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**THE PORT AUTHORITY BUS TERMINAL IN ITS COMMUNITY SETTING:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY**

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1982

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THE PORT AUTHORITY BUS TERMINAL IN ITS COMMUNITY SETTING:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

by

DONALD F. DELANO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1982

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

March 11, 1982
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Abstract

THE PORT AUTHORITY BUS TERMINAL IN ITS COMMUNITY SETTING

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

by

Donald F. Delano

Adviser: Professor William Kornblum

This is a community study of a major metropolitan transportation facility as it affects, and is affected by, its location in a sociologically rich area of midtown Manhattan in New York City. Since they constitute an example of a potentially best, yet occasionally a reputedly worst neighborhood in the city, the old theatrical district of Forty-second Street, including the Port Authority Bus Terminal, have become sites for an increasing amount of both public and private scrutiny. Crime rates are significant, pornography abounds and deviant behavior prevails amid a truly intricate network of bustling commuters passing through a huge bus terminal located within a true street corner community.

To the casual observer, the community comprising Times Square-Clinton and the Bus Terminal may easily be stigmatized as "bad," yet through the trained eyes of the sociologist, it is demonstrably a world within itself, with an internal character differentiating it from other locations in the city. Situated in

a classic example of the "natural area," the Bus Terminal's role differs according to the type of user whose activity affects it.

For example, the "Shopping Bag Lady," though a true user of the facility, will avail herself of its shelter from the elements, warmth and safety, while conversely, the middle class commuter, who is also a true user, requires it as a place to board a bus on his or her way home from work. Inherent in such a disparate and temporal population, and directly impacting the daily activity of the Bus Terminal, are such key issues as the maintenance of order, deviant behavior, territory, markers, mobility, social control, time, human ecology, and many more.

Consequently, by utilizing a qualitative case study method, this dissertation demonstrates that the Port Authority Bus Terminal is more than just a transportation facility. The use of participant observation and extensive research of published data have provided insight as to the role of a large public place located in the midst of a residential-commercial and street corner community. Pervasive throughout the work is the symbolic interactionist perspective, a most definite application to the study of territorial behavior in and around the Terminal and the order and disorder within it.

To those seeking a detailed analysis of a "community within a community," particularly in the area of urban interactive transience, this dissertation will be of interest. In addition, there is significant analysis of the destruction of one true community in order to construct the Bus Terminal, as well as its resurgence in order to cope with modern society.

PREFACE

The City of New York is noted for many things. As a tourist attraction, it is unsurpassed for its selection of historic sites, green parks and unique buildings. Its large and diverse population is segmented among many communities holding particular note as centers of ethnicity, such as Chinatown or Little Italy. During the day, the city's central business districts hum with activity as factories and offices contribute their share to the total economy, while at night, they and other areas become meccas for tourists, entertainment-seeking crowds and ordinary pedestrians. Of course, New York offers much more to do and see, yet there is one element pervasive throughout its diversity. Though the city offers a most comprehensive network of subways, buses, trains and airports, the fact remains that one can get into a taxi almost anywhere in the region, say "Take me to the Port Authority" to the driver, and wind up at Forty-second Street and Eighth Avenue.

Despite its size and service, the Port Authority Bus Terminal is not commonly thought of in the same perspective as other transportation facilities. It is not an imposing landmark as is neighboring Grand Central Terminal, nor does it hold the "elite" status of Kennedy International Airport, where the drone of jet engines provide that "going somewhere" atmosphere. In spite of its relegation to this "taken for granted" category, the Bus Terminal remains the busiest mass transportation facility

in the world. It lacks the romance, glamour and architectural notoriety of many other public places, yet it achieves an enormous task on a daily basis. From this site on Forty-second Street and Eighth Avenue, one may board a bus to almost any point in the continental United States, Canada and Mexico. However, in addition to the long distance passengers, the facility serves hordes of commuters during the morning and evening rush hours as they journey to and from their places of employment. Although these individuals are the primary users of the terminal, there is a very important and often ignored additional population which contributes to its role in the community.

Located in what was once the notorious Hell's Kitchen neighborhood, the Bus Terminal was constructed amid complaints by residents that they were being forced to relinquish their lifelong homes and accept displacement to another area. Though the Port Authority had implemented a funding program for this relocation, the project was viewed with resentment and resignation. Here, there was a distinct feeling of community; an attitude of being together with a plurality of ethnicity and unanimity of class. There, there was only uncertainty and the possibility of community.

Most persons outside Hell's Kitchen welcomed the concept of a new midtown bus terminal. Commuters had grown weary of long journeys precipitated by a multitude of bus stations scattered throughout the midtown area, and engineers realized that traffic was at an all time high. However, despite the prevailing sentiment for such a consolidated facility, a bitter political controversy was to be waged among New York City, New York State, New Jersey,

the Port Authority and the Greyhound Corporation concerning the values and operation of a new midtown bus terminal as opposed to the expansion of an existing one (owned by Greyhound) on Thirty-fourth Street. This delayed construction for some time, but the issues were finally resolved and site selection began. Fortunately, for those who were to travel there, it was a transportation locus, affording easy access to and from the city. Unfortunately for those who lived there, the community was relegated to the status of an unimportant slum whose values and talents were expendable, particularly in light of the decline of the legitimate theaters by which it had been noted.

When the new Port Authority Bus Terminal was completed, it was lauded as a significant achievement--a modern, sleek, city within a city, containing such amenities as a supermarket and bowling alley and support services such as police protection and red caps. Since its opening in 1950, the terminal has become increasingly important to transportation in and the economy of the bi-state region of New York and New Jersey. The suburbs have constantly expanded as a significant segment of the population has fled the city for the promise of more land, lower taxes or a better place to live. Consequently, many of these individuals must come to the city in order to work and are served by the Bus Terminal in one of its many roles. As a commuter-oriented facility, it expands and contracts during the rush periods like a hugh heart, pumping its population to a wide variety of communities within the bi-state region. The Main Concourse becomes a sea of humanity as thousands of office or homebound workers rush to their destinations,

their only concern getting in and out of the facility as fast as possible. Its physical plant has been designed to accomplish this task, but the population must also provide a certain maintenance of order if there is to be a minimum of conflict and delay.

Though this is the most dynamic function of the Terminal, it serves many other functions within this distinctive community. In addition to its transportation role, the Terminal has evolved into an integral public place in the ecology of this neighborhood. It is used in many ways by many different types of people. Shoppers, attracted by its new emphasis as a shopping mall in midtown Manhattan, are drawn to its shops and services, showing little or no interest in its bus facilities. Since it is located in the heart of the Times Square theater district, many persons may take the bus or their private auto to the Terminal, passing through it in order to seek entertainment in the city. To these individuals, the facility is only a means to an end; they go to the city on an occasional basis and see the Bus Terminal as their entry or departure point. Tourists also come to New York City by way of "The Port Authority," since they may get directly on the subway or surface transportation just outside its doors. Merchants use the facility for selling their wares, either by owning one of the stores within it or peddling items on the street. In addition to these users of the Bus Terminal, it acts in the capacity of employer in the community by providing services such as police protection, sanitation, maintenance, engineering and management. These workers also use the Terminal in the sense that they earn

their livelihood from it.

Another important segment of the population is the marginal user--the bum, skell, wino or "character" who is observed hanging around the terminal, contributing to its reputation. Since the decline of the original theater district and appearance of pornography and crime, the "disaffiliated" segment of the population has increased, availing themselves of the opportunities offered by the biggest public place in the neighborhood. These needs may extend to food, shelter or a place to sit and watch people go by. Thus, the population of the Bus Terminal is two-dimensional, with a legitimate segment of commuters, merchants, workers and others who use it in certain ways; and a deviant sub-community who though "different," also use the facility for their own needs.

The Bus Terminal does not have people dumped there at any given moment. The ecology of the facility is based on such factors as time, territory and minimization of conflict among the various subcommunities. Its efficient operation is dependent upon proper integration with the surrounding ecology of the community, the city and the region. A failure of any one element can have a ripple effect upon the others, causing debilitating conditions such as containment. When this occurs, there is a need for a formal agent of social control to monitor the pulse of the hugh facility, watching and listening for any deficiencies which might indicate a malfunction in the community of the moment. In addition, the police of the surrounding neighborhood must deal with the same problems, and the diversity of the population

requires a constant shift in the way an officer deals with his clientele. Hence, there are distinct policing styles evident among the population. After all, it is here that one may find a middle class commuter, prostitute, pornographic movie, Broadway show, shopping bag lady, storekeeper, resident and police officer occupying the same city block. Due to this diversity and temporal nature of the population, the essence of community is never static; it changes from one moment to the next.

Currently, there are many projects underway to alter this situation. The Bus Terminal itself has been greatly expanded, with significant impact on the ecology of the neighborhood, and there are many governmental, religious and social institutions working there whose intent is to "turn Times Square around" and restore its lost heritage. In addition, this old Hell's Kitchen-New Clinton community is benefitting from a resurgence of residentialism. The "ancient slum" stigma is slowly being eradicated by the physical transformation of buildings from tenements into middle and upper class brownstones; the appearance of an involved and non-transient population and the siphoning off of the disaffiliated into locations other than the public places of the community. Though the Bus Terminal, Times Square and Clinton are still hampered by the existence of four basic problems to a stable community, the efforts to eliminate these, displace the undersirables and restore order seem to be gaining by the day.

One of the problems facing the Bus Terminal is that it is an easy target for criticism. Anyone wishing to place blame for the decline of legitimate community may point to the facility as

the root of all evil. In terms of fragmenting a once cohesive, working class community, this is true; but as the Bus Terminal grew and the surrounding ecology changed, it became a victim, certainly not the cause. The point is that at the present time, the Port Authority Bus Terminal is certainly more than just a transportation facility.

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A GLOSSARY OF COMMUNITY TERMINOLOGY

Bag: Police term for the uniform. "He's out of the bag" is a common term when referring to Detectives. However, in a street parlance it can mean a quantity of narcotics, such as a "nickel bag," or to be arrested ("He got bagged").

Bag Lady: A female derelict identified by her belongings carried in a shopping bag. They can be any age, however, most seem to be from the forties upward. There can also be Shopping Bag Men.

Blow: Port Authority Police term for a meal period: ("Take a blow," or "I'm on a blow" is commonly heard in the Reserve Room). City and Transit Police will usually use the term "meal," as in "I'm going on a meal." However, in street terminology, blow can also refer to a sexual act.

Bompie: New Jersey police term for a mope or skell. It is rarely heard in New York except by Port Authority Police who may be accustomed to working Jersey.

Boss: A police supervisor of any rank.

BT: Police term for the Bus Terminal. This is also used by civilians within the Port Authority.

Busted: Arrested. Primarily used by mopes.

Caper: Police term for a complicated incident.

Catch a Case: Detective term for being assigned to a case.

Chicken: A young male prostitute.

Chicken Hawk: Man who preys on the chickens.

Civilian: Anyone not a police officer.

Collar: Arrest. Primarily used by police.

Cop: Slang for police officer. Street term for buying drugs ("I'm gonna cop some shit").

CPCS: Criminal Possession of a Controlled Substance. ("I have a CPCS collar" is a drug arrest).

Dick: Detective.

DOA: Dead on Arrival.

Down: Police term for shortage of manpower. "The tour is down two men."

Eyeball: To watch intently.

Felony Flyers: Police term for sneakers.

Fixer: Police term for a stationary post.

Heavy Hitter: Police term for an officer who makes many arrests.

Hot: Street term for an area that is being watched by police.
"This place is too hot." It can also refer to stolen merchandise, such as "hot cameras."

House: City police term for a precinct.

Jive Job: Street term for a person making a fool out of another.

John: Customer of a prostitute.

Jostler: Police term for person who places his hand in the proximity of another's wallet, etc.

Jumped: Attacked.

Lady: Prostitute. Commonly used by street people.

Looking: Police term for an officer who wants to make an arrest.

Mark: A person who looks like an easy victim.

Mope: Police term for a criminal. Not all mopes are skells.
A well dressed man who is arrested for Grand Larceny (pickpocket) would be a mope, as would a suspicious looking character seen hanging around the terminal. A mope is usually a clean skell.

MTD: City police term for mounted unit.

Mutt: Police term for a criminal.

OJT: On-the-job training. Required for a new officer in order to indoctrinate him to facility or precinct operation.

One Under: Police term for a person under arrest.

On The Floor: Port Authority Police term for being on patrol in the Bus Terminal. "Sergeant Jones is on the floor."

On The Job: Police term for being a police officer. The most common way a police officer introduces himself to an unknown colleague is to say, "I'm on the job."

OT: Police term for overtime.

Poolie: Port Authority Police term for a member of the Central Police Pool.

Police Desk: Port Authority Police term for their precinct.
Also called "The Desk."

Port: New Jersey police term for a Port Authority officer.

Pross: Police term for prostitutes.

Psycho: Police term for a deranged individual.

Reserve Room: Port Authority Police term for the police lounge and report area.

Rip: Police term for an administrative penalty. A five-day rip indicates five working days without pay.

Rip Off: To rob.

Skell: Police term for an unkepmt mope. A drunk who has urinated in his pants is a skell; so too is a Bag Lady.

Sleeper: Police term for an individual sleeping on a train, in the Bus Terminal or another public place.

TC: Police term for Tour Commander. This can be a Sergeant or Lieutenant.

The Deuce: Street term for Forty-second Street.

The Hole: Police term for the Lincoln Tunnel.

The South: Police term for the Midtown South Precinct.

Time Served: The interval between the time of arrest and subsequent disposition by the court. If this period is six months, and the sentence is one year with time served, a person may actually do only six months in jail.

Tip: Street term for "I have to leave."

Trick: A working period for a prostitute.

Write: Police term for issuing a summons, ("I wrote him"), or for a supervisor issuing a disciplinary report on an officer ("Write him up").

CHAPTER I

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BUS TERMINAL

HELL'S KITCHEN: THE POPULATION

The Clinton section of Manhattan is that area bounded approximately by Thirty-eighth to Forty-eighth Streets and from the Hudson River to Seventh Avenue. The community was known as Hell's Kitchen, and similar in concept to the Bowery, Chinatown, Little Italy or Greenwich Village, it had a character and flavor that marked it as distinct from the rest of the city. The lower class, mostly Irish immigrant community was teeming with four and five story wooden tenements, the sides of which were scarred with wrought iron fire escapes. It always had the reputation of being a "rough" area of the city, with tough gangs and unsavory characters roaming the darkened streets. Many a person would attempt to prove his toughness by boasting that he had come from Hell's Kitchen. The combination of a stoop oriented social life and the existence of many personalized industries and shops provided interactive stability for the residents, yet a sense of wariness for any outsiders.

During the Civil War period, the rapid advance of a new railroad technology provided an opportunity for both jobs and the expansion of metropolitan areas.¹ With the strong emphasis on

¹This situation supported Robert Park's argument that the

industrialization after the war, the community became a factory center; however, the type of industries to locate there were of a support rather than a primary nature. There were large slaughter-houses, brick and lumber yards, distilleries, glue factories and scrap iron works, along with many small shops opened by residents with special talents in carpentry, plumbing, welding, tailoring and cooking. Most of the industries were serviced by the New York Central railroad, whose tracks were interwoven throughout the city streets and where many persons would find work as track and section hands, maintenance men and operating personnel.²

city was formed by a conglomeration of natural forces rather than the establishment of rigid boundaries. Due to the dynamic nature of cities, there is a constant fluctuation of boundaries as they follow transportation routes, making formerly suburban areas more urban. In addition addition, Park stated, "The land surrounding the city center is in a state of physical deterioration. In brief, the business center of any modern city is always surrounded by a slum." See David A. Karp and others, Being Urban (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1977), p. 41. This was a result of land speculation as investors attempted to procure tracts near the booming city centers, realizing that future expansion was enevitable. Property maintenance had nothing to do with the land value, so there could be physical, but not economic deterioration.

²In fact, the railroad contributed to the reputation of the community. 11th Avenue was called "Death Avenue," in reference to the many deaths and maimings by freight trains passing through the streets.

"It started in 1846 with a franchise which permitted building a track from Spuyten Duyvil (Manhattan's northern tip) southward to Canal Street. This was on the Hudson River Railroad. When a brightly painted passenger train called Dolly Varden ran from Spuyten Duyvil to 10th Avenue and 32nd Street station, it was jeered and pelted with stones by the local toughs. In the 1850's the area was littered with garbage; slaughterhouses abounded, and ox-blood oozed into the streets. Murderers killed people for a \$10 fee; thieves often broke into boxcars and helped themselves and if a railroad guard protested he was beaten. Even women had gangs--one was led by the formidable 'Battle Annie.' During the Civil War, riots

A great deal of the "flavor" of the neighborhood was due to the many longshoremen who lived in or frequented it. A boisterous lot, they would put in long hours on the dock and retire to the various taverns lining the streets. They contributed to the "workingman's community" reputation for Hell's Kitchen.

This was the essence of employment in Hell's Kitchen-- low paying, burdensome and tedious labor over long hours in the various community industries. The persons holding these jobs were mostly immigrants who latched onto them as a first stake in American life.³ In Hell's Kitchen, they found a hospitable environment in available (though difficult) jobs and an opportunity to reside among their peers in an expanding metropolis. So,

paralyzed the railroad by tying up track and making bonfires out of the ties. No wonder the neighborhood earned the nickname of 'Hell's Kitchen.' In the 1870's, factories and tenements were built. The population soared; but with no traffic control, children playing in the streets were often crushed under the wheels of passing trains. Many adults, too, were killed as they slipped on the roadbed while rushing to catch the Weehawken Ferry to New Jersey. To combat the situation, the New York Central hired a patrol mounted on horseback who carried a red flag. This helped, but fatalities continued. Finally, the public and the news-put pressure on politicians and the railroad to end 'Death Avenue.' The Central agreed to give up its right-of-way in exchange for sizeable property grants. In 1930, Mayor Jimmy Walker and NYC President Pat Crowley pulled up a spike on 11th Avenue to celebrate the end of freight trains heading down the avenue. Soon after, construction of viaducts and elevated sections began to replace the street track. The last train on the avenue was run on March 29, 1941, led by loco number 529 and in front of that, the horseman with a red flag."

Barbara Kreimer, "Information Booth," Railroad Magazine, 87, (July 1970), p. 56.

³"Concomitant with the emergence of an industrial city is the development of new social categories, such as the working class (or 'proletariat' in Marx's sense,) which coalesces in the city and forms the mass base for the manpower 'needs'

immigrants poured into the area by the thousands, not only to work but to live, and the problems emerged as to how they would be housed. The answer was found by the appearance of profit-seeking real estate speculators who saw the situation as a prime opportunity for realizing substantial gains. Consequently, the area was crowded with the tenement buildings that quickly became homes for the multiplying population.

Due to the availability of economical labor and rail transportation, the support industries thrived in Hell's Kitchen. The immigrants were well steeped in the work ethic and their roots in the community added to stability in employment. The area became a true "melting pot," a community composed of a wide variety of ethnic groups who concentrated their work and lifestyle within the area, striving to maintain the social elements of their heritage while attempting to make financial ends meet. For example, on one city block, bounded by Eighth and Ninth Avenues, Fortieth and Forty-first Streets, the population was almost completely Irish. As these persons moved out, perhaps following the progress of the railroad or establishing businesses of their own

of the developing system. The social heterogeneity and apparent formlessness of this social class occasioned great concern among the classical sociologists. The explosive potential of this class, which was no longer bound by the traditions of the former feudal society or tied into the larger society through property ownership made the classical bond of the working class. On the other hand, he was its uprooting from previous rural conditions as a necessary catalyst for the eventual transformation of the capitalist system. At the same time, however, he voiced concern over the living and working conditions that confronted members of the working class."

See Karp and others, Being Urban, p. 4.

in other expanding areas, Russian and Polish immigrants took their place. Here, they would be able to find employment without consideration as to language, since the nature of the community stressed only manual labor and production in the factory, while the establishment of tenement-based family units fostered communicative elements of the many homelands. Though the population varied as to ethnicity, the residents were clearly united in their goals and it did not go unnoticed.

"Now the block is Greek and Irish and Polish and Spanish and Turkish and German and Negro and Italian and Chinese and Puerto Rican, Catholic and Protestant and Jewish and Greek Orthodox and Mohammedan. They all have their poverty in common, and they rub elbows in beer joints and coffee shops and food stores with a minimum of friction. Chinese men who have married non-oriental women send their kids off to school with the kids of the Polish-and-Turkish or Greek-and-Greek couple next door. The Irish longshoreman who has had a drop too much in the morning snores placidly on the stoop of a Negro house, unmolested and almost unnoticed by the brownskinners playing around him."⁴

Though this community was perceived as a haven for the lower class, uneducated and socially stagnant, residents seem to agree that everyone got along and individuals did not hesitate to help out their neighbor in times of need. Many elderly persons in the area still speak of the "Old neighborhood" in glowing terms. "You could tell what it was like just by the name" said an old man sitting in the Bus Terminal Waiting Room,

"But I'll tell ya one thing son, it was a good, decent place to live. Ya had to be good with your fists, and I was, but ya didn't have the shit going on that you do today. We made do and got along."

⁴Tom O'Connor, "Death Comes to an Ancient Slum," PM, May 17, 1948. This "commonness" was responsible for much of the social order within the community.

Some of these individuals speak of work in the slaughterhouses, many of which stand today with large concrete busts of livestock adorning their walls. They recall a bustling community, as merchandise laden ships and passenger and railroad vessels docked at the Hudson River piers along what is now West Street. Many manufacturing firms were in the area, such as the Morgan Casting Company on the corner of Forty-third Street and Eighth Avenue. The Ninth Avenue elevated train rumbled between rows of tenements, with passengers from more "elite" areas often treated to window level views of life within the buildings.

The streets of Hell's Kitchen were lined with a wide array of shops, such as the shoemakers, tailors, artisans, barbers, cabinetmakers and blacksmiths. Taverns dotted the corners, each with its own clientele ready to defend their turf against outsiders from other establishments. Along Forty-fourth Street and Tenth Avenue, nicely furnished brownstones were interspersed with rooming houses, the latter home for transients such as seamen or railroad workers. Residents were attached to the many churches of the community, utilizing them as places of worship and educational institutions for the young. These churches served the additional purpose of preserving the kinship of many persons new to the country or the city.⁵ Many families were poor and housewives would seek employment in order to help support the family.

⁵Some older residents of the community insist that progress may have obliterated the buildings, but not the spirits of these churches. For example, one tale involves the house on 428 W. 44th Street, abandoned for about twenty years since being sold by a famous actress due to her hearing strange noises in it. Neighborhood

This situation is evidenced by Hartley House on West Forty-sixth Street. Founded in 1917, it was the first day-care center before such institutions became commonplace. Three other neighborhood institutions were the old Sixteenth Police Precinct on Forty-seventh Street, between Eighth and Ninth Avenues; Madison Square Garden on the corner of Forty-ninth Street and Eighth Avenue and the old Alimony Jail on West Thirty-seventh Street.

Perhaps the most interesting comment made about life in this old Hell's Kitchen community was made by one person whose family has lived there for years. He stated that, "It was always moving and everybody knew everybody else." However, the one thing he remembered was the sound and odors of each day. Trolley cars incessantly clanged their bells as pedestrians darted across the busy streets; factory whistles competed with those of passing ships and trains; the smell and sounds of horses clattering through the streets; ancient wooden pushcarts lining the sidewalks, proprietors ready to haggle in various dialects with sharp-eyed housewives; residents hanging out of tenement windows in order to gossip, call children to dinner or watch the activity below; and the enchanting smell of the many types of cooking wafting in the summer breeze from different homes.

children called it the "haunted house," little realizing that it, along with a few adjoining dwellings were located on the site of a cemetery from an old Protestant parish. The church was another casualty due to the relocation of the population. A current illustration of this situation is St. Raphael's Roman Catholic Church on Cardinal Stepinac Place (off 9th Avenue). Formerly a strictly Italian stronghold, it now holds masses in the Croation language.

THE POLITICS OF BUS TERMINAL CONSTRUCTION

In the years preceding the construction of the Port Authority Bus Terminal, there was a great deal of commercial traffic in the Hell's Kitchen area, particularly in the form of slow-moving delivery and heavyweight trucks. Traffic density was compounded in 1937, with the completion of the center tube of the Lincoln Tunnel. This connected the west side of Manhattan on West Thirty-ninth Street with Weehawken, New Jersey. The tunnel was a great asset for vehicles entering and leaving midtown Manhattan, as it eliminated a long uptown journey from the Holland Tunnel or a downtown trip from the George Washington Bridge. However, the fact remained that this midtown area was fast becoming incapable of handling the vast amounts of traffic entering the city on a daily basis.

At the time, there was no major bus station in the city. Instead, eight privately-owned terminals were scattered around midtown Manhattan and as of 1945, approximately 50,000 persons traveled to these on a daily basis (between the States of New York and New Jersey). A fleet of 2,000 buses was assigned to transport them and this situation is what prompted the studies leading to the construction of the Midtown Bus Terminal. When these buses exited the tunnel, they became entangled in the ever-present midtown traffic. Commuters were frequently delayed as the buses crept toward their destinations--the eight small depots or numerous street stops along the way. Some of these were simply storefront affairs where persons lined up on the sidewalks as they

waited for the bus. However, delays continued as large buses encountered difficulties in negotiating the narrow streets in the area. Some measures were implemented in an attempt to expedite bus flow, perhaps the most ingenious of which was the turntable installed in the street level concourse of one hotel near Dyer Avenue. Buses would enter the hotel directly from the street, discharge and pick up passengers and be turned around for a quick exit back to the tunnel. All the driver had to do was change the destination sign. However, such quick turnarounds could still do nothing to alleviate the congestion that existed before the bus got to them. Another problem with the absence of a centralized bus depot was the lack of communication and coordination among the various companies. Each viewed its small terminal as a private domain and passengers often had to walk from one to the other, often in inclement weather, in order to reach a connecting bus.

Finally, the public had enough of these hardships and newspapers began running stories criticizing the situation and calling for construction of a consolidated bus station.

"Something has got to be done to relieve the congestion in the metropolis. Enormous buses turning sharp corners into narrow streets furnish one of the greatest problems. They converge on the great city from everywhere. Their number seems to be ever increasing. The saturation point has been reached. There is no more reason for buses to travel all over New York than for railroad trains to traverse the streets. Both are carrying passengers, yet the railroads have their terminals where passengers alight to scatter throughout the city as they choose and it is taken as a matter of course."⁶

⁶"Bus Terminal in New York," Elizabeth Daily Journal, March, 14, 1945, p. 1.

In 1945, the Port Authority became involved in the situation, setting up a series of meetings with the representatives of the various bus companies. Plans were discussed for consolidating bus operations and support services into one large "Union Bus Terminal" to be located on an entire 200 by 800 foot block bounded by Eighth and Ninth Avenues and Fortieth and Forty-first Streets in Manhattan. As a result of the meetings, thirteen of the long and short haul bus operators signed an agreement to cooperate with the Authority, while nine others took the matter into consideration with an indication that agreement was likely. The remaining company, Greyhound, stated they would take the matter up with their Board of Directors and report the findings as soon as possible.

At this preliminary stage, the terminal was planned with three levels, one for the short haul passengers, one for the long haul passengers and a main level where ticketing and concession facilities were to be located. A flat roof was planned in case helicopters wished to land there. Realizing that the location was a transportation locus of the city where subways and bus lines converged, planners predicted that a series of overhead ramps leading directly from the Lincoln Tunnel to the Bus Terminal would eliminate street-oriented delays and facilitate the passage of bus travelers directly into the subways and streets. This 1945 plan was seen as the final hurdle for construction of the new facility. Many had remembered the 1941 version which called for a \$4,000,000 terminal incorporating the many bus lines, but the city police department had implemented regulations effectively blocking the

plan. Inter-city buses were banned from midtown Manhattan in any area east of Eighth Avenue, but the regulation was challenged and overturned by the Supreme Court and upheld by the Court of Appeals. At this point, completion of the terminal was scheduled for late 1947 and the decision received widespread support.

"Port Authority Commissioner Donald V. Lowe, of Tenafly, addressing the meeting, declared that he could not stress too forcefully 'the importance of this matter of a union bus terminal on both sides of the Hudson River.' He said 50,000 people a day that are handled in and out of the midtown section of Manhattan come from or go to New Jersey. 'Ninety percent of them are either New Jersey residents from Hudson, Bergen, Passaic and Essex Counties travelling to work or shopping, or amusement centers in New York, or they are New Yorkers going to plants, business, and recreation points in New Jersey.' he continued. The New Jersey Commissioner said that New Jersey bus passengers would find many advantages in this modern union terminal. 'Buses will run in and out on orderly schedules without traffic light interruptions or delays in crowded streets,' he explained. 'The union bus station will make travel connections simple and easy.' A resident of Hoboken, N.J., en route to Hartford, Conn., can change from a suburban bus to a long-distance bus in the same building. A Newarker can step out of a Public Service or DeCamp bus on one level and go down an escalator to a Poughkeepsie bus on a floor below."⁷

As plans for terminal construction were discussed, the Greyhound Corporation decided to deny its support to the project, intending instead to expand its large terminal on two-thirds of a city block bounded by Seventh Avenue, Eighth Avenue, West Thirty-third Street and West Thirty-fourth Street, adjacent to Pennsylvania Station. The company maintained another facility on Fiftieth Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues and proposed to discontinue its

⁷"Bus Companies Accept Plan for Joint Terminal," Jersey Observer, March 13, 1945, p. 1.

use in favor of expanding the Thirty-fourth Street depot. This decision by Greyhound resulted in a major political controversy. "Its refusal drew the wrath of Mr. LaGuardia, who has accused the company of withholding cooperation after it found out that he would not be a candidate for reelection."⁸

In late 1945, the City Planning Commission was granted the power to enforce a municipal zoning law that could limit the size and establishment of bus depots in "traffic areas designated as exceptionally congested. In addition, an extension could not be added even to an existing terminal in the area. Robert Moses opposed this plan, as he felt that if a bus company had purchased any land with the good faith of building a terminal upon it, it should be allowed to do so as long as there was no severe public inconvenience or menace. The Port Authority stated that unless it had the sole authority to construct and operate the new bus terminal, any permission to build new depots or expand existing facilities would not alleviate the bus traffic congestion on the streets, defeating the purpose of the planned Union Terminal. Consequently, the agency announced its withdrawal of plans for the new terminal if the ban were not enforced. Greyhound's major objection was the ability by the City Planning Commission to designate the "exceptionally congested traffic areas" in various sections of the city. The company felt that its proposed terminal project on West Thirty-fourth Street was designated as such in an attempt to

⁸"Mayor's Bus Plan Gains New Impetus," The New York Times, August 18, 1945, p. 13.

force them to comply with the agreement signed by the other bus operators, thereby becoming a tenant of the Port Authority. However, another series of meetings was held, with the emergence of a major point in favor of the Port Authority proposal.

"The most telling point in favor of the Port Authority proposal to create 'exceptionally congested traffic areas' was made by Inspector Sheehy, who said the Police Department regarded inter-city buses in the area bounded by Fourteenth and Fifty-ninth Streets and Eighth and Third Avenues as the most serious factors in causing traffic congestion."⁹

The political debates continued, with the railroads arguing that their facilities were unreasonably taxed as compared to the proposed arrangement for the Union Terminal. Conversely, the Port Authority stated that tax incentives were needed because no private interest could absorb the cost of constructing and operating the new facility, estimated to be \$400,000 per year. Consequently, the Authority agreed to build and operate the facility only if this tax burden were lifted. Studies indicated that shop rentals and concessions would enable them to operate the terminal on a break-even basis.¹⁰

In January, of 1947, the state legislatures of New York and New Jersey became involved in the affair and their intervention provided the impetus for enactment of the prohibition against construction of another terminal other than the one to be located on Fortieth Street and Eighth Avenue.

⁹"Mayor Denounced in Bus Depot Fight," The New York Times, December 20, 1945, p. 25.

¹⁰The complete details of this political struggle and debate on tax structures for the terminal can be found in the following:

THE FRAGMENTATION OF COMMUNITY

One of the more significant facts in the construction of the Bus Terminal was the lack of newspaper coverage of formal community mobilization against it. There was mention only of relatively impotent and isolated opinions of community residents calling attention to the rapport they enjoyed. Hell's Kitchen, due to its reputation as a slum area, really did not have the sympathetic ear of the press or politicians, while the low income and educational levels of many residents did not contribute to their ability to become a politically significant interest group. The focus was on the efforts to move them out of the path of progress and get the terminal built once and for all and descriptive accounts of neighborhood life rather than on extensive legal battles being waged by residents such as we would see today.¹¹

"Taxing a Union Bus Station" (editorial), The New York Times, March 9, 1946, p. 12; J.G. Lyne, "Growing Tax Exemption Seen--Bus Terminal is Regarded as Unfair to Public Interests" (editorial), Ibid., March 18, 1946, p. 20; Austin J. Tobin, "Bus Terminal is Approved--Port Authority Points Out Advantages Seen in Project" (editorial), Ibid., March 19, 1946, p. 26 and J.L. Sheppard, "Greyhound Defends Position--Thirty-fourth Street Bus Terminal is Held Best for City Traffic" (editorial), Ibid., January 17, 1946, p. 22.

¹¹This situation is in sharp contrast with the 1971 situation regarding construction of the Bus Terminal extension. The Clinton community now had a Community Planning Board #4, representing powerful support from local business and social groups. The Port Authority and the community discussed such topics as redesign of traffic patterns, construction details and implementation of tunnels for off-street bus movement. Refer to Chapter IV for the transformation of community into a significant political and social force.

Many residents realized that final approval of the plans meant destruction of their homes and ultimate relocation to another area. Unfortunately, many non-residents could not comprehend the nature of the community they were about to help destroy. Over 450 families lived on the site of the proposed terminal, the land which the Port Authority had acquired at a cost of \$3,500,000. However, the agency did encounter some stubborn opposition from many residents of the site who refused monetary bonus offers and pleas to give up their homes. The residents' contention was that no matter how dingy and decrepit their homes were felt to be, they were still homes. Besides, there was no place else to go. The New York legislature had approved a measure enabling the Authority to acquire abandoned tenement houses, renovate and restore them to habitable conditions and hold them for a period not to exceed three years, at which time they would be sold. The Authority planned to rehabilitate the dwellings and move the affected families into them as soon as possible. This program was expected to cost approximately \$1,600,000, a loss of \$600,000 to the agency since the return was only \$1,000,000. Many residents were shown a scale model of the proposed Union Terminal with its gleaming corridors, air-conditioning and variety of concessions. However, they still resented and feared the fact that they were being forced to move. One article summed up the situation:

"The condemned block is not eating a hearty breakfast. Death notices have been duly published and funeral services have already begun for one of New York's most venerable slums, the block bounded by Eighth and Ninth Avenues, Fortieth and Forty-first Streets. Now with an odd mixture of desperation,

resignation, and the hypnotized fascination of a bird looking into the eye of a snake it knows is going to swallow it, the block is watching itself die. The Port of New York Authority is officiating at the obsequies. Its reeking crews have already begun to reduce to rubble the decrepit tenements, grimy garages and hole-in-the-wall shops which cover the ground."¹²

While it was true that the physical conditions of the community left some things to be desired, few took into account the ecology which maintained order on that block and the entire neighborhood. The following is a series of newspaper interviews with the displaced residents.¹³

"John Mooney, an old-time hand tailor who has lived and worked on the block since 1903 and now must move out of the ground-floor flat at 356 West Forty-first, where he has been for seventeen years, put it this way: 'This neighborhood is kind of rough and ready, you might say, but mostly we have respectable working people. Once in a while a bad potato comes along, but the other families, they sort of get 'em out. I don't remember any race trouble in the last 25 years. The Negro families here are very nice, very nice indeed. We don't have much truck with the bright lights over there in Times Square. I used to have some trade from theatrical people, actors and such, but I didn't like it. They were always saying, 'I'll send you a check,' and that was the last of it. These people along here now, they're poor, but you can count on it they'll pay their bills.'"

"Mustashioed Jerry Anagnostos, 58, takes the air in front of his Alambra Cafe at 306 West Forty-first Street. He has owned it 13 years, sees no hope for himself when it is torn down. 'Too old even for dishwasher,' he says."

"James Banks is 72 but still works as a longshoreman. His cold water flat at 325 West Fortieth Street is dismal enough but he hates to leave. 'I don't blame anybody,' he says, 'but I wish I could have died here.'"

"Hyman Jonas, the 'Mayor of West Fortieth Street,' opened a little plumbing shop at 317 West Fortieth Street 28 years ago. Now with his son Eli, he employs 14 men, had to buy a building for \$30,000 to move to. 'I love this street,' he says."

¹²Tom O'Connor, "Death Comes to an Ancient Slum, P.M., May 17, 1948.

¹³Ibid.

"'I know you gotta go, you gotta go,' says Ignatz Higgins, 60, an unemployed bartender who has lived 30 years at 556 Ninth Avenue. 'But it's tough. I'm not mad at anybody. I just don't know where to find a roof for my family.'"

"'Where can we go? Where can we go?' John Diakovasilis, an unemployed furrier, pays \$20 a month for four tiny unheated rooms in a Fortieth Street tenement. 'They want \$80 to \$90 a month, everywhere I look, and then say, 'must buy furniture.'"

Besides his wife, Stergula, and children, Mary, 9 and Argere, 6, he has a 16 year old son."

"The very young and the very old, each fears the unknown in some strange place. Samuel Sypherette, 6 and Mrs. Emma Jackson, so old she can't remember when or where she was born, share the sun on the stoop at 320 West Forty-first Street. Negroes once occupied most of the block, now live only in the two seediest houses."

"Austrian-born Ferdinand Hollere runs an immaculately clean pork store at 546 Ninth Avenue, makes his sausages in the basement and lives upstairs with his wife and children. He opened the store in 1918."

Each of these persons had established roots in the Hell's Kitchen community. Many had formed businesses and maintained a good following, yet their skills were not in great demand outside the neighborhood and they were reluctant to leave. However, the situation was far deeper than pure economics, as they were accustomed to living in this "venerable old slum," having maintained lifelong friendships there and growing content with the lifestyle and surrounding environment.¹⁴

One of the problems with discussing fragmentation of the Hell's Kitchen community is the concept of "community" is often misconstrued. While it was true that the aforementioned residents

¹⁴This situation is very similar to the one encountered by tenants in an East Harlem housing project. Their houses had been demolished and residents moved to an area that was deemed more aesthetically pleasing than the "old neighborhood."

lived in a physical community, that is, a certain geographical section of the city, we must focus on the more important ecological implications of the Bus Terminal construction. Community is defined as:

"A concentrated settlement of people in a limited territorial area, within which they satisfy many of their daily needs through a system of interdependent relationships. A community is a self-conscious social unit and a focus of group identification. Although a community forms a local geographic and economic unit, providing many of the primary goods and services for its inhabitants, it is not necessarily a political entity, as it is not necessarily contained within or defined by legal boundaries, such as those of a city or town. Community also implies a certain identification of the inhabitants with the geographic area, and with each other, a feeling of sharing common interests and goals, a certain amount of mutual cooperation, and an awareness of the existence of community in both its inhabitants and those in the surrounding area."¹⁵

"What good is it? Or Who wants it? Finally, one day a tenant more articulate than the others made this pronouncement: 'Nobody cared what we wanted when they build this place. They threw out houses down and pushed us here and pushed our friends somewhere else. We don't have a place around here to get a cup of coffee or a newspaper even, or borrow fifty cents. Nobody cared what we need.'"

Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Vintage Books, 1963) p. 15.

¹⁵George A. Theodorson and Archilles G. Theodorson, Modern Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), p. 64. This is one of the stronger definitions of the term; there are many others, as for example Karp, Stone and Yoels' isolation of three elements found in the literature that indicate important features of community life:

"(1) Community is generally seen as delineated by a geographically, territorially or spatially circumscribed area. (2) The members of a community are seen as bound together by a number of characteristics or attributes held in common (values, attitudes, ethnicity, social class, and so on.) (3) The members of a community are engaged in some form of sustained social interaction." Karp and others, Being Urban, p. 65.

Hell's Kitchen was defined by informal geographical boundaries, hence, anyone living within them was a slum resident or tenement dweller. There was a "differential moral isolation" of the neighborhood from the wider society.¹⁶ The residents, though content with their lifestyle, were seen as "apart" from the more elite midtown area. In terms of urban planning, it was a relatively simple task to select a particular block within the specified territory under consideration for locating a bus terminal and chart its proximity to the Lincoln Tunnel and cultural and business institutions as well as other transportation facilities. Architects could easily ascertain that the new Union Bus Terminal would function well on this particular block (Fortieth Street and Eighth Avenue). They did find it difficult to perceive the ecology confronting them--the fact that residents settled there because certain needs had been satisfied, such as employment, housing, kinship with ethnic groups and an affiliative system of neighborhood institutions. There was the church, a focal point in the lives of many residents as they maintained ties with a previous culture.

¹⁶Suttles observed this situation in the Addams slum of Chicago.

"In all societies there are probably people who fall short of existing standards that attest to their trustworthiness and self-restraint. The standards of American society are severe, and a very large proportion of our population is regarded with suspicion and caution. Typically, these are poor people from a low status minority group and unable to manage very well with their 'public relations.' The presence of such a group of people is disruptive because it undermines the trust residents must share to go about their daily rounds. In American society, a common solution to this difficulty has been to relegate all suspicious people to 'slums' and 'skid rows.' As a result, respectable and essential citizens can carry on their corporate life undisturbed by their own apprehensions."

Shops and merchants offered services and merchandise geared toward life in the community.¹⁷ Stone wrote an article dealing with this situation, defining various types of city shoppers and their ecology in the marketplace. There is the shopper for whom utilization of a store is based solely on economic criteria. Conversely, the community-oriented shopper became an integral part of the store as a social system, interacting with the merchant as part of a daily routine. Stone's investigation disclosed that this latter type of individual maintained subjective ties to the community. Shopping was one way to maintain a personal contact with the community, identifying with it, even though the individual was relatively socially impotent on a larger scale.¹⁸ Through the medium of the Greek cafes, Italian grocery stores, Irish carpenters

Gerald D. Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 5.

¹⁷Perhaps Karp, Stone and Yoels were thinking about the situation in Hell's Kitchen when they wrote:

"We must be cognizant that economic agencies in urban areas play a very important function other than the purely economic function. Small stores, taverns, cafes and the like are not just places to purchase goods; they also constitute meeting places for neighborhood residents and crucial communications centers for informal news about the community. The demolition of such stores does not just eliminate a few more buildings from the community but may also rupture the entire fabric of social life in that neighborhood."

Karp and others, Being Urban, p. 79.

¹⁸Gregory P. Stone, "City Shoppers and Urban Identification: Observations on the Social Psychology of City Life." American Journal of Sociology, 60 (November 1954), 276-84. This is similar to Jane Jacobs' discussion on merchant-shopper relationships in The Death and Life of Great American Cities. See "The Users of Sidewalks-Contact." Each actor contributed to the support of the other in more than economic terms, that is, the watching of property, exchange of information and cooperation in time of need. This fostered the spirit of belonging in the community.

and German bakers, the residents identified with the community itself not solely as a place where the physical abode was located, but as an intricate social network fostering kinship and affiliation. There was no sterility here as might be found in modern day shopping malls or airports. There was a sense of wholeness of person and a shared lifestyle. This is what reduced Hell's Kitchen to an even more important ecological institution, the neighborhood.¹⁹

For John Mooney and his peers, the community offered a stable existence in terms of economy and sociology, a familiarity with routine and an internal maintenance of order that would control "outsiders" or absorb them into the confines of the neighborhood.²⁰ For many years, Hell's Kitchen had been an untouched slum, giving it the proper environment to establish and sustain

¹⁹"A small territorial unit, usually a subdivision of a large community, in which there is some sense of local unity or identity. Because the neighborhood is small, contacts are face to face, and many relationships tend to be primary, that is, close and enduring. However, according to this definition, a neighborhood also includes families that have little if any interaction with each other. The neighborhood usually provides essential service for local residents."

Theodorson and Theodorson, p. 273.

There may be several neighborhoods within a community. See Joseph Bensman and Arthur J. Vidich, ed., Metropolitan Communities (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975) and William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

²⁰Mooney's statement about other families "getting out the bad potatoes" refers to this internal maintenance of order. It is also hidden reference to the "moral order" uncovered by Whyte in Cornerville and Suttles in Chicago's Addams area. Even though these places were considered slum areas and had gang activity, there was a distinct quality to life; a non-physical characteristic that bound residents together, allowing them to deal with both internal disorder and intervention of the outside world. See also Elliot Liebow, Tallys Corner (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1967) and William Kornblum, Blue Collar Community (Chicago:

the affiliative bonds and orderly displacement of ethnic groups. With the coming of the Bus Terminal, residents realized that many "outsiders" would be coming to the community, a possible disruption to order.²¹

POPULATION DENSITY AND COMMUNITY TIES

In the period immediately preceding the construction of the Bus Terminal, Hell's Kitchen was a densely populated area on the outskirts of the Times Square theatrical district and a midtown commercial center. The tenements contained many families and though some buildings were without hot water and other amenities of urban living, the residents were content with their community relationships.²² While the metropolis had surrounded the community, it had

University of Chicago Press, 1974). It is important to note that even though the construction of the Bus Terminal has obliterated these homes, the "moral order" lives on in the form of a different population and surrounding ecology. See Chapter IV of this Dissertation.

²¹"According to Tonnies, Nisbet, Stein and others, this change has contributed in large measure to the decline of community. They argue that residential mobility, people's extensive daily travels, the ability to reach outside the locality--through mail, telephone radio or in person--to satisfy almost any desire, and similar breaches in the local walls have weakened corporate nature of local social life and ultimately reduced the quality of social relations."

Claude S. Fischer and others, Networks and Places-Social Relations in the Urban Setting (New York: The Free Press, 1977). See also Maurice Stein, The Eclipse of Community (New York: Harper & Row, 1960); Ferdinand Tonnies, Community and Society (1887), trans. C.P. Loomis (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1957) and R.A. Nisbet, The Quest for Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

²²Lewis Mumford, discussing Jane Jacobs' work in Death and Life of Great American Cities, had this to say about a similar situation.

not significantly breached it until the breaking of ground for the new terminal. The community was indeed an industrial and economic faction of the city, but its relegation to a less than integral factor and reputation as an undesirable place helped keep encroachment from exterior forces to a minimum. Visitors did not tend to tour the neighborhood, preferring to remain in the Times Square area. Large industries and corporations, forsaking Hell's Kitchen, chose to locate their offices in more prestigious streets of the city. Consequently, the community was internally self-stabilizing, with the population maintaining the stoop and window-oriented contacts that distinguished it from "more elite" areas. Residential density enhanced the neighborhood environment, since there was a solidarity and consistency of social class. A significant factor in this maintenance of class is the upward mobility into the urban sector. As residents became more skilled, better educated or economically more secure, they would leave the neighborhood and become

"She pointed out a fact to which many planners and administrators had been indifferent--that a neighborhood is not just a collection of buildings but a tissue of social relations and a cluster of warm personal sentiments, associated with the familiar faces of the doctor and the priest, the butcher and the baker and the candlestick maker, not least with the idea of 'home.' Sanitary, steam-heated apartments, she observed, are no substitute for warm-hearted neighbors, even if they live in verminous cold-water flats. The chat across the air shaft, the little changes of scene as a woman walks her baby or tells her troubles with her husband to the druggist, the little flirtations that often attend the purchase of a few oranges or potatoes, all season the housewife's day and mean more than physical shelter. It is no real gain to supplant the sustaining intimacies of long neighborhood association with the professional advice of a social worker or a psychiatrist, attempting by a wholly inadequate therapy to combat the trauma of social dislocation."

a part of the exterior world, to be replaced by others who were in their previous position or class. The construction of the Bus Terminal, then, would improve the physical environment of some relocated residents, yet destroy the ecological bonds that held together what remained. In addition, there was a lesser motivation for the "replacement residents" to come to Hell's Kitchen, since the kinship and affiliation was not as strong. The younger persons began to flee to the suburbs, leaving those still maintaining any sense of attachment. This deterioration of ecology left the neighborhood vulnerable to outside encroachment, in the form of the "undesirables" from Times Square and other areas.²³

Quoted from Lewis Mumford, Home remedies for urban cancer in Louis K. Lowenstein, ed. Urban Studies-An introductory Reader (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 388.

²³The density referred to here is purely demographic, that is, the sheer amount of people living in the community. Due to the absence of external interference (housing projects, office buildings, tourism, etc.), there was no density as to social encounters and a maintenance of a more traditional, rather than metropolitan, frame of mind. The opposite situation became apparent within the new terminal with the appearance of routines, rush hours and rigid time frames interwoven with a diverse population that did not maintain a neighborhood type, cohesive relationship. See Chapter II.

"Robert Park (1916) a leader of the Chicago School of Sociology, also argued that the density accompanying urban life replaced intimate relations with impersonal, utilitarian encounters. Drawing on Durkheim as well as on his teacher, Simmel, Park emphasized the changes that population concentration caused in the social structure (for example, specialized labor and land use, mass media)."

Fischer and others, Networks and Places, p. 103.

The residents of Hell's Kitchen had been able to form an order out of what was externally perceived as chaos. Social networks were formed, providing a need satisfaction to insiders to which outsiders were oblivious. Residents could relate to one another as territorial colleagues, developing roots and an attachment to place. Persons were committed to one another as a matter of routine. Daily interaction and the satisfaction of needs by neighborhood institutions demonstrated to residents that they were congruent with the existing lifestyle. They "watched out for one another." Different races existed in relative harmony, where the needs or deficiencies of one individual would be met by the abilities and skills of the other. This system continued until a stable network had been formed, a network many residents were reluctant to leave, for they realized that it would be difficult to establish or enter another. When approval of Bus Terminal construction was announced, residents were aware that their lives would be disrupted, not only socially, but economically.

"According to an economic perspective, attachment to place is understood in factors like housing costs. Usually, it is seen as the product of an implicit calculation of costs and benefits. In these calculations, people compare the features of their residences to those of alternative residences, contrasting for example, space and convenience, but also the social and psychic rewards associated with a place (such as the glow of fond memories). People decide accordingly to move or to stay, and if to stay, how much to invest themselves in the neighborhoods."²⁴

²⁴An example of this is to be found in a newspaper account of relocations caused by terminal construction.

"Mrs. Maria Ferri, 50 years old, and a 68 year old cousin moved to the Clinton Street apartment near Grand Avenue and the East River. The building is a six-story remodeled affair.

One study has been done in this area, linking the types of people in a community to the types of ties they maintain.²⁵

1. Life Cycle Stage: Many residents of the neighborhood had married, had children and established the roots of the family there. The women, most of whom worked in the home, had friends to whom they spoke on a daily basis; merchants in whose stores they purchased; and prescribed routines they followed. Children were secure in schools, their friendships maintained during the academic years. Many residents commented that the "neighborhood was their life."

2. Social Class: Most of the residents of Hell's Kitchen were of the same social class. They did not enjoy the higher status privileges of those residing in more affluent communities, such as Gramercy Park or the Upper East Side, where both upward (social) and lateral (contacts and relationships formed outside the community) mobility were possible. Whenever there is a commonality of interests or class, an elite self interest becomes possible. Though the terms may be redundant when applied to Hell's Kitchen, the relative lack of stratification contributed to community ties and the enhancement of common purpose.²⁶

From the semi-slums on the terminal site, these families will find here hot water, combination kitchens, heat and clean surroundings, the Port Authority says. Most of the apartments will consist of three rooms. The rents will range from \$30 to \$50 a month, as compared to the \$10 to \$60 a month tenants paid in the old buildings." "City Begins Moving Bus Site Families," The New York Times, November 20, 1948, p. 15.

²⁵Refer to Fischer and others, Networks and Places, p. 146.

²⁶"The lifestyles of the middle and upper classes seem to

3. Length of Residence: Many persons had lived in the community for a substantial period, and it is human nature to become accustomed to the intricacies and norms of a place, thereby becoming "one of the many." There is no feeling of isolation as might be encountered in a public place. Quite naturally, the longer a person lived here, the more likely it was that they had established friendships, routines and bonds within the territorial (physical and mental) boundaries of their residences.

USERS AND WATCHERS

In Hell's Kitchen, there was a dynamic nature to the streets. They pulsed with life, throbbed with activity and were used in a variety of ways. Some of these elements were perceived as deviant by higher strata of society, such as lounging on the stoops or congregating on street corners. For community residents, this was the opportunity to exchange information, observe the goings-on in the neighborhood and feel "a part of things."²⁷

foster local voluntary activities such as casual neighboring and participation in local organizations. At the same time, higher-status people may have less intense relations with their neighbors, instead drawing their intimate ties from outside the locality. Lower status groups are less likely to enjoy easy access to areas outside the immediate neighborhood and as a result may be more dependent on the locality for a few intimate ties." Ibid., p. 148.

²⁷Even though this street lounging was perceived as deviant, there was no illegitimate behavior according to law. However, the situation is much different today, where a street corner social base exists, but interwoven with drugs, prostitution, drinking etc. Refer to Chapters IV and V for an analysis of these factors.

In the ongoing play of community life, residents had both starring and support roles. An individual could be a user of the street, intending to economically and socially patronize a shop located on it, or he simply utilized it as a means to get to a destination. By being a user, he contributed to the pulsation of community. As a pedestrian, crossing from street to street, possibly buying an item from a merchant, he performed a mobile interactive role. Roving from shop to shop, community events were exchanged, gossip brought to light and the spirit of kinship maintained. The bars frequently became centers for political discussions and bastions of ethnicity. Even today, residents can point to an old "Irish joint" or "Dutch hangout."

It was also possible that a user would be on a street for the sole purpose of passing through it, thereby playing a non-interactive role. This could be a truck driver attempting to gain access to a delivery point in the area, or a visitor passing through to get to another block.

The watcher, on the other hand, was quite different. We remember the old gentleman's statement that "everyone knew everyone," referring to an internal system of checks and balances so important to community life. Women would hang clothes on lines strung from tenement windows, observing the activity in the streets below or exchanging information with neighbors across the yard. Storekeepers would become familiar with steady customers, granting credit when necessary or watching some items while they continued on a shopping trip. John Mooney was one such shopkeeper. Watchers

would recognize those who "belonged" and those who were strangers. They were the eyes of the streets, a part of the true neighborhood.²⁸ When the community was fragmented, the eyes of the streets began to close, permitting the deterioration of order previously maintained by residents themselves.

As we see, it was not the district map that made this community work, but the relationships of the actors within it. There was no doubt that construction of the Bus Terminal was a major factor in the destruction of this delicate ecology. Perhaps John Mooney's wife said it best:

"The commonest feeling was that expressed by John Mooney's gray haired wife as she stood in her kitchen doorway fingering her apron: 'This place isn't much,' she said, looking around at the dingy walls, 'but we don't need much. And moving into a different neighborhood, why we might just as well move to Europe as into a strange place.'"²⁹

²⁸Jane Jacobs describes the situation in her old neighborhood on Hudson Street. "Users and watchers" were part of a system that kept the streets safe by recognizing outsiders and maintaining a guard on fellow resident's persons and property. Refer to Death and Life of Great American Cities, pp. 29-54.

"However, it still remains that dense concentrations of people are one of the necessary conditions for flourishing city diversity. And it still follows that in districts where people live, this means there must be a dense concentration of their dwellings on the land preempted for dwellings. The other factors that influence how much diversity is generated, and where, will have nothing much to influence if enough people are not there." Ibid., p. 205.

However, even though the Bus Terminal increased the density of the "new population," the spirit of community was gone, and the subtle affiliations that preserved order were replaced for the most part by behavior indigenous to public places.

²⁹Tom O'Connor, "Death Comes to an Ancient Slum," PM, May 17, 1948. What Mrs. Mooney could not perceive was a theoretical reason for her and other residents' attachment to place. Fischer states,

THE PORT AUTHORITY BUS TERMINAL

The Bus Terminal was opened to the public on December 15, 1950. It is operated by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, an agency established in 1921 by compact between the states. The Laws of New York and New Jersey (1946) define its role:

"The establishment, maintenance and operation of such motor bus terminal within the Port of New York district is and will be in all respects for the benefit of the people of the States of New York and New Jersey, for the increase of their commerce and prosperity and for the improvement of their health and living conditions; and the Port Authority shall be regarded as performing an essential governmental function in undertaking the construction, maintenance and operation of and in carrying out the provisions of law relating thereto."

A careful reading of this law infers that its spirit has taken some human ecology into account in that the terminal is correlated to the health and living conditions of area citizens. There is no mere mention that it is designed to facilitate the flow of bus traffic, reduce vehicle congestion in the area, or be an aesthetically pleasing edifice in midtown Manhattan. Consequently, the actions of the Port Authority in operating the facility cannot be considered in a purely mechanical perspective.

"Nevertheless, people are, or at least were, members of traditional corporate groups. If we cannot explain that fact in community theorists' terms, perhaps we can explain it by simple choice. As we noted above, people do not select their birthplaces or families of origin. But we can explain it by constraints on the choice of whether to leave those groups and places or to stay. This involves two reinforcing limitations in corporate groups. First, there are limitations on the range and number of possible social relations. Individuals' personal interest are submerged to those of the group where they are unable, because of spatial or social barriers, to form ties outside of it. Second, the limitation

Every administrative decision, each physical alteration and all policy shifts will have a multiplier effect on the quality of life in the region.

The function of the Bus Terminal is to provide a central location for arrival and departure of inter-city bus traffic, replacing the small stations that had been scattered around the midtown area. The Bus Terminal provides for direct and connecting bus travel between Forty-first Street and Eighth Avenue and virtually any location in the continental United, States, Canada and Mexico. Its location, in the heart of Times Square, occupies an entire city block and one-half between Eighth and Ninth Avenues and Fortieth and Forty-second Streets. Passengers are afforded direct connections with the Forty-second Street stations of the IND, BMT and IRT divisions of the subway system as well as MABSTOA buses. The combined traffic volume of the

of social relations to the group forces the members to be functionally dependent on it. In such binding circumstances, the entirety of individuals needs is met by the small set of persons in the corporate group. In the traditional village, for example, the people in the immediate vicinity supply one another's employment, material aid, sociability, political allegiance, spiritual uplift, and the like. This, in turn, makes it even more difficult for individuals to go outside the group for social relations, be they commercial or companionable, because they risk forfeiting the services they need. Their choices are all the more limited to the corporate group. In the end, full participation in the collective enterprise is the individual's most rational choice."

Fischer and others, Networks and Places, p. 10.

Terminal is enormous, for example, approximately two million buses and fifty-seven million customers were accommodated during 1980. Commuter bus traffic comprises over eighty percent of the Terminal's activity. On a typical weekday, approximately 6,200 buses, carrying almost 170,000 passengers utilize it. According to Port Authority statistics, since the opening of the Terminal in 1950, nearly 1.7 billion passengers have been accommodated on approximately 60 million buses.³⁰

DESIGN AND SERVICES

When the Terminal first opened it had some facilities not available to today's user. For example, there was one of the city's biggest supermarkets, where passengers could place orders in the morning and have them ready for pick up when they returned in the evening.³¹ There was also a lending library and the largest drug store in the east, with a sixty-seat soda fountain.³² All told, there was 615,000 square feet of floor space, 112 bus loading positions, 450 roof parking spaces for cars, 31 escalators

³⁰Port Authority Bus Terminal Fact Sheet, 1981.

³¹A few facility veterans remember that it was rare for community residents to use this supermarket, preferring to patronize their usual merchants within the community. Although the Bus Terminal supermarket had extended hours and convenient service, the prices were higher and the atmosphere more "sterile."

