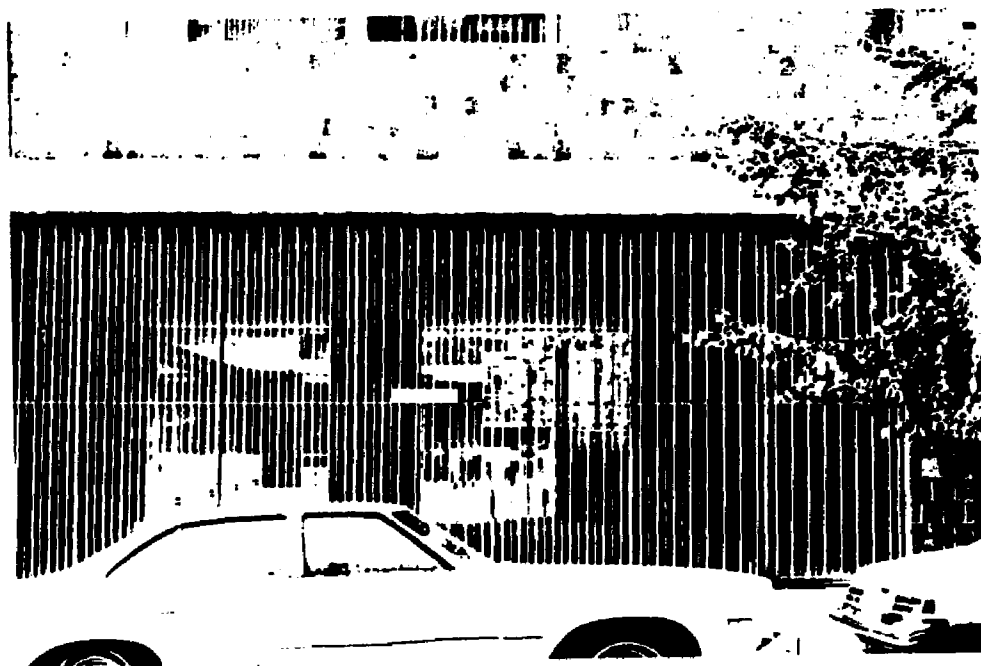
At the time of the interviews, a hot debate was occurring among East Midtown Plaza residents about whether or not a locked fence should be placed across the 25th Street entrance to the plaza. Some people felt strongly that the plaza should remain easily accessible and opposed the fence. Others felt that the danger posed by outsiders was so great that the fence was required to maintain the safety of the plaza. The fence was installed shortly after the interviews and is still in place. (See Figure 27.) The following comments give an idea as to the intensity of feelings about the access to the plaza:

Our plaza here is certainly not for the tenants, it's for the community and I guess in order to get along in the community we just have to put up with it It's nice to walk into this big open space in the middle of the city and all of the wonderful things but it's slightly too idealistic for this part of Manhattan There are a lot of incidents where there were some drunken women with their kids The plaza invites the kids from the school to come with a little can of beer and sit and that's unfortunate.

You have an unsupervised element--we've had problems with methadone people in the neighborhood There are seven clinics combined in one, right on 25th Street here. They must have about 8,000 patients. It is entirely unsupervised once they leave the premises. We have great facilities which they use--they take the children's toys; they yell; they fight; they abuse one another; they drink. They have overdoses. Someone tried to sell me and my son drugs while I was sitting there.



View from plaza.



View from 25th Street.

Figure 27. Fence at 25th Street entrance to East Midtown Plaza.

The plaza area there are difficulties with. It's too open so people come into it in the warmer months from McDonald's across the street, eat their lunches there, and then throw their refuse on the ground and leave . . . There should be some way to police the area better, it shouldn't be a general luncheon area for a fast food franchise.

The liberals say, "share, share with everybody" I've tended to become a spokesman for the right on this issue . . . I made the suggestion we hire college people majoring in physical education and recreation . . . My suggestion was met with the response, "It's going to cost too much" . . . So now they're talking about building a barrier, a gate here and the liberals have said we shouldn't have gates There are drunks constantly moving around, they're harmless, we think, but having someone fall over a three year old, one mother hysterically spoke about it one day.

Residents comments on the difficulties with non-resident children's use of the plaza playground have been reported on in the section on site differences.

Another complaint residents had about the plaza was that it had poor separation of activity areas. When East Midtown Plaza opened, there was a basketball court in the plaza, but because residents felt this activity interferred with pedestrian traffic, the hoops were taken down. (See Figure 24, p. 81.) Children were also not allowed to ride bicycles in the plaza although this rule was frequently broken. Skateboard riding was most popular in the plaza although it also conflicted with pedestrian movement. These two residents' comments summarize the issue of activity separation on the plaza:

One thing that upset me about East Midtown Plaza so far as changes go is that they decided not to permit any kind of ball playing at all in the plaza area and that's another reason that the children don't make use of it. They built basketball courts down there, or at least they put up the backboards but they never installed the baskets themselves. They were finally taken down. It seems to me that there's enough room down there that they can rope off an area for ball playing and confine it to that area so that the ball playing doesn't interfere with the people walking through. They've banned bicycle riding from it ineffectively but that was probably a good idea.

I would certainly redo the plaza. I would try to section it off so there would be areas for kids to go with skateboards and basketball. Rather than this amphitheater which nobody really uses. It blocks off a lot of play area. And I'd put more facilities for people who want to just sit and relax away from that kind of hubbub.

The spacious grounds at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village accommodated many clearly defined areas for seating, walking, and children's play. Areas for different aged children to play were also clearly separated. (See Figure 11, pp. 65-67.) As a consequence, activity separation was not an issue at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village.

East Midtown Plaza Small Building Versus Large Buildings

East Midtown Plaza was built in two stages. The first stage consists of two building clusters along 23rd Street. These two clusters are made of large buildings ranging from eleven stories to 27 stories. (See Figure 14, p. 74.) Each cluster has a second floor interior play area. The second stage consists of one cluster of two buildings connected by a second floor play area. One building is 28 stories with simplex apartments. The other is a nine story building whose address is 320 East 25th Street. (See Figure 18, p. 79.) Except for the ground floor which has studios, this building is made up of three bedroom duplex apartments, ten to a floor. These apartments all have outdoor galleries which lead to the second floor play area. 320 East 25th Street therefore is a unique building; it is not only made up of a certain type of apartment (see Figure 28), but also is shorter and smaller than the other East Midtown Plaza buildings. This building will be called the "small building." Eight families (16 people) were sampled in the small building, 22 families (44 people) in the large ones. (No families were interviewed in the 28

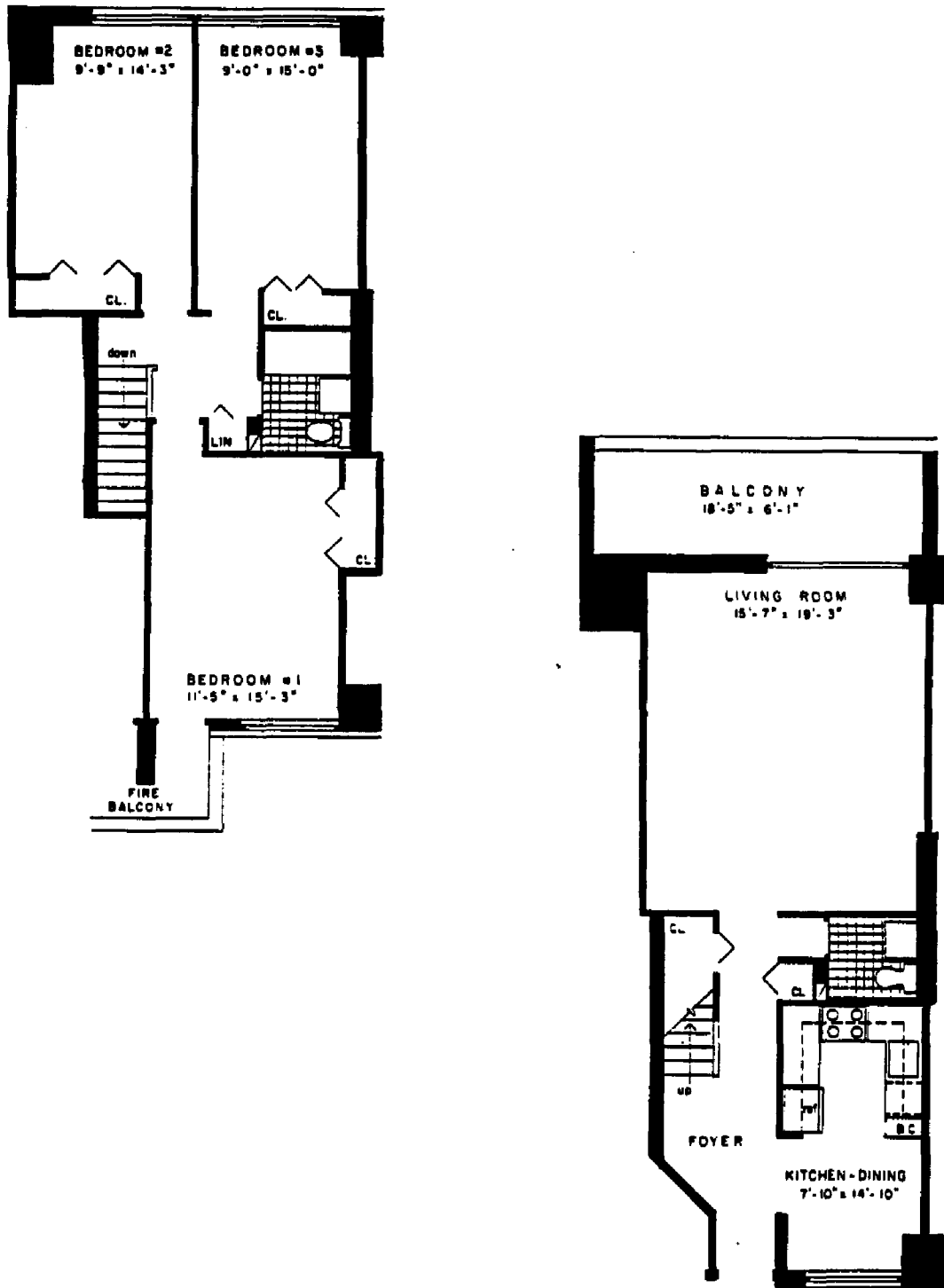


Figure 28. East Midtown Plaza three bedroom duplex apartment.

story building connected by the play area to 320 East 25th Street. Older families with no young children or elderly people lived there.)

