

SUBSIDIZED PRIVATE MULTI-FAMILY HOUSING IN SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA

A Study Based on Resident and Management Attitudes

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction-----	1
Part One: General Findings-----	9
I. General Recommendations-----	10
II. Population-----	11
III. General Satisfaction-----	14
IV. People and Their Behavior-----	20
V. Design and Physical Facilities-----	25
VI. Location and Accessibility-----	33
Part Two: Management Considerations in Multi-Family Housing in Saint Paul-----	36
I. Introduction-----	36
II. The Management Operation-----	39
III. Problems of Management-----	46
IV. Resident Satisfaction and Management-----	67
V. Issues for Further Discussion-----	76
Appendix: Part One	
Appendix: Part Two	

Introduction

This study was undertaken by the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs of the University of Minnesota at the request of the Housing and Redevelopment Authority of the City of St. Paul. It is concerned with life in 14 FHA 221(d)3 and 236 developments in Saint Paul. These housing developments range in size from 40 to 286 housing units and were completed between 1968 and 1974. They were built as part of the largest subsidized housing program ever undertaken in the United States and make up a significant part of the new multi-family housing supply in St. Paul added during the period.

The report presents the feelings and attitudes of residents in fourteen multi-family housing complexes in Saint Paul towards the people, the management and the design and facilities of the developments in which they live. It also expresses the thoughts of management personnel about 13 of the same developments. The developments studied are located in various parts of the city with the heaviest concentration in the general Summit-University area.

The report is divided into three major sections:

- Part I. General Findings
- Part II. Management Considerations in Multi-Family Housing in Saint Paul.
- Part III. Case Studies of 236 and 221(d)3 Developments in Saint Paul.

The chief sources of information for the study were a questionnaire mailed to residents and detailed interviews of key management personnel. The survey instrument and a discussion of methodology are included in the appendix.

The FHA 236 program was brought to a halt in 1973 by action of the Federal Administration although some projects for which commitments had already been made were not completed and occupied until later.

Residents or potential residents of 236 developments were not consulted about the demise of the program. Although opinions as to the relative success or failure of the program and the many projects which made it up were rife, no one could say how residents felt or why they felt that way. This study makes an attempt to shed some light on these questions for a group of fourteen developments in Saint Paul. Hopefully it will be helpful to the residents, owners and managers of these particular developments and will also be of use to public and private agencies

concerned with housing either because they currently own and operate multi-family housing or because they will be involved in its future planning and development.

The study was made in the firm belief that the most important indicators of the health of any housing development are the feelings of the people who live in it. This is true not only and primarily because their comfort or discomfort in their homes will affect their outlook and actions in all aspects of their lives, but also because the attitudes of residents are likely to be directly reflected in the financial success of the development.

We assume that the self-respect and self-image of most people is intimately connected with their home environment and with their own perception of that environment. Further we believe that their attitudes towards their home will influence their behavior in many ways. A person who is dissatisfied with his living arrangements will act differently than one who is satisfied with them. His own feelings about it may be reenforced by what others see in it and what he thinks others believe about it. A home for which one is always apologizing to oneself and to others does not contribute positively to ones self-image. The child who is ashamed of his home starts with a serious handicap.

Claire Cooper, a leading student of multi-family housing, has advanced some ideas about the house as symbol of self.¹ She states:

It seems possible then, that in perceiving the house as a symbol of self, man sees its interior as self viewed from within; it is his own created and changing symbol reflecting the essence of self as viewed by self. And he sees the exterior as the symbol of self which he wishes to present to the outside world, or self as viewed by others...the furniture we install the way we arrange it, the pictures we hang, the plants we buy and tend to, all are expressions of our image of ourselves, all are messages about ourselves that we want to convey back to ourselves and to the few intimates that we invite into this, our house.

Clearly for multi-family housing, if these ideas have substance, they call for flexibility, the offering of alternatives and the maximum of control by the individual consumer. The latter alone can know when a house or an apartment affords him the comfort of presenting to the world an exterior which satisfies his needs for a public self and an interior with which he feels truly at home.

¹Cooper, Claire. House as Symbol of Self, Berkeley, 1971.

Whether a house stands as a symbol for the self or performs the less specific but important function of contributing to (or detracting from) the individuals self-image and self-esteem, this study assumes that where residents indicate satisfaction about various aspects of the development, that development is playing a more positive role in the lives of its occupants than when the opposite is true. Developments where occupants are happy are better for them and for society than developments which residents don't like.

We recognize that residents who are generally unhappy about their lives may express specific dissatisfaction about aspects of development life with which generally happier people are satisfied. We do not know the extent or the characteristics of any such general dissatisfaction syndrome. Most people, however, seem to be able to differentiate fairly clearly between aspects of the development which displease them from those which please them and even though generally dissatisfied may indicate things about their living arrangements which satisfy them.

By its very nature this study is more descriptive than it is prescriptive. It identifies far more issues than it provides resolutions to problems. Questions asked indicate how widely opinions are held or satisfaction or dissatisfaction is felt among the residents in each of the complexes surveyed and among all of them taken together. They do not reveal how important a problem is to a respondent except as he classified it "somewhat serious" or "very serious" or expresses himself as "satisfied" or "very satisfied," "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied." A very real difficulty of analysis rises because there is no norm as to when a problem can be considered important. Quite arbitrarily we have considered a problem to be significant if 20% or more of the residents in a development indicate that it is serious or very serious. Similarly anything which 20% or more of the respondents indicate they are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with is considered to be important enough to note. A reader who feels this standard to be inappropriate may establish his own. Table A gives the percentage of negative response for each of the developments on each of the items on the questionnaire. The tables accompanying the case studies compare the responses on each question for the complex studied with the average for all respondents and the responses in the most enthusiastic and the least enthusiastic complexes.

Table B gives another comparison on selected questions. It compares the percentage of dissatisfied respondents in all of the complexes surveyed with the percentage of dissatisfied respondents on similar questions asked in a study of 25 housing projects in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania and Tennessee, built under sections 221(d)3, 221(d)4 and 236 of the Federal Housing Act.

Many of the findings of this study may appear to be obvious. If no outdoor storage space is provided, the lack of it will prove a nuisance to those residents with things to store. Thin walls and noisy people add up to discomfort for neighbors. Children with no "appropriate

place" to play will play where adults find them out of place and uncontrolled. Yet these things are part of life as we found it and may go to increase or decrease the comfort of residents.

Perhaps the most general conclusion from the study is that these developments and their people represent a great heterogeneity despite the fact that they were all built in the same city and occupied in the same six year period, 1968 to 1974 under the provisions of the same or very similar program. Resident attitudes within and between complexes vary dramatically on design and facilities, on management and maintenance operations and on peoples behavior. We believe that these differences are related to some degree to the surprising heterogeneity of population among complexes and also to differences in design, location and management, though the study does not shed much light on how these elements generally relate to each other.

Certain problems appear to stand out and on them the Housing Authority may wish to take the initiative in seeking solutions. These include, concern about crime, concern about fire, noise from adjacent apartments and the behavior of uncontrolled children. These among others are the subject of a series of general recommendations.

Percentages of Residents Responding Negatively to Selected Questions in Each Housing Complex

Question	All Respondents	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
<u>General Satisfaction</u>															
2. Wish to move now (% wishing to move)	13.4% 16.7	15.4% 22.4	3.0% 6.1	10.3% 10.8	25.0% 34.1	27.3% 52.4	14.6% 9.8	28.4% 26.7	24.4% 43.6	11.9% 11.0	13.6% 16.6	11.3% 6.8	4.7% 6.6	12.3% 18.0	0% 8.6
5e. Proud to call complex home.	14.1	13.8	1.5	21.6	23.6	47.6	15.4	30.5	37.5	9.7	7.5	5.2	6.5	25.0	9.4
5l. Would recommend complex to friends.	25.3	27.6	16.6	23.7	23.1	38.0	15.0	30.5	41.1	15.9	31.4	24.7	18.8	23.9	12.1
5m. Like better than last place lived.	13.0	12.9	4.6	5.3	22.0	30.0	14.6	16.7	35.7	9.6	12.6	8.4	7.4	20.0	11.1
5r. Happy living here.															
<u>People and Behavior</u>															
1r. People living in complex.	13.7	30.4	4.8	2.8	25.0	22.7	4.9	14.2	22.8	19.2	14.2	6.8	3.4	23.1	3.2
1s. People in surrounding community.	8.5	9.6	3.1	5.4	9.8	15.0	10.2	19.1	21.4	21.3	0	.9	6.5	12.0	3.3
5g. Most residents would help neighbors.	16.8	20.1	7.8	24.3	30.8	38.1	17.5	17.1	27.5	16.9	11.6	12.0	5.6	30.6	12.5
5h. Residents are less trustworthy than others (% agreeing)	14.5	18.1	4.7	5.6	35.9	16.7	18.0	8.6	30.5	17.1	14.1	8.1	9.2	24.5	13.0
5f. Most people here are friendly.	11.3	13.6	6.0	10.5	17.5	28.6	12.2	11.1	24.4	10.0	11.8	3.3	5.2	20.0	5.6
5i. There are residents I feel secure leaving child with.	14.1	16.1	4.8	29.4	22.5	25.0	10.0	16.4	18.9	16.4	11.8	6.8	7.6	27.3	6.7
5j. Feel secure against crime in home.	22.2	23.4	19.7	32.4	29.7	47.6	24.4	35.7	41.5	20.3	16.3	10.1	4.3	48.1	15.6
6d. Crime within complex.	22.6	34.9	18.9	13.5	40.0	35.0	25.0	32.3	25.0	23.1	14.2	16.8	5.7	47.8	3.3
6e. Crime in neighborhood.	30.9	43.4	21.9	48.6	43.9	45.0	35.9	59.4	43.9	37.3	10.6	18.8	10.6	48.9	6.6
6f. Uncontrolled children.	52.9	76.4	43.0	27.0	57.5	52.6	35.0	55.2	67.5	54.9	59.7	65.8	15.1	49.0	32.4
6g. Uncontrolled pets in complex.	11.2	37.4	10.8	5.4	20.5	10.0	10.0	8.9	12.5	2.6	1.6	9.0	2.6	6.3	6.7
6h. Uncontrolled pets from neighborhood.	17.3	33.6	23.1	21.6	18.0	25.0	15.0	10.1	7.3	28.2	5.3	6.0	11.1	24.5	32.3
<u>Design Factors</u>															
1g. Parking arrangements for residents.	10.7	20.4	11.1	8.1	4.8	9.5	7.1	14.9	23.8	3.6	10.0	13.5	5.3	0	6.3
1h. Parking arrangements for visitors.	11.9	29.8	9.4	17.9	5.2	19.1	15.4	13.3	27.2	3.9	6.5	5.1	7.7	2.0	10.7
1k. Physical appearance of complex.	13.7	31.2	4.7	2.8	24.4	47.6	5.0	15.1	47.7	6.3	6.6	5.1	1.0	16.3	16.1

Table A.

Percentages of Residents Responding Negatively to Selected Questions in Each Housing Complex

Question	All Respondents	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
<u>Design Factors (cont.)</u>															
1t. Amount of outdoor open space.	21.6%	19.9%	9.1%	33.3%	31.7%	29.4%	12.5%	16.2%	33.3%	12.5%	27.2%	31.9%	9.6%	24.0%	26.6%
1u. Location of outdoor open space.	19.9	21.5	9.2	22.3	27.5	28.5	17.5	14.7	35.0	8.5	21.1	24.4	13.1	20.4	31.0
5a. Complex is overcrowded(agree).	12.8	27.6	6.3	10.8	23.0	19.3	9.7	11.4	19.5	11.5	14.7	7.6	2.4	4.0	6.4
5b. Enough space for belongings.	25.7	16.7	25.7	32.4	40.0	9.5	22.0	19.7	20.0	22.0	44.1	34.7	10.0	23.1	18.2
5c. Enough space for privacy.	20.9	15.1	20.7	17.2	39.5	20.0	7.5	18.3	14.7	12.0	34.1	21.1	13.1	28.2	25.0
8a. Building entrance security.	21.9	19.2	22.6	40.0	41.7	50.0	33.8	30.8	19.5	13.0	29.6	18.9	2.9	17.3	10.0
8b. Way keys work.	20.2	20.0	12.7	20.0	29.7	36.8	13.2	27.3	12.2	10.7	40.0	24.4	5.1	7.8	9.4
8c. Heating.	17.5	7.2	30.2	25.7	10.5	25.0	18.4	44.8	33.3	15.1	14.2	12.6	5.0	15.4	27.3
8d. Stove.	4.7	8.4	4.7	2.8	5.3	19.0	5.1	12.3	17.1	9.5	.7	1.7	3.1	1.9	0
8e. Refrigerator.	6.4	3.2	3.1	5.6	5.3	25.0	7.7	23.1	14.3	6.7	2.2	1.7	8.0	1.9	6.5
8f. Kitchen layout.	14.9	11.1	14.1	11.1	17.9	19.0	23.1	13.8	11.9	6.6	25.7	15.7	10.2	18.9	3.1
8g. Size of living room.	11.1	4.8	7.8	33.3	28.9	15.0	23.1	21.2	11.9	3.9	10.4	8.3	0	15.4	16.1
8h. Size of bedroom.	17.2	19.2	7.8	30.6	18.4	28.6	15.4	21.2	11.9	5.2	28.6	23.7	3.1	17.6	3.2
8i. Design of apartment.	12.4	10.6	7.9	11.1	13.5	19.0	10.8	21.7	22.5	2.6	20.9	13.4	4.1	11.3	6.7
8j. Storage space in apartment.	24.8	20.8	23.4	25.0	34.2	20.0	15.4	26.9	21.4	17.1	37.0	28.6	18.6	21.2	24.2
8k. Storage space outside apartment	20.1	14.5	30.5	22.9	20.5	30.0	27.8	20.0	24.4	16.4	20.9	20.8	9.6	24.5	20.0
8n. Plumbing.	7.9	6.5	6.3	2.9	15.8	15.0	10.5	10.8	35.7	9.6	5.2	5.0	3.0	2.0	6.3
8p. Lighting outside building.	14.4	18.3	3.1	25.7	15.4	42.9	12.8	17.9	17.1	6.5	18.4	13.3	6.1	7.7	23.5
8r. Air conditioning.	7.2	6.6	5.0	17.6	10.5	15.8	10.8	12.9	5.1	11.8	5.9	5.0	3.0	4.3	0
8u. Public hall lighting.	6.7	9.8	6.5	20.6	5.3	12.5	8.1	5.0	0	20.0	1.5	.8	8.3	1.9	6.5
8w. Laundry facilities.	26.3	5.6	22.2	36.1	47.2	0	48.7	23.8	18.7	30.7	42.2	28.1	10.1	38.5	28.1
6a. Parking arrangement.	22.7	38.9	21.6	21.1	19.5	19.1	20.0	33.9	38.4	9.2	16.9	24.8	9.5	10.2	33.3
6b. Noise from other apartments.	39.1	61.3	29.2	36.1	52.4	42.8	50.0	40.0	58.9	40.5	32.6	33.0	11.2	51.0	24.3
6c. Noise from neighborhood.	20.6	29.6	44.6	8.4	25.0	42.2	15.0	20.6	20.0	38.0	8.9	6.7	14.3	20.4	14.7
<u>Location</u>															
1l. Access to schools.	4.9	1.6	0	8.3	10.0	4.8	17.1	12.0	19.6	7.0	0	.9	0	8.7	0
1m. Access to public transportation.	5.9	0	4.5	15.8	2.4	4.5	7.3	9.9	16.7	0	15.1	5.2	0	3.6	0
1n. Access to shopping facilities.	13.3	9.4	22.7	37.8	14.3	9.1	12.2	13.9	2.5	13.7	13.7	5.0	2.0	39.6	15.6
1o. Access to medical facilities.	9.8	4.7	7.4	18.9	9.7	9.1	7.3	15.5	4.9	1.2	22.6	6.9	7.1	5.4	9.1
1p. Access to recreational facilities for adults.	20.6	17.6	11.1	48.6	37.5	18.2	29.3	18.1	32.5	16.7	13.9	20.2	7.7	31.9	33.3
1q. Access to recreational facilities for children.	19.7	24.2	3.4	22.3	38.1	21.1	22.0	11.2	41.0	11.4	10.6	23.6	14.1	23.7	43.3

Table A. Percentages of Residents Responding Negatively to Selected Questions in Each Housing Complex
All

Question	Respondents	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
<u>Management & Maintenance</u>															
1a. Management in general.	13.8%	12.3%	6.3%	19.5%	27.0%	35.0%	20.5%	12.8%	34.2%	6.3%	12.0%	10.0%	10.6%	13.7%	18.2%
1b. Speed of management response.	21.6	24.6	17.2	23.7	32.5	42.2	33.3	27.3	42.3	9.9	16.7	17.8	16.0	14.3	27.3
1c. Way management handles disruptive tenants.	13.7	27.1	1.6	13.5	22.0	28.5	7.3	17.9	32.6	10.7	8.2	8.4	7.8	9.8	9.1
1d. Way management handles tenant disputes.	8.8	14.7	0	13.5	10.2	36.9	9.5	11.3	13.7	7.0	5.5	2.7	3.7	8.4	7.1
1e. Quality of management repairs in home.	21.6	16.3	14.7	31.6	33.4	36.5	33.3	35.7	43.2	16.0	14.1	14.4	21.9	19.3	18.7
1f. Quality of management repairs outside home.	13.7	21.5	11.5	12.9	14.7	28.5	7.2	11.6	45.0	5.1	11.7	7.7	6.8	10.5	25.9
1i. Rules about changing inside of home.	21.1	8.9	19.0	43.2	23.0	23.8	19.5	25.7	28.6	26.3	27.7	22.4	6.7	20.4	20.0
1j. Rules about changing outside of home.	8.0	7.8	3.2	13.9	12.9	9.5	5.0	5.8	29.0	8.0	8.6	7.4	1.3	6.6	6.5
5d. Housing complexes should have resident associations.	6.4	2.4	0	5.6	2.6	0	5.0	5.7	15.4	12.2	6.8	6.0	6.7	15.6	9.1
5n. Management is friendly.	7.2	4.1	3.0	5.6	0	4.8	12.5	10.0	28.6	6.3	6.9	5.1	8.9	9.6	6.5
5o. Maintenance people are courteous	6.4	2.4	4.5	18.9	0	10.0	12.2	10.1	33.3	2.4	3.0	8.4	4.3	2.0	0
5p. Management protects right to peace and quiet.	17.4	27.8	7.6	10.8	27.5	19.1	19.5	14.7	57.5	13.8	18.6	12.7	4.6	18.0	5.7
5q. I feel well informed about management rules.	9.8	8.8	6.1	13.5	12.5	14.7	9.8	14.0	39.1	7.3	5.9	8.4	2.2	15.7	5.9
8l. Trash disposal.	12.2	23.0	7.8	0	31.6	15.0	7.9	16.7	43.9	10.7	5.2	.8	3.2	22.0	9.4
8q. Maintenance outside building.	15.9	31.5	17.5	11.8	29.7	35.0	10.8	12.5	50.0	7.9	10.5	4.2	6.1	4.0	30.0
8s. Cleanliness of public halls.	27.6	46.7	14.8	19.4	51.4	23.5	15.4	18.0	3.0	20.3	25.0	32.8	18.0	48.0	28.1
8t. Maintenance of public areas.	18.1	37.4	11.1	14.3	29.7	22.2	5.3	6.2	42.5	8.2	15.9	14.4	7.2	16.7	25.5
8o. Snow removal.	18.5	22.1	30.6	25.7	13.9	31.6	23.1	13.4	48.8	19.2	12.2	11.9	9.4	12.2	23.3

Table B. Comparison of Percentage of Respondents Expressing Dissatisfaction with Selected Aspects of Housing Environments in 14 St. Paul 236 and 221(d)3 Developments with those in 25 Developments* Located in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Tennessee.

	Respondents in 14 St. Paul Developments	Respondents in 25 Scattered Developments
Management	13.6%	24.4%
Other Residents in Development	14.7	16.7
Appearance of this Development	13.7	17.6
Recreational Facilities: Adults	20.6	41.5
Children	19.7	
Parking Arrangements: Residents	10.7	28.9
Visitors	11.9	
Laundry Facilities	13.7	32.9
Privacy from Others in Family	20.9	8.4
Appearance of Grounds	15.9	27.6

*Derived from Anderson, Weideman, Chenowett and Francescata. Residents Satisfaction: Criteria for the Evaluation of Housing for Low and Moderate Income Families.

PART ONE

GENERAL FINDINGS

Part I General Findings

This part of the report looks at the residents of the St. Paul multi-family housing complexes as a whole and describes and contrasts differences among them. Each complex is identified by a letter designation A through N in order not to single out one or another development unfairly by actual name. Each case study report which is intended for distribution to the sponsors and management of the developments with which it deals discusses the development by name.

To a large extent this is a problem or issue oriented analysis. It pays more attention to situations which are identified as unsatisfactory or as serious problems than it does to good points. Thus Table A shows the percentage of respondents giving negative responses on the various items covered by the questionnaire. It uses a short phrase to characterize a longer question in the questionnaire. However, each item in Table A is keyed by question number and the complete statement of the question can be found by reference to the questionnaire a copy of which is included in the appendix.

Despite the concentration on problems, in each section satisfied respondents are contrasted with dissatisfied respondents. Percentages stating a particular situation are contrasted with people who don't find it a problem.

Following a description of the resident population to the extent that demographic data is included in the survey, this general section follows the same format as the Case Studies with subsections dealing with General Satisfaction, People and their Behavior, Design and Physical Facilities, Location and Accessibility. Management operations are covered in Part Two, Management Considerations in Multi-Family Housing in Saint Paul.

I. General Recommendations

(General recommendations are summarized here. They are discussed in more detail in appropriate places in the text.)

A. It is recommended that the Housing and Redevelopment Authority, together with other interested agencies and project residents and managers take active steps to reassess the adequacy of programs and facilities available to children in the 236 multi-family housing developments north of the freeway in the Summit-University area. These developments include, Lonnie Adkins Homes, Community Plaza, Hanover and Jamestown.

B. It is recommended that the Housing and Redevelopment Authority join with appropriate agencies and organizations to assess the programs and facilities available to children in Torre de San Miguel, Vista Village and the surrounding Concord Terrace neighborhood.