³²Paul Zumbo, "All (Jersey) Roads Lead to PA Bus Terminal," New York Sunday News-Passaic-Bergen Section, December 21, 1952, p. 1.

and two miles of interior roadways. The new Terminal gave the impression of space even though the ceilings were designed to be low. This was accomplished by keeping floor space uncluttered, keeping support pillars to a minimum, consistent with the heavy loads and poundings experienced during daily operation and by using pale colors to paint the facility interior.³³

The Bus Terminal has four concourses guiding passengers to bus platforms. Each concourse has its own "service area," including restaurants, shops and waiting sections. A passenger on the Upper Bus Level does not have to journey to the Main Concourse, three levels below, in order to purchase refreshments, however, the major ticketing areas and information center are located on the Main Concourse (street level). The facility contains many passageways and stairways connecting various levels and there are currently forty-three escalators facilitating the movement of bus passengers. The system operates as a sort of funnel, guiding passengers to and from specific points. There is an Information Booth on the Main Concourse, and an endless stream of persons seeking answers to questions concerning bus schedules, location of stores, availability of connecting transportation, lost property procedures, points of interests in the city, and so forth. Two million calls per year are handled by the telephone information center and the public telephones in the various levels

³³Armand Schwab, Jr., "Port Authority Bus Terminal," The New York Times, November 19, 1950, p. X19, Section 2.

are among the busiest in the world, with more than 239 in service at any given time. Many passengers require information concerning delays and special bus operations or diversions and for this reason, a group of "patron aides" are available for answers to questions about bus platforms or tourist data. They wear red blazers in order to stand out from the crowd. There is also a quarterly publication put out by terminal staff, "Omnibus," a slick paper folding newsletter discussing topics of interest to commuters and other users. There is also a more frequently published newsletter called "Concourse," which focuses on operational factors in the Terminal. For example, commuters experiencing a morning delay might be handed a copy of Concourse on their return trip, explaining reasons for the delay or suggested alternatives for avoiding it in the future. In addition to the printed material, public address announcements are made concerning delays on the various bus lines, connecting highways or weather conditions.

There are about 275 employees serving as the operating force of the facility. The Terminal is cleaned nightly by a sanitation staff of 79 individuals, with particular attention paid to polishing the terrazzo floors. The Port Authority is also responsible for the law enforcement in the Terminal. 112 members of the 1,200 member Port Authority Police Department are assigned there, making the site of the former "slum" community the most intensively policed block in New York City.³⁴ Other services offered within

³⁴Refer to Chapter III for a discussion of the police in the terminal and the community.

the Terminal are Red Caps, who transport baggage for the passenger, parcel shipping and checking, baggage lockers for storage while waiting for buses, and "bike and walk" lockers for cyclists.

FACILITIES AND STRUCTURE

The Port Authority Bus Terminal contains three separate bus operating levels capable of the simultaneous loading of 184 buses.

1. Long Haul Level: This is also called the Lower Bus Level and the passenger entering from the street must descend the stairs or escalators located in various areas of the facility. The Long Haul Level handles mostly long distance bus traffic and has forty-one "sawtooth" bus berths surrounding a central concourse. Buses pull into the berths and are backed out into the surrounding roadway, permitting them to exit the Terminal. There is a platform on the south side (Fortieth Street) containing twelve bus loading positions. Until recently, Greyhound and Continental Trailways shared the entire level, but with the opening of some areas of the Bus Terminal Annex, the former has located there, leaving Trailways with most of the Long Haul level (on a temporary basis). The Long Haul Level is currently the only constantly used area of the facility. During the off-peak hours of 1 A.M. to 6 A.M., three-quarters of the Eighth Avenue end of the Main Concourse is cordoned off with iron gates, guiding passengers to the lower level. This is done for security reasons, since a lone passenger wandering about the Terminal has a much greater chance of becoming a crime victim, than when many other passengers are

present. The entire Terminal is opened in time for the morning rush period.

When the existing Bus Terminal is modernized, the Long Haul Level will have a more pleasing environment, as does the Annex with its shining metal fixtures, clean floors, brightly lit areas and "going somewhere" atmosphere. The old Long Haul Level contains the most depressing atmosphere of the Terminal, with entrances at each end--Eighth and Ninth Avenues. When one enters from Eighth Avenue, a stairway or escalator permits access to the lower level; however, the Ninth Avenue entrance leads directly into the area.

Directly inside the Ninth Avenue entrance are the Greyhound and Trailways parcel shipping office. This area sees a considerable amount of activity, as persons stop to inquire about rates and procedures, delivering and picking up assorted packages in the process. The narrow corridor also contains many coin-operated storage lockers and it is a rare occurrence to find an unoccupied one. Many of the shopping bag ladies, religious speakers and loiterers around the Terminal will panhandle funds, using these to rent locker space for their "belongings." Hence, the true bus passenger is often inconvenienced by carrying his luggage around the facility. Some of these individuals will have a considerable waiting period between buses, and should they doze off while in possession of these un-checked items, they may become victims of a crime. This situation, along with the hazards associated with a public locker system in a transportation facility (i.e., the bombings at LaGuardia Airport and Penn Station) have resulted in

in considerable reevaluation of policy by the Port Authority. As a result, locker space has been reduced and the police are consulting on security methods for those remaining in service.

As one walks through the Long Haul Level, he cannot help but notice the incongruence of the environment with that of 1982 transportation. Instead, the area retains a sort of 1950's atmosphere. There seems to be a pervasiveness of bus fumes, odors of various foods, unkempt "characters" and wariness. A lavatory is located in the middle of the level, its most frequent visitor a Black, Hispanic or elderly person, the predominant groups observed here. A small coffee shop serves the usual fare of frankfurters, hamburgers, soft drinks and popcorn, the counter-man unsmiling as he occasionally reaches into a refrigerated case to retrieve a plastic-wrapped sandwich for a young woman and her child. He speaks to his partner in Spanish, eyes glancing downward as he slides wrinkled bills between his fingers. After a while, it becomes easy to predict his lines according to the type of order: a beverage, it will be "small or large"; a frankfurter brings "you want mustard"? and a request for pie brings a hasty recitation of the kinds reposing under the sandwich rack.

Since the rubbish storage area is close to the Long Haul Level, weather conditions may result in a foul odor in the area. This, along with the squalid conditions regardless of the elements, contributes to the atmosphere of tension and wariness. Passengers do not relax here as they would at many other public places. An old taxi roadway intersects the level at the Greyhound parcel office and it bustles with the activity of delivery trucks and

baggage carts. Since these entrances open onto the street, undesirables may enter in search of unguarded luggage or wallets, knowing that an unhindered escape route exists. There are also some storage lockers in this area, but again, they are rarely vacant. Directly outside the Ninth Avenue entrance is a taxi stand, but this is not nearly as busy as its counterpart on Eighth Avenue. In addition, this former stand has the reputation for having the "bad cabbies," that is, those ready to overcharge fares or take circuitous routes to passengers' destinations. A bus overpass leading from terminal to tunnel blocks sunlight from the street, while across the street are ethnic shops and fruit stands, above which some families still reside--an interesting remnant of the "old neighborhood."

Buses always pull into the platforms, backing out into the roadway for departure. At the present time, this roadway leads out of the facility, across Ninth Avenue and down to the Lincoln Tunnel on Thirty-eighth Street. Tunnels will soon replace this system, which is another remnant of 1950. Luggage is loaded onto the buses at each gate and there are times when it is left unguarded, to be removed by those undesirables aware of quick exits. A victim might not discover the theft until arrival at the destination, or he may have made certain that the item was "on board" before he left, only to discover that it is missing upon arrival in New York. This has become a source of conflict among passengers, bus companies and the Port Authority, each blaming the other for oversights and lax policing.

2. The Main Concourse: This is the main shopping and concession area of the facility. When one enters through Eighth Avenue, there is a small vestibule before the actual concourse. This area is prone to attract loiterers, especially in inclement weather, as it affords both shelter, heat and soon, air-conditioning. The Main Concourse is not unlike a railroad station with its large suspended clock, ticket windows, busy newsstand and array of snack bars and shops. The Greyhound and Trailways ticket plazas are directly inside the Eighth Avenue entrance. Here the passenger may purchase long-distance tickets and secure information regarding schedules, connections and baggage accommodations. A newsstand is located directly in the middle of the concourse, stocking a wide variety of newspapers from New York and New Jersey, magazines, candy and tourist guides. In addition, the clerks often serve the informal role of information agents, as passengers pose questions regarding bus platforms and street locations to them. The large displays of candy are a temptation to theft, and the police are frequently beckoned over by the owner in order to settle a dispute over an alleged mis-payment or removal.

Walgreen's drug store is the major concession on this level, its doors constantly swinging as customers enter for a variety of reasons. The store is quite large, with a long lunch counter serving three meals a day. A classic example of the "department-store luncheonette," it has curved marble counters, stainless steel stools and plastic-domed pies and cakes. Shoppers and commuters hunch over their meals while in the background, salespersons discuss various types of luggage, dispense medicines or demonstrate novelty items.

During the morning rush hours, the take-out counter hums with activity as passengers hustle to bus platforms bearing small brown paper bags of the traditional "coffee and..." The store window displays a wide range of items, such as weight-reducing tablets, luggage carriers, windup toys, eyeglass tissues, pocket combs and shampoos. Among the police, the store has a reputation for being a hardliner against criminal activity on its premises. Its management does not hesitate to press charges against a shoplifter, no matter how small the involved item. There are instances when a derelict will order a meal and not have funds to cover the check. In this case, the police will be called to the store and the person may be arrested for theft of service. Streetwise regulars, that is, those persons who usually hang around the terminal, realize that because of this policy by store management, it is not the most desirable place to commit a crime.

A large sign suspended from the ceiling points the way to the Information Counter, which provides facts concerning the services and schedules of terminal tenants. Directly behind this are the ticket windows for the short haul and middle distance bus companies. Passengers purchase their tickets here, proceeding to platforms located on the upper levels. These windows offer tickets to most suburban areas in New York and New Jersey, as well as Upstate New York and Jersey shore resort areas. There is an Off-Track Betting Office adjacent to these windows, containing an interesting mix of clientele. Well dressed commuters rub elbows with flannel-shirted construction workers, all eyes focusing on the screen announcing wager results. Standing to the sides are those who have another

use for OTB--shelter, a place to hang out or search for change and un-cashed tickets. The shoeshine parlor is also a remnant of an earlier day, with sprightly bootblacks hopping like toads between stools as they buff customers' shoes to a high shine. The other shops on the Main Concourse include a leather shop, delicatessen, luggage store and men's store. At the Ninth Avenue end of the concourse are the Port Authority administrative offices and police quarters.

A waiting room is located on the Fortieth Street side of the concourse; it has always been a problem area in terminal operation. Plastic seats are arranged in a circular grouping and these sometimes become the "residences" of bag ladies, drunks and undesirables of the neighborhood. Senior citizens have also used the seats as "watchers," thereby becoming additional obstacles to the true bus user seeking a rest.³⁵ The police constantly patrol the area, but the subjects wait for them to leave and then return to a seat. Television monitors are located in the room, and police are able to observe the activity during any given period. When the Desk Sergeant observes a "sleeper," he transmits a message to a patrol officer instructing him to take appropriate action. In the past, coin-operated television sets were mounted on the seats, creating a problem in that undesirables could panhandle money and deposit it

³⁵Many of these senior citizens are residents of the old Hell's Kitchen community. They come to the terminal because some used to live there, others just want to meet their friends and talk. While there is no real harm here, it is a disruption to personal space and user patterns. See Chapter V for the efforts to curb this situation.

in the sets, in effect "renting the seat" for a twenty-minute period. This made it difficult for the police to ask them to leave, as they had to wait for the expiration of operation. If the subject had another coin to deposit, he was able to remain for another twenty minutes. Consequently, the television sets were removed and since they generated only about \$4,000 per year in revenue, they are not missed.

The waiting room is yet another area of the Terminal with a distinct atmosphere. There is a mixture of races, sexes and ages of moment to moment occupants. Lavatories are located on each end of the room and are an attraction to loiterers who need to use the facilities. A fairly common occurrence is to find one of these persons asleep in a toilet stall, necessitating a call to the police. Some persons in the waiting room are reading a racing form; others doze and still others wait patiently for their bus, eyes glancing at their watch or a clock.

3. The Suburban Bus Level: This area provides sixteen island platforms with space for loading seventy-two buses. There is also a common unloading platform located on the south side of the level. During the morning rush period, an endless stream of buses pulls to the curb here, discharging their human cargo. Commuters walk down flights of stairs to the Suburban Concourse, which contains some shops and concessions. It overlooks the Main Concourse much the same as does a balcony in a movie theater. Large escalators bring the users to street level, where they either leave the facility or descend into the subway to continue their journey.

The Suburban Concourse contains the usual snack bar, florist shop, candy store and others, but the area is unique in its fully-equipped Bowling Alley. In it, a comfortable cocktail lounge provides sit-down service complete with waitresses. There are quite a few pinball machines and arcade games located in the Bowling Alley, but they do not seem to attract many undesirables. These persons may enter out of sheer curiosity, yet they will be conspicuous among the middle class and blue collar surroundings. They cannot blend in here as easily as they can on the Long Haul Level. Whenever an undesirable does enter, the proprietor is on guard for disorderly activity or theft. He usually calls the police.

Next to the Bowling Alley is the Briefcase Pub, the "elite" tavern of the facility. Displayed in the window are trophies of various sports teams and personalities, and the bartenders stand out in their white shirts and dark ties. This is the least likely place to find an undesirable, as there is a very strong middle-working class environment.

4. The Upper Bus Level: The Upper Bus Level has a total of fifty-nine bus loading positions and a central concourse. There is also a common unloading platform similar to the one on the Suburban Level. This central passenger concourse has twenty-six "sawtooth" bus berths serving long distance buses (such as upstate New York), with the remaining thirty-three bus loading positions located on eight island platforms along the north side of the Terminal. The Upper Bus Concourse parallels the various gates and plastic seats are arranged against the walls, facing the buses.

A snack bar and newsstand serve passengers who arrive by escalator, elevator or stairway. Police and Information Clerks monitor activity on the concourse by means of closed circuit television cameras.³⁶ One of the problems encountered on this level is that when the Terminal's upper areas are closed during off-peak hours, undesirables have a tendency to remain in the seats and lavatories in an attempt to have a secure night's sleep. The police will check these areas as part of a nightly routine.³⁷ The population of the Upper Bus Level is again mixed, with commuters, college students and tourists using the facilities.

5. Parking Levels: The Bus Terminal contains three parking levels above the Upper Bus Level, with a total capacity of 1,080 automobiles. In 1980, approximately 510,000 autos used the parking facilities, which are operated by a private firm for the Port Authority.

THE NEW PORT AUTHORITY BUS TERMINAL

The Port Authority is currently in the midst of a massive construction and modernization project involving the Bus Terminal. An extension is being constructed, increasing the size of the

³⁶Information Clerks have a telephone "hotline" to the Police Desk for reporting information. They have received training by the Port Authority Police Academy on how to observe certain types of activity. Role playing instructions portray a pimp attempting to pick up a young runaway and drug-oriented behavior. The police resent their input, feeling that they are the only qualified persons to perform this procedure.

³⁷Refer to Chapter III.

facility by fifty percent and the existing Terminal is being completely modernized. The dimensions of the current facility are as follows. It is 800 feet long by 200 feet wide, with a total of eight levels. The suburban bus facilities include 105 loading positions (seventy-two on the Suburban Bus Level, thirty-three on the Upper Bus Level), and long distance bus facilities contain seventy-nine loading positions (forty-one on the Long Haul Level center concourse, twelve on the Long Haul Level south side platform and twenty-six on the Upper Bus Level).

This is not the first expansion project for the Bus Terminal. The original facility cost 24 million dollars to construct, but the great increase in bus and passenger traffic required the addition of a new bus operating level on the roof of the original Terminal. This project began in 1960 and was finished in 1963. At that time, the three parking levels were added; the original parking roof was converted to a bus operating level for medium haul lines. The volume of the present Terminal is 18,214,000 cubic feet with a floor area of 1,094,000 square feet.

The title of The New Port Authority Bus Terminal takes into account the addition of the Annex and the complete refurbishing of the existing Terminal. The image of the facility is also being revamped, with the new Terminal being portrayed as a shopping mall in addition to a transportation facility. More stores and concessions will be added in an attempt to draw shoppers and visitors in addition to regular bus users. The total cost of the current project is expected to be 200 million dollars and it is being done in two phases. The first is a new Terminal extension and bus approach

roadway system; while phase two is a complete modernization of the existing facility. The project has generated employment in the form of about 500 construction jobs, plus many more in the allied trades. The eastern end of the facility will be extended level by level both over and under West Forty-first Street. The Main Concourse levels are separated by a reconstructed West Forty-first Street for westbound traffic. Fifty-two new bus loading positions have been added to the 184 currently in use, with the potential for twenty-six more in the future. Two levels of the Annex will be utilized for bus operations, with the Long Haul Level gaining twenty-six loading positions and the elevated Suburban Bus Level gaining the same amount. Future needs have been anticipated and a third operating level will be constructed with provisions for twenty-six loading positions. This area will be similar to the Upper Bus Level in the existing Terminal, however, its initial function will be as a bus holding area.

The exterior of the Bus Terminal will be more aesthetically pleasing, with the addition of a fifteen-foot wide recessed arcade extending along the Eighth Avenue end from Fortieth Street to Forty-second Street, as well as along the Forty-second Street side and partially along Forty-first Street. Sidewalk widths are doubled, with weather protection to pedestrians.

Traffic conditions outside the Terminal are still quite dense and it is hoped that the opening of Forty-first Street will alleviate some of the congestion, particularly that caused by standing cabs.

The modernization of the existing Terminal will provide glass enclosures on twenty-four suburban island platforms, for a total of 105 bus loading positions. These areas will be air-conditioned, heated, well ventilated and lit. In addition, all public concourses will be air-conditioned and ventilated and the central air-conditioning plant will be replaced. Improvements will be made to the public address systems, fire and sprinkler alarm systems and two escalators serving the east end of the Upper Bus Level. Lavatories will be rehabilitated and the Main Concourse will receive a new ticket plaza, open lounge waiting room area, new ceilings, directional signs, storefronts and an unobstructed transition area between the existing Terminal and the Annex.

TRAFFIC SYSTEM

The Bus Terminal generates a large amount of bus traffic and it is imperative that as much of this as possible be kept off the streets. The key to this task is the Lincoln Tunnel, another Port Authority facility. Constantly busy with commuter and interstate truck traffic, it passes under the Hudson River from Weehawken, New Jersey to Thirty-eighth Street in Manhattan. It has better clearances than its counterpart, the Holland Tunnel, which connects Jersey City, New Jersey with Canal Street in Manhattan. The Lincoln Tunnel provides interstate buses with direct access to the Bus Terminal without contribution to traffic congestion on midtown streets. A three-mile approach highway located in New Jersey (Interstate 495) provides direct connections between the tunnel and U.S. Routes 1 and 9, New Jersey Route 3 and the New Jersey Turnpike. In Manhattan,

the Lincoln Tunnel Expressway connects the tunnel and West Thirtieth Street. Exclusive tunnel access roadways in the city connect the facility to local streets from West Forty-First south to West Thirtieth.

Unlike the Holland Tunnel, which has two tubes, the three tubes of the Lincoln Tunnel are the major factor in its flexible traffic handling capacity and operation. The traffic lanes in the center tube may be reversed according to traffic demand. Consequently, there may be the implementation of two lanes in one direction or a single lane in either direction. The morning rush period is a particularly trying time, since incoming traffic must stop in order to pay the toll, ranging from \$1.50 for passenger cars to a few dollars for trucks, based on axle capacity. The tolls leaving New York were eliminated in favor of doubling the tolls inbound to the city.

During the rush period, the facility operates a two and one-half mile long eastbound Exclusive Bus Lane from Route 3 and the New Jersey Turnpike to the tunnel. This is done in one of the three normally westbound lanes of the approach highway and it significantly reduces the commuter's travel time. Ramps take the vehicles directly into the Bus Terminal.

The center tube of the Lincoln Tunnel was opened to traffic in 1937, the north tube in 1945 and the south in 1957. The opening of the third tube made it the world's first three-tube vehicular underwater tunnel and increased the annual traffic capacity by fifty percent. There are two ten feet, nine inch traffic lanes in each tube, with an operating headroom of thirteen feet (compared to

twelve feet, six inches for the Holland). The external diameter of the tunnel is thirty-one feet and tube lengths are as follows: north--7,482 feet; center--8,216 feet; south--8,006 feet. There is an annual traffic volume of over 32,609,000 vehicles, with an initial Port Authority investment of 197.9 million dollars.

The Bus Terminal ramp system permits outbound buses using the Suburban and Upper Bus Levels to directly enter the tunnel and private autos utilizing the parking levels are afforded the same opportunity. The ramp roadbeds are heated by underground oil fed pipes, so that inclement weather will not cause accidents or delays in these locations.

The New Port Authority Bus Terminal has planned for a revamped traffic system, in that tunnel approaches will be expanded by the addition of an underpass beneath the roadbed of Forty-first Street from Eighth Avenue to Dyer Avenue. This will be utilized by buses entering and leaving the Long Haul Level of the Annex and those departing the south side of the existing Long Haul Level. This new underpass will ease traffic congestion on Ninth Avenue between Fortieth and Forty-first Streets; in addition, a ventilation building will be built on the northeast corner of Forty-first Street and Ninth Avenue.

BUS TERMINAL MANAGEMENT

The administration of the Bus Terminal is identical to most other Port Authority facilities, yet it has some unique problems and situations. The actual policy making officer of the facility is the Manager, whose office is located at the Ninth Avenue end of the

Main Concourse. He reports directly to the Director of Tunnels, Bridges and Terminals at the World Trade Center. The Manager directs the activities of civilian employees, while the Police Captain is responsible for law enforcement personnel. This situation may be broadly described as that of a city Mayor and Police Chief, where the Manager controls the budget, determining what is to be done in terms of manpower allocations and the Captain decides how it will be implemented. If the Manager desires five officers on the Main Concourse, the Captain is responsible for their deployment and supervision. The Captain reports to two persons, the Facility Manager and the Police Deputy Inspector at Headquarters.³⁸

Bus Terminal management also works in conjunction with that of the Lincoln Tunnel in updating procedures and working out problem areas. Since the Terminal is a major transportation facility, management and police must maintain liaison with external agencies. For the latter, this would involve the various law enforcement and public safety agencies whose jurisdictions surround the Terminal, while for management, it includes the various city, state and federal agencies monitoring transportation operations. Many agencies may affect the Terminal, such as the City Planning Commission, New York City Transit Authority and the Department of Traffic. Management must deal with these in different degrees at varying periods, according to circumstances of the moment. For example, the Manager of the Terminal does not have a great deal of contact with the

³⁸Refer to Chapter III for discussion of police.

Metropolitan Transportation Authority, the state agency in control of the Long Island Railroad, subways, buses and suburban buses to Nassau County. Contacts with the MTA would be made at the World Trade Center, with policy decisions to be made at the Tunnels, Bridges and Terminals Department. The Terminal Manager, then, would abide by any directions from his supervisors. Consequently, the Bus Terminal Manager is concerned with the daily operation of the facility; when serious problems develop, there is communication "downtown." The Bus Terminal is not an entity unto itself.

There is much management contact with various tenants in the Terminal, most of this involving gate assignments, operations and complaints. The Manager does not have direct dealings with these subjects, but delegates responsibility to lower level unit supervisors. These persons are responsible to an Assistant Manager, who decides what information requires the Manager's attention.

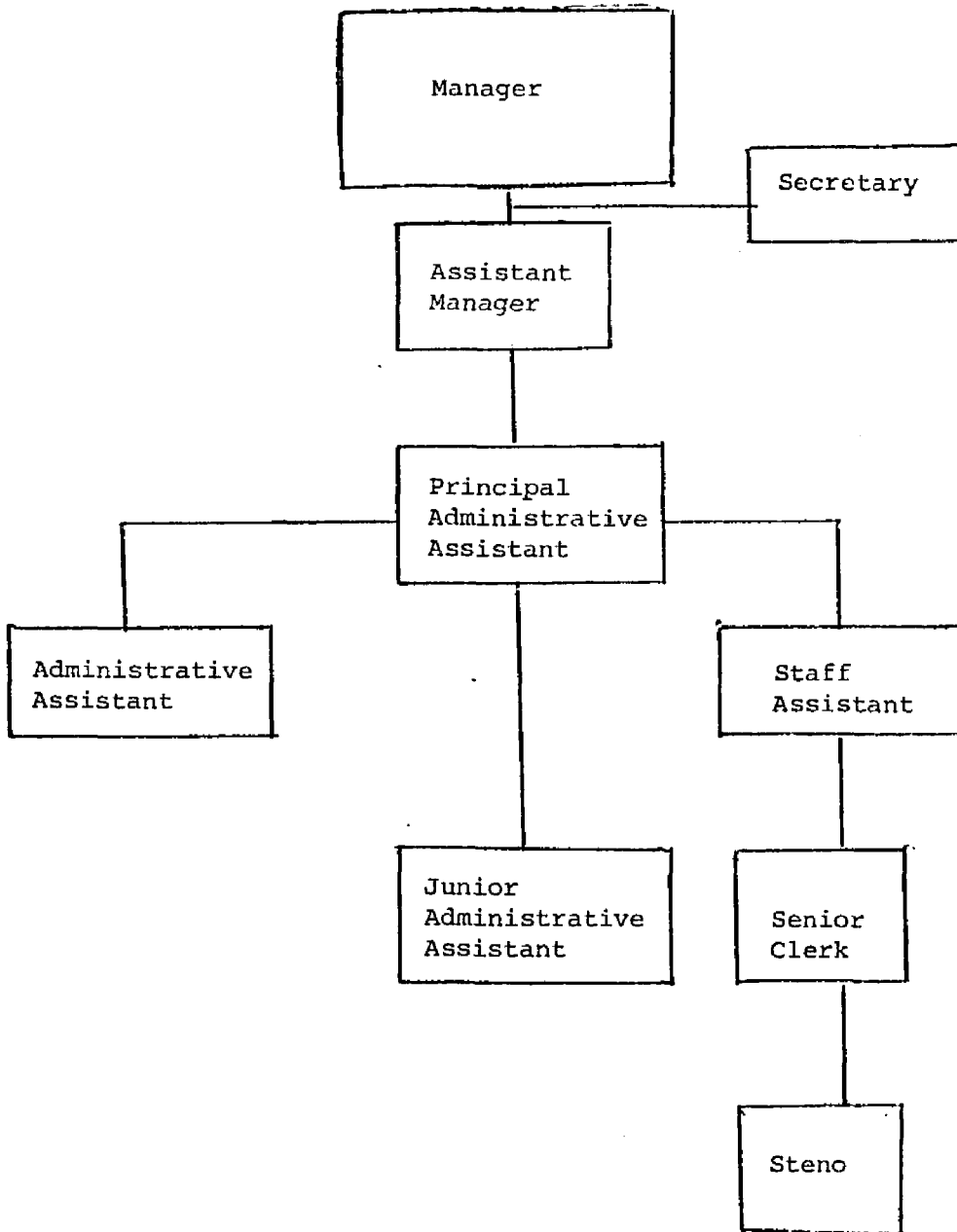
Management must also be responsive to interest group articulation from the surrounding community. For example, there was quite a debate over the proposed colors of the completed facility's steel trusses. Various experiments were attempted, such as coloring them brown, maroon and bright red, with the preference of allowing them to assume the "natural rust" color of the parking garage at LaGuardia Airport. The community voiced opposition to the proposal, and the Port Authority responded by selecting the maroon color for the facility.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Although many may think of it as just a bus terminal or "The Port Authority," the facility is actually a very important and intricate public institution in the community. It was designed to be a complete and efficient transportation terminal, yet it has become much more than that. Situated in the midst of a unique community comprised of a diverse and temporal population, the Bus Terminal must respond to their needs in a variety of ways. Its users consist of more than those taking the bus. The particular order characterizing the old Hell's Kitchen community has been lost, but that does not mean it has been destroyed. It has been replaced by an order of a different type--a public place environment stressing temporal flow and tenuous anonymous relationships and behavior rather than a strong, affiliative neighborhood system.

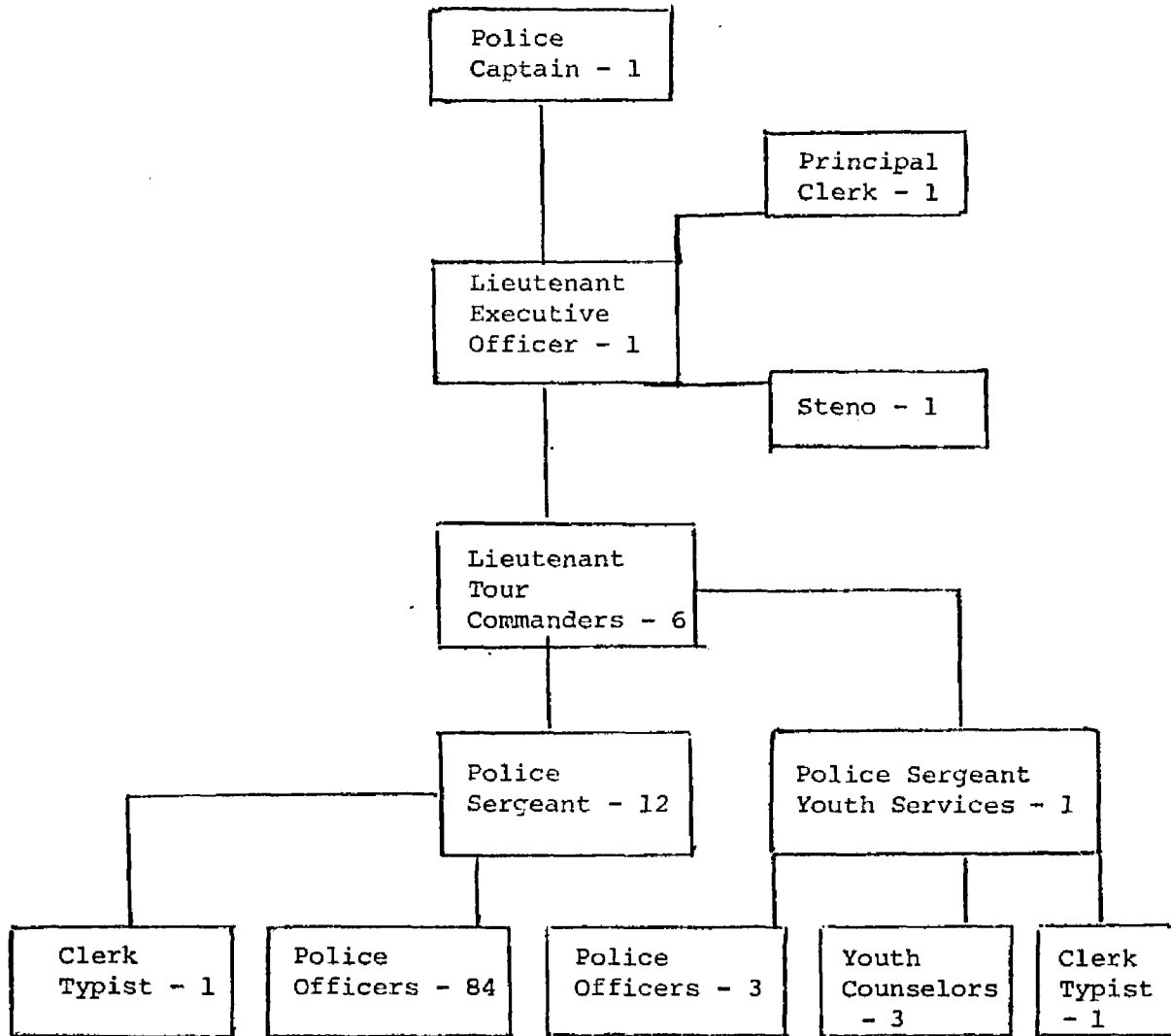
There is still the essence of community on the site, but one of an entirely different nature than what was left behind. Chapter IV discusses this.

CIVILIAN MANAGEMENT

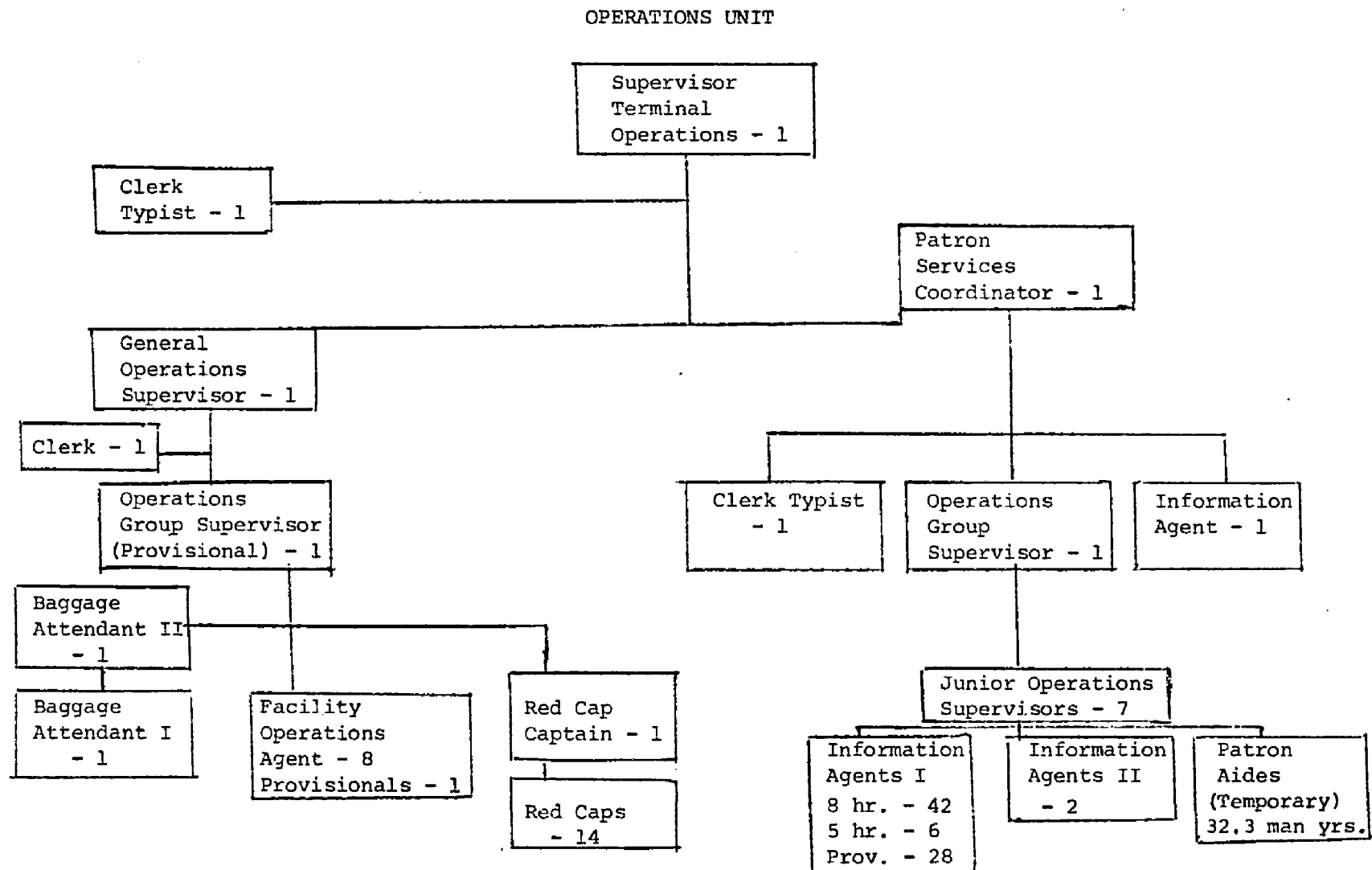


SOURCE: Unit 221 Budget, 1981.

POLICE UNIT

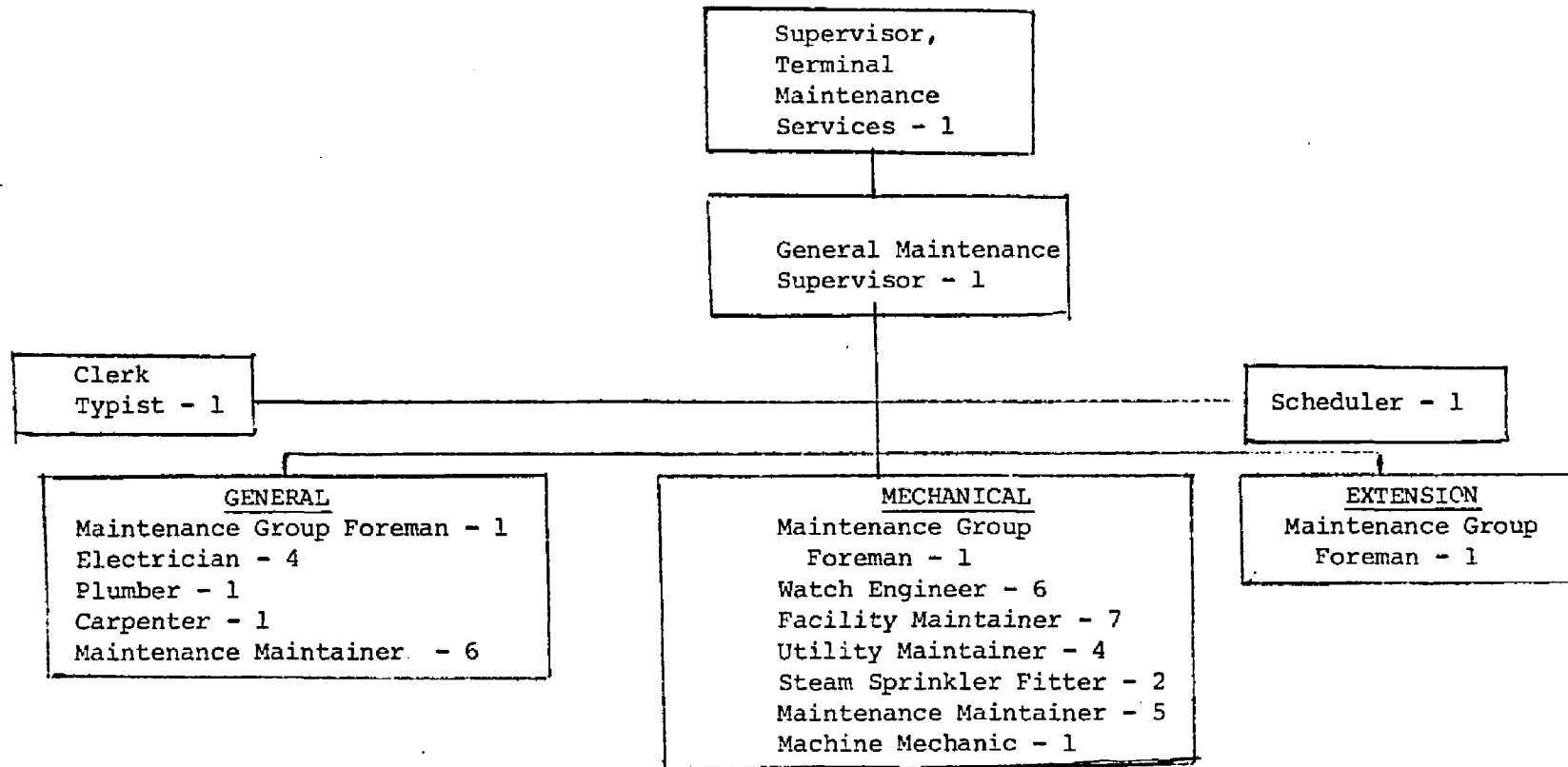


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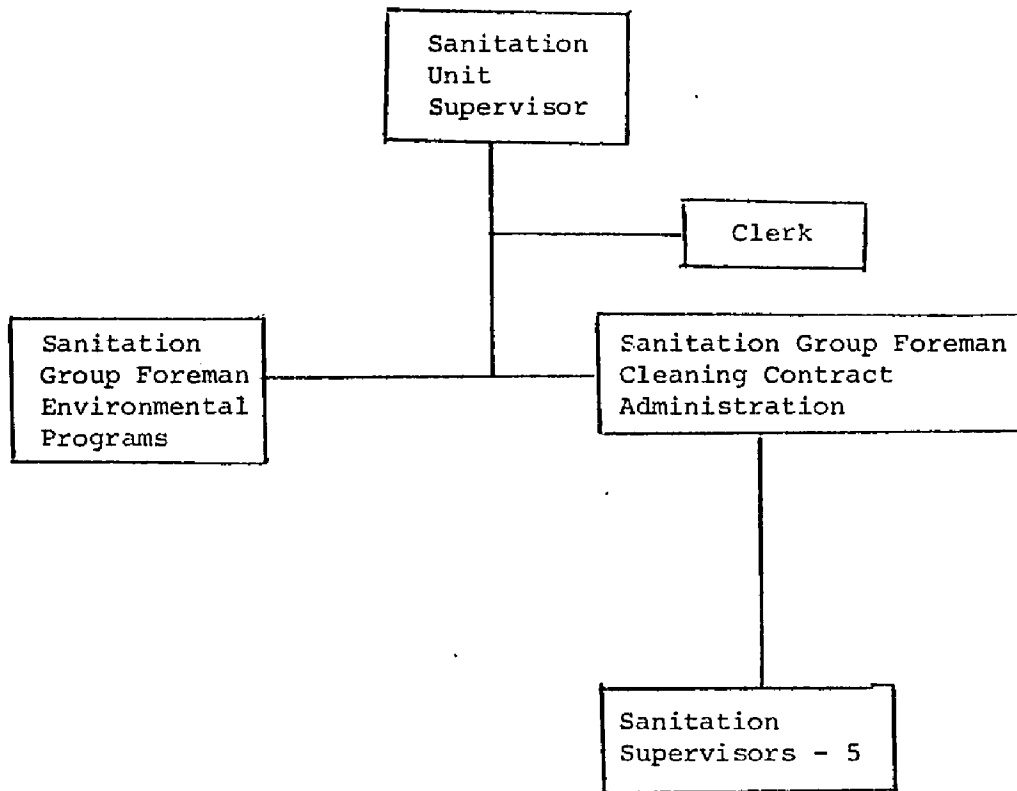
SOURCE" Unit 221 Budget, 1981.

MAINTENANCE UNIT



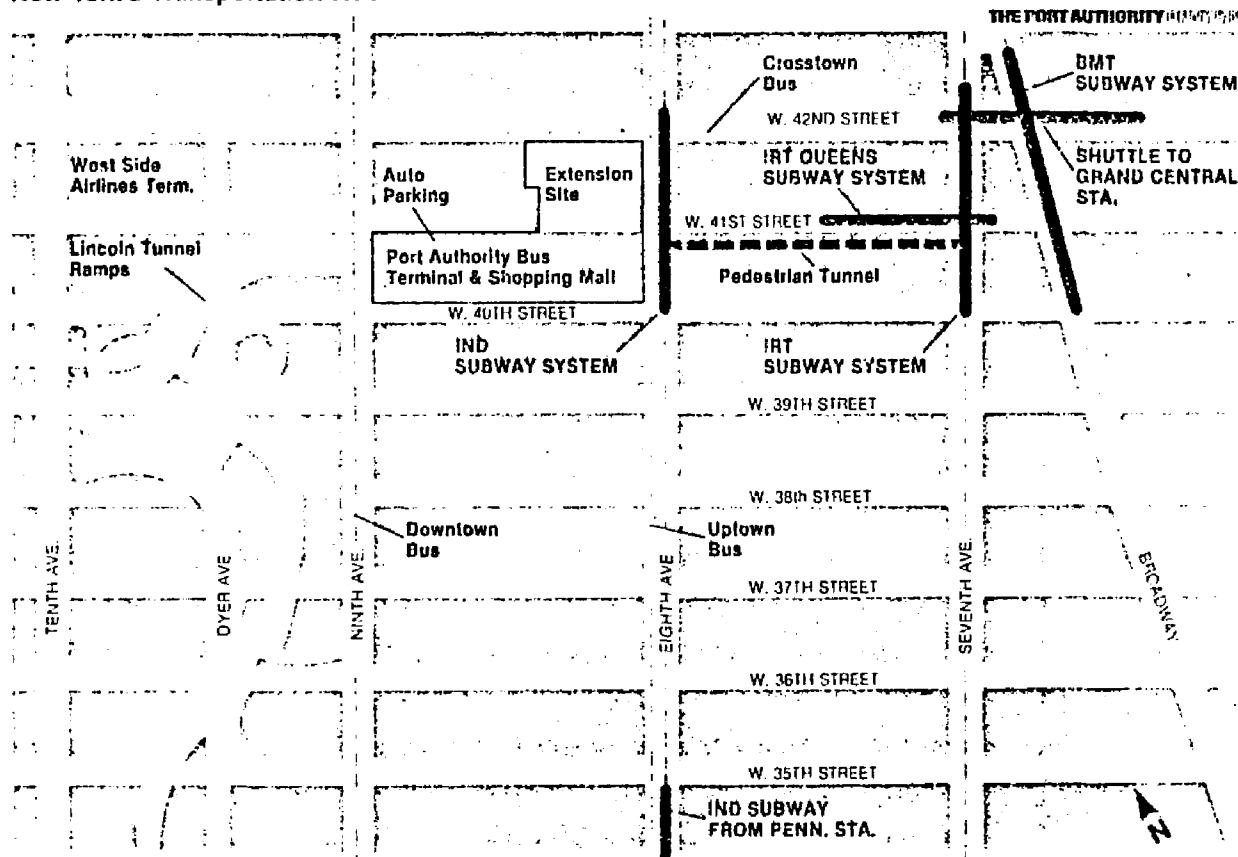
SOURCE: Unit 221 Budget, 1981.

SANITATION UNIT



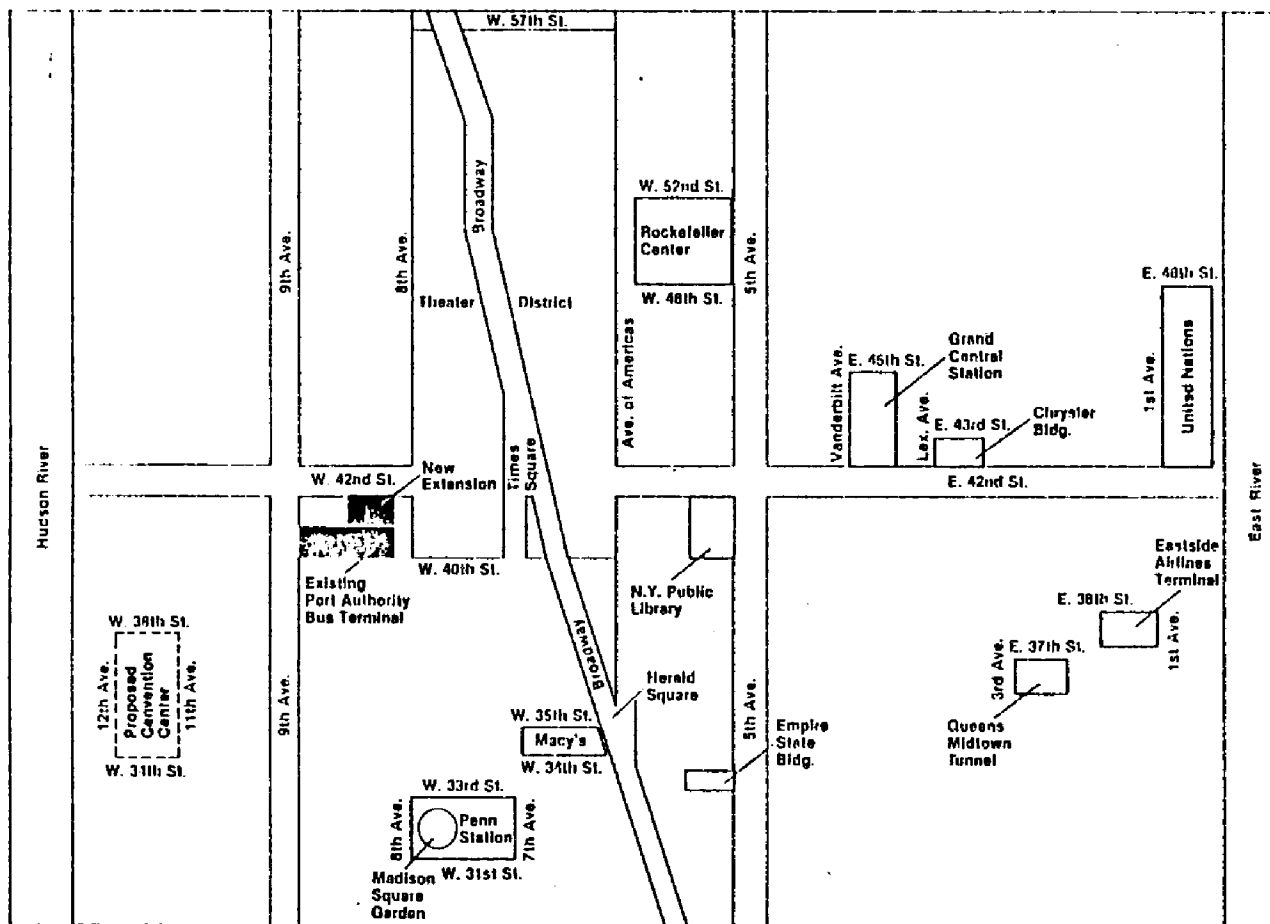
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**The New Port Authority Bus Terminal and Shopping Mall:
New York's Transportation Hub**

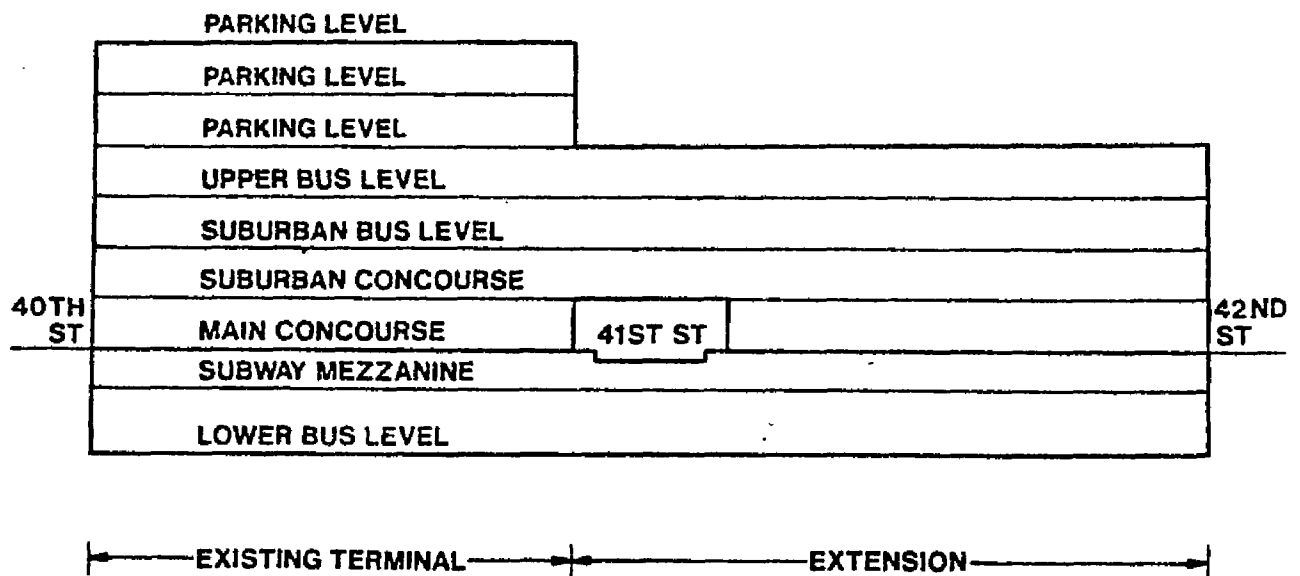


The Port Authority Bus Terminal & Shopping Mall: Gateway to the Heart of Manhattan

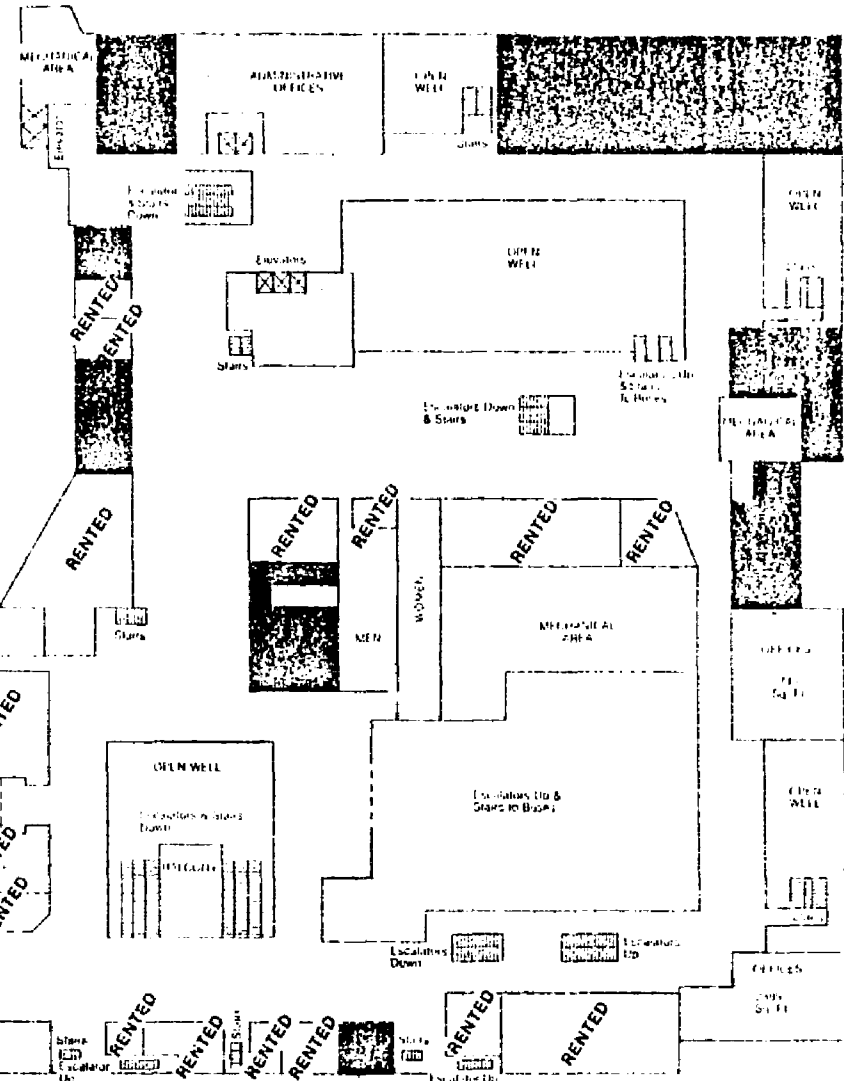
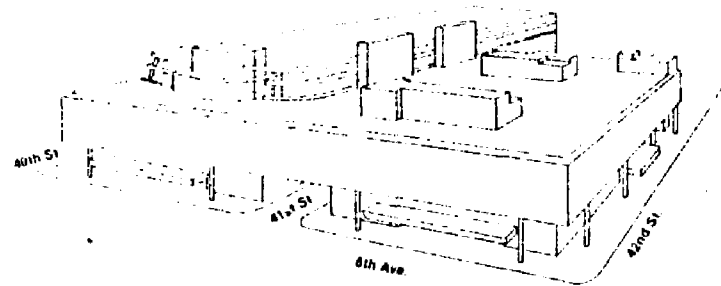
THE PORT AUTHORITY



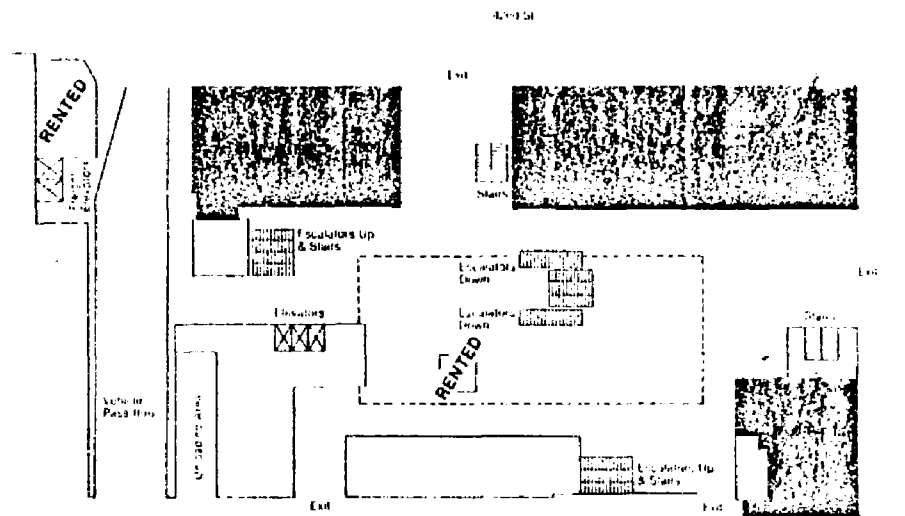
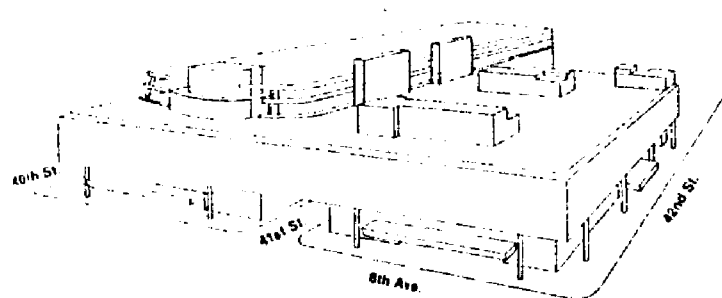
PORT AUTHORITY BUS TERMINAL AND EXTENSION



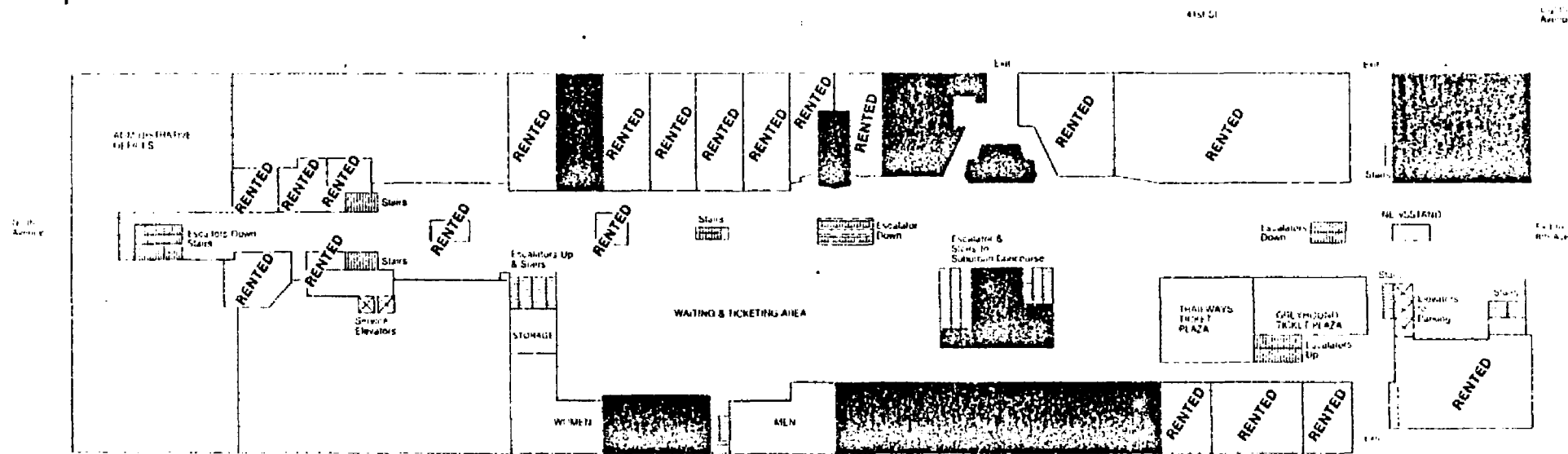
SUBURBAN CONCOURSE



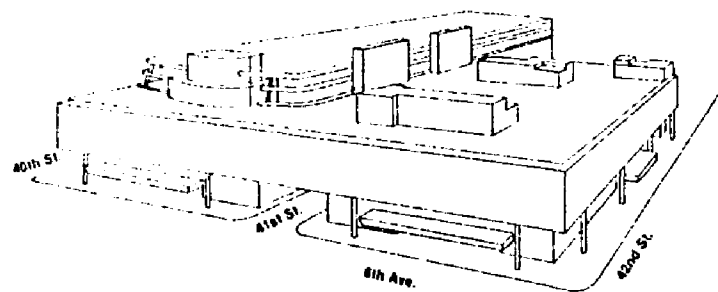
MAIN CONCOURSE



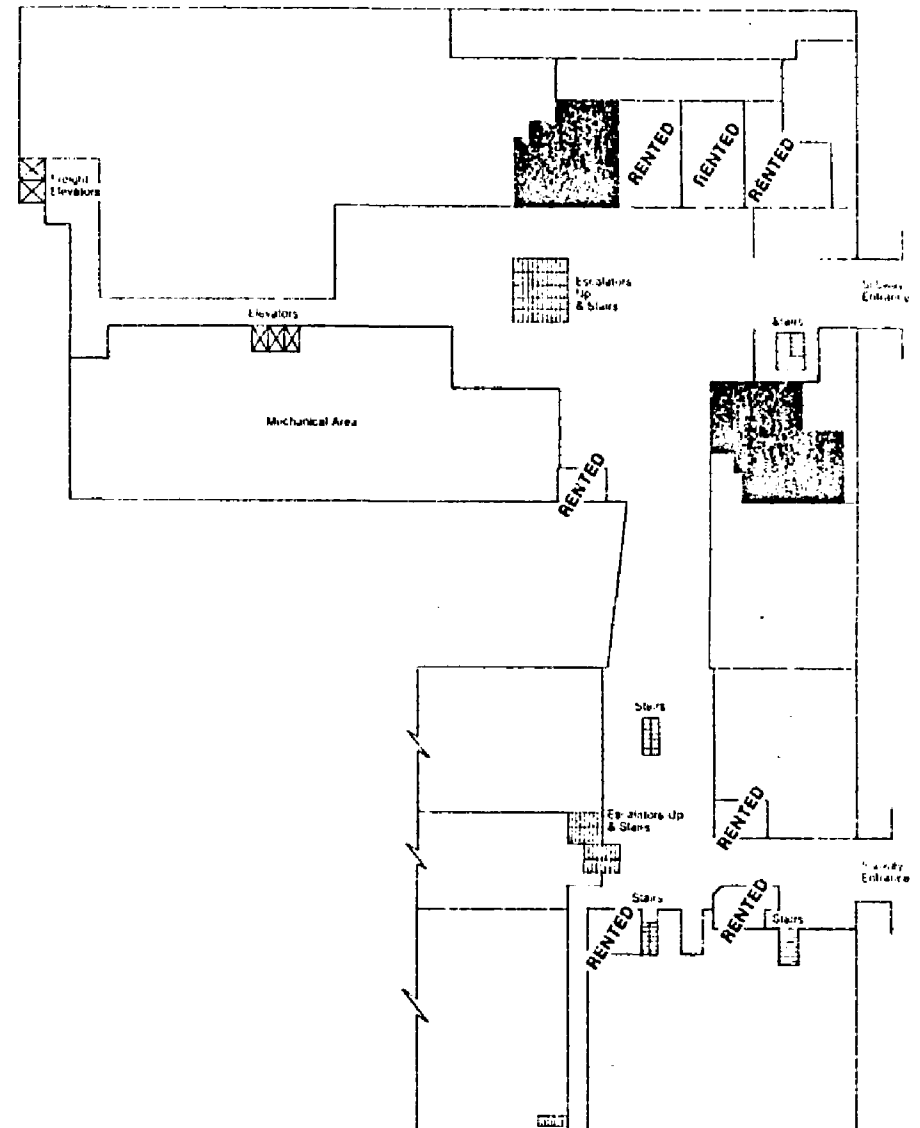
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SUBWAY MEZZANINE LEVEL



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CHAPTER II

THE HUMAN ECOLOGY OF THE BUS TERMINAL

The Port Authority Bus Terminal was constructed to alleviate the serious traffic congestion caused by the existence of small bus stations scattered throughout the midtown area. However, this was the engineering intention, and as we have discussed, there are also important ecological implications. We have witnessed the fragmentation of the neighborhood as a result of the condemnation of not only physical structures, but also the sociological concept of community. Nonetheless, the Terminal has been successful in its goal of combining and coordinating the bus movements into and out of the metropolitan area. Now we will focus on the behavior and ecology of the facility itself, the human relationships and the activity within the walls of that "Port Authority" on Eighth Avenue and Fortieth Street in New York City.