It was anticipated that the more intimate scale of the small building might result in its residents having more intense social interaction among themselves, more satisfaction, and more use of the interior play area. Some of these expectations were confirmed.

Residents in the small and large buildings did not differ in education, income, women's employment status, number of children, or their ages. There were no differences in the neighboring or socializing patterns between residents living in the small building and those in the large ones. However, the small building sample more frequently described their neighbors as "professional and well-educated." ($\chi^2 = 6.60$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$.) People in the small building also had significantly different opinions on some aspects of urban life. It appears that these residents had a more cosmopolitan, pro-city attitude than the others. 320 East 25th Street opened two years after the buildings in the first stage. By then the income mix residency system had been abandoned. Stage I residents reported that the "newcomers" were more upper middle class types.

The small building sample said, in discussing the effects of city living on the adult, that it was easier for a wife to have a job in the city ($\chi^2 = 7.88$, d.f. = 1, $p < .005$), the city husband has more time with his family because he has no commute ($\chi^2 = 3.57$, d.f. = 1, $p < .01$), and the city tempo is faster and more stimulating ($\chi^2 = 3.65$, d.f. = 1, $p < .10$), while the large buildings' residents complained that public schools are a problem ($\chi^2 = 5.89$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$).

One hundred percent of the residents at 320 East 25th Street said

their children played on the second floor interior play area. One hundred percent also said they could see their child playing from their windows. Although not statistically significant, only about 70% of the people in the rest of East Midtown Plaza said this. There were no differences between the small building and the large buildings' families allowing children outside alone, or the age of children allowed out by themselves. Interview comments did indicate that the small building's second floor play area (see Figure 15, p. 75) was more heavily used and liked better than the play areas in the Stage I clusters. The Stage II play area was more attractive because it was more in the open and had more sunlight than the other play areas which were shadowed by the tall buildings surrounding them.

As expected, small building residents were more satisfied with their apartments ($F = 7.09$, $d.f. = 1$, $p < .05$), and tended to be more satisfied with New York City ($F = 3.25$, $d.f. = 1$, $p < .10$). Their greater satisfaction with their apartments is probably a combination of satisfaction with the duplex, with large three bedroom apartments, with the convenient access to the interior play area, and with nearby neighbors who were perceived as similar, well-educated professionals. The greater satisfaction with New York City can probably be attributed to the cosmopolitan-orientation of the small building sample.

Semi-Private Space

The following discussion of semi-private spaces (galleries, community rooms, and lobbies) focuses on East Midtown Plaza because the other two sites either did not have notable features that residents could comment on or lacked specific facilities.

Covered Entrance Galleries

The decks outside of duplex apartments were popular. Children used them for "doorstep" play as has been found in other studies. A mother living at 320 East 25th Street described her five year old daughter's use of the gallery as follows:

She plays back and forth on those walkways in the front here with her friends. They set up doll houses, whatever they do. They have a whole number they do.

Another mother with girls aged 7 and 3½ who lived in a large building at 23rd Street however reported that a neighbor complained when her children played on the deck:

You are not allowed to play in there. But in the summertime, once in a while they will play on the floor. A gentleman complained. What made it so bad was he called up the guards and said there were children making noise.

Residents on some decks organized "block parties" along their gallery. Among the housing suggestions, "a deck" was rated only moderately important by the total sample, but significantly more important by the East Midtown Plaza sample which had first-hand experience, $F(2, 37) = 5.92$, $p < .01$.

Community Rooms

The community rooms at East Midtown Plaza were frequently mentioned as a much appreciated feature. These spaces facilitated residents' cooperative efforts. Among the activities the community rooms were used for were a food cooperative, a wine tasting club, an exercise class, playgroups, Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts, and all sorts of parties, particularly children's birthday parties. Some residents felt that the rental charge for a community room was too high (\$25-\$35) and that obtaining a key to unlock the door for each use was very inconvenient. The total sample

rated a "playroom in the building" as the fourth most important housing suggestion, indicating that this feature would be appreciated by all the families.

Lobbies

The lobbies at East Midtown Plaza, although a minor feature, were universally criticized for being too stark and gloomy. Lobby walls are made of large dark red tiles. The only window was one by the front door. Lighting was dim and the only decoration was a modern design wall hanging. A quarter of the East Midtown Plaza sample said the lobby should be improved.

Private Space/Apartments

Storage

Storage was the most critical apartment feature for this sample. Other studies have found this as well, particularly for families with children. "Storage within the apartment" was given the highest priority rating by the sample among all housing suggestions. (See Table 72.) The sample was asked, "How would you rearrange the apartment, given the same amount of space?" The second most frequently mentioned idea was the addition of more storage and closets. (See Table 74.) Typical two bedroom apartments in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village and East Midtown Plaza have a total of four closets. This simply was not enough storage for a young family. Tricycles, strollers, large toys and coats frequently were stored out in the open in the front foyer.

Apartment Layouts

Enlarging the kitchen by shrinking the living room or dining area

Table 74

How Would You Rearrange the Apartment,
Given the Same Amount of Space?

	<u>East Midtown Plaza</u>		<u>Single Buildings</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	N = 50		N = 22		N = 72	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Bigger kitchen, eat-in kitchen/ smaller living room or smaller dining area	(15)	30%	(3)	14%	(18)	25%
More storage, more closets	(12)	24	(3)	14	(15)	21
Bathroom on first floor (instead of closet) or half bath (second bath)	(9)	18	(0)	0	(9)	13
Larger dining area, smaller living room	(8)	16	(0)	0	(8)	11
Convert terrace to apartment space	(7)	14	(0)	0	(7)	10
Eliminate or decrease foyer and add space to another part of the apartment	(4)	8	(2)	9	(6)	8
Separate dining area from living room	(4)	8	(0)	0	(4)	6
Create a foyer	(2)	4	(1)	5	(3)	4
Increase separation or soundproofing between apartments	(2)	4	(0)	0	(2)	3
Other comments	(4)	8	(8)	36	(12)	17
Like apartment the way it is	(14)	28	(6)	27	(20)	28

was the most mentioned layout recommendation by the sample. (See Table 75.) People recalled images of large eat-in kitchens from childhood where the family gathered in warmth and closeness. Present apartment kitchens tend to be merely functional.

Other changes in apartment layout suggested by East Midtown Plaza residents included adding a bathroom to the first floor of the duplexes, enlarging the dining area and reducing the size of the living room, separating the dining area from the living room, and converting the terrace to interior apartment space. Comments about foyers went both ways: some people who had them thought they should be eliminated while others who didn't have one thought a foyer should be created.

East Midtown Plaza Balconies

All sample families at East Midtown Plaza had apartments with balconies. Opinion on these balconies was mixed. Most people did not sit outside on their balconies because of the dirt or noise and because the walls were too high to permit a view. (See Table 75.) Terraces were used for storage, growing plants, barbecues, a breath of fresh air, and less frequently for children's play. About a quarter of the sample thought the balcony could have been better utilized as part of the interior apartment space. Residents' comments ranged as follows:

They built the patios solid brick. You can't look out. You have to stand up to see, the kids have to stand up. I was bitterly disappointed . . . It won an architectural award, it looks nice from the outside, but for me, it's not functional.

I like the idea that that's a high wall so the kids aren't going to fall over it but in the back it would be nice to have cut out something in the brick. I think it could be done safely and you wouldn't feel quite so much like you were in the bottom of a hole.

I'm using it for storage--I have my bicycles and things out there. I guess you could eliminate the terrace . . . I'd prefer to have

Table 75

Comments on East Midtown Plaza Terrace

N = 38	Number	Percent
Dislike because of dirt/noise	(13)	34%
Use it for storage	(12)	32
Prefer space was part of living room	(10)	26
Like it for air/outdoors	(9)	24
Like it for children	(8)	21
Like it to sit on	(8)	21
Like it to barbeque on	(8)	21
Use it for plants	(6)	16
Can't see anything because wall is too high	(6)	16
Dangerous, vulnerable to break-ins	(3)	8

Note. Percentages are based on the number of respondents answering the question, 38. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total more than 100%.

that space used for something else.

We use it tremendously. The children use it more than we do because we have a sandbox out there, so they play out there often on a day when it's bad. During the summer we have one of those swimming pools out there and it's great. We also have a barbecue out there.

Soundproofing

A problem in Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village which was not an issue at the other sites was soundproofing between apartments. Whether the presence of large numbers of elderly tenants or the lack of adequate insulation in the older buildings, or both, residents reported that they got complaints from other tenants about their children's noise inside the apartment and consequently restricted their children. Because this issue had been identified in previous studies as a serious problem in apartment living for families with children, a specific question was asked on whether or not children's noise was a problem and whether or not parents restricted their children. Seventy percent of the total sample said it was not a problem. Of those it was a problem for however, over half were Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents ($\chi^2 = 9.65$, d.f. = 2, $p < .01$). This sub-sample more often mentioned this problem as one of the worst things about the place where they were living. ($\chi^2 = 8.95$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$.) In talking about apartment life for children, Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents more frequently mentioned "a problem with child's noise bothering neighbors" ($\chi^2 = 14.91$, d.f. = 2, $p < .001$). For the sample as a whole, "soundproofing between apartments" was rated as only moderately important. From the complaints of Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents, however, it appears that soundproofing is indeed very important and probably when it can be taken for granted,

people give this feature only a rating of moderate importance.

Electrical Wiring

The electrical wiring in Stuyvesant Town is not designed to accommodate air conditioners, dish washers, or washing machines. Residents mentioned that the lack of air conditioning was one of the worst things about living there ($\chi^2 = 8.97$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$). A third of those asked what facilities would they like to see added said allowing for air conditioning. A quarter said permitting washing machines. Lack of air conditioning was one of the reasons people at the other two sites said they wouldn't consider living at Stuyvesant Town.