C. It is recommended that the Housing and Redevelopment Authority explore with the appropriate agencies and organizations in St. Paul and interested departments at the University of Minnesota including the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs the possibilities of developing a workshop conference or institute on designing and managing multi-family housing for children's occupancy.

D. It is recommended that the Housing and Redevelopment Authority discuss with the Fire Department and interested sponsors of private multi-family housing in St. Paul, the possibility of educational programs for fire prevention in complexes where there is extensive concern about fire safety.

E. It is recommended that the Housing and Redevelopment Authority take an active role in working with the Police Department, local neighborhood organizations, and the sponsors and management of multi-family housing in developing crime prevention programs particularly in the Summit-University and West Seventh Street areas.

F. The Housing and Redevelopment Authority should consider establishing a regular meeting ground for its own management staff and management personnel from private multi-family developments for the exchange of information and ideas about management practice.

G. The Housing and Redevelopment Authority should develop a program for studying and alleviating noise between units through design changes, furniture location, wall and floor coverings etc. The management of those complexes where noise from other apartments is seen as a problem by a significant proportion of residents should be approached with the idea of making a detailed analysis of the problem on the project.

II. Population

A limited amount of demographic data was obtained about the respondents, their families and their previous housing experience (See Table C). The survey shows that the developments vary greatly in their population mix.

A. Sex of Respondents

In each of the developments the respondents were predominately women ranging from 67.7% in 'G' to 87.4% in 'L' with the overall rate 78.1%. In most instances the responses of male respondents were not significantly different from those of females. Where there appears to be a marked difference it will be noted.

B. Racial Composition

Racial composition of the fourteen complexes varied greatly. Three were 100% white, five were between 90% and 99% black while the remaining six ranged from predominantly white with a small black occupancy through 75% black with 25% white occupancy. In two developments a substantial proportion of the residents are of Mexican-American ancestry (complexes A and N). No attempt was made in the survey to elicit information as to the racial or ethnic backgrounds of the individual respondents therefore no direct tabulations of the data can be made by race.

C. Age of Respondents

The median age of respondents for each complex varied from 27 to over 65. They fall in the following categories:

<u>Median Age</u>	<u>Number of Complexes</u>
27-29	7
30 or 31	3
45-53	3
over 65	1

With two exceptions which contain no respondents 65 or over all of the complexes have some respondents in each age group. Predominately the population is young although in one development more than 80% of the residents were over 65. This development plus two others account for 69% of the respondents over 65. In all 5 have a substantial percentage of elderly people. Table A shows these numbers in detail.

D. Children

The complexes varied from one with a very low child population to six or seven where more than half of the households include children. Respondents were asked whether they had children under 5 and whether they had children between 5 and 18 years of age. In complex L only 9.1% of the households include children under five and only 6.5% include older children. On the other hand in complex A 63.1% include small children and 75.0% older children. These data are shown for each complex in Table A.

E. Duration of Tenancy

In all but two of the complexes more than half of the respondents had lived there for a year or more. These two were recently completed in

Table C.

Complex	Response Rate On Questionnaire	% Female	Estimated % White Occupancy	Age of Respondents					Median Age	% With Children Under 5	% With Children 5-18	% With Many Many Friends
				% Respondents Under 25	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+				
A	96%	81.6%	90%	26.5%	36.4%	19.7%	13.6%	3.8%	31	63.1%	75.0%	23.5%
B	83	69.7	97	28.4	58.2	3.0	6.0	4.5	29	21.3	27.0	13.4
C	75	88.9	2	35.0	37.5	12.5	10.0	5.0	29	51.5	50.0	5.1
D	63	82.1	7	41.5	36.6	4.9	12.2	4.9	27	45.5	41.2	14.6
E	92	77.3	3	38.1	47.6	4.8	9.5	0	27	28.6	70.6	0
F	58	80.5	10	35.7	45.2	7.1	11.9	0	28	46.9	50.0	9.5
G	62	67.7	25	28.4	45.9	12.2	10.8	2.7	30	49.2	44.8	12.3
H	63	77.3	20	15.2	21.7	13.0	30.4	19.6	45	38.7	55.3	20.0
I	84	81.5	81	16.9	19.3	2.4	33.7	27.7	53	25.8	36.8	11.9
J	88	80.7	99	44.0	34.8	5.7	5.0	10.6	27	63.2	36.8	12.1
K	86	70.4	100	36.1	26.2	4.1	8.2	25.4	30	48.5	28.1	15.6
L	91	87.4	100	3.0	2.0	1.0	12.9	81.2	65+	9.1	6.5	37.0
M	66	76.4	?	46.4	16.1	3.6	14.3	19.6	27	33.3	23.1	7.1
N	80	71.5	100	17.1	14.3	14.3	20.0	34.3	49	30.4	37.5	38.9

1974 and only fully occupied in the past year. Tenancy in the older developments appears to be quite stable. In four complexes completed between 1964 and 1972, more than 70% of the respondents had lived in the development more than a year.

F. Previous Residence

Most of the residents moved from other locations in St. Paul to the complex in which they now live. This varies from 55% in complex E to 90.6% in complex N. When asked where they had lived the greatest part of their lives, the responses are again preponderately "St. Paul" but there is great variation between developments. In two developments, B and G, less than 25% of the residents have lived in St. Paul the majority of their lives while in complex L more than 80% and complex N more than 90% have. In one complex, B, more than 1/3 of the residents spent more than half of their previous life on a farm or in a small town while in four complexes less than 10% came from rural backgrounds.

A supprisingly large proportion of residents moved to their present apartment from houses or duplexes. This figure varies from 27.8% in complex M which is located in a heavily rental area to more than sixty percent in the two complexes on St. Paul's west side and two of the developments in the Summit University area.

G. Acquaintanceship

In an attempt to get a feel for the amount of socializing which exists on the developments under study, residents were asked the following questions:

Which of the following best describes the number of acquaintances you have in this housing complex:

I have many friends living here.

I know some people who live here.

I know only 1 or 2 people who live here.

I don't know anyone outside of my own family.

Responses were very different in different complexes. In complex N on the west side, 38.9% of the respondents had "many friends" and an additional 47.2% knew "some people." In complex L on the east side figures were almost identical. On the other hand in project C only 5.1% of the respondents had many friends in the complex and 33.3% knew some people. The rest lay at varying points between. At the other end of the scale there was less variation. Percentages varied from 0 to 12.8% of people who knew no one outside of their families.

Older people were more likely to have "many friends" in the complex than younger ones. The following percentages of respondents in each age group had "many friends":

Under 25	12.4%
25-34	12.6
35-44	14.3
45-64	19.8
65+	29.5

This may explain in part the responses in complexes L and N which have the largest percentage of older people among the complexes surveyed.

III. General Satisfaction

The first thing which the survey of multi-family housing residents sought to discover was simply whether they found living in the complex generally satisfactory. The questionnaire, therefore, asked the extent to which the respondents agreed with a series of four statements which were interspersed with statements about specific aspects of life at the development. Residents were asked to indicate whether they strongly agreed with, agreed with, were neutral towards or disagreed with or strongly disagreed with the following statements:

- I am proud to call this complex home.
- I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends.
- I like this home better than the last place I lived.
- I'm happy living in this housing complex.

In a separate question they were asked how long they would like to live in the housing complex and given the options of:

- I'd like to move now.
- I'd plan to live here for awhile, but not forever.
- I'd like to stay here as long as possible.
- I don't know.

On the first four statements respondents as a whole divided as follows:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am proud to call this complex home.	15.9%	36.9%	30.6%	11.0%	5.7%
I would recommend it to friends.	15.8	50.6	19.4	9.6	4.5
I like this home better than my last one.	25.2	34.1	15.5	15.5	9.8
I am happy living here.	17.9	42.7	26.4	8.1	4.9

Thus, just over half of the respondents are proud to call the complex home. 59.3% like it better than their last home. 60.6% are happy living there and 66.4% would recommend the complex in which they are living to friends. It is interesting to note that more people have definite feelings on the most concrete question, "I like this home better than the last place I lived" and fewer are neutral than on the other questions.

The percentage distribution of all respondents however masks a great deal of variation among complexes on each of these questions. In the accompanying Table D the distribution for all respondents is compared with the distribution for the development with the most agreement with these statements and the development with the least agreement.

The following tabulation shows the range of percentage of respondents agreeing and percentage disagreeing among the complexes on each of these four questions.

	Percent Agreeing		Percent Disagreeing	
	High	Low	High	Low
I am proud to call this complex home.	80.2%	23.8%	52.4%	6.1%
I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends.	89.4	28.6	47.6	1.5
I like this home better than the last place I lived.	78.8	35.9	41.1	12.1
I am happy living in this housing complex.	83.2	20.0	35.7	5.3

In some of the complexes with a low positive response to statements about pride in the development and happiness living there, there is a much higher percentage of residents who like the complex better than the last place they lived. On this question especially, satisfaction is related both to the respondents previous housing experience and to the conditions which he finds in the complex in which he resides.

Clearly expressions of satisfaction have much to do with expectations. The survey did not attempt to probe this relationship. Questions are not included which would attempt to compare respondents present feelings with their expectations upon moving into the development, on the assumption that memories of previous expectations would be highly influenced by subsequent experience of the respondents.

The fifth question relating to general satisfaction is in some ways more useful than the others. While people, particularly people of moderate income, frequently cannot act on their desires about housing, asking them about their intentions is different than asking about their feelings. The percentage distribution of responses to the question "How long would you like to live here?" for all respondents, respondents at the development with the greatest degree of attachment as well as respondents at the development with the least degree is as follows:

	Move Now	Live Here Awhile	Stay as Long as Possible	Don't Know
All Respondents	13.5%	41.3%	27.2%	18.1%
Development with greatest attachment	4.7	12.1	66.4	16.8
Development with least attachment	28.4	43.2	10.8	17.6

In one project none of the respondents said they would like to move now while 55.6% wished to stay as long as possible.

The enthusiasm or lack of it with which a person views his home environment obviously results from an interaction between him and that environment. Thus, two people living in identical apartments in the same complex will view them very differently. One will be very happy and the other may be despairing. Thus, there are people in the same complex stating they are very satisfied and others indicating great dissatisfaction.

Table D. Questions Concerning General Satisfaction: Comparison of Percentage Distribution of All Respondents with Distribution of Residents in Development with Most and Least Agreement.

Question 5e. I am proud to call this complex home!

	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	15.9%	27.5%	4.8%
Agree	36.9	52.7	19.0
Neutral	30.6	13.2	23.8
Disagree	11.0	3.3	38.1
Strongly Disagree	5.7	3.3	14.3

Question 5l. I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends.

	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	15.8%	25.8%	0
Agree	50.6	63.6	28.6
Neutral	19.4	9.1	23.8
Disagree	9.6	1.5	33.3
Strongly Disagree	4.5	0	14.3

Question 5m. I like this home better than the last place I lived.

	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	25.2%	45.5%	12.8%
Agree	34.1	33.3	23.1
Neutral	15.5	9.1	23.1
Disagree	15.5	9.1	30.8
Strongly Disagree	9.8	3.0	10.3

Question 5r. I'm happy living in this housing complex.

	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	17.9%	23.1%	7.1%
Agree	42.7	60.0	14.3
Neutral	26.4	12.3	42.9
Disagree	8.1	4.6	9.5
Strongly Disagree	4.9	0	26.2

The survey does not lead to any definitive conclusions about what kind of people are most likely to be happy under what circumstances in multi-family housing. It does give some leads. It appears that developments with a large number of upper middle aged and elderly people are more likely to show pervasive general satisfaction than are developments with a larger proportion of families in their early middle years.

While we cannot say with any certainty what causes people to be satisfied or dissatisfied with a multi-family housing situation, we can show some of the differences between satisfied and dissatisfied residents on a number of elements which were covered by the questionnaire. For the purpose of this discussion we have assumed that people who want to move now are the least satisfied and people who wish to stay as long as possible are the most satisfied. About 14% of the respondents fell in the first group and 26% in the second. On many questions there is a statistically significant difference between these two groups. These are shown in Table D. Some of the problems which show up as most widespread among the complexes also most clearly differentiate between the movers and the stayers.

A much larger proportion of the residents who wish to move now are concerned about crime, view the behavior of children as a serious problem or are bothered by noise from adjacent apartments. People who wish to remain in the development as long as possible are much more likely to approve of their neighbors, feel that there is enough space in the dwelling, and be satisfied with the physical appearance of the development than are people who wish to move immediately. Because people who want to move and presumably do move shortly or remain as unhappy residents are not as desirable as tenants from the point of view of management as are people who want to remain and do remain a long time, these various elements become a matter of primary concern to management.

Table E. Comparison between residents who wish to stay in a complex as long as possible with those who wish to move now, percentage making positive and negative responses (neutral responses, don't know and no opinions not included).

<u>Item</u>	<u>Residents Who Want To Stay As Long As Possible</u>	<u>Residents Who Want To Move Now</u>
I feel secure against crime within my home:		
Agree	72.2%	24.6%
Disagree	11.6	46.9
Crime in the neighborhood:		
is a serious problem.	22.4	50.9
is not serious.	38.8	25.8
Crime within the complex:		
is a serious problem.	14.3	34.3
is not serious.	60.6	35.2
Behaviour of uncontrolled children:		
is a serious problem.	39.2	71.2
is not serious.	43.2	22.4
Residents are not trustworthy:		
Agree	12.6	30.6
Disagree	53.5	27.4
Most residents are friendly:		
Agree	82.1	37.7
Disagree	4.0	25.4
People who live in the complex:		
Satisfied with	77.1	28.1
Dissatisfied with	5.7	42.2
People who live in the surrounding community:		
Satisfied with	66.7	35.9
Dissatisfied with	3.2	24.2
Most people would help their neighbors if need be:		
Agree	72.7	26.9
Disagree	21.0	36.9
There are residents I would leave my child with:		
Agree	55.2	41.7
Disagree	8.3	30.7
Physical appearance of development:		
Agree	86.0	43.7
Disagree	5.3	36.5
Noise from other apartments:		
is a serious problem.	22.3	57.6
is not serious.	72.1	39.2

Table E (continued).

<u>Item</u>	<u>Residents Who Want To Stay As Long As Possible</u>	<u>Residents Who Want To Move Now</u>
The complex is overcrowded:		
Agree	5.6%	28.3%
Disagree	64.1	38.6
Location of outdoor open space:		
Satisfied with	76.9	29.8
Dissatisfied with	8.1	41.9
Amount of outdoor open space:		
Satisfied with	77.9	32.6
Dissatisfied with	7.9	45.7
My home has enough space for my belongings:		
Agree	75.7	41.4
Disagree	14.0	43.8
There is enough room to allow privacy from those who live with me:		
Agree	69.2	39.5
Disagree	11.6	43.4
Access to recreation for children:		
Satisfied with	63.2	37.3
Dissatisfied with	11.4	35.7
Access to recreation for adults:		
Satisfied with	62.4	34.1
Dissatisfied with	12.4	37.3
Access to medical facilities:		
Satisfied with	81.6	65.1
Dissatisfied with	4.4	15.5
Access to shopping facilities:		
Satisfied with	80.2	64.9
Dissatisfied with	10.3	19.1
Access to public transportation:		
Satisfied with	92.9	71.2
Dissatisfied with	2.8	8.8
Access to schools:		
Satisfied with	75.5	58.1
Dissatisfied with	20.4	14.0
I am proud to call this complex home:		
Agree	86.6	7.9
Disagree	2.8	61.4

IV. People and Their Behavior

Most residents find that the people in the complexes in which they live are friendly and approve of their behavior in general. 64.2 percent of all the respondents feel that people are friendly in the project while 11.5% disagree. When asked if they were satisfied with people in the complex, 55.8% said they were satisfied and 14.7% indicated they were dissatisfied, with the remainder indicating they were neutral on the question. Some behavior problems, however, are considered serious by a substantial number of the respondents. Behavior of uncontrolled children and crime are seen as serious. In all of the projects taken together 52.8% of the respondents indicated that they felt the behavior of uncontrolled children was a serious problem while 37.6% feel it is not serious and 9.6% indicated they didn't know. The next most serious and generally felt problem is concern about crime. Crime in the surrounding neighborhood is seen as a serious problem by 30.9% of the respondents while crime in the complex is viewed as a serious problem by 22.6% of the residents.

Variation in attitude between projects as well as variation within projects is great. This table shows the percentage distribution of all respondents and that of the projects with the most and the least satisfaction on each of the survey items regarding people and their behavior. The five items with the highest overall negative response are:

	<u>All Respondents</u>	<u>Most Negative</u>	<u>Least Negative</u>
Behavior of uncontrolled children	52.9%	76.4%	15.1%
Crime in the neighborhood	30.9	59.4	6.6
Crime within the complex	22.6	47.8	3.3
Crime within the home	22.2	48.1	4.3
Uncontrolled pets from the neighborhood	17.3	33.6	5.3

A. Uncontrolled Children - Facilities for Children

Over half of all the respondents feel that the behavior of uncontrolled children in their development is a serious problem. In thirteen of the fourteen complexes it is a significant problem. Complex L with its small child population was the exception. On the other hand, in eight of the fourteen developments more than 50% of the respondents indicated that the behavior of uncontrolled children was a serious problem. The developments with the largest proportion of families with children were not necessarily those with the most residents concerned about children's behavior. In one development for example with a large number of children between 5 and 18, only 27% of the residents saw their behavior as causing a serious problem. If the two developments at the extremes of the continuum are eliminated from the calculation there is no correlation between the percentage of families with children and the percentage seeing their behavior as serious. It may be that in some of the complexes with a large proportion of families with children, there is more

understanding and tolerance of their behavior than in some of the developments with more older couples. The one development with low concern and a large number of children, complex C, should be studied with a view to ascertaining the reasons.

In written comments accompanying the questionnaires a substantial number of people expressed their concerns about children's behavior and frequently attributed the problem to a lack of proper play space and recreational facilities. Also criticized were "irresponsible parents."

The lack of recreational facilities for children was specifically indicated as a problem in nine of the complexes all of them among those with widespread concern about children's behavior.

Another apparently closely related problem as specified in many written comments was concern about cleanliness of public halls, seen as a problem by residents in eight complexes. Much of the litter and dirt in public hallways was attributed to small children playing in them or waiting to get into their apartments.

In the case of children's behavior concern is apparently not only widespread but also has considerable priority. Many residents identified one or another aspect of children's behavior as a problem in the final open ended question in the questionnaire in which residents were invited to write in their likes and dislikes.

Eight questions were asked in the form, "How serious a problem is such and such." Many more respondents, 22.6% overall, answered very serious with regard to the "behavior of uncontrolled children" than did for any other problem thus identified. 30.6% indicated that the problem was somewhat serious. In complex A, the development with the most widespread concern about the problem, 36.6% indicated "very serious" and 39.8% "somewhat serious."

It is hardly news that children frequently cause problems in multi-family housing developments. Local housing authorities and private managers of apartments have long been concerned about children's activities and have tried to provide adequate children's programs and facilities to absorb their energies and enhance their lives, frequently with a good deal of success. The inadequacy of the social and physical environment for children and adolescents was a basic factor in the troubles and ultimate demise of Pruitt Igoe in St. Louis. There as well as in other highrise developments with less serious problems, troubles have been attributed in large part to the nature of the building itself. Without presuming to enter into this discussion, it might be noted that as long as twenty years ago, public housing people seriously questioned the advisability of putting low-income families with children in high rise buildings.

Here however the story is different. All of the complexes studied are two and three story buildings and the "children problems" cannot be

attributed to any single design element. In some of the developments some of the concern with children's behavior seems to stem from inter-generational friction between young families and their children and middle aged and elderly couples. Children bother older people, peer in their windows and get in the way. However, in one complex with the second highest percentage of older people, 54.3% over 45 and a good many children, concern about children's behavior is relatively low and only 5.9% of the respondents see the problem as very serious while 26.5% call it somewhat serious.

In complex C which has a relatively large number of families with children and relatively little concern about their uncontrolled behavior, the resident manager who constantly observes the small intensively used playground considers children's behavior a fairly serious problem.

The phrase behavior of uncontrolled children covers a wide range of activities. The questionnaire does not directly define it, although some of the written comments of residents tell something about what they mean. Children messing up the hallways, littering and acting impertinently to adults are cited as well as damage to property, vandalizing cars, and other destructive behavior. It is probable that different behavior is being referred to by different respondents and that the problem varies from project to project. It is very unlikely that any formula will suffice to provide answers.

Some questions are important however. If children's behavior is a serious problem to residents of a multi family project, is this behavior caused or affected seriously by the design of the project? Could design features be altered? Some people complain about children messing up hallways and urinating on the carpet. To what extent is this due to the inability of children to get back in their apartments and their own bathrooms? Would it be possible or feasible to provide publicly accessible toilets?

Would the behavior found unacceptable on a multi-family development be quite acceptable in a neighborhood with less density or in a single family neighborhood with private yards? Are we expecting different kinds of behavior from children because they live in a multi-family complex than we would if they lived in single family houses? Many of the developments have little or no private outdoor space. If we are expecting different behavior, are the facilities and social institutions available which provide the necessary framework for such behavior? Have some projects been loaded with far more children than they can handle? This survey merely raises the curtain on these kinds of issues. It cannot closely define them or provide any answers. However, it is fairly evident that the problems of uncontrolled children are not likely to disappear if no concerted attention is paid to them.

Two approaches are suggested and the Housing and Redevelopment Authority may be in a good position to take initiative in both. First to improve

environments for children living in multi-family housing over the long pull, much more organized attention needs to be put to the problem. As a first step, it is suggested that the Housing and Redevelopment Authority initiate an exploratory workshop conference on developing and managing multi-family environments for children's occupancy together with appropriate resources at the University including the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs and interested public and private agencies as well as other organizations public and private concerned with planning and managing family housing (HUD, other HRAs, non-profit and limited dividend housing sponsors). Such a conference could draw upon the practical experience of housing management, the insights of University specialists in child behavior and the experience of architects and designers. While it would not solve problems overnight, it might well begin to develop the direction which housing management and development should take. In this connection there is some literature available. An important reference is Claire Cooper's Easter Hill Village which is an insightful detailed analysis of a public housing project in Richmond, California and includes an exhaustive check list of desirable and undesirable design features in multi-family housing with special reference to environments for children.