The Bus Terminal was designed to achieve the basic purpose of transportation coordination in a variety of ways. The levels are constructed to group buses by utilization, that is, long, middle and short distance runs. Within these levels are various facilities to serve the needs of users, and support personnel are present in order to perform necessary operational functions. In mechanical terms, the Terminal acts in a channelling function within this Forty-second Street transportation hub, by gathering bus riders from one area and expediting their dissemination into

others. However, we should remember that the riders are a widely scattered lot, both physically and demographically. In the Bus Terminal, the white, middle class executive commuter shares space with the black, lower income elderly long distance rider. They must share the same facility in order to satisfy this need for transportation, yet their territory within this facility is distinct. The commuter on the Upper and Suburban Bus Levels is witness to a different environment than the long distance passenger on the Long Haul Level. In addition, the actors will find varying purposes for the support institutions (shops, services) and Personnel (bus company employees, Port Authority Police) within this facility. For example, the regular commuter is less likely to partake of a full meal in the Terminal than is the long distance passenger. The former will usually opt for snacks (unless there is a substantial delay), whereas the latter has more time to pass.

THE POPULATION

One may easily commit an error in assuming that the population of the Bus Terminal consists solely of passengers. While they comprise the majority of the transient population, we will also learn that there are additional and equally important actors, who contribute to the total temporal ecology.

The basic desire of the passenger is to get in and out of the Terminal as fast as possible. Unlike others who serve this population during an eight-hour work period, the passenger may be here for only the time it takes to walk from the subway to the Suburban Bus Level, or he may be here for a longer period on the

Long Haul Level. The determining factor in duration of stay is passenger type, yet this duration is a dependent variable. The interjection of independent variables such as weather-related delays, strikes, natural disasters, personal mishaps or disorientation due to construction of the Annex may alter the individual's duration status, and quite possible, his demeanor and participation in the daily situational activity of the Terminal.

1. The Commuter: This is the individual who uses the bus on a daily basis in order to get to a place of business in the New York or New Jersey area. They are the "regulars" of the facility, and will be here from day to day in all types of weather, either as individuals or in groups, in order to get to work. Some will be here on their own volition. They have selected the bus from among other means of transportation, such as the automobile and the railroad. This may be based on economic reasons in that the bus is cheaper than the train or driving one's own car; convenience, in that there is a bus stop close to the home, place of employment or both; or companionship, in that "everyone else in the office takes the bus." In this latter case, the bus then becomes a mobile extension of the community to be deposited in New York and picked up that evening.

On the other hand, there may be a lack of alternatives, in that nothing else is available and the individual must either take the bus or change jobs.

Whatever the reason for the commuters' presence on the bus, it remains that their basic intention is to get in and out of the Terminal as fast as possible. A traffic accident in the Lincoln Tunnel can cause their bus to be delayed in getting into the Terminal, and a subsequent subway train to be missed. They will be late for work and start the day in a less than desirable manner. On a good day, this will not be the case. In addition, their experience of the facility will be that ten minute walk, surrounded by their peers, to their bus or the exits.

The domain of the commuter is the Upper and Suburban Bus Levels. If he is a middle distance rider, he will go to such places as Lakehurst or Monticello; if he is a short distance rider, Jersey City or Fort Lee. What type of person is this average commuter? Who is this "regular user" of the facility. A demographic survey of this individual has provided the following information.¹

- 56 percent are male
- 55 percent are single
- 59 percent are between the ages of 24 and 44
- 58 percent have professional, technical, executive and administrative jobs
- 53 percent own their own homes
- 77 percent report an annual income over \$15,000

As we have discussed, the primary reason for the presence of the daily commuter is employment. Where the casual shopper may decide to browse through a shop or two on the Main Concourse, the

¹Port Authority Consumer Market Research Survey, 1979.

commuter is oblivious to the situation in his haste to get to and from work. He maintains a regular routine in terms of times and routes, but these may be altered due to the effects of the identified independent variables. His attire is usually the customary business suit and tie, raincoat and portfolio with newspaper, yet he may also be a factory worker in dungarees and work shoes or a student attending college. His periods of appearance are predictable, the morning and evening rush being the likeliest, but he may also be a regular rider on the night shift.

2. Long Distance Passenger: This is the individual you see on the Long Haul Level, the lowest in the facility. He is the customer of Greyhound or Continental Trailways, whose buses traverse the continental United States and parts of Canada. One can usually spot this passenger by the presence of suitcases, clothes carriers, travel brochures, cameras, etc. The long distance passenger group is significant in that it is comprised of many elderly and low income persons, as well as minority groups.

3. The Shopper: Apart from those regular users who may purchase an item as part of their daily routine, the shopper is distinct as an individual who comes to the Terminal in order to visit stores and select merchandise. Females dominate the group, and they may come to the city by bus in order to visit stores and select merchandise, beginning their excursion by browsing through some shops in the Terminal. The shopper's pace is much slower than the commuter's due to the fact that there is no time restriction. A casual pace affords greater time for observing activity in the surrounding area, and one notices that shoppers are more

intent in watching the goings on within the Terminal than are the commuters.

This shopper category will be further enriched by the fact that the Bus Terminal Annex will emphasize its possibilities as a shopping mall in addition to a transportation facility; hence, there will be even more appearances by non-bus users than before. The "old" Bus Terminal really did not concentrate on this aspect of operation; its shopping facilities such as luggage shops, snack bars and newsstands, were geared to the support of bus users.

The following charts² will give an indication of the current shopping activity in the Bus Terminal.

THE PABT MARKET

How Many?

	Typical	
	Weekday	Saturday
Departing Passengers		
Short and Medium Haul	78,100	32,100
Long Haul	10,600	9,900
Non-Bus/Parking	2,800	3,100
Non-Bus/Shopping, Misc.	2,300	1,500
Totals	93,800	46,600

How Often?

	Daily	1-4/Week	-Less Than-	
			1/Week	1/Month
Short and Medium Haul	59%	13%	9%	19%
Long Haul	7%	6%	12%	75%
Non-Bus	14%	17%	14%	55%

²SOURCE: Port Authority Bus Terminal Consumer Market Research Survey, 1970

How Many Users Shop in the Terminal?

	% of Respondents	
	Shop	Don't Shop
Short & Medium Haul	36%	64%
Long Haul	33%	67%
Non-Bus	37%	63%
Totals	35%	65%

How Often Do They Shop?

	At Least Once A Week	Less Than Once Per Week	Once Per Month
Short & Medium Haul	35%	29%	36%
Long Haul	8%	16%	76%
Non-Bus	13%	23%	64%
Totals	31%	27%	42%

The following charts indicating the amounts and types of purchases illustrate the transient nature of the user, in that the amounts are minimal and food and clothing (perhaps a tie or rainhat) are emphasized.

Amount of Typical Purchase

	Percent of Shoppers			
	Less Than \$5	\$5-\$10	\$10-\$25	More Than \$25
Short & Medium Haul	28%	35%	28%	9%
Long Haul	36%	34%	21%	9%
Non-Bus	34%	36%	23%	7%
Totals	29%	35%	27%	8%

Major Types of Purchases*

	Percent of Shoppers
Food or Beverages	57%
Clothing & Accessories	42%
Books, Magazines	18%
Drugs	14%
Toiletries, Cosmetics	13%
Novelty Items	8%
Flowers	8%
Cards & Stationery	7%
Gifts	6%
Records	3%
Household Articles	2%

* A number of users gave multiple responses.

SOURCE: PABT Consumer Market Research Survey, 1979.

4. Theater-Special Event Crowd: The Wednesday afternoon matinee in the Forty-second Street theater district will bring suburban housewives into the area for a show, allowing them to be home in time for dinner. The evening theater crowd will usually consist of couples who visit a restaurant before returning to the Terminal to catch a bus, pick up their cars or board a subway train for their trip home. A concert at Madison Square Garden or the Meadowlands will bring a particular type of crowd depending on the event.

5. The Tourist: A person on a limited income who wishes to see New York City may travel rather inexpensively from any part of the country to the Bus Terminal. The tourist may be found at any time of the day or evening, but very rarely during the late night hours. Some tourists who do venture into the area during "off hours" become crime victims, due to their inability to look like they "belong," and their curiosity in perusing pornographic movies or con games.³

This population is supplemented by the presence of support personnel in that the physical capabilities of the Bus Terminal, no matter how comprehensive, are useless without various forces who will provide a service to the users, a satisfaction process for their needs.

6. The Merchant: The merchant in the Bus Terminal should realize that he will deal with two distinct types of customers.

³Refer to Chapter III for the aspect of "belonging" in a law enforcement perspective.

The everyday commuter may not enter to buy unless his daily routine has been disturbed, as may be the case in inclement weather. The storekeeper might set up a particularly eye catching display in the hopes of attracting the passing commuter's attention to the point of causing him to alter a normal route and inquire about the item. On the other hand, there is the passerby who will cruise from shop to shop, buying on impulse. One may observe this in the Main Concourse bookshop, where at any given time a number of persons are in each section, leafing through books and their interest whetted, possibly purchasing one or two.

7. The Police: The police are the formal agents of social control within the Bus Terminal, as well as the surrounding community.⁴ They are responsible for the maintenance of order and the restoration of hostile situations to normal routine. Whenever control of a deviant individual is desired, it is the police who will respond, assess the matter and decide the course of action to be taken. Unlike the typical commuter or other previously described members of the population, the police officer does not pass through the Terminal on his way to and from work; rather, the Terminal is his working area, his "turf," and he is in an excellent position to observe the temporal flow of activity from hour to hour, day to day, and season to season. He is an overseer of the population and must know when to become involved in a situation or permit it to resolve itself.

⁴This issue of social control is pervasive throughout the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street community in efforts toward "redevelopment." Theodorson defines it as:

8. Terminal Staff: The organization charts in Chapter Two will give an indication of the various units within the Bus Terminal. These are the individuals employed by the Port Authority and contract firms who contribute to the operation of the facility.

9. Marginal Users: These individuals are not a part of the basic flow, yet their presence is an integral factor in the temporal situational activity of the Terminal. There are free speech persons, who set up tables or walk parts of the Main Concourse, distributing religious or political literature; visitors who come to meet relatives or friends and have some time to pass before the bus arrives; delivery men, who transport merchandise to various stores and roll carts or carry packages throughout the facility. An occasional passerby may have no other use for the Terminal other than the immediate use of a rest room, and that occurrence may be his first or final contact with the place.

There is a second category of marginal user, and these will be known as the "disaffiliated," those who have relinquished their claim to legitimate institutions or behavior. These persons are similar to those found in some classic community studies and are a prime reason for the unique nature of the entire Forty-second

"Any social or cultural means by which systematic and relatively consistent restraints are imposed upon individual behavior and by which people are motivated to adhere to traditions and patterns of behavior that are important to smooth functioning of a group or society."

Refer to George A. Theodorson and Achilles G. Theodorson, A Modern Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), p. 386. For the role of the police in this perspective, refer to Chapter III for the increasing role of the social service agencies in augmenting the police, refer to Chapter IV.

Street neighborhood.⁵

Commonly referred as to the loiterer, street person, undesirable or drifter, the truly disaffiliated person has no roots in the community.⁶ The disaffiliated may be harmless in their intentions, as in the case of a shopping bag lady or elderly man hanging around the Off-Track Betting parlor, yet there be those who are predators of both their own kind or the legitimate population. These are the street persons or narcotics users who may come to the Bus Terminal in order to shoplift, steal a purse, look for a young girl for prostitution purposes or break into an automobile. Since the Bus Terminal is centered in the midst of a street-oriented neighborhood, where the sidewalks are used for more than transportation, it becomes a frequent destination of those seeking warmth or shelter. In addition, the presence of an individual identified as disaffiliated by "legitimate society" can alter

⁵Chapter IV will deal with the exterior community as an expansion of this Chapter, however, three such works directly impacting this thesis are: Nels Anderson, The Hobo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923); Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1967); and Gerald D. Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

⁶Howard M. Bahr, Skid Row (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 22. He feels that lower classes and outcasts are particularly prone to disaffiliation as a result of the deterioration of family concentration and economic condition in certain areas. Affiliative bonds are not as cohesive in rural areas as they are in urban life, and the loss of intimacy precipitates the severance of reliance on the family and community for support. In addition to describing the situation of undesirables in the Terminal and Forty-second Street, this theory reinforces Simmel's argument of the freedom of urban man, as the existence of family bonds indicates a wider array of selection and decision making possibilities presented to a subject.

the perception of the Terminal, the neighborhood or both. The following is an example of this situation.

"Common terms for homeless men, either 'bum' or 'derelict' are linked with other negative labels. When the New York City Transit Authority decided to wall off a Times Square subway arcade because 'they could no longer cope with the crime and immorality there,' one of the reasons given was that the arcade was a 'breeding place of crime; pickpockets, thugs, derelicts and homosexuals use it as a meeting place.'"⁷

Whatever the identity of the marginal user, his or her status as integral actors in the Bus Terminal's social control mechanism can either support or interfere with the basic operational flow. The following are some examples of interference:

- A drunk wanders in from Eighth Avenue and bumps into an exiting female passenger, verbally accosting her.
- The deliveryman carrying a large parcel for Walgreen's feels a bit tired and places it on the floor, causing oncoming passengers to walk around the obstacle.
- A group of teenagers heading toward the Times Square area decide to "check out" the Bus Terminal. While observing the goings on, one of them enters a stairwell in order to urinate.

Now we list some examples of support:

- A woman waiting for the arrival of her friend has some time to pass, and decides to buy a tin of aspirin from Walgreen's and a paperback book at the bookstore.
- A deliveryman completes his tasks and decides to purchase lunch and a few drinks at the Bowling Alley cafe.

⁷Ibid., p. 59.

POPULATION TRENDS

There are thousands of users passing through the Bus Terminal each day and one should be aware of their backgrounds and some current data indicating their utilization of the facility.

Surveys conducted by the Port Authority indicate that Terminal users are primarily males by a ratio of two to one, the exact ratio being sixty-four percent male to thirty-six percent female. In addition, the predominant age group is between twenty-five and forty-four, with three-fourths of the passengers utilizing either the subway (thirty-seven percent) or walking (thirty-six percent) for the New York City segment of their trip.⁸

<u>USER CATEGORY: MALE VERSUS FEMALE</u>					
<u>Sex</u>	<u>Total Terminal</u>	<u>Short-Medium Haul</u>	<u>Long Haul</u>	<u>Parking Lot</u>	<u>Other Non-Bus</u>
			<u>PERCENT DISTRIBUTION</u>		
Male	64	65	58	85	60
Female	36	35	42	15	40
Total	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: PA Patron Participation Program, 1979, p. 8.

The Bus Terminal has experienced a growth in bus passenger activity, a variation from the relatively stable volumes of 1976, 1977 and 1978. On a typical fall weekday in 1979, 173,700 departing and arriving passengers passed through. Short haul movements increased to 116,192 on this typical weekday, and long haul movements increased to 57,524. The chart on the following page

⁸Port Authority Patron Participation Program, 1979, p. 8.

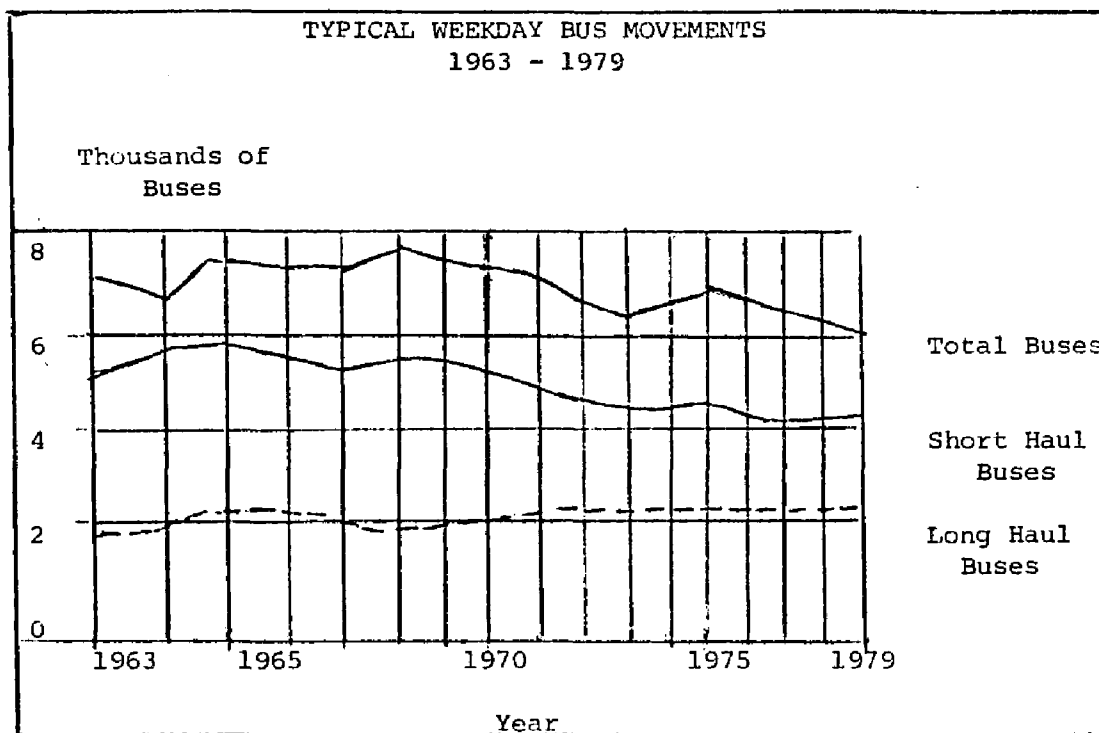
indicates this.

The peak year for short haul passenger activity (i.e., the commuter runs to suburban areas) was 1965, while for long haul passenger activity, it was 1974. There are many hypotheses for the decline of short haul activity since 1965; one of these is that suburban areas have become less rural as homes were constructed, access roads built and utility connections made. Consequently, rather than make the daily commute, some persons may have preferred to relocate to an area nearer their place of business. However, some individuals who commute from New York to New Jersey and vice versa have always lived in the suburbs. For those who work in New York City, the private auto or the car pool avoided the daily inconvenience of travel by mass transit. Constantly spiraling prices of gasoline and parking fees may serve as a deterrent to auto use, and a cost-benefit selection of mass transit as the alternative. Some persons may have been deterred by the image of the Bus Terminal as an unsafe place or a physically deteriorated plant. Others are aware of the hazards associated with the subways, and some females from New Jersey will intentionally seek employment in the Forty-second Street area so that they may debark the bus and walk to work rather than chance the train. In addition, others are deterred by the deterioration of the neighborhood; in fact, some persons may never have seen the facility due to their apprehensions about walking down Forty-second Street or Eighth Avenue.

<u>SUMMARY OF PABT BUS PASSENGER ACTIVITY</u> <u>1979 versus 1978</u>			
	<u>Short Haul</u>	<u>Long Haul</u>	<u>Total</u>
Passenger Arrivals & Departures	116,192	57,524	173,716
Percent Change 1979/1978	1.9	2.6	2.1
Bus Arrivals & Departures	4,059	2,113	6,172
Percent Change 1979/1978	0.8	1.3	N/A
Passengers per Bus	28.6	27.2	28.1
Percent Change 1979/1978	2.5	1.1	2.2

SOURCE: Port Authority Bus and Bus Passenger Surveys, 1980, p. 1.

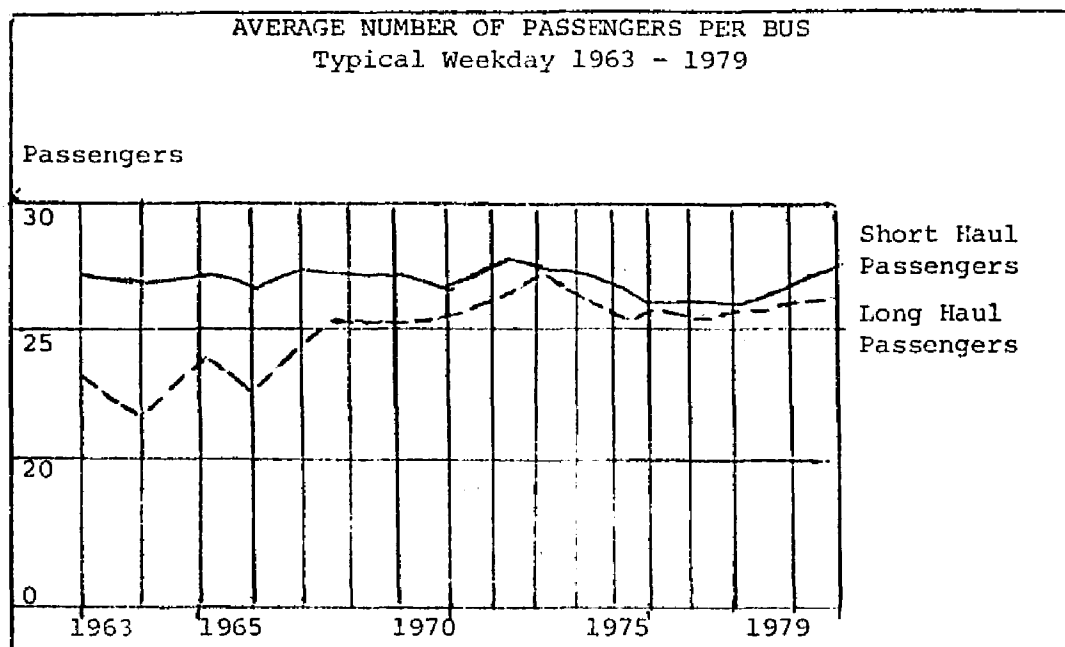
Even though passenger activity fluctuated between 1978 and 1979, there was stability in bus operations. Total long haul bus arrivals and departures advanced slightly to 2,113 on the typical fall weekday (+1.3%), while short haul bus movements experienced a marginal drop to 4,059 (-1%). The following graph illustrates this.



SOURCE: Port Authority Bus and Bus Passenger Surveys, 1980, p. 2.

Since the number of bus movements was fairly consistent, the increase in passenger activity has resulted in a larger load factor per bus. In short, they have become more crowded: 28.1 persons per bus in 1979, a figure +2.2% over that of 1978. The number of passengers per bus is similar between the short and the long haul routes, but historically, the short haul buses enjoyed the higher passenger levels. The increase in long haul bus traffic since the 1960's is most likely due to the high costs of automobile fuel and ownership. Since the persons most likely to be affected by these excessive costs are the poor and elderly on fixed incomes, students and persons with large families for whom travel costs

other than bus are substantial, it is not surprising that these individuals comprise the majority of the population of the Long Haul Level.



SOURCE: Port Authority Bus and Bus Passenger Surveys, 1980, p. 4.

PHYSICAL DESIGN

The Bus Terminal has been designed to break this population into different components according to the destination of the individual and the location of the particular bus. If the entire population were to be grouped in one location at one time, there would be a lack of order in that buses would become backed up, there would be no dispersion of persons to support facilities (lavatories, snack bars) and there would be conflict among types of users. The commuter would be standing in the same lavatory with the passenger bound for Alabama, and their duration of stay would differ. The long distance passenger, faced with the prospect of long waiting periods, may wash, wipe their shoes, comb their hair or shave (although this last item is not permitted) or otherwise use the area for a longer time or different purpose than the more mobile commuter. We know that commuters will be found on the Upper and Suburban Bus Levels during the morning and evening rush periods. They will come down the elevators on their way in from the suburban buses and enter the street or subway of New York City, while those living in the city or Long Island and heading for New Jersey will travel up. The facility is geared for those getting out of it, for in the morning the escalators are adjusted to a downward movement, and in the evening, the procedure is reversed.

The shoppers will enter from the street, the subway and during the off peak hours, the Suburban and Upper Bus Levels. They may also come from the Long Haul Level, since there may be

a considerable wait for a bus and passengers desire to pass some time. These persons will not be caught up with the rushing crowds, and will have a wider range of movement, not a prescribed route. The Terminal will be more available to them in that there are no long lines for meals, buses or information.

The theater-special event crowd will come from the subways, Upper and Suburban Bus Levels and the Parking Level. Many of these persons utilize the Terminal solely for this purpose and have no conception of it as commuter-oriented. To them, it is a meeting or "jumping off" place.

The visitor is interested in the Terminal only insofar as it is a place to buy tickets and catch a bus to a family member's home or a gathering.

The long distance rider is down on the Long Haul Level, and at the present time, the Annex offers a more pleasing environment than the main Terminal due to completion of construction. The Annex is modern and clean, with that "going somewhere" atmosphere of an airport, while the Long Haul Level in the existing facility retains an atmosphere of dreariness and intrusion of the surrounding streets.

The physical design of the Bus Terminal as described in Chapter I is intended to accommodate the needs of these passenger in their various functions. The long haul passenger is out of the way on the lower level and in recognition of the longer waiting periods, more seats are present than on other levels. The lavatory is in plain view in the middle of the corridor rather than

tucked in corners as on the Suburban and Upper Levels. The snack bar enables passengers to purchase items without journeying to the Main Concourse. Buses leaving the area must cross Ninth Avenue at street level, encountering some traffic signals in the route to the Lincoln Tunnel. Conversely, buses carrying commuters from upper levels will travel to the tunnel without touching those city streets. There will be express bus lanes designated during the rush periods, further emphasizing the notion of speed and removal of obstructions between community and city.

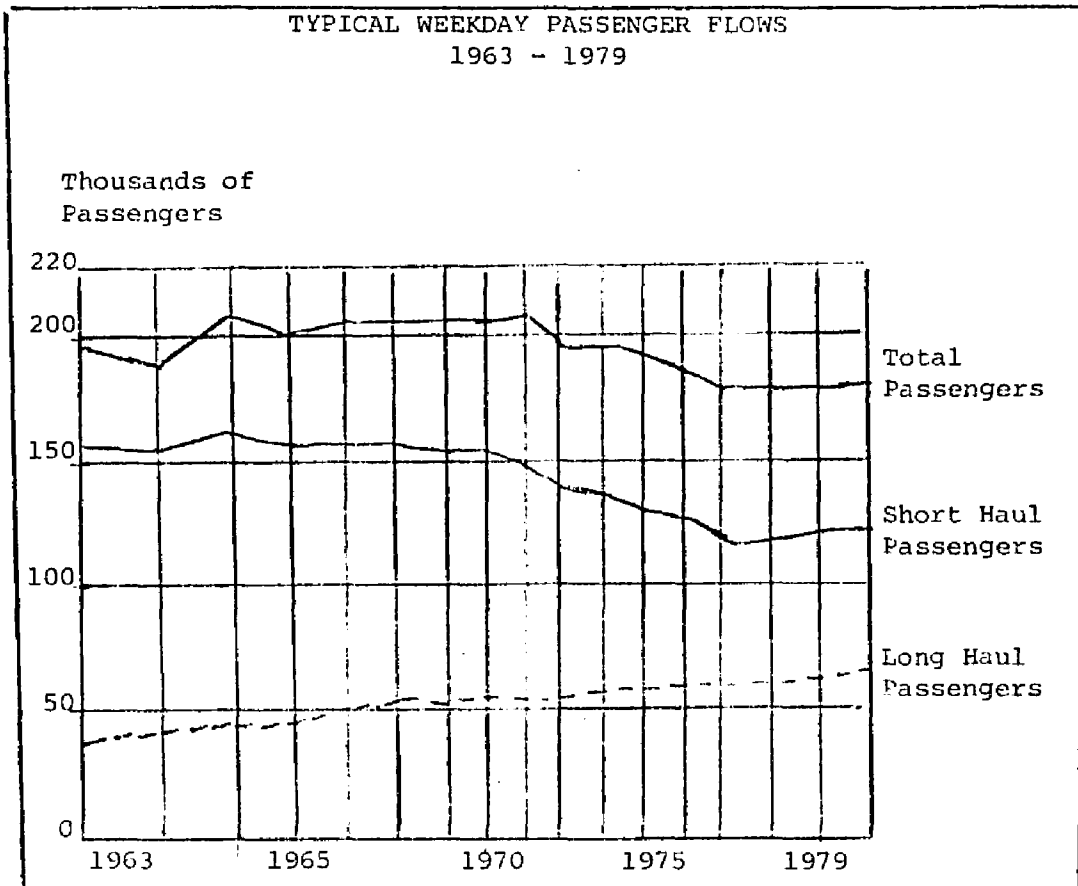
TIME

The passenger activity at the Terminal, along with the use of its physical design, are not left to a haphazard natural operation; rather, they are strictly coordinated according to time. Time is a major independent variable, with all other activity, both operational and ecological, dependent upon it.

A peak hour for passenger movement in the Terminal is between 5:00 and 6:00 P.M. on a weekday. During this period in 1979, more than 26,000 passengers (short and long haul) departed from the facility.⁹ The Port Authority has noted the decline of the short haul bus passenger market since 1970, while the long haul market has been constantly fluctuating. Again, the latter trend is most likely due to trends in the economy. During this peak hour period, thirty percent of the daily volume passes through the facility,

⁹Port Authority Bus and Bus Passenger Surveys, 1980, p. 5.

and it is at this time when this heart is at full pumping power and support personnel mobilization may be required.



SOURCE: Port Authority Bus and Bus Passenger Surveys, 1980, p. 3.

The concept of time is pervasive throughout the Bus Terminal. Though it may be on the minds of some persons more than others, it nonetheless is a governing factor of all personal activity in the facility. To the commuter, time is of the essence as he winds his way down from the suburban unloading platform;

while to the passing bag lady, there is only a time to eat and sleep.¹⁰ Note that while time affects the entire population, it does so in a variety of ways.

The clock and the traffic signal are indigenous to the human ecology of the Bus Terminal.¹¹ The roadways begin to swell in the early morning hours as the entire system throbs, the Lincoln Tunnel drawing in bus and auto traffic bound for the Terminal and trucks for the city. Those who regularly depart the city are drawn to the Terminal on their prearranged schedules. Tunnel tubes and lanes are opened and closed according to the hands on the clock, and traffic signals will decide the movement of traffic across a particular point. As each passenger-laden bus leaves, and as each pedestrian exits the facility, the Terminal is accomplishing its function of pumping the population of the moment into different and widely dispersed areas.

The large timepiece suspended over the Main Concourse is indicative of the overall temporal ecology of the facility. This clock is one of the first items noticed when entering the Terminal,

¹⁰This will most likely be done at one of the social service agencies within the neighborhood, such as the Dwelling House. Refer to Chapter IV for the role of these agencies and an analysis of their clientele.

¹¹The concept of time and the traffic signal has been discussed by Robert Park of the University of Chicago in his work "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment." The writers of this Chicago School of Sociology, notably Park and Louis Wirth, were to show how the "force for rationality" was expressed in the physical arrangement of the city itself, how the geography of the place was the concrete expression of the division of labor and the fragmentation of social roles. Richard Sennett, ed., Classic Essays in the Culture of Cities (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969) p.14.

and as users (particularly commuters) pass through, the majority will glance upward and refer to the watches. This is a ritual, and the population performs it in different ways. The police officer will look at the clock with a bit more scrutiny, since it may indicate the end of a tour, an impending meal break or a time to patrol a specific area of the post. For merchants in the Terminal, the clock will indicate a time to begin business and a time to cease it for the day. Loiterers (street persons) hanging around the Terminal may glance at the clock, but it is not for a legitimate routine. There may be a police change of tour (an opportune time to consider a crime), appearance of a matinee crowd (and possible pickpocket victims) or a period to meet a street corner group.

Time also indicates a routine for the individual, that is, a conditioned response and engagement in activity according to the hour of the day. For employees in the Terminal, it is a specific interval within which they will perform occupational tasks; for the passengers, it is a moment to be in the Terminal so they can catch a bus. This is the role of the urban dweller--the public-oriented conduct as contrasted to the more simple, uncomplicated rural or medieval lifestyle.¹² This "metropolitan man" of Simmel

¹²Simmel (1902) was concerned with the socio-psychological impact of this situation. Berry and Kasarda write that

"he saw a fundamental contrast between rural and small town relationships, on the one hand, and the metropolis on the other. Whereas in rural areas and small towns the individual is completely immersed in his immediate primary group, in the metropolis the individual becomes socially detached and assumes specialized part time roles defined by mass society."

is keener to the social climate than his rural counterpart, that is, the intricacies of urban life have resulted in his heightened awareness to the many stimuli confronting him. Passengers using the Bus Terminal are entering or leaving a great metropolis, the "ideal type" of the division of labor. Consequently, a wide array of social experiences is implied due to the diversity of the population and economy. Competition exists in the marketplace and individuals seek specialization in an attempt to forestall obsolescence or replacement while maintaining income sources. There is a continuous process of differentiation and diversification enhancing the availability of alternatives for social interaction and experience for the urban individual. We read that in the rural lifestyle, there is an existence of routine, yet it is distinct in its absence of the numerous external pressures, constraints and norms encountered by the urban dweller. The rural individual may maintain a continuous lifestyle, yet where are the internal mechanisms for the maintenance of order, adherence to varying time constraints and occupational refinement and specialization so indigenous to urban life in general and the Bus Terminal in particular? The onrushing passengers comprise the core of this urban psycho-social system, and to Simmel, the many stimuli to which they must respond afford a greater opportunity for freedom than the rural dweller. There is a greater degree of free will in

Brian J.L. Berry and John D. Kasarda, Contemporary Urban Ecology (New York: Macmillian Publishing Company, 1977), p. 54.

this selection of response.¹³

Terminal operations are conducted on a temporal basis. There will be more police officers assigned to the afternoon (3 P.M. x 11 P.M.) tour than on others and the security closing procedure will restrict access to the facility during the night hours. This is not done arbitrarily; the passenger flow is sparse enough to provoke a concern about individuals wandering into deserted areas and becoming crime victims.

There are distinct differences in the facility as a result of time. One is passenger activity and attitude. In the morning rush hour, individuals are fresh and ready to go to their places of employment. Their emphasis on time is based on their wish not to be late for work. On the return trip, they are tired after a day's toils and are more apt to be surly and indignant about delays, since this will prevent them from partaking in leisure time activity in the home. The goal of the Bus Terminal is to meet this need of getting to a particular place in the fastest possible time, however, the clock and the traffic signal are out of the individual's control and in order for them to work, he must abide

¹³Simmel felt that while beneficial in many ways, freedom could also be detrimental in that emphasis on primary group attachments become deemphasized (the opposite of rural man). There is a deterioration of the nuclear family, where man relies upon immediate relatives for support. Instead, there is a casting of the individual into a sea of anonymity, with a consequent loss of identity and personal ties to family and peers. Morris Janowitz writes that Simmel (Die Kreuzung Sozialer Triebe), translated by Richard Bendix as "The Web of Group Affiliations," states:

"Each new group to which a person becomes affiliated circumscribes him more exactly and more unambiguously. In other words, as a person becomes more affiliated with a social

by their constraints. This realization, as well as perceptions of penalties to be imposed, such as termination of employment due to lateness, will govern each and every movement constituting daily activity for the commuter. Time dictates his cessation of sleep each morning¹⁴ and provides limitations for behavior during his morning routine so that the proper bus may be intercepted. He may not completely relax aboard this bus, as delays, accidents or unusual conditions must be recognized and dealt with. On the other hand, he may look to the bus as an extension of his bed, sleeping all the way to the Terminal, his body "programmed" to respond as soon as the doors open or the engine stops.

group, he surrenders himself to it. However, the larger the number of groups to which the individual belongs, the more unlikely or improbable it will be that other persons will exhibit the same combination of group affiliations. Therefore, the person also regains his individuality because his pattern of participation is unique."

Morris Janowitz, The Last Half Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978). p. 38.

¹⁴Simmel seems to foresee the situation in the Bus Terminal when he says:

"If all clocks and watches in Berlin would suddenly go wrong in different ways, even if only by one hour, all economic life and communication in the city would be disrupted for a long time." Sennett, p. 50.

One could easily imagine the chaos in the Bus Terminal and the entire city if this happened. Bus schedules would be irrelevant, subways could not run, and if they tried, it would certainly be dangerous, and commuters would become bewildered.

SURROUNDING ECOLOGY

The Bus Terminal is not an isolated unit of operation. While it has the various facilities necessary to sustain existence for a short period of time, its pumplike function indicates an integral role in the transportation network of the area. Each component of the system is a dependent variable of time, and any faltering of one will result in a weakening of support for the others. The key ingredient to efficient operation of this transportation network is mobility--movement of buses, automobiles, subways and pedestrians. During off peak hours, there will be an ebb tide of each factor; less buses will be arriving and departing, less trains will come into the Forty-second Street subway station, street traffic will subside and less passenger congestion will be evident. However, during the rush hour periods, each transportation system is geared to accommodate the incoming tide of passengers.

1. Buses: The passengers of the Bus Terminal do not depend solely on the interstate or commuter buses within the facility. They also utilize the street transportation of the New York City Transportation Authority in order to complete their journey uptown, downtown or crosstown. During the rush periods, one can observe the lines forming at Forty-second Street and Eighth Avenue and Fortieth Street and Ninth Avenue as persons wait for the city bus. During the off peak hours, the lines disappear, but it seems that there is always one person from the Terminal waiting at one of these stops. It is possible that as a result of fear, these persons choose the bus to the subway.

2. Subways: Forty-second Street is the subway locus of the city, as it is the point where almost every line intersects. The underground complex is a labyrinth of corridors, entrances and exits leading from one platform to another. The media have focused on it as one of the most dangerous stations in the city, since the local street people avail themselves of its shelter and warmth. An abundance of both passengers and escape routes provide a suitable environment for criminal activity. During the rush periods, the only sounds one hears are the constant clicking of turnstiles and a pulsating roar as trains sweep through. They stop to disgorge passengers bound for suburban points via bus and pick up the many who have just come from this route. The platform soon fills with another crowd as the systems nurture each other.

3. Traffic: The efficient operation of the Bus Terminal is also dependent upon surrounding traffic conditions. For example, congestion on Forty-second Street can cause delays for private autos and taxis as they attempt to drop off and pick up passengers at the entrances. Cabs in the Eighth Avenue taxi line will find it difficult to enter traffic flow, while others will be forced to drop off passengers in the street. The Eighth Avenue entrance will become jammed with people as they await rides and attempt to cross the streets. The Lincoln Tunnel and George Washington Bridge are major interstate traffic routes and delays there can directly impact the Bus Terminal. In the former, one car fire or accident can back up traffic for miles. Stalled commuters will become impatient as their routine becomes disturbed. Bus drivers will be asked the extent of the delay, reason and so on. The Terminal will become

crowded with persons wanting to get out, but unable to do so. Some may attempt to locate alternate sources of transportation such as Penn Station or Grand Central Terminal, causing backups at facilities unprepared for the additional population flow. If the delay is substantial, the rush hour can be prolonged, with hordes of commuters waiting for subways and buses that are now on a non-peak hour schedule.

While the George Washington Bridge is not as closely related to Bus Terminal operation as the tunnel, delays there can still cause a disruption in the transportation ecology of Forty-second Street. Serious accidents can tie up bridge traffic for considerable periods, and in a recent incident, a propane gas truck became disabled on the bridge. The resulting emergency procedures closed it for hours as the Lincoln Tunnel and other interstate crossings became jammed. People were seeking those alternate routes.

4. Pedestrian Routes: Jane Jacobs' discussion of the uses of sidewalks is particularly applicable to the analysis of the surrounding ecology.¹⁵ In fact, due to its designation as a public place, one may think of the areas in the Terminal as a continuation of the sidewalks. However, the major distinction here is not the physical characteristics of the extension, but the ecological. We must bear in mind the fact that within the Bus Terminal are contained

¹⁵Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, (New York: Vintage Books, 1963). Two of her chapters, "The Uses of Sidewalks-Safety," and "The Uses of Sidewalks-Contract" illustrate the urban sidewalks as true organs of human ecology in their acting as hosts to various types of situational activity. This creates a dynamic, fluid environment.

a vast array of population types; that is, a cross section of all social classes. The sidewalks upon which they walk pass through the "notorious" Forty-second Street, with its "seedy characters" hanging in doorways, beckoning passerbys to "good times" ("C'mon man, no waitin") or passing out leaflets to anyone who wanders within reach ("Here ya go, bro'"). The sidewalks also pass through a major theater district, a tenement-industrial neighborhood and a major subway complex. A journey along the sidewalk network of the Bus Terminal and surrounding community, then, will bring one to a variety of experiences within the big city, yet concentrated within one neighborhood. Attention is constantly called to conditions in this area--the pornography, narcotics, prostitution and juvenile runaways.¹⁶ As we have discussed, some persons will react to this by altering their lifestyles to avoid passing through the neighborhood, and in Jacobs' perspective, the reason for it is that the sidewalks are unsafe:

"Today barbarism has taken over many city streets, or people fear it has, which comes to the same thing in the end. 'I live in a lovely, quiet residential area,' says a friend of mine who is hunting another place to live. 'The only disturbing sound at night is the occasional scream of someone being mugged.' It does not take many incidents of violence on a city street, or in a city district, to make people fear the streets. And as they fear them, they use them less, which makes the streets still more unsafe."¹⁷

¹⁶William Sherman, Times Square (New York: Bantam Books, 1980). This is an excellent overview of conditions outside the Terminal which may lead to person's perceptions of what goes on inside it. Chapter IV of this Dissertation will discuss this neighborhood.

¹⁷Jacobs, p. 31. By using the streets less (especially side streets, or even certain areas of the Bus Terminal, such as lavatories), the legitimate users are relinquishing their internal

Some persons will use this situation to make a value judgement about the Bus Terminal, and when a criminal or deviant act is observed, the place is labeled as "bad." However, while it is true that the Terminal is located on a city block with one of the highest concentrations of police,¹⁸ persons will fail to see that as one of the reasons why the facility is safer than the outside streets. The reason for the extra margin of safety is the maintenance of order by the users themselves, while in the Times Square neighborhood, this system has malfunctioned. The police must control the streets. In the Bus Terminal, there is more order as the people assist the police (subconsciously) in

order to the illegitimate users, with ultimate control still held by the police. The secondary system will have its own maintenance of order (a deviant elite-self interest), probably more violent or deviant than the one it has replaced. In the former, a pedestrian taking another's place on a line ("jumping it") may result in harsh words; in the latter, a drug dealer or prostitute taking another's "corner" or "turf" may result in actual physical harm. The author spoke to a well dressed female resident of the neighborhood who recounted a story of a human ear and brains being found on the corner of Thirty-ninth Street and Ninth Avenue. "God only knows where they came from," she said, emphasizing that "you have to stay out of there at night." In another case, a Black man, about sixty years of age, set up a flower stand in front of the Eighth Avenue entrance. He wore gray baggy pants, an undershirt and a red baseball cap, and sitting near his cardboard "showcase," he looked like a typical street merchant. A well dressed White male (probably a commuter) found the boxes to be an obstacle and kicked one out of the way, saying, "Get this shit the hell out of here." The vendor jumped to his feet and at the same instant punched the man directly on the jaw, sending him reeling on his way. As he rearranged his wares, he said, "Fuck him, man, I'm a businessman here. Nobody fucks with my shit." A police officer appeared and dispersed him. The crowd continued by. The age difference between opponents was about twenty years.

¹⁸Refer to Chapter III for police assignment data.

control. Jacobs states:

"in some city areas--older public housing projects and streets with very high population turnover are often conspicuous examples--the keeping of public sidewalk law and order is left almost entirely to the police and special guards. Such places are jungles. No amount of police can enforce civilization where the normal casual enforcement of it has broken down."¹⁹

Anyone walking Times Square at night notices the street saturation by police and the presence of private guards in various stores and building lobbies. The orderly pedestrian traffic has deteriorated because the deviant users have usurped the area. Persons will walk close to the curb to avoid being accosted by hallway loiterers, solicitors and barkers for nearby movie houses. Their agility must be keen as they dodge the ever-present handbill distributors. This is in direct contrast to the greater degree of order in the Bus Terminal (although we will discuss the results of a breakdown in this).

One cause of a breakdown of order, and a factor in the surrounding ecology, is a labor dispute by any employee group whose responsibilities affect the facility in a direct or indirect manner. This may be a bus company, contractor operating within the facility or a group of Port Authority employees. Labor issues within external agencies can result in service disruptions within the Terminal, as in the case of the escalator maintainers' strike, where for several months, Port Authority employees performed necessary maintenance work. We must keep in mind that the escalators are an integral factor in efficient passenger mobility.

¹⁹Jacobs, p. 32.

While it is true that users would be able to determine alternate routes to and from their buses, it would entail the use of stairways by thousands of persons. The escalators are efficient in their channelling of commuters into upward and downward groups. If the stairways were utilized on this mass basis, there would be dual passage by these upward and downward groups, causing delays and hazardous conditions.²⁰ Many would adhere to the basic rule of "keep to the right," but others would attempt to force their way through the lines, causing a disruption.

SELECTED STRIKES AFFECTING BUS AND PASSENGER
MOVEMENTS AT THE PORT AUTHORITY BUS TERMINAL

1963 - 1979

<u>Bus Company</u>	<u>Date</u>
Asbury Park	11/18/63 - 02/09/64
Transport of New Jersey	03/09/64 - 03/24/64
Asbury Park	03/10/66 - 04/18/66
Keansburg-Long Branch	09/12/69 - 11/14/69
Transport of New Jersey	03/01/72 - 05/14/72
Safeway Trails	04/02/72 - 01/12/73
Keansburg-Long Branch	09/29/73 - 01/20/74
Hudson Bus	03/04/76 - 10/12/76
North Boulevard	03/04/76 - 10/12/76
Transport of New Jersey	03/09/76 - 03/24/76
Asbury Park	06/21/78 - 02/25/79
DeCamp	02/10/79 - 02/17/79

SOURCE: Port Authority of New York and New Jersey Bus and Bus Passenger Surveys, 1979, p. 25.

²⁰One veteran police officer recalls that when the Bus Terminal opened its doors in 1950, there were many injuries involving these escalators. It seemed that people were used to the slow pace of department store conveyances, one going up and one going down. In the Bus Terminal, the escalator up went

These strikes were and still are far ranging in their impact, as they disrupt the maintenance or order within the Bus Terminal as well as outlying areas, such as "life in New Jersey."²¹

If the bus company is forced to cease operations during the midday hours, the commuter or other passenger must find alternative transportation to his home in time for the evening rush period. Many persons whose routine has been disturbed by this situation will place blame upon the Port Authority, since they perceive of the agency as not only the Facility Manager, but the bus company operator as well. Comments such as "everything happens at that damned Port Authority" and "only in this

faster than the one going down. In addition, we have mentioned the reversible system for facilitating crowd flow. People would not realize the increase in velocity of the Terminal escalators and trip upon reaching the stepping off point at the top. The escalators were subsequently adjusted.

²¹"Bus Strike Upsets Life in New Jersey," New York Times, February 2, 1951, Sec. 1, pp. 1 & 15. In Newark, the majority of buses were operated by Public Service, the agency affected by the walkout, and as a result, taxis were scheduled for regular runs to industrial plants. Defense production was suspended and the situation became so bad that some companies sent trucks to gather employees. Schools were closed, employee absenteeism was high, and the Governor even considered seizing the utility system.

"Almost every inhabitant of the state was affected by the first major transportation walkout in New Jersey in 28 years. Hitchhikers crowded main roads seeking rides with those who decided to use cars instead of bucking the long queues waiting for the independent non-striking buses that carried such heavy loads that only one of three stopped for travelers huddled at corners."

shitty Port Authority" are frequently heard. The agency has no control over operations or contractual negotiations within the individual bus companies, yet as a rule, passengers will tend to generalize in placing blame. They see the Port Authority as the bureaucracy operating the Terminal, so when there is a disruption to everyday routine, be it an undesirable harassing passerby, fire, bus delay or labor dispute, the agency is seen as irresponsible to the needs of the individual.²²

The article gives a good account of persons forced to change their routine.

"While some persons took the easy way out and stayed home, hundreds of thousands braved the rain and slush filled streets and sought alternate means of getting to work or school."

Although the article mentioned only an impact in New Jersey, the situation demonstrates the relationship of this bus travel to such nationwide factors as the economy, politics, education and defense.

²²In December 1951, about one year after completion of the Terminal, a major snowstorm hit the region, seriously delaying the arrival of buses from New Jersey. As a result, the "peak rush hour crowd of an estimated 25,000 shoppers, augmented by many holiday shoppers" were contained within the facility. "Service Disrupted at Bus Terminal," The New York Times, December 15, 1951, Sec. 1, p. 9. New Jersey residents arrived at the loading gates as the hour grew later and later. The New York Times article stated that the lines were more than 100 yards long and half a dozen deep, but the situation was orderly.

"For a growing number, the most pressing decision seemed to be whether to wait in place and risk starvation or duck out for a bite to eat but lose a lot of hard won ground. No provision was made for passing food to the waiting multitude."

The article also mentioned the lines forming at the telephone booths, as all were occupied with commuters notifying their families of the delay. We can see that the situation of containment due to the surrounding ecology continues today.

The following chart²³ illustrates that users feel the Port Authority is not doing all it can to make the Bus Terminal the best possible transportation facility.

RANKING OF FACTORS
IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE TO PATRONS

Factor	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th (Least Important)
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION*					
Operations	59	20	9	6	6
Security	30	40	18	9	3
Maintenance	3	20	33	31	13
Sanitation	2	12	28	42	16
Neighborhood	7	9	13	12	59

* Based on rankings provided by 80% of the respondents.

SOURCE: Port Authority Patron Participation Survey, 1979, p. 9.

Note that bus operations was the most important factor to the respondents. The individual commuter or bus passenger does not realize that the operating agency does realize problems will occur and this is attested to by the existence of contingency plans for coping with various emergencies such as hostages and terrorism, fires, civil defense and radiation. However, the agency is perceiving the difficulties on a mass basis, that is, the morning and evening rush periods, bus traffic and pedestrian movement. On the other hand, the individual commuter, bus driver, pedestrian or shopper sees the problem as not affecting everyone, but only himself. In a sense, he takes it personally.

²³Port Authority Patron Participation Survey, 1979, p. 9.

SOCIAL ORDER

The Bus Terminal is host to an enormous variety of persons over a twenty-four hour period. The majority of these will pass through without incident in the continuation of their routine and when this occurs, the facility is accomplishing the function it was designed to do. Buses are congregating at a central mid-town location and individuals are afforded an orderly flow to and from them. However, one may argue that these persons are simply dumped at this place on Fortieth and Eighth by the previously described forms of transportation. Were this the case, an "all versus all" situation becomes a distinct possibility as social Darwinism exists. This is not the case. An enormous array of social norms regarding public behavior exist in the Bus Terminal.²⁴ Some of these are written, as in the case of the Penal Law for New York State, which provides legally prohibited behavior (stealing another's property; taking another's life).

²⁴These norms contribute to the basic social order. This is described as:

"a condition of society or group characterized by the predominance of harmonious social relationships and a relative lack of conflict among social norms. Social order depends upon the successful interrelation and coordination of role behavior between individuals and between social institutions. However, change and disharmonies are present even in the most orderly societies."

Theodorson, p. 390. In addition, Goffman discusses social order concepts as the "turn" and other public-oriented techniques. This is discussed in a later section of this chapter. Erving Goffman, Relations in Public (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 35. Some excellent references to social order as a result of physical design can be found in Robert Sommer, Personal Space (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969). His two chapters, "Spatial Behavior" and "Special Settings" will give some examples as to how

Other social norms are merely understood by the group as prescriptions for orderly traffic flow.²⁵ Adherence to these will enable the environment to function in the way in which it was intended. By simply "keeping to the right" as in driving a car, passengers can avoid bodily confrontations and maintain that continuous flow through the escalators, stairways and corridors. When in the midst of a moving crowd, one can avoid causing an obstruction and delay to others by walking to the side, away from traffic flow, in order to tie a shoelace or light a cigarette. These are but a few of the countless norms in effect within the Bus Terminal at any given time. It should become apparent that although the Terminal environment was intended to maintain order, it is the people themselves, the population, who make this order possible.

This is the essence of the situational activity within the Bus Terminal--the relationship among individual members of the population as an integral factor in the maintenance of order. New York City is a large metropolis and the Bus Terminal is situated in the midst of a central business district. Diversity among the population, both resident and transient, extends to all demographic factors such as age, race, sex, occupation and residence. There is

this order evolves. These concepts will be used in a later section of this chapter.

25On page 39 of her book, Jacobs states:

"the first thing to understand is that the public peace--the sidewalk and street peace--of cities is not kept primarily by the police, necessary as police are. It is kept primarily by an intricate, almost unconscious network of voluntary

a distinction as to roles occupied within the society, the so-called "occupational classes." Consequently, we see the fragmented relationship to one another as a result of urban specialization.²⁶ Consequently, a disparity exists among this population and will serve to either facilitate or undermine the social order within the facility. Will the disaffiliated female interfere with the middle class executive? Will the presence of an employee of a company and a president of that company interfere in any way with the orderly flow of the place?

During a "normal period," that is, when there are no delays, altercations or accidents, many underlying and inconspicuous social norms are being utilized or violated. Some of these are so insig-

controls and standards among the people themselves, and enforced by the people themselves."

²⁶This has occurred as a result of the continuing emphasis on industrialization. A rational assignment of tasks in order to complete a process has resulted in a division of labor. Theodorson defines this as a "functionally integrated system of occupational roles or specializations within a society." Durkheim wrote on the anomic nature of this division of labor. Increasing specialization has precipitated a decline in personal contact, communication and the traditional paternalistic work ethic to a point where there is a parochialism of occupational functions. This cleavage prohibits a sharing of social perspective, instead emphasizing a maintenance of individualism. A lack of rule standardization leads to ambiguity of process and procedure and thereby conflict/anomie. See also: Robert Bierstedt, The Making of Society-An Outline of Sociology (New York: The Modern Library, 1959); William A. Faunce, Problems of an Industrial Society (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968) and Clement S. Mihanovich, Current Social Problems (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1956).

nificant as to warrant little attention, while others may be of such magnitude as to disrupt the order on a wider scale. A great deal of the maintenance of order is the result of the fact that so many persons simply know where they are going at any particular time. Regular users of the facility are accustomed to a particular Terminal routine at a particular time. The emphasis here is on the word "particular." They enter through a particular entrance, stop at a particular snack bar, use a particular escalator and go to a particular platform to board a particular bus. They become accustomed to the bus route, bus drivers and commuting companions.²⁷ The breakdown of this social order begins with one of our alteration situations, that is, an event causing disruption of personal routine. This can produce disorientation even on veteran users.²⁸ Conversely, there is also a segment of the population consistently unfamiliar with the area. This may consist of the shopper, tourist, elderly long distance rider or visitor who utilizes the Terminal as an alternative during

²⁷The author rode one middle distance commuter bus during the morning rush hour. As the passengers boarded in South Jersey, they greeted the driver by name and formed an orderly line as they headed for seats. Some read newspapers, some dozed and some engaged in idle conversation about lawns and auto repair. I saw one individual nervously scanning the surroundings in the classic behavior of being lost. He did not speak to anyone in the bus, but must have decided to ask the driver where he was. He carried a container of coffee as he stepped to the front of the bus, but as he did, one dozing passenger (well dressed in a suit and tie, as was the lost subject) suddenly awakened and called out, "Hey bud, watch that container." The individual suddenly stiffened as the bus hit a bump in the road, surely violent enough to have spilled the liquid had he not been warned. The sleeping commuter certainly knew his route!

²⁸For example, an inoperable escalator will force regular

a delay in his customary form of transportation or as a matter of immediate need (lavatory use, purchase of cigarettes, etc.). These persons may be a burden to the maintenance of order as they abruptly halt in front of oncoming passengers in order to ask questions or assess their location. They may also become crime victims due to their unfamiliarity with the Terminal.²⁹

Social order is primarily maintained by the preservation of the routine of the regular user. For instance, there is no need for a person to assign riders to lines on the various commuting levels, as riders are accustomed to boarding buses at specific platforms. Sometimes an uninitiated rider may assume that a line is his, only to discover at boarding time that he is actually on an adjacent formation and must now go to the rear of his originally intended line. An observer will note that regular riders use

users of THAT escalator to seek other means of upward transportation, either the elevator, stairway or another escalator. There will not be an unusual disruption of flow, as regular riders are fairly adept at locating alternate routes. However, the construction of the Annex and modernization of the existing Terminal have provided some confusing situations for even the most skilled passenger. When some subway entrances were closed, users had difficulty in locating any open or new ones. In another case, some bus operations were shifted from the existing Terminal into the Annex during the daytime period. Thus, some passengers whose normal routines were followed during the morning period were confronted with an entirely new routine for the evening. An information program eliminated total disorder, yet many regular riders joined the ranks of the unfamiliar as they were forced to seek assistance from information personnel and police.