East Midtown Plaza Duplex Apartments

Almost half (14 out of 30) of the East Midtown Plaza sample families lived in duplexes. The duplex design was a tremendous success. Families living in duplexes liked them very much and recommended them for future housing. Most duplex occupants said the duplex permitted a good separation of family members. (See Table 76.) Another frequent comment was that "it's like a house." (See Figure 27.) The following two comments are typical of the enthusiastic response to the duplex.

This is like having a home and you do have your separate privacy upstairs. I would like to tell people about duplex apartments. . . . I am the type of person, every once in a while, I want my privacy. My husband will come down here and he will listen to his albums, and I'll be upstairs.

We like the idea of a duplex because the kids can stay upstairs and we can be downstairs and we're not bothered by it.

About a quarter of the duplex sample complained about the lack of a bathroom on the first floor. This problem was particularly stressful for pregnant women and families with very young children who couldn't

Table 76

Comments on East Midtown Plaza Duplex Apartments

N = 28 (Duplex Occupants)	Number	Percent
Good separation of family members	(18)	64%
It's like a house	(10)	36
No bathroom on first floor is bad	(6)	21
Don't like going up and down stairs	(5)	18

Note. Percentages are based on the number of respondents answering the question, 28. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total more than 100%.

walk up and down stairs by themselves. A few people mentioned that they didn't like going up and down stairs.

Some differences were found between simplex and duplex residents on a number of questions and measures. These two samples did not differ significantly on education, income and the ages of their children. Families in simplexes had more children (mean = 2.3) than those in duplexes (mean = 1.8), $F(1, 58) = 7.61, p < .01$. Also, more women in duplexes were employed (85%) than women in simplexes (50%) ($\chi^2 = 1.01, d.f. = 1, p < .05$). These demographic differences may partially explain some of the following findings.

In discussing the effects on adults of living in a city apartment, only East Midtown Plaza people living in simplexes said "home entertainment is harder in the city apartment;" none of the duplex people mentioned this. ($\chi^2 = 4.97, d.f. = 1, p < .05$.) The duplex sample tends to get more privacy than those in apartments on one floor. Sixty-eight percent of the duplex people report having enough privacy, only 32% of the simplex people said this. ($\chi^2 = 5.12, d.f. = 2, p < .10$.) The better separation of family members in the duplex may have helped them to obtain more privacy than simplex occupants.

Time budget analyses indicate that simplex children spend more time outside than duplex children on a Sunday. ($F = 5.10, d.f. = 1, p < .05$.) Because the simplex apartment may be more crowded on a Sunday with all the family members home, it may be more important than the children play outside, while in the duplex apartment, the physical separation may permit the children to more easily play indoors.

An additional feature of East Midtown Plaza duplex living is the placement of all duplexes along an outdoor entrance gallery. The simplexes

are all on regular double-loaded hallways. The outdoor corridor arrangement may have been more conducive to active neighboring. Duplex occupants report more involvement with other building residents than do simplex occupants. ($F = 4.91$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$.) There is no difference between the two samples in the number of people they can name or visit, but in listing one's three closest friends, the duplex people listed more frequently as their third best friend someone who lived in the building or project ($\chi^2 = 11.61$, d.f. = 5, $p < .05$). The duplex sample also more often described their neighbors as "active, community-minded people," ($\chi^2 = 5.57$, d.f. = 1, $p < .05$).

The duplex sample reported more satisfaction with New York City, $F(1, 42) = 5.71$, $p < .05$, and with their development, $F(1, 42) = 2.94$, $p < .10$, than the simplex sample. Greater apartment satisfaction would have been expected from the duplex sample. Their greater satisfaction with the development is probably an indication of duplex residents' greater involvement and feeling of support from their neighbors.

Management Practices

Maintenance

Residents in Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village and East Midtown Plaza were generally satisfied with the management of their buildings. A number of single building residents (30%), however, complained that their buildings had significant maintenance difficulties including leaks, heat, and water problems ($\chi^2 = 24.65$, d.f. = 2, $p < .0001$). In response to a question on building services, almost half of the single building sample answered that present maintenance should be improved. (See Table 73.) Typical comments from single building residents were:

The building itself is very badly kept. The super, who lives on this floor, is a kind of obnoxious guy and he's really one of those people that does very little for you and we've had perpetual problems that haven't been fixed.

We have problems with the landlord. Each winter we have several days without heat and it's mostly just incompetence more than anything else or bad mistakes around the holidays--they didn't get enough oil in.

Security

Security was an issue at East Midtown Plaza. It was mentioned as one of the worst features of the project. ($\chi^2 = 11.81$, d.f. = 2, $p < .005$.) The development used a guard service whose staff watched building entrances in the late afternoon. The duplex section of the development along 25th Street had had a number of break-ins. Residents felt that the guard service was too impersonal. Guards would change and apparently had little stake in the development. In contrast, Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village hired their own guards, who although not placed at building entrances, apparently took a more active interest in the projects, had continuity and therefore satisfied residents' need for security. Single buildings usually had doormen. East Midtown Plaza residents were ambivalent about doormen. They knew they wanted an improved security staff, but were hesitant to bring on doormen, who connote "snobbish East-side buildings." As discussed previously, the openness of East Midtown Plaza made it more vulnerable to outsiders and therefore more difficult to "defend" than Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village. An East Midtown Plaza resident summarizes the residents' prevailing feelings on security in the following comment:

I do feel that there should be more security. I don't like the idea of having a doorman, I think they're very inefficient and a waste of money, but, for example, the building hires Pinkerton people to come and some of them are very nice but most of them

aren't very responsible and I would prefer it if they had all their own men. I would also prefer that they have more on duty in the afternoon. It would be nice if there was somebody around the playground in the afternoon so the kids could go down there and play.

Management Rules

Rigid management rules were mentioned as one of the worst characteristics of their housing by East Midtown Plaza residents. ($\chi^2 = 7.45$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$.) This sample expected to have control over management policies because the housing was cooperative. Not having enough control was also mentioned as one of the worst features. Policies on the use of the plaza, the community rooms and security seemed to be the most controversial. At the time of the interviews, the resident Board of Directors was in the process of taking more control over the project, in accordance with Mitchell-Lama guidelines, so that this issue may not be as salient now.

Cooperative Ownership

Cooperative ownership was one of the reasons why a third of the East Midtown Plaza residents chose their housing ($\chi^2 = 19.85$, d.f. = 2, $p < .0001$), and it was mentioned as one of the best features of the development. The cooperative arrangement at a Mitchell-Lama is quite different from a regular cooperative. At East Midtown Plaza the resident pays a small "down payment," (average \$4,000 for the sample) which is more like a security payment. The resident does not benefit from the increased market value of the apartment, but only receives the "down payment" back when the apartment is sold. Improvements made to the apartment are not therefore investments. Residents were quite aware of this. Only 19% said they felt East Midtown Plaza's cooperative ownership gave them a

sense of personal control over their housing, a feeling that would be expected from regular cooperative housing. (See Table 77.) Some people thought the cooperative fostered a sense of community and caring for one's housing. For the majority, the principle importance of the cooperative was the tax advantage it offered. The following comments illustrate the varied opinion East Midtown Plaza residents had on their cooperative ownership:

There's a tremendous benefit in that there's a tax deduction, so that's very important . . . You have a stake in your apartment.

You can't say that because it's a co-op people have a stake in what they have because you don't have that much money in it to make any difference. Here whatever improvements I make have to be liquidated, anyway, when I leave, so it doesn't really make any difference.

Well, I own this and we have put in very little money in terms of improvements because it's not like a house . . . You can't make a profit on it.

You notice that whenever you own something, everyone seems to want to take care of it and you notice that in a co-op situation there just seems to be more togetherness--and this holds true for this development.

There's some sort of remote control, that the project can control its destiny somewhat. That's all. The board fights for all of us. And that sense of community that we have here.

Summary and Implications

The study provided very specific feedback on architectural features and management practices which lead to the following recommendations:

1. Semi-Public Spaces

- a. Architectural appearance of buildings: Highrise developments should avoid institutional, monotonous exteriors. Varied façades are recommended. People will live in developments with poor architectural appearance if all

Table 77

Comments on East Midtown Plaza
Cooperative Ownership

N = 57	Number	Percent
Provides a tax advantage	(45)	79%
Fosters a sense of community	(22)	39
Provides personal sense of control	(11)	19

Note. Percentages are based on the number of respondents answering the question, 57. Because more than one answer could be given to the question, the percentages total more than 100%.

other aspects of the project are excellent.

- b. Play facilities: Separation of play facilities by age group and of active playgrounds from quiet seating areas, should be attempted as much as possible. Ball playing areas are very important to families with children and should not be sacrificed for other uses unless absolutely necessary. Traditional playground equipment such as swings, slides and sandboxes are preferred over modern equipment.
- c. Landscaping: Trees and grass are much appreciated, particularly by people living in the center of the city. Greenery was important to the sample, a finding consistent with Cooper's study (1971) of St. Francis Square.
- d. Public access to common open space: Restriction of access to a housing project's open space and facilities has been highly recommended by environmental researchers (Cooper, 1975; Newman, 1973; and Pollowy, 1977). The major finding in a comprehensive post-occupancy evaluation of subsidized housing in Albuquerque, New Mexico, was "the importance of territorial definition and site security" (Kantrowitz and Nordhaus, 1980, p. 513). The study recommended that all exterior spaces be clearly identified as either private or public. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village's private open space succeeded in providing security and privacy to their residents but has been criticized for creating a fortress against the community. East Midtown Plaza's open space, which was purposely constructed to invite public

access achieved this goal, violated Newman's "defensible space" principles, and was a constant problem for East Midtown Plaza residents. It is interesting that the fence East Midtown Plaza residents finally put up to block one entrance to their plaza is the same solution Newman implemented to improve the defensible space at a New York City Housing Authority project. The integration of housing into the surrounding neighborhood and the provision of amenities to outsiders were the objectives of East Midtown Plaza's designers. These values will have to be balanced against residents' need for defensible space in the design of future highrise developments.