In the short run the problems are critical and of particular relevance to the Housing Authority because of its special relationship to many of the projects with which this study is concerned. Four of the developments in which children's behavior is a serious and significant problem are in or near the northeast quadrant of the Summit-University area and may have a real impact on the Village development. The Housing and Redevelopment Authority may find it desirable to initiate a reassessment of facilities and programs for children in this area working with locally interested social agencies, the Parks and Recreation Department and the residents and management of the projects concerned. Similarly the Authority may wish to take a fresh look at the situation in and around developments south of the freeway and also on the west side in the area of Torre de San Miguel. Unquestionably much attention has been given to these problems in the past, but this does not mean that a fresh vigorous approach to the problems might not yield significant results.

B. Concern About Crime

A significant number of people at most of the projects surveyed feel seriously threatened by crime. They were asked three questions concerning crime:

I feel secure against crime while in my home (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree)

How serious a problem do you believe each of the following is in the housing complex where you live: crime within this housing complex, crime in surrounding neighborhood (very serious, serious, not serious, don't know)

Less than 20% of the respondents are concerned about crime in only four of the fourteen projects, three on the East Side and one on the West Side. In all of the rest 20% or more of the residents feel crime to be a serious problem. In ten developments 21.9% to 59.4% of the residents feel that crime in the neighborhood is a serious problem. In eight of these 23.1% to 47.8% feel that crime in the complex is a serious problem while in nine of them 23.4% to 48.1% do not feel secure against crime in their homes. (See Table A for the distributions of these percentages by project.) It should be noted that although less than half of the residents may be concerned about crime in most projects less than half also are positive about the situation, a large percentage indicating that they are neutral. In the five complexes with the most widespread concern about crime in the neighborhood the complete percentage distribution of response was as follows:

"How serious a problem is crime within the surrounding neighborhood?"

	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Serious	Don't Know
Complex G	23.2%	36.2%	21.7%	18.8%
Complex M	26.5	22.4	24.5	26.5
Complex C	13.5	35.1	27.0	24.3
Complex E	15.0	30.0	25.0	30.0
Complex D	19.5	24.4	26.8	29.3

On the other hand, the responses in the four projects with the least concern were as follows:

	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Serious	Don't Know
Complex N	3.3%	3.3%	43.3%	50.0%
Complex L	0	10.6	45.9	43.5
Complex J	1.5	9.1	47.0	42.4
Complex K	6.3	12.5	37.5	43.8

In one complex crime in the neighborhood is seen as a problem by more than 20% of the respondents but not crime in the complex nor are they concerned about crime in the home.

Because crime and the threat of it are of concern to such a high proportion of the residents in the Summit-University developments, special efforts should be made to increase security and feelings of security. Combined efforts by the several management organizations and the residents of these various developments might focus concern on the problem and develop better liaison with the police and community agencies also involved. As the concern of residents about crime and fear for their safety unquestionably colors their feelings about other aspects of their living situation, they should be of considerable significance to management. The Housing Authority might well feel it appropriate to play a catalytic role in a coordinated program of crime reduction.

V. Design and Physical Facilities

Project design and facilities were covered by twenty-seven different items in the questionnaire. In general opinions of respondents are very divergent and there is substantial difference between projects.

Eleven areas of design and physical development are seen as unsatisfactory or considered serious problems by 20% or more of all of the respondents. In each case in half or more of the projects the item is of significant concern. These are as follows:

<u>Item</u>	<u>% Responding Negatively</u>	<u># of Projects with 20% or more Negative Responses</u>
Noise from Other Apartments	39.1%	13
Laundry Facilities	26.3	10
Enough Space in Apartment for Belongings	25.7	9
Inside Storage Space	24.8	11
Parking Arrangements	22.7	8
Building Entrance Security	21.9	7
Location of Outdoor Open Space	21.5	9
Enough Space for Privacy from Other Members of Family	20.9	7
Noise from Surrounding Neighborhood	20.6	8
Way Keys Work	20.2	7
Outside Storage Space	20.1	11

Each of these areas as well as other aspects of physical design and facilities are discussed in the following pages.

A. General Physical Attributes and Design

A number of questions are grouped under this heading. Residents were asked their degree of satisfaction with:

The physical appearance of the complex.

The amount of outdoor open space available to residents of this complex.

The location of outdoor open space available to residents of this complex.

They were also asked how serious a problem they thought noise from the surrounding area was, whether they thought the complex was overcrowded and whether parking arrangements were a serious problem.

1. Appearance of the Complex

This question may be somewhat ambiguous. The answers appear to reflect attitudes towards the maintenance of the outside of the buildings and the grounds as well as the architecture and design of the buildings, the landscaping etc. Although the investigators were thinking primarily about architecture and design, many of the respondents may

have been thinking about such things as upkeep, litter and general neatness. In any event the responses to this question correlated highly with such maintenance questions as those referring to "general maintenance outside the building" and "general maintenance of public areas."

Overall only 13.7% of the residents expressed dissatisfaction with the physical appearance of the complex in which they lived while 71.7% were satisfied and 14.6% indicated they were neutral. Projects varied greatly. In seven of the fourteen, three-fourths or more of the respondents indicated they were satisfied with the physical appearance and fewer than 7% said they were dissatisfied. On the other end of the scale were three projects in which less than half of the respondents were satisfied and more than 30% were dissatisfied. In the project with the least satisfaction 29.5% were satisfied and 47.7% dissatisfied. Erosion of the hilly site and heavy wear and tear because of a large child population have combined to give this project an extremely worn out appearance. In other developments heavy pedestrian traffic, litter and inadequate landscaping have contributed to low resident opinion of their appearance. In one complex with much dissatisfaction about its appearance, boarded up units have not helped.

2. Amount and Location of Outdoor Open Space

Residents were asked separately about their satisfaction with the amount and with the location of outdoor open space available to them. In eight complexes 20% or more of the respondents were dissatisfied with the amount of outdoor open space and in a ninth 19.9% were dissatisfied. In all of these complexes the location of outdoor open space was also a problem. In four of these complexes less than half of the respondents were satisfied with the amount of outdoor open space and in six less than half were satisfied with the location of this open space. The specific nature of the problem when it is apparent is discussed in the case studies of the individual complexes. In some places residents complained in their written comments about management's failure to develop open space or rules against tenants using it for such things as child's play and sun bathing.

3. Noise from the Neighborhood

In eight of the complexes noise from the neighborhood is a serious problem for a significant number of respondents. In three of them more than one third of the residents consider neighborhood noise a serious problem. All of them are located adjacent to traffic and truck carrying arterials. Apparently in some of the projects the location of the specific dwelling unit is the important factor. In one case noise from an adjacent factory was involved. Fortunately this particular industry planned to move from the area.

4. Parking Arrangements

Residents were asked three questions about their attitudes towards parking arrangements at the projects where they live. They were asked

how serious a problem they felt parking arrangements to be. They were also asked separately about their satisfaction with parking arrangements for residents and arrangements for visitors. 22.7% of all respondents see parking arrangements as a serious problem while 66.3% indicate it is not serious and 11.0% answered don't know. A substantially lower percentage indicated that they were dissatisfied with parking arrangements for residents and visitors. The responses on these questions for all respondents were as follows:

	<u>Parking Arrangements for Residents</u>	<u>Parking Arrangements for Visitors</u>
Very Satisfied	27.1%	24.5%
Satisfied	50.0	49.3
Neutral	12.1	14.4
Dissatisfied	6.9	8.3
Very Dissatisfied	3.8	3.6

In comparison with these results for the St. Paul projects Anderson and Associates found 28.8% of the respondents expressing dissatisfaction about parking arrangements in the 25 projects they studied (see Table B).

While 20% or more of the respondents see parking arrangements as a serious problem in eight of the complexes, a significant number of residents are dissatisfied with "parking arrangements for visitors" and "parking arrangements for residents" in only two of them. A comparison for these projects follows:

<u>Complex</u>	<u>Parking Arrangements A Serious Problem</u>	<u>Dissatisfied with Resident Parking</u>	<u>Dissatisfied with Visitor Parking</u>
A	38.9%	20.4%	29.8%
H	38.1	23.8	27.2
N	33.3	6.3	10.7
G	33.9	14.9	13.3
K	24.8	13.5	5.1
B	21.6	11.1	9.4
C	21.1	8.1	17.9
F	20.0	7.1	15.4

In complexes K, B, C, and F, two-thirds to nine-tenths of the respondents indicated that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with resident and visitor parking.

Serious attention should be given to further defining the parking problem at complexes A and H to determine whether they can be alleviated without major changes in project site design.

5. Overcrowding

A substantial percentage of respondents indicated a neutral response to the statement "This housing complex is overcrowded." Only 12.8% of the residents agreed with the statement, 50.4% disagreed and 36.8% were neutral. In two projects there was somewhat more concern about over-

crowding. In complex A 27.6% agreed that the complex was overcrowded as did 23.0% in complex D. In both cases over 40% expressed themselves neutral. Even in complexes where a very small percentage of residents indicated that they felt the complex overcrowded, a relatively large percentage expressed neutrality. This seems to be a question which many residents had not considered or perhaps felt that a certain amount of density is the natural result of multi-family housing.

B. Storage Space

More people in more complexes were dissatisfied with storage space both inside and outside their apartments than they were with any design feature. In 11 complexes twenty percent or more of the respondents were dissatisfied with the inside storage space. The percentage of residents unhappy about the amount of storage space available within the unit ranged from 15.4% to 37.0%. In the three complexes with the most dissatisfaction, the complete distribution of responses was as follows:

<u>Complex</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Not Provided</u>
D	50.0%	34.2%	10.5%	5.3%
J	58.0	37.0	3.0	1.5
K	68.9	28.6	2.5	0

A related question asked whether the residents "had enough space for their belongings." The most disagreement with the statement occurred in the same three complexes.

<u>Complex</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
D	50.0%	10.0%	40.0%
J	41.1	14.9	44.1
K	52.1	13.2	34.7

Storage outside the apartment is somewhat different. A large percentage of respondents indicated that outside storage is not provided. Here a small percentage of satisfied residents is probably more significant and indicative of a problem than the percentage dissatisfied. In only two developments are 30% or more of the respondents dissatisfied, on the other hand, in nine fewer than 20% are satisfied. The complete distribution for these nine is as follows:

<u>Complex</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Not Provided</u>
C	17.1%	22.9%	5.7%	54.3%
E	15.0	30.0	20.0	35.0
F	11.1	27.8	13.9	47.2
H	17.1	24.4	9.8	48.8
I	14.9	16.4	10.4	58.2
J	7.0	20.9	3.9	68.2
K	6.6	20.8	7.5	65.1
L	13.3	9.6	3.6	73.5
N	10.0	20.0	3.3	66.7

Adequate outside storage is apparently provided in only one complex, A. In four complexes A, F, I and M three-quarters of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied with the storage space inside the apartments. Design, location and amount of storage space in these developments should be analyzed to determine arrangements which have proven most satisfactory.

C. Laundry Facilities

In ten complexes between 22.2% and 48.7% of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with laundry facilities available to them. In one other development, probably because no laundry facilities are provided, no one expressed dissatisfaction although some of the residents in written comments pointed out the deficiency. In complex A and complex L 78.6% and 87.9% of the residents expressed satisfaction with the laundry facilities. A comparison of the facilities provided and the rules regarding their use between these projects and some of those with the most dissatisfaction would be valuable. Written comments indicate that lack of maintenance of washers and poor location of the laundrys are among most frequent tenant concerns.

D. Noise from Other Apartments

Probably the most widespread annoyance occurring in multi-family housing is the noise of neighbors and other people in the complex. Noise from other apartments was identified as a serious problem in all but one of the complexes and overall 39.1% of the respondents found it serious. In complex L over 80% of the residents are over 65 and there are very few children. It is likely that it is relatively a quiet place and that ears are not quite so acute as in complexes with more young people. Sound insulation and other design factors probably play an important part.

It would be enlightening to compare complex L and complex N which also had relatively little complaint about neighbors noise with the five complexes in which over 50% of the respondents were seriously disturbed by noise from nearby apartments. It is possible that some situations could be alleviated by properly located wall and floor coverings, the judicious placement of furniture and the like. It also may be that some minor design adjustments could reduce noise pollution.

There was also a wide difference of opinion within individual complexes as to whether noise was a problem. Probably the location of the apartment in the building is an important factor. People in end units of rows suffer less than those in the center of the building. In some developments the apartments which are located below others are also likely to suffer from noise.

Perhaps on the other hand the people who are not bothered live next to quiet neighbors. The distributions for the five developments with the most widespread concern show the differences:

How serious is noise from other apartments?

<u>Complex</u>	<u>Very Serious</u>	<u>Somewhat Serious</u>	<u>Not Serious</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
A	29.8%	31.5%	38.7%	0
H	17.9	41.0	33.3	7.7%
D	21.4	31.0	45.2	2.4
M	23.5	27.5	45.1	3.9
F	17.5	32.5	45.0	5.0

A development with a substantial number of units afflicted with severe noise pollution problems will have greater turnover and residents will be less happy than in one which has less problems. Further study of noise in the developments with a high degree of resident dissatisfaction seems to be indicated. The Housing Authority would be of real service to the residents of these developments as well as to their sponsors by initiating such a study of the projects with the worst problems. The Authority could approach the sponsors with the suggestion of a joint study to determine the causes of noise pollution and methods of alleviating it. In some cases minor design changes or the installation of sound deadening materials such as wall or floor coverings might be effective.

E. Design Features Relating to Security

Four items in the survey are related to resident security. Residents were asked how satisfied they were with building entrance security, the way keys work, public hall lighting and outside lighting.

	<u>% Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Number of Complexes with 20% or more Dissatisfied</u>
Building Entrance Security	21.9%	7
Way Keys Work	20.2	7
Outside Lighting	14.4	3
Public Hall Lighting	6.7	2

In some of the projects concern about building entrance security and the way keys work are apparently interrelated. Some residents and managers commented on practices of some tenants for circumventing security locks when they lose or forget their keys. In a number of projects residents commented concerning the lack of door bells or other communication systems from the front door to the inside of the unit. This has been the cause of considerable annoyance particularly when returning family members who have forgotten their keys or guests must shout to get the attention of someone inside the unit. In one project one of the first and successful tenant demands was for peepholes in entrance doors so that the residents could see who was outside before admitting them to the unit.

In three developments lighting outside the building is identified as a problem. The distribution of responses are as follows:

<u>Complex</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Not Provided</u>
E	42.9%	42.9%	4.8%	9.5%
C	68.6	25.7	5.7	0
N	64.7	23.5	11.8	0

F. Apartment Design and Size of Rooms

With the exception of questions concerning storage space which is treated separately (see 2. Storage Space), five questions were raised with residents about the design of apartment and the size of rooms. In most projects the overwhelming percentage of respondents were satisfied with apartment design. The percentage distribution of responses and the number of projects in which more than 20% expressed dissatisfaction were:

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Not Provided</u>	<u># Projects with 20% or more Dissatisfied</u>
Design of Apartment	31.4%	12.4%	6.0%	.1%	3
Kitchen Layout	81.3	14.9	3.5	.3	2
Size of Living Room	85.7	11.1	3.0	.2	4
Size of Bedrooms	79.5	17.2	2.9	.4	5

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u># Projects with 20% or more Disagreeing</u>
Home has enough space to allow privacy from others who live with me	10.4%	46.5%	12.4%	14.0%	1.7%	7

In four projects a substantial number of respondents feel that the apartments do not provide enough space for privacy within the family. The distribution of response for these projects is as follows:

<u>Complex</u>	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
D	10.5%	28.9%	21.1%	21.1%	18.4%
J	3.9	34.9	21.1	24.0	10.1
M	4.3	34.8	32.6	15.2	13.0
N	3.6	50.0	21.4	25.0	0

On the other hand in projects A and F 70% or more of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.

In the three projects with most dissatisfaction with design of apartments the percentages of dissatisfaction were 20.9%, 21.2% and 22.5%. Two-thirds or more of the respondents in these projects indicated that they were satisfied. In the six developments with most widespread satisfaction, over 85% of the respondents indicated they were satisfied.

Kitchen layout generally meets with the approval of respondents. In two developments 25.7% and 23.1% of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied.

In four developments 21.2% to 33.3% of the respondents find the size of the living rooms unsatisfactory while in five developments between 21.2% and 30.6% of the respondents are dissatisfied with size of bedrooms.

G. Equipment

Residents were asked whether they were satisfied with the heating, plumbing, stove, refrigerator, and air conditioning. Air conditioning is not provided in most of the developments and in no project were a significant number of people dissatisfied with it. In most of the developments more than 95% of the respondents indicated they were satisfied with their stoves. In two projects only about 70% were satisfied but even here less than 20% of the residents expressed dissatisfaction. In one development, complex H, 35.7% of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with the plumbing. In all of the other developments the overwhelming majority indicated that they were satisfied. Heating apparently causes more problems for residents. In six developments more than 20% of the respondents were dissatisfied. The distribution for these developments follows:

<u>Complex</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Not Provided</u>
G	41.8%	44.8%	11.9%	1.5%
H	54.8	33.3	9.5	2.4
N	72.7	27.3	0	0
B	65.0	30.2	4.8	0
C	71.4	25.7	2.9	0
E	70.0	25.0	5.0	0

Project G is provided with electric heating for which the residents pay separately. It has proven expensive and unpopular. Specific problems with heating in the other projects are discussed in the specific case studies.

VI. Location and Accessibility

Taken as a whole residents of multi-family housing express general satisfaction with the location of the projects. Access to public transportation, shopping facilities, medical facilities and schools is satisfactory for the great majority of respondents in the survey. About 20% of the residents find access to recreation for adults and recreation for children unsatisfactory.

The following table shows the percentage distribution for all respondents in each of these areas:

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Neutral
Access to Public Transportation	83.7%	5.9%	10.3%
Access to Shopping Facilities	73.3	9.4	17.3
Access to Schools	71.2	4.6	23.9
Access to Medical Facilities	69.5	9.7	20.8
Access to Recreational Facilities for Adults	50.5	20.6	28.9
Access to Recreational Facilities for Children	53.7	19.7	26.6

The greatest variation between projects occurs with regard to recreational facilities for children.

A. Access to Public Transportation

Even in the development with the least satisfaction with access to public transportation 63.2% of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied while in one project 100% of the people indicated that they were satisfied and while in two others either none or only 1% of the respondents were dissatisfied.

B. Access to Shopping Facilities

In three developments more than 20% of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with shopping facilities. In project C 37.8% of the respondents were dissatisfied as compared with 45.9% who found shopping facilities satisfactory and 16.2% indicating neutrality. In complex M 39.7% were dissatisfied, 49.1% satisfied and 11.3% neutral. Both of these projects are south of the freeway in the Summit-University area and are some distance from a super-market and many kinds of convenience shopping. In the third development, 22.7% of the respondents were dissatisfied with shopping facilities, 56% were satisfied and 21.2% were neutral. This development is at some distance from a neighborhood center providing a full range of neighborhood shopping. In five of the projects less than 10% of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with shopping facilities available to them and in eight over 70% indicated that they were satisfied.

C. Access to Schools

Concern about access of multi-family housing to schools is obviously weighted by the proportion of the population with school age children. In only four developments were more than 10% of the respondents but less than 20% dissatisfied with the access to schools and in these the percentage of families with children between 5 and 18 years of age ranged from 41.2% to 55.3%. The two developments with the greatest proportion of families with school age children, however, had very little dissatisfaction with regard to the location of schools.

D. Access to Medical Facilities

In only one development does the access to medical facilities seem to be a problem to a significant number of people. In complex J 22.6% of the residents found access to medical facilities unsatisfactory while 48.9% indicated it was satisfactory and 28.6% indicated that they were neutral. In another development practically adjacent to complex J only 6.9% of the respondents indicated that access to medical facilities was unsatisfactory. The difference is probably explained by the substantially larger number of families with small children in complex J. In other words physical access is no different but the needs of the population are.

E. Access to Recreational Facilities for Adults

In six projects a substantial proportion of residents responding to the questionnaire indicated that they were dissatisfied with access to recreational facilities available for adults. (In all of these developments more than 20% of the respondents found access to recreational facilities for children unsatisfactory.) In two of them more respondents are dissatisfied than are satisfied with recreational facilities for adults. The distribution of responses for these five developments is as follows:

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Neutral
Complex C	40.5%	48.6%	10.8%
Complex D	27.5	37.5	35.0
Complex N	36.6	33.3	30.0
Complex H	35.0	32.5	32.5
Complex M	36.2	31.9	31.9
Complex F	46.9	29.3	24.4

Five of these developments are in the Summit-University area, three of them north of the freeway in or near the Northeast Quadrant and two of them south of the freeway while one is on the West Side. The concentration in the Summit-University area of people living in multi-family housing who are concerned that there are inadequate accessible recreation facilities for adults suggests that attention should be given to the problem on an area wide basis. Is the problem one of the nature

and availability of the facilities or their accessibility to residents of multi-family housing or both. It may be that available facilities are in one way or another unacceptable or literally unknown to the residents of these projects. It may be significant that 76.4% to 88.9% of respondents in these developments were women although there is no statistically significant difference between the responses of male respondents and female respondents on this question.

F. Access to Recreational Facilities for Children

In nine of the fourteen projects more than 20% of the respondents are dissatisfied with access to recreational facilities for children. In three of them more than one third of the residents are dissatisfied and the percentage of dissatisfied residents is higher than the percentage of satisfied residents. By project these percentage distributions are:

Complex	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Neutral
N	26.7%	43.3%	30.0%
H	33.4	41.0	25.6
D	31.0	38.1	31.0
A	65.3	24.2	10.5
M	43.5	23.9	32.6
K	51.0	23.6	25.5
C	38.8	22.3	38.9
F	51.2	22.0	26.8
E	31.6	21.1	47.4

While in all of these projects a substantial percentage of respondents also saw the behavior of uncontrolled children as a problem, there is no significant correlation between the size of these percentages and the proportion of people dissatisfied with recreation facilities for children. With one exception these projects are all located on the West Side or in the Summit University area. In both areas a reassessment of facilities and programs for children is in order.