²⁹One commuter told the author that he would not dare use the men's lavatory on the Long Haul Level because there are "too many Goddamn animals down there." Meanwhile, long haul users, unaware that "better bathrooms are around," will routinely use this facility.

various methods to ascertain their location. They may recognize other persons with whom they normally ride, indicating the proper line. If there are no familiar faces, they may inquire, "Are you going to Matawan"? or "Is this the Matawan line"? An affirmative reply will result in the individual's joining the queue, while a negative reply will usually contain the clarifying statement, "...But that's it over there, see the guy with the brown jacket on"? Another approach is to casually pass along the side of the line and visually follow it to the end and consequent proper position. It is the rare regular commuter who will assume that a line is his before following one of these queueing procedures.³⁰

Sometimes there is a need to revert to additional resources for the maintenance or restoration of order. The internal system of population self control can and will break down in various situations. For example, the person who bends down in the middle of a rush hour crowd on the Main Concourse in order to tie his shoelace will cause commuters to alter their path to avoid bumping him. Some will pass such comments as, "Why the hell doesn't he find a better spot to do that"? Or they will shake their heads from side to side, indicating displeasure with

³⁰Some respondents on a Patron Advisory Panel have indicated a need for colored queues on the floor so that proper lines may be discerned. However, this is not possible due to cleaning procedures utilized on the terrazo floors. Power scrubbers would obliterate any such markings.

the act. At this point, the situation would not call for the intervention of a nearby police officer as the occurrence is not serious and will correct itself. The subject will either complete the act or heed the comments directed toward him (but not at him), thereby moving to the side. If a comment were passed directly to the individual, an altercation may result with subsequent yelling, cursing and pushing. Now the police will intervene, since there is a major breakdown of order.³¹

³¹This entire issue of social order is best understood by a reading of Robert Sommer, Personal Space (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969). His second chapter, "The Alpha Animal," contains an interesting discussion of Zoology and ecology. It seems that cows at the feeding trough must have a certain spacing between animals in order to achieve optimal food consumption and physical well being. If a captive animal receives too much or too little space, it will become ill. Sommer states:

"Much work has gone into the ways animals adapt to shared space. Two of the most important concepts to emerge from this work are territoriality and dominance behavior. Both processes limit aggression because an individual either refrains from going where he is likely to be involved in disputes or, based on his knowledge of who is above and below him, to engage in ritualized dominance-subordination behavior rather than in actual combat." (p. 12.)

When animals are living in the wild, there is enough territory available to all, limiting the dominance of one over another. They will be able to establish a range, find their feeding spots and determine suitable spots for lairs. Compare this to the Bus Terminal user, particularly the commuter, who functions within the same "wilderness" or free environment. We have discussed establishment of routines in this perspective. Now, when a group of animals is confined and food scattered within this area, a dominant relationship will become apparent; social Darwinism again becomes a factor. The strongest animals will win the food; the weaker ones will submit to authority. Confinement studies of humans have indicated that their behavior is not far off. Altman and Haythorn studied pairs of sailors in confinement, observing that there was a gradual withdrawal of personalities and the establishment of

THREE HOURS IN THE LIFE OF PLATFORM 63

Perhaps if bus Platform 63 could talk, it would describe some events occurring on it during a three-hour period. In this way, we would be able to hear the events we have just spoke of in theoretical terms.

The platform would begin by telling us that it has been designed and constructed to certain specification in order to hold persons waiting for a bus. Its destination sign will inform users that this is the correct or incorrect bus; its elevation will raise the passenger to the level of the first step on the vehicle and its seats and lights provide safety and convenience. Then, the platform tells us, the activity is left to the discretion of the user. The environment has been designed to be functional, yet it is dependent upon the ecology of the moment to determine whether this is the case. A bus delayed as a result of a mechanical failure can produce two drastically different situations. First, there may be an erosion of the anonymity associated with public places. Passengers forced to congregate in a particular area as they wait for repairs or a replacement bus

personal space. Again, this is similar to the situation in the Bus Terminal. When the facility is functioning normally, there is a social order for all users. Everything is "flowing." However, when there is a delay, a containment situation exists, and like animals, people get on one another's nerves. If order is maintained (as in the previously discussed New York Times article), territorial and dominant systems will permit stable ecological activity. If there is a breakdown of this order, a responsible control agent, the police, may be called for a restoration of order. The police are the dominant force (legally defined) in this pecking order. Conversely, even though the facility is operating normally on a mass basis, there may be disorder on an individual basis. During a "normal day," a person may enter a

may strike up conversations with one another in an attempt to pass the time. Some lasting friendships and traveling groups may be formed because of this. In a sense, the functional environment of the Bus Terminal has been enhanced by the various types of situational activity occurring there. A loading platform has been transformed into a meeting place.

Conversely, the delay may prove to be a source of irritation to an individual standing in the same area. Perhaps he has missed an appointment, had a "bad day" or does not feel well. Whatever the case, he is better left alone. Should someone sharply bump him or step on his toe, it may precipitate an argument. "Why don't you watch your damn feet"? is the statement initiating the incident, which can become quite loud and abusive. However, if this irritated person were bumped or stepped on during a normal day (i.e. no delay), he would not think of arguing, because his routine is not altered.

Later on, when the delays have been cleared up and the rush period is over, the same platform may be used by an older couple as they wait for a bus to visit their children in the suburbs. Their waiting time is spend amicably chatting about the weather and current family events.

lavatory in order to urinate and wash. While doing the former, he is crowded by a group of youths using the other stalls, their behavior quite boisterous. Not wishing to become involved, he remains silent and leaves. Nobody else in the facility is ever aware of this isolated incident. Refer to: Irving Altman and W.W. Haythorn, "The Ecology of Isolated Groups," Behavioral Science, XII (1967), 169-82; Erving Goffman, Interaction Ritual (Garden City,

In the third and final hour, something entirely different happens. A female shopper, about fifty years of age, has completed a day's excursion into Manhattan. Now on her way home, she is loaded with packages bearing the names of various shops and waits for the bus to her suburban home. Behind her, a lone figure watches the surrounding area for any signs of motion. Seeing none, he advances toward his quarry and utilizing her lack of caution to his benefit, forcibly removes her purse and flees the area. Now hysterical, the woman's voice draws the attention of a police officer, who notifies the Police Desk of the situation and responds to Platform 63. After the pair leaves, the platform is quiet. Now it is no longer a provider of activity, but a witness to it in other areas. However, its dormancy will be short, as other users will provide different situations upon it. As one physical platform, it is rather insignificant in the total operation of the facility, yet its situational ecology can have an impact upon the total environment. For example, due to the robbery occurring there, the police have instituted a search of other buses or areas, producing some delay for those unaffected by the initial incident but now subject to the effects of the ecology of Platform 63.

New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1967); and Oscar Newman, Defensible Space (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973).

SITUATIONAL ACTIVITY

The situational activity of the Bus Terminal may be described as the day-to-day individual encounters comprising both the social order (or lack of it) and the ecology of the facility. Obviously, the Terminal was designed with the issue of mobility in mind, that is, the rapid and efficient interchange of individuals between the bus and other forms of transportation. Again, it need be mentioned that the Terminal is a transition institution, that is, the majority of users function within it for only a fraction of the time required for their total daily routine. The commuter wants to get through it as fast as possible, the long distance passenger wants to board a bus as soon as possible, the police officer desires a problem-free tour, the sanitation worker desires as little debris as possible, and so on. The basic fact is that no one, with the possible exception of the disaffiliated, wants to remain in the Bus Terminal for any longer than is necessary. For the disaffiliated, it is not that the Bus Terminal is a "home," rather, it does satisfy some of their basic needs that for legitimate users are supplied elsewhere. Some of these are food, shelter, newspapers, criminal opportunities and a basic social life.

One should be aware that this situational activity is what creates the "atmosphere" of the Bus Terminal; the awareness that this is not Penn Station, Grand Central Terminal or Kennedy International Airport. The surrounding environment of

the facility is the reason for this.³²

THE PULSE OF THE BUS TERMINAL

The Port Authority Bus Terminal is not a static structure; it is a dynamic institution. There is a temporal flow, a movement generated by time, a constant circulation of the population through the facility, each with his or her own motives for presence within the community. This is the pulse of the Bus Terminal.

It is early Spring of a recent year; 4 A.M. on a Friday morning. From the darkened stretch of Eighth Avenue, the Bus Terminal looms overhead, its elongated form an odd shaped hypodermic syringe for injecting life into this corner of Eighth Avenue and Fortieth Street. These streets are not crowded, but activity exists. A newspaper delivery truck, its brakes sending piercing objections into the night, veers into the curb at the Eighth Avenue entrance. As he has done for many years, the overweight, parka-clad figure jumps to the curb with a muttered "Ah, shit." His baseball cap and well chewed cigar remind one

³²Refer to Chapter IV for the discussion of the neighborhood. It is an integral factor in making one realize that "this isn't Kennedy Airport." For one thing, the airports are more "sterile" than the Terminal, due to the fact that they are located in decent areas or on the outskirts of the city. Consequently, there is no street corner community intruding within. Airports have their share of the disaffiliated, but nowhere near the magnitude of the Bus Terminal. This situation is why one overhears many persons saying, "It can only happen at that damn Port Authority." Where the airports emphasized "elitism," it seemed that the only emphasis of the Terminal was "streetism." There was a rough nature about it, and some commuters daring to

of the stereotyped New York taxi driver. "Yo!" he calls to the waiting newsstand clerk, who wheels a cart into position so that wire framed bundles of newspapers may be tossed onto it, each one landing with a dull thump. Another sound of an awakening city. The usual pleasantries of the day are observed: weather, spring training, prices and politics. Each noun is liberally modified with adjectives not found in the dictionary, words such as "fuckin'", "shittin'", "Goddam", "humpin'" and "balls." There is no intimacy here; only a "political" greeting that will be given again at the next stop. I look at the street. It is still dark and the smell of Spring is in the air--that "fresh" atmosphere that never fails to generate excitement when one thinks of beaches, ball parks and vacations. Even in this deserted area of the metropolis, such thoughts are possible.

Up and down Eighth Avenue, streetlights serve as silent sentinels for the darkened windows of Blimpies ("Should be lettuce heros garnished with meat"), Robbins ("Ya can get an entire outfit for ten bucks") and numerous pizza parlors, radio shops and variety stores. Traffic is sparse; a cab passes, its Hispanic driver holding one hand to his chin as his elbow rests on his thigh. Perhaps he thinks of getting off duty--he has probably been working all night. Along the far side of Forty-second Street, I see a blue and white police car inching along the curb, reminding one

venture through it were seen as pioneers forging their way through wilderness. As the neighborhood declined over the years, perceptions of the area became worse; and as a result, persons could not be as completely relaxed in the Terminal as they could at an airport.

of a huge metal snake coiling its way through the night in search of unwary prey. I can hear its engine as it makes the sound that it seems only police cars make, a peculiar whine. Suddenly, a figure appears along Forty-second Street near the Arcade, but it is too far to tell if it is male or female. It wears a long gray coat and carries a few newspapers. It is probably a male, but street smarts should tell you that in this place, clothes do not distinguish between sexes. The red brake lights of the car blink once, twice and then remain on as the barely moving car keeps pace with the figure. The individual does not alter his gait and the snake does not choose to strike. The brake lights disappear and the car continues up towards Broadway.

There is a slight chill in the early morning air, so I walk into the Bus Terminal. The only sounds I hear are the whirring of the terrazzo floor cleaners and the muted laughter of the operators as they pass the time while working. The shift will soon be over and they will go home. Two Port Authority Police Officers and a Transit Authority Police Officer are slowly walking toward the Ninth Avenue end of the Main Concourse, their radios interjecting staccato bursts of conversation atop their own. It speaks a brief message and falls silent. The Transit officer turns and walks toward the subway entrance at Eighth Avenue, while the remaining officers enter the police quarters. Another Port Authority officer is standing by Pathway Bakery, near the metal gates used to cordon off the rear of the Main Concourse and direct persons into the Long Haul Level. A couple in their late thirties approaches and asks them for the location of the bus to Newark

Airport. Following the directions and pointed finger of the officer, they slide down the escalator to the lower level.

The Long Haul Level is quiet at this hour, as a total of twenty-two persons sit in scattered places throughout the area. Some have large suitcases stationed near their feet or atop the adjacent seat. Towards Platform 20 sits another of Times Square's featureless hulks. The woman sits on the plastic seat, a transparent shopping bag at her side. Through it, one can see what looks like assorted bits of clothing, a blue woman's shoe, a faded magazine and a hair brush. Her body slumps to one side, the bowed head reminding one of a person in silent prayer. As I get closer, I hear the sound of snoring, and I know she will sleep until displaced.

It is now 5 A.M. in the Terminal. There is no hum of activity, but the sleeping giant is now beginning to stir. The pleasant aroma of baking cakes and cookies permeates the air as it wafts from the bakery. The workers have arrived about a half-hour ago and through the locked glass sliding doors I can see them setting up long rectangular trays filled with assorted items. Another sign of the impending morning is the coffee appearing through the watch glass of large urns on the back counter. The man in the newsstand is adjusting the various piles of magazines, disturbed during the night by bored bus riders. On the counter sit the morning papers, those information sources for interested commuters and time passers for those who buy them as a matter of routine. A few night workers must be going home. There is a group of eight

men dressed in jeans, casual slacks, dungaree jackets and open-collared shirts. Three wear hats. Two of them are talking in low tones; one of them stops at the stand to buy a Daily News for the ride home. They disappear down the stairs to the Long Haul Level, the only evidence of their passing being the discarded blue coffee container tossed into a garbage bin.

On the street, it is still dark, but I notice more delivery trucks in the area. Bread must be delivered to restaurants; milk will be carried into the cafeterias and snack bars and some small trucks marked "Fresh Fish Daily" hustle by, leaving a watery trail up the littered avenue.

It is now 6 A.M., a "turning point" in this pulse. It will start to quicken as the arteries feeding it bulge with activity, sending persons into the Terminal and it, like the huge heart, pumping them out to other areas. Just ten minutes before, I was observing some street activity outside the Eighth Avenue entrance. A young Black man, about thirty years of age, was standing by the doorway for about an hour and a half. I could not tell from where he had come, he was just there when I turned around. He was not causing a disturbance, only standing near the wall but not leaning against it. The clothing he wore was neat: a brown zippered pullover shirt, denim jacket (unbuttoned), dungarees and brown patent leather shoes. On top of his head was a blue sailor style cap that was rolled up in such a way that it came to a point in front, giving him a "Robin Hood" appearance. He nodded to a few persons, Black like he, as they went by. I heard a car horn and glanced away for an instant.

When I turned back, he was gone, a victim of daylight. I know he will be back when the sun goes down, but now his place will be taken by the "day people."

The steel gates restricting access to the entire Terminal squeak as they are rolled away. The escalators are moving, emitting a steady hum, and I notice that they are going down. I smell the coffee and cake; I pass the newsstand, smell the newsprint and begin to observe the bounding pulse. More night workers are returning to their homes. New York residents are coming down the escalators, while their New Jersey counterparts take the stairs or search for an escalator going in their direction. There is not much talking, just walking. Footsteps now dominate the Terminal. A youth with a knapsack now stands outside Walgreen's as he waits for breakfast. He had spent the night sitting on the floor near the Greyhound ticket windows, dozing fitfully and pacing back and forth along the Main Concourse. Early workers beginning their day are beginning to appear, their faces clean shaven, hair combed and some smelling of after shave (a lot of Old Spice here). I do not see many suits and ties at this hour. The persons who will don these are only now beginning to awaken at their homes in the suburban areas of New York and New Jersey and the more "urban suburbs" of Queens, Brooklyn and Hudson. There are more police visible throughout the facility. For some of them, the midnight tour is over while for others, the day only is about to begin. One of them says, "It was a light night." Some of the day tour men are outside the police quarters

at the Ninth Avenue end, discussing the events of the night and plans for days off.

I now see activity in Walgreen's, and this will be the first stop for many bus passengers. Commuters will line up at the take-out counter for their coffee and cake, intending to partake of them on the bus. If they have time, they may sit at the counter with other types of individuals. The long distance passenger will be there. During the night, some of them sat on the floor of the Main Concourse, backs against the wall. Others dozed and these were generally the older travelers. Some were probably afraid to fall asleep because nobody was with them to watch the luggage or valuables; others seemed to have a buddy system, one dozing, the other standing guard. A system of this type would be a rarity among strangers; it was implemented only among family members or persons traveling together. In one instance, a police officer slowly walked through the Long Haul Level, pausing opposite one such couple, one male and the other female. The guardian of the moment, the female, seized the opportunity and hustled off to the lavatory, returning to her seat before the officer departed. When she arrived, he strolled on. He knew.

Now that Walgreen's has become alive, people approach the doors and await its opening. "Do you know when this place opens?" is frequently asked of the police. Meanwhile, in homes far from this city block, persons are arising to begin the morning ritual of getting to and passing through the Bus Terminal. Within the

facility, others are beginning the morning ritual of serving their needs. A greyhound driver walks past the bakery, a rattan cushion under his arm and attache case in the other hand. "How we doin' today"? he calls to a police officer. "Alright," comes the reply, "Where to today"? "Boston, shouldn't be too bad." "Too bad it's not Miami." says the officer with a grin. "You ain't kiddin', take care now," says the driver. "Yeah, take care."

It is now 7 A.M.; some morning workers are on their way in, passing remnants of the night shift. No words are exchanged. The latter have experienced an entirely different dimension of the Bus Terminal, yet to them, it is the "normal" one. It is what they are accustomed to. Were the night person to be thrust into the daytime activity, he would most likely be confused and disorganized, where during the night there is routine behavior. The same situation would occur for the day person using the Terminal at a late hour.

Eighth Avenue is starting to bustle with traffic. Yellow taxis, relentless in their search for fares, dart through the streets passing the now numerous Transit Authority buses. The pulse is now bounding; activity is bustling. The pumping heart of the Bus Terminal is reaching its powerful peak. Traffic reports focus on the back-ups at the Lincoln Tunnel (usually referring to delays in getting through the toll booths), the aorta of the Bus Terminal and midtown area. Cars are lined up as impatient drivers wait to dive under the Hudson River into the city. Aboard the many buses marching toward the tunnel are the

backbone of the Terminal--the commuters. They come in every weekday from places like River Edge, Montclair, Matawan, Newark, Clifton and Perth Amboy. The Terminal is ready for them; support personnel have cleaned it, police are protecting it, operations staff are conducting its business and maintenance persons stand ready to repair any malfunctions. I cannot stand in the middle of the Main Concourse now, and I know why when I glance at the clock.

It is now 8 A.M. The entire Terminal is filled with the sound of rushing feet. If I listen closely, I can make out the sound of high heels, muted conversations and even someone wear-metal taps. I am astounded at the amount of people rushing by; there is no cessation of the march. A trip to the suburban unloading platform is equally indicative of the bounding pulse, as the roar of bus engines is almost deafening. The buses swing around the bend and glide into the platform, doors hissing as they disgorge morning workers. As soon as the last person steps off, they are pulling away, only to be replaced by another growling mass of steel.

It is daylight outside and the previously darkened shapes in the background have become visible as looming office buildings, theaters and stores. I watch the commuters file off the buses, many bidding a "Take care, now," or "Bye now, see you tomorrow," to the driver. One individual inquires as to the whereabouts of "Mack," receiving a reply from the substitute driver that "He banded in sick--be back Monday." I join the queue for entering

the stairwell and file down to the Suburban Bus Level with the crowds. Some laugh, some talk, but I notice the majority are simply staring straight ahead in a sort of prescribed path. Down on the Main Concourse, police stand to the side, watching this faceless crowd drift through the escalators and without breaking stride, continuing toward the subways and exits. A few individuals stray from the herd, purchasing a newspaper or entering the doorway to Walgreen's take-out counter.

I am on the side of the Main Concourse, next to the bakery and decide to walk through the Waiting Room. What could it be like at this time of morning? As I walk in, I note the relative silence of the place. The cacophony of footsteps is gone, to be replaced with numerous muted conversations and more important, a different type of person than the one I have been watching parade by. Two Black men, both in their mid-thirties, sit in the plastic seats near the men's lavatory. Both are dressed in jeans; one wears a blue parka and the other a black jacket. They sit low in the plastic chairs, one individual with a cigarette in his mouth as he speaks, the other just beginning to light one as he listens. "Man, I was freezin' my motherfuckin' ass off that night. Not even the ladies was out." (The other person has lit his cigarette, saying in a deep voice, "Sheeeit," as he laughs.) "I'll tell ya, bro'," continues the first, "that place was gettin' hot with the man, so we split." The listener seems to have a good sense of humor as he chuckles about his friend's story. He says, "Yeah, I hear ya. I gotta tip, but I'll catch ya." Both persons clench the cigarettes in

their teeth as they shake hands, one patting the other on the back. Suddenly, they are gone.

I look over to the section marked "Females and Children Only." The seats are arranged in a circle and four of them are occupied. A middle aged couple sit together, the woman slowly sipping a cup of coffee; the man, arms folded across his chest, stares straight ahead. Both are nicely dressed and two suitcases stand by their feet. Directly across from them is a lone middle-aged female engaged in a reading of the morning paper, which she has folded in half for convenience. Between she and the couple sits a strange looking man. Though it is chilly outside, he wears only a tattered blue flannel shirt, well worn and much too short black trousers and scuffed black shoes, unlaced and in need of heels. He does not wear socks. As he sits, he says nothing. Head pointed straight ahead, he could use a shave, but his hair is combed and fairly neat. The older couple get up to leave, but he does not watch. As he places his chin upon his fist, he reminds me of the Hispanic cab driver earlier in the morning. Suddenly, the door swings open, and a jingling of keys announces the arrival of a police officer. All eyes are looking toward him, but I note that two are not. As the sockless man stares towards the wall, he hears the officer approaching and without saying a word, gets up and walks out of the Waiting Room. The officer's eyes follow him out, the door closes, and the room is quiet.

Out on the Main Concourse, the crowd continues to file by. I have difficulty entering the flow; it is like using the acceleration lane on a highway. It is even harder to walk across the floor; the task requires a good deal of agility in order to sidestep, angle to the side and stop short. People approach one another yet do not touch because of this series of maneuvers. Those who are not fleet of foot will do a short side-to-side dance step as they attempt to avoid bumping one another. There is not a line at the take-out counter in Walgreen's. Some passengers greet the waitress as she places plastic containers of coffee and wrapped buttered rolls into brown paper bags. There are also lines in the bakery and the piles of newspapers, so perfectly adjusted during the early morning hours, are now rapidly diminishing.

As 9 A.M. rolls by on the overhead clock, the commuter rush hour has begun to subside. It is easier to cross the concourse and I notice the opening of various merchandise stores. Owners and workers arrive, keys in hand, the flickering of lights and adjustment of window displays indicating the start of another business day.

At 10 A.M., I have seen the last of the commuter rush. The enormous flowing crowd has gone, the long lines have diminished and there is a more casual pace about the Terminal. Up on the Suburban unloading platform, there is no marching formation of buses, only a sporadic arrival here and there. Out on Eighth Avenue, the taxi drivers sit by their cabs, discussing events of the day. "Fuck this guy, I wasn't goin' there, no way." "I

caught it, the Goddamn nine horse, but that other motherfucker got fucked up." "How's the airport now"? "Kennedy's slow, but LaGuardia's moving. Ya better hurry, cause it's gonna slow down too."

The sun has warmed the streets. It feels good after a long winter. Behind me, I notice various groups of people going in and out of the facility, so I walk to the Ninth Avenue end. There is a bearded gentleman removing some items from a pay locker; when he locks the door he walks to the Eighth Avenue end and begins setting up a table. The sign on it says something about bible stories and he patiently sits until an interested passerby inquires about something.

There is a different crowd passing through the Bus Terminal during these daytime hours. Shoppers stroll the streets, occasionally stopping in the Terminal to browse through the shops. Persons bearing suitcases come into the facility, their upturned, scanning heads an indication of their unfamiliarity with the place. A disheveled gent of about fifty years of age shuffles out the Eighth Avenue entrance, muttering obscenities to himself. A paper bag, wrapped to the outline of the enclosed bottle, bounces in cadence in his right rear pocket. As he passes two conversing women, one wrinkles her nose to the other in the time honored sign that "something smells." Two police officers escorting a handcuffed man are walking toward the Ninth Avenue end, their radio producing the only conversation among the trio. I walk out onto Ninth Avenue, under the ever present

shadow of the Lincoln Tunnel connecting ramps. It is not as busy as Eighth Avenue. An old frankfurter vendor sits on a worn milk box next to his wagon, while across the street, customers file into the various fish and fruit stores lining the street. An elderly woman leans out the third story window of her tenement building and surveys the activity on the street. She waters the flower pots on the windowsill and ducks back inside, white curtains wafting in the breeze. Below her, the sporadic thump of long distance buses crossing the avenue is heard.

This is the daytime pulse of the Bus terminal--steady and strong. Let us now advance the clock to 4 P.M., and the beginning of the evening rush period. The escalators are moving up as increasing amounts of people emerge from the subways and sidewalks. New Jersey-bound commuters are returning to their homes, some loosened ties evidence of a "hard day at the office." Some of these persons carry the newspaper they purchased in the morning; it is now wrinkled and folded under their arms. Most people continue on their way; unlike the morning rush, there is no line at the take-out counters.

As the commuters file into the Terminal, the last thing they are thinking of is the Lincoln Tunnel, yet it will soon come into their minds. As the bus driver pulled onto the ramp leading into the tunnel, he thought he'd heard the engine making some strange sounds. Just before it could clear the bottom of the ramp, the bus stalled. Behind it, other buses began lining up, unable to enter the tunnel. Passengers, sensing something wrong, began querying the driver, "What's happening up ahead?" "Bus breakdown,"

he says to a chorus of "Ah, shit" and "Goddamn Port Authority." Meanwhile, in the Bus Terminal, passengers are assuming their normal places on line, but realize that they are not moving. Bus dispatchers call out, "Broken down bus on the ramp, it shouldn't be long." "Son of a bitch," says one disgruntled man to an audience of shaking heads. Some of these individuals may decide to change their routine, leaving the line to buy a cup of coffee or soup. "This is bullshit," says one well dressed man to the counterman. "What do you expect"? is the reply.

For these people, the Terminal is a heart no longer; it is a container. They are annoyed--dinner is waiting, and if the delay persists, calls to home will have to be made. This means additional lines at the telephone booths. There are also lines at the lavatories and some users would probably not have stopped had it not been for the delay. Most figure that they could have been halfway home by now, or if the bus had one, used the bathroom there. One commuter decides to walk through the facility in order to pass some time. Ending up on the Long Haul Level, he enters the lavatory to wash his face. He sees an older Black man talking to a White of about the same age. The White has his shirt off and is splashing water on his chest and arms. Along the length of the level, armless multicolored plastic seats are filled with varying types of people. One holds a young Black serviceman wearing patent leather oxfords, a slightly wrinkled uniform and shiny brass ornaments on the lapels. He is fighting to ward off the attacking sleep. Next to him on the adjoining seat is a bulky duffel bag

with strange markings on it. Across the way is an elderly couple, perhaps Italian in origin. Both speak with an accent, although the husband's English is a bit more understandable. About seventy years of age, he wears a rumpled gray suit, white shirt and thin black tie anchored to his thin form with a silver clip. The outfit has seen better days, but it is clean. His black laced shoes, the kind it seems most old men wear, have the remnants of a long ago shine. Behind him is a large brown suitcase with a strap around it; no name is on the little white card under the handle. I do not see the multicolored tags of various airports. His wife wears a pretty dark blue pants suit with white medium heeled shoes. She carries a white handbag, the straps of which are wrapped around her wrinkled hand. Her white hair and wire-framed glasses give a matronly appearance. The couple speak in low tones and whenever the woman turns her head to observe the goings on, her husband says something and she turns around.

Down near Platform 20, there is a bus leaving for the South. The destination board lists places like Mobile and Raleigh, and a line consisting of about forty persons, most of them Black, stretches along the wall and out into the bus loading area. Some are old, some young and a few females restrain youngsters from bounding away from the line. The aroma of popcorn wafts through the level.

The stalled bus has now been pushed to the side of the road, and the line behind it begins to drift ahead. Persons standing

on lines notice the movement and begin to pick up their attache cases from the floor. The person to whom a bump would have meant an argument is now only concerned with getting on his bus and getting home. In the Waiting Room, a bag lady has slept through all of this; it is not her time to begin activity.

Now the evening rush is on, people darting in and out of the crowd in order to be the first on the escalator. The police are standing by as two males begin to argue. "Hey, I want to get home the same as you pal, so why don't you just keep moving?" "Hey, don't tell me what to do." The officer watches as someone in the crowd says, "C'mon, watch it." Another says, "Excuse me." The verbal altercation ceases as the two men continue on their way. Suddenly, a clerk from Walgreen's rushes out the door, calling "Officer" as he beckons him towards the store. The police officer walks behind the clerk and into the store, emerging with a handcuffed person. "Hey man, I didn't do shit, he's fuckin' bullshittin'," says the youth, about twenty years of age. The clerk and the officer walk towards Ninth Avenue, the former saying, "I saw him take it."

Around 7 P.M., the evening rush has been completed and the Terminal begins to settle in its night routine. The pulse has slowed as various couples pass through, probably heading for the theaters or restaurant. As it gets dark, I notice a crowd forming in front of the liquor store on Thirty-ninth Street, on the side of the Terminal. Composed of both males and females in their forties, the group laughs and drinks, an occasional "motherfucker" being the only intelligible word. The Bus Terminal is fairly

quiet; but the streets are coming to life.

It is now 9 P.M., the commuters are in their homes and the security closing plan is to begin. The purpose of this is to direct all operations into the Long Haul Level. The Sanitation Unit is responsible for responding to the portals at Fortieth Street and locking all entrance doors. They will roll down the signs from cases mounted in the center of each bank of doors which direct the public to the main Eighth Avenue entrance. Access to the facility is gradually being restricted.

At 12:45 A.M., the lavatories in the Main Waiting Room are secured and the lit signs above their doors are turned off. The police will clear all persons from the area and lock the waiting room doors. I can hear the radio calling for a "sweep of the area." In addition, they will lock the Fortieth Street entrance doors and the doors leading to Platforms 41-45. These seem to be some of the most difficult platforms to find, since one must enter the Waiting Room in order to get the stairway to them. It seems to be a good place to find a "sleeper," since there is a direct entrance from the street and the long wooden benches enable one to recline in ease.

At 1 A.M., the Suburban and Upper Bus Levels are affected. Stanchions are placed across the roadways at the apex, thereby preventing entry by vehicular traffic. Signs positioned at these areas will direct drivers to the Long Haul Level and in order to alert them of the situation at the first opportunity after entering the city, the identical information is posted on signs at the

Lincoln Tunnel exit. The police then sweep the Upper, then Suburban platforms, directing all persons to the Long Haul Level (after all 1:00 departures have left the Terminal). The action by the police of sweeping from the Upper to Lower Levels precludes any "backtracking" by persons intent on spending the night in the facility. The automatic bus announcement system is informing users that all departures between 1 A.M. and 6 A.M. are from the Long Haul Level. Maintenance personnel are securing all escalators above the Main Concourse, placing warning flags at the top and bottom. Elevators are restricted from serving the Upper Bus Level between 1:00 A.M. and 9:30 A.M.

I can hear the drone of the floor waxers and coming into the Terminal are the short order cooks, janitors, postal employees, civil servants, maintenance workers and office personnel on the night shift. There is no steady stream as in the daytime, only a few persons passing at a time. Here comes a well dressed man carrying an attache case, his steps obviously labored. Perhaps he has been at an office party or stopped for a drink with the boys. As he walks through the Main Concourse the gazing confidence of the daytime commuter is absent, replaced by the scanning confusion of the infrequent visitor or tourist. He is unsure of his course through the Terminal and he may be forced to ask directions of passersby or the police.

The police will continue a sweep of the Upper and Suburban concourses from Ninth to Eighth Avenue, including all cold areas and rest rooms. These "cold areas" are the lobbies at the bottom of the stairways and escalators to the Suburban platforms and their

name is derived from the fact that they are unheated. Maintenance staff will activate the alarm on the stationary stairway adjacent to Platform 123. This extends from the Main Concourse to the Upper Parking Level and is rarely used by anyone except the police. As I walked up to the Parking Levels, I came across a few liquor bottles in paper bags and a few urine stains. Sanitation personnel place a sign on the Upper Concourse at Gate 113 directing all persons to the Long Haul Level. After police have swept the Upper Concourse, an expansion gate will be placed and secured between the elevator and the concourse. This will prevent any unauthorized persons from entering the area. In addition, all lavatories on the Upper Bus Level and Suburban Concourse will be secured, since these are potential sleeping places for undesirables wandering in from the street. Sometimes these persons will be very wary in order to escape detection and may stand on the toilet so that their feet will not give them away. The officers open each stall and check it.

Gates will be placed behind the stairway and escalator leading to the Long Haul Level and in front of any corridors leading to the Ninth Avenue end of the facility. These are marked with "Area Closed" signs and will channel late night passengers to the lower level. A sign indicating that all departures between the hours of 1:01 A.M. and 6:00 A.M. will be placed under the large clock suspended above the Main Concourse.

The Terminal is quiet; the pulse is slow. The street people are out now: Robin Hood, the bag ladies, Mr. No Socks, the

bottle gangs, the runaways, prostitutes and narcotics users. As I look out on the street, I cannot see them, but I know they are there. Suddenly, a newspaper truck, its brakes sending piercing objections into the night, veers into the curb at the Eighth Avenue entrance. An overweight, parka clad figure jumps to the sidewalk with a muttered "Ah, Shit" . . . and I hear the beat begin once again.

THE MAINTENANCE OF ORDER

The Bus Terminal is no mere transportation facility. It is a host for a very diversified and distinctive population who utilize it in a variety of ways. Where one person conceives of it as a commuter-oriented facility, another thinks of it only as a meeting or jumping off point for a Sunday visit. Some persons will use it as their place of employment, others for selling their wares, and still others as a place to seek warmth.

As a public place, the Bus Terminal is distinct in its possibilities of containment. This may precipitate different types of situational activity than that normally encountered on "routine days." Within this ecological framework lies the responsibility of the public to the maintenance of order. We have observed activity in the Terminal for a twenty-four hour period, noting the constant flow of a variety of persons, both legitimate and disaffiliated. There will be some situations with which they will want to become involved and others they will ignore. There is a subtle logic in "not getting involved," where this is portrayed as a

rational and conscious decision. Anyone who travels realizes that disruption of a regular routine will result in the determination to return to it as soon as possible, or at the very least, minimize the effects of the disruption. The commuters stuck in the Terminal because of the stalled bus do not want to be there; they only want to get out of it and be on their way home. If a person walks through the Main Concourse and observes a woman's pocketbook being taken, he is innately aware that by stopping, there will be an alteration to routine, both immediate and long range. The former will be a missed bus, an end to a pleasant conversation with a traveling companion or a late entry into the office. The person could also be subject to physical harm. Long range disruptions could include sporadic court appearances or investigations by the police. It is important to note that there is a subtle difference between involvement in the exterior environment and within the Bus Terminal. Where the life of the individual in the exterior world is based on involvement and participation (employment, family, sports), the routine of the commuter is based on the elimination of these factors. They just want to be left alone, to concentrate on their progress through the facility.

Although the Bus Terminal is a contained environment, it is unlike a home in that relations there occur between strangers. Two individuals pass one another with a slight bump; they each say, "Pardon Me," and continue on their way. Persons dealing with the support personnel are either receiving a service or posing

questions from them in an attempt to facilitate their progress through the Terminal. Though each may be cordial to one another, there is still an unfamiliar relationship.³³

How then, is order maintained among complete strangers?

Goffman says:

"A condition of order at the junction of crowded city thoroughfares implies primarily an absence of collisions between men and vehicles that interfere with one another. Order cannot be said to prevail among people going in the same direction at the same pace, because there is no interference. It does not exist when persons are constantly colliding with one another. But when all who meet or overtake one another in crowded ways take the time and pains needed to avoid collisions, the throng is orderly."³⁴

The graphic example of the order within the Terminal was when I attempted to walk across the onrushing commuters. Many made subtle turns to either side so that they and I could pass unhindered. There is no sharp turn, but a flowing movement whereby the actors narrow their personal space by pressing the arms closer to the body or angling the entire body. The most efficient way to

³³"Most societies have 'anonymous relations,' that is, patterned, mutual treatment between two individuals who know each other solely on the basis of instantly perceived social identity, as when an individual courteously passes a stranger on the street."

Goffman, Relations in Public, p. 189. An excellent example of this is the case of a police officer passing a lone gentleman on at a late hour in the Terminal. The man will nod his head as if to thank the officer for his physical presence and to indicate "everything is okay."

³⁴Goffman, Relations in Public, p. 6. This system is the internal maintenance of order in the Bus Terminal. Frequently, a derelict will wander into the Main Concourse, causing a disruption in activity. Yelling, "I don't give a fuck about no mother-fuckers. What the fuck are you lookin' at," he may breach the lines at ticket windows or attempt to cross the floor in the midst of rush hour. Now there is a breakdown of order, since

cross the Main Concourse during this time is to enter the crowd flow and proceed at a forty-five degree angle to the wall. Of course, this means entering a bit downstream from the destination, but many persons may be observed utilizing this technique. Those who do not risk a collision or the "dance."

We can see that there are two types of interference to the maintenance of order. The first is a result of the impact of the surrounding ecology, such as delays or accidents. The second is the often invisible personal encounter within the ecology of the Terminal itself. Much of these encounters involve a conformance to the norms of peers or social groups. There is an unwritten code of permissible behavior, regulated not by law, but by the attitude of the dominant social group. For many persons, these codes are norms of the surrounding community. For example, though no particular law requires it, one block may fly a flag on a certain date in order to commemorate a special event, remember a boy in the service, and so on. There is a certain obligation of every resident on the block to fly the flag; those who do not are separate from the group. In the same perspective, a person who freely picks his nose in the privacy of the home will not do so in the Bus Terminal, because others are watching and it is not a socially acceptable act.³⁵

persons are reluctant to challenge him.

³⁵In 1925, George Herbert Mead wrote that, "Social control depends, then, upon the degree to which the individuals in society are able to assume the attitudes of others who are involved with them in common endeavors." George Herbert Mead, "The Genesis of

We have discussed the environment of the Long Haul Level--the physical dimensions of the area as well as the types of individuals to be found there. Now let us walk along the platforms numbered in the one hundreds: the Upper Bus Level. We must stay close to the wall opposite the platforms, since it is rush hour and the lines of commuters jut outward from the doors. Latecomers are wading through the people in an attempt to get to their bus line. A line of seats stretches along the wall for the length of the level and although they are of the same plastic construction as those on the Long Haul Level, they hold a different type of cargo. Sitting here are a few older men, approximately forty to fifty years of age, wearing "traditional" business attire. One has on a neatly tailored dark blue suit, complemented by a powder blue shirt and maroon and black striped tie. He sits with one leg draped over the other, displaying well shined black wing tip shoes. Atop the black leather portfolio on his lap is a copy of the New York Times, conveniently folded in lengthwise fashion. Glasses perched at the tip of his nose, he looks all the world like the stereotype of a stockbroker or high ranking corporate staff member.

Self and Social Control," International Journal of Ethics 35 (1925): pp. 251-77. See also Gerald D. Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Barrington Moore, Jr., "Reflections on Conformity in Industrial Society," Political Power and Social Theory (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) and Georg Simmel, Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955). What this all boils down to is the issue of anonymity; nobody likes to be conspicuous in a public place. There is comfort in occupying a position within the group. Even the derelict wanted to know "what everyone was looking at."

The other men also wears suits, one has a blue blazer with a charcoal gray slacks, white shirt and red tie. Two men stand by the wall, their conversation barely audible. "I really couldn't conceive of his handling the account in that manner. Richie told his staff about sending memos, but ..." The other fellow interjects, "Well, he's a real taskmaster, but what can you say in that situation"? As their line begins to move, they say nothing and walk to the rear of it. Within that line is a conversation about baseball and another concerning Republican economics.

Scattered throughout the level are some young females fitting the mold of "secretary" or "management trainee." Wearing stylish dresses or sedate pants suits, they do not carry newspapers; instead, they hold the latest novels, some of which are enclosed in leather cases that obliterate the title and author.³⁶ This seems to be one of the last bastions of the bookmark, which the women insert between the pages so that their first moments on the outgoing bus are not spent searching for the next line. Perhaps they do not intend to read, but to sleep; the books used only as a pastime on the daily queues.

I note the contrast between the ecology of the Upper Bus Level and the Long Haul Level. A maintenance or order exists, yet in a different environment. On the Long Haul Level one sees

³⁶Could it be that the well dressed, "proper" executive secretary for a prestigious law firm is reading a lurid novel, the identity of which would alter her role or image among her peers on the bus?

more intrusion of the street, where the Upper Bus Level seems to be more sedate, more "middle class."³⁷ There is more of that "airport atmosphere" because of the bustling activity. On the Long Haul Level, the slower pace affords one the opportunity of surveying surrounding activity and becoming more involved in it.³⁸

³⁷The atmosphere here is less dynamic; the pace slower. One sees more bag ladies, rowdy youths, local characters (such as the middle aged Black woman clad in only a housedress, who talks to herself as she parades past seated passengers, or the two White men, both about twenty-five years of age, who giggle as they hold hands amid the smirks of two bus drivers).

³⁸This distinction among levels is a prime example of the Bus Terminal's role as more than a transportation facility. We have described the Upper Bus Level as the haven for the middle class (particularly during the rush periods.) Mixed within this group will be college students returning to school and perhaps the couple visiting their children in South Jersey. The Suburban Bus Level is also middle class oriented, but some buses departing from there go to lower income areas of New Jersey. Hence, there will be more youths, minorities and less of the "executive atmosphere." The Main Concourse, as the melting pot, brings everyone together in one area of the facility, while the Lower Level is the least elite of all. Due to the distinct population types indigenous to each level, there are different norms contributing to the maintenance of order. For example, the well dressed executive sitting on the Upper Level is much less likely to whistle in order to attract the attention of a distant acquaintance than is the young male on the Long Haul Level. This is precisely Goffman's argument concerning "dominating involvement" in public places.

"A dominating involvement is one whose claims upon an individual the social occasion obliges him to be ready to recognize; a subordinate involvement is one he is allowed to sustain only to the degree, and during the time, that his attention is patently not required by the involvement that dominates him."

Goffman, Behavior in Public Places, p. 44. Goffman indicates that the commuter will have the dominating involvement of waiting for his bus, but the subordinate involvement of acknowledging the presence of his acquaintance. There is a "rules of the game" approach to the acknowledgement. Were a child to shout to a friend located on the far end of a line, there would be little perception that he had behaved improperly. If he were to fall

Perhaps the most appropriate way to describe the maintenance of order within the Bus Terminal is that the population is congruent with its roles. This is an individual congruence, a conformity to surrounding norms and a behavior that affords interaction yet ensures anonymity. This anonymity seems to be a prevailing factor in the behavior of public places, particularly the Bus Terminal. It is the essence of "not getting involved," and explains why the Italian man was preventing his wife from establishing eye contact with other persons on the Long Haul Level. It shows us why rush hour crowds flow around the fallen suitcase of an older gentleman and a crowd of men in the Off-Track Betting Parlor do not interfere when a drunk is annoying passing females, leaving intervention to the police.

The loss of anonymity and introduction of conspicuousness is achieved by physical appearance, behavior or both. We noted the incongruence of "Mr. No Socks" because of his lack of foot covering. Consequently, we singled him out as a deviant, an imbalance of order. Now, perhaps the 4 A.M. deliveryman decided to make his rounds in the Bus Terminal without wearing socks. As

asleep in one of the plastic seats, one would not view him as a deviant. Conversely, were the commuter to do either of these, it would not be congruent with his image and further, the latter act might result in intervention by the formal social control agents, the police.

"As with other aspects of involvement structure, there is an ecology regarding subordinate involvement. It has been said, for example, that between the wars in London there were districts such as Bond Street where a lady did not walk while holding anything more than gloves, a leash or a walking umbrella, and where similar restrictions applied to gentlemen. A

such, we would label him in the same category as other "characters," except that his clean clothing would imply a "semi-legitimacy." The fact remains, he would "stand out" in public as does anyone without socks. We also noted the individual on the Main Concourse because of his yelling, "motherfucker" to passersby. Had he refrained from performing this act, he would have retained his anonymity within the passing population and not have become an obstacle to the maintenance of order.³⁹

small parcel carried under the arm was not *comme il faut*, for such an involvement in visible muscular activity apparently implied a threat to the kind of finished poised appearance deemed proper. From this extreme, a continuum could be traced in the same city to places where people properly went about struggling under shoulder harnesses or heavy objects such as boxes or large tools." Ibid, p. 48.

³⁹See Goffman, Behavior in Public Places, pp. 203-204. He writes:

"Here, incidentally, one finds a very pervasive difference between middle and lower class males in American society. Those who work without a tie, in clothes they do not have to worry about keeping clean, are persons who can afford to touch and be touched by the physical environment around them. The 'informality' of their dress is one part of a complex, the whole of which is the understanding that these persons need not maintain a tight orientation in public social situations. While waiting for a bus or talking to a friend in the street, they can slouch, lean against a building, or squat on any substitute for a seat, and thus express a looseness of orientation to the gathering as such, which is consistent with the role that has been accorded them. That their clothing allows this is as much effect as cause of their situational orientation. Middle class people in public places, on the other hand, have more obligation to keep relatively erect and stiff, relatively ready to respond interactively. And, again, the fact that their clothing and cleanliness patterns are incompatible with too great a familiarity with the physical environment of the street would seem to be as much effect as cause of their level of orientational discipline. Persons tightly attired can, of course, express meager concern for the gathering, but they are perhaps more likely than those informally dressed to do this by means of relatively subtle cues."

Order, then, is not maintained solely by the utility of the physical design of the Bus Terminal, but by the interjection of this with a smoothly flowing system of temporal situational activity. Although the Terminal has a most efficient design in providing a mechanical order, that is, a functional assembly and distribution of buses, only the ecology of the population itself is capable of sustaining a purely social order on an individual and mass basis.⁴⁰

The maintenance of order within the Bus Terminal depends upon an adherence to roles by the population. For the manual laborer to pass through wearing only a white undershirt is not a violation of norms, since this is expected of his title. However, for the stockbroker on the Upper Bus level to do the same is a deviant act. In the same way, queueing procedures, intervention of support personnel and proper functioning of the surrounding ecology contribute degrees of order to the population that is "dumped" at Fortieth Street and Eighth Avenue. See also Amy Vanderbilt, Amy Vanderbilt's Complete Book of Etiquette (New York: Doubleday, 1958); J. Toby, "Some Variables in Role Conflict Analysis," Social Forces 30 (1952), p. 325.

⁴⁰For an explanation of order on a mass basis, one may look to the definition of social stratification:

"A relatively permanent ranking of statuses and roles in a social system (ranging from a small group to a society) in terms of differential privileges, prestige, influence, and power. Social stratification involves inequality, arising either from the actual functions performed by the persons involved or from the superior power and control of resources possessed by certain individuals of groups, or both. Societal systems of social stratification, although differing greatly in degree of emphasis on achievement or ascription, are never identical with an objective system of functional differentiation or social contribution. The advantages of power and authority (which are or tend to be inherited) serve to develop systems of stratification based, to some degree at least, on group membership (family, caste, race) rather than solely on a person's actual or potential functional contribution to society."

Theodorson, Modern Dictionary of Sociology, p. 421.

THE GRAZING MENTALITY

Our discussion of the rush hour periods disclosed the hordes of onrushing commuters, intent on getting to their destinations as soon as possible. When an observer stands by the Information Counter during the 8 A.M. period, he cannot help but notice the unwavering gaze on their faces, a staring straight ahead with a little notice of surrounding activity. Many, concerned only with getting from the subway to the bus, do not

We have discussed the types of individuals indigenous to each level of the Terminal, although one can never generalize by stating that this is always a rigid situation. However, the observer, performing over a period of time, will note the propensity for individuals to frequent certain areas, either by requirement (as in the case of commuters on the Upper and Suburban Bus Levels during rush periods) or by choice (as in the street persons who loiter in the Off-Track Betting Parlor or around the front of the Eighth Avenue entrance to the Terminal). These individuals comprise the distinct classes within the Terminal, a situation which may often offer sharp contrasts, such as Mr. No Socks standing next to a well dressed business executive. For an explanation of order on an individual basis, one may look to the following: Allan Keller, "Man With a Trumpet Hot-Licks the Storm," New York World Telegram and the Sun, December 15, 1951, p. 1. The story is subtitled "Soothes Snowbound Riders in Bus Terminal's Own Jam Session." During a severe snowstorm, more than 20,000 commuters were contained within the Terminal during the rush hour period. There was no bus activity in the facility due to terrible conditions on suburban roadways, and commuters lined up to make phone calls, eat hasty meals or await the resumption of operations. Keller writes:

"Out across the empty ramps in the strangely silent terminal echoed the silver throated notes of hot-lipped jazz. It rose and fell, first blatant, then sweet, and in a few minutes it had calmed the savage beasts of untold thousands of bus riders who could find no buses."

Nobody knew this man's name, yet he was able to calm and comfort the enormous quantity of people whose routines had been disturbed, in fact, the delay was so substantial that crowds stood in every restaurant, bar and loading platform in the Ter-

notice the bag lady searching the garbage bins for old newspapers or the police officer questioning the loiterer, for they are operating on a "homing instinct" which will lead them on a direct course within this part of their daily routine.⁴¹ When users exhibit this grazing mentality, the physical design of the Terminal is functioning to channel them to various areas within it, while their subconscious personal routines direct them to the proper places.⁴² The individual has obtained the protection of the masses; consequently, he may allow his guard to relax, that is, the heightened awareness of personal security and territory that is indigenous to public places is diminished because of the proximity of surrounding bodies. It is comparable to the situation of the teacher versus the taught, where being alone in front of a room subjects one to a higher degree of scrutiny and invasion than one who sits in the safety of a crowd. In the case of the Bus Terminal, we may refer to the cases of

minal. Escalators were halted because there was no room to assimilate riders when they stepped off. However, the mere playing of a musical instrument by one individual was enough to restore order to a contained, disrupted crowd until similar order was restored to physical design oriented operations.

⁴¹"Individuals, whether in human or animal form, exhibit two basic modes of activity. They go about their business grazing, gazing, mothering, digesting, building, resting, playing, placidly attending to easily managed matters at hand. Or, fully mobilized, a fury of intent, alarmed, they get ready to attack or to stalk or to flee. Physiology itself is patterned to coincide with this duality.

Goffman, Relations in Public, p. 238.

⁴²Perhaps this is why the police referred to a cordoned off section of the Eighth Avenue sidewalk leading directly into the entrance as the "sheep run."

"not getting involved," because doing so would eradicate the grazing mentality and subject one to separation from the masses. However, if one is accustomed to this protection and anonymity and is suddenly thrust into an isolated environment (as in the case of a commuter who has worked late, and now must pass through the Terminal at 11 P.M. rather than 4 P.M.), the grazing mentality may not appear, replaced by an intense scanning of the surrounding environment.⁴³

⁴³Goffman refers to this situation in two citations.

"Individuals seem to recognize that in some environments wariness is particularly important, constant monitoring and scanning must be maintained, and any untoward event calls forth a quick and full reaction." Ibid., p. 242.

"In considering the tendency for individuals to oscillate between being off guard and being on guard, it is easy to find some who are deer-like, ever ready to be startled; whereas, others are either cow-like, slow to be mobilized, or lion-like, unconcerned about predators and wary chiefly when stalking a prey. However, a slightly different difference seems more relevant: a difference in capacity to respond to alarming signs effectively with a minimum of disturbance to routine. This can involve more than a capacity to handle emergencies with composure and skill. also involved: the quick discounting of false alarms; the capacity to deal effectively with events after having allowed them to develop a little further than others safely can; a nose for minute cues that others miss, leading to an earlier than usual awareness of something being up, thus allowing a longer than usual time to cope before it is too late. What we have here is the cool efficacy that is supposed to come from experience and is, in fact, sometimes called 'experience.'" Ibid., p. 243.

In the 42nd Street area, this is called "street smarts." It is the ability to know that something is amiss; that it just "isn't right," as in the case of a well dressed middle aged male jumping from line to line of casually dressed elderly persons on the Long Haul Level. He may be a pickpocket. Refer to Chapter III. for a discussion of this in a law enforcement perspective. Being "street smart" is the mark of a good police officer, however, many veteran users acquire this trait and use it to facilitate their

For example, a disorderly person may harass a lone individual in one area of the facility or he may direct his comments to an entire group. The hunched man, wearing baggy, urine stained pants, stands directly in the path of oncoming passengers and yells, "If anybody fucks with me, I'm gonna kick his ass." In both cases, personal routine has been disturbed and the user's attention redirected from rapid passage through the Terminal to avoid or dealing with the situation at hand. The intervention of a police officer is usually the only recourse here. It is a sort of informal "traffic signal" for the commuter. He wishes only an unhindered passage through the Terminal, both visual and physical. He does not want to become involved in delay-causing activity such as a crime. Should this occur, a gathering of onlookers may result in his missing a bus or train. In addition, the physical impact of a crime could directly affect his coordination with time. If the incident occurred on his outgoing bus, he is forced to await another while the police investigate the situation and clear the area. Barricades may be placed around the crime scene and these force him to alter a routine.⁴⁴ When this occurs, there is no sudden stop nor pandemonium--the individual continues his natural pace around the obstacle and onto an alternate route to his des-

movement through the Terminal by avoiding potentially disruptive situations.

⁴⁴Obstacles could also include the scene of falling debris, a fire, slippery floor or construction activity.

tinuation. The author has stood on the Main Concourse during the morning and evening rush periods in order to observe this situation. When wearing a police uniform, he noted that barely a head was turned toward him; the eyes of the passersby remained in a steady forward gaze. These were the everyday commuters in the grazing mentality and one could always select the likely "questioner" in the crowd, as he did not have this steady gaze. His eyes scanned the surrounding area in a search for information signs, or better yet, a police officer. The individual would leave the crowd flow, walking directly onto the side of the concourse, reminding one of the way a motorist pulls his disabled vehicle onto the side of the road. As the crowd passed, the author would walk across their path, and the results never changed. The commuters very rarely stopped, looked at or asked questions of the officer. Instead, they continued on their journey, gaze steady and pace interrupted as they flowed around the obstacle, much the same as a stream flows around a fallen branch. There is no interruption, only continuity. The only way the author could attract attention was by practically running across the crowd's path. This cancelled the grazing mentality and instituted the danger sensing mechanism.⁴⁵

⁴⁵"When the world immediately around the individual portends nothing out of the ordinary, when the world appears to allow him to continue his routines (being indifferent to his designs and neither a major help nor a major hinderance), we can say that he will sense that appearances are 'natural' or 'normal.' For the individual, then, normal appearances mean that it is safe and sound to continue on with the activity at hand with only peripheral attention given to checking up on the stability of the environment."

TERRITORIAL BEHAVIOR AND PERSONAL SPACE

Due to the varied types of persons comprising the population of the Bus Terminal, it is only natural that there be a wide array of behavior exhibited by them. This may be sitting, drinking, smoking, hanging out, etc. We have discussed the impact of public norms in regulating certain types of behavior, yet we must bear in mind that the Terminal is situated in a natural area, consequently, there is a wide disparity among the population, both internal and external (street persons, business community, etc.) as to "what is proper."⁴⁶

Goffman, Relations in Public, p. 239. This situation has been called to task in the newspapers. One story claimed that users were "Too Calm Over Alert"--many Jerseyans at the Port Authority Bus Terminal failed to seek shelter when sirens sound for test. There were about 1,250 New Jersey travelers in the facility when an air raid test was conducted.

"Lots of women stood in conversation, apparently completely oblivious of the alert. Many who seemed to be aware of the test lined the walls of the building to watch the show instead of following one of the 250 signs which directed them to shelters. A workman standing on a scaffold erecting Christmas decorations went about his work as though nothing had happened. Merchants in the 32 shops ringing the concourses continued to do business although orders were that all but one employee from each store and all customers should head for the shelters."

It seemed that for the population of the facility at that period, the only concern was maintenance of a personal routine.

"They stood quietly during most of the alert, but suddenly about seven minutes after the red signal they started moving toward the exits, as though in answer to a silent order, although the alarm was not yet over."

See John C. Scully, "Too Calm Over Alert," Newark Evening News, November 28, 1951, p. 1.

⁴⁶This concept of the natural area is discussed in detail

The Terminal is a microcosm of this community, especially in the aspect of social class. We have stated that the Long Haul Level is the haven for those traveling to such cities as Detroit, Chicago and Miami. Now, these places are the traditional destinations for corporate executives who, dressed in business suits and carrying attache cases, are given expense accounts and find hotel rooms when dispatched to conduct business.⁴⁷ Now, however, this type of person is rarely seen in the

in Chapters I and IV. However, its importance in this chapter lies in the fact that it explains the various types of "characters" and events indigenous to the Bus Terminal and the neighborhood, such as prostitution, pornography, homeless men and women, etc. It is crucial to understand that some of the things occurring on the street are, within street norms, perfectly legitimate. For example, the enterprising youth who seeks funds by setting up a "Three Card Monte" game (which challenges participants to guess the location of a red card among a few black ones) is seen as legitimate by street persons as long as he does not interfere with someone else's "gig." The conflict comes when a "more socially acceptable" persons, perhaps a middle class commuter, witnesses or falls victim to the event, which he sees as deviant. Suttles explains the situation:

"Local business establishments, street corners, and other public facilities are categorized according to their proper 'hangers-on,' the license they may enjoy, and the behavior appropriate to 'outsiders.'"

Gerald D. Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 9.

⁴⁷Years ago, the passenger train was the primary means of transportation for these and many other persons, since the railroads offered dining cars and sleepers to ensure comfortable overnight travel. The advent of the airplane and the continuing expansion of air travel have contributed to the demise of the passenger train, and the businessman now uses Kennedy, LaGuardia and Newark Airports for his journeys. Bus travel has traditionally been the "stepchild" of transportation (in competition with the plane and train), and for many persons, it is either too lengthy or uncomfortable for their purposes. When one is planning

Bus Terminal, except on the journey to and from his office. For travel, he uses the airplane. Consequently, the evolution of transportation has helped to develop a certain type of population within the Terminal. Each has his own manner of functioning, within a public place, including eating habits, territory and time of appearance. The executive is more likely to stop in the Briefcase Pub for a fast cocktail than he is to sit in the snack bar on the long Haul Level for a two piece chicken dinner. Conversely, the lower income bus passenger bound for Mobile, Alabama would not be congruent sipping a martini in the Pub.

One example of this disparity is the User Panel, an assembly of persons responding to an inquiry concerning their views of conditions in the Bus Terminal.⁴⁸ When the author attended one of these meetings, he was not surprised at the audience.

a trip, the bus is rarely thought of as the primary means of transportation. Long distance bus travel is certainly not the most publicized nor popular way to go. When the Bus Terminal first opened, it was more in vogue. Now, only the low income, elderly and students seem to be waiting on the lines for these buses. Refer to Chapter I for a discussion of the bus business in 1950. In addition, a readable discourse on the railroad can be found in Stewart H. Holbrook, The Story of American Railroads (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1947). It also contains some material similar to that contained in The Hobo.

⁴⁸The Port Authority distributed 10,000 questionnaires to Terminal users in July, 1979. The form asked for age, income, gender, place of employment, etc. 180 responses were received and the data put in ascending order (e.g., Male, 40, \$10,000; Male, 41, \$11,000, etc.) with every seventh questionnaire selected for reply. Consequently, 12 to 14 potential panels were formed and the individuals contacted regarding their interest in participation. On the other hand, some respondents had scrawled such comments as "None of your business" on the form, or refused to answer questions dealing with salary or the name of employer.

Of the ten persons present, nine wore suits and the remaining individual had on neat casual clothing. All were White males, ranging in age from approximately thirty-five to fifty-five years of age. If one were to visualize the typical professional or managerial middle class bus commuter, he would see he or she seated at this table. One person sported a bushy beard, looking all the world like a New York University "professional student," yet his views were akin to his peers and voiced with equal eloquence. The topic of the evening was the police presence in the Terminal and users spoke of concerns regarding seeing more officers, passing through unprotected dark areas and the removal of undersirables. One person stated that he "wanted to see a cop as he passed through the various areas of the Bus Terminal." His concern was not that the officer be there at all times, but just when he was passing by. Another person seized upon that opportunity to interject the peddler issue, stating that the "Pretzel Lady" and "Italian Ice Man" should be evicted, since "they get in our way."