2. Semi-Private Spaces

- a. Covered entrance galleries: Outdoor covered walkways are highly recommended for future highrise housing. More neighborly interaction took place along these galleries than on double-load corridors. Because involvement with neighbors was a significant factor in resident satisfaction, this design feature is doubly important. A resolution of the conflict between children's playing on the galleries and nearby residents' need for quiet is required. Increased soundproofing along galleries might help.
- b. Community rooms: The provision of community rooms is strongly advocated. These spaces are highly utilized and helped to facilitate resident interaction, an essential ingredient to tenant satisfaction.

3. Private Spaces/Apartments

- a. Storage: More than four closets are needed in a two bedroom apartment. A large closet near the front door for strollers, bicycles, and large toys would be heavily utilized. These items cannot be stored anywhere outside the apartment unit because they will be stolen.
 - b. Kitchens: Dining areas and kitchens should be made as large as possible. Space from living rooms can be sacrificed to provide larger dining areas or kitchens.
 - c. Balconies: High walls on terraces are appreciated for child safety, but must provide some visibility if balconies are to be fully utilized. In the center of the city where noise and dirt are great, only some people will use their balconies.
 - d. Soundproofing: Good soundproofing is extremely important to families with children. Its absence results in restrictions on children's activities.
3. Duplex apartments: Duplex apartments are highly recommended. They allowed people more privacy than simplexes, provided a better separation of family members and easier home entertainment. At least one half bathroom should be included on the first floor of a duplex.

4. Management Practices

- a. Maintenance: Large highrise projects are quite capable of providing excellent management service and maintenance. In fact the study showed that single buildings, not part of a development, had maintenance services that were inferior to

those in the two developments.

- b. Security: Guards who are accountable to a housing development and who always work the same shift are preferable over a guard service that is independent and can frequently change personnel.
- c. Cooperative ownership: The Mitchell-Lama form of cooperative ownership whereby residents do not realize the market value of their apartments has resulted in residents feeling that they do not indeed own their apartments. Because the families were middle income this has not meant that people did not care for their apartments, but they have not heavily improved them. A bill is presently being advocated by Governor Carey and endorsed by State housing officials that would allow Mitchell-Lama cooperatives to be resold at the market rate. Half of the profit above the owner's original purchase price and amortization would go to an energy conservation assistance loan fund and a down payment loan fund; 20% would go to the cooperative and 30% to the seller (City Limits, 1981). If this or a similar bill is approved, it will be interesting to investigate the effects on residents' home investment, satisfaction and moving plans.

PART IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Past research has found that highrise buildings have many detrimental effects on families with young children. Governments in the United States, England and several European countries have restricted or prohibited the construction of highrise housing for families. Because most research on highrises has been conducted on low income populations, in poorly designed buildings, and/or in bad neighborhoods, generalizations from such research are questionable. The present study therefore investigated a sample of 120 people living at three different middle income highrise sites with excellent reputations located in a good neighborhood. Husbands and wives who had at least one young child were interviewed and filled out questionnaires and time budgets.

The research findings in this study are part of a trend to counter the prevailing opinion that all family highrise living is bad and should be prevented. Current sentiments against highrise housing are still strong. Present Federal regulations prohibit the construction of any highrise housing for families unless U. S. Housing and Urban Development officials certify that no satisfactory alternatives are available. A well-regarded housing planner at the New York State Urban Development Corporation, Frank Kristof, has stated:

It's almost folklore now. The impersonality of tall buildings breaks down neighborhood linkages in these communities. Parents have difficulty supervising their children. People live in fear.
(Barbanel, 1978.)

Another well known planner, Lloyd Kaplan, former chairman of the Mayor's South Bronx Intergovernmental Coordinating Council, a group which has been planning for redevelopment of the South Bronx, has claimed: "The romance of the tower is over" (Barbanel, 1978). In New Jersey, a master plan for the Hackensack Meadowlands (a huge area across the Hudson River from Manhattan) specified highrise residential development. However, the Hackensack Meadowlands Development Commission ignored the master plan and disapproved a highrise project proposed for land already zoned for highrise apartment buildings. Dr. John Vaughan, the board's head, rejected the plan and said he wanted further study of the "political, sociological, and psychological" ramifications of "high-density living" in the Meadowlands (Hanley, 1977). "I want some understanding of what high-density living does to people," stated Dr. Vaughan. "I cannot use the people of Secaucus as guinea pigs" (Hanley, 1977).

In reaction to the firm belief that highrise housing is harmful (as reflected in the comments above and in the Literature Review), researchers and planners are beginning to provide evidence or state opinions that highrise housing is not all bad and should not be universally condemned. Thomas Hodne, the architect for a widely acclaimed highrise development in Manhattan, has said:

There are some people who love to be up in the air and love the pride of a highrise building. The disaster of the highrise is more the result of poor design than height. Let us not now decide that lowrise is good for everybody. (Barbanel, 1978.)

Studying federally subsidized housing projects, Francescato, et al. (1979) found that there was no significant difference in general satisfaction between subsamples of residents living in highrise and lowrise developments. The study decided that:

At the present stage of research, we must conclude that well-designed and well-managed high-rise housing can be as satisfactory as any other well-designed and well-managed building type. Indeed, in our sample the high-rise residents were more satisfied than low-rise residents with privacy from neighbors, recreation facilities and parking arrangements. . . . When high-rise housing is contemplated as a result of economic or planning conditions, it should not be rejected off-hand as inherently unsatisfactory. Rather, it should be assessed in regard to specific satisfaction-related aspects that are important for the residents.

(Francescato, 1979, p. 8-12.)

In commenting on the Francescato study findings, Alexander Cooper, former New York City Planning Commissioner and one of the authors of housing quality zoning, said, "The report indicates that externalities--the tremendous knee-jerk emotional swell against high-rises by many neighborhoods--is more of a community problem than the residents" [sic] (Hansley, 1979, p. 7). Reacting to British regulations that only housing on the ground or the first floors of multi-family buildings be used for families with young children, Anne-Marie Pollowy, research director at the University of Montreal's Center for Urban Research and Innovation, stated:

. . . we may solve the problems only partially and temporarily since such strict control is unrealistic in view of the fact that children do grow up. Instead emphasis should be placed on exploring other alternatives, such as the deck and balcony access blocks, yet those appear to be only a beginning toward a more realistic treatment of high-rise access areas. (Pollowy, 1977, p. 84.)

The present study joins the above architects, planners and researchers in trying to present a more balanced view of highrise living.

The study findings illustrate the complex interaction of physical and social factors in determining how environments are used and perceived. Highrise housing must be understood in the context of people's goals and lifestyles. A summary of the key findings from each chapter follows.

As a whole, the sample favored urban multi-family living. The majority said their ideal home was located in the city; they did not view

the single family detached home as their ultimate goal. Most of the sample had no moving plans and were highly satisfied with New York City and their housing. Satisfaction with building or development was higher than satisfaction with apartment.

Sample families viewed urban living as a series of trade-offs. They enjoyed the city's proximity to work, convenience and culture, but disliked the crime, the public schools, poor environment and restrictions on children's outdoor freedom. Improvements to public services--police, education, sanitation and parks--are essential if the middle class are to be kept in the city.

Women's employment status was the strongest demographic predictor of moving plans. Dual career couples had fewer moving plans than single career ones. They appreciated the city's public transportation and opportunities for jobs more than single career couples. The ideal home of dual-career families was a city apartment or townhouse; a house in the suburbs was the ideal of single career families. Because trends indicate that the number of employed women will continue to grow, an increased demand for urban multi-family housing would be expected. People who grew up in apartments in their childhoods preferred highrise living because it was familiar, offered no maintenance responsibilities and was close to friends and relatives. These "new ethnic villagers" come from urban working class backgrounds but now include women who work outside the home. More research is needed on the effects of childhood residential background on present housing attitudes.

Families with different incomes had very different lifestyles. Those with higher incomes enjoyed lower density apartments, babysitters, housecleaners, private schools and vacations. This group most closely

resembled the previously identified "cosmopolitan" sub-group. The lower income group could be identified as the class "transients," those who saw the suburban home as their ideal and ascribed more meaning to it. It was expected that moving plans would vary by income group; this was not confirmed. The present economic difficulty in purchasing homes may have interfered with the lower income group's moving plans.

Although sex differences on satisfaction and moving plans were expected, none were found. Attitudes on urban living did vary by sex, reflecting traditional sex roles. Women were more bothered by city housing but liked the social contact the city provided. Men enjoyed the proximity to jobs but worried about having enough money. A number of "mismatches" between husbands and wives occurred in which one wanted to move to the suburbs and the other to remain in the city. The most bitter conflicts were between women who wished to pursue a career in the city and men who wished to move to the suburbs. As more women desire meaningful employment, such conflicts may increase.

The three highrise sites attracted different types of families because each offered a unique setting. East Midtown Plaza residents had a very high proportion of dual-career families, people who grew up in apartments in the outer boroughs of New York City and large families. The East Midtown Plaza population was most committed to the city. It had fewer moving plans and was most satisfied with New York City, its public schools, its public transportation and the opportunities it provided for women to have jobs. The cosmopolitan East Midtown Plaza families chose their housing because it was a cooperative, it offered a sense of community, play areas and excellent design. The development fulfilled their expectations. Satisfaction with the development and apartments was high.

The people at Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village were mostly single career couples in traditional marriages. They represented the classic "transient" types who plan to move to the suburbs after a short stay in the city. Their ideal home was the suburban house. Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village residents felt more negatively about urban living and the city's public schools. Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village, with their insular design and extensive landscaping, were the most "suburban" of the three highrise sites. Residents were highly pleased with their housing, which they had chosen for its convenient neighborhood, sense of community and play areas.

Single building residents had lived the longest in their housing and had a very high percent of employed women. These people may be "typical old-line" New Yorkers. Although oriented to urban living, single building families were the least satisfied with New York City, their building or their apartments. They had chosen their housing for its neighborhood characteristics. Of the three highrise sites, the single buildings had the least to offer in terms of facilities; the apartments were the most dense. Single building residents had the most building related complaints.

People selected their housing site to match their aspirations and attitudes toward urban living. The sites, each in their own particular way, reinforced these attitudes. As yet satisfaction varied at each site, indicating that although people tried to find the most appropriate housing for their needs, some sites provided more fulfillment than others. This finding indicates that in spite of self-selection, certain physical and social features of highrise housing provide more satisfaction than others.