PART TWO

MANAGEMENT CONSIDERATIONS IN MULTI-FAMILY HOUSING IN SAINT PAUL

I. Introduction

In today's society many daily activities once the responsibility of private individuals are becoming controlled more often by professionals and administrators. When the people who manage goods or services are different from those who receive them, there is a potential problem of accountability and responsiveness between the two groups.

This is also the case with housing. Since the early 60's we have seen a boom in apartment development and in apartment management. The problems created in a "manager-client" relationship may be more intense when the object of management is an individual's personal living space, often idealized as the haven from the outside world. Apartment dwellers are subject to management's decisions, and must live to some degree with their immediate neighbors since they share common areas and facilities.

The majority of conventional apartment dwellers are young people or empty nesters without families and without a need at present for a single family dwelling. Many either have already experienced the single family house and are living in apartments by choice or they anticipate moving into a single family house when the need arises. In comparison, a large number of residents in subsidized units have families. Many do not foresee the possibility of buying their own home at any time. Thus, the loss of control over their living environment may be a permanent condition rather than a temporary one unless future government policies extensively subsidize home ownership.

If the type of housing provided differs from people's experience or expectations of living in a detached single family house, even more complex problems can arise in the relationship between residents and management. People in the apartment business have sought answers to these problems in subsidized housing by developing housing management into a profession. Suggestions have been made to certify management companies, establish housing management teams (manager, assistant and secretary), pay better salaries, provide a better incentive system for management through federal rebates for good performance.

Both managers and HUD have suggested implementing "management by objectives" which they feel will enable managers to plan their objectives, and to schedule, monitor, and evaluate their operations more efficiently.

¹Journal of Housing Management, vol.32, no.8, August/September, 1975, pp.383-387.

The move towards professionalization may be beneficial in conventional apartments where many residents prefer apartment living and find the advantages of efficient management and so called "maintenance free living" outweigh any loss of control over their environment. Yet the extent that more professional management can solve problems in low and moderate income housing is less certain. The objectives of management are less clear cut in a social program where adequate shelter may be only a part of a person's need.

Whether we can expect a housing project to perform well without meeting other social and economic needs has traditionally been questioned. An apartment project is under an even greater disadvantage if resident's housing need is not the provision of shelter, but the expectation of the freedom and status associated with a particular kind of shelter - the single family house. No matter how much our policies attempt to provide a good living environment, no matter what the quality of the apartment complex, if people lack choice and control relative to other members of the society, they can still become isolated from the rest of the community.

To compensate for inequities in the community at large, many programs for lower income people incorporate self-help strategies into their guidelines and stress the importance of creating "a community" within the neighborhood or housing project for the purpose of instilling a sense of security, pride, and responsibility in residents. Although HUD's guidelines for management do not hail the benefits of community solidarity per se, they do recommend tenant associations, community tenant service programs, referrals to agency and counselling services, employing residents and people in the neighborhood. All of these policies draw people into a subsidized housing "community" and distinguish them from the rest of the population who make their own decisions whether or not to establish these programs or to seek help. It is not clear whether the rationale behind these programs is:

- 1) Because people have lower incomes and need subsidized housing, they also need all these other services and associations.
and/or

- 2) Because we (the society) provide these people with new subsidized housing, we must help them become better tenants so that management can do a better job of managing the structures, and keeping the project financially solvent.

No matter what the rationale or rasionales, these programs raise a fundamental question: Can we or should we expect people to work or socialize together just because they live next to each other?

By including social service programs in management functions and using housing as a focus to attack other social and economic problems, HUD has expanded the criteria by which we might define what good management performance means. The question raised in the following study of management is whether management also defines good management in the same terms as HUD does. The consistency or conflict among these various

expectations of good management helps to identify strengths and weaknesses in the operation of these projects and in the goals of the program. The broad range of behavior and attitudes concerning what the role of a manager involves either indicates that not all managers and owners recognize the same objectives of HUD's program or else they do not find all the objectives of the program compatible with each other.

The study includes 13 subsidized low and moderate income housing projects in St. Paul and provides a perspective on the response of resident's satisfaction with management primarily from the manager's point of view. Its primary intent is not one of identifying factors relating to good management performance, nor is it intended as a guideline for good management techniques. The HUD management manual and other studies have already dealt with these subjects (see bibliography). Rather the purpose of the study is to investigate the problems managers themselves have identified in carrying out HUD's objectives. The study is a first step intended to generate more discussion among managers and the various public and private agencies in order to begin to solve some of these problems now and in the future.

It is our feeling that only when the objectives of the program are clearly defined among all actors involved in the management process that we can begin to define reasonable standards for good performance and apply the necessary management techniques.

The following is a summary of the study:

The second section of the study describes the actors involved in management: a) the types of owners and types of management operations; and b) the motivations underlying owner's and manager's behavior and attitudes.

The third section outlines the problems identified most frequently by managers and owners.

The fourth section focuses on resident satisfaction with the various management functions. The fifth section deals with the major issues from the study that warrant further investigation and discussion.

II. The Management Operation

A. Owners

1. Goals and Motivations

Management operates within the context of the goals and policies of the developers/sponsors. It was expected that limited dividend projects would define their goals and policies in terms of financial incentives and the nonprofits in terms of social goals. Although this was true for the most part, the study revealed more subtleties involved in the motivations of owners and sponsors. A division between financial incentives and social incentives for limited dividend and nonprofit projects could not be drawn entirely.

Eight of the projects in the study are limited dividend partnerships and five are nonprofit organizations. In profit making projects, the developers receive substantial payments from limited partners who buy shares in the partnership as a tax shelter. A limited annual return of 6% may also be distributed from project income. However, the cash distributions at best are small in relation to the tax reductions. The general partner is most concerned with operating a healthy project for two major reasons: 1) he is required to sustain the development at least 10 to 12 years so the limited partners can take full advantage of their tax shelter and 2) because they are likely to be involved with future developments and want to establish a good track record with HUD.

Because the major financial interest is keeping the complex operating for the long run tax benefits rather than making short run profits from its operation, some of the companies will subsidize the complex from internal company funds if there is insufficient cash flow.

One of the developers has undertaken these housing projects specifically for social reasons. His company has subsidized one project in order to try to keep it from going into default and has rescued another project from going bankrupt in order to provide necessary housing for the black community.

Most of the nonprofit complexes were built in order to provide quality, safe clean housing needed for low and moderate income people and at the same time revitalize the urban renewal areas in the central city. One complex was somewhat different since the original tenants planned to make it a cooperative. However, since they did not have sufficient interest in a cooperative and could not exclude other people wishing to live there according to HUD regulations, they had to give up the cooperative plan. The residents are now more concerned about achieving financial stability and maintaining the physical upkeep of the complex. However, for many residents the ideal of establishing "a community" at the complex (if not a cooperative) has not yet died.

Aside from incentives to maintain the projects for the social good of the residents and the community, the nonprofit organizations themselves benefit in the long run. They gain the equity of the property when the mortgage is paid off. This equity gain is an unrealistic goal for an individual investor where the 40 year mortgage period is too long a time to wait for a future return. However, an ongoing institution like

a church has a much longer life span.

2. Involvement of Developers/Sponsors

a. Limited Dividends

The private partnerships established firmer financial leadership and control over the projects than did the nonprofit organizations. Of the projects which have defaulted on their mortgages, only 1 is a limited dividend, whereas 4 are nonprofit.

All of the general partners in the private projects actively participate in making policy decisions concerning their projects. For the most part they are involved with the finances of the project and dealings with HUD. Most of the developers are limited in the amount of time they give to the projects. One private developer is something of an exception. According to the property manager "he watches everything as though it were his favorite charity." Although it would seem that more owner participation is a good sign, it can cause complications if the project is operated by an outside management company as is the case in this particular project. The property manager in a professional company must allocate time among all the projects he supervises. If more time is spent in one project conferring with the owner, then it is more difficult to handle other responsibilities.

b. Nonprofits

There is no financial incentive for an individual board member of a nonprofit group comparable to that of a private developer unless the board member can identify with the goal of long term ownership that benefits the nonprofit institution. The board member's incentive usually must come either from a desire to help the community or from a self-satisfaction in keeping a project operating well. For a non-paying position it requires a good deal of time and effort. Thus, it is more likely that an individual board member's commitment will falter.

The board members tend to become more active in times of crisis. Yet, in the case of one project, as soon as a professional management company assumed responsibility for daily management, the board became apathetic and stopped meeting regularly. The board is still active in determining major capital improvements but only rubber stamps rent increases and the operating budget since "management is the one who has the figures."

The problem in some of the nonprofit organizations is that the board is made up totally of church members or residents who may not have any expertise related to housing. Initially two of these projects attempted to manage the projects themselves, but hired an outside management company when the projects began defaulting on mortgage payments.

To some extent a management company can educate the board about housing matters. However, this takes a great deal of time. Management companies, especially the large ones, generally prefer to deal with a single owner rather than potential factions on a board who stymie decision making.

The managing agent does not want to be in a position of second guessing a board.

Some of those board members who do have expertise and have taken leadership roles have become tired of the responsibilities and are planning to quit. A board can turnover successfully only if it has a large enough pool of capable people willing to serve, either within the church or in the community at large.

B. Types of Organizations

The Urban Institute's management study¹ concluded that "no one form of management organization (anymore than a particular ownership type) can determine a project's success or failure, but certain patterns of authority and responsibility have different implications for management performance than others."

The first important factor in the management organization is the relationship between the type of ownership and the type of management which is summarized below for each project. The projects have been divided according to limited dividend and nonprofit; management operations have been divided according to whether the developer/sponsor has chosen to hire his own in house management staff, or whether he has hired an outside management company. (Although one of the projects was in the process of changing its management operation, it has been classified according to the type of management on the project at the time of the survey.)

Table I. Limited Dividend Projects

A. Inhouse Management

<u>Project</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Corporation or Parthers</u>	<u>Management</u>
H	96	Corporation	A separate property company under the corporation.
F	77		
B	86		
J	286	General Partners	A property company formed by the general partners.
K	147		
L	172		
I	104	General Partners	A development company which manages its own property.

B. Outside Management

M	93	General Partners	A large management company.
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¹Isler, Sadacca, Drury, Keys to Successful Housing Management, Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1974.

Table II. Nonprofit Projects

A. Inhouse Management

<u>Project</u>	<u>Size</u>	<u>Corporation or Partners</u>	<u>Board</u>	<u>Management</u>
G	143	Church	people representing community interests and various areas of expertise on housing	property manager hired by board

B. Outside Management

D	73	Church	members of church	a small management company
C	55	Church	people representing community interests and various areas of expertise	a small management company
E	40	Church	members of church	a small management company
A	142	Residents of Complex	all resident board	a small management company

Most of the developers manage their own projects either within their own company or by setting up a separate property company. The general partners do not feel an outside management company can operate the projects successfully within the tight margins that the management fee provides, particularly for projects with large numbers of children.

Only one private development is managed externally by a large management company, but the general partner is extremely active in its operations.

Most of the nonprofit developments contract out for management services. Four of these at the time of the management study had been managed by a small management company. The company had been involved with only one of the projects from the time it opened. Two of the projects had initially been managed by a board of directors and one had gone through three different management companies. By the time the present management company took over they were faced with the task of rectifying the problems created by the poor management or the board's inexperience in finance, tenant relations, maintenance and rent collection. At the time of the interview only one nonprofit board hired its own property manager and a secretary/bookkeeper. The board selected this type of management after having had a bad experience with a professional management company.

C. Importance of Management

Managers, developers/sponsors all emphasized the importance of good management particularly in subsidized projects which must operate with limited cash flows. A number of developers and sponsors mentioned that the tendency with such strict constraints is to cut costs wherever possible. Thus, it was not felt that a developer/sponsor could become an absentee owner in a subsidized project, even with professional management. There had to be a periodic check on the quality of the management operation.

The manager of the development plays a key role in the success of the project. The word "manager" is a generic term referring to the "person who most often defines the way tenants will be able to relate to the development, and who had the responsibility both to protect the sponsor/developer's investment and to create a satisfactory environment for tenants."¹ However, the role and skills of the manager varies according to the organization of the management operation. A "property manager" may supervise a variety of management personnel, as well as reporting directly to the developer/sponsor. An "on site manager" or "resident manager" may record rent collections and service tenants. A "managing superintendent" may service tenants and be involved in direct maintenance of the development.

D. Skills of Staff

Finding the appropriate mix of personnel to manage a project is even more difficult in subsidized housing where the cash flow is limited. Managers specified that skills in administration, maintenance and especially interpersonal relations were essential in housing management.

1. Administrative and Financial Skills

In order to handle their responsibilities within budget limitations, managers must be able to organize rent collection, supervise maintenance, explain the various HUD subsidies to tenants, and handle the necessary paperwork. It is essential for a manager to be aware of the monthly rental income and monthly expenses particularly maintenance expenses. The larger management companies have more back up resources available for administrative functions and financial reporting and can hire more professional staff experienced in these areas.

2. Maintenance Skills

Maintenance skills must be provided directly by the management or contracted out. Since most of these subsidized projects have limited

¹Abrams, Blackman; Managing Low and Moderate Income Housing, Praeger, N.Y.: 1973, p.34.

cash flows, an emphasis has been placed on contracting out as little as possible and using services provided either by a central maintenance staff or by the on site manager. In any case, the manager must have a thorough knowledge of the physical plan in order to supervise the contractor and other maintenance staff. It is important that he know how much time maintenance jobs take since maintenance staff often argue that help is needed.

3. Interpersonal Skills

Housing managers must deal with people of all types: 1) a manager must select tenants initially and deal with the variety of ongoing tenant problems, 2) a manager must be able to talk with other members of the management team as well as the sponsor/developer, and 3) a manager must be able to handle public relations with the community and be able to call public and private agencies if problems arise on the complex.

Managers, sponsors and owners most often cited "people" as the most difficult aspect of a housing manager's job. As one manager put it "if you don't take care of tenant relations, they'll walk on you."

All housing managers stress the importance of a manager's character in doing the job. A manager must like people and be able to deal with them in order to do this type of work. Yet, managers have different approaches for dealing with people. One manager emphasizes the importance of "good PR skills," and "making the tenant number one." Another finds the best tenant relations come when a manager quickly and courteously responds to tenants requests "with a smile." Yet another stressed firmness and feels that at times "you've got to be mean." Other qualifications housing managers listed were: "honesty, reliability, sensitivity and interest;" "staying ability, strength, tact, concern for tenants;" "ability to cope with people and be forgiving;" "selfstarters, loyal to owner, fair and sometimes 'mean';" "pride, ability to overlook racial slurs as part of the job;" "ability to use common sense in making judgements;" and "a deep interest in serving people."

Managers also mentioned the importance of treating each person fairly, in a consistent fashion. One manager stressed this not only to promote good tenant relations, but also for good employee relations: "My secretary watches me and I like her to think that I do my job and that I'm very serious about the way I do my job. The only way for us to work well together is for her to respect what I do and respect the decisions that I make."

Managers often find it is difficult to work effectively with people without becoming emotionally involved. One manager remarked "it is good to be human but not too human...if you feel sorry for someone, you often end up sorry too."

E. Staffing Pattern

These skills may appear to stem from contradictory interests and orientations. Finding any one person who has all of them may prove impossible. However, by breaking down various functions in a management organization, it is possible to gain more skills for a project. The staffing pattern and the particular skills required from each person in the management organization depend first on the size and rents of a project which determines the management and secondly on the policies of the type of management operation.

The management fee covers a minimum of services including rent collection and recording, bookkeeping, tenant services, bill paying, mortgage services, reporting to financing agencies, preparation of budgets and maintenance supervision. HUD permits a higher management fee on these projects than the typical 5% fee, since the rents are not as high as conventional buildings.

Given the size of the management budget, a sponsor/developer must determine the type of management for the project. The type of staff needed on site depends on the other skills and resources available either through a central management office or through the developer/sponsor. If a large number of administrative and maintenance skills are centralized, then the onsite manager can have more limited skills and become more tenant oriented. If there is no central office, the development should be large enough to support an office on the project of at least two people. This structure of management, however, does not provide any management support system for the project manager. He is directly accountable to both tenants and the developer or board. This type of structure depends even more heavily on the quality of the manager. A small project that cannot support its own management must look towards a professional management company for management services. Yet professional companies do not usually want to risk the low profits in low and moderate income housing and especially the low profits in a small complex. Professional managers are even less inclined to undertake low and moderate income housing in nonprofit projects. They must deal with a board of directors who often are more divided in their policies than is a single owner.

Two of the nonprofits that are currently in default tried to operate under an operating board of directors rather than seeking professional management. Finally, when the projects were slipping out of their control because of their inexperience in management, they followed HUD's advice to hire professional management. Both ended up with a small management company.

III. Problems of Management

The following section outlines the major problems identified most frequently by the managers, sponsors and developers.

A. Tight Operating Margins of Projects

A major problem in operating subsidized projects is the limited cash flow generated by lower rents, resulting in a tight margin of operation. According to HUD's calculations a complex can remain financially solvent if it collects 95% of its potential rent. This means that the rents must be competitive to attract tenants and further more, the complex must be well run and maintained to attract responsible tenants who will pay the rent. HUD now holds the mortgages of four projects which have defaulted on mortgage payments. At the time of the survey another project was in the proces of going into default.

The limited dividend projects with more expertise in housing and greater financial reserves have fared better than the nonprofits. Some do not bother with operational budgets. One owner said he tried to anticipate potential costs particularly in utilities and taxes but feels "preparing a budget in advance doesn't do any g-od since you can't totally anticipate maintenance costs." Money is spent where it has to be spent and the owner just hopes the project itself has enough cash flow to cover the expenses. Some of the private companies that set up management companies put their management fees back into the complex and do not expect to make profits from it. In one case a company subsidized a project from corporate funds in order to keep it going.

A nonprofit project, however, must operate on much tighter resources. They are confined to the cash flow of the project. If they have unusual design problems requiring substantial investment or if they are simply mismanaged, they have no reserves. HUD has no emergency funds although they defer payment on the principal of the mortgage and extend the life of the mortgage under a modification agreement. One project was lucky enough to get a \$14,000 loan at 6% interest from the sponsor at the time when it was having some financial problems. This type of resource for a nonprofit organization is unusual; the board chairman considered the money a gift.

HUD's management department says their role in these projects is that of an insuring agency. They feel they have good appraisers and construction analysts but since they are not on the projects from day to day, they are not good managers. HUD's loan and management departments do not think the nonprofit organizations have understood HUD's role and have dimanded more help when things have gone wrong. HUD has far too many projects to advise each one on a continuing basis. Yet the nonprofit projects which have inexperienced board members have received more help particularly from HUD's occupancy specialists. HUD has not provided large cash reserves to solve construction deficiencies. Yet many managers feel that management's performance can not be improved as long as these structural problems undermining its operation are not solved.

Some complexes have had more financial problems than others. The following section contains some of the reasons managers listed for their present situations.

1. Rent Schedules

221(d)3 projects have had difficulty competing with the newer 236 projects. Their mortgage has a 3% interest compared to the 1% interest charged for a 236 project's mortgage. The interest payment is reflected in a lower rent schedule for the newer projects as compared to the older 221(d)3 projects. In two 221(d)3 projects the Housing and Redevelopment Authority places tenants under its leased housing program. However, the Housing and Redevelopment Authority is in the process of dispersing its tenants to scattered site housing which could leave these projects with a considerable number of vacancies.

In addition one of these 221(d)3 projects has the disadvantage of being the only all electric project in the state. Electricity is not included in the rent and the rising electric costs must be borne by the tenants. However, the project carries the burden of these costs indirectly. The vacancy rate is 11% and they lose about \$1000 a month in rent particularly in the 3 bedroom apartments. They feel that if it were not for utility costs they would probably have 96 to 97% occupancy. Thus, they face a long run economic squeeze unless they become more successful in lobbying efforts to get a special rate classification passed for all electric projects.

According to the board chairman of this project, it is probable that the rent schedule was miscalculated initially in the feasibility study. In an attempt to cut costs down he thinks FHA underestimated operating expenses as a proportion of total expenses. FHA had little experience with subsidized projects at the time it was built. For their guidelines FHA used national ratios based on 500 units whereas this project had under 150 units. These ratios may not have been applicable to the construction costs and climate in Minnesota. The board chairman estimates expenses were understated by 3% from the beginning.

2. Anticipating Rent Increases

Budgets are determined by previous experience and anticipated increases in services, taxes and capital expenses. The projects try to convert this into rents subject to HUD's approval. However, many of the projects have found it difficult to anticipate adequate rent increases. It takes 90 to 120 days to get an increase. Often by the time the increase comes, there are other cost increases which the rent increase does not cover. They must document current increases in operation expenses or future increases such as for utilities. One manager said if they try to anticipate increases for something such as snow removal they are not allowed to include that in a report for rent increase since it has not yet been documented.

Some of the nonprofit complexes had particular difficulty applying for rent increases. In one case the board was inexperienced and did not have the expertise to anticipate when increases were needed. Two projects, on the other hand, were reluctant to raise rents on principal.

The boards sought every other solution to financial problems except raising rents. In one the first application for a rent increase was not made until 5 years after it opened. However, when the majority of its board finally agreed, HUD resisted. The two increases they received fell short of what they needed. Now they are in the process of documenting their case for further increases. The other project has resisted a rent increase for the last two years but as of November, 1975 the board decided to ask for a substantial increase.

3. Utilities

Those projects which have utilities included in the rent (all except 2) find this a major squeeze on the budgets. They do not feel the rent increases keep up with the rising utility costs.

The projects with townhouses have gas heat on separate meters and have considered reducing rents and allowing people to pay their own heating bills. They hope this will induce people to cut costs and in the long run will be more economical for the projects. However, utilities are supposed to be included in the rent in 236 projects.

Four of the complexes include air conditioning free of charge. One company however, charges \$8 per month extra for an air conditioner and another company charges \$2 per month extra.

B. Inexperience with Subsidized Projects and with Management

In the early projects both developers and HUD were relatively inexperienced in design features that led to further management problems. Managers in three of the nonprofit projects in default are now trying to rectify the initial mistakes made by inexperienced boards which attempted to manage projects and mistakes made by poor management companies.

1. Inexperience with Design and Site Features

Apparently initial design mistakes have often contributed to subsequent high operating costs and problems in tenant selection.