The users viewed the Terminal as "their turf" and the characters and conditions as anonymous obstacles to their unhindered passage. For them, the Bus Terminal is only a means to

To deal with this, and only if the name and address were legible, the Port Authority would write to the individual, stating that since the questionnaire was improperly completed, it could not be used in the program. In this way, the individual was made aware that the agency did actually read and utilize the responses.

an end. They are appearing because their personal territory has been violated, yet we should reflect upon the persons who did not appear. Commuters are frequently in positions of power, while on the other hand, lower income persons are not as well educated or may find it difficult to interpret a form and communicate their opinions in an effective manner. They do not have a powerful base for interest group articulation, hence, it is the commuter who sits at the User Meetings. I venture to say that the older Italian couple would have been slightly out of place in these surroundings. However, they do not use the facility on a regular basis, hence there is no sense of personal territory as held by the commuters on the Panel, yet there is a sense of personal space and the reluctance to become involved and lose public anonymity. This is the reason for avoiding eye contact and minding one's own business.

The chart on page 153 gives us additional information in understanding the territorial behavior of the population.

PATRON SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING BUS TERMINAL
BY PATRON CATEGORY

Type of Suggestion	Total Terminal	Short/ Medium Haul	Patron Category		
			Long Haul	Parking Lot	Other Non-Bus
			Percent Distribution*		
Operations	31	31	35	17	23
Security	28	29	26	21	35
Maintenance	17	17	11	39	10
Sanitation	9	7	18	7	19
Neighborhood	6	6	5	4	4
Other	9	10	5	12	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

*Based on rankings provided by 64% of the respondents.

SOURCE: Port Authority patron Participation Survey, 1979, p. 45.

The chart indicates the major areas of concern by facility users and qualitative information gleaned from each category focuses on the following:

- Operations: Organization of departures
 Effective communication regarding
 delays
- Security: Removal of undersirables⁴⁹
- Maintenance: Improvements to escalators,
 elevators and stairs
- Neighborhood: Cleanup of area

Only six percent of the respondents concerned themselves with the improvement of the neighborhood, indicating a focus only on their unobstructed mobility through and continuation of routine

⁴⁹Refer to Chapter V.

in, the Bus Terminal. The survey states:

"When the distribution of responses is considered by patron category, the significant variances as compared to the total population are:

- Long Haul and non-bus patrons placed on stronger emphasis on sanitation, especially as it related to the rest rooms and waiting areas. This is indicative of the greater amount of time these people may spend in the Terminal itself.
- Parking lot patrons made a proportionately greater number of suggestions concerning maintenance. Predictably, their greatest concern was in the area of maintaining the elevators.
- non-bus patrons emphasized security over operations."⁵⁰

Personal observations have shown that more intrusions of the street, that is, more undersirables appear on the Long Haul Level than on the Suburban and Upper Levels, and the survey has borne this out. Long distance passengers do not assume the rigid grazing mentality of the commuter and are more observant of surrounding activity. The survey shows that each group observes a sort of "turf" within the Terminal, and is concerned with improvements that will facilitate their use of, or hasten their exit from, the facility.

Altman's discussion regarding territorial behavior is relevant to this situational activity in the Terminal.⁵¹

⁵⁰Port Authority Patron Participation Survey, 1979, p. 48.

⁵¹"Territorial behavior of intact social groups is examined in naturalistic real world settings and in which the investigator does little manipulation or experimentation with the situation."

Irwin Altman, The Environment and Social Behavior (Monterey: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1975), p. 127. Some studies in this perspective have been Sundstrom and Altman (1974), who observed the utilization of cottage space by boys in a rehabilitative environment and DeLong (1970, 1971 and 1973) who studied the use of chairs during a one week period in a college seminar.

MARKERS

In the animal kingdom, it is fairly common knowledge that the many species utilize individual methods for marking and establishing a territory.⁵² For example, the dog will urinate in an area such as a tree or bush in order to mark the boundaries of its range. Although the marking techniques utilized in the Bus Terminal are not of this nature, they do exist and have an affect on the situational activity within it.

The Terminal is public territory in the sense that anyone may enter to use its facilities. However, there are certain situations stressing individuality, such as an occupied seat, a closed toilet stall, a space in a bus queue or an attended stool at a lunch counter. Some stress more privacy than others, and Goffman has defined some of these situations and techniques.⁵³

⁵²"These markers serve a preventive function; they let others know who is the owner and occupier of a place. In my terms, markers are symbols that help define self/other boundaries. As such, they are direct mechanisms to regulate social interaction." Ibid., p. 129.

⁵³See Goffman, Relations in Public, p. 34. He says:

"Hence, on buses, streetcars, and trains, seats designed to hold two persons, and fully recognized to be designed to accommodate two strangers when necessary, nonetheless establish for the first arrival a territory he may attempt to retain for himself by standard ruses: he may leave his own possessions on the empty place, thereby marking it for his own and obligating competitors to move (or ask to have moved) something that symbolizes another; he may deny his eyes to those seeking a seat, thereby preventing them from obtaining the fleeting permission that they tend to seek, failure to receive which can cause them to move on to the next available place; he may expose some contaminating part of himself, such as his feet, or allow part of his body to fall on the disputed place, so that those who would use the place must invite contamination; and so forth."

1. The Stall: The stall is temporary territory, where the individual must remain if he is to retain possession of the area.

A. A person observes a vacant telephone cubicle on the Main Concourse and proceeds to enter it to make a call. When this is completed, (denoted by the fact that the caller has nodded his head and hung up the receiver), the subject is expected to step out of the cubicle, thereby relinquishing the territory to another. His command of the area is granted only during the period he is using the telephone. However, if he is awaiting a return call or desires to make another he must attempt to retain control over the territory. However, it has reverted to public domain. He may explain to the person waiting behind him that another call is expected or he may mark the area by hanging his raincoat over the plexiglass sides of the stall. He may also leave his suitcase directly below the phone; in this way, he has made temporary public territory into a more personal space.

B. A person may occupy a seat in the Bowling Alley coffee shop. The possession of this seat was gained by the departure of the former occupant who had completed his meal, however, the second person assuming control has so only for a short period of

time, when it must be given up in the same manner in which it was obtained. If the individual occupying the territory leaves for more than a short period of time, control will be lost. A marker may be used to extend possession when the lavatory must be used, bus information counter visited or food purchased.

2. The Turn: The turn is a systematic association and disassociation with public space, as in the queues at ticket counters or a group of males waiting to use an available urinal.

3. Use Space: This is a physical and visual span of control, where breach of territory is considered poor social behavior. If an individual is examining stacks of books in the bookstore on the Main Concourse, passersby will exercise care that they pass behind, not in front of this person. If the line of vision is to be obstructed, the passer will say, "Excuse Me." Similarly, the line of commuters on the Upper Bus Level is not breached, since the individual would not want to be perceived as an intruder (not utilizing the stall or turn).

Public territories are dependent upon institutions and social norms rather than the rules of the individual user. This is the reason why seating arrangements in the Bus Terminal are the way they are and that particular distances are maintained between seats. If one person sat too close to another, there would be an

infringement of personal space and possible conflict.⁵⁴ An example of close personal space can be found in the parking elevators during peak periods. There is low conversation, if it exists at all, since others can easily become privy to its contents. Most persons in the car will be prone to face toward the doors, eyes in an upward gaze as the floors blink off on the indicator. If the elevator stops on the First Parking Level in response to a previously activated button at that location, no one may be present since the stairway is adjacent to the shaft. However, as the doors begin to close, a latecomer may yell, "Hold the door," forcing them open and leaping sideways into the car. The crowded conditions, coupled with this hasty entry, may result in his facing the group with back to the door. Now susceptible to group scrutiny, he has lost the anonymity and protection of the masses and invaded the group's space.⁵⁵

⁵⁴One can refer to Corwin Bennett, Spaces for People-Human Factors in Design (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1977).

⁵⁵Goffman (1971) used the term "intrusion" to define the individual who makes claim to and utilizes the space of a personal group. The related term is his "obtrusion," which occurs when the claimant's territorial demands exceed the prevailing tolerable norms.

"It should be noted that encroachment involves two different kinds of sin. One is suggested by the term 'intrusion': this is the obvious case of an individual entering a territory to which he has no right of access, or otherwise contaminating the preserve. Authorship is variable: the act can be perceived to be unintentional, or the knowing by-product of some urgent design, or malicious, that is performed to offend. . . To intrude, then is one way to encroach; a second is to obtrude. I refer here to the capacity of a claimant to press territorial demands into a wider sphere than others feel is his due,

The existence of obtrusive encroachments is an integral factor in the ecology of the Terminal. There is an elderly person sleeping in a seat in the Main Waiting Room. About sixty-five years of age, he wears a dirty short-sleeved shirt, brown pants (with a darker stain around the groin area), mismatched socks and atop his head sits a gray "pancake" cap. Sitting in an upright position, his head is tilted at an angle causing it to hover over the seat on his right side. The area is crowded and seats are at a premium. When a woman and child enter in search of a place to sit, where do they go? The woman's eyes scan the area and apart from the two seats on each side of the "sleeper," there is one facing the doorway to the women's lavatory. The woman approaches the sleeper but has made a subconscious decision to avoid the seat over which his head hovers. There is an obtrusive encroachment to this area. Even though it is vacant, the seat holding the sleeping individual has contaminated it. He is claiming more territory than he is entitled. The child pulls her mother toward the vacant seat on the sleeper's left side, yet she restrains her from occupying it. The mother has made another public place oriented decision. If the child should awaken the sleeping man, causing him to shift position and "claim" the seat on his left side, there may be a conflict. Although he is claiming

causing them to feel that they themselves could be seen as functioning intrusively, even though they feel that this is not the case."

Goffman, Relations in Public, pp. 50-51. An example of intrusion would be the individual who breaches a queue on the Upper Bus Level thereby causing another person to lose one place in that line. An example of obtrusion would be the rowdy teenagers who disrupt the peace of the Main Concourse as they run through it.

their territory, they will not disturb his personal space. It is also likely that the man exudes an offensive odor and she does not want to sit in the left side seat. So, even though there is no physical claim to it, there is a sense of one due to odor. When a police officer approaches the woman, he asks, "Is everything okay"? Once again, she scans the area, saying, "Fine, where is Platform 45"? After receiving the answer, she walks away. As the officer approaches the sleeper, he is instantly awake and shuffles out of the area. The woman glances back, says nothing, and continues on her way.⁵⁶

This has been the human ecology of the Bus Terminal--the integration of an efficient physical design with the temporal situational activity of a diversified population. Hence, order is the goal and disorder the likely occurrence. When the internal maintenance of order fails, indicating a breakdown in the system, the agents of social control must intervene. However, they, the police, have also played a vital part in achieving the stability of the Bus Terminal population as well as that of the neighborhood.

⁵⁶The seats in the waiting room operate in the stall pattern. The woman could have achieved temporary territorial claim by awaiting her turn, that is, by waiting for the man to leave or the police officer to awaken him. Since the officer did not walk directly to the sleeper, but chose instead to speak to the woman, she probably viewed herself as a possible cause of disruption if she stated that she wanted the seat. Even after the officer and the sleeper departed, she did not sit because the territory was not gained by the legitimate stall technique and claim was probably still exerted over it, though not of a physical nature, by a lingering odor from the man.

CHAPTER III

THE POLICE OF THE BUS TERMINAL COMMUNITY

"One of the central problems of urban sociology is that of identifying control mechanisms through which a community composed of several quite different subcommunities can arrange its affairs so that each of them maintains the life of the whole."¹

This concept implies an amicable coexistence of the various subcommunities, or segments of the population, comprising the Bus Terminal and the surrounding community. Each segment maintains perspectives on the norms of behavior, maintenance of order and conditions of the surrounding environment as applied to both members of the group and those outside of it. For example, consider the residential community, comprised of those who have homes in the Clinton neighborhood, forming the nucleus of its voting and community association bloc. Feeling that they have a vital stake in their environment, the residential community is particularly concerned about such things as taxes, construction proposals and crime. Unlike those passing through, these individuals spend most of their time here and are more exposed to criminal activity and intruding undersirables.

¹Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 17. Stein is referring to the sociology of Robert Park.

There is also a transient community, however, consisting of those who commute through the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street on a daily basis, yet live outside this neighborhood. They, along with sporadic users of the facility such as an occasional long distance passenger (elderly person visiting children in suburban New Jersey) or passing shopper (perhaps an individual employed in the area who enters the Terminal to buy a box of candy) are using it as a transportation medium or a place to purchase various items. What is important is the fact that they are just passing through; they neither live nor work there. Also present is a community of the employed, those who come to the Bus Terminal in order to earn a living. They, like the transients, do not live here but come for only eight hours each day. However, especially in the case of Terminal employees, they facilitate the trip and make things easier for other segments of the population. Included are the police officers, maintenance persons, ticket clerks, bus drivers, vendors and information agents. Completing the subcommunities are the disaffiliated or marginals, who use the streets and public facilities for pure existence, affiliation or business rather than mobility and conveyance. These are the skells, dregs, mopes and "characters" who are seen as deviant by the other subcommunities. They are different, either in appearance, behavior or both, yet they form an integral part of the community at large.

Each subgroup functions simultaneously, sharing the same territory and contributing to the reputation of the Bus Terminal

and Times Square as "bustling," active and never quiet. These are qualities sought by tourists, yet shunned by delay conscious commuters. Although these communities share the same territory, the environment is based upon temporality and some groups will be visibly functioning while others are seemingly absent. Regular users of the Terminal (that is, those of a legitimate nature) will place importance on time as in the case of commuters, while others (those who use the Terminal in deviant ways) such as bag ladies relegate it to secondary importance. In the case of the commuters, they use the Terminal to get to a particular destination, while the latter are going nowhere, yet still use the facility.

Hence, although each segment functions within the identical urban environment, the temporal nature of the community creates the situation whereby one may become oblivious to the existence of the other. Since one group may appear by day, and the other by night, the absence of contact is responsible for the minimum of conflict. The daytime commuter or Terminal user holds perceptions of what he encounters during that period, such as police presence, skells in the vicinity, service received from restaurant personnel and bus operations. These may be in sharp contrast with perceptions of the nighttime commuter or theater goer. They are sharing the same territory, but not the same environment. Where one individual encounters businessmen, merchants and a more passive police, the other observes mopes, skells, and an active police.

On the surface, the Port Authority Bus Terminal is billed as the most active transportation facility in the world, with a wide range of bus service to points in the continental United States, Canada and Mexico. To the traveler, this means a convenient place to board a bus for a journey, since the facility is situated at a transportation locus, where subway, city bus and auto converge. While the bus user sees the Terminal in this perspective, a neighborhood resident may conceive of it as a place harboring skells and psychos, those persons responsible for the decline of the place he calls home. Besides bringing "outsiders" to the neighborhood, the Terminal may be seen as a haven for Times Square characters, bringing them there or supporting their existence. Concurrent with these perceptions, we take the case of a police officer assigned to the Terminal for a few years, thinking of it as a good place to find action, make more money than his colleagues at other facilities and avoid boredom. Whatever his opinion of the neighborhood, actions taken during his eight-hour tour can affect the ecology within it for that period and sometime thereafter. While the police officer stands on his post, using the facility for economic purposes, and it using him for protection and maintaining order, the rain begins to fall and in order to avoid getting wet, a bag lady heads for the Eighth Avenue entrance. She goes down to the Long Haul Level, selects a seat and dozes off.

Consequently, the issue arises as to the objective purpose of the Bus Terminal, that is, its role as an urban transportation facility as compared to its subjective reputation and

uses by various segments of the population. The various sub-communities see the facility in divergent ways, thereby affecting and possibly conflicting with the perceptions and uses of others. My view and uses of the Terminal are vastly different from that of the shopping bag lady in that I see it as a bus facility and a place to work, rather than just a place to go when it is cold. However, this is not to say that when it rains, a passing businessman does not enter to seek shelter until it subsides. He most certainly does, but this is an immediate perception, not a long range one. Although he now uses the facility for the same purpose as a neighborhood skell, the individual does not always conceive of it as a place to go when it rains. It does illustrate the impact of the facility as a public place.

Although there is a coexistence of several communities, conflict is not the ultimate result. Quite the contrary, each system subscribes to an internal maintenance of order that provides for behavioral norms and avoidance of friction with others. For example, the skells know what behavior will attract the attention of the police (or the surrounding public, who will notify them), and refrain from screaming at passersby or urinating in the street.² They attempt to conform with "normal" behavior, diverting attention to other situations. The streetwise traveler will know that dressing like a tourist may attract the attention of a similarly streetwise mope, who will then prey upon him.

²This was illustrated by my observation of a psycho selecting a spot adjacent to the Forty-second Street shoeshine stand for screaming curses at passersby. As the disheveled woman

Consequently, he avoids carrying a camera or travel guide (both symbols of unfamiliarity), bringing instead a daily newspaper.

The noteworthy aspect of the Bus Terminal and Times Square is that they are communities of the moment. The temporal ecology provides for a continuous upheaval of that which is, so that a state of becoming always exists. The community is always changing with the arrival of the next bus, arrest of another derelict, change of another police tour, proposition of another prostitute, opening of another pornographic movie house, and advance of the hands on the clock. In a sense, its order depends on its diversity and when there is a breakdown of this order, a formal agent of social control must be present to restore it. This is the essence of the police. Though they comprise one of the segments of the population, the police are the agents empowered to control its activities within legal parameters. The three police forces working within the confines of the community may differ among themselves as to their role, responsibilities and capabilities in dealing with this situation, and the variety of policing styles will illustrate this. As for crime in the community some members of the population will see it in ways differing

yelled "Where is fuckin' God"? one of the black street corner loiterers (who had been chatting with the stand hangers-on) loudly said, "Hey man, why don't you get the fuck outa' here"? The woman looked at the man, who said again, "C'mon, get the fuck out," and slowly shuffled away. The men at the stand resumed their conversation now knowing that if the police came, they would not stop.

from their peers, and these will differ again from viewpoints of those in the external population (outside the community). Some may see the Bus Terminal as crime ridden, while others may point out the higher crime rate in the surrounding streets. Cleavages such as these provide an environment for such issues as alienation, displacement of those who are unwanted by the community and proposals for redevelopment. As such, the police function within a constantly changing environment, both within and outside the Bus Terminal. Their methods of coping with this task may differ according to department in general and individual officer in particular. Despite their power, it is only a formal nature and is sometimes impotent when confronted with the social forces of the streets.

THE POLICE OF THE COMMUNITY

There are three police departments functioning within this community; one is assigned to the Bus Terminal while the remaining two concentrate upon the streets and the subways.

Port Authority Police

The officer was working the three to eleven tour, and his assignment, post three-four, covered the Suburban and Upper Bus Levels. During his eight hour stint, he would respond to various calls for assistance from passengers and merchants, as well as jobs coming over his portable police radio. It was a Tuesday evening in May and the air (even in this urban environment) was fresh and pleasing after a long, cold winter. He was glad that

he could now wear a long-sleeved uniform shirt, relieved of the winter jacket and its uncomfortable bulk. His keys beat a marching cadence as he strode through the Terminal. As he passed some food shops, with windows displaying lean cold cuts and cold cans of soda, his mind kept flashing to the upcoming blow. Entering the commuter flow, he rode the escalator to the Eighth Avenue end of the facility so the Upper Bus Level could be patrolled. This was part of his assigned post, encompassing the Suburban and Upper Bus Levels, as well as the three parking areas. He could go when and where he wished, as long as it was in the confines of his post, or told otherwise by a supervisor. Since he did not run or act in haste, but sauntered along with head turning from side to side, most of the waiting commuters gazed at their papers or tilted their heads at a forty-five degree angle as the escalator slide them soundlessly upward. As the officer passed the lines of passengers bound for suburban points in New York and New Jersey, his eyes scanned the various shades of suits, ties and dresses forming the backdrop of this scenario--a dark blue suit here, a loud flowered tie there. The man in the laborer's outfit carrying a lunch box seemed a bit odd in one of the queues, but after all, a construction worker does make quite a bit of money these days and does not want to live in a congested area any more than the guy with that awful tie. Looking toward a group of sitters, the officer noticed someone wearing a nice pair of shoes, and began a mental application of them to his own wardrobe. Suddenly, his eyes were drawn to another bit of footwear,

but these heels were not fresh from the shop, but well worn with scuff marks attesting to their continuous rough use. His eyes look upward, following the outline of the figure and revealing a shabbily dressed male with at least a three-day growth of beard. As the officer passes, he notes that this person avoids eye contact with him, attempting to stare straight ahead at the incoming bus. "What the hell is this skell up to," thinks the officer, and within him a certain sense is asking the rationale for a man attired in this manner to be waiting in a bus line with commuters bound for Lakehurst, New Jersey. There is incongruence here, and the officer must be alert for possible intervention. Is there an alarm posted for this skell--is he a wanted burglar, murderer or suspect in another crime? If he does not board the bus, should he be approached and questioned at once or be observed from a distance? All the while, the radio is barking out instructions from the Police Desk and requests from other officers for assistance and information. This is but one decisive moment in the eight hour tour of a Port Authority cop working the BT. It has taken up approximately six minutes.

Organization

The Port Authority's Police Department was formed in 1928, a successor to the original Holland Tunnel Police Force maintained at that facility in 1921. It is responsible for law enforcement at the Authority's air, land, sea and rail facilities in both states, as well as aircraft emergency firefighting at Kennedy, LaGuardia and Newark Airports. At the present time,

there are 1,200 members of the force of all ranks, of which 112 are assigned to the Bus Terminal. By rank, this breakdown is:

- 87 Police officers
- 13 Sergeants
- 7 Lieutenants
- 1 Captain (Facility Commanding Officer)
- 4 Detectives

The police command office is located at the Ninth Avenue end of the facility, on the Main Concourse. Visitors enter the area and face the Police Desk which is manned by a Sergeant on a twenty-four hour basis. He monitors, receives and transmits the radio broadcasts giving instructions to patrol officers and coordinates emergency responses to incidents. The Sergeant also answers the telephones, makes notifications of incidents and prepares records and reports. Citizens may come to file reports about criminal activity or inquire as to recovery of lost or stolen property, missing relatives, or platform locations. There is also a detention area for holding those under arrest, lounge area where officers may rest while on a blow, commanding officer's office and medical room. The Police Youth Services Unit, dealing with runaways in the community is located next door.

The Port Authority Police wear the identical uniform to that of the other police forces in the community, the only difference being the former's dark blue shirt. The others wear light blue. The public is basically unaware of this difference, however, seeing only "the police" and not the clothes they wear. The Port Authority force receives a higher salary than their counterparts on the City and Transit, and its benefits and working conditions usually bring favorable comments such as it is a "good

job," or "one of the best police jobs." On the other hand, it is unique among the regional police departments considering its jurisdiction and firefighter status, provoking some disgruntled opinions that it is not enforcement oriented (such as the State Police) or involved with many activities which it is not, such as toll collecting or sitting in tunnel booths (both of which are done by officers of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority). On the whole, the Port Authority Police enjoy an excellent reputation in the law enforcement profession, and they have their own Police Benevolent Association to which members may pay dues. Sergeants belong to the Sergeants Benevolent Association, Detectives to the Detectives Endowment Association and Lieutenants to the Superior Officers Association.

New York City Transit Police

It was 0300 by the officer's watch as he looked around the deserted station of the Eighth Avenue subway. He stood under a large black and white sign marked "Forty-second Street--Port Authority Bus Terminal" and watched a graffiti marked train with a large blue "A" on the front roar into the platform. As the doors roll open, few passengers get off. A young couple stroll by the cop, ignoring his radio that pierces the sudden calm of the station. From the last car he sees the wave of a fellow officer, returning it with a smile and feeling of reassurance. A door bell-like "dingdong" announces the closing of train doors to which no one now rushes, and the steel ribbon roars out of the Forty-second Street station, its red tail lights slowly

disappearing into the inky blackness of the tunnel. The officer will now walk to the token booth, ascertaining the safety of the clerk and his revenue, and then go up to the street for a breath of air.

Organization

The New York City Transit Police Department is responsible for law enforcement on the city's transit system, including buses and subways. The officers wear uniforms identical to those of the City Police, except that like the Port Authority, the department patch is worn on the left arm. Transit Police Headquarters is located at 370 Jay Street in Brooklyn, however, the unit responsible for the Forty-second Street post is known as District One, located at the rear of the Fifty-ninth Street-Columbus Circle IND station. District One is staffed with 214 officers, of which four uniformed men are assigned to Forty-second and Eighth at all tours. These officers are supplemented by plainclothes personnel or members of special roving units. District One is large, extending from Thirty-fourth to Fifty-ninth Streets, Hudson River to East River. The four Transit officers assigned to forty-second Street patrol in pairs throughout the quite extensive station complex. Although they are expected to direct their attention to subway-transit property, they are frequently called to respond to criminal activity or other occurrences in the street. This is the same situation for the Port Authority officers, who although having a police jurisdiction in both states, concentrate their patrol in the Bus Terminal and

surrounding streets. Again, the public sees only the police officer and expects a response to their needs.

Like the Port Authority Police again, the Transit Police are part of the cycle of institutional rivalry that labels them as not doing enough enforcement work, "subway cops" or the "mole patrol."

New York City Police Department

South David was in the fourth hour of its eight hour patrol, carrying two officers throughout the streets of the Forty-second Street community. The car cruised up and down the Deuce as its occupants eyeballed the mopeds, smelled the french fries and pizza odors wafting from the many snack bars and checked the porno shops and movie lobbies for suspicious characters. The car had seen a lot of use--the seats had buckled under the weights of three different cops per day on a twenty-four hour basis, seven days per week. Dents and scratches called attention to past hunts, and the large emblem reading "Police Department, City of New York" was only half present.

The New York City Police Department maintains a force of approximately 25,000 sworn personnel of all ranks, and these are dispersed within precincts throughout the five Boroughs. The Bus Terminal is located within the confines of the Midtown South (MTS) Precinct, known as "The South." It is an active house, responsible for patrolling most of the Times Square area, particularly Forty-Second Street and Eighth Avenue. Since they confine their patrol to the surrounding streets, the City police do not enter

the Terminal in routine assignments unless requested to do so by the Port Authority Police. When they do, it is usually a specialized unit such as the Bomb Squad, Forensic Unit or Hostage Negotiating Team, support services not maintained by the Authority. However, the City officers may use the Port Authority Police facilities for meal breaks, lavatories or exchange information. This situation also applies to the Transit Police.

CRIME IN THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY

The Bus Terminal is located in a publicized deviant area of New York City, but it is of particular note since this deviance is of an illegitimate nature. For example, the village is seen as deviant, with the emphasis on artists and the "beatniks" of the past. So, too, is Chinatown, since there is a distinct population there, making it "different" but not a place to be fearful of. On the other hand, the Forty-second Street community is deviant in the sense that persons are afraid to go there because of dangerous skulls, vice and pornography. It lost its distinctive legitimate deviance as a theater mecca and is now a perceived community of crime. Many refer to it as "infested," "crazy," "filthy," or "full of degenerates," again focusing on just one segment of the population. The discussion of deviance in public behavior has indicated that it is distinct from criminal behavior in many instances and problems arise due to the fact that some fail to become aware of this distinction.

What is the public conception of crime? There can be no crime without a formal declaration, as there is nothing criminal about an act. For example, just because a filthy bag lady smells, and looks very deviant compared to the well dressed passersby, she has not committed a crime. There can be no crime without a formal declaration, as there is nothing wrong with smelling, unless the legislature makes it illegal. If, however, the bag lady steals a loaf of bread, she has done something prohibited by law, and the police may arrest her. A crime exists as a social problem only if a number of persons consider it so, and when there is a crisis in society the emphasis on crime is escalated. The downturn in the economy has precipitated an intensive focus on the issues of handgun control and victimology. In the case of Forty-second Street, there is reference to its heyday as a theatrical center for New York City as well as the current efforts to rejuvenate this lost heritage.

The BT is an "active house," that is, it deals with more crimes and police activity than other PAPD commands, and the police are placed in the middle of this environment. Although two officers may be members of the same department, one may work at a slow house, for example Brooklyn Piers in the case of the Port Authority or Staten Island for the City, with the other at an active house may be dealing with more criminal activity and undersirable clientele. When the middle aged bus commuter is asked to give "some loose change to a partially clad intoxicated man and is called a "motherfucker" as a result of his ignoring

the request, the Bus Terminal and community are labeled as bad. When the officer is called to the scene to deal with the situation, he sees something entirely different than his counterpart who escorts dignitaries at Kennedy Airport. Crime, and the degree of an individual's involvement with it, then become yet another factor for measuring perceptions of the Terminal and the community.³

There is no doubt that crime exists at the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street; crime exists everywhere. The misconception involving the Terminal is that many see it as the cause of crime in the neighborhood or as having more crime than it actually does. Statistical analysis of criminal activity is not

³The Modern Dictionary of Sociology defines crime as: 1) Any behavior that violates the criminal law, 2) Any behavior that violates any law (criminal, civil, military) that prescribes punitive action against offenders, 3) Any behavior contrary to the group's moral codes for which there are formalized group sanctions whether or not they are laws, and 4) Any antisocial behavior harmful to individuals or groups. George A. Theodorson and Archilles G. Theodorson, Modern Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1969), p. 86. Guenther also has a view on crime:

"By emphasising crime as learned behavior, he was able to call attention to such parameters as the sources of learned conduct, the relative effectiveness of various learning mechanisms, and the ideological transformations necessary to sustain criminal activity. Learning of criminal conduct, then involves such symbolic content of interpersonal communications as values, rationalizations, norms and attitudes."

Anthony L. Guenther, Criminal Behavior and Social Systems (Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Company, 1976), p. 44.

as complete as that of the surrounding Midtown South precinct, but some interesting situations have come to light. For example, the reported crimes on the evening tour (3 P.M. to 11 P.M.) were twice the number of those on the other tours (7 A.M. to 3 P.M. and 11 P.M. to 7 A.M.).⁴ In addition, three locations accounted for 70 percent of the reported criminal activity. The Main Concourse was 35 percent; the Long Haul Level was 25 percent; and the Upper Bus Level was 10 percent. The disparity in criminal activity may be due to the distinct environment of each level. The Main Concourse has been described as the "melting pot" of the facility, where skells, executives, merchants, shoppers, tourists and workers are likely to contact one another. Some mopes may wander in from the street, walk through this concourse and walk right out again, not bothering to go up to another level. With such a mixture of personalities, appearances and behavior (especially disorientation, since unfamiliar bus users will wander about this level in search of platforms or information) it is only natural that the potential criminal can easily select a mark from the masses, especially considering the quick escape route to the streets. The Long Haul Level is unique in that passengers may experience a substantial wait between buses, permitting more time for a mope to select his victim. The higher the percentage of sleeping passengers on this level enhances his chances even more.

⁴PABT Police Study, November, 1978.

On the Upper Bus Level, there is a fairly uniform appearance among commuters in the rush periods, and as the officer witnessed, an incongruent individual will stand out from the others. Consequently, this may trigger internal "alert mechanisms" within the passengers, making them more alert and responsive to what is going on around them. In a normal period, they may stand placidly on a queue, reading the daily newspaper, oblivious to who is passing by or what bus is coming in. As soon as the person in front of them moves, they move. However, if a psycho forces his way through the line, screaming curses all the way, the passengers are alert to danger and will hold handbags tighter or avoid making eye contact with the intruder. In addition, the sight of a running police officer will be a major disruption of their grazing for the moment; once they realize the trouble is not in their territory, they return to what they were doing.

20 percent of the reported crimes against the person occur outside the Terminal, while 60 percent of the reported crimes against the person occurred on the four main levels of the facility. 76 percent of the reported crimes against property occur in three areas:⁵

-- Long Haul Level:	33%
-- Main Concourse:	32%
-- Parking Levels:	11%

Property crimes in the Terminal usually involve luggage, and this is the reason for the higher rates on the Long Haul Level and

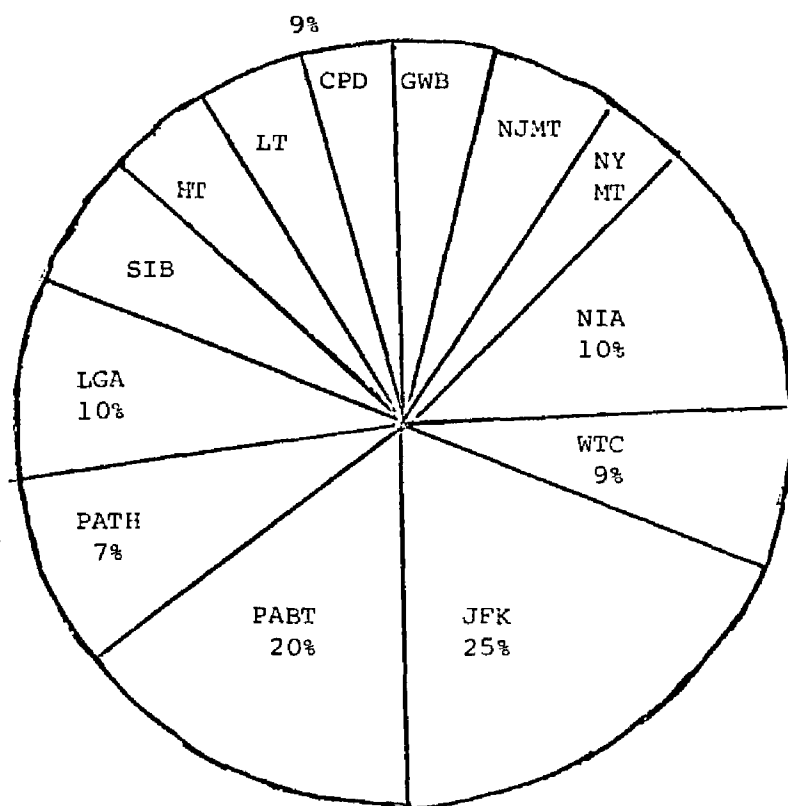
⁵PABT Police Study, November, 1978.

Main Concourse. More persons carry suitcases here than on the Upper Bus Level, since the Long Haul Level serves long distance buses and the Main Concourse has ticket facilities and waiting rooms for them. Commuters rarely carry any luggage except an attache case.

The image of the Bus Terminal as a transportation facility in a less than desirable neighborhood will result in various generalizations concerning it and the relationship to other Port Authority facilities. For example, commuters at the Advisory Panel meetings have inquired as to why the Terminal cannot be as clean and aesthetically pleasing as the airport terminals at Kennedy, Newark and LaGuardia. They focused on the airports as elite facilities, with good police presence and an atmosphere of safety, while the Bus Terminal seems forgotten, especially in light of its neighborhood. It seems that even if the Terminal were crime free, persons would still be apprehensive about it and perhaps even continue to label it because of conditions they observe in the surrounding streets. What they perceive is there may not actually be what is happening. For example, the average person would think that the Terminal has more crime than other facilities. After all, "there are so many skulls wandering around, psychos on street corners and porno shops in the neighborhood." However, this is not the case. The following diagram illustrates that for 1979, the Bus Terminal actually received 15 percent less Criminal Complaint Reports than Kennedy Airport, the perceived "elite facility." Of course, Kennedy is much larger than

the Bus Terminal in terms of physical plant and diversity of operations and personnel, yet the public still perceives the airports as sterile and uncontaminated by urban vices. One of the major reasons for this situation is the location of the airports. Kennedy is situated in a location near Jamaica Bay, away from the business district and not readily accessible by public transportation. LaGuardia is situated in north Queens, not very easy to get to by ordinary public transportation and near a good residential community. Newark is much less active than the others, and its location is away from densely populated communities. The Bus Terminal on the other hand, is situated in a unique area. It is directly in the midst of a central business district, readily accessible by public transportation or walking, a public place in a neighborhood full of pornography and street corner undesirables and it is a bus terminal. The reason for this last item is that traditionally, bus terminals have been portrayed as sleazy facilities on "the other side of the tracks," attracting pimps, drunks and a less than elite clientele.

The crime rate at the Bus Terminal would probably be higher if persons stopped to report the incidents. However, in their grazing haste, they do not notice a theft until arrival at the destination or figure that the appearance in court and subsequent lost work time and aggravation do not equal the loss. The same is probably true for Kennedy Airport.



CRIMINAL COMPLAINT REPORTS
1979

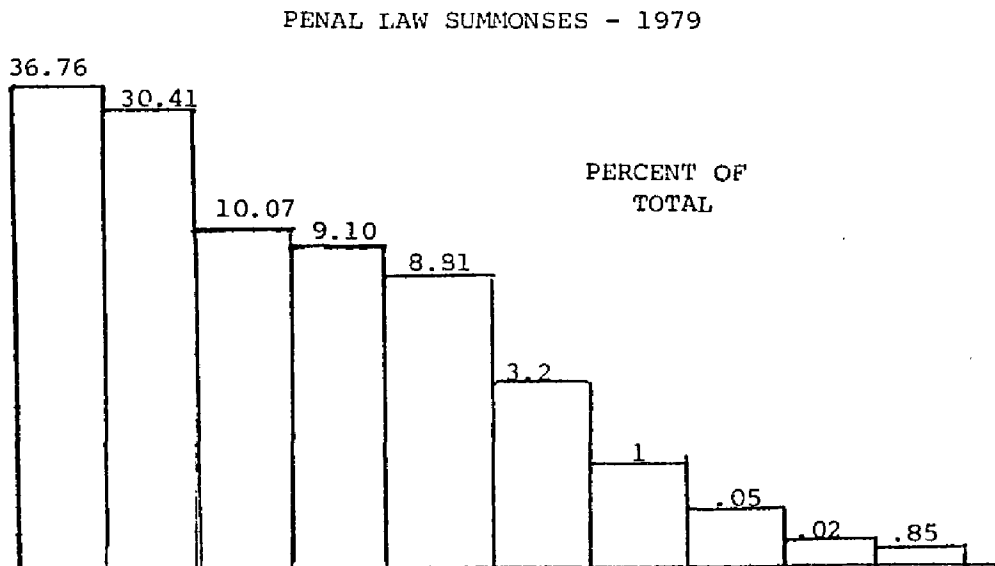
SOURCE: PAPD Crime Analysis, February, 1981.

Identification:

NIA:	Newark International Airport
WTC:	World Trade Center
JFK:	John F. Kennedy International Airport
PABT:	Port Authority Bus Terminal
PATH:	Port Authority Trans-Hudson
LGA:	LaGuardia Airport
SIB:	Staten Island Bridges
HT:	Holland Tunnel
LT:	Lincoln Tunnel
CPD:	Central Police Desk
GWB:	George Washington Bridge
NJMT:	New Jersey Marine Terminals
NYMT:	New York Marine Terminals

Summonses

A summons is a notice that a police officer has observed a violation of the law and in lieu of arrest, will require that the offender appear in court to discuss the incident or pay a fine. The police at the Bus Terminal issue more summonses than any other facility except PATH. The reason for this is the New York ordinance prohibiting smoking and radio playing on mass transit systems. The following graph illustrates the 1979 statistics for all facilities. Port Authority Police at the Bus Terminal issue Penal law summonses for such offenses as Loitering, Soliciting, Peddling, Drinking Alcoholic Beverages in Public, and Disorderly Conduct. Consequently, although the incidents of criminal complaints is 15 percent higher at Kennedy than at the Bus Terminal, the incidence of Penal Law summonses is 22 percent higher in the latter.



SOURCE: PAPD Crime Analysis, 1981.

Arrests

The Port Authority Police at the Bus Terminal make the most arrests of their counterparts at other facilities. The following table illustrates that in 1979, the Terminal had 32.6 percent of all arrests, compared to 23.04 percent for Kennedy Airport. For example, the police officer patrolling the Bus Terminal does so on foot; there is only one sector car assigned to mobile work. Consequently, he walks, talks and observes the surrounding activity as an integral part of it. He is extremely visible to passersby and will receive verbal reports from them concerning criminal activity and will take action in other cases based upon his own observations. Port Authority Police at the Terminal are, more than any other facility, involved in the traditional role of law enforcement, that is, the walking and policing of a beat that focuses on rapport with legitimate users and continued response to service and criminal situations. The surrounding community is unlike any other served by the Port Authority Police (albeit any other police agency). There is increased opportunity for arrests and incentive in the form of backlogged court systems which results in overtime when processing arrests.⁶

⁶Arrest is only one course of action available to the police, but it is usually the final option. Sykes, Fox and Clark write that:

"We have distinguished enforcement from arrest. Enforcement is a broad category comprising techniques by means of which persons are brought into compliance with the law. In practice, arrest may be a means of enforcement or a means of punishment, two functionally different ends."

1979 CRIME STATISTICS BY PORT AUTHORITY FACILITY			
	CCR	ARRESTS	PENAL LAW SUMMONSES
<u>Aviation</u>	<u>55%</u>	<u>34.1%</u>	<u>18.8%</u>
Kennedy Airport	35%	23.04%	08.81%
LaGuardia Airport	10%	6.11%	10.07%
Newark Airport	10%	4.95%	+
<u>Terminals</u>	<u>36%</u>	<u>51.88%</u>	<u>76.27%</u>
Bus Terminal	20%	32.67%	30.41%
Port Authority			
Trans Hudson	07%	14.91%	36.76%
World Trade Center	09%	4.3%	9.10%
<u>Tunnels/Bridges</u>	<u>5.5%</u>	<u>11.70%</u>	<u>5.1%</u>
Lincoln Tunnel	2.0%	4.78%	1.00%
Holland Tunnel	.8%	2.00%	.05%
George Washington			
Bridge	2.2%	4.00%	3.20%
Staten Island Bridges	.5%	.92%	.85%
<u>Marine Terminals</u>	<u>2.0%</u>	<u>1.86%</u>	<u>.02%</u>
Ports Newark -			
Elizabeth	1.4%	1.00%	+
Brooklyn Piers	1.5%	.12%	0
Passenger Ship			
Terminal	.1%	.04%	.02%
Central Police			
Division HQ	.3%	.7%	0
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%
+ New Jersey Facility: No New York Penal Law Summonses Possible			

SOURCE: Port Authority Police Division Crime Analysis, 1981

The above table illustrates 1979 crime statistics by percentage of total for all Port Authority facilities. The emphasis on enforcement by the police at the Bus Terminal is clearly indicated.

Richard E. Sykes and others, "A Socio-Legal Theory of Police Discretion," The Ambivalent Force, ed. Arthur Neiderhoffer and Abraham S. Blumberg (Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press, 1976), p. 180.

<u>P.A. Police Activity</u>	<u>Total 1980</u>	<u>Total 1979</u>
Aided-Ambulance Cases	786	685
Aided Cases	1376	578
Criminal Complaint Reports	2344	2376
Physical Arrests	1347	1597
Penal Law Summons	1905	2499
Combined Arrests (Penal Law Summons & Physical Arrest)	3252	4096
Traffic Summons	1042	1176
Hack Complaints	156	166
Fire Reports	43	36
Bobm Threats	26	24
Dead on Arrival	7	2
Arrests for Other Agencies	99	90

SOURCE: PAPD Bus Terminal Crime Index Report, December, 1980.

There is no particular day of the week when one can predict a significant change in the crime pattern of the Terminal. The criminal activity seems to be stable, but the crowd patterns are constantly changing. Wednesday afternoon brings a matinee audience for the surrounding theaters and many of these persons travel from New Jersey into the Bus Terminal. In addition to the normal peak periods, Friday and Saturday nights bring tourists, couples and moviegoers into the community, with a corresponding increase in street persons. A market for deviance exists, from Three Card Monte to prostitution, to pornographic movies to sidewalk peddlers, and the police must cope with the increase in the population and support and predatory conditions within it.

There may be drug peddlers, novelty salesmen, food vendors and pickpockets. Warm weather brings about an increase in the

street corner population, while inclement weather drives them to neighborhood public places for shelter. It is difficult to determine a crime prone day for the facility, but relatively easy to anticipate events due to types of persons expected in the community and possible conflict due to contact among normally distant segments of the population.

CRIMINAL COMPLAINTS AND ARRESTS 12/01/79 - 01/14/80 BUS TERMINAL		
<u>Day</u>	<u>Criminal Complaints</u>	<u>Arrests</u>
Sunday	25	17
Monday	48	20
Tuesday	36	19
Wednesday	47	23
Thursday	59	35
Friday	40	14
Saturday	34	23
TOTALS	289	151

SOURCE: PAPD Crime Analysis, February, 1981.

CRIME IN THE ANNEX

The Bus Terminal Annex may be viewed in two ways. It expands the transportation function of the Bus Terminal and provides additional service to users of the facility. However, it also provides a new environment for criminal activity; where there was once a parking lot there is now a continuation of the levels and passages of the Bus Terminal, complete with a population of legitimate and deviant users. Its opening poses some

problems for each segment of the user population. For the true bus users, there will be problems in locating new bus platforms, establishing new routes and anticipating new things to do in case of delays. The environment will be much more pleasing than the old Terminal (until that too is modernized), perhaps reducing some apprehensions about safety in the facility. By concentrating on the airport-like surroundings, passersby reduce their focus on skulls and mopes, making for an easier passage. In addition, the pleasing environment may displace the skulls who no longer feel comfortable there. Had the Terminal retained its 1950's atmosphere, they would be congruent with the decay and fear in the environment.

The Annex takes the presence of the marginals into account. One problem the police continually faced was the loiterers and sleepers occupying seats, but the new facility reduces the amount of seats and opportunities for establishing a personal territory in one of them. The absence of seats does not present a real problem for the legitimate users however, since the emphasis of the Terminal is on rapid and unhindered passage rather than sitting and if waiting is encountered, it is usually done on a queue rather than in lounges as in an airport.

The mopes also used the new environment to their advantage. The bathroom stalls in the old facility had hooks on the doors for the convenience of occupants in hanging clothing, pocketbooks and so forth. The problem was that as the person was sitting, a mope could approach the stall door and reach over

it, removing the merchandise suspended on the hook. Consequently, the hooks were replaced by shelves halfway down the door, so that it was difficult to reach all the way down in order to steal something. It seemed that a group of transvestites was working the ladies room (males dressed as females) and removed the shelves in order to replace them with a hook. Persons in the stall would revert to the method of hanging belongings on the hook, thereby making it easy for the transvestite to reach over and grab them. The police then replaced the hook with another type, but the mopes would bend the prong upward so that handbag straps could be lifted around them. This went on for some time, until a foolproof design was implemented by the police, and the thefts ended. However, when the Annex was constructed, the old type hooks were used in the stalls and bag thefts began anew. Once the hooks were changed to the new design, the thefts stopped.

Some mopes who were familiar with the old facility will now have to learn the environment of the Annex before they can feel comfortable committing a crime there. Those who "work" Greyhound will have to devise new methods and be extra vigilant until the new surroundings become routine. This will also be true for the police. Due to the construction of the Annex and the relocation of Greyhound, the crime on the Main Concourse is sometimes higher than on the Long Haul Level, indicating the displacement of illegal activity from the "lower income level" to the "melting pot level." The Upper Bus Level has remained stable.

The crime at the Annex has not become as "bad" as that at the Bus Terminal, and some officers have remarked that "the skells haven't found the new building yet." The following chart illustrates the crime situation in the Annex for the period of October 1, 1980 until January 15, 1981. Note that of 660 criminal complaints and 385 arrests for the entire facility during the sample period, only ninety-one complaints and forty-eight arrests took place in the Annex.

The environment of the old Bus Terminal stands in stark contrast to that of the new Annex. The stench of garbage and lavatories, peeling paint and atmosphere of decay in the former has been replaced by an air-conditioned, shining and "going somewhere" atmosphere of the latter. Persons intent upon committing a crime within the new facility will have to familiarize themselves within it, since they desire the opportunity producing the least risks.⁷ As familiarity reduces the risks, more crime may be committed in the Annex.

⁷This concept of risk taking stems from the work of Lemert (1967) regarding situational factors in crime. He defines risk taking as:

"This concept refers to situations in which persons who are caught in a network of conflicting claims or values choose not deviant alternatives but rather behavioral situations which carry risks of deviant actions, but it is not inevitable."

Edwin M. Lemert, Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1967), p. 11.

PORT AUTHORITY BUS TERMINAL ANNEX
OCTOBER 1, 1980 - JANUARY 15, 1981

	<u>Total *Criminal Complaints/ Arrests</u>	<u>Annex Criminal Complaints/ Arrests % of Total</u>	<u>+Lower Bus Level Annex Criminal Complaints/ Arrests/ % of Total</u>
TOTALS	660/385	91/48 (13.7%/12.4%)	29/25 (4.3%/6.4%)
OCTOBER	205/127	34/13 (16.5%/10.2%)	10/05 (4.8%/3.9%)
NOVEMBER	178/102	15/08 (08.4%/07.0%)	05/02 (2.8%/1.9%)
DECEMBER	166/97	22/16 (13.2%/16.4%)	10/14 (06.0%/14.4%)
JANUARY (15)	111/59	20/11 (18.0%/18.6%)	04/04 (03.6%/06.7%)

* A criminal complaint, or CCR report, is completed by the Port Authority Police in the event of any reported crime on the facility.

+ The Subway Mezzanine Annex had three Criminal Complaints/ three Arrests: All October, 1980

SOURCE: PABT Police Crime Analysis--Commanding Officer's Office, February, 1981.

Crime in the Surrounding Community

The street crime situation within the Forty-second Street community is much greater and more violent than within the Bus Terminal. There is concern with narcotics, prostitution, robbery, assault and homicide. Over the years, these have become synonymous with conditions in the area. To effectively manage the situation in the streets, the City police have implemented the use of specialized units such as Street Crime (plainclothes decoy officers), Mounted (high visibility patrol), Tactical Patrol (a special response force for high crime areas, civil disturbances and so forth), Public Morals and Organized Crime.

<u>Crime Classification</u>	<u>NYPD MTS PRECINCT</u>		<u>Total Net Arrests</u>	
	<u>Total Net Complaints</u>		<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>
	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>		
Murder & Non-Negligent				
Manslaughter	30	23	19	15
Forcible Rape	88	75	43	40
Robbery	3458	4891	1168	1527
Felonious Assault	993	948	775	736
Burglary	4796	4909	468	434
Grand Larceny	11659	13410	3989	2866
Grand Larceny--Motor				
Vehicle	795	846	192	175
Other Felonies	1519	1332	1424	1498
Total Felonies	23338	26434	8078	7291
Misdemeanors (Complaints				
Reports & Arrests)	15066	14315	13685	11361
Misdemeanors (Youth				
Reports)	149	272	151	274
Misdemeanors (Summons)	658	303	658	303
Violation (Complaints				
Reports & Arrests)	1050	2191	1945	1915
Violations (Youth Reports)	72	63	80	63
Violations (Summons)	32434	33954	32434	33954
Total Offenses	72767	77532	57031	55161

SOURCE: NYPD Uniform Crime Reports, 1979, p. 1043.

POLICING THE BUS TERMINAL COMMUNITY

Any town or city, urban or suburban, differs in terms of physical characteristics and the ethnic compositions and political beliefs of residents. Within these areas are the communities and neighborhoods, each a distinct sociological unit. A community is a territorial area where people live and work as defined by geographical boundaries. For example, there is Chinatown (Mott Street in lower Manhattan), Greenwich Village (West Fourth Street-Washington Square in Manhattan), Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco and the Steeltowns of South Chicago. These formal boundaries will take on legal standards in Community Planning Boards and voting districts, but the ecology of the community is not dependent upon them. In the case of Forty-second Street, persons will be there for reasons other than institutional community involvement, that is, formal participation in political and social processes. As a transportation locus, there will be a variance of actors through the system and a diversity of the population. The Bus Terminal assists in bringing them to this community so that life functions may be carried out. At times there will be diversified actors in the facility population (rush hour, delays, holidays), while at other times there will be marginal though integral actors, such as street loiterers, mopes, bag ladies and drunks. These persons are seen as deviant by other segments of the population and the police are faced with the task of controlling this diversity, providing an order to it. To accomplish

this, three distinct policing styles are employed.⁸

1. Watchman style: The individual officer is allowed a great degree of discretion by the administrator.

2. Legalistic style: No discretion is allowed. The enacted law is the prescription for conduct and action.

3. Service Style: A middle of the road approach. A working rapport is established with the community.

Initial Attempts at Policing

One does not simply assign a random amount of police to a community or area and expect crime to be eliminated and order to be maintained. In addition to the administrative planning and supervision, the police themselves must be permitted to adapt to the community, becoming an integral part of the ecology and establishing themselves as the control segment of the population. Such was the case when the Bus Terminal was completed in 1950.

When the Bus Terminal was opened, there was no permanent police unit assigned there; instead, the Port Authority took a group of officers assigned to the Airport Pool and sent them to Forty-second Street. These men were assigned to the Holland Tunnel and were accustomed to working at the metropolitan airports rather than in a densely populated midtown community. In addition, at that time the police were assigned to toll collecting, traffic posts inside tunnels and similar functions where there was a minimum of law enforcement. The airports were not nearly as busy

⁸Refer to James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

as they are today, and as a result, the Port Authority Police were not usually seen in the same perspective as their counterparts in other departments. However, the Bus Terminal changed the situation in a dramatic manner. It was the first one-on-one law enforcement facility in the Port Authority, placing the police in direct contact with a community population. Rather than being isolated in booths or distant and little used airports, they were now formal social control agents in a distinctive neighborhood.

The situation was not difficult at first, since the mopes took some time to "find" the new public place, but as they did, policing problems arose.⁹ The mopes and skells were street smart, while the police were not accustomed to dealing with this type of population. When a drunk would come in, he would be chased out into the street. Sometimes, such an individual would pass out, and the police would put him on a stretcher for transport to the hospital, unaware that this was precisely what the drunk wanted. Although they were legitimately concerned about the man's welfare and handled the situation according to the rule-book (and the way it was done at other facilities), the police did not realize that they were being "had." Instead of awakening the man and putting him out (letting him know they were on to his scheme), the police were giving him a free ride to a clean bed and decent meal. He would be back the next day.

⁹This is the same situation experienced with the Bus Terminal Annex, where skells are taking time to find and become accustomed to it. As they do, crimes occur. New territory in

As a result of situations of this type, the Port Authority Police became known as "easy," or a good mark, much the same as a tourist or unfamiliar person would be labelled upon recognition by street skells. Not helping the situation was the legal process of the time, which prescribed a full physical arrest, rather than summons, for minor offenses such as disorderly conduct. Officers were tied up in court for substantial periods, increasing "down time" and backlogging the system with relatively minor cases.¹⁰

The police soon realized that they would have to change their methods of patrolling the facility and dealing with its population as well as that of the surrounding community. They would have to become as street smart as the skells while retaining their professionalism for dealing with the traveling public. Consequently, by changing their style and becoming harder (that is, not believing the fallen drunk's predicament, recognizing those who are incongruent with their immediate environment and meeting the mopes on their own terms) the Port Authority Police were able to gain control of the territory. The street population realized that they were no longer an easy mark and were schooled in dealing with the ecology of the community.¹¹

the community then becomes a learning process for the entire population.

¹⁰"Down time" indicates decrease of police due to arrests or reports, etc.

¹¹It did not take the police long to become accustomed to population. A newspaper account cites an example: "They (P.A. Police) were showing a drunk to the door," Webb (the first Manager

Policing Styles

A policing style may be defined as the techniques employed by a police department in maintaining law and order within a community. We have mentioned the three types, watchman, legalistic and service and note that the problem facing the police during the early days of the Bus Terminal was that there was no distinct style of law enforcement. Mopes were able to capitalize on the learning process of the police in a new environment until a definitive policing style was developed. For Times Square and the Bus Terminal, this meant a legalistic style, characterized by the "sweep" operations of years ago. This procedure stressed a high arrest rate by dispatching officers to sweep a particular block or area clear of loiterers, prostitutes, drunks and the like. Paddy wagons would take the catch to the nearest precinct for processing. This procedure was declared unconstitutional, and the police were forced to seek other means of controlling the streets.

"Commanding officers began to view the use of arrests for low level street crimes as self-defeating. The arrest had only temporary, if any, impact in altering conditions. The arrest and arraignment procedure was so time consuming that frequently an officer initiating an evening arrest was removed from his or her post for the balance of that night and often the entire next day. Not only did the area then suffer the loss of an officer, but also the Department (Police) paid overtime, bringing into question the cost effectiveness of this approach. Moreover, the majority of low level arrests were dismissed by the courts or disposed of with light sentences. Of 965 persons arrested for prostitution during the

of the Bus Terminal) explained.

"Drunks and bums are their biggest problem, particularly in very cold weather. Our patrolmen are quite ingenious in getting rid of them, though. Last winter the head of the police detachment at Penn Station called up his opposite number here

period April through June 1979 in the midtown area, 790 pleaded or were found guilty. Seventy percent of these guilty defendants received a conditional discharge or a sentence of time served."¹²

The City Police Department's Operation Crossroads program was implemented, stressing the maintenance of an officer on a post, avoiding low level arrests and providing high visibility to the surrounding population.

"The explicit goals of Operation Crossroads were not only to reduce street crime but also to improve street conditions (i.e., to reduce loitering by threatening individuals and groups; to break up gambling and con games such as 'three card monte'; to discourage soliciting and harassing by street prostitutes and drug sellers), and thus to give the public a greater sense of security in the area."¹³

The City police were adapting to their changing environment (and also with legal constraints), assuming a more service-oriented approach. There was a diminished emphasis on the law coupled with a heightened awareness of the needs of the community. The Bus Terminal, however, is unique in its containment perspective, that is, its levels, passageways and platforms are one distinct environment separated physically from the streets. This indicates a similarly distinct method of policing the facility.

to complain about our efficiency. He said it wasn't fair to tell all the bums that free coffee and doughnuts were being served at Penn Station."

Earl Mazo, "The Busy Busman," New York Herald Tribune, June 6, 1954, p. 12.

¹²The Fund for the City of New York, Police Patrol and Street Conditions (New York, 1981), pp. 2-3. Time served is the period between the physical arrest and appearance in court.

¹³Ibid., p. 3.

The horizontal patrol involves assigning an officer to each floor of the Terminal--one for the Long Haul Level, one for the Main Concourse and one for the Suburban Concourse, Suburban Bus Level and Upper Bus Level. This is not a fixer post, but a specific area of jurisdiction for the individual officer. For example, an officer may be assigned to Post 200 on the Main Concourse. He is responsible for any criminal activity on the level in terms of arrests, reports and facts leading to a possible investigation by Detectives. He will respond to radio calls of personal injuries due to accidents, falls or fights; disorderly individuals on buses; fires; alarms and so on. He will have assigned blow periods: one for forty-five minutes and one for thirty minutes, enabling him to eat and rest during the tour. Vertical patrols, also called Roving Teams or Tactical Patrol Units, are more mobile in that they patrol both horizontally and vertically. At the present time, there is one team in the Annex and two in the Bus Terminal. These teams may provide backup requirements for officers responding to potentially dangerous calls and may cover the post of an officer issuing a summons or completing a report at the Police Desk. In the case of an arrest, one Roving Team member may take over the post of the officer making it, while the other patrols alone.

A major benefit of the Roving Team is elimination of patrol anticipation by members of the population intent on criminal activity. A mope may want to steal some candy from the Newsstand counter, so he watches the Post 200 officer for some time in order to

gauge his time of reappearance at a certain point. He notes that after passing the counter on a routine patrol, the officer does not return for sixteen minutes. This is the period in which he is most likely to commit a crime. Now, most officers realize that they must break this routine so there is no prediction possible, yet there are times when all humans establish personal patterns within a territory. Since the mope is aware of his sixteen minute time frame, he may walk toward the candy counter or even commit the crime, only to be surprised by the appearance of the Roving Team coming down the escalator from the Suburban Concourse. He did not anticipate this additional police presence and will most likely be apprehended.

One case in which I was involved did not concern a crime, yet illustrates this situation perfectly. While assigned to patrol the Main Concourse, I would saunter from the Ninth Avenue end of the facility down to the Eighth Avenue entrance, looking in doors and walking through the Main Waiting Room on the way. However, on the return route, I would look in Walgreen's, the bakery, perhaps stroll into the bookstore or another shop or stand along the wall and observe the passersby. I did not enter the Waiting Room on that return trip. Since I always enjoyed watching the different types of people comprising the facility population of the moment, one individual caught my attention. He was a Black gentleman, perhaps fifty-five or sixty years of age, whose clothes told a story of harsh wear yet were not skell-filthy. I sized him up and realized that he had been around the streets

for a while, but was not creating a problem for anyone, so I would speak to him on the way back to Eighth Avenue (I was on my way to Ninth). When I returned to the steps leading to the Waiting Room, he was not there, nor was he inside. Thinking he had left, I continued my patrol to Eighth Avenue in the "normal" manner. On the way to Ninth Avenue, I decided to look in the Waiting Room since it seemed to have more persons than before. When I walked in, I saw the old gentlemen contentedly reading a newspaper while lounging in a chair. He looked surprised when he noticed me staring his way and shuffled out of the Waiting Room and into the street. I did not realize that he was watching my patrol technique, figuring out that he could sit in the Waiting Room for about twenty minutes until I returned. Since I was not going inside until the Ninth to Eighth Avenue portion of the patrol, he could watch me pass by and get out before I came in. All he wanted was a seat and somewhere to read a paper, but he was preventing a legitimate bus user from sitting there. He knew he would be asked to leave, so he used his street smarts to outwit a rookie officer (who now varies his patrol).