Highrise housing with shared site facilities (play and sitting

areas, community rooms, etc.) attracted people interested in neighboring and had more resident interaction than housing without these facilities. Because involvement with neighbors and feeling a sense of community were significant predictors of satisfaction with housing development or building, this is an important finding.

The existence and type of play facilities at the highrise site had a tremendous impact on children's outdoor play patterns. Children living in the buildings with no on site play facilities went outside alone less frequently and at a later age than children living in developments with on site facilities. Children with access to interior play areas whose access was restricted to building residents played outside alone at an earlier age and more frequently than children without such access. These dramatic findings argue persuasively for the construction of on site play grounds and terrace play areas in future highrise housing. The present study did not interview or test children, but because differences in outdoor freedom were found between housing sites, future investigations could easily evaluate the effects of such restrictions.

As predicted, floor height had an effect on the sample families. Upper floor parents had less visibility of their children outdoors, less frequently allowed their children out alone, complained more about tension in the apartment, and were less satisfied with their housing than lower floor parents. However, not only were the advantages of lower floors for child supervision not appreciated, but upper floors were more popular because of their view, light and safety. The positive attributes of lower floor living for children's play should be publicized; lower floor apartments should be made as safe and sunny as possible; and designers should provide a variety of floor choices for families with young children.

Apartment density affected the perception and use of apartments. High density families were less satisfied with their apartments, complained more about restricted space and crowding, and were forced to convert the master bedroom into a second "living room." Four person families in two bedroom apartments had the most problems. To avoid the possible detrimental effects of crowding and to keep middle income families in the city, three and four bedroom apartments are necessary.

The results of stepwise multiple regression analyses illustrated that moving plans and satisfaction with New York City and one's housing are best predicted by a complex combination of demographic characteristics, design features and housing attitudes. The findings show that physical and social determinants act together to make up people's housing opinions and plans. Neither physical nor social factors solely determine attitudes toward the environment. Attempts to alter or predict people's moving plans or housing satisfaction will have to take into consideration this complex interaction of social and physical factors. Because development and apartment satisfaction were predicted the most by housing variables (apartment density, play facilities, building safety and neighbor interaction), planners and designers can have the most impact on development and apartment satisfaction. They can only indirectly affect people's moving plans and satisfaction by altering development and apartment satisfaction levels.

The difficulties of highrise living were ameliorated by a variety of strategies and coping techniques used by the sample families. Co-operative childcare arrangements, which included playgroups, babysitting co-ops, walking pools, and watching each other's children, were ways families alleviated some of the problems of outdoor child supervision

and tight apartment living. Future research should look into the applicability of such arrangements for low income families. Spacious play grounds and community rooms facilitate the operation of playgroups.

The vast majority of the sample families took vacations out of the city. A third owned or rented country houses. Vacations were extremely important for sample families. Additional research should be conducted on vacations and tension levels among highrise families, particularly in low income populations. The findings argue for the provision of regional recreation areas with overnight accommodations.

Approximately half the sample did not get enough privacy. Families that had arrangements or rules for their children's space use got enough privacy. Families who gathered together in their living rooms also got enough privacy. This finding demonstrates that there are indeed successful strategies that people can employ to maximize their privacy in apartments. The sample felt it was most important for each person to have a space of his or her own. The unconventional ways families used their apartments indicate that architects should design large bedrooms that can be easily divided into two bedrooms, and dining areas that can be converted into bedrooms.

The sample's feedback on specific design features led to the following recommendations:

1. Varied, non-institutional facades.
2. Playgrounds with age-segregated plays areas; traditional playground equipment.
3. Landscaping with trees and grass.
4. a) If use by outsiders and integration into the neighborhood fabric are a goal, publicly accessible site facilities;

- b) If maximum resident satisfaction and use are the goal, privately accessible site facilities.
5. Covered entrance galleries with extra provisions for child play.
 6. Community rooms for tenant use.
 7. Many large closets within the apartment.
 8. Large, eat-in kitchens or large dining areas, subtract space from living room.
 9. If balconies are constructed, walls that allow for visibility.
 10. Good soundproofing.
 11. Duplex apartments with bathrooms on both floors.
 12. Security guards controlled by the development.

None of these design recommendations are new. Most of them have been advocated by other planners and researchers on highrise housing (Adams and Conway, 1975; Beeker, 1974; Cooper-Marcus and Hogue, 1975; Michaelson, 1975; Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1979; and Newman, 1972). This study simply confirms once again the desirability of these recommended features.

In summary, the major findings of the study were that the sample of middle income families in well-designed and managed highrise buildings were very satisfied with their housing; that each of the highrise sites attracted different resident populations for different reasons and yet levels of satisfaction varied by site; that physical design features--play facilities, floor height and apartment density--had definite effects on family dynamics; that demographic sub-groups most attracted to highrise

living can be identified; and that moving plans and housing satisfaction can be best predicted by a combination of demographic, physical and attitudinal variables. Highrise housing should not be stereotyped. Because there are certain families that prefer urban highrise living, this housing type should be perfected to incorporate the best design features possible. The findings on specific design differences and which features and improvements should be included in future highrise housing.

The present study has attempted to fill a gap in housing research. At the time the study began, practically no research had been conducted on middle income families living in highrise buildings. Little new research has been added since the study's completion. Bechtel and Srivdstava (cited in Zimring and Reizenstein, 1980) have looked at 265 housing evaluations and found significantly more studies on children, older people, poor people, and institutionalized groups. Recently, Craig Zimring and Janet Reizenstein assessed the quality of post-occupancy evaluations. After reviewing the strengths and weaknesses of POE's, they concluded:

First, the scope of POE should be enlarged. Currently, only a few user groups are being studied, while information about many others would be valuable (e.g., middle-class people and suburban or rural dwellers). (Zimring and Reizenstein, 1980, p. 447.)

Hopefully, other studies on middle income families living in highrise housing will be conducted in the future to confirm or challenge the findings in this study.

Oscar Newman and Karen Frank have come up with a thought-provoking recommendation for troubled low income highrises that involves middle income families. After investigating 63 federally-assisted low income housing sites on the factors influencing crime and instability, Newman

and Franck decided that:

The overall fear and instability of a high-rise occupied by large, low-income families with children can therefore be reduced by changing the occupancy to a higher percentage of smaller, higher-income, two-parent families . . . to accomplish such a change will necessitate a long-term commitment on the part of management to seek out a new tenant body. (Newman and Franck, 1980, p. 43.)

The findings from my study indicate that middle income families do indeed successfully adapt to highrise living, and on the surface such results would appear to support Newman and Franck's recommendation. However, there are vast differences between the physical design features, on site facilities, management services, and surrounding neighborhoods of low income highrise housing and the middle income highrise housing in my study. Whether or not middle income people would adapt successfully to a low income project without significant design and management changes is highly problematic. Mixing the two socio-economic groups and attracting middle income families are other difficulties with the proposal. Newman and Franck's recommendation might work if the low income highrise project is in a good neighborhood, is renovated to include the amenities that middle income tenants expect, offers very reasonable rents, and has a responsive management.

This study has illustrated the benefits of well-designed highrise housing for middle income families. East Midtown Plaza and Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village were constructed under government subsidy programs for middle income people. Those programs no longer exist. Little urban multi-family housing for middle income families is now being constructed. In 1980, residential construction starts in New York City declined 45% to 7,800 units, nearly all of which were built with government subsidies (New York Building Congress, 1981). According to the New

York Building Congress, the city "faces an unprecedented crisis in both the production and retention of decent housing for rental and ownership" (New York Building Congress, 1981, p. 1). New York City's vacancy rate is two percent. Middle income families are on the waiting lists of housing developments like East Midtown Plaza and Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village for years and never get apartments. This East Midtown Plaza resident aptly summarized the situation when she spoke of her housing:

We feel that it's sort of a last frontier for the middle class, there is no place else for us to go, if not here, that's the way we feel about it . . . We're determined to make it work, or else there's just nothing left, really.

It is unfortunate that under the present national policy there is no hope that the type of housing represented by East Midtown Plaza and Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village will be built in the near future. Recently, the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development stated in a report: "Currently there is no need for a nationwide direct subsidy program to stimulate the production of rental housing, in particular middle-income rental housing" (Shashaty, 1981, p. 1). In addition to low income people, those middle income population sub-groups who prefer highrise apartments, such as dual-career couples and those who grew up in apartments, will suffer the most from present national housing policies.

When highrise housing is once again constructed, it will hopefully incorporate the design features recommended in this study: on site facilities, terrace play areas, outdoor galleries, community rooms, duplex and three and four bedroom apartments. Well-designed and well-managed urban highrises not only provide an important and satisfying housing

option for middle income families, but also have a positive impact on family dynamics.

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Appendix A

INTERVIEW SCHEUDLE
EAST MIDTOWN PLAZA INTERVIEW

BACKGROUND

Who lives here?

What are the ages of the children?

How many bedrooms are there?

How long have you lived here?

Has that been in the same apartment?

HOUSING ATTITUDES & PLANS

1. What were your reasons for moving away from your prior home?
2. Why did you choose to live in EMP? (What qualities attracted you?)
 - a) What was your impression of EMP before you moved? How has it changed?
 - b) Was raising children a consideration beforehand?
 - c) What have been the best things about living here?
 - d) What have been the worst things about living here?
3. Why did you choose to live in Manhattan?
 - a) What have been the best things about living in Manhattan?
 - b) What have been the worst things about living in Manhattan?
4. Did you consider other places to live?

PROBES: What were they?
Did you consider the suburbs? (Other boroughs?)
5. Did you consider living in Stuyvesant Town or Peter Cooper Village (the housing across 1st Avenue, toward the river)?
6. If you had exactly the same amount of square feet in this apartment as you do now, would you arrange the apartment differently, or would you keep the size of the rooms and the layout exactly the same? Why?

(Which rooms would you decrease?) (Feelings about duplex?)

Terrace: Do you have a terrace? Do you use it? For what?
7. If you had an extra 150 square feet what would you use it for?
 - a) Would you pay an increase of \$100 a month for that?
8. Have you made any changes to the apartment, or plan to make any?