The first 221(d)3 project in St. Paul was also the first housing project the developer had ever attempted. The complex has relatively high density, is built on a hilly site and is occupied by families with a large number of children. Another project had a poor design for the Minnesota climate, and construction problems from the beginning which were never corrected.

In comparison two of the limited partnerships with no problems with the initial feasibility study also had general partners who were experienced in construction.

2. Poor Maintenance

There was a lack of preventative maintenance and misuse of project equipment. Some of the projects have had difficulty reversing poor maintenance and negligence on the part of residents once deterioration had begun. At one project residents periodically organize clean-ups of the grounds, but become very frustrated when the children and residents begin littering right after. At another the poor condition of the grounds was so bad in the summer with a large number of children using them that the resident manager felt it was futile for the caretakers to pick them up more than three times a week.

The Urban Institute Management Study found that operating costs were lowest in projects with the greatest resident satisfaction. Thus, we might interpret this to mean that residents who are more satisfied are also more concerned with the project and take better care of it. Managers also recognized it was easier to manage if residents are more concerned with their environment. One manager who tried to develop a sense of responsibility said, "I try to make people realize they are sharing facilities and common spaces and try to get them to pick up paper, not to prop doors open, be aware of others privacy." At the same time managers feel residents take pride in their environment if they have an image that it is well maintained. Thus, it is important that any damage be taken care of immediately so as not to encourage any further destruction. When a project has deteriorated considerably it is difficult to use these strategies to make improvements.

Another management study¹ has pointed out the negative consequences if managers respond to requests as complaints. This attitude can cause bad tenant relations and it can deter residents from reporting legitimate needs which can save management money in long run preventative maintenance.

Some of the managers indicated the importance of responding quickly to maintenance requests for establishing ongoing tenant relations. One manager felt: "managers do not have to be disturbed at all hours if they respond quickly to requests and smile. The next time residents have a request, they will wait to phone at a reasonable hour." Yet, in projects where response to maintenance requests has been poor it is possible residents have given up making requests even if things need repair. Communication with tenants breaks down and management must reestablish its credibility.

3. Poor Tenant Selection

Even more damaging to the project was the poor initial tenant selection. Managers identified tenant selection as one of the most important factors leading to the success of a project. Good initial selection is crucial for ensuring care for the property, punctual payment of rents, good

¹E. Abrams & E. Blackman, Managing Low and Moderate Income Housing, Praeger, N.Y.: 1973.

tenant relations, and a good reputation for the complex to attract other residents. A complex must be especially careful to select good tenants when it is new; otherwise disruptive people can stigmatize a complex. It is both a lengthy and expensive process to turnover present tenants in a project. One board chairman commented that if a new complex is not careful, "within 6 months everyone but the manager will know what is going on and it takes 3 times that long after eviction to remove the stigma. It is easy to get on a 'sucker list' if you let people stay without paying."

Most of the managers indicated that they are careful to check references before selecting tenants and will keep a unit vacant rather than choosing a doubtful applicant. However, several projects were more careless in their initial stages and have had to pay the long run price in maintenance and evictions. In one project the manager was too anxious to fill the units. The project opened in the winter when the pool of applicants was smaller. They attribute high maintenance costs to poor tenant selection.

In another project the board was naive about what was involved in good tenant selection and did not have any HUD guidelines to go by when they first began. The bank who held their mortgage pressured them to fill their units within 8 days of opening. The board responded by holding interviews for prospective tenants at the church on one evening. Since they already knew many of the applicants, they did not check references. Subsequently they had a great deal of problems in maintenance and rent collections.

In another case where the board initially did a poor job of tenant selection, the management company now is trying to upgrade selection and is slowly evicting the undesirable tenants. However, the process is difficult because they must have proof to warrant evictions. The management of the project attributes much of their current problems to the poor initial selection. They have experienced a great deal of damage to the units, misused appliances, disregard of common areas. The process of evicting these tenants now is both long and costly. However, the company feels that if the tenant selection can be improved, the project can eventually operate successfully.

C. Conflict Between Business Role and Social Service Role of Management

HUD's management manual points out "while physical and financial considerations - those traditionally associated with property management - are vital to the success of a housing project, management should be aware that equally important and perhaps more challenging are the personal considerations, the 'people problems'."¹

¹U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Management of HUD Insured Multi-family Projects under 221d3 and section 236 of the National Housing Act, October 1974, p.4.

Thus, in addition to guidelines on handling tenant selection, maintenance, security and finance, HUD's manual suggests that managers:

1. Encourage tenant associations as an "effective channel of communication with management."
2. Establish a community tenant service program.
3. Assist families with problems by utilizing social services and making referrals to community agencies in cases of financial hardship or other appropriate situations.
4. Establish an employment policy that gives residents maximum opportunities for employment and gives employment opportunities to lower income people in the area. "The agent will make a conscientious effort to provide special assistance and training for project residents and members of minority groups."

Managers differ widely in how they interpret these various roles. For some the best way to fulfill a social service role is to stick hard and fast to a business approach to management: the most important function of management being the project's survival. If management can provide an attractive safe living environment, then they can give residents the greatest satisfaction and the greatest social service. For other managers, advising residents or organizing resident activities is an integral part of their jobs. Their incentive to take the job depends on the social service aspect of the job.

These two roles have created conflicts in the way management carries out its operations. Management has a limited amount of resources (both time and money) to allocate among all of these objectives.

1. Rent Collection

No where has this conflict been more damaging than in rent collections. A project must collect the rent to maintain its operation. Rent collection, however, has been one of the weakest areas of management, particularly in the nonprofit projects. Many of these projects are now realizing that they must be firm in their collection policy and have begun evicting delinquent tenants more quickly than in the past. In a couple of the projects tough rent collection policy contradicted the social concerns of the board members and managers. This policy conforms with HUD guidelines. They prefer to see people's problems handled within the complex if possible. HUD states managers should avoid eviction "to the maximum extent consistent with sound management of the project." This type of directive shifts responsibility to the manager's judgement.

Most managers stressed that a housing project had to be run like a business, and a manager had to be firm about rent collection, but if special problems arose (i.e. loss of job, family illness) they made exceptions based on a tenants past record. Usually this involved partial payments or delayed payments of rent. Often the manager would refer the person to the welfare department or to the budgeting program at Family Services. Yet making arrangements for delayed payment based on past behavior of tenants can be problematic. For low income people,

one manager felt once a person slips one month it is very difficult to have any surplus income in coming months to pay it back. His feeling was "if you can't pay the rent the 1st month, you can't pay it down the line." Nevertheless, many managers had carried delinquencies from month to month and tenants were slowly paying their debts. Only one manager stated he refused to carry delinquencies over to the next month. His attitude was that a tenant could always find the money somewhere else to pay the rent. If management was not firm, the project would be totally overwhelmed with delinquencies no matter how legitimate a tenant's reasons. At times this manager has issued an unlawful detainer in order to help residents get on welfare.

Many of the projects had quite a few late payments, but found they rarely evicted tenants because of delinquencies. Those projects which did have a large number of evictions generally were those with poor initial tenant selection. Eviction proceedings are expensive. Most managers will first try to get the rent paid and will only issue an unlawful detainer as a last resort.

Most managers said they evicted residents before they lost more than one month's rent. However, the resident managers at a few projects indicated that eviction took two months which contradicted the one month limit set by the property manager. A number of the projects had instituted the one month limit recently. Yet, if the projects seriously enforce the one month limit, not only must they evict the present tenant within a month, but they must also have the time to clean the apartment for the next tenant. One manager started an unlawful detainer as early as the 10th in order to have it processed by the 13th, and to have the tenants out by the 23rd. This left them enough time to fix the apartment for the next tenants. HUD's management handbook also suggests a shorter grace period of five days so that evictions can begin on the 10th.

Several of the managers attributed their difficulties with rent collection to initial problems with poor tenant selection; others felt rent collection was an inherent problem if people were low income. However, there was some disagreement among the managers whether welfare people or in fact the more affluent working people were more often delinquent.

Managers recognized the necessity of educating tenants about their responsibilities. Paying the rent had to become first priority. HUD has recommended more frequent rent collections in order to help people budget their money. However, none of the managers indicated that they did collect rent more than once a month.

2. Employment Policies

Another conflict between the business approach and social service approach arises in employment policies. Most projects hire caretakers and/or central maintenance staff. Only the nonprofit projects indicated that they hired residents to do any of the maintenance work. One manager in a profit project felt there were drawbacks in hiring a resident because of conflicting allegiance to friends on the project instead of to management.

Of the nonprofit projects that do follow HUD's guidelines, one depends on temporary help from the project, usually those people who are unemployed. The project can lower its maintenance costs since it can pay lower wages although these people require supervision and training. Another project hires maintenance men through the manpower program which requires that the project pay half their salary and provide on the job training. The training has worked out well but it requires a great deal of supervisory time from the manager. The project has not benefited from the training program in the long run because it has had no full time positions for people at regular wages. However, in at least three cases these trainees were able to get better jobs elsewhere because of their experience.

Management operations usually contracted out major repairs only. However, a large management firm was able to contract out a number of other services (e.g. snow removal, painting, shampooing, plumbing) for all its projects. Again HUD recommends neighborhood people be hired. Yet only management of nonprofit projects mentioned they were committed to hiring minority contractors from the area when they did contract out.

3. Community Relations

Managers recognized that their role involved dealing with other members of the community as well as with the project alone. They indicated two areas where cooperation was needed in particular.

Managers especially in the Summit-University area have experienced "pros" in the area who move from project to project without paying rent. A few recognize it is to their advantage to keep each other informed about poor tenants. Informal meetings among managers have begun to take place and one manager mentioned that a more formal group had been established to discuss tenant and management problems.

Some of the managers and board members also feel that they need more communication with the welfare and service agencies as well. They find agencies refer tenants with housing problems to the projects with no concern what type of tenant they might be for the complexes. In reference to social service agencies one manager said "they don't care who they refer as long as they get the person out of their office."

4. Tenant Relations

a. Complaints

In most cases there was no problem handling complaints from residents. Only one manager indicated a potential problem of residents complaining directly to board members and "telling any kind of lie" about management. The project, however, had no official grievance procedure established. Only one other nonprofit project indicated they had established such a procedure through the resident organization.

b. Advice

A much disputed subject in housing management, particularly in lower income projects, is the degree of involvement a housing manager should have with resident's problems. The basis for this type of question is an assumption that people in lower income projects have more problems to face and are less capable of coping with their daily lives. Whether we accept this assumption or not it is appropriate to discuss the problems involved if a housing manager does undertake such responsibilities.

A housing manager may be in an accessible position to offer some advice. However, there is the problem of the time spent in advising and counselling that is taken away from other management responsibilities for operating a well kept project and for insuring its financial stability.

Even if counselling tenants is desirable from the point of view of all involved, there is a problem of attracting a competent manager skilled in normal maintenance and administrative work as well as in counselling. If this is unlikely as seems generally the case on most of the projects in the study, the question then becomes how a housing manager who does work so closely with people can act as an effective resource person for referring residents to the appropriate place for help when they have problems. Many managers indicated that simply becoming familiar with the resources in a community can drain the manager's time away from other duties on the project.

Managers varied widely in the way they dealt with this aspect of the job. Only two resident managers, both on limited dividend projects, refused to deal with tenant's problems. One felt the tenants "ought to know what the hell to do." Another avoided tenants personal problems commenting that "people take advantage of you." Most of the resident managers find they advise people with the problems frequently. One said he has assumed the role of "marriage counsellor, detective, social worker, baby sitter" at various times. Some of them refer to outside agencies for help (especially Family Services for budget problems). Others, particularly in the Summit-University area, feel most tenants already know where to go for help and already have case-workers. Some of the managers referred people to other residents in the project who worked for social agencies. In one complex, tenants who did work for various community groups or agencies were organizing a tenants association with the purpose of offering residents help with employment and babysitting. One resident manager suggested that the central management office provide a list of agencies which deal with particular services.

c. Resident Participation in Project Activities

One indicator of quality performance found by the Urban Institute's Management Study was the encouragement of resident responsibility and

participation in project activities. Yet manager's opinions varied considerably concerning this type of involvement. The controversy over resident associations is a prime example of this.

Although the buildings on subsidized projects are not technically owned by the residents some of the people involved with the projects think they "belong to the people." The nonprofit sponsors established the projects primarily for the benefit of the residents. Even in the private projects, the owners are much more concerned with the depreciation of the project than with the profits from its cash flow. Thus, one philosophy is that management manages for the people, not for the owner. Whether management can manage with the people is a more difficult question.

Owners, sponsors and managers differed considerably in their attitudes toward resident associations. There was no consistency of opinions among groups of owners, sponsors or managers. Nor were there always consistent opinions among persons in a single management company or in a single project.

Managers favorable towards resident organizations thought of them as "excellent communication devices" for people to point out faults to management, and air their emotions and to "coordinate their interests;" as "tremendous pride builders;" as a means to get residents to "police their own units" so the owner would not be known as a slum landlord. Most managers felt it was better for residents to establish their own organization rather than for management to take the initiative. In two cases management unsuccessfully tried to organize residents.

Some of the managers pointed out that resident associations are crisis oriented, complaint task forces. They can operate only if the group has an agenda. Otherwise, meeting for the sake of meeting will not work. Other managers, owners and sponsors thought resident organizations made the management task much more difficult and found the organizations focused on negative issues only. The best situation was when resident associations were not needed: "management is doing its job and residents are not addressing management problems." Many managers do not think residents are interested in participating. One manager felt people did not want to mix with each other because of personal conflicts this can create. Another commented that working people are simply too tired to participate: "When they get off work, with children, they don't have time for anything except themselves. They don't have time for anything really."

A few managers, however, felt that the negative focus of tenant groups indicated that they were not active enough and should be organizing more positive activities for the complex and community. In most cases managers felt their role was to support such endeavors but not to initiate them.

d. Establishing a Community

Most managers questioned whether it is even desirable for management to help residents establish common interests and activities. One board member stated explicitly that the expectation of establishing a "community" based on a common location is merely a fallacy: "People come from all over the community. When you move from one neighborhood to another, you generally have social interest where you lived the longest. There is no necessary desire to become intimate with your neighbor. This presupposes a homogeneous group of people. Why do they expect that if you don't earn as much money as that joker (i.e. conventional housing tenant) that you're going to want to get chummy with the neighbors?"

One nonprofit project on the other hand represents the most extreme example of residents themselves who are trying to establish a sense of community. Some of the original residents and more recent arrivals have not given up the initial cooperative idea. However, they are pursuing that ideal by attempting to establish community attitudes rather than a legal cooperative.

The type of community involvement offered in this complex was a large incentive for the manager to take the job. He likes to feel his role as manager and as a person who is involved with the community itself has given a new image to management.

This is the only complex with an all resident board. The board is involved with managing all the affairs and dealing with tenant relations. For example, a committee of residents and the manager select new tenants. The residents have organized social activities including children, christmas parties, street dances, carnivals and art fairs. They have established a free second hand clothing exchange for residents and they publish a community newspaper which the manager helps organize.

Residents not only help each other informally with babysitting, car repairs, and household furnishings, but they give their time and services in order to save the complex money. An example the board chairman gave was that people will not bother the caretaker on weekends and run up overtime pay when they know someone else who can do the job for free. According to the board chairman, one third to one half of the residents are involved with the community and care. Although most of the work falls on a few idealists who keep the project going, more people are slowly beginning to ask what they can do to help. People who become involved with the complex feel "once you do get involved and you realize you do have something to say, you can do something, you can be productive, your attitude changes where your home and your job is not enough." Those who do feel changes are possible, think changes must come through education and reaching out to neighbors.

When the place of residence also becomes a place for social activity, many people fear the independence and privacy sought in a home will be

violated. The board chairman said the need for privacy was no different than in any other complex. Other residents respect that need and often try to help each other out especially by taking care of each other's children when someone needs some time away. This support is especially important for one parent households.

The range of opinions concerning tenant relations indicate that managers have not always followed HUD's objectives. Yet, considerable conflicts arise particularly with the manager's role concerning tenant relations. When the manager's involvement in tenant relations and community activities becomes a major part of his job, he must allocate his time accordingly. Some of the problems this raised for managers will be discussed in the next section.

D. The Role of Project Manager

Most managers and developer/sponsors agreed that the quality of the manager in charge of the complex (either resident or non-resident) can make or break a complex. As one manager stated it "the complex is what the manager is."

Of the 13 projects, 9 had resident managers, 2 had full time non-resident managers and 3 had managers who were resident at another project which they also managed.

In four projects the managers were husband and wife teams. One couple managed two projects. One was a retired couple working full time on the project. Of the other two couples, (one of whom managed two projects) the husbands both had full time jobs. In one case the husband handled most of the tenant relations and tenant selection in addition to all the maintenance. In the other case, the wife took most of the responsibility and the husband took care of some of the maintenance. In the other projects, three of the resident managers were women and five were men (four full time managers and one part time manager).

1. Incentives for Managers

The management companies for the most part have difficulty finding and keeping good resident managers. Nonprofit complexes in particular depend on multiple skills of their managers to service both maintenance and tenant relations. Since most pay scales are determined by the size of the project and the cash flow from rents, the subsidized projects cannot offer high pay. The exceptions are a few private projects which spend the necessary money to hire competent staff and do not depend on the cash flow of the project to determine salaries. If a project is fairly large, supervisors prefer to attract a better qualified person with a larger salary than dividing the salary and responsibilities between two people.

a. Hiring

Often it is a matter of luck particularly for these projects to find a person with the necessary combination of skills for a resident

manager's job. Some of the projects prefer "to make" their own resident managers. Rather than hiring a person who already has experience, the supervisor prefers to train the resident manager to do things the company's way. In such cases, they look for specific character traits that fit well with the type of job and the type of complex.

The manager of these projects then must cope with the difficulty of hiring good caretakers. One project had solved the problem by hiring a full time maintenance man instead. He lived outside the project and was paid an hourly wage. They felt the person was more efficient, better skilled and less likely to take long breaks.

b. Opportunities for Promotion of Managers

Opportunities for promotion with a project or management company are few unless the company is large and can promote a manager to a larger complex with higher rents and higher pay and eventually promote him or her into a supervisory position. However, managers are offered jobs from other projects and management companies which provides a general incentive to begin in a complex even if it is relatively low pay.

c. Responsibility

The degree of responsibility can either attract or deter people from the job depending on the person. One ambitious resident manager did not feel he had enough responsibility and was not using his full potential. He would prefer a supervisor's position. Another resident manager whose responsibilities are the least of any manager,¹ has all the authority she wants; she likes "passing the buck" rather than making any big decisions. Thus the type of person must be matched to the structure and responsibility of the job.

The job of resident manager in particular has many disincentives. Full time resident managers are responsible for the project and feel the job is a 24 hour one. They can schedule their own time to take care of their responsibilities but they are on call to handle emergencies. Managers felt inhibited by the restrictions of the job and some indicated a problem because of lack of privacy. A couple of the projects attempted to alleviate some of the pressures by giving the resident manager a weekend off every month.

d. Satisfaction

Most projects must find managers who have other motives besides pay, title or authority that keep them interested in the job.

¹She is responsible for handling requests and complaints of tenants and HUD certifications, but the central office deals with tenant selection and rents and supervises maintenance.

Almost all the managers gave various kinds of satisfactions they found in the job. These included: 1) working with people, 2) helping serve people, 3) having people appreciate what you can do for them, 4) solving problems, 5) keeping busy, 6) diversity of the job, 7) maintaining quality buildings and good environment, and 8) working towards a social philosophy.

Although managers cited "dealing with people" by far the most difficult aspect of the job, for most managers it was also the source of the greatest satisfaction in the job. Only one person indicated that he did not enjoy the tenant relations aspect of his job and found he became defensive in dealing with people. In most cases managers felt they had accomplished something on the job or else they would not have stayed with it.

2. Firing Managers

Firing a resident manager can also be a problem. First of all there is difficulty documenting legitimate complaints about a manager and making a smooth transition to a new manager. There is also a problem of potential conflict if the old manager remains on the project. In one case, the manager reported that he had no grounds to evict the old resident manager and yet that person was undermining the authority of the new manager with friends she still had on the project.

3. Conflict within the Manager's Role

The problem of what a manager's role should be becomes more complicated when part of the incentive and satisfaction for managers in this type of position often comes from precisely those personal counselling activities which are supposedly secondary to other management tasks. Several of the managers commented that the tenants were both their greatest headache as well as their greatest joy. Their satisfaction in the job and reason for taking the job in the first place depended on their ability to be involved with people intimately. For some this meant helping to organize social activities, for others it meant helping tenants deal with problems. There is a problem if these activities interfere with a manager's ability to carry out his other responsibilities. There is also a danger of a manager's becoming too friendly with residents and showing favoritism. Because resident managers are tied to the project, the pressures of the job are also more intensified. The ability of a resident manager to keep the necessary distance from residents is particularly difficult for full time resident managers who often have little opportunity to make other social contacts away from the project.

If housing managers are to work more effectively and become more "professional," the benefits of employing a resident manager must be weighed carefully against the drawbacks. Two of the larger projects both decided not to hire a resident manager; instead they have used a larger salary available from the rent schedule to attract one full time manager responsible for supervising all the daily operations of the project as well as doing the book work. In one project the manager works independently with a secretary/bookkeeper and in the other project the manager works for a management company which provides back up

administrative services in the central office.

In both projects these managers are intensely involved with the tenant problems and tenant activities and were attracted to housing management because of this kind of involvement. The boards encourage the tenant involvement and feel the only way the managers can work effectively is if they are not resident managers and can gain a perspective of the job by getting away from it each night.

4. Case Studies of Managers

If indeed a project is "what it's manager is," it would be desirable to know what role that manager plays and how he/she might compare with our expectations of a manager's role. However, it is impossible to categorize what a typical manager's role is whether that person be a resident or non-resident manager. The following case studies of 1) the full time resident couple, 2) the part time resident manager, 3) the social service oriented manager, and 4) the achievement oriented manager have been selected to illustrate some of the complexity associated with the incentives and roles of project managers and the wide variation among them. To a large degree their roles are also defined by the type of management organization for which they work. The roles and incentives of the other managers in the study do not fit completely into these categories and often have characteristics that overlap between categories.

a. Full Time Husband and Wife Team

Mr. and Mrs. Greene have been managing apartments for 15 years and have been at Rosehill for 3 years. Mr. Greene is a retired businessman but enjoys working in the home and keeping busy.