Another police concept used by the Port Authority (and unique to it) is the Central Police Pool. When the City police go down a man or car due to an incident, the tour is turned out with that post deleted from the roll call. Rather than having an officer assigned alone, adjoining sectors will cover the vacated post. Consequently, there may be forty men comprising a full tour, but only thirty-four actually turned out. The Central

Police Pool enables Port Authority police commanding officers to examine roll calls for sick absences, court appearances or compensatory time vacancies and "borrow" appropriate manpower so that a full tour is mustered.

The Tactical Patrol Unit Sweep provides for four police officers and one Sergeant on a seven-day per week coverage on the 6 P.M. to 2 A.M. tour, and three-day per week coverage on the 10 A.M. to 6 P.M. tour. When in uniform, they perform the vertical patrol function, yet they may also patrol in civilian attire or operate a decoy bag procedure. Resulting in many arrests, this was formed to deal with the luggage thieves who wait for the owner to go to the lavatory or otherwise leave the area so they may steal the belongings. The police will leave a decoy bag in a spot and maintain a surveillance on it. Luggage thieves, usually on the lookout for a blue uniform (patrol anticipation) will then make their move on the unattended merchandise, with subsequent arrest.

Due to the diversity of such persons and events in the Bus Terminal and surrounding community, all three police styles are utilized. There is a continued temporal flow among all segments of the population, whose members harbor varying perceptions of the surrounding environment.¹⁴

¹⁴This situation is distinct in its contradiction to a rural or suburban community such as Crestwood Heights. In such a location the police are able to assume a distinct and consistent patrol style rather than a fluctuating one. This is a result of a "mechanical solidarity" in the small town and an "organic solidarity" in the urban area. See John R. Seeley,

Watchman Style

The Watchman style is described as:

"The police are Watchman-like not simply in emphasizing order over law enforcement but also in judging the seriousness of infractions less by what the law says about them than by their immediate and personal consequences, which will differ in importance depending on the standards of of the relevant group--teenagers, Negroes, prostitutes, motorists, families and so forth. In all cases, circumstances of person and condition are taken seriously into account."¹⁵

The Watchman style police officer is granted great latitude in dealing with the public and this affords him more discretion than the policy setting administrator. Quotas are important in determining this style. For example, the City police must complete an activity sheet listing the various tasks performed by the officer during a tour. These are statistically analyzed to forecast crime trends or allocate manpower to areas of need. The officer who shows no activity for numerous tours may be asked exactly "what he is doing out there." Consequently, the officer must minimize his discretion in order to provide operational indicators of his performance. When he stops the driver at the corner of Ninth Avenue and Thirty-ninth Street for passing a red light, he will be more likely to issue a summons than a verbal warning.

Crestwood Heights (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965).

¹⁵James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 141.

The police at the Bus Terminal have no such quota or activity sheet. Command personnel will stress professional performance, but if a man does not make an arrest or issue a summons, there will be no pressure from field supervisors to change. Thus, it depends upon the individual whether to become a "heavy hitter" or only make arrests when they come his way. For example, an officer may be aggressive, able to spot potential crimes and criminals and be there when the act is committed. These persons are more adept at identifying street situations than their counterparts, noticing bulges in coats (guns), furtive eye movements and observing individuals wanted by other law enforcement agencies. Conversely, other officers make arrests when the crime is committed, but did not expect the situation to occur. They were not looking for it.¹⁶

In the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street community, the Watchman style may still be identified, but it is most definitely

¹⁶The Watchman style discretion afforded to the police enables them to utilize several avenues of action rather than a strict adherence to one. Wilson writes that:

"Cities where the police follow a Watchman style will not thereby have identical standards of public order and morality. The quality of law enforcement depends not simply on how the police make judgements, but also on the socioeconomic composition of the community, the law enforcement standards set, implicitly or explicitly by the political systems, and the special interests and concerns of the police chief."

Ibid., p. 143. Wilson discusses policing style in terms of the city as a unit; there is no real reflection on the Chicago School perspective and our concern with this community as a natural area. It is true that cities will have a character of their own, particularly the smaller cities or communities to which bus commuters may be accustomed. However, the community studies of Park, et al, have illustrated the existence of "community within community."

the least employed of the three, particularly when considering increasing awareness of the service style. One elderly person interviewed in the Terminal spoke of the "old days" of the police in this community.

"Now you know, son, you're a bit young to know this, but they didn't take any shit back then. I'll tell ya, that when the good officer came down these streets all he had to do was tap the stick on that curb and the fellas from other beats came runnin'. If ya was playin' ball and busted a window and ya gave the cop lip, ya got a kick in the seat of the pants and taken home to your mother. She would listen to the officer's story and hand over some of your father's hard earned money to the property owner. The officer would take his leave and your mother would swat the living hell out of you. And by God, you didn't do it again."

I inquired about protests from the community concerning the "harsh" tactics of the police and this produced a sinister, bitter sneer on the old man's face.

"Ya know, you're young. We just didn't put up with that shit that they do now. The cop was looked up at. It was a good, solid job. And I'll tell ya, a good kick in the ass or a swat in the puss did more good than all ya judges and courts do now."¹⁷

This was the street justice of Hell's Kitchen, the Bus Terminal and countless other neighborhoods, and it lives on whenever a police officer tells a petty offender to "get the hell out of here" or settles a dispute between two residents rather than make an arrest. This was the style of the watchman officer when it came to dispensing justice, and it characterized the first attempts at policing the Bus Terminal. Officers, not accustomed

This accounts for the variety of policing styles within this community as the agent of social control attempts to maintain order among divergent forces of the population.

¹⁷As I discussed the situation with this man, I was struck

to dealing with an enforcement oriented community environment, developed their own policing styles and dealt with situations on an individual basis. As they became more street smart, however, they were able to progress to the legalistic and ultimately service style of policing the community.

Legalistic Style

"A legalistic department will issue traffic tickets at a high rate, detain and arrest a high proportion of juvenile offenders, act vigorously against illicit enterprises, and make a large number of misdemeanor arrests even when, as with petty larceny, the public order has not been breached."¹⁸

The main operational indicator of this type department is ticketing, yet within this community we focus on the various enforcement campaigns designed to clear the streets of undesirables. For example, the use of the City Police Tactical Patrol Unit in Times Square demonstrates the emphasis on total police presence and saturation in dealing with street violence. The periodic sweeps of the Bus Terminal, especially the Waiting Room, indicate the emphasis on identifying those violating the law. The police will use this law as a tool in clearing the area. For example, the law states it is illegal to drink alcoholic beverages on the street. If the police wish to get rid of a bottle gang or a few drunks, they can enforce this law by selecting such individuals from among the population of the moment. If a community

with the similarity between his perspective and that of old John Mooney forty years before.

¹⁸Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, p. 172.

group complains about sanitary conditions in the neighborhood, a police detail may be assigned to issue summonses for uncovered garbage receptacles. If there is a concern voiced as to violent crimes such as muggings, special plainclothes and uniformed units may be assigned to the community for a specific length of time in order to provide short term results. Consequently, the mopes will refer to the area as hot and be extra wary in their dealings on the street.¹⁹ There are a group of shops on Ninth Avenue, just off Thirty-ninth Street and this has become the hangout of some unsavory looking characters, even during the daytime hours. I have watched some of these persons both men and women, stand around for the entire length of my eight-hour tour, and presume that they were there before I came and remained after I left. Sometimes the police may receive a complaint concerning conditions on the street and when this occurs, they may "claim the corner" by posting a uniformed officer at the location or directing a radio car to concentrate their patrol there, issuing summonses, warnings or making arrests. The group may disperse or relocate; in any case, the police are seen as effective in that the corner is now "clean," and they have temporary claim to it. When the heat is off and the man has stopped watching, the displaced group or even a new one may return.²⁰

¹⁹This is an example of the territorial claim in the Goffmanian perspective. Refer to Chapter II.

²⁰Suttles discusses a similar Chicago situation in the section beyond Ashland Avenue, near the Medical Center:

The legalistic police style reduces the officer's discretion in dealing with events in the community. Rather than coping with events as they arise, recognizing with the uniqueness of each, he is forced to use the law as a rigid guideline for behavior. Perhaps an officer is looking for a particular individual in relation to a past crime. Each day, he checks passersby and workers in an attempt to determine if they have seen the man. Suddenly, one member of the shoeshine group beckons him across the street, telling him that he knows he is looking for the particular individual and where to find him. If the legalistic style were strictly employed in this community, there would be enforcement against the presence of such street corner men, yet the coexistence of another distinctive style permits, even thrives upon, such an environment. When the news media calls attention to deplorable conditions in the community, the police may respond in the legalistic perspective, sweeping undersirables away by concentrating on minor infractions (drinking, littering, etc.). Again, the old time sweeps are no longer

"Within this area there are so many policemen and impersonal bodies of social control that safe passage is almost impossible for anything resembling a gang of 'trouble-makers'".

Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum, p. 28. The broad discretionary powers of the police enables them to grant street corner or public place presence only in cases where the individual does not grossly violate local behavioral norms. A loiterer standing near Pathway Bakery on the Main Concourse may be visibly swaying from the effects of alcohol, yet when he sees a police officer approaching, the swaying stops. Goffman recognizes this situation when he writes that:

employed, yet the fact that police use the full extent of the law within the community becomes a powerful tool for maintaining order within it.

Service Style

The service style is the middle of the road approach in social control and policing.

"In some communities, the police take seriously all requests for either law enforcement or order maintenance (unlike police utilizing a watchman style) but are less likely to respond by making an arrest or otherwise imposing formal sanctions (unlike police with a legalistic style). The police intervene frequently but not formally."²¹

They are expected to be professionals, that is, prompt to respond to calls, neat in appearance, efficient in administration and operation, and above all, responsive to the needs of the surrounding community. Conversely, the watchman department is responsive to its own needs, while the legalistic is responsive to the needs of the law. While the service style is more at home in the residential community, it is becoming prevalent in the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street. One major reason is the "normalization" of the street population. As the police (due to enforcement) and ancillary agencies (the siphon-

"Each individual can see that he is being experienced in some way, and he will guide at least some of his conduct according to the perceived identity and initial response of his audience."

Goffman, Behavior in Public Places, p. 16. The officer is able to identify the mope due to the latter's appearance or behavior, and each is aware of the other's role. In this case of the loiterer, the watchman might send the man on his way or physically confront him, while the legalistic would arrest him.

²¹Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, p. 200.

ing procedure) withdraw undesirables from the street, the remaining segment of the population is of a more legitimate, although mostly transient, nature. The decline of a deviant population indicates a rise of the residential and "passing through" types, with a correlated revision of policing style. Since the environment of the Terminal has been changed, the police within it are able to emphasize a service approach, that is, a response to articulation from tenants and positive users as to their needs and a focus on prevention rather than enforcement. The "dere-licts" haven is no more.²² This operational environment of the police is constantly changing, indicating the change in clientele. However, legalistic efforts, though still employed in some cases, produce short term gains. The service style will go beyond pure arrest or displacement in an attempt to work with the community rather than control it. Specialization is one way in which this is accomplished. When I attended meetings of the Community Planning Boards, I noted their indications to the police that increased foot patrols were desired. The police were receptive to these needs, and promised to implement them. If there is overwhelming sentiment towards such a manpower allocation, a service oriented police would work with the community groups in identifying problems areas, ridding them of undesirables and developing programs to keep the neighborhood trouble-free.

²²McCandlish Phillips, "Bus Terminal at Night: A Derelict's Haven," The New York Times, January 8, 1967, Sec. 1, p. 1.

In the Bus Terminal, we have mentioned the decoy bag operation; there is also a Youth Services Unit for dealing with runaways in the Times Square community, as well as liaison with tenant and commuter organizations.

In the community, police Detectives are organized according to their specialization, be it Burglary, Homicide, Robbery and so on.²³ An individual with skills in a specific area is most likely to catch a case where his expertise will prove useful. He may know something about locks, automobiles or security alarms, offering his advice to those on the case or perhaps delivering seminars in the community. What the bureaucracy cannot accomplish as a whole, it will attempt to accomplish by diversification. Smaller units disseminate information to the organization, permitting the mobilization of additional resources. Each police command within this community (PAPD-BT; TAPD-District One; NYPD-MTS) are designed to deal with everyday conditions, but an emergency situation will result in the addition of resources from within or external agencies. The contingency plans maintained by the Terminal are an example.

Using the Policing Styles

One of the unique factors of this community contributes to conflict within it, namely diversity. Were the police to assume an unwavering approach in dealing with this population, some

²³This will be true of the larger departments (NYPD), where in the smaller ones (PAPD and TAPD) the Detective will be more of a generalist.

segments would receive unfair advantages while others would be penalized. I attended a community meeting where several merchants gathered along with board members, police commanders and participants from some other agencies (such as the Port Authority). The diversity of the population was immediately apparent. The police were there, uniforms pressed and brass gleaming; next to them were members of the board in suits and ties. Merchants sat in one group, discussing the goings on amongst themselves. They wore rumpled sweaters, open-collared shirts or neat dresses. One man wore sneakers, while another wore work boots. The hall in which we sat had definitely seen better days, with traces of peeling green paint and chipped folding chairs strewn about. A flag drooped from a tarnished pole behind the "dais," as one of the speakers paged through a pile of papers, eyes darting across the figures before him. The meeting began with the usual preliminaries, introductions of principal speakers and identification of community personalities in the audience. The speaker, wearing a neat gray suit, rambled along with brief news items concerning fire hydrants, parking problems and the like, finally arriving at the topic of litter. At this point, a member of the audience (for whom the term "stereotyped blue collar man" would be an understatement) raised his hand and said, "Listen, what can we do about some guys throwing out garbage when there's no pick up? The stuff piles up and draws bums." The man wore a tattered brown sweater, pierced by the pointed collars of a blue shirt. He looked like he knew his way around this neighborhood in ways that the gent in

the gray suit could never understand. (I later found out that the man owned a local tavern on Eighth Avenue). Gray Suit countered with, "Well, we've spoken to Sanitation about this sort of thing ...". "They don't have enough guys to patrol our streets," said the Sweater: "I've seen bums rummaging through piles of junk on the street corners." The audience nodded approval with this point. (The problem was that private sanitation carters picked up commercial litter on prearranged schedule, and some merchants were ignoring this and putting out their garbage on non-pick-up days or hours. The litter would stand by the curb, piling up during the day or night, and was a magnet for skells seeking returnable bottles or any "items of value.") Representatives from the New York City Police were present, and Gray Suit looked to one. "Perhaps we can get some assistance from the police here." The Inspector described the issues of concentrating on serious offenses within the community, but promised to have roving officers issue summonses to violators. The Sweater interjected with, "Listen, I know I have problems with this sort of thing, and I know she does (pointing to a female merchant on his left), so maybe we can get together and work something out." A young merchant with a Hispanic accent looked at The Sweater and the female. "You see, you open later than me. If we going to get time to put out garbage, maybe we should put it in one place on the block. Everybody can go to this spot and put it out for the dumper." "Johnny," said The Sweater, "I don't want a pile of junk in front of my place, and neither do you." As Johnny

shook his head in agreement, the audience began speaking among themselves. Gray Suit held order with, "Okay, we have to move along. I'll check with Sanitation on this and we can get together to see about some sort of schedule." The audience seemed pacified when the sound of a latecomer turned their heads toward the rear of the hall. A City Mounted Police Captain, boots shining and brass gleaming, strode in, and recognizing the sitting Inspector said, "Hello, Inspector, how ya doing"? The Inspector smiled and nodded as the Captain took a seat behind him. "Now that we have the authority on the matter here," said Gray Suit with a smile, "maybe we can touch on the Mounted Police in the area." The heads turned to the Captain, who probably did not expect to speak so soon, if at all. He described the role of the Mounted Police in the community, stressing their high visibility as a deterrent against crime. When he finished, Gray Suit thanked him and asked if anyone had questions. The woman raised her hand. "Maybe you can tell us if the Mounted Police have the same power as the regular police. Can they make the same arrests ..."? The Captain looked shocked, and the Inspector's lips tightened into a sneer. "The Mounted Police are a branch of the regular police. We have the same power. We're the same job."²⁴ Gray Suit called

²⁴This same question was asked of the Port Authority Police at a Users' Panel meeting. The commuter wanted to know if they could make arrests "off the sidewalk." This issue (questioning jurisdiction and showing no knowledge of the police role) seems to be a sore spot with all police departments in the community.

everyone's attention to some "last items of business before we call it an night." Soon afterward, everyone promised to be in touch with one another, and departed the hall. The Sweater was seen walking uptown on Eighth Avenue; the Captain got into a blue and white police car with "MTD" on the side; the Inspector eased into a four-door sedan with the telltale two antennas on it; and Gray Suit, holding a portfolio, stood by the doorway talking with the woman.

This meeting was interesting for two reasons. First, it provided a cross-sectional view of the community. Here were merchants and agency representatives discussing the issues concerning keeping skulls away from "their place." While everyone was concerned about putting out their garbage, nobody wanted a pile in front of their establishment. They really did not care where these skulls were, so long as they were not near the shop. Second, it illustrated the difficulties encountered by the police in implementing a law enforcement style. The merchants and the police were interacting in a service perspective, working together in identifying problem areas and courses of action to resolve them. However, the community was articulating a desire for results; they wanted the garbage problem cleared up, and for the short run, a summons program against violators seemed to be the best way to handle it. Should the police assume the legalistic style and do such a thing, the merchant demanding such a program might be issued a summons for that particular violation or a related one, becoming a victim of his cry for change. When the police are instructed to

issue summonses, they will do just that and not be selective about "who wanted the program started" or writing every third store. A violation will bring a punitive action. If the community demands police action on double parked vehicles, a short term legalistic style may produce the "ticket blitz," as officers carry out instructions to write. Therefore, the police in this diversified and temporal community of the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street must be aware of the population needs but cautious in utilizing a policing style in meeting them.²⁵

DISCRETION IN POLICING THE COMMUNITY

Although the population of this community sometimes requires the intervention of a formal agent of social control to maintain order, it is important to realize that the police do not have to act, and when they do, it may be in a different degree or manner than what is expected.

"Various neighborhoods and subcultures have their own levels of tolerable disorder; what may appear to be weaker norms are only different norms. Nor are the members of such subcultures a threat to persons in other neighborhoods--police statistics show that almost all disorder, tolerable or intolerable, occurs among persons who are likely to share common

²⁵McDowell cites one example of deployment of manpower and policing style due to community articulation.

"The concept of selective enforcement has long been recognized by those in the police and highway safety field as a valuable tool in reducing traffic accidents and the overwhelming loss of life and property they entail. Its central feature embodies the concentration of a force of men, indoctrinated in traffic enforcement, in those areas with heavy traffic volume, high accident rate, violation frequency and congestion . . . The reduction of traffic accidents was

norms because they are acquainted or related. Justice is not an absolute; it can be rationed, providing more or less of one kind rather than another to different neighborhoods.²⁶

In a community like the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street, the existence of a wide variety of norms is concomitant with the diversity of the population. The commuter, himself well versed in codes of behavior and acceptable conduct in public places, may see the values of the bottle gang as weaker than his own. A police officer, accustomed to both peer group values (reserve room camaraderie and the traditional isolation of the profession) may view some deviations of public behavior as weak simply because they are different. The bottle gang maintains strong codes of behavior and affiliation in the same manner as passing commuters, merchants, residents and other segments of the population. Though different from "normal behavior," the practice of the first sip going to the bottle gang participant bringing the liquor is as valued to them as the queue procedure is to commuters. Consequently, although justice must be administered to the entire population in the process of social control, particular attention is paid to the segment with whom the officer is dealing.

accomplished by inducing the public to comply voluntarily with traffic laws and safety standards. This was accomplished by a quantitative and qualitative increase of public contacts of a formal nature, such as the issuance of citations, and verbal and written warnings, and of an informal nature, such as aiding disabled motorists."

Charles P. McDowell, Police in the Community (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 251-252. The police may also undertake such "ticket blitzes" on their own, such as in a contract dispute.

²⁶Ibid., p. 153.

The police officer possesses a wide latitude of discretion in dealing with the population. Unless he is assigned to a legalistic function such as an enforcement detail, his day to day activities bring him into contact with a wide variety of situations requiring an immediate and equitable resolution.

It is a cold windy in February, the kind where the wind seems like a finely honed knife slicing against defenseless skin. A gray sky hovers over the formless tops of skyscrapers whose gray walls form an icy canyon for the individual as he walks up Forty-second Street. Near and old newsstand presided over by a huddled old woman whose dull eyes peer from within a shawl stands the speaker of the day. Looking about thirty-five years of age, she wears a filthy once-green parka coat, blue pants and black boots whose plastic shine betrays their cost. "Repent you sinners, for the Lord is coming. Jesus loves you. He is the Messiah, the Savior, the lover of all." Her blue eyes widen as she screams to unhearing ears, "Obey the Lord, your Lord, or you'll burn forever in the fiery abyss. He says so." Few passersby take note of her performance, walking turtle-like as they concentrate on avoiding the wind by lowering heads into coats.²⁷ A police officer walks by, glancing at the speaker but focusing his attention on the occupants of the theater lobbies and storefronts along the way. Eventually, he will make an arrest of a robbery suspect.

²⁷This situation is similar to the street corner orators on Chicago's West Madison Street in The Hobo.

The cold has found its way into the recesses of the Forty-second Street subway station, keeping the stench of urine at bay. As a train pulls into the station, the sound of a whistle fills the air. A Transit Police Officer comes down the stairs and walks to the middle of the train, where the conductor points out a dispute between two passengers. As the train pulls out, the trio stand on the platform, discussing the situation. After about ten minutes, the two men go their separate ways and the officer goes back up the stairs. He will later make an arrest for carrying a concealed weapon (knife).

The Port Authority Police Officer stood outside the Ninth Avenue entrance to the Bus Terminal, watching traffic flow downtown as pedestrians ignored the light in an attempt to get across the street and out of the wind. He carried a portable radio on his belt and now there was a message for him. "BT to Post 100." "Post 100, go," he replied. "Post 100, respond to the vicinity of Platform 35, report of a sleeper." The door closing behind him, the officer was well on his way as he returned the call. "Roger, BT. En route." Upon arriving at the scene, he was met by a maintenance man who informed him that someone was sleeping in one of the lavatory stalls. The officer walked into the room and looked at the green stall doors. All were closed, so he crouched down and saw a pair of feet in the second one. He noticed that although the person was sitting, the pants were not around the ankles. Knocking on the door, he heard a stirring from within and realized that the sleeper had locked the stall.

A louder knock produced a "Yeah"? from within and this was met by a "Police, let's go." The door opened to reveal a middle-aged man who looked warily at the blue clad intruder who now said, "Come on, move along. Get the hell out of here." The skell shuffled past the seated long distance bus passengers whose eyes shifted downward as he went by. Some of the turned their heads for a last look as he went through the doorway and disappeared onto Ninth Avenue. The officer would later make a collar for CPCS.

Each police officer was presented with the opportunity for making a legitimate arrest, yet chose to remain on post to await one of higher quality. Each used discretionary powers to maintain order by either enforcing the law or normalizing the situation without an arrest.²⁸ The police are sworn to enforce the law, but they may do so in a variety of ways. In the first place, the officer's mere presence in uniform may act as a control mechanism, since a potential criminal will wait until he leaves before committing an act, or will not commit it at all. In this case, order is maintained within the surrounding segment of the population through no overt action by the officer. This situation has been observed many times in the Bus Terminal. While working in uniform, I have walked into the Waiting Room to see a commuter or OTB customer standing with one foot propped up on a nearby seat.

²⁸Egon Bittner distinguishes between the concept of "peace keeping" and "law enforcing" by the police when dealing with derelicts. Egon Bittner, "The Police on Skid Row: A Study of Peace Keeping." American Sociological Review, 32 (October 1967): 699-715.

The former was usually waiting for the lavatory to clear out before going in, while the latter was perusing the racing section of the Daily News. At the sight of the police, the foot immediately dropped to the floor, as the man avoided eye contact with the officer. The commuter realized he was "out of line" in placing his foot on the place where someone may have desired to sit, so he deferred to the authority of the police in relinquishing the territory. The OTB customer behaves in the same way, as he realizes he may be asked by the officer to step inside the store while sizing up the program, rather than obstruct passage to those seeking a seat. None of this is criminal behavior, yet those performing the activity are instinctively aware of its "out of the ordinary" nature for the Terminal and anticipate police intervention of a peace keeping nature. By asking them to move, the officer enhances both the order and population flow of the facility.

An officer may have a variety of reasons for selecting the peace keeper or law enforcer role. One of these may be departmental choice. For example, the Transit Police have only four uniformed officers assigned to the Forty-second Street subway complex at any one time. If one of them should make an arrest, it would leave only three to patrol the same territory previously covered by four. The problem in this situation is that the "down time" has now created a situation where the patrol force might find it difficult to cope with an emergency where if the arrest had not been made, the situation would be routine. Consequently, the officer will concentrate on significant arrests, shunning the

"shitty collars." He may issue a warning to two persons fighting on a train, continuing patrol and making a later arrest for Burglary. The City Police will concentrate on the good collars, using the law enforcer role in those cases. The officer patrolling the Deuce will focus on his peace keeper status by dispersing crowds, keeping the sidewalks clear of sleepers or loiterers, giving information to passersby and acting as a visible deterrent to crime. When confronted by a significant criminal act, however, he will become the law enforcer by issuing a summons or taking the collar.

Down time does not affect the Port Authority Police as much as the other community departments. The Central Police Pool allows them to replace manpower on the following tour, thereby covering for court appearances and the like. However, arrests made during a tour will affect manpower for that tour. If the three to eleven tour goes on the floor with twenty officers and six of them make an arrest later that night, there will be fourteen left. They will have to expand their patrols or adjust posts so that all areas of the facility are covered.

Peer group pressure can affect the police role as much as departmental order. No officer likes to make an arrest and hear jeers when he returns to quarters to process it. This may be the case when his colleagues feel he has made a "shit collar" and has "no pits." On the other hand, he is lauded for getting a "good collar" and taking a mope off the streets. An example of a shit collar might be taking a bag lady for sleeping in the Waiting Room, while a good collar would be arresting a mope with a gun.

The order within this community is therefore very complicated, depending on internal controls by the population (such as stall techniques), style of law enforcement by the police, and to a great degree, the amount of deviance permitted by them. A totally legalistic style would probably rid the streets of skulls for a short time, yet the police would also be gone, joining them in court for processing. As such, they must assume this style for short run purposes, concentrating instead on achieving a working medium with all segments of the population. This includes the criminal and deviant, for they are "permitted" only so much aberrant behavior before the police will act. The Bus Terminal and surrounding community may thus be described as having a "service style with a peace keeping perspective, with reversions to a legalistic, law enforcing style when necessary."

THE MOPES' VIEW OF DEVIANCE AND CRIME IN THE COMMUNITY

To understand the perspective of the community, it is imperative to focus on the issue of territoriality. Each segment of the temporal community has a claim to some part of it at any particular moment. The commuter sees the Bus Terminal as "serving him" for the time that he uses it in getting to and from work. During the morning rush, he and his bus are drawn to the city, processed through the Bus Terminal, and dispatched to the urban core, reversing the process in the evening. To the police officer, the Bus Terminal is his "turf," the territory dependent upon his

protection.²⁹ He is responsible for conditions on his post and important decisions must be made concerning activity on it. The merchant's store is his livelihood; he makes his money by attracting the population into his establishment. The skell or mope, however, also have a vested interest in the community. They may be served by the Bus Terminal, sleeping in a Waiting Room or obtaining protection from the rain. Some elderly persons view the Terminal as "their turf," since their homes were once located on the site. Some skells think the Terminal was build specifically for them as they become indignant when disturbed. Most important, like the merchants, they may use the Bus Terminal for making money. They may pickpocket, steal luggage, panhandle or search for discarded bus or OTB tickets, generating "income" from the population at the time.

The skell in the street harbors similar perceptions of the community, as prostitutes, Three Card Monte dealers, con men, pornographic shop owners, transvestites, and bottle gangs use the territory for their own purposes. Though it is deviant (and sometimes criminal) from the uses by other segments of the population, these individuals use the street as their turf.

Many of the mopes will not hesitate to inform the police (or others) that they feel at home in this community. During one evening rush period, a disheveled female skell had set up an

²⁹A conscious decision was made by the Port Authority to augment the police strength at the new Bus Terminal in order to suggest this "territorial claim" to inquisitive skells.

enterprising panhandling operation outside the Eighth Avenue entrance. Sitting on a milk box, she would look with mournful eyes at the rushing passersby and implore, "Wouldn't you help a lady in need"? She sat in stark contrast to those who stopped their routine long enough to drop a dime or quarter into the coffee can on her lap. A blue housedress, filthy with the grime of the streets, hung sack-like from her thin frame, while torn white tennis sneakers graced her feet. Her hair was once black, but now the gray had all but obliterated the last defenders. The police officer observed that her presence on the sidewalk was forcing the crowd to veer around the "business," so he walked over and asked her to leave. "Ma'am, you can't sit here because someone might trip over you and get hurt. Why don't you move away from the building"? The mournful eyes suddenly burst forth with fire. "Why don't you go fuck yourself, you scummy motherfucker. I'll do whatever I damn please and you won't touch my fuckin' money." "I asked you nice once," said the officer, "and I don't want to see you here when I come back in five minutes. Now pick up your things and go." The woman said nothing as she watched the officer disappear inside the Eighth Avenue entrance. It seemed like no time before he was beside her again. "Okay, you'll have to leave." This time, some passersby stopped to hear her discourse. "You fuckin' pig, you lousy motherfucker. Who the fuck do you think you are? I live here, and this is my job." The officer picked up her can and placed her milk-box inside the Terminal, away from where someone might trip on it. As the pair walked to the Police Desk where the woman would

be given a summons, she continued her verbal barrage, stressing the fact that "it was her spot."³⁰

Obviously, the skell felt she was entitled to panhandle whenever and wherever she pleased, viewing the police as intruders in her business. Again, had the woman conducted herself in a "normal" manner, the officer would most likely have acted as a peace keeper, chasing her from the area. However, she chose to claim the territory, forcing the officer to act as a law enforcer and issue the summons. In a similar display, a man who was wanted for shooting a police officer was arrested on Thirty-ninth Street and Eighth Avenue. When asked why he did it, he replied, "Fuck it, I'd do the same to you."

These individuals see the police as interfering with their community activity. Deviance does not enter into the case; they use the Terminal or streets for reasons seen as legitimate to them, and the remaining segments of the population depend upon the police to maintain order. Deviance does come into play when legitimate users see the mopes, skells and characters as interfering with their participation in the community. The commuter sees the bottle gang as a bunch of mopes, while one or more of them may see him as an easy mark for a wallet lift.

³⁰This situation brings to mind the claims of the "businessman" flower vendor defending his turf. Refer to Chapter II.

Controlling the Police

Although in theory the police are the formal social control agents in this community, responsible for maintaining order among the population, there are occasions to the contrary. The mopes, street smart as they are, attempt to control the police.

The mope, unseen by the nearby police officer, stands near the Ninth Avenue entrance of the Bus Terminal. His eyes scanning the passersby and passing cars, the officer does not realize that he too is the object of the same intensive scanning method, including appearance, gait and demeanor. The mope has now reached a decision and approaching the officer from behind, asks in a deep voice, "Can you tell me how to get the bus to Short Hills"? Before he even turns completely around, the officer is replying, "Sure, sir, just go inside and upstairs to Platform 220. You can get it there." The mope nods and walks away, but not in the direction indicated by his benefactor. "That stupid mother-fucker is new, man. I told ya." These are the words the mope states to his colleagues on the corner of Eighth Avenue and Fortieth Street. The reason? Although the man wore dirty clothing, unshined shoes, did not shave in days and had a paper bag wrapped wine bottle in his rear pocket, he was not recognized as a street mope by the rookie cop. The mope had used him as a "mark," testing him by asking directions to one of the more affluent communities in New Jersey. The new officer, whose sense of street smarts were not yet finely honed, did not recognize this obvious incongruence. The successful jive job had marked him as new. Had he replied, "Why"?

or "Get the hell out of here," the mope would have realized he was dealing with a seasoned man who probably knew the streets as well as he.

Mopes are conscious of the demeanor of police assigned within their territory. Conflict arises when these divergent sub-communities interfere with one another, that is, the situations where members of the particular population deviate from tolerable norms. The men at the shoeshine stand on Forty-second Street and Eighth Avenue will probably not be bothered by the police unless they become rowdy, blatantly drink in front of a passing patrol car, etc. On the other hand, these individuals will not pass comments at or harass a beat officer unless he should take what they deem to be intolerable action (such as issuing a littering summons to one of them). The subcommunities exist within the parameters of tolerable deviance, and once a segment oversteps its bounds, the others will mobilize to restore order to the community at large.

The community skells maintain their own peer groups, similar to those maintained by the police, bus drivers, maintenance men, merchants, and commuters. Within these groups, there is also pressure to "do the right thing," that is, show that you are "one of the boys." For the skells, this means taking chances and possibly showing that one is not afraid of the police. A story is told about the skell who told his partner that a passing officer was an easy mark, so he should go up and test him. The officer, known to the first skell as a very street wise cop, proceeded to

humiliate the man, causing him to lose face in front of his friend.³¹ The attempt to mark the cop and control him in this situation had failed, though the skell had certainly marked his friend. The result was an upgrading of the cop's reputation and downgrading of the marked skell's.

Consequently, besides being true users of the Bus Terminal and integral segments of the community population, the deviant (i.e., mopes, skells, street loiterers, etc.) may be seen as co-existing with the police only insofar as they remain within tolerable norms. This would not be the case with a legalistic enforcement campaign, as the police would concentrate on all violations, thereby diminishing their discretion. However, as long as the normal service-peace keeping style is maintained by the police, while all segments of the population observe tolerable norms, the tendency is for the subcommunities to coexist amicably.

³¹Suttles observed the identical situation in Chicago's Addams section.

"A man who has a reputation as a petty thief may be made fun of if he gets caught or admired if he gets away with his ventures. Another in the same group who is perfectly 'straight' would be thought foolhardy or stupid if he took similar risks. At first sight each group seems to include a number of utterly incompatible individuals. But the members of these street groups have been compromised together and assurances of personal trust exempt them from the fears and apprehensions that might otherwise develop. Even the best known prude or thief is assumed to put his friends above his principles."

Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum, p. 79.

THE ISSUES OF SOCIAL CONTROL AND POLICING

The policing of the community entails certain issues pertaining to the quality of life within it. Policies of formal social control will affect not only those administering it, but those living under it.

Police Socialization and Alienation

There are certain processes for becoming a police officer, one of the most important of which is the internal pressure for adaptation to group rather than individual norms. The officer conditioned by these norms will thus gain his set of street smarts and the pressure to act in the way that minimizes criticism from his peers. Many individuals will state that they chose police work in order to help others. This ideal perception of the profession (or "the job") takes into account the fact that he will work with the human body in terms of what it consciously does, such as a murder, robbery or assault. Theoretically, his contact should leave the citizen better off than before, but this is often not the case for either. Perhaps one of the problems of the police system as it now exists is that each of these factors can conflict with one another in an ideal versus real dichotomy. The officer may enter the force with certain conceptions about law enforcement and street encounters, only to be presented with something else when he takes to the community.

Each of the three police departments assigned to the community maintain standards for selection (formal) and acceptance (informal) into the organization and group. Written examinations

must be passed; physical and medical evaluations administered, and a character investigation must prove unblemished. Once the "ideal type" individual is selected, he enters the still secretive world of police work. It is a craft innately resistant to change and only reveals its methods of operation to those "who belong." Even then, one must be tested and prove himself before he is admitted to the group. The officer unfamiliar with work in the Bus Terminal is given several days of OJT in order to indoctrinate him to facility operation. Senior officers will escort him throughout the Terminal, pointing out trouble spots, advising on how to handle the psychos, skells and street people, and answering questions about roll call procedures, desires of particular supervisors and places serving decent food. He will not be left on his own, nor will he be intensely monitored. His actions in dealing with various situations as they arise may make or break his reputation. For example, it is fairly common for persons to ask the police to either watch their luggage or assist them in carrying it to their gate. This is rarely done, as it restricts the officer's movements, hindering response in case he is jumped or must quickly respond to radio calls. An overly friendly rookie may grant either request, an action detrimental to his reputation as a good cop. Conversely, the officer who is able to wade into a loud dispute at a ticket counter, face the person who attempted to assault another and now says to the officer, "Get your motherfuckin' hands off me," and adjudicate the situation is a good cop.

The police, as well as the segments whom they serve, deal with the socialization and alienation on a daily basis. Should one desire to "hang out" in front of the shoeshine stand or with a group in front of the Terminal Bar, he could not simply walk up and expect to become accepted. He must first meet the basic requirements of its members, such as age, race, sex, language, drug use, and so on. He will experience peer group pressure to conform to their behavior, and any deviation will result in wariness.

For the officer,

"the cord binding the rookie to the civilian world is clipped at the police academy, where the beginner is taught the fundamentals of his job. But the deeper significance of the training period is that the police academy is, to use Erving Goffman's phrase, a 'total institution' which strips and mortifies the recruit."³²

It is at the academy that the newly appointed police recruit will acquire the ideal norms, values and procedures of the organization. The total perspective of the individual is being directed to a particular mode of operation; he is trained to see things that others do not see, and he is empowered to take actions that others cannot. He is told that he is "different" from "normal people" in terms of legal status, working hours and physical capabilities.³³ The recruit constantly formulates hypo-

³²Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), p. 41.

³³It can be said that the police stress deviance to the new membership by saying that "you are different." This must be borne in mind by the officer during his entire career, especially in terms of off duty conduct, firearms, etc.

thetical situations where he must choose the correct course of action. When he is on the street, veteran officers will correct him when he deviates from their norms. "Don't walk so fast, you look new," is one example of this.

Alienation comes into play when the officer realizes that he must take action in situations where he prefers not to. A police officer is called to investigate a peddler obstructing pedestrian traffic in front of the Eighth Avenue entrance. As he acknowledges the radio transmission (initiated by citizen complaint), he reflects upon the fact that without a vendor's license, it is a violation to sell in the street. He should issue a summons. However, the civilian perspective may be the opposite. The man is not harming anyone by his actions, has good merchandise for sale at a good price and is only trying to make a buck. Why bother him? Passersby will be heard to mutter that police "should be out there catching crooks instead of busting the 'little guy's' chops." as the officer stands there, he realizes that the law and his personal feelings have come into conflict. He is damned if he does (the peddler feels he is being harassed) and damned if he does not (he has to do the duty for which he is being paid). The peddler could be the Pretzel Lady. The officer might like to say, "Look, I know you have to make a living and I disagree with the law, so it's okay for you to stay here and sell your pretzels." He cannot say this; he must ask her to move (she uses the Terminal as an income source) or issue a summons.³⁴

³⁴Goffman writes that:

Displacement of Undesirables

One of the principal issues in the Bus Terminal and surrounding community is that of displacement--where the street population will go if the police and ancillary agencies succeed in getting rid of them. It is very likely that by changing the environment that now exists (availability of public places, arcades, subways, abandoned buildings, pornographic markets, etc.), the community can be "cleaned up" or "restored." The methods for changing this environment are encouraging new and legitimate businesses to locate there; encouraging community participation in civic affairs; maintaining a service oriented police presence and so forth. The question remains, however, where does the mope go once the police get him out of this community? He is comfortable here, as his basic needs are met, so it is natural that he seek a similar environment in another community. There must be a market

"The treatment that an individual gives others and receives from them expresses or assumes a definition of him, as does the immediate social scene in which the treatment occurs. This is a 'virtual' definition; it is based upon the ways of understanding of the community and is available to any competent member, whether or not such interpretations are actually made and whether or not they are made correctly--that is, in the manner most others could be led to defend. The ultimate referent here is a tacit coding discoverable by competently reading conduct, and not conceptions or images that persons actually have in their minds."

Goffman, Relations in Public, p. 340. The officer realizes that others see him as he does not see himself; his role has changed. He becomes alienated from the community.

"Alienation or estrangement means that man does not experience himself as the acting agent in his grasp of the world, but, that the world, nature, others and he himself, remain alien to him. They stand above and against him as

for his trade, be it Three Card Monte, pickpocketing, or prostitution. He could not go to a place like the Upper East Side, for the community articulation against such a case would be too strong. It is an entrenched upper class population, not a community in transition as was the case with Hell's Kitchen. The Bowery is an unlikely candidate, as there is an absence of the public places and legitimate, transient segment of the population upon whom he will prey or derive income. The deviant subcommunity will be forced to seek a supportive environment much the same as has existed within the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street.³⁵ Hence, the police may be viewed as successful in one community, getting rid of the undesirables, while in another, they may be seen as contributing to its decline.

Perceptions of Police Effectiveness

One of the problems of policing a diverse community is that various segments of the population may perceive the role of law enforcement in different ways. For some, the police can be too harsh, while for others, they are too lax.³⁶ A recent survey

objects even though they may be objects of his own creation. Alienation is essentially experiencing the world and oneself passively, receptively, as the subject separated from the object."

William A. Faunce, Problems of an Industrial Society. (N.Y. McGraw Hill, 1968), p. 86.

³⁵Refer to Chapter V for the conclusion as to where these persons will most likely go.

³⁶This was the case in The Hobo, where the vagrants disliked the harsh police, but the community appreciated them. The hobos were a "burden to local charity." Nels Anderson, The Hobo, p. 147.

by the Port Authority produced some interesting results in this perspective. Terminal users (by category) were asked to rate the effectiveness of the Port Authority Police in the facility. 55 percent of the users indicated that the police were effective, however, a significant 45 percent indicated they were not. Males accounted for a 56 percent effective--44 percent not effective rating, while females were tabulated at 52 percent effective--48 percent not effective.

<u>RATING OF POLICE EFFECTIVENESS BY PATRON CATEGORY</u>			
<u>Patron Category</u>	<u>Effective</u>	<u>Rating Not Effective</u> (percent distrubition*)	<u>Total</u>
Short & Medium Haul	55%	45%	100%
Long Haul	54%	46%	100%
Parking Lot	53%	47%	100%
Other Non-Bus	54%	46%	100%
Total Terminal	55%	45%	100%
* Based on 74 percent of the respondents rating the police performance. 23 percent indicated "No Opinion" and 3 percent did not answer this question.			

SOURCE: Patron Participation Survey, 1979, p. 16.

A major issue arises with the analysis of the reasons for a "not effective" rating for the police. It became clear that for the majority of users rating them as such, the police are not effective because they do not evict the undesirables from the facility. Write-in comments concerning the definition of this term were analyzed, the result being that undesirables were not the

mopes, skulls, bag ladies, etc., but the religious solicitors and free speech set ups on the Main Concourse.

REASONS FOR POLICE "NOT EFFECTIVE" RATING BY PATRON CATEGORY					
Reasons	Total Terminal	Patron Category			
		Short/ Medium	Long Haul	Parking Lot	Other Non Bus
		(Percent Distribution*)			
Poor Performance					
Do not evict undesirables	30%	30%	29%	26%	28%
Not enough officers	28%	27%	38%	33%	22%
Police huddle together-- stand around	23%	26%	10%	20%	15%
Police not seen	14%	12%	17%	15%	28%
Other	5%	5%	6%	6%	7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
* Reasons provided by 91% of those rating police performance as "not effective."					

SOURCE: Patron Participation Survey, 1979, p. 16.

It is not commonly known that a decision by the New York State courts is directly applicable to this situation. Under the New York State Penal Law, loitering at any transportation facility is a violation. The police may issue a summons under Section 240.35.7, which states: "7. Loiters or remains in any transportation facility, or is found sleeping therein, and is unable

to give satisfactory explanation of his presence."³⁷

While the police may be seen as powerless to remove these "undesirables," it is not realized that by doing so they would violate their constitutional rights. The Bus Terminal is a public thoroughfare; it is not private property. It may be viewed as an extension of the surrounding streets in a physical sense, but also as a distinct and contained public place. Consequently, the police have assumed a twofold approach to the matter.

First, police coverage ranges from a minimum of fifteen uniformed officers to a maximum of thirty-three (during the evening rush). In scanning their posts, officers will become aware of loiterers. The individual is there each time he passes, or he is observed in different sections of the Terminal during the tour. In these cases, the officer will approach the individual, ascertaining his reasons for presence in the facility. If he cannot provide a sound reason, he may be asked to leave. Should he refuse to do so after he has been informed of the law, he may be arrested.

³⁷In *People v. Bell*, 306 N.Y. 110,113 (1953), the court stated that "The legislative intent in this instance appears to have been to prevent persons from infesting subway, elevated or other railway stations who have no occasion to be there." The constitutionality of the predecessor of PL 240.35 (7) was upheld by the Bell Court, but it did define some valid reasons why an individual might "loiter in a transportation facility."

"The existence of a station implies an invitation or license to enter in order to meet or to speed the departure of others, to obtain information concerning trains, to purchase tickets, to check or call for baggage parcels, to buy tobacco, newspapers, magazines or other articles from concessionaires, to use the toilets for purposes for which they are intended,

The second method of dealing with this issue is accomplished by another Terminal contingency plan. Certain areas of the facility are designated as "free speech sections." Transitory permits are issued for free speakers, and they must confine activity to stipulated times and places. Anyone found performing in a prohibited area is in violation of the Terminal rules and regulations. The current free speech areas are:

1. Long Haul Level

Area A: Ninth Avenue Lobby
Area B: Gate Six to Open Roadway
Area C: Gate Twenty-six to Gate Forty

2. Main Concourse

Area A: Eighth Avenue newsstand to end of Continental Trailways ticket plaza (width of concourse)
Area B: Adirondack Trailways ticket plaza to Ninth Avenue stairways (width of concourse)

3. Suburban Concourse

Area A: Both sides and back of balcony around main bank motorstairs
Area B: North Wall between the two sets of motorstairs across from OTB and the Goody Shop
Area C: Both sides and back of the bank of three motorstairs (from Gare Jewelers to Bowling Alley)

4. Upper Bus Level

Area A: Gate 101 to the Eighth Avenue ladies room
Area B: Gate 122 to the Ninth Avenue ladies room

or to be present on errands whose legitimacy can be decided as the case arises. Nevertheless, railroads are not to be construed as inviting people to their stations for any and every purpose; under certain circumstances, an entrant may become a trespasser on the premises."

Bell, supra. at 113-114.

Free speech behavior is regulated by certain conditions such as the following:

- No material may be distributed by leaving it unattended.
- All free speech applications must be submitted at least thirty-six hours, but not more than one week, before the activities begin.
- There will be restrictions imposed on areas to be used during holiday periods.
- Six persons and one card table are permitted in Main Concourse Area A.
- Every individual engaged in such activity must wear ID badge.
- Only one person per group in any one area at any one time.

Persons exercising their First Amendment rights under the free speech guidelines must obey the rules; the police are utilized only as a last resort in dealing with violations. Persons not conforming with the rules are given a statement with their name and all specifics pertaining to the violation. If another occurs, the individual may be asked to leave the facility; continued violations will result in notification to the group representative that the person will be permanently withdrawn from the Terminal. If the person refuses to leave, the police will issue a summons for trespass.

ARE THE POLICE ALONE?

Though the police function well in their diversified environment, they are sometimes powerless to deal with some situations. One example is providing shelter to bag ladies or treatment to alcoholics. The police, as agents of social control, are designed to enforce the law and maintain order; consequently, there must be additional agencies designed to siphon the excess population with whom they deal into other areas. In the case of the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street, numerous such agencies have been implemented, such as Project F.I.N.D. for the disaffiliated elderly; P.A. Police Youth Services Unit for runaways; and various community redevelopment agencies. The police can do much, but not all. Chapter IV will discuss the ancillary agencies of control and their relation to the community.

CHAPTER IV
THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY

I had about one and one-half years on the job as a police officer, and this one snowy night I was assigned to the post outside the Eighth Avenue entrance. The January wind whipped some snowflakes against my face as I watched people appear from surrounding streets, stopping taxis and nearby restaurants, combining into a stream feeding the Bus Terminal. Since it was cold, I tried to remain as close to the doors as I could, since an occasional blast of warm air would provide a refreshing moment or two. I was new, no doubt about it. My mind told me to be careful--this was not Kennedy Airport; it was the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street. Many times I had heard other officers say, "You'd better watch your ass over there," or "It's the toughest place to work on this job." So armed with this advice, along with my revolver and nightstick, I stood outside this seemingly "never dead" Terminal and tried to "fit in" in this community, but the most important thing to remember is the veteran's guiding proverb: "Even if you don't know what the hell is going on, at least look like you know that you do."

I did not know he was watching me (and he must have been for quite some time), and his ability for concealment was matched

by his stealth in approaching me. Unlike the commuters who, like race horses, cantered through the Terminal to their starting gates; or the occasional long distance passenger, who walks in occasional circles in search of an information producing source, "Ernie" glided through the crowd like a slinking cat. The only evidence of his passage was faint footprints in the light snow that covered the ground. "How ya doin', man" he said as he announced his name and asked mine. "You new, ain't you, Don." Feeling that I had sufficient time on the job to say no, I said, "No, I have two years on the job." Ernie then showed his third keen sense, this one evolving from an awareness of the streets. "No man, I mean new to here--the Terminal and the Deuce. I never seen you around here before." I replied that I had "been around," but Ernie knew better. "You keep looking around like you not sure and when somebody ask you somethin', you gotta look for it before you tell 'em where it is. The regular guys just point it out."

I now knew that Ernie had me, pinpointing my "newness," but more important, he began to tell me about what was happening around me. "You'll do okay, Don, but you got to be careful. These streets get fucked up sometime. Those dudes around the corner (the bottle gang by the Fortieth Street liquor store) are bad motherfuckers sometime, and you got to be ready. This ain't what you used to seein', but you gonna see a lot a hangin' out and you gotta deal with it. But you gonna be okay."

I remained quiet throughout his discourse, but felt obligated to give a curt "Thanks, take care" to my unofficial "Training Officer." I thought about what he said, figuring that at least it was better than a pessimistic opinion, when a passerby inquired as to the location of a particular bus. As I looked around, getting my bearings before giving the answer, I noticed that Ernie was gone. As the passerby wandered off in the direction of my pointed finger, I thought again of what Ernie had said. These streets were "different," and certainly would take some getting used to. I also knew another thing-- Ernie would have been able to point out the location of that particular bus platform faster than I.

Each time I worked the BT, I looked for Ernie, but he was not to be found. Unless, of course, he was out there watching.

CLINTON: THE POPULATION

Ernie was representative of one segment of the current population of the community. Thirty years have elapsed since John Mooney's sewing machine was silenced and the "city within a city" opened its doors. Hell's Kitchen has become a nostalgic byword rather than the standard name for the community. Now called Clinton, it is significantly different from what it replaced, and the Bus Terminal has played an important role in this transformation. Rather than condemning the community as a slum and relegating it to obscurity in an "out of sight, out of mind" perspective, persons are now focusing on it as a promising site

for artistic and theatrical revival, industrial development and middle and upper income housing. Although ecological elements of the old neighborhood have ceased to exist, there is now a possibility for a "resurrection of community," involving not only residents themselves but the mobilization of exterior resources as well.

The Port Authority recently conducted a survey (1979) of neighborhood residents, evaluating their opinions as to the Bus Terminal and its impact on their lives. The area sampled was Thirty-third Street to Forty-eighth Street, from Sixth Avenue to West Street (on the Hudson River). Primarily focus was on Thirty-ninth Street to Forty-third Street, Seventh to Eleventh Avenue.¹ The population consisted of 13,189 business firms and 4,418 resident households, with a total resident population of 20,609. The methodology used was telephone interviews of eight minutes duration.

The sample was modeled on business and residential census data for the Clinton community:

-- Business firms:	1,155
-- Residential households:	380
-- Total	1,535

The Port Authority notes that reliability of the total survey area results differ no more than ± 2 percent from what the responses of the total population would reveal with 95 percent certainty.

¹Data source is Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979. The Bus Terminal and Annex occupies the site from Eighth to Ninth

1. Age:

<u>AGE (% of respondents)</u>				
<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-49</u>	<u>50-64</u>	<u>Over 64</u>
9%	23%	22%	24%	22%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

On adage that I frequently encountered in field visits was there are not many young persons in this community. In the old days of Hell's Kitchen, we remember the constant recycling of the population as persons moved out of the community and were replaced by others of the same social class. The community was able to maintain stable age brackets, as the young attended schools, middle aged worked and elderly remained at home. Each group maintained ties with and utilized particular institutions (churches, shops, social clubs, taverns), so that despite the community's stigma as a slum, it was able to replenish its population.

With the construction of the Bus Terminal, a significant amount of families were displaced to other blocks within the community, or worse, to entirely different communities. This fragmented the ecological stability, however, the Terminal also

Avenues, Fortieth to Forty-second Streets, formerly an integral part of the Hell's Kitchen community. The survey was undertaken as part of the Annex construction program to assess community opinion as to the Terminal.

provided a mechanism for the disruption of the internal maintenance of order. There was now a reason for the undesirables of Times Square to drift down to Eighth and Ninth Avenues. There could be shelter from the elements, a place to find marks for con games or somewhere to stand and watch people pass by. The community was not as "tight" as it once was, and those who could afford it began to relocate to other areas of the city or the promised land of the suburbs. In most cases, it was the middle aged persons who could do this, as the young were either in school or financially unable to move, while the old were on pensions or unwilling to sever their neighborhood ties. Consequently, as time went on, the population grew older, since there was no continuous influx of younger persons as there had been in the "old days." One day, I was standing in the Waiting Room, when an elderly man approached and said, "Good to see you." We spoke about the Terminal construction project for a few moments, then he said, "You know, son, I've lived around here for over forty years. There's a lot of new faces around, but the place isn't as bad as people think. About fifteen years ago it was, but not now. More people are moving back here." He told me his name was Tom, claiming his age to be seventy-two. Tom said that before the Bus Terminal was built, most of "them" stayed up that way (pointing towards Seventh Avenue).

The survey chart shows Tom's observation about new faces to be valid. While there is still a lack of younger persons in the eighteen to twenty-four year age bracket, there is a signif-

icant percentage of the twenty-five to forty-nine year bracket, a total of 46 percent. Many of those in the twenty-five to thirty-four year bracket (a total of 23 percent) are theatrical and professional people who have moved into the community. However, a total of 46 percent of the respondents were in the age fifty and over category. Young artists and professionals are purchasing and refurbishing old brownstones in the community, and many of these command a high price and offer both beauty and convenience.

2. Residential:

<u>RESIDENTIAL DURATION (% of respondents)</u>			
<u>Less than 1 year</u>	<u>1-5 years</u>	<u>6-10 years</u>	<u>More than 10 years</u>
3%	27%	18%	52%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

Many respondents, reflecting the situation of the entire community, have lived in Hell's Kitchen--Clinton for many years. 52 percent have a residential duration of more than ten years. A significant amount of these individuals are the senior citizens, who have stayed on while the community around them has undergone many changes. 45 percent of the respondents have lived in the community for between one and ten years, reflecting the influx of newer and younger residents. The survey noted that 98 percent of the residents are renting their domicile.

3. Race:

<u>RACE (% of respondents)</u>		
<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Other</u>
83%	5%	12%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

Years ago, Hell's Kitchen was an ethnic melting pot, where just about every nationality was represented. Some streets were Italian, some taverns Irish and some bakeries German, and there was a continuous succession of races. Some previously all-Black blocks would become Irish, while a Polish baker may have purchased the German bakery, catering to a new clientele. The ethnic succession of the community has not changed, nor have some popular misconceptions about it. Before I began the field work, I was of the opinion (and had frequently heard) that population was predominantly Black and Hispanic. Some persons would venture the opinion that it is a "bad place," and a white individual would be unwise to venture through the neighborhood, particularly at night. Perhaps Tom was referring to the situation when he spoke of "they." ² Some residents can point to former

²Suttles observed this sort of situation on Chicago's West Side.

"In the United States a very large proportion of our population fails to meet the public standards we set for measuring someone's merit, trustworthiness, and respectability.

or current "Puerto Rican blocks," Black buildings, or renovated brownstones, but the fieldwork and survey indicated that the community is predominantly White. 83 percent of the respondents were of this race, with 5 percent Black and 12 percent other (probably Hispanic). A great deal of the returning theatrical people are white, and their purchase, renovation and subsequent increasing of market value of property in the neighborhood may even displace some Blacks who cannot now afford to live there. As I walked through the market areas of Ninth Avenue, the side streets of the theater district and residential streets, I observed a predominance of White persons. Again, many of these are older persons, but some have returned from the suburbs, lured by convenience to transportation and employment and a lucrative real estate market. In addition, I was not completely aware of the White population until I had visited city and social service agencies as well as churches. Many of these, along with the Terminal, will draw some Blacks from surrounding areas, thereby providing an illusion to the uninformed that they actually lived in the community. I have seen that they may hang out there, but "reside" somewhere else.

Many locality groups have avoided compromising these ideals of public morality by territorial segregation: more exactly, they have simply retreated and left valuable portions of the inner city to those they distrust. Obviously this practice has its limits since it tends to aggregate those who are poor, unsuccessful and disreputable in the same slum neighborhoods. These people must compromise the ideals of public morality or social framework for assuring orderly relations. Ethnic invasion, the encroachment of industry, and economic conditions constantly reshuffle slum residents and relocate them around new neighbors."

4. Income:

INCOME (% of respondents)				
Under \$5,000	\$ 5,000 to \$15,000	\$15,000 to \$25,000	\$25,000 to \$30,000	Over \$35,000
12%	50%	29%	5%	4%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

The Hell's Kitchen community of the pre-Bus Terminal period has been referred to as a low income slum, with the residents occupying the marginal positions in society as to social class and economic bracket. John Mooney claimed his weekly earnings to be in the area of \$35 per week, enabling he and his wife to live comfortably. The majority of residents were self-employed or blue collar workers; it was rare to see a professional or upper class individual living here. Many landlords did not live in the buildings, residing elsewhere but renting them to residents. Therefore, any high income persons did not reside in Hell's Kitchen, they only earned their money there.

The Port Authority survey indicates that 50 percent of the respondents were in the \$5,000 to \$15,000 income bracket a significant finding for two reasons. First, we have discussed the high proportion of elderly persons living in the Clinton community. The only sources of income for these people are meager pensions

Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum, p. 8.

or social security payments, and some still occupy the remaining rooming houses or tenements in the community. It has become increasingly difficult for these people to make ends meet.³ Some have been unable to cope, and the high incidence of isolated elderly and in particular, disaffiliated females in the community may be a result of this situation. These persons, unable to afford rent payments and decent meals, have been forced to a life on the streets, seeking assistance from public shelters and havens in public places such as the Terminal.

The second factor indicated by the low income figures is the increasing population of young persons in the community, particularly those in the theatrical professions. These individuals

³Project FIND is a senior citizens program operating in the community and is covered in a later section of this chapter, however, some data uncovered by its researchers indicates the scope of the problem. In the Fall of 1968, data gleaned from 2,200 nineteen-page questionnaires showed that 55 percent of the elderly residents lived alone. Their rent amounted to \$62 a month, or \$744 a year. The average individual income was approximately \$1,600 per year. (Most were White, average age seventy years, with an average of a tenth-grade education. Living conditions were correlated to age. Median annual incomes went from approximately \$2,000 (age fifty-five to fifty-nine) to \$1,850 at age sixty to sixty-four, to a low of \$1,465 (age sixty-five and older). In 1979, the average member of Project FIND had supplemental Social Security payments as the major source of income, receiving \$258 per month, or \$3,000 annually. However, rents increased from an average of \$47 per month (tenements) and \$88 per month (hotels) to the present frozen rates (under the City's Rent increases Exemption Program for the aged) of about \$95 in rent controlled apartments and \$150 in stabilized hotels. Elizabeth Stecher Trebony "Project FIND: Seeking Out the Isolated Elderly," Aging (U.S. Department of HEW) nos. 291-292 (reprint), January-February, 1979), p. 13.

seek work on a continuous basis, and due to its instability due to season, audience appreciation or financial conditions, there are occasional periods of unemployment or a shift to a lower income position. Some persons will work steadily for a few months, only to have a show close, forcing them to seek another position. While these theater persons are not on the lower end of this bracket, their incomes usually do not exceed the \$15,000 figure until they are well established and working on a steady basis. This is reflected in the 29 percent of those respondents in the \$15,000 to \$25,000 bracket, the "traditional middle class" range and a significant departure from what one would expect to find in the "ancient slum." A total of 9 percent earn more than \$25,000, a point where one begins to enter the upper middle class. By basis of income alone, the community still has significant remnants of a lower class population (albeit for different reasons than the pre-Terminal Hell's Kitchen), with a continuing rise in the middle class population, reflecting the property purchasers and brownstone renovators as well as apartment dwellers. It is valid to assume that within five to ten years, the elderly population will have declined and the young and middle aged population risen to the 60 and 70 percent range.