9. Would things be different if you were living in a standard high-rise building on a street, not in a development? (or complex?)
10. If you were designing or running this place, are there any facilities, services or practices that you would change or add?
- ASK ABOUT: community rooms
play spaces
plaza
lobby/corridors
11. Have you seen any changes in EMP since you first moved in?
12. [ASK HUSBAND] What was the cost of your apartment? What monthly payments do you pay now?
13. [ASK HUSBAND] What would be the maximum monthly payments you would pay before moving (because of the increase)?
14. How important to you is it that this is a cooperative housing?
- PROBES: What benefits does it have over rental housing for you?
- If this was not cooperative but rental housing, assuming similar cost, would you still want to live here?
15. When you moved here first:
- a) did you consider it as definitely temporary, that is, for just a few years before moving to another type of housing, or
- b) did you think of it as a home for a very long time?
- Do you feel the same way now? (IF CHANGED MIND: What changed your mind?)
16. Do you have any plans to move?
- PROBE: in one year? five years? ten years?
17. Why is that? Could you explain your plans?
- PROBE: TYPE OF HOUSE, LOCATION, NEIGHBORHOOD
What does this all depend on?
18. Do you and your spouse have any different opinions on housing plans? (Is one more inclined to leave or stay?)
19. In the last two years, have you seriously looked at other housing or signed a waiting list for other housing in the city?
- PROBE: Where? Why?
20. [IF APPROPRIATE] Is there any change in the city or its housing that would keep you here? Or in your personal life?

21. [ASK HUSBAND] a) What is your line of work?
 b) Are your housing plans related to your work plans in any way?
 c) How do you allot your time between work and family roles?

22. [SHOW "REASONS" SHEET]

23. Do you think that living in _____ has had an effect on:

- a) your children?
 b) your spouse?
 c) yourself?

PROBE FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL & RELATIONSHIP EFFECTS

- 1) an apartment compared to living in a house
 2) EMP compared to other city housing
 3) Manhattan compared to the suburbs

Do you feel this effect is:

- a) Important?
 b) Minor?
 c) In between?

IDEAL HOME

24. Imagine your ideal home (or homes) in its ideal location (assuming finances were not a consideration). Please describe it.

[PROBE FOR TYPE, LOCATION, NEIGHBORHOOD, NEIGHBORS]

25. In what ways does your present home represent, or not represent this ideal?

26. Would your ideal home be different if you did not have children?

IF YES: In what ways?

SYMBOLIC MEANING OF HOUSE

27. People can talk about the concrete advantages and disadvantages of owning a suburban single family house but for some people, it means more than those things - it has "symbolic" meaning, it is a symbol to which they aspire. In contrast, some people don't feel that way. We don't understand this whole thing entirely and need your help. Does the suburban single family house have a special meaning to you? (And if so, what is that?)

CHILDREN

28. How has it been for raising children in _____?

- a) What are the particular problems?
- b) What are the specific benefits?

PROBE FOR:

- 1) Apartment
- 2) EMP
- 3) Manhattan [When necessary]

a) Where does your child play?

- 1) outside
- 2) in apartment

Do you allow your child out alone?

How old was child when first allowed out alone?

Can you see your child outside from your window?

Do you communicate with your child (verbally, wave, etc.) from apartment to outdoors?

Would you prefer your child to use the elevator or stairs? Why? Which do they use?

Do you feel a lower floor would be easier because children would not need to use elevator? Because they could come and go casually?

- b) Have there been problems with your child making noise in the apartment? How have you dealt with that?
- c) Would you prefer to live on a different floor or in a different building than the one you are on or in now? Why?
- d) Some people say it would be easier raising a child if you were on a low floor because the child would not need to use the elevator and you might be able to watch the child outside from your window: what do you think? How have you dealt with this?

29. [ASK WIFE] Do you work outside the home? IF YES: How many hours a week? Type of work?

30. Do you have (or had) any of the following child care arrangements?

- a) hire-in help?
- b) play group?
- c) babysitting pool?
- d) walking pool?
- e) someone to clean house?

How did you get involved?

For how long have (were) you involved?

How do you feel (felt) about that arrangement?

31. Does your child go to nursery school, kindergarten, etc.?

a) What is the name of that?

b) How do they get there?

c) How does that work out?

32. What are your plans for the future for schools?

[IF NECESSARY: What do you feel about the local public school?]

SPACE USE

33. Do you get the privacy you want from other members of the family?

IF YES: How? Where?

IF NO: Why? What would be better?

34. Do you have a specific spot that you consider yours? Where?

35. Do certain people in the apartment have certain areas that they use at different times?

36. Are there any particular arrangements or rules that you have (for instance, for children's play, parents' studying, etc.)?

PROBE FOR: a) Mother

d) Living room

b) Father

e) Dining Area

c) Each child

f) Bedrooms

How many T.V.'s do you have? Where located?

Where does the whole family spend time together?

37. Most people living in an apartment find that because space is limited, conflicts arise over who will use the space.

a) How much of a problem is that for you?

b) Have there been conflicts?

c) What's been your family's most difficult problem?

d) How have you dealt with that?

38. Imagine you are advising a family that has never lived in an apartment before. What are your most successful solutions to tight apartment living that you would pass on to them, particularly to ease family tensions?

39. [ASK WIFE, IF WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME]
[ASK HUSBAND]

Do you bring home work? How does this work out?

PROBE: Do you stay at the office longer because of a problem doing work at home?

SOCIALIZING

40. Do you get the privacy you want from your neighbors?
41. How would you describe the people in EMP? Any other ways?
- a) Do you feel they are the same or different from you?
 - b) Do you feel this is important?
 - c) How much do you have to do with the people here?
 - d) What percent of your good friends are EMP people?
 - e) About how many residents do you know by name?
 - f) How many do you visit in apartments? Mother-to-mother
Couple-to-couple
 - g) In an emergency would you ask a neighbor to take care of your child for an hour?
 - h) Do you feel satisfied with your relationship with people in EMP, or do you wish they were different?
42. In general, considering all the relationships you have with friends, relatives, and neighbors, would you like to see people more, less, or about the same? Why?

ACTIVITIES

43. Do you participate in any organizations (social, health, religious classes, courses, etc.)?
- a) Where is that?
 - b) How frequently do you go?
 - c) With whom?
44. Are there any other informal groups (like a couples' card group) that you participate in regularly?
45. Do you do any volunteer work?
46. How else do you spend your leisure time?
- a) In the apartment
 - b) Out of the apartment
47. Has living here hindered you from doing any hobbies or activities that you'd like to do?

- a) In the apartment
- b) EMP
- c) Manhattan

IF YES: What? How?

48. Has living here made it easier to do some things?

- a) In the apartment
- b) EMP
- c) Manhattan

CAR [ASK HUSBAND]

49. Do you own a car?

IF YES: Where do you keep it?

What do you use it for?

IF NO: Why is that? Would you like one?

MANHATTAN BREAKS

50. Some people say a break from the city is important to them, and others say it is not. How do you feel?

ASK:

- a) How often do you go away overnight for the weekend?
(Times per month) (During summer, other seasons) Where?
- b) Do you own or rent a second place? Where?
- c) Where do you go for vacation? How often?
- d) Do kid(s) go to camp in the summer?

WORK [ASK WIFE]

51. IF WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME: How has it been working outside the home and raising a family at the same time?

IF NOT WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME: Were you employed before you got married, or had children?

IF YES: What were you doing?

At what point did you give up working outside of the home?
How did you feel about that?

Do you plan to return to work outside of the home? Under what circumstances?

Are your housing plans related to your work plans in any way?

INCOME [ASK WIFE]

52. To understand people's opinions on housing opportunities, it is important to know their income. Which letter best represents your total family income before taxes? [SHOW CARD]

GENERAL FEELINGS

53. This is a ladder. Imagine that the top rung represents the best possible life for you and the bottom represents the worst possible life.

- a) Where would you place yourself now?
b) Why is that?

What makes it not a "10"?
What brings it up to a " "?

54. In general, how important do you think housing is to you in your whole life?
55. Do you feel that EMP reflects you as a person?
56. Do you feel that this apartment reflects you as a person?

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

57. In order to understand people's opinions on their present housing, it is important for us to understand their past housing experience. Therefore, I would like you to tell me a bit about the places you lived in before, starting from when you were a child.
- a) Where was that?
b) What kind of neighborhood?
c) What type of house?
d) What things do you remember most about that?
e) Did you have your own room?
f) When, where did you move next?
58. How have these past experiences contributed to your present opinions on housing?
59. Compared to other moves you've made, how did you find adjusting to living here, during the first year?

WRAP-UP

Finally, are there any things that you have not spoken of already that you feel are real attributes or disadvantages about living here?

Are there any things you haven't mentioned already that you would recommend if you were designing or planning housing?

1. Mention questionnaire and one day diary
2. Referral to: (a) other EMP families and
(b) standard high-rise building families
3. Allow time for respondents' questions

PLEASE NOTE

1. Respondent's reactions to interview
2. Apartment use and furnishings

22. REASONS

I. Please circle the number that best represents your feelings about why you might want to stay in the city.

1. Convenience to work

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

2. Culture and general stimulation

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

3. City housing costs less than buying a house

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

4. Social interaction is easier

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

5. More work opportunities for wife

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

6. Diversity of people

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

7. No maintenance responsibilities

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

8. Exposure of children to culture and diversity

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

9. Can walk, not drive, to stores, restaurants, etc. Convenient and interesting

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

Other _____

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

II. Please circle the number that best represents your feelings about why you might want to leave the city.

1. Crime, lack of safety

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

2. Poor quality of environment (noise, dirt, pollution, lack of green, open space)

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

3. Poor quality of public schools

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

4. No housing investment, lack of equity

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

5. Little independence or freedom for child outdoors

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

6. Lack of interior apartment space

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

7. Lack of outdoor recreation for adults

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

Other _____

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very important

52. INCOME

- A. \$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999
- B. 10,000 - 14,999
- C. 15,000 - 19,999
- D. 20,000 - 24,999
- E. 25,000 - 29,999
- F. 30,000 - 34,999
- G. 35,000 - 39,999
- H. 40,000 - 44,999
- I. 45,000 - 49,999
- J. 50,000 +
- K. Not sure

53. CANTRIL LADDER

10	
9	
8	
7	
6	
5	
4	
3	
2	
1	

Appendix B
QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME and AGE _____ DATE _____

APT. NO. _____ AGE: Wife _____ Husband _____

To supplement our interview, we would appreciate your answering just a few additional questions. It will be necessary for both of you to answer some questions individually. Please answer as thoughtfully as possible. Of course, all this information is confidential. Thank you.