The Greene's work for a small management company that was established by the general partner in order to make sure Rosehill (one of the larger projects) was well managed. There is a main office and a supervising manager who is also in charge of 6 other projects. The complex has mainly elderly white residents with a few on rent supplement and two on AFDC.

The Greene's are responsible for giving out rent cards, showing apartments to prospective tenants and buying supplies. However, the central office handles rent collection and checks references for tenant selection. The Greene's are trusted to operate the project and have the authority to buy what they need without any operating budget for their expenditures. They simply send the bills in to the central office with their work sheets. Usually Mr. Greene buys only small amounts of supplies.

Mr. Greene does 90% of the maintenance work with the help of three elderly caretakers. Mr. Greene enjoys "puttering around" and would rather do a job himself if he can than contract out. He helps train his own caretakers and at times helps the company train new managers in other projects.

There is a long waiting list to get into Rosehill. Most people find out about the complex from other friends living there. They receive a lot of referrals from social services, but most of the welfare people need apartments right away. Thus, the waiting list is mostly elderly and new tenants selected are elderly.

The complex has had little problem with rent collection and no one has been evicted. If rents are delinquent the main office gives them a list to check on. Usually rents are all in by the 15th; otherwise, the central office sends a letter or calls the resident. The Greene's, however, fear what would happen if the place had more welfare people, feeling it would be more difficult to collect rents on time.

When asked whether residents ever seek her advice, Mrs. Greene remarked "oh god - everything." Residents often come in to talk about all kinds of things; others keep her on the phone, probably because they are lonesome. However, Mrs. Greene prefers not to get involved with resident's personal problems. She usually tells people to think things over carefully. She doesn't refer people to any of the social agencies and feels that they should know how to take care of their own problems.

Privacy is a problem for Mr. and Mrs. Greene. Many of the elderly complain about the smallest things. At times Mrs. Greene wishes she could turn off her phone. Even if she chooses not to answer a call on the company phone, many of the elderly people have her private number as well. For the elderly, everything is an emergency. Yet, Mrs. Greene thinks that there are only two real emergencies - fire and flood and everything else can wait.

Mrs. Greene finds the most difficult aspect of managing the development is the different people with different attitudes and different temperments. "Older people want you to wait on them. Some of the children are bad...you can't mix the two."

The Greenes find the commitment to the job overwhelming at times. The job is twenty four hours and they've had 10 days vacation in three years. Sometimes they get fed up and take off for the day telling the caretaker to take calls. The Greene's have had two raises since they have been at the complex. They also get a free apartment but mentioned they do not benefit from the rent rebate since they do not actually pay the rent.

Although Mr. Greene loves working in the home and "makes the job fun," Mrs. Greene says "it's too much - we've been here too long and people depend on you. I'm the one to say no. He doesn't say no. People ask him to start their car, but they all have relatives to call." Mrs. Greene says she is very happy with the job at times when "people appreciate what you can do for them." However, she would like to quit when she turns 65. Yet despite the tensions involved in operating the complex, the Greenes take pride in keeping Rosehill well maintained and consider it the "best looking in the Twin Cities."

b. Part Time Resident Manager

Mr. Nolan is a part time resident manager of Regency Court, an 80 unit, nonprofit complex managed by a small management company. The company took over management after the project went into default under the management of the board. Mr. Nolan has a full time job but he took the job as manager because he likes the people and because he needs the extra money. He has hired a girl to answer the phone between 1 and 5 pm while he is at work.

Mr. Nolan is black and the complex has mostly black welfare families and about 10 elderly people on rent supplement. Mr. Nolan collects the rent, selects tenants, checks their employment record and does quite a bit of the maintenance work with the help of an elderly caretaker. When he first came he had a great deal of repairs to do since the previous manager had let the project deteriorate. They only contract out for major jobs.

Mr. Nolan has had no problem with vacancies. Regency Court has a waiting list. There was quite a bit of turnover when he first came but it has slowed down now that residents are signing a year's lease.

Mr. Nolan has a few people who give him problems with rent collection, fifteen or twenty are late. However, he has only had trouble with two people whom he's selected. If rents are delinquent, he only lets them go a month before proceeding with eviction. However, he finds the project usually loses two months rent. Mr. Nolan always gives people a chance before beginning eviction proceedings. He finds the delinquencies are not necessarily those on welfare but are more often working people who just don't pay. He never advises that they get counselling help.

When people ask for his advice he tries to help them. He feels he's usually helpful. He is friendly with most of the residents and feels they have a lot of respect for him. He says, "I get along with everybody, they seem to like me. I don't know why. Well, I treat them well. I haven't had any problems since I've been here."

Mr. Nolan finds his biggest problem is the kids who mess up constantly and write on the walls. Although he's written letters to their parents, the parents don't seem concerned.

In addition to his full time job, Mr. Nolan finds that as resident manager he is busy from 5:30 till 2 or 3 in the morning and all day on the weekends. He does not find a lack of privacy as manager any problem. When asked whether he felt he had accomplished anything on the job, Mr. Nolan replied, "I think so. Sometimes its hard to tell. Sometimes I get disgusted. I fix something and they [the children] go right ahead and tear it up." However, Mr. Nolan feels the job is important and that he has a lot of responsibility collecting rent and doing all the maintenance work. He also thinks most residents

appreciate the maintenance.

c. Social Service Oriented Manager

Mr. Elwood has managed Franklin House, a nonprofit complex made up of black families and elderly white residents, for five years. He has managed other property in the past. Mr. Elwood finds housing management the most challenging and interesting experience he's ever had. He works closely with people's basic needs, and finds housing is a way of getting close to people.

Mr. Elwood is not a resident manager. He is paid approximately \$14,000 a year and has total authority to run the project, dealing with HUD and reporting directly to its board of directors once a month. The board has been very active in directing the project and is concerned particularly with bills and rent increases.

Mr. Elwood finds that living away from the project is very helpful because he can start fresh again the next day. If there are any emergencies he will take them on his home phone.

The church sponsor and board of directors believe in providing employment for minorities or people with problems on welfare. Yet, Mr. Elwood finds it takes time to train these people and give personal counselling. He finds he spends too much time on maintenance. The extra supervision takes about 25% of his time altogether.

Mr. Elwood has one maintenance man through the manpower program who had some aptitude for the job but no experience. He is now beginning to supervise the other help and Mr. Elwood thinks he is beginning to get a different image of himself. He lives on the project and feels needed there.

Since Franklin House is a nonprofit organization, they participate in the welfare board's work experience program and employ extra workers without pay. These are usually unskilled people with alcoholic or other problems who do the yard work or painting. Mr. Elwood does not expect a full day's work from them but does expect a contribution and will not keep them if the workers cause any trouble. Some turn out very well and come back as temporary help. In other cases the workers have progressed for a while but then have reverted back to drinking or other habits.

In addition to the maintenance men Mr. Elwood employs a secretary/bookkeeper and a cleaning woman who cleans the appliances in vacant apartments. If necessary he brings in an outside contractor, the former maintenance man of the project. However, they try to economize particularly in maintenance and rarely contract out unless its very specialized work or if their own people fall behind. Mr. Elwood has learned plumbing and electric skills over the years by watching other people. He went out and bought the appropriate tools so he could do the job himself the next time.

Mr. Elwood does not find any serious rent collection problem although frequently people are late. If families break up and can no longer afford to pay rent, Mr. Elwood refers them to Family Services who are equipped to deal with the problems of emergency funds and budgeting skills. Mr. Elwood finds many tenants do not know what services are available.

In the past management has promoted community participation. Community organizers have tried to organize residents but have been unable to find concerns everyone has had in common. When concerns have emerged they have been negative. When a tenant's organization did exist a few years ago, some of the members and outside organizers created a lot of disruption on the project. Mr. Elwood had to face criticism from the residents and still manage the project alone without any support from the board who was caught in the middle, investigating each complaint from tenants carefully. The disruption took a year to clear up. Mr. Elwood feels the efforts of the organizers fell apart because they had no validity for residents. Mr. Elwood says "for some community organizer to come in from the outside and say we're ripping them [residents] off, they're too intelligent to know this is not the case." Mr. Elwood feels most residents trust management and it is unrealistic to think everyone should be one big happy family in Franklin House. Most of the people are city people who "have the conscious or unconscious thought that the less we interfere with our neighbors, the better off." He finds the residents very friendly but impersonal.

Franklin House does provide a number of services for residents. There is a pre-school run by St. Paul Public Schools, a class in home economics held four days a week and a horticulture class taught by a horticulturist on the project. During the summer, Hamline students are hired to provide a summer program for the children through church funds.

Mr. Elwood is most bothered by wasteful vandalism although he doesn't find it a big problem. Otherwise, the only thing he feels he needs to do a better job is more money.

d. The Career Manager

Mr. Benson is the resident manager for a large private project managed by a large management company. This is the second management company on the project and Mr. Benson has only been in charge for a few months. Bloomsbury Square has a largely black population.

The first company was too anxious to fill the project up. As a result many of the residents were AFDC mothers under 25 and many under 20 years of age.

Mr. Benson has been involved in housing management for a little over a year. He is black, a recent college graduate and has done a variety of jobs, including counselling students before becoming assistant manager of a smaller project managed by the company. When another company offered him a better salary his own company was able to double his

salary by making him manager of this project as well.

With so many problems on the project Mr. Benson finds the job a challenging one: "To me it's challenging because the project has never really paid off and when you've got a project that's over 95% full you can't ask for more....When I came in I was told it wouldn't be a hard job. The project runs itself, they told me. All you really have to do is come in and be a manager. You really can't do that anywhere. There are all kinds of problems connected. I realized that there would be when I took the job. But when I got in and I looked at the tenants I had in here I realized wow, this is going to be some kind of job." Yet he likes the challenge and says "I have the task of rectifying something that has a lot of potential."

Mr. Benson said he meets with his supervisor once a week. Otherwise, he makes his own decisions. He has one caretaker, a part time secretary and a security guard because of a number of break-ins recently.

Mr. Benson buys his own supplies and sends the company the bill. He receives a computer print out of his costs per unit and is expected to be careful in making expenditures.

It takes time to compensate for bad initial tenant selection and Mr. Benson is now looking for families and couples in order to provide some balance to the current population which is largely women. Mr. Benson relies a lot on the way people come into the office when he makes selections. Since many are from the neighborhood or have lived at other projects he has managed for the company, he and his secretary know many of them and discuss each applicant before selecting. At times he will give a person a chance even though the income isn't always high enough. However, he feels that the person particularly when younger would have trouble renting anywhere and says "if it's a rental and a mistake, then it is my mistake."

All the daily maintenance is handled by the caretaker. The company contracts out for garbage and snow removal, painting, shampooing and major plumbing. A highly skilled central maintenance staff handles all other repairs.

Rent is due between the first and the fifth. Yet, Mr. Benson says "I don't have any problems with someone saying they don't have the rent because it's very believable. I've been in the same situation." Mr. Benson's decision to evict depends on the person. In delinquency cases, he gives a good tenant a chance and must take the consequences if he makes a mistake. Mr. Benson hates to evict people but knows he was hired to do a job and feels "the success of the project evaluates the kind of job I do and will evaluate how far I go."

Mr. Benson finds the AFDC client "a strange client to have." "You know when they get their welfare check they have a thousand and one things to do with that check. You always hope that they realize that the priorities are a roof over their head. Some do some don't." Mr. Benson finds that a manager has as many problems as he creates and says

"I don't have any problems I can't handle myself."

Mr. Benson said at times tenants will stop in to talk in the evening but he is careful about not getting to know people too well on a friendship basis. He finds himself doing counselling in the process but doesn't mind it. So far there has not been a need to refer anyone for services; most already have their own caseworkers.

There has not yet been a tenant association on the project because there has never been a tenant willing to start one. He does not feel one is necessary since he will always try to respond to tenant's suggestions. Nor does he think people need to organize for social purposes. He says "socializing is a natural here," people are right from the community. "They all know each other."

Mr. Benson enjoys the field of housing although he doesn't like the paper work involved. He knows he can be evaluated honestly by the physical structures themselves. Mr. Benson hopes to stay in 236 housing. He feels managers have let the wrong type of people in and are leaving a stigma on other blacks who live there. Right now he is building up his resume and says "advancing is important to me but I don't want to advance if I haven't completed one job. I don't want them to tell me I've solved the problems in Bloomsbury Square when I don't really believe I've solved them. I'm four months off solving the problems in Bloomsbury Square. Whenever I take a job I set a goal and one of the goals was that in six months I'd get rid of all the problems and make it a place where everyone would want to live...."

He feels this is happening slowly. "I've received a lot of compliments but I have to take them in stride because it only tells me that the managing done before I got here was insufficient because I haven't done a hell of a lot here yet."

However, he predicts that in six months anyone can come in and evaluate the kind of job he is doing. He says "the rewards are all around me. The reward is that my secretary likes it here. The only way she can like it is because she's comfortable and her surroundings are comfortable. That's not a given that's created."

IV. Resident Satisfaction and Management

The following section describes the performance of these projects from the residents point of view as reflected in the survey. Over 60% of all the residents were satisfied with the general management of their complex while 22% were neutral and less than 15% were dissatisfied. The following table gives the distribution of their response:

Satisfaction with Management of This Complex

Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
21.5%	42.7%	22.0%	9.6%	4.2%

In two of the limited dividend projects and in two of the nonprofit projects over 20% of the residents expressed dissatisfaction with management in general. The distribution by project is as follows:

<u>Limited Dividend</u>		<u>Nonprofit</u>	
B	6.3%	G	12.8%
F	20.5	A	12.3
H	34.2	E	35.0
I	6.3	C	19.5
J	12.0	D	27.0
K	10.0		
L	10.6		
M	13.7		

Resident satisfaction with management varied widely between projects managed by the same company. Although company policy was presumably the same on each of their projects, there were different project managers. The data does not allow reliable comparison between managers as there are substantial differences in the size, location, population, design and age of the projects. Resident satisfaction with management in the St. Paul projects appears to be substantially greater than was found to be true in a study of 25 projects in other states where 24.4% of the respondents were dissatisfied (see Table B of Part I of this report).

Table F shows cross-tabulations for all respondents between satisfaction with management in general and satisfaction with specific factors of management. All of these show a highly significant difference between people who were satisfied and people who were dissatisfied with management in general. The table lists the factors in order of the amount of dissatisfaction expressed on the individual item for respondents who were dissatisfied with management in general.

The following sections on maintenance, tenant orientation, and tenant relations focus on the dissatisfaction expressed about each of these aspects of project operations. If 20% or more of the residents of a development expressed dissatisfaction, the problem was assumed to be significant.

Table F. Percentage Distribution of Respondents Satisfied and Dissatisfied With Specific Aspects of Management Cross Tabulated with Attitude Towards Management in General (Question 12).

Specific Aspect of Management		Management in General			
		Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	All
Maintenance Personnel are Courteous	Satisfied	73.4%	17.6%	9.0%	100%
	Dissatisfied	20.3	25.4	54.2	100
Management of Complex is Friendly	Satisfied	78.5	13.9	7.6	100
	Dissatisfied	12.3	35.4	52.3	100
Speed with which Management Responds to Complaints	Satisfied	86.6	12.1	1.4	100
	Dissatisfied	20.7	28.8	50.5	100
Way Management Handles Disputes	Satisfied	83.2	11.5	5.3	100
	Dissatisfied	15.1	35.6	49.3	100
Quality of Repair Work Outside Home	Satisfied	80.4	13.7	5.9	100
	Dissatisfied	24.6	31.1	44.3	100
I Feel Well Informed About The Rules	Satisfied	72.5	17.7	9.8	100
	Dissatisfied	33.7	24.7	41.6	100
Quality of Repair Work in Home	Satisfied	81.0	13.3	5.7	100
	Dissatisfied	29.5	30.0	40.5	100
Way Management Handles Disruptive Tenants	Satisfied	83.2	11.5	5.3	100
	Dissatisfied	17.5	42.5	40.0	100
General Maintenance Outside Building	Satisfied	73.5	18.2	8.3	100
	Dissatisfied	32.6	31.9	35.5	100
General Maintenance of Public Areas	Satisfied	74.5	17.1	8.5	100
	Dissatisfied	35.3	34.6	30.1	100

Table F Continued.

Specific Aspect of Management		Management in General			
		Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	All
Management Protects My Right To Peace and Quiet	Satisfied	78.8%	13.5%	7.7%	100%
	Dissatisfied	31.8	38.3	29.9	100
Trash Collection	Satisfied	68.4	20.5	11.0	100
	Dissatisfied	37.0	33.3	29.6	100
Snow Removal	Satisfied	71.5	18.9	9.6	100
	Dissatisfied	39.6	32.7	27.7	100
Rules Regarding Changes Inside Home	Satisfied	73.9	17.7	8.4	100
	Dissatisfied	48.9	24.7	26.3	100
Cleanliness of Public Halls	Satisfied	76.9	15.8	7.3	100
	Dissatisfied	50.0	28.2	21.8	100

A. Maintenance and Repairs

Residents were most dissatisfied with the rules about changing the inside of the home. In nine projects over 20% of the residents were dissatisfied. In seven projects 20% of the residents were dissatisfied with the quality of repairs in the home and the cleanliness of public halls. Table G ranks the various maintenance items in order of the number of projects where residents dissatisfaction is over 20%.

1. Rules Regarding Changing the Inside and Outside of the Home

Rules regarding changing the inside of the house are unsatisfactory to 21.6% of all of the respondents while 63.5% are satisfied and 17.5% indicate that they are neutral. In nine projects more than 20% of the residents were dissatisfied. Rates of dissatisfaction were lowest in projects L and A. Project L has a stable, largely elderly population which may wish to make relatively few changes. In project A the rules regarding redecoration are established by a committee of residents.

There is much less resident dissatisfaction with rules regarding changes to the outside of the home with only 8% of all the residents expressing dissatisfaction, 55.9% indicated they were satisfied and a large number, 36.2% indicated they were neutral. In many of the projects the residents may regard the outside of the building as management's domain. In only one project were more than 20% of the residents dissatisfied with the rules regarding outside changes (project H, 29.0%).

2. Quality of Repairs

Residents were asked about their satisfaction with the quality of management provided repair work within their homes and also outside their homes. The percentage distribution of all the respondents was as follows:

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Repairs within home	19.7%	42.7%	16.1%	13.4%	8.2%
Repairs outside home	17.0	46.0	23.4	9.5	4.2

In three limited dividend projects and four nonprofit projects more than 20% of the respondents were dissatisfied with the quality of repair work within their homes while this was the case in one limited dividend and two nonprofit projects with regard to the quality of outside repair work.

3. Maintenance of Public Areas and Grounds, Snow Removal and Trash Collection

Residents were asked about various aspects of outside maintenance work. The percentage distribution of all respondents on each of the items is as follows:

Table G. Percentage of Dissatisfied Residents with Maintenance and Repairs Aspects of Project Operations by Complex

	Profit								Nonprofit					# of projects with over 20% Dissatisfactio
	H	F	B	J	K	L	I	M	G	A	E	C	D	
Rules about changing inside of home.	19.0%	19.5%	28.6%	26.3%	27.7%	22.4%	6.7%	20.4%	25.7%	8.9%	23.8%	43.2%	23.0%	9
Quality of management repairs inside home.	14.7	33.3	43.2	16.0	14.1	14.4	21.9	19.3	35.7	16.3	36.5	31.6	33.4	7
Cleanliness of public halls.	14.8	15.4	3.0	20.3	25.0	32.8	18.0	48.0	18.0	46.7	23.5	19.4	51.4	7
Snow removal.	30.6	23.1	48.8	19.2	12.2	11.9	9.4	12.2	13.4	22.1	31.6	25.7	13.9	5
Maintenance outside building.	17.5	10.8	50.0	7.9	10.5	4.2	6.1	4.0	12.5	31.5	35.0	11.8	29.7	4
Quality of management repair outside home.	11.5	7.2	45.0	5.1	11.7	7.7	6.8	10.5	11.6	21.5	28.5	12.9	14.7	3
Trash disposal.	7.8	7.9	43.9	10.7	5.2	.8	3.2	22.0	16.7	23.0	15.0	0.0	31.6	3
Maintenance of public areas.	11.1	5.3	42.5	8.2	15.9	14.4	7.2	16.7	6.2	37.4	22.2	14.3	29.7	2
Rules about changing outside of home.	3.2	5.0	29.0	8.0	8.6	7.4	1.3	6.6	5.8	7.8	9.5	13.9	12.9	1

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
Cleanliness of Public Halls	52.5%	27.6%	10.8%	9.2%
Maintenance of Public Areas	67.5	18.1	11.2	3.2
Maintenance of Outside of Buildings	74.0	15.9	8.5	1.7
Snow Removal	61.9	18.5	18.4	1.2
Trash Removal	83.3	12.2	3.5	1.0

The cleanliness of public halls is of major concern on three projects where from 46% to 51% of the residents expressed dissatisfaction and of less concern but still significant in four others. Many of the projects consist largely of townhouses without public halls. In five projects from 22% to 42% of the residents are dissatisfied with the maintenance of public areas. In the same developments from 30% to 50% of the residents are dissatisfied with the maintenance outside the building. The distribution of response is as follows for these projects.

Satisfaction with General Maintenance Outside the Building

Complex	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinon	Not Provided
H	23.8%	50.0%	14.3%	11.9%
E	45.0	35.0	10.0	10.0
A	54.0	31.5	11.3	3.2
N	43.3	30.0	16.7	10.0
D	54.1	28.7	16.2	0

In these projects many of the respondents written comments criticized various aspects of outside maintenance.

Snow removal is unsatisfactory to a significant number of residents in seven projects ranging from complex H with 48.8% indicating they were dissatisfied to complex A with 22.2%. Written comments indicate that snow removal from parking lots is a frequent cause of resident concern.

Trash removal long a major matter of concern in multi-family housing developments is less of a concern in the St. Paul projects. A significant percentage of respondents were dissatisfied in only four of the projects.