It is also important to note the comparison between the income figures of community residents and Terminal users. Of the latter group, 59 percent are between the ages of twenty-four and forty-four, while 77 percent reported an annual income over \$15,000. For the community, the total percentage of respondents'

income over \$15,000 is 36 percent. One can see that although the community is undergoing a significant change, the true bastion of the middle class within it is not a true part of it, but a transient population that is often oblivious to its existence.

5. Education:

<u>EDUCATION (% of respondents)</u>				
<u>Some High School</u>	<u>High School Graduate</u>	<u>Some College</u>	<u>College Graduate</u>	<u>Graduate School</u>
23%	31%	14%	20%	12%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

The educational level of respondents is dispersed, but the figures indicate a majority have a High School background, that is, either a particular period of this type of education or a diploma (total 54 percent). This contrasts with the fact that 58 percent of regular Terminal users have professional, technical, executive and administrative jobs.⁴ These types of employment usually require some college education, if not a degree.

⁴Port Authority Market Research Survey, 1979.

6. Respondents Living and Working in Neighborhood:

<u>RESPONDENTS LIVING AND WORKING IN NEIGHBORHOOD</u>				
(% of respondents within primary and secondary areas)				
<u>Area</u>	<u>Residents</u>	<u>Live & Work</u>	<u>Businesses</u>	<u>Total</u>
Primary	22%	8%	70%	100%
Secondary	20%	9%	71%	100%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

Not too many respondent-residents live and work in the community, but a significant amount of businesses are run by persons residing there (70 percent and 71 percent).

The population of the Clinton community can now be described as a primarily White, middle class neighborhood, with a significant elderly segment but an influx of young and middle aged individuals.

THE STREET COMMUNITY OF THE BUS TERMINAL AND FORTY-SECOND STREET

Maurice Stein's observation of subcommunities functioning within a larger, total community is again applicable.⁵ The Bus Terminal is most often seen as a major transportation hub, a correct but incomplete view, as it overlooks its role as a true sub-community. There are norms and behavior operating within it

⁵Refer to Stein, The Eclipse of Community, p. 17.

they may often be in contrast to those existing on the surrounding streets. These streets form part of the Clinton subcommunity, with residences, businesses and the various facets of neighborhood life. However, like the situation observed in literature of the Chicago School of Sociology, another subcommunity, or street corner society, exists, encompassing both Terminal and Clinton.⁶

During the summer, every corner seems to be occupied by an "actor." There may be a prostitute soliciting customers on the corner of Thirty-ninth Street on Eleventh Avenue; a young Black male attempting to lure customers into a Three Card Monte game; a police officer watching traffic go by; or a group of women walking from shop to shop, finally entering a theater. Dingy doorways, their short concrete steps smelling of stale urine, are lounging areas for sleeping shopping bag ladies, most of whom seem to be nocturnal prowlers. Conversely, some senior citizens, residents of the tenements or hotels, set up multi-colored beach chairs near their stoops, exchanging the day's gossip and simply passing the time until the next day, when the ritual will be repeated. The street activity is of a temporal nature, as daytime actors fade away with the sun, relinquishing

⁶Perhaps Suttles said it best:

"For someone first entering the Addams area, the most striking aspect is its street life. This institution plays an interstitial role that bridges the privacy of the area's family life and the seclusiveness of its internal segments."

Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum, p. 73.

corners to their nocturnal counterparts. For some of these persons, there is a conscious choice to become a part of street life. Perhaps an individual earns a living by selling loose joints to passersby on Forty-second Street. He knows that many persons, particularly the young, will journey down the thoroughfare in order to purchase drugs, visit porno movies or simply feel a part of the throbbing activity. The prostitute knows the locations where the most amounts of clients will be available, coupled with the least likelihood of confronting the police. Conversely, the bag lady, psycho or vagrant is on the street for a lack of no place else to go. Whatever their reasons for using the streets in this manner, the actors contribute to the ceaseless activity of the community. It is here that suburban visitors, seeking a night out at the theater, share the sidewalks with a dishelved chess player, who will challenge up to three persons at a time to different, though simultaneous games.

It is important to note that although the Forty-second Street community is dynamic and of a temporal nature, it is perceived as deviant, crime ridden and something to be eradicated so that other subcommunities, and indeed the whole, may prosper. There is a continued focus on the problems of the area, most of which are pornography, prostitution, narcotics and a significant population of disaffiliated individuals. Many lament the passing of the theater days of Times Square, when there was a more "elite" atmosphere to the neighborhood and the police had a free hand to clean it up. However, street society does exist in conjunction

with the other subcommunities, and were it not there, the community would lose its distinction as a natural area. It is a generator of diversity, a condition that is impossible to find in another community in the city. There may be scattered elements, such as homeless man (Bowery), "hippies" (The Village) and gays (Christopher Street), yet the street society of Forty-second Street is a combination of all of these.

Jacobs mentions four characteristics for "exuberant diversity" of city streets and districts, all of which apply to this community.⁷

1. The district and its internal parts must serve more than one primary function. There must be persons who go outdoors on different schedules for different purposes, but who use many facilities in common. Tom, Ernie, myself and the many passersby are typical of these users. Each had a distinct purpose for being there, be it social control or ordinary socializing, and all were on different schedules. We shared the use of the streets and the facilities of the Bus Terminal. Unlike other areas of the city and small towns, this community does not cease its activity at night; rather, there is almost as much, although of a different type, with different actors. Tom was a day person; Ernie a night person.

⁷Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, pp. 150-151.

2. Most blocks must be short, with frequent opportunities to turn corners. This is characteristic of the community, the exception being the rather long Forty-second Street itself.

3. The district must mingle buildings that vary in age and condition. A prime example is the tenements, renovated brownstones, new schools and the new Bus Terminal and extension. The new Convention Center will add to this diversity.

4. There must be a sufficiently dense concentration of people for whatever purposes they may be there. This includes those who reside there. The Bus Terminal provides a tremendous influx of people into the community each day, and it is supplemented by the theaters, subways, office buildings and ethnic markets.

The street society, or subcommunity, like those of the residential and Bus Terminal, is characterized by its heterogeneity. There is a diversity as to types of people found on the streets, as well as the types of activities in which they engage.⁸ This is supplemented by users of the sidewalks, but non-members of the society, such as a shopper or passerby.

⁸Durkheim noted the difference between this type of society and that of a small rural village. The organic solidarity of urban areas was based on differences among the population. This implied specialization and a division of labor. In the small town, there was a more homogenous population in terms of social class and community norms. There was less tolerance for deviance from these norms than one would find in an urban area.

ETHNICITY AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE STREET COMMUNITY

Unlike the surrounding residential community, many members of the street community are Black and Hispanic. They line Forty-second Street, passing out handbills advertising massage parlors, fortune tellers or book shops to passersby. "Hey, man, nice ladies." The card is loudly snapped between the fingers as it is handed to a passerby. These individuals are not pressured; if they do not seem interested, the vendor does not bother them. Only once did I see a Black vendor call someone a "motherfucker," and this was in the case of two teen-aged White youths who laughed as they avoided his approach.

I have never observed a White Three Card Monte player. Most are young Blacks who set up a cardboard box stand in the middle of the sidewalk and operate the game, while a lookout, also Black, will warn of any approaching police officers. The game will be made to look easy for onlookers, and there is usually another member of the group who will act as a "mark," winning a number of hands to entice participation by the audience. Of all the games I observed, the majority of actual marks were White. They might be allowed to win one or two hands, as a means for upping the stakes, then the dealer's hands, formerly slow and easy to follow, would become an almost invisible blur as they shuffled the cards. Some marks were young White males, probably out for an evening on Forty-second Street and anxious to show their friends their "prowess" at selecting the cards, but many were well dressed businessmen (usually in groups of two or three, perhaps on lunch or dinner breaks), who lost substantial amounts.

I have observed one middle aged White gentleman win two hands in a row, at twenty dollars each, when he was challenged by the dealer to "Put it all down, wit' yo' watch." The crowd of about eight onlookers voiced their support, goading the slightly intoxicated man to take up the offer. He did, and was promptly baffled by the swift movements of the dealer's hands. As the dealer collected his money and watch, the man began to balk, but his friend led him away and down the street. At no time did I see or hear any racial epithets; there was only a winner and a loser.

I attempted to play one hand of the game at another stand, however, the table stakes were twenty dollars, and not having that much in my wallet, I inquired as to, "How about ten"? The young Black dealer glanced up, then quickly resumed shuffling the cards as he said (not looking at me), "And that watch, bro'." I declined and he said nothing else to me, but continued shuffling cards. Most of my colleagues in the crowd were White.

There are no Three Card Monte games in the Bus Terminal. Obviously, there is too much police presence to make concentration on the game possible, and besides, the rushing commuters are not interested in delaying their routines for such activities.

The Shoe Shine Stand

Directly across from the Eighth Avenue entrance of the Teriminal, on the corner of Eighth Avenue and Forty-second Street, is a shoe shine stand consisting of about six seats. These are arranged in the classic sidewalk style, raised above the proprietor, who sits with the customer's shoe at chin level. These

customers are solicited from among the many passersby. "How about a shine, young man"? "Good shine, friend"! "Yo, shine right here." The operator will glance at a passerby's shoes before he makes the proposition. Sneakers, canvas and other types of footwear will enable the wearer to pass by without comment. The operators are not hesitant to call attention to shoes needing work. "Hey man, you need a fast shine"!

The proprietors of these stands are Black men, and it is interesting that a street corner group has formed around this operation. At any time during "business hours," there will be proprietors, a few customers and the all important hangers-on who use the stand to conduct the day's business, i.e., gossip, drinking or eating. Some members of the group will occupy the chairs until the arrival of a customer, at which time they will step down, relinquishing the seat without a word. When the customer leaves, they reclaim the territory. I have not observed any White members of this group, yet when I passed by, the proprietor inquired as to shining my shoes. I said that I was in a hurry, but would stop in "next time." The man, perhaps in his late fifties, said, "Okay, you take care now." The members of the group continued talking about someone who had "fucked up" the day before.

There is a parking lot directly behind these stands, and sometimes it becomes a pulpit for one of the sidewalk preachers or a restful haven for a sleeping bag lady, but the shoe shine

group does not bother them. They are quite familiar with other street persons in the community, greeting them by name as they pass by, perhaps stopping to chat or take a sip from a paper bag wrapped bottle.. On the whole, the group is very orderly, and I have not observed any altercations with the police. On the contrary, there is mutual wave when a radio car drives by.

There is a shoe shine stand in the Bus Terminal, next to the Off-Track Betting Parlor on the Main Concourse. Contrary to the situation existing at the street stand, there is no social group here. Customers are mostly executive types, who read the newspaper while their shoes are shined. In addition, the working group in the store is a mixture of Whites, Blacks and Hispanics. However, like their counterparts across the street, they are not adverse to soliciting customers, although this is not done as frequently.

The Bottle Gang

The bottle gang derives its name from a group of individuals who have joined on a street corner for the purpose of sharing a bottle of liquor.

"Usually members of the bottle gang cannot afford to buy their own wine nor drink in bars, but by pooling their resources they can come up with enough for a bottle of cheap wine which all 'stockholders' in the group may share. Sometimes after a group is formed the members still do not have enough money for a bottle. If that happens, then the first activity of the group is to find more stockholders or raise cash in other ways, frequently by panhandling."⁹

⁹Howard M. Bahr, Skid Row--An Introduction to Disaffiliation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 154.

The bottle gangs of the Forty-second Street community are composed of two types of persons. There are some longtime friends, who may or may not hang out together on a regular basis, but meet occasionally for this event. There are also strangers, whose admission to the group is based not on familiarity (which indicates that a person is "good," whether it be for funds, sharing of liquor or trustworthiness in the event of police activity), but on the possession of funds or liquor.

I had observed one such bottle gang meet on a regular basis. There is a liquor store on Fortieth Street, on the side of the Bus Terminal, just off Eighth Avenue. Each night, around 8 P.M. (a bit earlier if it was winter, since it became dark earlier), a group of about seven males and females would appear, seemingly out of nowhere, to begin talking, laughing and passing around a paper bag wrapped bottle of wine or liquor.¹⁰ When the bottle was emptied, one member would go into the store, bringing out another, whereupon the group would pass it around. However, the individual who purchased the bottle would be granted the first sip.

When the funds disappeared, the bottle gang would remain on the corner, passing the time and interjecting curses into the night air. The females seemed to use worse language than the males; at least their high pitched voices were more audible.

¹⁰On quite a few occasions (when the group was not present), I opened these bags to determine the preferred type of liquor. Without a doubt, "Thunderbird" and "Ripple," two inexpensive wines were the overwhelming favorites.

On numerous occasions, I observed one member at a time walk across to the Fortieth Street entrance to the Terminal, glancing from side to side before walking in to use the lavatory. Only once did I see a male urinate in the street; actually, this was done in the doorway of a seemingly abandoned building. I would presume that when the females entered the Bus Terminal, Terminal Bar (across the street, on Eighth Avenue) or disappeared around the corner, returning after about twenty minutes, they were using the lavatory.

The members of the Fortieth Street bottle gang were Black; at no time did I observe a White or Hispanic individual participating in the group. However, this was a fairly regular group; other bottle gangs comprised of a mixed clientele can be found on Forty-second Street, particularly during the nocturnal hours. Here, I saw groups averaging seven to nine members, including Blacks, Whites and Hispanics, but very rarely females, standing and drinking in front of some movie houses or bookstores. The wrapped bottle would disappear at the approach of a police officer, to be withdrawn after his passage. These Forty-second Street groups seemed to be rowdier than their peers on the side of the Terminal. They did not hesitate to harass passing females, smacking their lips or whistling. The members were not youths; they were in their thirties to fifties, many with missing teeth and wearing white tee shirts.

At no time do the bottle gangs attempt to congregate inside the Bus Terminal. The reason is not a lack of activity

within the facility, but the absence of an environment that is conducive to group formation. There is no cheap liquor store, where a bottle may be had for less than a dollar. In addition, there is an absence of passing peers, that is, by remaining on the street, the group is able to assimilate members having cash or liquor, dispersing those who have drunk their fill, whose funds have run out, or who wander off to join another gang. In inclement weather, they move to a secluded doorway, but never inside a busy facility like the Bus Terminal. Its function is solely to satisfy physical needs rather than social wants.¹¹

The Prostitutes

Among the "pross" as they are known by the police, there is little racial homogeneity. On at least one corner, an ethnic melting pot exists, as Black, White and Hispanic girls congregate on Thirty-ninth Street and Eleventh Avenue, attracting the stares and horns of passing drivers. Interested customers usually turn down Thirty-ninth Street, near the Hudson River, to discuss the transaction. The girls, sometimes five or six at a time, will

¹¹Bahr discusses the ecology of bottle gangs in Skid Row areas of cities.

"It does not matter that the participants do not know each other's names, or that the group will dissolve when the wine is gone. For a time, one becomes a respected insider and is fully accepted, and the price is right. The fact that the participants consume equal proportions despite their unequal contributions toward the price of the bottle suggests that the psyche-group functions of the group outweigh the socio-group functions."

sit on an old truck dock and talk. It is very rare that they will attempt to halt traffic or annoy passersby. I have not observed any dominance by one group; there is always at least one White or one Black girl present, even if all others are of the opposite race. When a police car passes, the girls walk down the street, disappearing for a while, then they return. If the officer stops the car, they may not return for hours. They seem to predominate in the daytime, probably because of the truckers and Lincoln Tunnel traffic passing through.

There are prostitutes of every race on Forty-second Street, although increasing enforcement has displaced them to other areas, such as Seventh Avenue. Much of their activity is conducted at night, and they are more aggressive than their counterparts on Eleventh Avenue. In addition, the former are more likely to operate alone rather than as a mixed racial group.

Pross do not enter the Bus Terminal on business. They may attempt to use the lavatories or snack bars, but on the whole, the "street" is aware of the aggressive patrol by the Port Authority Police, and they remain clear of the facility. If a

"Social control derives from the ability to exercise sanctions, and sanctions stem from organizations. The more permanent a group, the less it is able to level sanctions effectively. Sanctions on skid row are imposed by outsiders, by the rehabilitation agents, policemen, hotel owners. The greatest sanction the men in a bottle gang can muster-exclusion-is quickly neutralized by the proceeds from a few minutes panhandling." Ibid., p. 158.

See also: Sara Harris, Skid Row, U.S.A. (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1956); James F. Rooney, "Group Processes Among Skid Row Winos," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 22 (September 1961), pp. 444-60; and Earl Rubington, "The Bottle

"new girl," unfamiliar with the street rules, attempts to solicit inside the Terminal, she is arrested, thereby perpetuating the informal rules of staying away from it.¹²

The Bars

The Forty-second Street community contains taverns of varying reputations, with an equally diversified clientele. Foremost among these is "the roughest bar in town," the Terminal Bar.¹³ Located directly across from the Eighth Avenue entrance to the Bus Terminal, the bar is a frequent source of assault complaints, fights and unsavory characters. The Port Authority officer assigned to patrol the Eighth Avenue end of the facility is often beckoned to the establishment by customers or passersby. Years ago, the Terminal Bar was a hangout for prostitutes from the area, as well as servicemen arriving and departing from the Bus Terminal. During that time, police veterans recall nightly altercations and arrests of undesirables who hung out at the bar, but of late, the clientele is definitely not as bad as it is portrayed

Gang," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 29 (December 1968), pp. 943-55.

¹²In Bahr's skid row, clients were not afforded the opportunity for racial selection.

"Heterosexual interaction also tended to be biracial because all of the regular prostitutes in the skid row area were Blacks. It is probable that had there been White prostitutes as well as Blacks, there would have been some racial selection."

Bahr, Skid Row, pp. 169-170.

¹³Oorde Coombs, "The Roughest Bar in Town," New York Magazine (December 1, 1980), pp. 40-43.

to be. The servicemen are still there, and a few prostitutes still visit the premises, but by and large, the place has become a normal drinking spot, albeit for some abnormal people. It actually serves the same purpose at the Bus Terminal across the street, that is, a haven from the street, a place to hang out and perhaps a spot to find a mark.

"The complexion of the bar has changed over the past fifteen years. Once it was home to the Hell's Kitchen crowd--burly Irishmen looking for a brawl and some booze. Murray Goldman remembers. 'If you think the crowd here is rough, you should have been here when we had the real street fighters. They would smash everything in sight, but the next day they would come back to say there were sorry, and they would pay for the damage. Now nobody has money to buy a drink, much less pay for what they break.'"¹⁴

It is a street person's establishment, but hardly as dangerous as portrayed. The conflict is more ecological than physical, as there is contrast among the actors. A disheveled elderly White drunk may sit next to a prostitute, who sits next to a serviceman who entered the bar not knowing any better. It, like the Bus Terminal, is an oasis from the streets, a collection of the affiliated and the marginal.

The Terminal is the most publicized tavern in the community, although the street corners are dotted with others. Some of these cater to a predominantly Black clientele. One such bar is on Thirty-ninth Street, off Eighth Avenue. While working in uniform

¹⁴Ibid., p. 43. Many sources felt that this article overrated the Terminal Bar; the real "tough" bars were to be found on the west side. Here, one could find motorcycle gangs, "heavy leather," and masochism.

one night, I was approached by a tourist-type individual who claimed he had been robbed a few minutes before. Upon further questioning, he stated that his assailant had fled down the block on which this tavern was located. When we entered the bar, a hush fell over the previously vociferous Black clientele. The victim pointed out his alleged robber, at which time we left the premises (and at which time conversation returned to its normal level). In order to observe the effects of a visit without the uniform, I stopped by one afternoon. As I entered, I was greeted by the classic "who is he"? type of stare, as customers turned around toward the door or glanced at me through the mirror behind the bar. Clearly, I was an outsider in their "community."

The Exchange Bar, adjacent to the Terminal Bar, is another well known "street tavern," where the street persons mix with an occasional tourist, serviceman or unknowing bus passenger from the Terminal. It is particularly busy on Friday and Saturday nights in the summer, when corner loungers appear in full force, rendering the streets into a cavalcade of the disaffiliated.

There is a definite contrast between the tavern situation on the street and that in the Bus Terminal. The difference lies in social class. The Bus Terminal taverns in the Bowling Alley and Briefcase Pub cater to a more "elite" crowd than those on the street. They may quite correctly be called "businessmen's bars," that is, classic examples of taverns where suited executive types may be found indulging in after work cocktails. In contrast to the street, there is an absence of the marginal individuals.

Skells do not drink there. In the same light, a customer from either of the facility taverns would not think of drinking in the Terminal or Exchange.¹⁵

Throughout the community, there are still traditionally Irish pubs, Italian bars and other ethnic drinking spots where politics, events of the day, gossip and sports are discussed. Though each customer is a member of the community at large, that is, the Forty-second Street-Clinton community, he also becomes an integral element of these "mini-communities," where rigid standards preclude easy entry by "outsiders."¹⁶

Assorted Characters

One of the unique aspects of the Forty-second Street community is that one may find individuals who are quite "different" from those to whom he is accustomed. They are not to be found in other areas of the city; and their presence here contributes to public perception of the community (usually on the critical side).

¹⁵This is not to say that a cross-drinking pattern does not exist; rather, that observations indicate that the Bus Terminal taverns cater to the "expected" clientele--middle class commuters, blue collar commuters, and an occasional serviceman. However, the Terminal, Exchange and other "street bars" are precisely that--a gathering place for the street classes in the same perspective as the more elite Bus Terminal Bars are for the middle and upper classes.

¹⁶Karp, Stone and Yoels discuss a concept that is applicable to this situation.

"One of the hallmarks of a great city is that it fosters a tolerance for differences in behavior and group life style . . . The city is large, dense, and composed of groups with heterogeneous life styles. Each of these diverse city groups

1. The Window Washers: These individuals are normally inhabitants of the Bowery and Skid Row areas, but they have gravitated towards this community, in particular the intersection of Forty-second Street and Eleventh Avenue.¹⁷ On clear days, they would stand by the sidewalks, rags in hand, waiting for cars to stop at the traffic signal. Without asking permission from the driver, they would begin to wipe the windshield, expecting a "tip" of small change. Some drivers would anticipate their arrival, rolling up the car windows before reaching the intersection. Others would say nothing, perhaps feeling obligated to hand over a quarter when the job was finished. This was typical of lone drivers.

undoubtedly interprets the nature of the city differently; for each, the city, in its various aspects, is likely to carry a different meaning. The city is, to use Anselm Strauss's (1975) term, made up of a series of distinctive yet interdependent 'social worlds.' Everett Hughes put it nicely when he said: 'The city is a place of crises for many persons. There may be enough people who share one peculiarity to allow them to join together to make a cult of it. Esoteric cults burgeon. But so do organizations of alcoholics, of parents of retarded children, of fatties who plan on getting thin. Older people form Golden Years clubs, which become matrimonial bureaus. The reorganization of life in the city proceeds in part by the rise of peculiar institutions which resolve personal crises.'"

Karp, Stone, and Yoels, Being Urban - A Social Psychological View of City Life, p. 132. Suttles says, "Usually the social relations that take place in these establishments parallel those occurring on the streets." See Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum, p. 84.

¹⁷In Skid Row, Bahr describes the window washing activity was centered around the neighborhood taverns.

"The role of the bar as a 'windshield wiping headquarters' is interesting. The three main intersections of the Bowery where homeless men step into traffic and wipe windshields of

I have never observed any of the window washers in the Bus Terminal. Perhaps the facility serves as a partial source of their income, as private cars enter and leave the Parking Levels. In these cases, Terminal users are directly impacted by the surrounding ecology in the neighborhood, and will harbor certain perceptions of it based on their experiences in it.

2. The Vendors: The street community is characterized by the proliferation of various vendors offering a wide variety of merchandise. Many of these individuals are "old timers" of the streets, having sold there for years. For example, there is the "Pretzel Lady," an elderly Greck woman whose stand can be found on the Bus Terminal side of Forty-second Street and Eighth Avenue. The police, under orders to keep peddlers moving, always ask the woman to leave, and she is never rude when asked to do so. Her usual comment is, "I know what you got to do," She frequently converses with passing vendors, greeting them in the same way as one does a "legitimate" business colleague.

The Eighth Avenue entrance was always the strict territory of a hot dog vendor who, because of his girth, we shall call

cars stopped at traffic lights were all close to the Happy Hour Bar. Nash estimates that about one-third of the bar's regular customers wipe windshields and regard it as an honorable way of making enough money to pay for their drinks."

Howard M. Bahr, Skid Row, p. 146. Since the wipers of Forty-second Street are younger, it is presumed that their income goes to drugs and prostitution as well as liquor.

"Chubby." Chubby seemed to prefer the evening crowd, but I occasionally saw him walking through the streets or Bus Terminal. Chubby was a sociable character, and he was usually conversing with someone. Come nightfall, he would sit on a metal milk box alongside his stand, presiding over the frankfurters, Italian ices and hot pretzels and kibitzing with passersby. The police would ask him to keep the entrance clear by moving his wagon into the street, and he would comply. However, Chubby always seemed to be there when a customer was to be had. One day a rival vendor had set up a stand in Chubby's hallowed territory, and upon his arrival, an argument ensued. Chubby's rival left the scene with a gashed forehead, a result of being hit with a metal milk box. Chubby's only comment on the matter was that, "He fucked with me . . . nobody fucks with me"!

For Chubby, the Pretzel Lady and others, the Bus Terminal is not a transportation facility; it is a source of income, albeit from marginal operations. In the previous chapter, we discussed the young vendors who come to the Terminal whenever there is a rock concert at Madison Square Garden. They realize that a market exists for tee shirts or assorted "souvenirs" of various groups performing there. They also realize that the Bus Terminal is bringing the market to them, channelling customers directly to their "doorstep," but as integral actors in the street community, they are acutely aware of such things as police intervention, usurping other peddlers' territories and the like.

Other vendors observed on Forty-second Street and the surrounding community are those selling Shish-Kabob, a combination of meat and vegetables roasted on a stick over hot coals; costume jewelry, where "display cases" are made of cut out and folded cardboard boxes; incense and perfumes, sold by white-robed Blacks; stuffed animals; whistling cardboard "birds" attached to a string; narcotics, such as marijuana, cocaine and speed; and the isolated individuals who offer watches, rings or wallets.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNITY

One of the basic problems of the Forty-second Street community is that of its image in the eyes of the public. It is generally perceived as deviant, that is, a haven for crime and behavior that distinguish it from other "different" areas of the city. For example, Greenwich Village is viewed as the haven for the artist-intellectual types, a result of the nearby New York University. The east side is seen as the community of the affluent upper class; residence there is a sign of wealth. In contrast, Times Square, including the Bus Terminal, is hardly recognized as both a residential community and a place where one may feel safe while walking the streets. Many members of the street corner society are in fact engaged in illegal activities, but the problem lies in the concentration of these individuals within the community. Consequently, there are so many deviants that the "legitimate" passerby perceives himself as an intruder, resulting in an attitude of fear. Since the Bus Terminal, as a public place, is an

extension of these streets, and deviant members of the street society may be found there, it is perceived in the same light as the surrounding community.

A deviant community cannot exist without need satisfaction, that is, there must be a reason for individuals' presence there and the availability of social and physical institutions to support them.¹⁸ For example, the prostitute needs a continued stream of potential customers, inexpensive hotels, and most likely, protection from harm and territorial invasion. Hence, the pimp may be found in the Forty-second Street community. The bottle gang require cheap liquor stores, dark areas in which to drink and the availability of membership, that is, a passing "pool" of peers from which participants might be recruited. Shopping bag ladies' needs are extended to shelter from the elements, warmth in winter and a place to sleep that affords reasonable protection from street predators. These needs are satisfied by the public facilities in the community, such as the New York Public Library, Pennsylvania Station, Grand Central Terminal, the Bus Terminal and the subway system. The presence of the Bus Ter-

¹⁸There is a similarity between the conditions found in Bahr's and Anderson's works and those in the Forty-second Street community. Both discuss the various institutions that support the society: hotels and lodging houses, missions, clothing exchanges, movies and burlesques, pawn shops and barber colleges. Social institutions are also taken into account. See Howard M. Bahr, Skid Row, pp. 122-174 (Chapter 5--"The Social Organization of Skid Row"); and Nels Anderson, The Hobo, pp. 27-57 (Chapter III--"Hobohemia").

minal is notable since it is the only major community "building" that is open and available on a twenty-four hour basis.¹⁹

Hence, the perception of the community at large is based upon an individual's experiences in one or many parts of it, involving one or many actors. If this person has a rewarding night at a theater, he will be pleased with the community in that it has enabled him to enjoy himself. On the other hand, if he is confronted by any of the four major dysfunctions of community indigenous to Times Square and the Bus Terminal, his opinion may be substantially altered. These four problem areas are: the elderly, the runaways, the disaffiliated and the deterioration of legitimate enterprise. Each of these will impact the Bus Terminal in different ways (and vice-versa), and their existence forms the basis of the community's designation as a natural area.

The Elderly

We have mentioned the high proportion of elderly persons in the Clinton community. Many of these individuals hail from the old Hell's Kitchen era, becoming victims of time in that the community has changed around them. They are the remnant of a once thriving immigrant population, and as the community was fragmented

¹⁹The marginal community experiences many of the problems characteristic of the legitimate community. One of these is competition for space.

"In addition to alarm over violence and depravity, and the possibility of confrontations with animals and fiends in human form, there is a very real sense of competition for urban space. Skid row men are seen as 'polluting' an area, so that it is not fit for other urbanites. The usual response to this 'pollution' is to call for police action to 'throw the bums out.' The competition with the homeless for space extends

by the construction of the Bus Terminal and neighborhood conditions deteriorated as a result of the downfall of Times Square and the influx of undesirables, they either did not desire to leave because of strong affiliative bonds or could not do so because of economic limitations. Many remained while younger and more mobile individuals fled to the suburbs.

The majority of elderly persons in the community are of Irish-Catholic origin.²⁰ Some reside in rooming houses scattered throughout the area, while others live in one of the neighborhood hotels, however, these latter buildings are fast becoming an endangered species as developers seek to purchase them for projects associated with the Times Square revitalization plans.²¹ Other persons may own or rent property as they have done for many years.

even to condemned buildings. The destruction of an abandoned tenement building was the occasion for a neighborhood celebration because the 'bums' and 'addicts' had slept in the house."

Bahr, Skid Row, p. 62. See also George Nash, The Habitats of Homeless Men in Manhattan (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1964).

²⁰The nearby Lincoln Square neighborhood and mid-west side neighborhoods also have high elderly populations, "the latter with the highest number of low rent residential hotels in the city and a senior citizen population of mainly European Jewish background." Elizabeth Stecher Trebony, "Project FIND: Seeking Out the Isolated Elderly," Aging, January-February 1979, p. 13.

²¹"The hotels in Times Square were to be demolished for the construction of high-rise office buildings. We were asked for help from senior citizen tenants, who were to be displaced with no assistance from hotel owners, operators or the City." Ibid, p. 14.

They have seen their community change from a stigmatized, low status industrial neighborhood to a lucrative market for investment with an articulate, middle class population on the outskirts of the central business district. As a result of rapid and sweeping changes in their environment, the elderly have become disaffiliated from the institutions to which they were previously firmly rooted.

An observer walking through the Bus Terminal will note that there are sometimes a significant amount of elderly persons sitting in the Waiting Room on the Main Concourse. They do not bother anyone, but talk and socialize among themselves, sometimes just sitting and watching the crowds go by. They are not disheveled in appearance; rather, they are neatly dressed and well spoken about past and current events in the community. Many of them will walk up to the police, attempting to engage them in conversation about various things, just to pass the time: "Hello there, officer. Haven't seen you around here. How's everything? Good to see you."

This is another example of the Bus Terminal as more than just a transportation facility. Here, it becomes a meeting spot for the elderly of the community; a place where they congregate in order to socialize. For the most part, they are oblivious to the activity that is going on around them, that is, the haste and routines of the commuter; the temporal flow of the day and night people; or the orderly flow of buses. Their function becomes one of observation rather than participation, for the Bus Terminal is used as an extension of the neighborhood, rather than as a means

for travelling from one neighborhood to another. Since some of the elderly persons actually used to live on the site now occupied by the facility, they feel they have a "right" to be there. There is a nostalgic remembrance of the old community, and to these individuals, a day of reminiscing in the Bus Terminal has become an enjoyable pastime.

While the majority of these persons are most pleasant to speak with, there is a twofold problem to their presence in the Bus Terminal. First, there is the issue of their interference with the normal stall, turn and other patterns associated with the maintenance or order within the Terminal. By occupying seats for an extended period of time, they interfere with the normal pattern of users who interchange positions, that is, one person leaving and another arriving to take his place. Second, any "mopes" eyeballing the Terminal for potential crime victims can easily select one of the elderly "residents," as he realizes that they cannot give chase or offer any degree of resistance. By failing to blend in with the normal ecology of the facility, thereby "standing out" as another subcommunity, these elderly people then become prey of the street predators, another "standout subcommunity."

The following is one example of the situation existing among the elderly population:

"An example of those found through our outreach efforts is the first person interviewed during our eighteen month survey--a short, red haired, Irish lady, who sat outside her apartment house in Hell's Kitchen, on a folding beach chair a neighbor boy carried down for her every afternoon. She was sixty-nine, and lived alone on the third floor of a walk-up tenement. Her husband had died twelve years earlier and since his death, she was afraid to cross the street. She

did her shopping in a grocery store around the corner and she had not ventured beyond her square block in twelve years"!²²

The Runaways

Another problem existing in the community is the presence of a significant number of runaway youths. These individuals, for a variety of reasons, have severed the affiliative bonds with the family and come to New York City to seek a haven or a "new life." To an out-of-town person, particularly an impressionable youth, New York represents the epitome of urban America--the night life, ability to meet many types of people, and most of all (to those requiring it), the capability for "getting lost in the crowd." This will complicate discovery by the police or family members searching for the youth. The last thing a runaway wishes is to stand out from the crowd.

The Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street are particular targets of the runaway youths, and this becomes yet another use for the facility and community by a specific group. The bus is an economical means of transportation, and the youth may travel across the country on Greyhound or Trailways for a nominal fare compared to the cost of an airline ticket. In addition, the bus stops in many smaller towns and cities where no air or rail transportation is available. Perhaps the most important factor is that the bus will bring the runaway to the doorstep of what he perceives to be "gateway" to the exciting and dynamic city, but what too often

²²Ibid., p. 13.

turns out to be a debilitating experience. Once they realize that the streets are not as hospitable as they thought, youths become involved in such enterprises as prostitution, street crimes, pornography and narcotics. In a sense, they, like the elderly, replenish the predatory system of the street community, as they are easily victimized. Pimps will attempt to befriend young girls, offering them food, lodging and the much desired sense of security until the day comes when they issue the alternative of "returning the favor" or being cast back to the streets. In other cases, youths will be forced to steal in order to survive, often sleeping in public places or secluded areas.

Unlike the elderly, the youths are not easily detected within the Bus Terminal. The passing commuter will hardly notice the dungaree and tee shirt clad youth sitting in the snack bar on the Long Haul Level, his belongings in a knapsack on the adjacent seat. Another case might be the young person wearing a light jacket during a cold spell, indicating possible haste in gathering belongings and leaving home. As we shall see, it is the task of the police to identify the incongruence of these persons with the surrounding environment. However, in and of itself, the runaway youth is a problem to community as he becomes either the victim or perpetrator of a crime, not to mention the other dangers to which he becomes exposed, such as health, shelter and the like.

It is noteworthy that of all communities, the runaway youth is channelled into this one. As such, the Bus Terminal performs the function for which it was constructed. However, as in the case of the elderly, it satisfies a need for the runaway youth, providing

economical and direct transportation into the Times Square area. In contrast to the elderly, who seek the sanctuary of the Terminal for reasons of loneliness and fear of the streets, the youth will use the facility as a starting point for absorption into the surrounding community.

The Disaffiliated

He shuffled along the terrazzo floor of the Main Concourse, the sliding sounds made by the baggy pants that had slid under the laceless, tattered shoes. The filthy, light blue shirt had seen better days years ago, and only enhanced the wretched appearance of this once young hulk. I stood alongside the Walgreen's entrance watching the customers exit and noticing the approaching stranger, stepped to the side and permit him an unhindered passage. They were well aware of the danger inherent in this mumbling passerby--that of unpredictability. Although he was contentedly shuffling past, mumbling an occasional "motherfucker" to wary passersby, there was always the possibility he would become a true psycho, bellowing curses at anyone, attacking or slapping passengers or destroying someone's property. If this were the case, he would become yet another example of one of "those people who hang out at the Port Authority."²³

²³"Junkies, panhandlers, homosexuals, drunks, drifters trying to sleep, and small bands of roving youths in their late teens or early twenties gathered and increased by the hour. 'As it gets later, it gets gamier,' a night-shift commuter remarked."

She had a putrid odor about her, made even more noticeable by the fact that surrounding seats were empty in the crowded Long Haul Level. Although snoring, the woman would jolt awake at the sound of any footsteps coming too close to her territory. Beside her right sneaker was a brown shopping bag, the kind one purchases for twenty-five cents when departing a large store and burdened with many items. There was no widespread staring at the woman; no whispering about her plight; only the occasional passenger who, spotting a vacant seat, would rush to it only to relinquish it with a sneer. Hearing footsteps approaching, the woman looked up into the eyes of a police officer. Saying, "You know you shouldn't be in here," he watches her pick up her belongings and trudge out onto Ninth Avenue. She never said a word, but her face told a long story. Her auburn hair, now filthy and unkempt as it touched her collar, was once done in the latest style. The frown on her face was not one of displeasure, but of resignation. She was not bitter toward the officer, only a bit more knowing about what she faced outside on Ninth Avenue. There was once a time when she would not tolerate a wrinkle in her dress or a spot on her shoes, yet here she was, walking through this busy transportation terminal, with a dirty and torn once-white housedress and old sneakers.

these "undesirables" contributed to the Terminal's reputation as a "bad" place. Today, the facility does not have a situation of this magnitude, but various intrusions by the street community perpetuates the stigma. This is another example of competition for public space, with conflict among users caused by differences as to the need and use. See also: "Village Angered by Rising Number of Derelicts in Washington Square," New York Times, January 13, 1965, p. 29.

Here are but two members of a distinct population within the Forty-second Street community. They, along with such others as Linda, who comes to the Eighth Avenue entrance to banter with passersby; or Mr. No Socks, who we remember from his lack of same in the Waiting Room, comprise the disaffiliated, those individuals who use the Bus Terminal as a "home." For these persons, race means nothing, as White bag ladies slink under dark gray bus ramps, past a dozing Black drunk, curled like a shrimp in an abandoned doorway. A young White runaway slips by the sidewalk casino set up by the Black and equally young Three Card Monte dealer. Two Hispanic men stand outside the Terminal Bar, sharing a bottle of unknown contents.

Quite a few passersby have asked me if any of these persons "have a home." They are not interested in the discussions of disaffiliation of street use, so the usual reply is "No, they don't." However, the passersby are equating their notion of home to the street environment. Inherent in this conception are the elements of food, shelter, affiliation and a place to sleep. The individual possesses a need for these, and the home satisfies them. Quite the same case exists for the Bus Terminal and the surrounding community.

The "typical undesirable" does not just wind up in the Bus Terminal by accident; he or she makes a conscious decision to enter the facility. This decision is a choice that the Bus Terminal, as compared to other locations in the community, will satisfy one or all of the aforementioned needs. For example, if it becomes cold outside, the shopping bag lady is aware of the heat inside the

Terminal. If an individual has been lounging on a street corner all day, perhaps participating in one or more bottle gangs, he knows that the plastic seats of the Terminal offer an enticing place to sleep off his problems. Street persons are aware that the facility offers some things to do that cannot be done on the street, such as watching commuters rush to bus platforms, stealing unattended baggage, using lavatories to wash or shave, or pick pockets of persons standing on lines. The street persons who choose to use the Bus Terminal for these purposes are making that conscious decision of comparing what they anticipate "getting away with" on the street to the same situation in the facility. The fact remains that the Terminal offers them conditions that they cannot find elsewhere, just as the streets or subways offer an environment and opportunities that the Terminal cannot. One of the factors enhancing the Terminal as a criminally prone environment for street persons is that many passengers are intent only on getting where they want to go, thereby leaving the observation of skulls or mopes to the police.

Consequently, as in the other cases, the neighborhood undesirables also have their uses for the Bus Terminal, but it is of an illegitimate or deviant nature, since it is non-contributory. Although part of the ecology of the facility, the street disaffiliated do not serve a useful purpose within it, often interfering with the internal maintenance of order.

The Deterioration of Legitimate Enterprise

It is an unfortunate situation that whenever anyone speaks of pornography or obscene movies, Times Square is one of the first places to come to mind. This has not always been the case; there was a time when the theater marquees boasted of the finest in stars and entertainment.

"The next time you stand on the corner of Seventh Avenue and Forty-second Street, look closely at the Victory, a movie house just west of the intersection. Take away the modern marquee and its 'Adults Only' attractions and clear away the grime of the 1970s from the facade. See instead an electric sign reading 'Belasco' and a delicate glass and wrought-iron portico that reaches from the theater front to the curb to receive an elegant audience arriving to see Mrs. Leslie Carter in *Madame DuBarry*. Then you will have begun to re-create Forty-second Street as it was in the early years of the century, when it was about to become the site of New York's newest and finest playhouses."²⁴

Times Square was where the elite came to appreciate the theatrical arts. The community was synonymous with sophistication rather than deterioration. During the 1930s, Broadway's designation as a theater mecca began to wane, while the depression compounded the problems of maintaining existing houses and constructing new ones. With the coming of burlesque, the appearance of the upper class socialites was replaced by nightly raids by Mayor LaGuardia's police. With theater gone and the emphasis on live entertainment, the actors began leaving the community, thereby accelerating the decline of the movies to their present state. Pornographic shops began to appear, as did the persons associated with loitering

²⁴Donald Pace, "New York's Historical Theaters: From George Spelvin to Georgina Spelvin," After Dark, February 1978, p. 62.

around them and either supporting or preying on their clientele. Street mopes could panhandle some coins, depositing them into film machines in the stores, thereby legitimizing their presence in the same way they could in the Bus Terminal with the coin operated televisions. Prostitutes realized that a market existed among a population that came to Times Square seeking an experience in pornography. Narcotics trade was not far off, and this, coupled with the availability of public places that could afford shelter and a source of clientele, completed the ingredients for an environment conducive to a street corner society and subsequent deviance.²⁵

COMMUNITY OR SKID ROW

The Clinton community is unique in that it hosts an environment containing a diversified population. Other communities usually contain only one or two elements, such as prostitution or a theater showing lower ("X") rated movies.²⁶ In order for a deviant street community to survive, there must be a hospitable

²⁵Refer to: Laud Humphreys, Tearoom Trade (Chicago: Aldine, 1970); David A. Karp, "Hiding In Pornographic Bookstores: A Reconsideration of the Nature of Urban Anonymity." Urban Life and Culture, 4 (January 1973): pp. 427-51; L. Kupperstein and W.C. Wilson, "Erotica and Anti-social Behavior: An Analysis of Selected Social Indicator Statistics." Technical Reports of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970); and Ned Polsky, Hustlers, Beats and Others (Chicago: Aldine, 1967).

²⁶An example may be found in Kew Gardens, a middle class community in Queens. Hardly renowned for its pornography or deviance, the community has nicely maintained and secluded homes on tree lined streets. On Lefferts Boulevard, a major thoroughfare

environment, that is, an ample supply of social and physical institutions to sustain the population. A classic example is found in the skid rows of various communities, notably New York's famed Bowery, downtown from the Bus Terminal.²⁷ Here, the problem of homelessness and disaffiliation, similar to that of the Bus Terminal community is found. The neighborhood is deteriorated, and like Times Square, it is perceived as a haven for deviance, with homeless men wandering the streets and physical decay surrounding the onlooker. Unlike Times Square, however, it does not experience the surges of population due to the former's designation as a tourist area and its abundance of transportation facilities. So, can the Bus Terminal and surrounding community be classified as a skid row? Skid row has been defined as "an isolated and deviant subcultural community expressing features of a distinct

through the community, there is a theater which presents only X-rated fare, and receives decent patronage.

²⁷"Homelessness may be as old as civilization, but skid row is an American invention. It is one century old, and its place of birth is clearly recorded. Jerry McAuley, the 'first person in the world to open the doors of a religious institution every night of the year specifically for outcasts of society' began his Water Street Mission in New York City in October, 1872. A year later the Reverend John Dooley opened the first cheap Bowery lodging house. With the appearance of these two dominant institutions, the gospel mission and lodging house, skid row was born."

Bahr, Skid Row, p. 32. As the population of skid row expanded, more institutions were needed to support it. In The Hobo, Chicago's West Madison Street became a haven for homeless men because of its proximity to transportation (i.e., railroads) and abundance of institutions geared to the environment (pawnshops, etc.).

and recognizable way of life."²⁸ Another definition is that:

"Skid row is not so much a place as a human condition, and to be a 'skid row person' is to be poor, to live outside 'normal' family relationships, to live in extremely low-cost housing, to have high probabilities of coming to police attention for behavior related to alcohol use, to be more vulnerable to victimization than other destitute people, to have a superficial style of social relations, and to have a prognosis for continued low status or even downward mobility."²⁹

Based upon these definitions and the observations of the ecology of the street community, the answer is yes. Although there is a definite middle class residential population (and the addition of a transient one through the medium of the Bus Terminal), the street community, aided by the expansion of facilities to cope with its deviance, has deteriorated into one demonstrating the characteristics of a skid row. However, it is to be stressed that the community is not similar to the Bowery. On the latter, the problem has come to be one of homelessness and alcohol, while

²⁸Bahr, Skid Row, p. 33. The definition is from Samuel E. Wallace, Skid Row as a Way of Life (Totowa, N.J.: Bedminster Press, 1965).

²⁹Ibid., p. 33. Blumberg, Shipley and Moor formulated the definition. Bahr states:

"They emphasize the integration of skid row with other parts of a city, the similarity of its residents to people in other parts of a city, the similarity of its residents to people in other institutions, that people of skid row have counterparts in other parts of the city, and that many people who resemble skid row residents--who are 'skid-row-like'--live elsewhere. Their frank intent is to define skid row in a way that will assist public policy and planning, and they emphasize that the differences between the skid row population and other poor and powerless people in metropolitan areas of the United States are not great."

See Leonard U. Blumberg, Thomas E. Shipley, Jr. and Joseph O. Moor, Jr., "The Skid Row Man and the Skid Row Status Community." Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 32 (December 1971).

on the latter, the problem is complicated by the addition of narcotics, pornography, an abundance of public places in which to seek refuge and perhaps most significantly, a high proportion of female disaffiliation. In my field observations on Forty-second Street and the Bus Terminal, I witnessed more street corner activity by women and the presence of more "skid row" females (such as the bag ladies) than I did on the Bowery. When I traversed the Clinton community and Times Square, I usually came across a female either sitting on the subway stairs, soliciting funds from passersby ("Hey, how about a quarter for an old woman?"); sleeping in a doorway; or wandering through the Terminal or streets.³⁰ On the Bowery, the streets around East Third Street were filled with the "classic undesirables" as might be found on the streets of Times Square, yet they were more noticeable, more concentrated, and I believe this was due to the lack of a coexisting (though transient) legitimate population. Simply put, since there were no middle class commuters, workers or passing tourists, the disaffiliated of the Bowery were more conspicuous than their counterparts in the Bus Terminal and surrounding community.

³⁰The females seemed to use their sex as the basis for generating sympathy for their plight. On more than one occasion, I spoke to fairly articulate bag ladies who espoused the notion that "life on the street is harder for a woman." I remember one woman in particular whom I observed rummaging in a trash bin. As she came up with her treasure, an unstained newspaper, I walked up to her, saying, "You really shouldn't be in here." Instead of walking away she looked me in the eye and said, "Well you wouldn't throw a woman out, would you?" Replying in the negative, I emphasized that we did not throw people out, we asked them to leave. She said, "You don't look like the type of person who would hurt a woman, so I'll go." As I watched her hunched form shuffle toward Eighth Avenue,

The Forty-second Street community can thus be classified as of the skid row type, however, because of its integration with a non-deviant, legitimate residential and transient community, it is unique. It is not truly isolated as is the Bowery, but a complex ecology of a legitimate residential population, a legitimate transient population, institutions to support both of these groups (Bus Terminal, subways, churches, etc.) and a deviant (i.e., illegitimate) population along with institutions to support them (Bus Terminal, subways, churches). Note that the institutions of the community are shared by all groups but are utilized in different ways. The commuter uses the Bus Terminal as a means for getting from one point to another; the skell uses it as a place to sleep. A neighborhood resident uses the church to pray or reaffirm ethnic bonds; the bag lady uses it as a place to escape the cold. These are the problems of community--the presence of a diversified population (legitimate and illegitimate) and the institutions to support them.

I realized I had a pack of gum in my pocket. "Ma'am, would you like a piece of gum before you go"? She took it, placed it in her mouth, deposited the wrapper in the bin, and said, "Thank you, young man. Bye, now." I had never experienced this with a male. I truly felt bad for her predicament.

SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF COMMUNITY

Despite the problems pervasive throughout this community, it is not powerless; there are agencies designed to alleviate the ailments. All too often, the police are seen as the formal agencies of social control whose responsibility it is to deal with the multitude of community problems. However, there must be ancillary services whereby the police can channel those people who, though deviant, remain less than criminal. In this way, the ecological chain is complete: the formal legal social control agent is able to refer clients to services designed to deal with issues of a non-legal nature.

The Elderly

Were the elderly problem to go unresolved, these individuals would become true dysfunctions of ecology; that is, they would upset the natural maintenance of order by exerting territorial claims in excess of those of other actors (i.e., seats in the Bus Terminal) and due to economic limitations, their population would be debilitated by hardships such as homelessness, disease, etc.³¹ The task then, becomes to channel (or displace, with the stipulation that there is an institution awaiting those affected) the population away from the situations in which they act as barriers, to a location where they become a more productive or viable factor in the ecology of the community.

³¹Robert Park discussed this type of issue by presenting the matter of urban competition.

"Competition operates in the human (as it does in the plant and animal) community to bring about and restore the communal

1. Project F.I.N.D.: Many elderly persons of the community, due to the lack of funds or physical limitations that prohibit shopping, find it difficult to eat proper meals. As such, Project F.I.N.D. began with its primary focus on providing such a service to the elderly, that is, one good meal per day to as many persons as possible. The target area was Thirty-fourth to Seventy-ninth Streets on the west side, and although the project has a specified area of jurisdiction, a needy person is never turned away.

Five centers are equipped to deal with the elderly problem: Seventy-third Street; Hamilton House on West Seventy-first Street; Fifty-fourth Street (between Tenth and Eleventh Avenues); Woodstock Hotel on 127 West Forty-third Street; and the Coffeehouse. The Woodstock Food Service received a grant from the New York City Department of the Aging that provided a large kitchen for 650 meals per day to be prepared. Of these, 500 are dispatched to other centers involved in the project, while 150 a day are kept at Woodstock.

equilibrium, when, either by the advent of some intrusive factor from without or in the normal course of its life-history, that equilibrium is disturbed."

Robert Ezra Park, Human Communities-The City And Human Ecology (New York: The Free Press, 1952), p. 150. Each of the subcommunities in the Bus Terminal and Forty-second Street must coexist in such a manner that an overall orderly community is maintained. When one segment of the population cannot be self-sufficient or becomes an obstacle to the order of the others, it becomes deteriorated due to competition. Park calls this "dominance." See also Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, The City (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925).

The implementation of the Coffeehouse is directly related to the ecology of the Bus Terminal. In 1969, in conjunction with the Port Authority and the Travelers Aid Society of New York, Project F.I.N.D. set up an information and referral booth in the Waiting Room on the Main Concourse. Two senior citizen aides were present three afternoons each week, their task being the identification of those elderly persons who were regular "users" of the Waiting Room. The booth workers did not disturb those who sat in the Waiting Room, but since many of these elderly persons came up to ask questions, the workers began to become familiar with them. One-page questionnaires were filled out on each individual, and at the end of the first year of operation, there was a source of information on about 300 "regulars" of the Waiting Room. The highlights of this information were that:

"82 percent of the 'sitters' visited more than once a week and 12 percent came everyday. Some 70 percent lived within a four-block radius of the Bus Terminal. Loneliness was the major reason for coming to the Terminal. With the majority identified as West Siders, the sitters became a neighborhood responsibility."³²

Consequently, it was proposed that if the Port Authority would assist in financing of the Coffeehouse within walking distance of the Bus Terminal, there would be a twofold benefit. First, it would provide a needed service to the elderly population in terms of food. Second, it would provide a service to the Port

³²Elizabeth Stecher Trebony, "Project FIND: Seeking Out the Isolated Elderly," Aging, January-February 1979, p. 16.

Authority in that elderly persons would not be prohibited from the Bus Terminal, but the fact that they now were displaced, that is, they had a "substitute Bus Terminal," would facilitate the orderly movement and flow of those individuals who did use it as a transportation facility. This is not to say that the elderly would remain in the Coffeehouse all day; quite the contrary, they would undoubtedly return to the Bus Terminal on occasion. The importance to the maintenance of order lies within the fact that they would now vacate seats ordinarily held for extended periods of time, visit the Coffeehouse for a few hours, then possibly return to the Terminal. Consequently, rather than stagnation in the stall patterns of seat taking, there was now a cyclical movement.

The Port Authority pays the rent for the Coffeehouse and the salary for one staff person; Project F.I.N.D. provides additional funds. The Coffeehouse also receives support from neighborhood churches. On Sundays, these churches rotate in caring for the center on that day.

Unlike the other satellite centers, the Coffeehouse has more men (approximately 60 percent) than women, possibly because the program is not structured and participants may do as they wish. Men like this arrangement, as they do not like an abundance of rules and regulations. In addition to the members from the Clinton community, there is a small percentage of elderly who come to the Bus Terminal and Project F.I.N.D. from other areas of the city and New Jersey. Some are from the old Broadway era, and they are able to play musical instruments or dance, thereby entertaining other members.

Hence, the solution to the problem of the elderly has been displacement, that is, the implementation of an alternative institution to the Bus Terminal, permitting it to revert to its role as a transportation facility while the Project F.I.N.D. center fills its previous role as a social center.

The Runaways

Considering the diversified street population of the Forty-second Street community, it becomes more difficult to locate a runaway youth than to intercept him before he can become assimilated into the system. To these youths, the Bus Terminal has become both a transportation facility, enabling them to get to a particular destination, and a location where this assimilation begins. The task has become to identify these individuals at the midpoint between these two elements.

The Youth Services Unit of the Port Authority Police was formed to serve this need. The program teams a police officer with a social worker, as both patrol in order to intercept juveniles before they fall victims to the street predators and deter them from the criminal justice system.

I have observed the Unit at work, and they operate in the same manner as a uniformed officer who attempts to spot incongruence on his post, that is, "something that does not seem right or fit in." Since Unit personnel wear no uniforms, it becomes difficult for both passenger and juvenile to detect them, yet it is another example of legal social control in the facility with the addition of the ancillary agency (social worker). When a potential runaway is sighted,

the officer will approach he or she and question as to their presence in the Terminal. One of the most important factors in selecting clientele is age, since New York State law determines a juvenile to be a person over seven years of age but under sixteen. Should such an individual be found, he or she is returned to the Youth Services office, where an investigation will determine the cause of his separation and prospects for reunion. The Unit will never return a child to a situation where he may be placed in danger. Problems do exist as to availability and capability of other social service agencies, but whenever possible, the youth is either returned to family affiliation or referred to a responsible external agency. The emphasis is on intercepting them before they can become involved in crime, either as the perpetrator or the victim.

This concept is unique to the Bus Terminal, as it was established in recognition of the fact that the facility is utilized as an escape channel by juveniles. It has been inferred that pimps loiter in the facility, awaiting the female runaways, but this is a falsehood. The police have established their territory, and this type of individual is reluctant to infringe upon it. The trouble lies in the surrounding streets, where certain undesirables have likewise established their territory.

1979 & 1980 ACTIVITY: YOUTH SERVICES UNIT

	<u>Totals</u>		<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
Youths Questioned	862	607	446	287	416	320
Loitering	283	264	234	201	49	63
Runaways	951	1063	505	594	446	469
Truants	138	73	112	55	26	18
Missing Persons	19	19	9	4	10	15
Aided	740	673	387	351	353	322
Child Abuse/						
Neglect	11	11	5	4	6	7
Juvenile Delinquency	42	43	37	33	5	10
Criminal Complaints	<u>10</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
Total Transactions	3056	2780	1740	1552	1316	1228

RESIDENCE--INTERCEPTED RUNAWAYS

	<u>Total</u>		<u>Percent of Total</u>	
	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
New York City	310	495	32.6	46.6
Outside New York City	141	142	14.8	13.4
Total New York State	451	637	47.4	60.0
New Jersey	213	164	22.4	15.4
New England	148	128	15.6	12.0
Middle Atlantic, Southern				
Mid-Western, Western,				
Outside Continental				
United States	139*	134	14.6+	12.6

* Two runaways in the year 1979 were from Canada and Port Au Prince, Haiti

+ Five runaways in the year 1980 were from Canada (two) and Puerto Rico (three).

SOURCE: Port Authority Police Division Youth Services Annual Reports, 1979 and 1980.

ETHNICITY--INTERCEPTED RUNAWAYS

	<u>Total</u>		<u>Percent of Total</u>	
	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
Caucasian	493	472	52	44.4
Black	315	396	33	37.3
Hispanic	139	190	15	18
Oriental & Other	4	5	.4	.3
Total	951	1063		

SOURCE: Port Authority Police Division Youth Services Annual Reports, 1979 and 1980.

The statistics demonstrate two interesting things concerning this segment of the population. First, the majority of runaway youths come from somewhere within New York State, and second, most of them are of the caucasian race. So, one may conceive of the child of an upper income family from Scarsdale or a lower income child from Harlem making a conscious decision to come to the Times Square community because of its "advantages" in offering the freedom and pleasures they seek. They do not choose to come to the Bus Terminal; it is not their destination. What the Terminal is is a means to an end, that is, its role as a transportation facility in the heart of Times Square brings him physically and socially into the location he seeks.

Although the Bus Terminal itself is attempting to intercept these individuals before they can become assimilated into the surrounding street community, some will always manage to do so. They will gravitate toward the Minnesota Strip, a fifteen block stretch

of Eighth Avenue from about Thirty-fourth Street to Forty-ninth Street, so called because of the "undesirable businesses" and persons found there, including runaways from its namesake state (among others). The Strip parallels Times Square and is "home" for some of the street characters we have described. It rarely sleeps; instead, there is a continuous replacement of one actor by another, in a temporal cycle. Consequently, the same type of situation exists here as for the elderly in the Bus Terminal, that is, there must be a channelling of the population in other areas lest there be stagnation. The needs of each segment must be met. Consequently, one of the "channels" has come to be Covenant House, a non-profit child care agency set up by a Franciscan Priest in 1969. I was told that 160 children per night are accommodated, with an average stay of two weeks. The center, called an "open sanctuary," is open continuously. Located on West Forty-fourth Street near Ninth Avenue, it has become known to runaways as a place to stay or seek help when in trouble. The clientele comes to them, or is referred by the police. In an attempt to meet the wide variety of needs presented to them, the agency is divided into separate units:

1. Intensive Counseling Unit: Located on Eighth Avenue between Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets, it works with older adolescents who are well versed in street life. These are the individuals who have been assimilated into the street population.