1. Housing Suggestions

The following are some suggestions that some people have made for making life a bit easier for families in high-rises. Drawing upon your experience, (and using your present apartment as a baseline for comparison), how important or relevant are these suggestions for you? (Put appropriate number in space.)

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

Improved sound proofing between apartments _____

A play room inside your building _____

More imaginative play equipment _____

More play leaders (supervision of children) in play areas _____

Toilets and wash facilities at ground level _____

Visibility of play areas from your apartment _____

More grass for children to play on _____

Duplex apartment (two levels) _____

A deck outside of apartment for children to play on _____

More storage within your apartment _____

Teenage facilities on development site _____

More outside seating by your building _____

A plot of ground on development site for your exclusive use _____

Other (your suggestions) _____

2. How do you feel about the following statement?

"Ultimately, with economic conditions favorable, a detached home is the most desirable goal for families like mine."

Wife

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly disagree

Would you briefly explain why you checked this number? _____

Husband

Strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly disagree

Would you briefly explain why you checked this number? _____

3. Education

Please list your education, if any, beyond high school, starting from high school.

Wife

	<u>Institution</u>	<u>General Location</u>	<u>Dates Attended</u>	<u>Degree if Obtained</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Husband

	<u>Institution</u>	<u>General Location</u>	<u>Dates Attended</u>	<u>Degree if Obtained</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____

4. WORK

Please list your two or three most recent jobs.

WIFE

	<u>Field</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>General Location</u>	<u>Dates</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____

HUSBAND

	<u>Field</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>General Location</u>	<u>Dates</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____

5. If presently working, how do you get there?

WIFE _____	a) car	d) walk
	b) bus	e) other (specify)
HUSBAND _____	c) subway	

6. How long does it take?

WIFE _____

HUSBAND _____

7. Nowadays there is a lot of talk about the roles of men and women changing. Some couples chose the more traditional marriage roles and others have chosen less defined roles (for instance, some wives also support the family with a job or some husbands share in the housework or child care).

How would you describe your marriage? (Circle one)

Very traditional 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very non-traditional

8. How do you allocate the following responsibilities in your household?

Husband's sole responsibility	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Wife's sole responsibility
Equal responsibility								
Financial Bookkeeping	_____							
House cleaning	_____							
Food shopping	_____							
Home repairs	_____							
Child care	_____							
Cooking	_____							

9. Of all the people in your life who are friends, where do your 3 closest friends live?

WIFE

<u>Location</u> (Do not list address - list neighborhood, town and state)	<u>How Often Do You See Them?</u>
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____

HUSBAND

<u>Location</u> (Do not list address - list neighborhood, town and state)	<u>How Often Do You See Them?</u>
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____

10. Where do your 3 closest relatives live?

WIFE

<u>Location</u>	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>How Often Do You See Them?</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____

3. _____

HUSBAND

<u>Location</u>	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>How Often Do You See Them?</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
* *	* *	* *

11. And now summing it all up:

a) In general, how satisfied are you with living in Manhattan?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very

WIFE _____
HUSBAND _____

b) In general, how satisfied are you with living in this development?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very

WIFE _____
HUSBAND _____

c) In general, how satisfied are you with living in this apartment?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very

WIFE _____
HUSBAND _____

12. Please remember the two daily diaries. Thank you for all your help. Do you have any comments on the interview or questionnaire? Or further housing recommendations?

Appendix C

TIME BUDGETS

Date _____

Name _____

WIFE - SUNDAY

Time	What did you do? (no more than one activity on line)	Where	With Whom?	Time Begun	Time Ended	Where is your oldest child?
Midnight						
1 a.m.						
2 a.m.						
3 a.m.						
4 a.m.						
5 a.m.						
6 a.m.						
7 a.m.						
8 a.m.						
9 a.m.						
10 a.m.						

Time	What did you do? (no more than one activity on line)	Where	Weather _____			Where is your oldest child?
			With Whom?	Time Begun	Time Ended	
11 a.m.						
Noon						
1 p.m.						
2 p.m.						
3 p.m.						
4 p.m.						
5 p.m.						
6 p.m.						
7 p.m.						

Time	What did you do? (no more than one activity on line)	Where	With Whom?	Time Begun	Time Ended	Where is your oldest child?
8 p.m.						
9 p.m.						
10 p.m.						
11 p.m.						
Midnight						

Date _____

Name _____

HUSBAND - WEEKDAY

Time	What did you do? (no more than one activity on line)	Where	With Whom?	Time Begun	Time Ended	Where is your oldest child?
Midnight						
1 a.m.						
2 a.m.						
3 a.m.						
4 a.m.						
5 a.m.						
6 a.m.						
7 a.m.						
8 a.m.						
9 a.m.						
10 a.m.						

Time	What did you do? (no more than one activity on line)	Where	Weather _____		Time Begun	Time Ended	Where is your oldest child?
			With Whom?				
11 a.m.							
Noon							
1 p.m.							
2 p.m.							
3 p.m.							
4 p.m.							
5 p.m.							
6 p.m.							
7 p.m.							

Time	What did you do? (no more than one activity on line)	Where	With Whom?	Time Begun	Time Ended	Where is your oldest child?
8 p.m.						
9 p.m.						
10 p.m.						
11 p.m.						
Midnight						

Appendix D

FORMULA FOR CALCUATING CODER RELIABILITY

C_1 = Coder 1

C_2 = Coder 2

$$\text{Average agreement} = \frac{2(\# \text{ agreements } C_1 \text{ \& } C_2)}{\text{total themes } C_1 \text{ \& } \text{total themes } C_2}$$

N = # Coders

$$\text{Reliability score} = \frac{N (\text{average agreement})}{1 + [N-1] (\text{average agreement})}$$

(From Holsti, 1968.)

Appendix E

TABLES A - H
TIME BUDGET ANALYSIS

Table A

Time Budget Analysis: Place/Weekday

	Mean for Total Sample N = 85	Anova by Working and Non-Working Women N = 44				Anova by Working Women and Men N = 69					
		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Non- Working Women	ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Working Men
<u>In Apartment</u>											
Alone	197.5						6.18	1, 67	p < .05	224.1	161.0
With spouse	54.6										
With child	99.1						17.40	1, 67	p < .0001	129.7	55.3
With others	3.7										
With spouse and child	48.4										
With spouse and others	2.6										
With spouse, child and others	6.4										
With child and others	14.4						5.65	1, 67	p < .05	16.0	0.0
Sleeping	438.6										
(Total others in	22.4)						4.46	1, 67	p < .05	33.3	7.1
Unaccounted in	63.6										
Total in	855.8	4.83	1, 42	p < .05	901.2	957.1	10.56	1, 67	p < .005	901.3	754.6
<u>Out of Apartment</u>											
(Playground	15.9)										
Working	309.3	18.99	1, 42	p < .0001	224.9	0.0	37.24	1, 67	p < .0001	224.9	487.6
To and from work	33.9	13.25	1, 42	p < .001	32.9	0.0					

Table A--Continued

	Mean for Total Sample N = 85	<u>Anova by Working and Non-Working Women</u> N = 44					<u>Anova by Working Women and Men</u> N = 69				
		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Non- Working Women	ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Working Men
Alone	33.9						5.69	1, 67	p < .05	47.2	16.9
With spouse	1.5										
With child	52.3						19.89	1, 67	p < .0001	74.0	10.0
With others	35.2	9.73	1, 42	p < .005	7.67	42.8	4.39	1, 67	p < .05	7.7	51.0
With spouse and child	7.1										
With spouse and others	3.4										
With child and others	23.7						9.52	1, 67	p < .005	32.2	.43
With spouse, child and others	1.4										
Unaccounted out	8.3						5.57	1, 67	p < .05	10.2	2.7
Total out	496.8	11.04	1, 42	p < .005	438.7	301.3	25.84	1, 67	p < .0001	438.7	612.7
Grand Total (In & Out)	1,368.3										
Total in with child	168.5						14.75	1, 67	p < .0001	197.6	117.6
Total out with child	84.2	4.52	1, 39	p < .05	21.0	202.8	27.93	1, 67	p < .0001	115.9	18.6
Total with child	252.8	7.66	1, 39	p < .01	324.2	461.8	40.54	1, 67	p < .0001	310.7	136.2

Table B

Time Budget Analysis: Activities/Weekday

	Mean for Total Sample N = 85	<u>Anova by Working and Non-Working Women</u> N = 44					<u>Anova by Working Women and Men</u> N = 69				
		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Non- Working Women	ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Working Men
<u>Housework</u>											
Dishes	14.5						14.00	1, 67	p < .0001	19.3	5.5
Cleaning	15.7						21.75	1, 67	p < .0001	24.0	0.0
Food Pre- paration	36.8						73.93	1, 67	p < .0001	63.0	8.1
Other housework	16.6						9.26	1, 67	p < .005	25.0	2.1
<u>With Child</u>											
Childcare	45.5	9.39	1, 42	p .005	43.4	107.2	5.80	1, 67	p < .05	43.4	22.8
Play, talk, read	48.0						8.14	1, 67	p < .01	66.7	27.4
Eat with child	47.6										
Transporta- tion with child	28.6						22.73	1, 67	p < .0001	44.7	7.4
Indoor mainten- ance, repair	.5										
Paid work at home	15.6						4.45	1, 67	p < .05	3.7	29.8
Volunteer work alone	2.3										
Volunteer work with others	12.4										

Table B--Continued

	Mean for Total Sample N = 85	<u>Anova by Working and Non-Working Women</u> N = 44					<u>Anova by Working Women and Men</u> N = 69				
		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Non- Working Women	ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Working Men
T.V.	45.7										
T.V. with child	13.2										
Read	40.8										
Hobby	9.0										
Personal pre- paration	39.9										
Active re- creation	11.3	6.11	1, 42	p < .05	4.8	29.4					
Passive re- creation	12.2										
Socializing, public	14.8										
Socializing at other's home	8.5										
Shopping, errands	25.2	8.01	1, 42	p < .01	25.2	70.5	8.87	1, 67	p < .005	25.2 7.6	
Study, education	11.9										
Socializing at own home	7.2										
Other/Miscell.	59.0	5.52	1, 42	p < .05	58.0	109.4					
Work on time budget	13.0										
Unaccounted out	11.5						4.07	1, 67	p < .05	16.6 2.9	
Unaccounted in	63.9										

Table C

Time Budget Analysis: Place/Sunday

	Mean for Total Sample N = 85	<u>Anova by Working and Non-Working Women</u> N = 44				<u>Anova by Working Women and Men</u> N = 69					
		ANOVA		Significance Level	Non- Working Women		ANOVA		Significance Level	Working Women Men	
		F	D.F.		F	D.F.	F	D.F.		F	D.F.
<u>In Apartment</u>											
Alone	215.7										
With spouse	99.1										
With child	85.9										
With others	3.3										
With spouse and child	104.2										
With spouse and others	5.5										
With spouse, child and others	22.6										
With child and others	3.3										
Sleeping	522.4										
(Total others in	25.7)										
Unaccounted in	83.6										
Total in	1,062.4										
<u>Out of Apartment</u>											
(Playground	22.2)										
Working	22.8										
To and from work	4.9				4.90	1, 64	p < .05		0.0	10.	