B. Tenant Orientation

Managers interviewed said they informed tenants about the rules when they moved in. In most complexes residents did not consider information about the rules to be a problem. However, in one complex 39.1% of the residents expressed disagreement with the statement "I feel well informed about management rules."

This complex had a new resident manager when the survey was conducted which may have generated some confusion with management's operations. The following is the distribution of dissatisfaction among residents:

I Feel Well Informed About Management's Rules.

<u>Profit</u>		<u>Nonprofit</u>	
B	6.1%	G	14.0%
F	9.8	A	8.8
H	39.1	E	14.7
I	7.3	C	13.5
J	5.9	D	12.5
K	8.4		
L	2.2		
M	15.7		

C. Tenant Relations

The Urban Intitute's Management Study indicated that the speed of management response to maintenance requests and other needs of tenants is a main indicator of the quality of management's performance.

Most managers indicated that it was important to handle complaints right away. As one manager put it, they are the "eyes and ears of the project." Most complaints involved construction problems, delays in maintenance, problems with neighbors (e.g. uncontrolled children, loud music).

Yet the area of greatest dissatisfaction in tenant relations was the speed of response to complaints. In seven projects (five nonprofits and two limited dividend) over 20% of the residents were dissatisfied with the speed of management's response.

Residents in four of the projects indicated over 20% dissatisfaction with the way management handles disruptive tenants. Three of these were nonprofit projects and one was a limited dividend project. In three of the same projects (one limited dividend and two nonprofits) over 20% of the residents were dissatisfied with the way managers protected their rights to peace and quiet. Managers on the projects which had less dissatisfaction thought of themselves as serving as a communication link for tenants who prefer to avoid direct confrontation with neighbors. One manager thought many tenants were unaware that they were doing anything that was disturbing others until they were told. Most managers require written documentation of the complaint in their files in case of any future court action.

Residents were much less dissatisfied with the way management handles tenant disputes and with the friendliness of management and courtesy of maintenance staff.

There was very little disagreement in most of the projects with the statement "Housing complexes should have resident associations." The majority of respondents in all projects agreed with the statement. The following table gives the percentages of respondents who agree with the statement:

Housing Complexes Should Have Resident Associations - Positive Response

Limited Dividend		Nonprofit	
B	71.4%	G	67.2%
F	72.5	A	74.8
H	69.2	E	65.0
I	56.8	C	77.7
J	53.4	D	61.5
K	59.8		
L	56.0		
M	57.8		

It is interesting that there is a strong positive response even though only three projects had active tenant associations at the time of the survey. The response does not indicate clearly whether people would like to participate in a resident association but do not have experience in organizing one, or whether people simply agree that such an association should exist but are not necessarily interested in organizing and participating in one.

Table H ranks the factors concerning tenant relations in order of projects expressing the greatest dissatisfaction.

Table H. Tenant Relations - Negative Responses

	Profit							Nonprofit						# of Projects with over 20% Dissatisfactor
	B	F	H	I	J	K	L	M	G	A	E	C	D	
Speed of response to complaints.	7.2%	33.3%	42.3%	9.9%	16.7%	17.8%	16.0%	14.3%	27.3%	24.6%	42.2%	23.7%	32.5%	7
Way management handles disruptive tenants.	1.6	7.3	32.6	10.7	8.2	8.4	7.8	9.8	17.9	27.1	28.5	13.5	22.0	4
Management protects right to peace & quiet (disagreement).	7.6	19.5	57.5	13.8	18.6	12.7	4.6	18.0	14.7	27.8	19.1	10.8	27.5	3
Way management handles tenant disputes.	0	9.5	13.7	7.0	5.5	2.7	3.7	8.4	11.3	14.7	36.9	13.5	10.2	1
Maintenance people are courteous.	4.5	12.2	33.3	2.4	3.0	8.4	4.3	2.0	10.1	2.4	10.0	18.9	0	1
Management is friendly.	3.0	12.5	28.6	6.3	6.9	5.1	8.9	9.6	10.0	4.1	4.8	5.6	0	1
Housing complexes should have resident organizations	0	5.0	15.4	12.2	6.8	6.0	6.7	15.6	5.7	2.4	0	5.6	2.6	0

V. Issues for Further Discussion

A. Qualifications of Managers

The dedication and abilities of many of the management people employed in these projects appear remarkably high especially given the constraints of the job. The program usually demands a combination of talents and values in its managers which it is not prepared to pay for. To some extent the larger projects have provided more managerial skills through full time staff and both small and large projects benefit from centralized services in the management company.

Small projects without many central services cannot afford people who are at one and the same time good administrators, competent bookkeepers, excellent maintenance people and sympathetic and talented human advisors.

The practice of hiring project residents with other full time jobs to take on management responsibilities in subsidized housing developments compounds the problem of management qualifications. It further involves complications of tenant relations when such managers either resign or are fired and continue to live on the projects. The practice of hiring resident managers and resident caretakers should be further reviewed. It might make sense to use resident employees only with the condition that the period of their employment and the period of their tenancy coincide. The practice of combining two or more projects under a single manager may have real advantages but not when the manager lives on one of the projects.

B. Problem Tenants and Tenant Selection

Many problems were attributed both by management and by residents to "problem people:" people who were disruptive, did not take proper care of their children and who might engage in anti-social or criminal activities. In some cases these also were people who would not or could not pay rent regularly. Bad initial tenant selection was frequently cited as responsible for the presence of these "bad actors." The answer has often been to try to weed them out and thereafter screen tenants more adequately. This leaves unresolved the issue of when and how to provide housing for bad actors and their families. It does suggest that better continuing liaison between managers should be established both on tenant selection questions and other mutual problems. This would also involve establishing continuing contact with welfare workers and other social agencies.

C. Resident Services

Management's record of referring tenants to various kinds of social services appears to be very uneven and sometimes inadequate. Interestingly, the nonprofit developments did not always do better than the limited dividend developments. In its own interest if not that of the residents, management should take the responsibility of being informed about services available.

Residents almost universally feel that resident organizations are a good thing, yet relatively few exist in the projects surveyed. Should further efforts be made to foster such organizations and if so who should take the lead.

APPENDIX

PART ONE

Survey of St. Paul Housing Complexes

Finding out how people feel about their home

Anderson & Berdie Associates Griggs-Midway Bldg./ 1821 University Av. St. Paul MN 55104 ph.644-1272

1. How satisfied are you with each of the following: (circle one response for each item)

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
a. The management of this housing complex?	VS	S	N	D	VD
b. The speed with which management responds to residents' complaints?	VS	S	N	D	VD
c. The way management handles disruptive tenants?	VS	S	N	D	VD
d. The way management settles disputes between tenants?	VS	S	N	D	VD
e. The quality of management-provided repair work <u>within</u> your home?	VS	S	N	D	VD
f. The quality of management-provided repair work <u>outside</u> your home?	VS	S	N	D	VD
g. Parking arrangements for <u>residents</u> of this complex?	VS	S	N	D	VD
h. Parking arrangements for <u>visitors</u> to this complex?	VS	S	N	D	VD
i. Rules regarding changing the <u>inside</u> of your home, e.g., painting, hanging pictures?	VS	S	N	D	VD
j. Rules regarding changing the <u>outside</u> of your home e.g., planting flowers?	VS	S	N	D	VD
k. The physical appearance of this housing complex?	VS	S	N	D	VD
l. The access you have to schools?	VS	S	N	D	VD
m. The access you have to public transportation?	VS	S	N	D	VD
n. The access you have to shopping facilities?	VS	S	N	D	VD
o. The access you have to medical facilities?	VS	S	N	D	VD
p. The access you have to recreational facilities for adults?	VS	S	N	D	VD
q. The access you have to recreational facilities for <u>children</u> ?	VS	S	N	D	VD
r. The people who live in this housing complex?	VS	S	N	D	VD
s. The people who live in the surrounding community?	VS	S	N	D	VD
t. The <u>amount</u> of outdoor open space available to residents of this housing complex?	VS	S	N	D	VD
u. The <u>location</u> of outdoor open space available to residents of this housing complex?	VS	S	N	D	VD

2. How long would you like to live in this housing complex? (check only one)

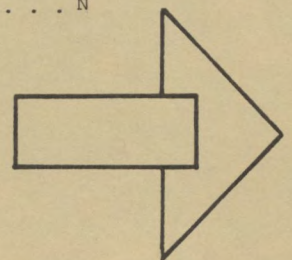
- a. I'd like to move now.
- b. I plan to live here for awhile, but not forever.
- c. I'd like to stay here as long as possible.
- d. I don't know.

3. Were the following reasons important in your choosing to live in this housing complex: (circle one response for each item)

	Yes	No
a. I like apartment living.	Y	N
b. Favorable location.	Y	N
c. I had friends living here.	Y	N
d. It was the best housing I could find for the money.	Y	N
e. I liked the neighborhood.	Y	N
f. I liked the specific apartment.	Y	N

4. Which sex are you?

- a. Male
- b. Female



5. Please indicate your degree of agreement with each of the following statements by circling how you feel.

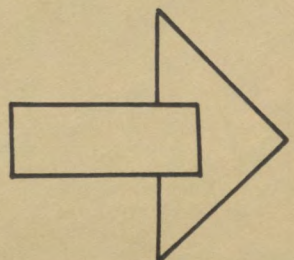
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a. This housing complex is overcrowded.	SA	A	N	D	SD
b. My home has enough space for my belongings.	SA	A	N	D	SD
c. My home has enough space to allow privacy from others who live with me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
d. Housing complexes like this one should have resident associations to communicate with management.	SA	A	N	D	SD
e. I am proud to call this housing complex "my home."	SA	A	N	D	SD
f. Most people in this housing complex are friendly.	SA	A	N	D	SD
g. Most residents in this housing complex would help their neighbors if needed.	SA	A	N	D	SD
h. Residents in this housing complex are less trustworthy than people in other areas.	SA	A	N	D	SD
i. There are other residents in this housing complex that I would feel secure leaving my children with.	SA	A	N	D	SD
j. I feel secure against crime while in my home.	SA	A	N	D	SD
k. I am concerned about the possibility of fire in this housing complex.	SA	A	N	D	SD
l. I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends.	SA	A	N	D	SD
m. I like this home better than the last place I lived.	SA	A	N	D	SD
n. The management of this housing complex is friendly.	SA	A	N	D	SD
o. The maintenance personnel in this housing complex are courteous.	SA	A	N	D	SD
p. Management effectively protects my right to peace and quiet.	SA	A	N	D	SD
q. I feel well informed about the rules management expects residents of this housing complex to obey.	SA	A	N	D	SD
r. I'm happy living in this housing complex.	SA	A	N	D	SD

6. How serious a problem do you believe each of the following is in the housing complex where you live: (circle one response for each item)

	Very serious	Somewhat serious	Not serious	Don't Know
a. Parking arrangements?	VS	SS	NS	DK
b. Noise from other apartments?	VS	SS	NS	DK
c. Noise from the surrounding neighborhood?	VS	SS	NS	DK
d. Crime within this housing complex?	VS	SS	NS	DK
e. Crime in the surrounding neighborhood?	VS	SS	NS	DK
f. Uncontrolled children?	VS	SS	NS	DK
g. Uncontrolled pets within this housing complex?	VS	SS	NS	DK
h. Uncontrolled pets from the surrounding neighborhood?	VS	SS	NS	DK

7. How long does it usually take for you and others living with you to travel to work: (check one response for each employed person).

	Less than 5 minutes	5-15 minutes	16-30 minutes	More than 30 minutes
a. Person A	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Person B	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Person C	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



8. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the following physical features provided by the management of this housing complex: (circle one response for each item)

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No opinion	Not provided
a. Building entrance security?	S	D	N	NP
b. The way keys work?	S	D	N	NP
c. Heating?	S	D	N	NP
d. Stove?	S	D	N	NP
e. Refrigerator?	S	D	N	NP
f. Kitchen layout?	S	D	N	NP
g. Size of living room?	S	D	N	NP
h. Size of bedroom(s)?	S	D	N	NP
i. The design of my apartment?	S	D	N	NP
j. Storage space within my apartment?	S	D	N	NP
k. Storage space outside my apartment?	S	D	N	NP
l. Trash disposal?	S	D	N	NP
m. Mail delivery?	S	D	N	NP
n. Plumbing?	S	D	N	NP
o. Snow removal?	S	D	N	NP
p. Lighting outside the building?	S	D	N	NP
q. General maintenance outside the building?	S	D	N	NP
r. Air conditioning?	S	D	N	NP
s. Cleanliness of public halls?	S	D	N	NP
t. General maintenance of public areas?	S	D	N	NP
u. Public hall lighting?	S	D	N	NP
v. Elevator service?	S	D	N	NP
w. Laundry facilities?	S	D	N	NP

9. Do you have people of the following ages living with you: (circle one response for each item)

	Yes	No
a. Less than 5 years old?	Y	N
b. 5-18 years old?	Y	N
c. 19-21 years old?	Y	N

10. Do you or those who live with you use the following in this development: (circle one response for each item)

	Yes	No	Have None Here
a. Playground equipment?	Y	N	HN
b. Sitting areas?	Y	N	HN
c. Community room?	Y	N	HN

11. How long have you lived in this housing complex? (check only one)

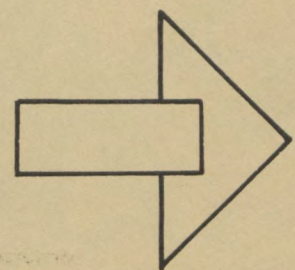
- a. 2 months or less
- b. More than 2 months but less than 1 year
- c. 1 year or more

12. How long have you lived in the building in which you now live? (check only one)

- a. 2 months or less
- b. More than 2 months but less than 1 year
- c. 1 year or more

13. Was your last residence before moving to this housing complex the home of your parent(s) or guardian(s)? (check only one)

- a. Yes
- b. No



14. Where have you lived during each of the following periods of your life: (check one response for each item)

	On a farm or open <u>country</u>	Community of less than 5000 people	Community having 5000- 50,000 people	City of St. Paul	Other Community having more than 50,000 people
a. Immediately before you moved to this housing complex?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Most of your life before age 18?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. The greatest portion of your life?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. Which of the following was your last residence before moving to this housing complex? (check one)

- a. In an apartment
- b. In a house
- c. In a duplex
- d. In a rooming house
- e. In a dormitory
- f. Other (specify _____)

16. What is your age? (check only one)

- a. Under 25
- b. 25-34
- c. 35-44
- d. 45-64
- e. 65 or over

17. Which of the following best describes the number of acquaintances you have in this housing complex? (check only one)

- a. I have many friends living here
- b. I know some people who live here
- c. I know only 1 or 2 people who live here
- d. I don't know anyone outside my family

What are the things you like and dislike about living in this housing complex?

APPENDIX

PART TWO

Management Interview Guide

I. Introduction

We are interested in finding out how the design and management operations of the development contribute to good housing. We would appreciate any perceptions or suggestions you might have about the development so that we will have a better idea how to plan future projects.

What would you say are the most difficult aspects of managing this development?

II. Organizational Structure

- A. Could you describe how the management is organized and what responsibilities the owner or supervisor has, the central office (if there is one), the project manager, and the residents.
- B. How well do you feel the development is organized? How do you think it could be improved.

III. Management Operations

- A. Staff
 - 1. What are your responsibilities for staff supervision?
- B. Budget
 - 1. Is there an operating budget?
 - 2. Who determines it?
- C. Maintenance
 - 1. How is maintenance handled?
 - 2. What kinds of regular maintenance work do you do around the development?
 - 3. How do you determine what needs to be repaired or replaced?
 - 4. Do residents do any repair work?
 - 5. Who is contacted for emergencies?

D. Tenant Selection

1. Are vacancies a problem?
2. Is turnover of apartments a problem?
3. What are the three most important criteria for tenant selection?
4. Are any steps taken initially to orient a new tenant to the development?

E. Enforcing Rules and Rent

1. How do you handle rent collection?
2. What are the rules of the project? How do you handle violations of rules?

F. Tenant Relations

1. What are most common types of complaints you receive? How do you handle them?
2. Do residents ever seek your advice? Could you give an example of how you've handled that situation.
3. Do residents ever have problems that should come to the attention of local agencies?
4. Can you recall an instance where you referred someone to a local agency?
5. Are there any services available on the development to tenants? What are they?
6. Have residents organized their own activities or interest groups? What are their concerns?
7. Does management play any part in the resident's organizations? What role?

IV. Households

- A. What types of people live on the complex? (age, families, race)
- B. How many units are base rent? intermediate rent? market rent?
- C. Are there any apartments especially designed for handicapped people? How many are occupied by them?
- D. What bothers you the most about the way residents or children behave?

V. Design and Facilities of Complex

- A. What types of housing units and facilities are provided in this complex?
- B. Should any improvements be made in design features or in provision of facilities?

VI. Environment

- A. Are there things about the surrounding environment which you consider to be a positive factor in living in this development?
Negative factor?
- B. What facilities or services are provided for residents in the community?

VII. Background Information

- A. How long have you been working in housing management?
- B. What other work experience have you had?
- C. What is your educational background?
- D. Do you live in the development?
- E. How many hours a day are you employed for?
- F. Do you have any other job? At what kind of work?

VIII. Management Incentives and Satisfaction

- A. What is your main reason for working in housing management?
- B. What are the possibilities for salary raises? promotions?
- C. Do you like this sort of work?
- D. Do you feel that your job gives you a chance to do some of the things you can do best?
- E. Do you get any feeling of accomplishment from work you are doing?
- F. How do you feel about your work, does it rate as an important job with you?

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SUBSIDIZED PRIVATE MULTI-FAMILY HOUSING IN SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA

A Study Based on Resident and Management Attitudes

Part Three: Case Studies

HANOVER

I. Background

It is built on land acquired by the Housing and Redevelopment Authority as part of the Western Redevelopment Area and designated for multi-family residential use in the project plan. Kennon Rothschild, President of H. and Val J. Rothschild, Inc., formed a company to acquire the site and build the project. After many years of planning, Hanover was completed in 1968 and opened in the spring of 1969.

Hanover has 96 townhouse units of which 32 are three bedroom, 35 are two bedroom, and 29 are one bedroom units. The site is located just east of Western Avenue with I-94 to the south. The family units have private balconies, and the elderly units have private patios. The units all have basement storage areas. The buildings are of brick and white stucco. The complex has three areas with play equipment. There are also two nearby open areas, outside of the project a park to the east and a field belonging to the Ober Boy's Club.

II. Population

Questionnaires were sent to 75 addresses with 47 returned for a response rate of 63%. The complex has almost an entirely black population. As in all the complexes the great majority of respondents, 77.3% in Hanover, were women. The median age was 45. They divided into age groups as follows:

Under 25	15.2%
25 - 34	21.7
35 - 44	13.0
45 - 64	30.4
65+	19.6

Many of the households are one parent families. Until recently, 75% of the units were occupied by low income families with the units leased by the Housing and Redevelopment Authority. However, the HRA has been cutting down on the number of leased units at Hanover. Almost 40% of the respondents had children under the age of five living with them. Over 55% had children between the ages of five and eighteen living with them. Most of the respondents had lived in Hanover long enough to experience it at all times of the year. 85.7% had lived there a year or longer and 9.5% have lived there for over two months but less than a year.

III. Previous Housing History

Over 70% of the residents came to Hanover from another residence in St. Paul. 15% came from another city of over 50,000 population and 12.5% came from a town of between 5,000 and 50,000 people. One third of the residents moved to Hanover from another apartment,

one third from a single family house, and one third from a duplex. Only 2.4% moved directly from the home of parents and apparently had not occupied their own home before.

Respondents were asked where they had spent the majority of their life before age 18 and also the majority of their total life prior to living at Hanover. A third had lived most of their youth in St. Paul, one fourth had lived in a town or city less than 50,000, and 13.9% had grown up on a farm. Responses based on their whole lives were somewhat similar except more of the respondents said they had lived most of their life in St. Paul and fewer on a farm.

IV. Source of Data

The discussion in the following pages is based on comments of management, on the resident's responses to survey questions and on the written comments of residents in response to an open ended question which invited them to state their likes and dislikes about living at Hanover. Most of the Hanover residents took the time to write a sentence or two or a paragraph and add detail which the questionnaire could not encompass. They also point out aspects of project living which were not anticipated by specific questions. The comments are included verbatim in the appendix. The responses to questions are given in tables interspersed in the text.

V. General Satisfaction with the Development

Respondents were asked to answer five questions which reflect their general satisfaction with Hanover. They were asked to indicate whether they agreed, strongly agreed, were neutral towards or disagreed or strongly disagreed with the following statements:

I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends.

I like this home better than the last place I lived.

I am happy living in this housing complex.

I am proud to call this complex home.

Further, they were asked a related question:

How long would you like to live in this complex?

Possible responses were:

I'd like to move now.

I plan to live here for awhile but not forever.

I'd like to stay here as long as possible.

I don't know.

People at Hanover are much more likely to express dissatisfaction with life in general at the complex than are people at most of the other developments surveyed. Relatively few say they are satisfied, want to live on in the project and appear to be contented. When the developments surveyed are ranked and responses to questions concerning general satisfaction are compared with responses to questions about satisfaction with management, with design and facilities and with the people's behavior, the results show high positive correlations between general satisfaction and each of these three aspects of life on the developments. In each Hanover ranks among the developments with the least resident satisfaction.

Hanover ranks 11th in the percentage of respondents who wish to move now. Almost one fourth of the respondents at Hanover indicated they wanted to move now, one fourth indicated they wanted to stay awhile, while 28.9% wanted to stay as long as possible. The varied response may indicate reactions from different age groups at Hanover.

Hanover ranked next to last among the complexes in respondents pride in calling Hanover home, and their desire to recommend Hanover to friends. 53.6% of the respondents disagreed with the statement "I am proud to call this complex home," 30.8% are neutral and 25.6% agree. 37.8% of the respondents would not recommend the complex to friends, 30% are neutral while 32.5% would recommend it.

A larger proportion of the respondents disagreed with the statements "I am happy living in this housing complex" and "I like this home better than the last place I lived" at Hanover than at any other complex. Only 21.4% of the respondents were happy living in the complex while 35.7% were unhappy. Only 35.9% of the respondents liked Hanover better than their last home; 23.1% were neutral and 50% were negative.