2. Family Services Unit: Located at 460 West Forty-first Street, it deals with chronic younger runaways, with reunion with

the family the ultimate goal.

3. Medical/Legal Unit: Located on 460 West Forty-first Street.

4. Group Home for Girls: Located on West Forty-seventh Street.

5. Group Home for Boys: Located on East Tenth Street.

Covenant House is not a long term residential center; rather, it is a liaison center, making employment, legal and social contacts for youths. There are daily activities planned for members, such as school, work projects and job referrals, and youths perform their own searches for work, with Covenant House providing the transportation costs.

Institutional relationships are maintained with the surrounding residential community, as the agency consults with Community Planning Board #4 (Clinton) and has one member on the Board. It also has a representative on Health Systems Board B. Funding comes from private sources and the Port Authority makes substantial contributions to the agency.

In contrast to the situation experienced by the Youth Services Unit, Covenant House stated that their runaway clientele is predominantly Black (55 percent), with Hispanics at 25 percent and Whites at 20 percent. Males comprise 55 percent of the population.

When I visited Covenant House, I expected a vastly different situation than the one I encountered. After being buzzed through the entrance door, I identified myself to the receptionist and waited until she called me for my meeting. There was a sterile atmosphere about the place, and a few youths (all Black) were

lounging around the lobby. Two of them were engaged in quite vulgar conversation, at which time a nun came over and spoke to them. They did not heed her wishes, and I heard her say, "Well, you'd better listen or you'll have to speak with him." The more I observed, the more I conceived of the place as servants catering to the whims of its clientele. A passing White youth, seeing me standing in the lobby, walked over to the registration book and noticed that I signed "P.A.P.D." as the agency next to my name. He must have noticed, because he walked over to the lounging group and asked, "What's he want"? One youth hunched his shoulders, whereupon all walked off together. My discussions with two young staff members indicated a similar "wariness" of the motives of the police in general, and a sympathetic attitude toward the plight of the youths.

I asked about the role of the Bus Terminal in contributing to the juvenile problem in the community, and the reply was that it is not the cause of the problem, but a "vehicle" for the youths to get there. If the Bus Terminal were not there, the staff members stated that runaways would still be in the community because of its nature as a "central and focal point in New York City." Since many of the runaways speak of family problems, the rationale is that they flee this neglect, abuse, etc., and seek the excitement of the city (i.e., Times Square). Since there are many youths in the street population, there is also social acceptance for more runaways and a rather easy socialization process. There is a market for the youths, although it is of a deviant nature to both individual and community norms.

One issue that was pervasive throughout my interview and observations was whether Covenant House, rather than the Bus Terminal (as some may believe) is the reason why runaways do come to this community. If this is the case, the agency becomes an "out" or "last resort" in the event one encounters difficulties on the street. There is no channelling of the population; only the realization by runaways that should their enterprise fail, an outlet exists where they will be cared for (perhaps until they decide to try again). In a sense, Covenant House could then be conceived of as a way station between runaway attempts; a population consisting of those who have either been socialized and victimized or who have been unable to enter the street community.³² Consequently, the streets furnish (or ideally in the minds of the youths, SHOULD be able to furnish) the social needs of kinship, employment and an exciting urban diversity, while the Bus Terminal furnishes transportation to this environment and perhaps the physical needs of shelter, lavatories and seats upon which to rest or sleep.

³²In a section titled "Conflict and Order," Suttles describes a situation similar to that encountered by runaway youths in the Forty-second Street community.

"All of these instances of conflict, however, are an inevitable and necessary accompaniment to the area's segmental order. Individuals in the Addams area achieve a positive association with coresidents of the same age, sex and ethnicity primarily because conflict with other persons forces them together into small face-to-face groupings. Otherwise, people might remain almost wholly isolated, associate indiscriminately, or be dependent on such dyadic relations as they could form."

Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum, p. 228. One may speculate

The runaway issue was rounded out by a visit to the New York City Runaway Coordinator, a formal liaison between city government and various social service agencies dealing with the juvenile problem. Diversion from the criminal justice and runaway network is stressed, with contact made as quickly as possible in order to encourage youths to go back to their families. Since there are approximately 22,000 runaways in the city in a given year, this is a formidable problem. The reason why this figure is approximate is because it is very difficult to determine the exact population. The only count is when a youth is intercepted by the Port Authority Police at the Bus Terminal, or when an individual is received by a social service agency, although by this time, they are usually in trouble and need help. The Runaway Coordinator felt that the youngsters come to the Forty-second Street area because of the action there, not because they want to go to the Bus Terminal. It is difficult to conceive of a youth from across the country who has made a conscious decision to leave his or her home in order to "hang out" at a transportation facility.

Thus, the runaway problem is of a dual nature. Besides being dangerous to family stability and the youth himself, it is another stigma placed upon this community and the Bus Terminal.

that although there is a fairly tight runaway network within the community, that is, an internal maintenance of order that prevents detection of the population by formal social control agencies (i.e., police), the White population is intercepted at the Bus Terminal at a greater rate than the Black. This is demonstrated by the higher proportion of White interceptions by the Youth Services Unit and the conversely higher Black contacts by Covenant House.

As in the case of the elderly, this segment of the population must be channelled from the Terminal in order to prevent possible criminal victimization and permit an orderly flow by true users of the facility. In contrast to the resolution of the elderly problem, the Port Authority (or more directly, the Terminal itself) is taking a hand to deal with issues by screening the population before it can reach external agencies.

The Disaffiliated

This segment of the population is also a user of the Bus Terminal, although for reasons other than transportation. These "mopes" and "skells" are unconcerned about its role in providing a comprehensive bus and support service network or its proximity to subways or business centers. Instead, they focus on its warmth, shelter and activity as somewhere to go and something to watch. The Terminal is not the environment of this segment of the population; rather it is a part of the total environment. Since it is there, they use it, and if it were not there, they would use something else. Since their use of the facility is in conflict with those of the "legitimate users," such as police, workers, commuters and shoppers, the Terminal is often seen as the host or cause of the problem rather than a victim of it. Consequently, the answer again is the siphoning off of the deviant population so that at the very least, their time spent within the facility is markedly diminished. As long as there is a street corner population within the community, it will continue to be the nearest public place satisfying most needs. By presenting them the opportunity to meet these needs in places other than a transportation facility, there

is both a greater turnover in the individuals who use the Terminal as a street corner and a decrease in users' perceptions of it as just such a place.

The Dwelling Place is one example of a siphoning agency for the disaffiliated. It was founded in 1977 by five nuns of the Franciscan order with the intention of caring for homeless women--feeding them and providing shelter and clean clothing. Since women do comprise a substantial segment of the street population, the shelter soon found itself with too many clients and too little space. This was due to its proximity to the core of the street community (Fortieth Street just off Ninth Avenue) and the street talk among the population. At the present time, there are twelve beds and women are allowed to remain overnight. In addition, the Times Square Motor Hotel also contributes the use of some rooms.

I stepped up to the little red doorway that had "The Dwelling Place" painted on it in white letters and rang the bell. A woman peered from behind the cracked door, smiling when I announced my name. She slid the chain from the lock, at which time I stepped inside what used to be a nicely furnished brownstone type building. A large marble fireplace graced the living room, and high ceilings testified to its heritage. When one of the attending nuns entered the room, I was surprised by her "non-clerical appearance," that is, the absence of the traditional habit and the even more noticeable ability to relate to street talk. She agreed that this appearance and demeanor would do little to relate to the problems at hand, and proceeded to speak of the work being done for this segment of the population. The Franciscan order sponsors the work of the nuns;

other support comes from external donations and volunteer workers. Since the center has become so well known among the bag ladies, it has been forced to close for a short period each day and set up a rotation system among available beds. This enables individuals who appear at the house seeking shelter to obtain service on at least a sporadic basis, better than none at all. It is also interesting to note that similar to the Bus Terminal, whose transient population it attempts to serve, the Dwelling Place experiences the same type of problem (i.e., stagnation and hangers-on), and must channel these people out in order to provide a cyclical movement. The issue here is that when persons are sent to the Dwelling (as they may be by the police, although most come by word of mouth advertising) and channelled out because of lack of space, the deviant system becomes self-perpetuating rather than self-defeating.

For the most part, the shopping bag ladies are those who cannot be cared for in institutions. They come from all over the United States, and Sister noted that the clientele seems to be predominantly Black, between the ages of twenty-one and forty. Noting that many of these women are very intelligent and articulate, she mentioned that their name comes from the situation in old state institutions, where residents carried belongings in a bag to avoid theft. There is a myth that money is carried in these bags and this is one of the reasons why the women fall victim to predators of the street.³³

³³During this conversation, Sister mentioned the fact that there are also "shopping bag men," who exhibit the same characteristics as the women. This was interesting, as I had never conceived

The Dwelling Place serves two meals per day, seven days per week. It also provides a clothing service for those who need it, along with a few social activities. Without the Dwelling, I was informed that about 4,000 to 6,000 females within the community are hard pressed to find space. Since only twelve beds are provided, the problem is hardly resolved. It was felt that since the disaffiliated men have been around longer, there are more agencies available to deal with their problem. The Dwelling attempts to get women on Social Security or public assistance, but Sister stressed the difficulties in doing so.

I looked around the room as we spoke, noting the worn but clean furniture and the absence of dust on the various tables. The building closes from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. every day, and at 5 P.M. the women come to eat and sleep. As I was being told the operating schedule, I realized why there seemed to be a preponderance of bag ladies in the area around this hour. I remembered standing outside the Eighth Avenue entrance during the evening rush hour and seeing the women seemingly appear from nowhere, beginning their nightly routine in much the same way as the commuters. After the women eat and overnight clients are selected, those remaining will dis-

of the term before, and it certainly shows the stigma attached to deviant females. It was also mentioned that the men on Skid Row tend to congregate in groups, while females prefer to remain alone. This was borne out by my observations, and is carried on even in community institutions such as the Dwelling. In the Bus Terminal, the great majority of observed bag ladies were seen sitting or walking alone, while in the street, they tend to remain in the less traveled areas, such as Tenth or Eleventh Avenues.

appear into the streets, to return again the next time. I asked about the role of the Bus Terminal in the shopping bag lady problem, and was told that the facility affords both shelter and warmth. Because of these conditions, the women feel safe there. Another problem mentioned that I had not foreseen was the conflict between religious and business institutions in the community. The example given was that the religious community has good proposals, but the business community cannot implement them. Why cannot the women be allowed to remain in the Bus Terminal instead of being put out into the cold? The biggest need in the community is housing for the unhoused, so the feeling during the interview was that the women do not present a problem and the facility was in effect their "home" for the moment. I stated that although the police are most sympathetic toward the needs of the women, they must not permit them to remain in the Terminal because they are obstacles to efficient passenger flow and do affect users' perception of the place. However, it is not as if the Port Authority "sweeps" them out into the street, as assistance is offered to such places as the Dwelling, thereby providing that "alternative to the Terminal." The point is that although the females use the Bus Terminal, it is not because of the facilities it offers, but the environment it offers. If one can offer an alternate environment, there will be a natural displacement of the "undesirables" and enhancement of the existing ecology.³⁴

³⁴In Skid Row, Bahr has a chapter titled "Homeless Women." Although he focuses on the issues of female alcoholics, there are important parallels to the situation within the Forty-second Street community.

In the case of the disaffiliated men, there is a venerable agency operating within the Forty-second Street community. The Manhattan Bowery Project was founded thirteen years ago by the Vera Institute of Justice. At that time, the police were the only agency to respond to perceived problems of the homeless, sending wagons to "scoop up" the men and process them in court. Since there was a lengthy delay in completing paperwork in such cases, the client was often back on the street before the arresting officer.³⁵ So, the Vera Institute prodded several city agencies to impact the problem by implementing a forty-eight bed detoxification program instead of the police scooping procedure. Each agency contributed something, be it materials, funds or labor. In the case of the City Police Department, six officers and two cars were sent. This was the beginning of the Outreach Program, where one officer and one staff member would comb the Bowery and

"Explicit discussions of homeless women alcoholics almost always are singular accounts of their unsavory character and bizarre way of life. For example, there is the incredible case of Marie, a chronic alcoholic who lived in New York's public library by day and in the subways by night. Another published account is the case of Miriam, who had roamed the streets of Manhattan since her early adulthood. At age fifty-four, she was a 'bottom level' alcoholic, physically disabled, destitute and without family or friends. Accounts of this type constitute tangible evidence that homeless women exist, but provocative as they are, such case histories have failed to stimulate much social research."

Bahr, Skid Row, p. 176. Bahr's analysis was broken down into categories, such as early life and family experiences; parent-child relationships; alcoholic parents; broken homes; and marriage.

³⁵Here, the police were responding in a legalistic manner, the only method they knew in these cases. It was punitive. See "Park Patrols to Get Plainclothes Details and More Scooters," The New York Times, February 8, 1965, p. 27.

pick up persons for the shelter. It was stressed that the mixture of officer and civilian provides for the former's ability to eyeball clients by using street smarts, while the latter's status as a former client and street drunk also provided valuable identification methods.

The Manhattan Bowery Project is attempting to re-socialize the men on the street, and of 3,500 admissions each year, 60 percent accept treatment. The men remain in "detox" for five days, and since it is a voluntary operation, one can leave from the time he is approached on the street. On the Bowery, most street persons know of the project and its personnel, but it was stressed that when a stranger is approached, there is apprehension and tension because the individual may be coming out of an alcoholic stupor or may fear the police and possible arrest.³⁶

When I visited the Manhattan Bowery Project on East Third Street, I noticed the abundance of male faces dotting the street corners. Some watched with suspicion as I entered the old building, yet they said nothing, preferring to speak among themselves or just stand around alone. Once inside, and surrounded by walls painted in the classic institutional colors, I watched the parade of the marginals pass by. On my left stood a tall Black man whom

³⁶It was mentioned that those from the South were particularly in fear of arrest. See also Egon Bittner, "The Police in Skid-Row: A Study of Peace-Keeping," American Sociological Review, 32 (October 1967), pp. 699-715; and David J. Pittman and C. Wayne Gordon, Revolving Door: A Study of the Chronic Police Case Inebriate (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958).

I judged to be about forty years of age. His clothing very worn but not ragged, he watched as I pressed the elevator button for the trip to the upstairs offices. Each time I looked his way, his eyes glanced away. On my right was a sort of waiting room, where men sat on plastic seats as they passed the time. Here were the Whites, Hispanics and Blacks of the Bowery, some dozing with loud snores, some with blank stares at nothing in particular and others engaged in animated conversation liberally sprinkled with curses. Behind a metal cage sat an individual whose job it was to dispense meal tickets to incoming clients, his eyes occasionally glancing at the uniformed hospital cop who slouched against a nearby wall. The odor of sweat was in the air; it was not foul, just stale, much the same as I remembered in the Long Haul Level on humid summer nights.

Once upstairs, I discussed the application of the Manhattan Bowery Project to the Forty-second Street community. It was stated that there was a cyclical problem involving the disaffiliated of the Bus Terminal and the community and the police. The Port Authority Police would sweep undesirables into the subway, whereupon the Transit Police would chase them into the streets. The City Police would then begin the cycle all over again. In addition, the traditional old flophouses were being renovated for middle class use, thereby displacing residents into the streets and public places. Working in this community would be a new experience for Corporation personnel, since the street population is much more diversified

than the one found in the Bowery.³⁷ However, with the assistance of those who are familiar with the street society, such as the Port Authority Police, staff went into the Bus Terminal on periodic "sweeps" in order to select clients. It was felt that this effort, combined with continuous police activity (i.e., enforcement), would go a long way in displacing the undesirables who used the Terminal for less than legitimate reasons, or at the very least, reduce their "Terminal time."

As I looked around the old building housing the Manhattan Bowery Corporation, I could not help but draw a parallel to the situation existing in the Bus Terminal. In the Bowery, street corner persons come to East Third Street because it meets some of their basic needs, such as food, shelter, companionship, or a place to sit for a few hours. The situation is not all that different at the Bus Terminal, the difference being that the population is not limited to skid row drunks, but includes them and the Terminal is not intended to be a social institution. However, the significance is that these people do use it as such.

³⁷Two types indigenous to the Bowery who are rarely found in the Forty-second Street community are the "Jack Roller," who steals from flopping drunks, and the isolated worker (such as the longshoreman) who works sporadically, living and drinking in a neighborhood rooming house. See: Sara Harris, Skid Row, U.S.A. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1956); Clifford Shaw, The Jack Roller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); and Staff of Manhattan Bowery Corporation, Ten Year Report of the Manhattan Bowery Corporation--1967-1977 (45 Page Booklet).

The Deterioration of Legitimate Enterprise

In addition to the erosion of the human ecology of the community, there has been a similar decay of the economy. The existence of a deviant street corner population among deviant enterprises, where legitimacy once thrived, has prompted efforts to "clean up" Times Square and return its theatrical heritage. In the days before the Bus Terminal existed and the community, though lower class, was stable, the church was entrenched as an institution of both affiliation and religion. Persons came to worship and to maintain their ethnic heritage, education of the young and social guidance. With the decline of community, the church has been forced to adapt to a new situation. One example is St. Malachy's Church on West Forty-seventh Street, just off Eighth Avenue. Originally, this Catholic parish was composed of German, Irish and Italian residents of the community. In addition, it became renowned as a "Catholic actor's chapel," since many theater people and actor-residents went there to worship. I went to St. Malachy's to see how things had changed.

As I looked at the church, I noted that it was the stereotyped community parish. Some church buildings look too modern or incongruent with the surrounding area, yet St. Malachy's just seemed "to fit." As I rang the bell, I was greeted by an Irish housekeeper who took me upstairs to speak with the pastor. We spoke of the decline in parish membership and the ethnic transition that has taken place in the community. I had noticed autographed photographs of theatrical personalities in the lobby, and asked

about their history. In the days when Times Square was a legitimate theatrical capital, St. Malachy's used to have a 2 A.M. and 4 A.M. Mass, so that when the theaters let out, the crowds would come straight to church. In those days, Catholics were required to fast before receiving Communion, so by participating at Mass during that hour, they avoided a prolonged period without a meal. It was noted that the parish used to hum constantly, as members of the community were involved in church affairs. However, things began to decline with the advent of television, which displaced the huge movie and theater houses. In addition, industry was not sustained due to the fact that the population began moving out. Consequently, parish membership declined and where the streets were once filled with middle and upper class theatergoers, there was now only pornography and deviant enterprise. It was noted that the community now attracts white collar deviants as well as the lower class disaffiliated. The latter comprise the street community, while the former patronize the various businesses, contributing to the marginal economy. In the case of the Bus Terminal, however, it is the lower class who use it for purposes other than for which it was intended, and who contribute to its reputation. While white collar (or transient middle class) deviants are present in the Terminal, they are using it for transportation and their appearance does not cause a label to be applied. For example, a middle class commuter may elect to patronize a pornographic bookstore or neighborhood prostitute, yet as he passes through the Bus Terminal or surrounding streets, it is much less likely that his appearance will cause the facility or community to be labeled as

"bad." Although his intentions are illegitimate, his appearance is the opposite. Conversely, the shopping bag lady may be doing nothing more than sitting in the Waiting Room, yet her mere presence is seen by passersby as a fault in the Terminal itself, and on a wider scale, the ecology of the entire community.

The church is now responding to situations such as these. Members of the clergy serve on various city and community agencies, running clinics for elderly and establishing food programs for the needy. This is a dramatic departure from the "old church," which was a more static institution in the community, that is, it was "there" and residents would come to it. In an effort to revitalize a decaying neighborhood, however, the church is going to the people, meeting their physical and social as well as spiritual needs. Consequently, the parish priest is no longer segregated from parishioners in a "sacristy mentality," but is involved and available.

Holy Cross Church is located on Forty-second Street, on the other side of the street from the Bus Terminal. Founded in 1852, it was similar to St. Malachy's in serving the needs of a German, Italian and Irish population. One can tell that the building has been there for quite some time, and the Rectory is a neat but worn reminder of the many priests who have lived and worked there. During my discussion, it was mentioned that at the turn of the century, Forty-second Street became the business hub of the city. This movement had progressed from Fourteenth Street, to Twenty-third Street, to Thirty-fourth Street, and finally to Forty-second, never moving above it. As a transportation locus, it became

a legitimate theater district with a poor but stable residential population.³⁸ It was felt that with the construction of the Bus Terminal and Lincoln Tunnel, the population began to decline, as persons realized the continuing encroachment of industry and disappearance of homes. Times Square began to turn in the late 1940's and early 1950's, with 1969 being remembered as a "peak period."

The pastor recalled that about 1975, a change began taking place on Forty-second Street, as more people were becoming involved with the community instead of fleeing or ignoring it.

At the present time, Holy Cross serves a residential and business population (employees from surrounding concerns) with a church and school. It also serves a transient population, such as tourists and bus passengers from the nearby Terminal. It was felt that unlike previous periods, the business, residential and theater communities are no longer polarized, and the resulting interaction has definitely fostered improvement. Also mentioned was the fact that the Bus Terminal hurt the neighborhood by devastating the housing, thereby forcing the relocation of long time residents. In addition, the Port Authority was traditionally unresponsive to the communities affected by their facilities, but this situation has

³⁸From 1921 to 1931, Father Duffy of the "Fighting 69th" Infantry Division was the pastor of Holy Cross Church. Many men of the 69th were from Hell's Kitchen, and this was the reason for his coming to the church. With his assistance and liaison with the business community, the parish was able to pay off its debt.

dramatically changed.³⁹

Holy Cross Church has become involved in meeting the needs of the disaffiliated, and similar to St. Malachy's, it works with the elderly, poor and unemployed residents of the community. As for the Terminal across the street, it is seen as "different" from other terminals in that there is a huge commuter flow passing through it on a daily basis. Without this flow, it was felt that there would be disorder, that is, a proliferation of undesirables (i.e., a takeover by the street community) due to stagnation.

SOME AGENCIES OF REDEVELOPMENT

While such agencies as the Youth Services Unit, Covenant House, the Dwelling Place and the church concentrate on the social aspects of the community ecology, others are focusing on alterations in the physical dimensions of the neighborhood. Some of these are:

-- Office of Midtown Planning: This city agency is responsible for advancing plans for developing Manhattan, including the conditions in Times Square. Forty-second Street has been declared a renewal area, hence official condemnation powers may be used as required to displace undesirable enterprises. It was felt that the

³⁹An example given was the demise of St. Clare's (an Italian parish) and St. Clement Mary, both due to construction of the Bus Terminal and Lincoln Tunnel. This bred community resentment toward the Authority. Suttles observed the attachment between church and community in the Addams area:

"Since most other bodies of social control refuse to acknowledge the ethnic sections in the Addams area, the lack of a church to represent each section is a serious deficiency.

Port Authority has received a "bum rap" in the operation of the Bus Terminal. The old facility became a haven for undesirables because of warmth, shelter, etc., but it is expected that the new facility will change their environment, thereby displacing them. The Terminal has always brought "good users" into Times Square and they filter through the community, thereby becoming a lobby group for change (though they may not be organized, as in the case of Port Authority surveys).

-- Visitors Assistance Center: A joint project of the Victim Services Agency and Midtown Enforcement Project, it was started in August of 1979. Recognizing that out of 17 million visitors, approximately 50,000 become crime victims, the intention of the program is to assist visitors to the city who are so victimized. Since many foreign tourists are drawn to the community because of curiosity and sightseeing, there were language and other problems in any attempts to solve difficulties they encountered. Consequently, law enforcement agencies now refer victims to the center, where trained personnel will provide for phone calls to home, a

Of all the institutions in the area, the church is virtually the only one that local residents can potentially make their own and whose services they can feel are simply what is due them. All the other bodies of social control operate somewhat like charities, dispensing their services as if they were gratuitous acts of benevolence. Thus the residents either shy away from them or receive their services without any sense of debt. The church is different. Ultimately, it can belong to a local group. The receipt of benefits is not humiliating, and the residents can meet its ritual acts of obeisance without feeling themselves the victims of outsiders.

Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum, p. 45.

room while awaiting replacement funds, etc. The Port Authority was actively involved in developing this agency.

-- The Forty-second Street Redevelopment Corporation: Created in February, 1976, under the auspices of the Municipal Art Society of New York, its goals are to renew the many abandoned far westerly blocks of the community and return them to theatrical purposes. In addition, the middle blocks will be upgraded and Forty-second Street made into a redeveloped boulevard stretching from river to river. Two notable projects completed under the auspices of this agency have been the Crossroads Building at the intersection of Broadway, Seventh Avenue and Forty-second Street. Formerly the site of a pornographic enterprise, it now houses a police substation, city information center and offices. Theater Row has been a two-phase operation for restoring the theatrical heritage to the community. Phase I was the renovation of five derelict tenements between Ninth and Dyer Avenues into small theaters, housing both companies and offices. Phase II, located between Dyer and Tenth Avenues, is the development of abandoned tenements and vacant lots into theaters and commercial space. Many street, hotel and housing improvements are planned, with the ultimate goal of altering the physical environment of the community, and the Port Authority is a major partner in the endeavor.

The discussions here yielded the opinion that people will misbehave in an untidy environment, since they feel it is their "turf," and ordinary people are frightened away. The Corporation uses economic powers to upgrade these conditions and drive out social ills. It was also felt that by nature, bus terminals are

not upgrading institutions. The Bus Terminal was seen as less a terminal than a commuter facility, but the stores there are high rent types and varied, adding stability to the community. By rebuilding the area and implementing a stable economy, it is expected that deviant acts will be altered into a socially acceptable form. Drug sales, prostitution and pornography occur in "good" areas of the city, but the deviants are careful to conceal their activity. The blatant deviant activity in the Forty-second Street community occurs because the undesirables feel that nobody is watching. Once the area is changed, no displacement was seen, as the undesirables would remain yet their activity would be more concealed, therefore more socially acceptable.

-- Fund for the City of New York: This is a small agency set up by the Ford Foundation, and it is able to give grants to itself. The focus is on productivity improvement and performance measurement, and in Times Square, a system was set up for monitoring cleanliness in the streets. Street activity was observed and coded according to type, with repeat observations showing changes in the area.

-- Times Square Sweep Up: The Midtown Planning Office had proposed a Broadway mall, but the individuals to be taxed as a result of the undertaking were hesitant to participate unless it was proven that the streets could be kept clean. A need existed for a plan of operations and equipment in advance of securing a CETA project, and the Broadway Association was asked if it would be willing to back the endeavor, and it answered in the affirmative.

The Port Authority became involved because these CETA funds would pay for only the workers, not supervisory personnel. Consequently, these individuals were loaned to the Sweep Up program by the Authority. The Port Authority received criticism from Terminal users concerning cleanliness in the area, and some felt that the agency is responsible for Times Square. Since the Port Authority has become more responsive to interest group articulation, they were interested in altering these perceptions but stressed that their involvement would entail a strong voice in the organization and management of this project. Consequently, the Authority also set up a uniform program, permitting workers to wear surplus apparel and the project began with fifty workers who swept curbs and bagged garbage between Thirty-fourth and Fifty-second Streets, between Sixth and Eighth Avenues.

A major factor to the subsequent cleanliness of the area was the decision to empty city sanitation baskets, since observations showed that persons tended to litter when they came upon a full bin.⁴⁰

The Bus Terminal was seen as a "threatening" institution, since even though it is a well designed facility, it is the largest public place in the area and does not charge admission for anyone wishing to enter. On the other hand, loiterers in an arcade would require money to legitimize their presence; if they were standing and not engaged in a game they could be challenged. The situation is not as bad in the summer months, since the streets then offer the

⁴⁰This was accomplished with the consent of the New York City Sanitationmen's Union. The situation is identical to that observed in the Bus Terminal after concerts in the Garden.

conditions that the disaffiliated seek during the winter.

-- Shubert Organization: Although not limited to theaters, this agency was concerned with the fact that the proliferation of sex industries was hampering access to them. As such, it works with various Community Boards, leading citizens and other agencies to rectify the condition. The Bus Terminal was seen as the victim, not the cause, of neighborhood decay. Forty-second Street is an entertainment area, and although the police do operate there in an effective manner, such is not the case for other agencies dealing with consumers, buildings and landlords. The latter raised rents so that smaller businesses could not survive, at which time deviant concerns moved into the community. These offered fast, immediate cash to property owners; this was not the case with old tailor shops or grocery stores.

-- Broadway Association: This agency was begun in 1911 during the community's peak as an entertainment center. At that time, it was a "gentleman's luncheon club," centered around the Astor Hotel and its purpose was to foster economic development. Today, there are 100 members, including banks, real estate developers, large corporations and the Port Authority. The Association is a major lobbying force within the city, and when a member organization experiences problems, the agency goes through proper channels in order to obtain results. The Association also gives support to noteworthy projects, such as Westway, etc.

During this meeting, it was felt that the Bus Terminal is one of the reasons why the neighborhood has deteriorated. Since

the subways converge on one spot and the Bus Terminal brings commuters into a central location, many individuals who get off the buses become lost, thereby becoming prey for street persons. The environment of Forty-second Street is conducive for all types of criminal activity. For example, places exist where one can sell blood, thereby obtaining funds to buy a knife in one of the many stores offering them. With the newly purchased knife, the individual robs a person in order to obtain even more funds. While it is unfortunate that the Bus Terminal is the way most people come to the community and where many disaffiliated hang out, it was felt that there is not much more the Port Authority can do. The new Terminal is good, since skells do not like light and "newness," seeming to thrive to decay. Since Forty-second Street is a natural attraction, street people would be made to feel incongruent if it were properly lit and cleaned. However, even if this is done, the entrenchment of the street disaffiliated is seen as making redevelopment all the more difficult.

RESIDENTIAL REDEVELOPMENT

Despite the fact that a significant amount of the population has left Clinton, it is experiencing a resurgence as a residential community. One of the major reasons for this is Manhattan Plaza, a large apartment complex located at Forty-second Street and Ninth Avenue. It was originally conceived as part of the City Planning Commission's neighborhood redevelopment project, including a convention center, Portland Hotel and middle income housing. The reasoning behind the housing pro-

posals was that an influx of middle income persons would help revitalize the community. During the interview, it was mentioned that the Forty-second Street and Ninth Avenue location was selected because it is a true community, with interaction among residents, businesses, churches and governmental institutions. It was realized, however, that this was a community in transition, as many persons who could have been an asset to it had given up hope for any redevelopment, thereby moving to New Jersey.

The City of New York was very committed to the aspect of neighborhood stability. Before Manhattan Plaza was built, the site consisted of parking lots and abandoned buildings, and actual construction involved very little relocation, a distinctly different situation than the Bus Terminal in 1950.⁴¹ The City was so committed to the project that they loaned funds to the developers, stating that they realized the difficulties in obtaining mortgages. However, with the oil embargo during that period, prices were forced upward and what was intended to become middle income housing became upper income housing and the buildings remained vacant. Persons could not see the benefits in relocating to the Forty-second Street community for what they considered excessive rent. The City, realizing the problem, turned to the Federal government for assistance. Consequently, the Section Eight Rent Program was implemented, whereby 25 percent

⁴¹During the Hell's Kitchen era, this site consisted of tenements and the Roxy Theater; it was considered one of the less desirable areas of the community.

of the gross income would be applied to rental fees, with each tenant paying a different rate. To qualify for Section Eight, there was an income limit, such as \$11,000 for a single person. The program was definitely geared toward lower income individuals and the community felt that given the precarious nature of the neighborhood (surrounded by Times Square and at that time Ninth Avenue was a major location of prostitution), the addition of 3,000 low income individuals would disrupt, not enhance stability in the area. The City stated that goals of the community would get priority, but residents felt that if approximately 1,700 persons were relocated from homes in the neighborhood and placed in Manhattan Plaza, who would replace them in the tenements? In a sense, there would then be an "affluent poor," those persons displaced into Manhattan Plaza and a "poorer poor" to replace them in the tenements.

A study group was formed by developers and the City, and the findings identified the importance of the Clinton community to the theater district. The average income of an Actor's Equity member was \$6,000, well within the Section Eight bracket. In addition, there is a fluctuation of performers' income--in one year there is a low figure, where in the next, a job would be landed in a Broadway production, resulting in a higher figure. Thus, there is a rent/income cycle.

Due to their proximity to the theaters, the community liked the idea of performers as tenants, yet was wary of the isolation such a lack of heterogeneity could cause. Consequently, the resulting tenant mixture consists of 70 percent performers,

15 percent community residents (not related to the arts) and 15 percent elderly (who may or may not be related to the arts).

All parties were in favor of the idea, so in 1977 the Board of Estimate approved the plan for the tenants of Manhattan Plaza, and in June, the first of them moved in. The architect had designed the twin forty-five story towers so that it is an isolated block, with no contact with surrounding streets if so desired. A swim and tennis club and other suburban-like conveniences made residents comfortable regarding the reputation of Forty-second Street.

Community Involvement

The prevailing sentiment regarding conditions in the community is that if the streets are abandoned, they are in affect given to the prostitutes and disaffiliated, who then flourish in the subsequent deviance.⁴² In the case of Manhattan Plaza, the area has become developed, the lights went on and the stores opened. As a result, the problem of autos with New Jersey license plates seeking prostitutes has been displaced onto Eighth and other Avenues, since the new environment is not conducive to overt deviance. It is felt that residents of Manhattan Plaza are more likely to call the police, who respond because they realize the growing commitment to community. There is a deterioration of the transient notion of community, since residents both live and work within Clinton.

⁴²This is very similar to Jane Jacobs notion of the uses of sidewalks. The goal of Forty-second Street Redevelopment is to keep such uses legitimate.

Manhattan Plaza has supported a voter registration program for tenants; as a result it is the largest single voting bloc on the west side of Manhattan. When a tenant registers, he or she is given a form to be filled out in the presence of a recruiter. The goal of this project is to increase political accountability within the community.

Ethnicity and Socialization

The aim of the programs within this subcommunity is to generate income in order to reduce subsidies. As tenants advance in their profession, thereby earning more money, they require less subsidy from the government. There is an upward mobility among residents of the Plaza, and most elect to remain because of the improved environment. It was pointed out that performers maintain tight bonds of affiliation, as the successful do not forget the fact that they were once struggling for survival. Many affluent and prominent persons reside in the towers, and it was brought out that minorities realize that they are accepted by these individuals, without regard to their income. In the case of children, there is economic inequality yet a sense of social acceptance.

The tenant composition is mixed, to avoid "Black floors" or "elderly areas." Each floor strives to maintain its own essence of community, since there are tenant groups with scheduled meetings which serve as working forums and social gatherings. If there is a regional problem (such as disorderly teenagers on floors, or a tenant's unfamiliarity with the garbage compactor), the Managing Director will inform that floor to work things out on their own.

Creating a Community

During the meeting at Manhattan Plaza, the discussion was centered around the creation of this new community in an attempt to replace what had existed many years before. There is a conscious effort to avoid any notions of territory and intrusion among the tenants, since persons are guided to feel that a sense of responsibility for their own property as well as that of others. This was the exact situation years ago in Hell's Kitchen, where John Mooney spoke of helping one another over the rough spots and maintaining a sense of order in the neighborhood. When creating such a community, it becomes necessary to create and encourage attitudes among neighbors that focus on betterment of the area, such as votes, personal responsibility and accountability.

The attitude of Manhattan Plaza's management is that before resorting to external agencies for problem resolution, tenants must first mobilize and do their share.

Security and the Bus Terminal

Manhattan Plaza employs a security staff who patrol the buildings, and more important, screen visitors at the door. When one enters the complex at the Ninth Avenue end, he must inform the guard of his name and the party to whom he wishes to speak. After this information is verified, one is buzzed through a turnstile so he may use the elevators. It was stated that this security system maintains two important perceptions; first, that there is a guaranteed safe passage through the complex despite conditions in the surrounding community; and, second, there is a "luxury building atmosphere." These security guards also patrol the perimeter of

the buildings, reporting any crimes or dangerous conditions to the police.

Regarding the Bus Terminal, some residents of Manhattan Plaza use it for shopping and out of town transportation, and Terminal merchants advertise in the Plaza newspaper. It was observed that the Terminal is a human institution rather than a mechanical convenience, with emphasis upon its shops and diversity of people. Efforts are continuing to expand this perception, as illustrated by the case of the annual Christmas Festival run by the Terminal. The Port Authority pays Manhattan Plaza performers to participate in the program, giving them an entirely different perception of the facility than they could have encountered by simply passing through it, and demonstrating to users that the agency is responsible to their needs and those of the surrounding community.

Observations of Manhattan Plaza

It is, no doubt, very important that developers realize that restoration of a community environment is an integral part of a "new Times Square," however, some observations should be made concerning this situation.

The Hell's Kitchen community emphasized both residentialism and industrialization, with a proliferation of homes and factories. With the construction of the Bus Terminal, Lincoln Tunnel and other transportation facilities, as well as the development of the Forty-second Street area as a central business district, the community declined in its emphasis of residence to a focus on transience. Many residents moved out, leaving those who were unable

or unwilling to do so in their wake. As such, most of those who came to the community were users of the transportation facilities, theatergoers or participants in the deviant activity of Forty-second Street. Manhattan Plaza has attempted to restore a sense of permanence to community, bringing those who live and work there together in one environment. One characteristic of this is the rigid security about the complex, as tenants are still wary of any intrusion of the surrounding environment. It is very difficult for any mope or skell to invade the building, yet if the security were not there, it is likely that a few would regard this as a "new" public place, using it in much the same way they do the Bus Terminal. The street persons would realize that the lobby offered warmth, shelter and a sleeping spot, with the notable absence of a police force such as that of the Port Authority.

Since the Bus Terminal is a public place, it cannot be as rigid in screening users on its property. Conversely, Manhattan Plaza is able to deny entry to those it deems incongruent with the surroundings or who wish to "hang out." This attempt at restoring community is favorable, yet it will take time. The street community is firmly entrenched, thereby deterring residents from using the sidewalks during periods or in areas where they may feel they will come into conflict with the disaffiliated. Consequently, they are wary of where they go, and ultimately retreat to the sanctuary on Ninth Avenue, where they are protected by this rigid security.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY

NEIGHBORHOOD BUSINESSES

<u>Classification of Business</u>	<u>% of Respondents</u>
Garment Industry	36%
"Fires"	17%
Entertainment	8%
Retail Stores	7%
Misc. Manufacturing	6%
Eating Establishments	5%
Personal Services	3%
Printing & Publishing	3%
Other	15%
Total	100%

DURATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>Duration in Neighborhood</u>	<u>% of Responses</u>	
	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
Less Than 1 Year	6%	8%
1 - 5 Years	22%	26%
6 - 10 Years	24%	17%
More Than 10 Years	43%	49%
Total	100%	100%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

The community surrounding the Bus Terminal retains its small business heritage, with many garment shops and "fire" stores, that is, those businesses offering a wide variety of items at low prices. Many of these have been in the community for quite some time, as evidenced by the 48 percent figure in the primary area and 49 percent in the secondary area.

RESIDENTS AND BUSINESSES ATTRACTED TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD
BECAUSE OF THE BUS TERMINAL

<u>Category of Respondent</u>	<u>% Attracted to Neighborhood</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Resident	6%	94%
Business:		
Primary	9%	91%
Secondary	4%	96%

REASONS FOR BUS TERMINAL ATTRACTING
BUSINESS TO NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Businesses Responding</u>
PABT Users	38%
Tourism--Serve Travelers	15%
Convenience	40%
Other	7%
Total	100%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

As can be seen from the above survey results, the Bus Terminal is not instrumental in attracting people to this neighborhood. This supports the contention that residents left the community partly because of it, and will not easily be returned until perceptions of it are altered. Businesses, on the other hand, come to the community because of the convenience offered by the Terminal, but even then, it does not have a powerful influence on such relocation.

<u>RATING THE BUS TERMINAL NEIGHBORHOOD</u>			
<u>Residents and Businesses</u>			
<u>Category of Respondent</u>	<u>% of Respondents--</u> <u>Opinion of Neighborhood</u>		
	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Improved</u>
Resident	31%	29%	40%
Business	45%	41%	14%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

The results of this portion of the survey is that 40 percent of the residents felt that the neighborhood had improved, while 45 percent of the businesses felt that it had gotten worse.

The residents felt that it had improved because of:

- Building Improvements.....40%
- Improved Security.....15%
- Cleaner Streets.....12%
- New Businesses in Area..... 9%
- Theater District..... 6%

Clearly, the residents were concerned with living conditions, such as the renovation of brownstones and construction of new buildings such as Manhattan Plaza. On the other hand, businesses listed the following reasons for the neighborhood getting worse:

- Type of People in the Area.....41%
- Unsafe: Few Police.....19%
- Rundown Condition..... 9%
- Area Not Clean..... 8%
- Undesirable Businesses..... 7%

It is understandable that the businesses indicated a concern about the street disaffiliated, since this population will cause

potential customers to avoid the community. They infer that by altering the population, there will be an increase in the economy.

<u>MOVING FROM NEIGHBORHOOD IN THE NEXT YEAR</u>		
<u>Category of Respondent</u>	<u>% Moving From Neighborhood</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Resident	8%	92%
Business	15%	85%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

Those who indicated a desire to move from the neighborhood cited the following reasons for doing so:

- Personal (retirement, job change, etc.) 31%
- Deterioration of Neighborhood.....29%
- Get Away From Vicinity of Bus Terminal.....16%
- Crime..... 8%

The reasons for businesses moving from the neighborhood:

- Deterioration of the Neighborhood.....29%
- Poor Business Conditions.....25%
- Crime..... 8%
- Get Away From Vicinity of Bus Terminal..... 8%

31 percent of the residents indicated that a personal motive was involved in their leaving the neighborhood, and this may involve upward mobility in employment for the younger working persons and ultimate flight to the suburbs. A significant 29 percent of both residents and businesses indicated deterioration of the neighborhood as the reason for leaving. This is significant because it is indicative of the existing conditions in the streets, but it could have been much higher, pointing to progress in efforts toward displacing the deviant.

THE BUS TERMINAL IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Residents and businesses were surveyed in order to determine their opinion of the Bus Terminal as to positive and negative factors in the neighborhood.

<u>Positive Factors</u>	<u>% of Respondents*</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Residents</u>
Transportation Access	62%	62%	63%
Brings People to Area	12%	13%	8%
Shopping Open Late	3%	1%	6%
Not a Positive Factor	5%	5%	5%
Helps Economy/Jobs	5%	6%	4%
Shipping Packages	3%	3%	0%
Other	7%	9%	5%
No Opinion	20%	20%	23%
* Multiple responses received--total will exceed 100%.			

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

The overwhelming majority of residents and businesses think of the Bus Terminal as purely a transportation facility within the community. Businesses will focus more in bringing people to the area, since these are potential customers.

<u>Negative Factors</u>	<u>% of Respondents</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Business</u>	<u>Residents</u>
Undesirable Element--			
Security	38%	38%	38%
There are None	16%	17%	14%
Traffic Congestion	9%	10%	9%
Air/Noise Pollution	5%	3%	6%
Decline of Neighborhood	4%	4%	3%
Other	6%	7%	6%
No Opinion	35%	35%	35%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

The addition of this chart involving negative factors portrays the Bus Terminal as a transportation facility playing host to undesirables, both within it and in the neighborhood. What this does not focus on is their role as true users of the facility, albeit of a different or less customary nature than most persons. Of course, the prevalent opinion on removing such negative factors is to assign more police to affected areas, and a total of 31 percent (Business--33 percent; Resident--25 percent) felt that this should be done.

Many residents of the community are in a position to assess the situation in the Bus Terminal, since 70 percent of them use it, as do 53 percent of the businesses. The frequency of use is as follows:

	<u>4-5 Per Week</u>	<u>Once a Week</u>	<u>Once a Month</u>	<u>Less Than Once a Month</u>
Resident	15%	18%	24%	42%
Business	34%	10%	13%	42%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

Community residents are interested in knowing what is going on regarding the Bus Terminal:

<u>INTEREST IN KNOWING ABOUT BUS TERMINAL ACTIVITIES</u>		
<u>Residents and Businesses</u>		
<u>Area</u>	<u>Interested</u>	<u>Not Interested</u>
Primary	68%	32%
Secondary	60%	40%

SOURCE: Port Authority Neighborhood Survey, 1979.

Subject of Interest:

-- General Information.....	60%
-- Construction Programs.....	11%
-- Bus Information.....	7%
-- Community Events.....	2%
-- Cultural Events.....	2%
-- PABT Services Available.....	2%

This interest depends upon proximity to the Terminal, since 8 percent more of those in the primary area indicated an interest in activities occurring there. General information is preferred, such as traffic related delays due to construction, expansion plans or police assignments. Persons can find out bus information on their own when they utilize the facility. 75 percent of the neighbors felt that the Port Authority should inform them by facility newsletter, such as the previously discussed Omnibus. This figure applied to both residents (78 percent) and businesses (75 percent). On the other hand, the community makes its needs known by telephone hotline (74 percent total) and telephone surveys (73 percent total).

TRANSPORTATION FACILITY AND MORE

The Bus Terminal may best be conceived of as a transportation facility with a diverse host of users, situated in the midst of a community in transition. It is perceived in different ways by different users, such as the commuter who uses it for daily travel between work and home; the shopper who goes there for purchasing merchandise; the community resident who sees it as a neighborhood "big building" that affects where he lives; and the skell who decides to sleep there. These users can be broken

down into the legitimate--those who utilize the Terminal in ways for which it was intended, and the deviant--those who use it as an illegitimate extension of the surrounding sidewalks. Situated in the midst of what was once a lower class residential "slum," and what is now a resurgence of middle classhood, the Bus Terminal cannot be viewed as just a place to catch a bus. As the largest public place in a street corner environment, it invariably will become host to mopes, skells, bag ladies and other disaffiliated, who will interact or at the very least mingle with those of dramatically different social classes. As such, order in the facility depends upon the formal institutions of social control, such as the police, as well as the informal institutions, such as stall patterns and a stable ecology among all subcommunities.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Natural Area:

"A territorial area with some common, unifying characteristic. The term has been used primarily in human ecology, and usually refers to an area that emerges without planning from the operation of ecological processes. It is frequently contrasted with an administrative area having arbitrarily delimited boundaries, and has been most often applied to specialized areas of a city--areas characterized by distinctive land use or population type, such as a central business district, slum, wholesale district, rooming house area, financial district, Negro district, Italian district, etc. Some ecologists also refer to metropolitan areas as natural areas, because they are identifiable areas that have not developed from planning or legislation and are not delimited by political boundaries."¹

Before the concept of a midtown bus terminal ever crossed the minds of urban planners, the Hell's Kitchen community had been a natural area. Its unifying characteristic, "toughness," was perceived by outsiders to be the hallmark of a slum. The affluent looked to the neighborhood with scorn, as the marginal industries, low income residents and poor physical conditions were "contained" on the west side. Tenements and the diverse population they contained signified a deteriorated neighborhood on the outskirts of a bustling metropolis. However, to those who resided in Hell's Kitchen, the physical decay was relegated to second place in favor

¹Theodorson, Modern Dictionary of Sociology, p. 271.

of a tightly knit ethnic melting pot. Though predominantly Irish, the community was home to a wide variety of nationalities. Part of the reason for their solid ecology was the inaccessibility of the neighborhood--people were afraid to enter it because of its hostile reputation, lack of attractions (such as Herald Square's shopping center) and less than dynamic atmosphere. Consequently, most of the residents were served by other residents, such as John Mooney and Ferdinand Hollere, and the bonds of neighborhood were strengthened. Hell's Kitchen was certainly not an alien world where outsiders feared to tread, but it was a natural area in a very diverse city. It had evolved into a distinct territory that was a solid home to its residents and served their needs. As an ethnic neighborhood, it was on a par with Chinatown or Little Italy. Then came the Port Authority.

The Construction of the Bus Terminal

There is no doubt that the construction of the Port Authority Bus Terminal was instrumental in fragmentating the delicate ecology of this community. Residents saw their homes destroyed and families displaced in order to make way for a huge transportation terminal that would be of little use to them. Instead, it would hasten the arrival of "intruders" to the community--those whose roots were elsewhere and who came here for only a short period of time each day. It marked the beginning of the transient community and the decline of residentialism. Instead of John Mooney's small sewing shop that stressed familiarity between proprietor and customer (both of whom resided in the neighborhood), there would be an

immense marble concourse where crowds would condense amid public anonymity.

Here was a classic case of a public agency demonstrating its insensitivity to the needs of a community. By constructing a bus terminal, the Port Authority was contributing to the transportation needs of the region but the decline of a neighborhood ecology as well. The Bus Terminal and its connecting ramps leading to the Lincoln Tunnel would fragment the community by bisecting its streets and cutting it off from the surrounding city. Instead of open windows with dancing curtains, there were looming concrete and steel overpasses for the buses entering and leaving the metropolis. The cohesiveness of the population and vitality of the sidewalks were sidelined for a very different type of activity. Instead of small stores catering to the needs of residents, there was now a large terminal whose emphasis was on expedition rather than neighborhood cohesion. The morning and evening rush hours would bring forth hordes of commuters intent only upon getting in and out of the facility as fast as possible. In addition, there would be other segments of the population, including long and short distance passengers, shoppers, merchants and a multitude of services and support personnel.

So, the site was cleared, residents moved and the Bus Terminal constructed. The community would carry on, but things could never be the same. Concurrent with the decline of community was the decay of Times Square as a mecca for the legitimate theater. Slowly but surely, the performing arts gave way to burlesque, peep shows, pornographic movies and the type of population associated

with these enterprises. Another subcommunity was beginning to flourish and in contrast to the transient one which emphasized speed and time, this emphasized deviance. It would be easy to place blame for this decline upon the Bus Terminal, but to do so would be a false conclusion. The facility was responsible for only the fragmentation of social relationships in a once stable community. These were formed by kinship, ethnic solidarity and religion, and their strength could be seen in the comments of displaced residents. Despite the critical opinion about their neighborhood, they liked it here and did not want to leave. It was "home" to them, but the new facility would be home to no one. Anonymous public behavior would replace cohesive social interaction.

Conditions in the surrounding community would rapidly deteriorate, becoming more inhospitable than Hell's Kitchen had ever been. Prostitutes roamed the streets, drunks solicited funds from passersby and shopping bag ladies slept in doorways and public places. In addition, street corner loungers found the area to be a hospitable environment, marking the appearance of the "characters," bottle gangs and "hangers-on" to whom attention is so frequently called.

The Bus Terminal became the victim, not the cause, of these conditions. Had it been constructed in a place like Scarsdale or Short Hills, there would have been a fragmentation of community in a manner similar to Hell's Kitchen, but there would have been no widespread deterioration of the surrounding neighborhood such as occurred in Times Square. There are certainly small shops and cohesive relationships in other communities whose existence would

be destroyed by the construction of a larger midtown bus terminal, but the difference between them and Hell's Kitchen lies in the diversity of the population. The unanimity of class that existed in "the old neighborhood" has given way to a diversified group of subcommunities, the highlight of which is the deviant versus the legitimate. One of the major "problems" of the Bus Terminal is that it brings a large legitimate population (commuters, passengers, workers) into the midst of a deviant street corner community. Many of these persons are not accustomed to such a situation (bag ladies, peddlers, bottle gangs) and blame the Terminal for their presence. Actually, the only fault of the Terminal is that these individuals, like those who stigmatize them, are true users of the facility. As an available public place, it affords them shelter, a place to "earn" funds or a place to sleep. To the deviant, this role of the Terminal is as important as the transportation one is for commuters and other passengers. However, it is important to note that though the Terminal is a supportive element in the ecology of the community by acting as host to all segments of the population, it is not the reason for the existence of the deviant subcommunity. This group exists because of the marginal enterprises in the neighborhood (pornographic movies, prostitution, narcotics), and though members will focus their attention on the street (since that is where the market exists--marks, johns, etc.), they will avail themselves of the services provided by the public places within their domain. These may be the subway, New York Public Library, Penn Station, Grand Central Terminal, the Bus Terminal, and so on. These uses would extend to private locations, such as apartment lobbies or un-

supervised warehouses, if precautions were not taken. This is one reason why Manhattan Plaza has a comprehensive security force--bag ladies and derelicts would find the various corridors as excellent places to fill their need for shelter.

Consequently, before one attempts to place blame upon the Bus Terminal for the decline of community, there should be focus on its role as perceived by a very diverse and unique population. It is important to note that only a portion of this role is as a transportation facility.

The Undesirables

It is important to note that although the public perceives certain types of individuals as "undesirable," these persons constitute another segment of the community population and use the Bus Terminal in ways to suit their needs. Just as the commuter requires an unhindered passage for his daily routine, the bag lady requires a place to sleep. Since each must share the same territory and constitute an integral part of the ecology, conflict will sometimes arise. For this reason, it is most important to maintain the programs which divert "deviant" users from the Bus Terminal. By making uses available which are similar to those of the facility, the Port Authority should be able to reduce the impact of the marginal population on legitimate users. For example, a senior citizen resident of Clinton may desire to sit with his friends in the Waiting Room, passing the time of day or watching the people go by. Since his presence is hindering the efforts of a true bus user to find a seat, and since he may become a "mark" and crime victim, it is imperative that his need for socializing be satisfied elsewhere. In

this case, the answer is an agency like Project F.I.N.D., which stresses congregating in a sociable environment rather than in a transportation terminal.

Although the skells and mopes are different in appearance than the average pleasure seeking senior citizen, their impact on the Terminal population must be handled in the same manner. Unless agencies such as The Dwelling Place are kept in operation, bag ladies will depend on the Bus Terminal (or if it were not there, another public place) to satisfy their need for shelter. Unfortunately, only a minimal amount of women can be handled by this agency, resulting in a rotation system whereby a client has a reasonable chance of obtaining a meal or clothing at least once a week. Those who are unable to obtain service must take their chances on the streets until their turn comes around.

Consequently, the Bus Terminal has evolved into a place where these persons do not necessarily like to go, but are forced to go because of a lack of alternatives. As the largest available public place in the community, it affords the disaffiliated the need satisfaction they require. Some of the other public places such as the Forty-second Street library and Grand Central Terminal, assist in filling this need, but since the Bus Terminal is open continuously, it becomes the natural locus for the marginal subcommunity.

Public agencies operating large terminals in urban areas will have to take this siphoning operation into account, whereby unwanted segments of a population can be diverted to other locations, permitting an enhancement of mobility for legitimate users.

This is particularly important when considering construction of facilities in natural areas or "distinctive" neighborhoods. Were the Bus Terminal to be located in Scarsdale, it is doubtful that the undesirable problem would be of the magnitude it is on Forty-second Street. Conversely, if the facility were to be placed in the Bowery, the situation would remain the same, possibly becoming worse. One should bear in mind that the Terminal caters not only to the needs of its transient population, that is, the legitimate bus users, commuters, browsers, workers and so on, but the surrounding residential community as well. This latter element need not necessarily be the typical, stable Crestwood Heights type of community with which we are so familiar. Quite the contrary, the population will most likely include the marginal element of street corner hangers-on, derelicts and homeless persons who will avail themselves of the public places within their environment. This situation occurred within the Bus Terminal when New York State released a great deal of mental patients from various institutions. With nowhere else to go, they quite naturally drifted toward places which would satisfy the needs previously taken care of by the state. Two of these basic needs, a place to sleep and shelter from the elements, would be readily satisfied by subways, churches and, of course, the big public building on Forty-second and Eighth. Therefore, planners must take the ecology of the entire population into account when evaluating proposals for public facilities, so that the true users, both legitimate AND deviant may be identified and proper siphoning agencies developed.

The Police

There can be no doubt that a formal agent of social control is necessary for the maintenance of order within the Bus Terminal and surrounding community. The only requisite for policing this community is that a diversity of styles be employed in dealing with the many segments of the population. An officer cannot be legalistic during his entire tour, for the element of discretion is essential to law enforcement in a natural area. His day to day dealing will frequently fluctuate from one subcommunity to the other, making adherence to one policing style very restrictive. The Bus Terminal and surrounding community is notable for the fact that within the span of one hour, an officer may come into contact with a middle class bank executive from Saddle River; a sleeping drunk who has urinated in his pants; a secretary distraught over the fact that she has lost her purse; an argument between two taxi drivers; a friendly merchant who chats about the baseball score; a Boy Scout troop seeking directions for a field trip; a violent psycho brandishing a broken beer bottle; a middle aged woman who says, "Good morning, officer," as she passes by; and a sleeping, stinking bag lady. In order to be effective both as a law enforcer and a peace keeper, the officer's policing style must be as flexible as his personality.

The internal maintenance of order by the Terminal population greatly assists the police in controlling overt deviance. The Bus Terminal is at its finest when rush period crowds flow unhindered throughout the facility, their use of stalls, pedestrian maneuvers and so on resulting in a minimum of police intervention.

Displacement

The Bus Terminal and surrounding community has been identified as serving the needs of a diverse and distinctive population. Considering the current efforts to "revitalize" and "redevelop" Forty-second Street, including the expansion and modernization of the Terminal, it is very likely that deviance will begin to give way to legitimacy. As the sidewalks become brightly lit and better utilized, the street corner groups will be incongruent with the environment. When decaying buildings are replaced with modern structures, they will cease to be sleeping places for derelicts, havens for narcotics users or unpleasant sights within the community. The undesirables or marginals will not feel "comfortable" within the new environment, as it is more conducive toward legitimacy rather than bottle gangs or Three Card Monte. The deviant enterprises on Forty-second Street attract a particular type of clientele, so when the attraction is replaced, so is its following.

In the case of the Bus Terminal, the most important thing being done at the present time is the construction of the Annex and modernization of the new facility. In the latter, that all important "going somewhere" atmosphere is present due to the gleaming walls, polished metal and sleek design. This situation is contrasted to the existing facility, where a stagnant, rather than dynamic atmosphere prevails.² In this case, the Bus Terminal

²This atmosphere is rapidly changing for the better.

met the needs of the deviant subcommunity more than it did the legitimate users. An abundance of seats provided need satisfaction for bag ladies and other marginals seeking a place to sleep, and the overall depressing environment was not conducive to the image of a major and modern transportation facility. Rather than being a terminal as in the case of the International Arrivals Building at Kennedy Airport, the "Port Authority" was declining into the status of a lowly station where those who had to go in could not wait to get out.

Consequently, by altering the environment, making it aesthetically pleasing and emphasizing comfort, speed and efficiency, the port Authority is going a long way in providing for the needs of its true user population. In so doing, they are emphasizing the incongruence of the marginals, who stand out in the bright lights and sparkling shops. The absence of seats in many areas makes it difficult to find a sleeping spot. The answer to enhancing public perception of the facility lies in their assuming an "airport-like" attitude toward it. Everyone likes to go to Kennedy Airport and experience its vibrancy; rarely does anyone hear a traveler speak of fear in passing through it. This was not the case for the Bus Terminal. It became stigmatized in the same manner as the surrounding streets, resulting in an apprehensive attitude among the population.

Therefore, as the needs of marginal users of the Bus Terminal and surrounding community are removed, the question remains as to where they will go. The new community must have the same supportive elements as the old--an availability of public places;

transient population; deviant enterprise and sidewalks for hosting street corner groups. Thirty-fourth Street and Eighth Avenue seems to fill these requirements. Penn Station is host to a transient population similar to that of the Bus Terminal. The surrounding streets could easily fall prey to the decline of legitimate enterprise, creating a deviant subcommunity of street users and predators. Decaying piers on West Street could become havens for the marginals, and Thirty-fourth Street would see the emergence of Three Card Monte, prostitution, bottle gangs and shoe shine stands. Of course, all of this could not happen overnight. It would involve the restoration of one community and the decline of another, both time consuming situations. However, the importance of the matter lies in the fact that the Bus Terminal is as affected by the surrounding community as the community is impacted by it. It is no mere transportation facility; rather, it is many things to many users. These users are not necessarily the commuters or the shoppers; they are also the skells who wash in the men's room and the sleepers. The Bus Terminal and surrounding community comprise one of the most diverse and distinct neighborhoods in the city, with a human ecology all its own. If one were to sum it up in a scientific term, it would be "regulated diversity," and it should be an important concept to all urban planners. Though it is a distinct community, it cannot stand alone. It is not isolated. The Terminal and Forty-second Street are affected by changes in the exterior environment in the same manner as they are by alterations in the immediate ecology.

The future for the Bus Terminal and surrounding community looks better all the time. With the construction of the Annex and modernization of the existing facility, as well as the many projects planned for Forty-second Street, the community should be restored to legitimacy, but it will never regain its lost heritage. The Bus Terminal, like the neighborhood, has evolved into something new, something different. It is this difference which we call the natural area and human ecology.

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