Table C--Continued

	Mean for Total Sample N = 85	<u>Anova by Working and Non-Working Women</u> N = 44					<u>Anova by Working Women and Men</u> N = 69				
		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Non- Working Women	ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Working Men
Alone	27.1										
With spouse	16.7										
With child	45.5										
With others	13.5										
With spouse and child	68.1										
With spouse and others	16.2										
With child and others	17.9										
With spouse, child and others	50.8										
Unaccounted out	12.5										
Total out	285.4										
Grand Total (In & Out)	1,344.8										
Total in with child	215.5										
Total out with child	182.6										
Total with child	402.8										

Table D

Time Budget Analysis: Activities/Sunday

	Mean for Total Sample N = 85	<u>Anova by Working and Non-Working Women</u> N = 44				<u>Anova by Working Women and Men</u> N = 69				
		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Non- Working Women	ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Working Men
<u>Housework</u>										
Dishes	14.7					10.54	1, 64	p < .005	18.9	4.8
Cleaning	20.4					11.96	1, 64	p < .001	16.2	6.5
Food Pre- paration	39.7					16.75	1, 64	p < .0001	65.8	21.8
Other housework	18.7									
<u>With Child</u>										
Childcare	39.7					4.15	1, 64	p < .05	47.2	25.9
Play, talk, read	55.1									
Eat with child	73.7									
Transporta- tion with child	15.1									
Indoor mainten- ance, repair	2.2									
Paid work at home	25.3									
Volunteer work alone	0									
Volunteer work with others	0									

Table D--Continued

	Mean for Total Sample N = 85	Anova by Working and Non-Working Women N = 44					Anova by Working Women and Men N = 69				
		ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Non- Working Women	ANOVA F	D.F.	Significance Level	Working Women	Working Men
T.V.	60.2										
T.V. with child	28.5										
Read	82.9										
Hobby	18.4										
Personal pre- paration	32.8										
Active re- creation	27.5										
Passive re- creation	28.4										
Socializing, public	13.8										
Socializing at other's home	35.9										
Shopping, errands	25.1										
Study, education	6.6										
Socializing at own home	17.2										
Other/Miscell.	89.6										
Work on time budget	1.7										
Unaccounted out	18.1										
Unaccounted in	82.8										

Table E

Time Budget Analysis: Place/Weekday

	Anova by Site						Anova by Sex				
	N = 81						N = 81				
			Stuyvesant		East						
ANOVA		Significance		Cooper	Midtown	Single	ANOVA		Significance		
F	D.F.	Level	Village	Plaza	Buildings	F	D.F.	Level	Female	Male	
<u>In Apartment</u>											
Alone						7.51	1, 79	p < .01	228.2	159	
With spouse											
With child						27.20	1, 83	p < .0001	140.0	55.3	
With others											
With spouse and child											
With spouse and others											
With spouse, child and others											
With child and others						7.14	1, 83	p < .01	27.8	0	
Sleeping (Total others in Unaccounted in Total in						5.18	1, 83	p < .05	36.8	7.1	
						25.83	1, 83	p < .001	948.8	757.6	
<u>Out of Apartment</u>											
(Playground Working To and from work	4.64	2, 82	p < .05	34.8	4.04	25.3	5.54	1, 83	p < .05	26.1	4.9
							81.01	1, 83	p < .0001	143.1	487.6
							11.03	1, 83	p < .001	20.9	47.9

Table E--Continued

	<u>Anova by Site</u>					<u>Anova by Sex</u>				
	N = 81					N = 81				
			Stuyvesant		East					
ANOVA	Significance	Cooper	Midtown	Single	ANOVA	Significance	Female	Male		
F	D.F.	Village	Plaza	Buildings	F	D.F.	Level	Level	Level	Level
Alone					7.86	1, 83	p < .01	49.7	16.9	
With spouse										
With child					29.19	1, 83	p < .0001	91.7	10.0	
With others										
With spouse and child										
With spouse and others										
With child and others					11.34	1, 83	p < .001	45.4	.4	
With spouse, child and others										
Unaccounted out					8.33	1, 83	p < .005	12.9	2.9	
Total out					49.24	1, 83	p < .0001	388.7	612.7	
Grand Total (In & Out)										
Total in with child					28.10	1, 79	p < .0001	223.5	118.5	
Total out with child					39.40	1, 83	p < .0001	61.15	18.6	
Total with child					65.94	1, 79	p < .0001	374.5	137.6	

Table F

Time Budget Analysis: Activities/Weekday

	Anova by Site N = 81					Anova by Sex N = 81				
	ANOVA		Significance Level	Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village	East Midtown Plaza	Single Buildings	ANOVA		Significance Level	Female
F	D.F.	F		D.F.	F	D.F.	F	D.F.		
<u>Housework</u>										
Dishes						18.76	1, 83	p < .0001	23.0	5.5
Cleaning						29.20	1, 83	p < .0001	30.4	0
Food Pre- paration						88.82	1, 83	p < .0001	63.5	8.1
Other housework						14.14	1, 83	p < .0001	30.1	2.1
<u>With Child</u>										
Childcare						12.29	1, 83	p < .001	66.1	22.8
Play, talk, read						10.05	1, 83	p < .005	67.1	27.4
Eat with child										
Transporta- tion with child						24.30	1, 83	p < .0001	48.3	7.4
Indoor mainten- ance, repair										
Paid work at home						7.76	1, 83	p < .01	2.3	29.8
Volunteer work alone										
Volunteer work with others						4.59	1, 83	p < .05	21.8	2.2

Table F--Continued

	<u>Anova by Site</u>					<u>Anova by Sex</u>				
	N = 81					N = 81				
	Stuyvesant									
			Cooper	Midtown	Single					
		Village	Plaza	Buildings	ANOVA		Significance	Female	Male	
ANOVA	Significance				F	D.F.	Level			
F	D.F.	Level			F	D.F.	Level	Female	Male	
T.V.										
T.V. with child										
Read					4.94	1, 83	p < .05	53.5	27.1	
Hobby										
Personal preparation										
Active recreation										
Passive recreation										
Socializing, public										
Socializing at other's home										
Shopping, errands					14.10	1, 83	p < .0001	41.6	7.6	
Study, education										
Socializing at own home										
Other/Miscell.					6.56	1, 83	p < .05	76.7	40.1	
Work on time budget										
Unaccounted out					7.42	1, 83	p < .01	19.6	2.8	
Unaccounted in										

Table G

Time Budget Analysis: Place/Sunday

	<u>Anova by Site</u>						<u>Anova by Sex</u>			
	N = 81						N = 81			
	Stuyvesant			East						
	Town/Peter			Cooper			Midtown		Single	
	Village			Plaza			Buildings			
	ANOVA	Significance					ANOVA	Significance		
	F	D.F.	Level				F	D.F.	Level	Female Male
<u>In Apartment</u>										
Alone										
With spouse										
With child										
With others										
With spouse and child	4.21	2, 78	p < .05	50.0	6.3	149.1				
With spouse and others										
With spouse, child and others										
With child and others										
Sleeping	3.43	2, 78	p < .05	538.8	537.7	459.1				
(Total others in										
Unaccounted in										
Total in										
<u>Out of Apartment</u>										
(Playground	4.00	2, 78	p < .05	18.6	8.4	50.2				
Working				18.6	8.4	50.2	5.75	1, 79	p < .05	0 46.3
To and from work							7.77	1, 79	p < .01	0 10.0

Table G--Continued

	<u>Anova by Site</u>					<u>Anova by Sex</u>					
	N = 81					N = 81					
			Stuyvesant					East			
		Town/Peter					Single				
ANOVA		Significance			Cooper	Midtown	Single	ANOVA		Significance	
F	D.F.	Level			Village	Plaza	Buildings	F	D.F.	Level	Female Male
Alone											
With spouse											
With child											
With others											
With spouse and child											
With spouse and others											
With child and others											
With spouse, child and others											
Unaccounted out											
Total out											
Grand Total (In & Out)											
Total in with child											
Total out with child											
Total with child											

Table H--Continued

	<u>Anova by Site</u>						<u>Anova by Sex</u>			
	N = 81						N = 81			
			Stuyvesant		East					
	ANOVA	Significance	Cooper	Midtown	Single	ANOVA	Significance	Female	Male	
	F	D.F.	Level	Village	Plaza	Buildings	F	D.F.	Level	
T.V.										
T.V. with child										
Read										
Hobby										
Personal preparation										
Active recreation										
Passive recreation										
Socializing, public										
Socializing at other's home										
Shopping, errands										
Study, education										
Socializing at own home										
Other/Miscell.	5.56	2,78	p. < .005	127.9	64.6	112.0				
Work on time budget										
Unaccounted out										
Unaccounted in										