VI. People and Their Behavior

Residents of Hanover were asked a number of questions about their feelings and attitudes towards people in the development, people in the surrounding community and the behavior of other residents. In response to most of these questions, Hanover residents were more dissatisfied than other residents of other complexes. They ranked 11th in their satisfaction with "people who live in this housing complex." About 41% of the residents were satisfied with the people who lived in the complex, 36.4% were neutral and 22.8% were dissatisfied. Hanover residents were the second most negative about the friendliness of people in the complex. Forty three percent agree that residents are friendly, 31.7% are neutral and 24.4% disagree.

Respondents ranked highest in their dissatisfaction with people in the surrounding community. 40.5% were satisfied, 38.1% were neutral and 21.4% were dissatisfied.

Forty percent of the respondents felt residents would help their neighbors if needed, while 27.5% disagreed. Yet, 30% felt that "residents in this complex are less trustworthy than people in other areas" and 22.3% disagreed, with 47.2% neutral. As compared with other complexes Hanover residents are about average in their response to the statement "there are other residents in this housing complex that I would feel secure leaving my children with." 43.2% agreed with the statement. 37.8% were neutral and 18.9% disagreed. Twenty percent of Hanover respondents said they had many friends living in the development while 51% said they knew "some people who live here." 20% know one or two people in Hanover while only 8.9% stated they did not know anyone outside their family. In the short time the resident manager had spent at Hanover, she observed that most people except for the elderly relied on friends who lived outside the complex.

Of all the complexes Hanover respondents were the second most concerned about the behavior of uncontrolled children. 67.5% agreed that it was a serious problem of whom 37.5% found it a very serious problem, 22.5% did not consider it serious and 10% did not know. In written comments a number of residents expressed dissatisfaction with children throwing garbage around and playing outside in the late evening.

Most respondents at Hanover feel that uncontrolled pets in the complex or in the surrounding area are not a problem. Only 12.5% of the respondents consider pets a problem in the complex as compared with 7.3% who found them a problem in the neighborhood.

A substantial proportion of Hanover residents are concerned about crime. 41.5% do not feel secure against crime in their homes, 25% feel that crime is a serious problem in the complex while 43.9% consider crime to be a serious problem in the neighborhood as compared with 26.8% who disagreed and 29.3 who said they did not know. Housing management should, in its own interest as well as in the interest of the residents, join with residents, the Housing Authority and other housing complex developers and managers in the area to develop an organized crime prevention program for the area.

VII. Attitudes Towards Design, Equipment and Facilities

Much of the survey was devoted to resident attitudes concerning design of the development and the dwellings and to the facilities and equipment provided.

A. Background

Hanover was built on a hilly site, with a density of 20 townhouses per acre. Attempts to correct site and construction problems and problems with the heating system have used up much of the projects replacement fund. Mr. Rothschild attributes many of these mistakes to the fact that the project was one of the earliest and many of

the people involved in the initial feasibility study were inexperienced with the problems of high density.

The townhouses have been occupied by families with children as they were intended. The large child population and the nature of the site and layout and attendant drainage problems have created an extremely difficult continuing maintenance problem.

The hills on the site not only make it difficult to keep up the grounds properly, but also make the front doors very inaccessible. The foundations are built on sand. When it rains, the water washes away the dirt holding the foundation. Mud goes in front of the doors so people can't get out. So far water has washed away the concrete holding a porch so that the railing has come off. There are holes under the foundations. They are having problems with rats and roaches but cannot exterminate until the holes are filled in to prevent rats from coming in from outside in cold weather. The underground water pipes break frequently. It is very expensive to dig up pipes for repairs, particularly as as-built plans are apparently not available. The design feature residents commented most favorably about was the fact that the units were townhouses and offered them some of the attributes of a single family dwelling.

Residents at Hanover are seriously concerned about many different physical aspects of the project. Some 27 items in the questionnaire related to the project and unit design as well as facilities provided. With reference to facilities of these 20% or more of the respondents were dissatisfied or identified a serious problem. In order of percentage dissatisfied these are:

	% Dissatisfied	Rank Among Developments
Noise from Other Apartments	58.9%	13
Physical Appearance of Complex	47.7	14
Parking Arrangements	38.4	13
Plumbing	35.7	14
Location of Outdoor Open Space	35.0	14
Amount of Outdoor Open Space	33.3	13.5
Heating	33.3	13
Parking Arrangements for Visitors	27.2	13
Storage Space Outside the Apartment	24.4	10
Parking Arrangements for Residents	23.8	14
Design of Apartment	22.5	14
Storage Space In Apartment	21.4	6
Enough Space for Belonings	20.0	5
Noise from Neighborhood	20.0	7

On ten of these items Hanover has either the most or the next most widespread dissatisfaction among the complexes surveyed.

B. Overall Development Design and Layout

Hanover respondents were most dissatisfied of any respondents with the physical appearance of the complex. 29.5% were satisfied, 22.7% were neutral, while 47.7% were dissatisfied. The worn out and unkempt appearance of the grounds undoubtedly is a major contributor to this concern.

Outdoor Space

At Hanover a larger percentage of respondents were dissatisfied with the amount and location of outdoor space available than residents in any other project surveyed. More people are dissatisfied than satisfied with both amount and location of outdoor space while about one third are neutral. This may reflect the density and site design of the project. The survey did not attempt to determine the amount of use made by Hanover residents of the adjacent park-playground area or the nearby facilities of the Ober Boys Club. It may be that many Hanover residents do not see these facilities as available for their use.

Parking Arrangements

More respondents at Hanover considered parking arrangements a serious problem than in any other complex. 38.1% considered it a serious problem, 33.3% did not think it was serious and 28.6% did not know. 35.7% were satisfied with parking arrangements for residents, 40.5% were neutral while 23.8% were dissatisfied. A slightly higher percentage were dissatisfied with parking arrangements for visitors. Parking is unassigned and there was a problem in one of the small lots when there are visitors. One of the residents commented that outsiders brought their cars into the parking lot to wash taking up space which should be available to residents.

Lighting

Residents were asked about their satisfaction with outside lighting on the development. 73.2% of the respondents were satisfied while 17.1% were dissatisfied.

Outside Storage Space

People were asked whether they were satisfied with outside storage space. 48.8% of the respondents said it was not provided, 17.1% said they were satisfied and 24.4% said they were dissatisfied. Lack of outside storage space appears to be a continuing problem for some residents.

Building Entrance Security

Hanover has townhouses with front doors and therefore has no security system. When residents were asked whether they were generally satisfied or dissatisfied with building entrance security, 36.6% said it was not provided, 19.5% were satisfied and 19.5% were dissatisfied and the remainder had no opinion.

Noise

Noise from other apartments is a serious problem for 58.9% of the respondents, 33.3% did not consider it serious and 7.7% did not know. An analysis should be made of the noise problem to determine what if any changes in design, floor or wall coverings or arrangement of furniture could alleviate annoyance to residents.

Fire

Concern about the possibility of fire in this complex appeared to be a problem for 53.8% of the respondents. 25.6% were neutral and 20.5% did not consider it a problem. Management should consider working out a program of fire prevention with the Fire Department.

Overcrowding

Unlike management most residents don't view Hanover as overcrowded. 19.5% agreed with the statement "This complex is overcrowded," compared with 34.2% who disagreed and 46.3% who were neutral. Only one person commented in writing that the project was overcrowded and had too many children.

Apartment Arrangement and Space

Several questions related to design, layout, and adequacy of space within the townhouses at Hanover. While more residents at Hanover were dissatisfied with apartment design than was true at other complexes, still 62.5% were satisfied while 22.5% were dissatisfied and 15% expressed no opinion.

Twenty percent of the respondents were dissatisfied with the amount of space their home provided for personal belongings, and 19.5% were dissatisfied with the amount of space in their home that allowed for privacy from others in the household. Over 20% of the respondents also expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of storage space within the apartment. The following tables show a comparison of residents response to design features in the apartment in order of the percentage of satisfaction.

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
Size of Living Room	83.3%	11.9%	4.8%	0
Size of Bedroom	81.0	11.9	7.1	0
Kitchen Layout	76.2	11.9	11.9	0
Storage In Apartment	66.7	21.4	7.1	4.8%
Design of Apartment	62.5	22.5	15.0	0

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Space for Privacy	65.9%	19.5%	14.7%
Space for Belongings	60.0	20.0	20.0

Specific Facilities and Equipment in the Apartment

Residents at Hanover were asked about their satisfaction with a number of specific items of equipment or facilities. These included: 1) heating, 2) plumbing, 3) air conditioning, 4) stove, 5) refrigerator, and 6) way keys work. Residents at Hanover ranked 135h in their satisfaction with the heating and 14th in their satisfaction with the plumbing. A number of residents commented in writing about problems with heating and plumbing. Some said:

Every time you look up we don't have any hot water because the pipes outside the complex are always breaking. We were without hot water for three days just recently and no water, hot or cold, for about two days.

No hot water. No heat most of the time.

But in the winter the heating are very poor and the apartment stays cold just about all winter.

Respondents were less satisfied with the refrigeration, stove and the way keys work than the respondents of all complexes taken together. More dissatisfaction with appliances may reflect the age of the complex. The complex has no air conditioning or slots for air conditioners. Residents satisfaction with these items is shown on the accompanying table. In order of the percentage of satisfaction these items ranked as follows:

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
Refrigerator	78.6%	14.3%	14.8%	2.4%
Stove	73.2	17.1	7.3	2.4
Way Keys Work	65.9	12.2	12.2	9.8
Plumbing	54.8	35.7	7.1	2.4
Heating	54.8	33.3	9.5	2.4
Air Conditioning	0	5.1	10.3	84.6

Services

More respondents expressed dissatisfaction with snow removal and trash collection than any other complex. A number of residents also expressed dissatisfaction with these areas in their written comments. For example: "In the winter they don't shovel the snow and ice off the stairs that you have to use to get to the apartments on the hill."

Residents can install their own washers and dryers in the basements of their townhouses. The complex also has a laundry room, however, Mrs. Phillips, the resident manager, said it had also been closed because tenants almost destroyed it. 18.9% of the respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the provision of laundry facilities, 18.9% said they were satisfied 18.9% had no opinion and 43.2% said they were not provided. The percentage distribution for these services are as follows:

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
Mail Delivery	85.4%	9.8%	4.9%	0
Trash Disposal	41.5	43.9	9.8	4.9%
Snow Removal	26.8	48.8	19.5	4.9
Laundry Facilities	18.9	18.9	18.9	43.2

VIII. Access to Services and Facilities

Hanover respondents expressed more dissatisfaction with access to facilities than did respondents of other complexes. Residents were most dissatisfied with access to recreation facilities for adults and children. 33.5% of the residents were dissatisfied with adult recreation facilities and 41% were dissatisfied with children's recreation facilities. One respondent pointed out "that the so called park has a broken see-saw, a slide and one swing that even an adult would have trouble getting on to."

The complex itself has a community room, but it has been kept locked up because of damages done by residents. The Martin Luther King Center that organizes children's activities is not far away but the resident manager said most residents do not use it. Respondents were also less satisfied than the residents of all the complexes with access to schools and public transport. However, they expressed more satisfaction than the residents of all of the complexes with access to shopping and medical facilities. For each type of facility the distribution is as follows:

	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied
Shopping Facilities	85.0%	12.5%	2.5%
Medical Facilities	73.2	22.0	4.9
Public Transport	66.7	16.7	16.7
Schools	51.2	29.3	19.6
Adult Recreation	35.0	32.5	32.5
Child Recreation	33.4	25.6	41.0

One other question relates to satisfaction with locational factors. Residents were asked whether noise from the neighborhood was a serious problem. Twenty percent of the respondents agreed that it was serious, while 65% disagreed and 15% did not know. The response is similar to that of residents of all developments where 72.7% do not think noise is serious and 20.6% do consider it serious.

IX. Management Operations

Previous studies of multi-family housing have found resident satisfaction is usually closely related to the quality of management. Generally where management has been friendly and efficient, residents are more likely to be happy and satisfied with the development than where management is inefficient and unfriendly. This study has therefore attempted to probe resident's feelings about various aspects of management operations as well as the attitudes of the people involved in management and procedures which they follow.

The Rothschild Company has a separate property management company which operates as a profit making company rather than operating at a loss and simply providing a service to the corporation.

The corporation has a board for the property development and management company made up of Kennon Rothschild, and two other officers of the corporation. They meet monthly with Mr. Olsen, the president of the company, and discuss the financial results of each project as if it were a completely separate operation. Mr. Rothschild sees each financial statement and advises on their operations. When necessary, there is more communication with the board such as when there are meetings with HUD.

Mr. Olsen, president of the property company, deals with the finances and budgets of all projects and heads the staff. He gets all cash and expenditure reports, occupancy and delinquency reports.

Under Mr. Olsen is the property manager, Douglas Kilgore who works with the budget, taxes, accounting and special projects. He also inspects the property once a week to check physical outlays and general appearance.

The assistant property manager, Joan Brandes, selects and supervises resident managers and deals with tenant complaints. When the resident managers first came, Ms. Brandes personally approved tenant selection at Hanover but felt the resident manager, Ms. Phillips, was capable of selecting tenants on her own. Ms. Phillips is also responsible for rent collection, supervising routine maintenance done by two part time caretakers, and taking emergency calls.

There has not been much turnover at Hanover. Many of the residents are already selected by the HRA. However, when Ms. Phillips does select a tenant she is careful and would rather wait longer than accept a bad tenant. She does not trust a reference from the last landlord since she has found many landlords will give a good reference in order to get rid of a tenant. She often consults with the resident manager at Lonnie Adkins, another complex managed by Rothschild, in order to find out any further information about applicants who might be known in the area.

Most of the new tenants are already familiar with Hanover because they know other residents. When they fill out the application, Ms. Phillips goes over the lease and rules. She feels a pamphlet describing the project and what is expected from tenants is unnecessary. When she first came to Hanover, she sent out letters which were strewn all over the grounds.

All requests and emergencies are reported to Ms. Phillips. Daily maintenance is handled by caretakers except for heating, plumbing, and electricity which are handled centrally. If there are any major problems or if the company's maintenance man can't get to an urgent job right away, the head of maintenance calls in an outside contractor. Ms. Phillips, however, usually calls the contractor herself and sends the bill to the central office.

In the past Rothschild has used work orders but had difficulty getting them returned. They now intend to use work orders again since HUD would like a written record of the time it takes them to respond to maintenance requests.

The central office charges tenants for repairs for which they are responsible. If it is an HRA tenant, Rothschild sends the bill to the HRA. However, repairs charged to the HRA cause negative cash flow problems for accounting. Damage by HRA tenants is paid for when the tenant vacates and meanwhile the company must carry the repair cost.

The resident manager finds that the biggest maintenance problem is plumbing because the residents do not know how to care for it properly. Some improvements have been made in the boiler room. Ms. Brandes feels capital improvements such as resodding and retaining walls should be made to solve the drainage problem. However, this will be costly.

A few years ago the Rothschild company had a computer rent collection system which was unsatisfactory. Mr. Kilgore feels face to face eye contact with the manager is essential. The computer allowed the resident manager to become lax about the rent. Now the rent is taken to the manager on the site and is due by the 10th of the month. Ms. Phillips finds people are often late but they pay.

The Rothschild Company does evict when necessary. They try to do so before they lose more than one month's rent. They have had this stricter policy for the last three or four months. However, there are not many evictions. Ms. Brandes will only proceed with eviction on Ms. Phillip's recommendation. The manager must judge whether a tenant has a legitimate excuse for rent delinquency. They do not charge late fees, but they do charge a \$15 fee if an unlawful detainer is served.

Most of the complaints concern other tenants, the parking area or water running into the living room when it rains because of the construction. Most tenants, she feels, understand that there's nothing she can do about construction.

The manager does not get into the personal problems of residents. She finds this can become a problem if people begin to take advantage of her. In her previous position she found there was a problem because she had friends in the project before she became resident manager. She has not referred people to agencies because problems of that type have not arisen.

There is no resident organization at Hanover. Ms. Brandes thought a resident organization might help tenants coordinate their interests. One tenant came to see her who was interested in the idea and went door to door with a petition but other tenants were not interested.

X. Tenants Attitudes Toward Management

Hanover residents are highly dissatisfied with management. Of the sixteen management related questions on the survey, respondents from Hanover expressed the greatest dissatisfaction of any project on eleven of these questions. Residents were most critical of the following aspects of management and maintenance operations:

	% Negative	Rank Among Developments Surveyed
Management protects my right to peace and quiet.	57.5%	14
Maintenance outside of building.	50.0	14
Quality of management repairs outside the home.	45.0	14
Quality of management repairs inside the home.	43.2	14
Speed of management response to complaints.	42.3	14
Maintenance of public areas.	42.5	14
I feel well informed about management rules.	39.1	14
Management in general.	34.2	13
Maintenance people are courteous.	33.2	14
Rules about changing the outside of the apartment.	29.0	14
Management is friendly.	32.6	14
Rules about changing the inside of the apartment.	28.6	13

Management in General

Only 31.7% of the respondents are satisfied with management in general, 34.1% were neutral and 34.2% were dissatisfied. Compared with other projects, a large number of Hanover residents (28.6%) did not think the management was friendly, nor did they think maintenance personnel were courteous (33.3%). Residents also expressed dissatisfaction with management in their written comments and a number were particularly critical of the resident manager and caretakers.

Outside Maintenance

A substantial percentage of the residents at Hanover are critical of maintenance of public and outside areas at the project. The tabulation of responses among Hanover residents follows:

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
Maintenance Outside the Building	23.8%	50.0%	14.3%	11.9%
Maintenance of Public Areas.	15.0	42.5	27.5	15.0

Management and People

Both residents and management found that disruptive tenants at Hanover were a problem. Many of the units at Hanover are occupied by HRA tenants. In certain cases this has posed a problem for management who finds it difficult to evict disruptive tenants without the approval of the HRA. Some of the residents commented that they had found the type of people changing at Hanover. One person writes:

Lately the type of tenant has changed. They don't watch their children and use obscene language... I'd like a few more rentals to white people although, I think highly of the colored people here.

Other comments from residents were:

I dislike the choice of newer tenants - not all, but some are not too good.

You can't sleep for the neighbors fight all the time of night and little children playing until ten and eleven o'clock.

Three questions in the survey related to the handling of people problems by management. The tabulation of responses follows:

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dis-Satisfied	Very Dis-Satisfied
The way management handles disruptive tenants.	4.7%	27.9%	34.9%	16.3%	16.3%
The way management handles disputes between tenants.	2.6	34.2	39.5	13.2	10.5

(People indicating neutrality may not be aware of any relevant situations.)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Management effectively protects my right to peace and quiety.	8.7%	42.9%	20.6%	17.5%	10.3%

Maintenance and Repairs

Several areas of maintenance pose a problem for a large percentage of the respondents at Hanover. Forty-five percent of the residents are dissatisfied with the quality of management repairs outside the home, 43.2% are dissatisfied with management repairs inside the home, and 42.3% are dissatisfied with the speed with which management responds to complaints.

The following table shows the distribution of responses.

	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied
Quality of repairs outside the home.	30.0%	25.0%	45.0%
Quality of repairs inside the home.	34.1	22.7	43.2
Speed with which management responds to complaints.	31.1	26.7	42.3

Residents expressed a great deal of concern about maintenance and repairs in their written comments, especially complaints about rats, mice and roaches. The following gives a sample of some of these comments:

I don't like that within the last few months the place has become overrun with cockroaches and nothing is done by management. I've tried, but unless, the whole building is done, they're back. I've spent \$20 already.

The main problem is mice and roaches.

I dislike not being able to reach the project manager by phone.

Around 75% of the time you can't get in contact with the management....

The thing I dislike is its over run with mice and roaches, and everytime you look up we don't have any hot water because the pipes outside the complex are always breaking.

We don't get no service like we should. Mrs. Phillips is supposed to have 24 hr. calling service, but she told me she plugs in phone at 9 a.m. and cuts it off at 10:30 p.m. cause she wants her sleep. When my toilet went over 7 a.m. I couldn't get no one. The two caretakers go to the liquor store then, we don't see them for 2 weeks. I make 10-15 calls a day if I need her but no answer...

This house is not repaired when needed. My house have bugs but the management here did nothing about this problem.

Rules of Management

Many respondents at Hanover were also dissatisfied with management's rules. 39.1% disagree that they are well informed about the rules, 29% are dissatisfied with rules about changing the outside of their apartment and 28.6% are dissatisfied about rules changing the inside of their apartment. The distribution of their responses is as follows:

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
I feel well informed about management's rules.	36.6%	24.4%	39.1%
Rules regarding changing outside of apartment.	45.3%	26.2%	28.6%
Rules regarding changing inside of apartment.	39.5	31.6	29.0

Appendix A

TABLES

Questions Concerning General Satisfaction: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and complexes with least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5e. I am proud to call this complex home!

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	5.1%	15.9%	27.5%	4.8%
Agree	20.5	36.9	52.7	19.0
Neutral	30.8	30.6	13.2	23.8
Disagree	23.1	11.0	3.3	38.1
Strongly Disagree	20.5	5.7	3.3	14.3

Question 5l. I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	2.5%	15.8%	25.8%	0
Agree	30.0	50.6	63.6	28.6
Neutral	30.0	19.4	9.1	23.8
Disagree	15.0	9.6	1.5	33.3
Strongly Disagree	22.5	4.5	0	14.3

Question 5m. I like this home better than the last place I lived.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	12.8%	25.2%	45.5%	12.8%
Agree	23.1	34.1	33.3	23.1
Neutral	23.1	15.5	9.1	23.1
Disagree	30.8	15.5	9.1	30.8
Strongly Disagree	10.3	9.8	3.0	10.3

Question 5r. I'm happy living in this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	7.1%	17.9%	23.1%	7.1%
Agree	14.3	42.7	60.0	14.3
Neutral	42.9	26.4	12.3	42.9
Disagree	9.5	8.1	4.6	9.5
Strongly Disagree	26.2	4.9	0	26.2

Hanover

Questions Concerning People and Behavior: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1r. Satisfaction with people who live in this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	6.8%	10.7%	37.6%	6.4%
Satisfied	34.1	45.1	46.2	36.0
Neutral	36.4	29.5	10.8	27.2
Dissatisfied	11.4	9.9	3.2	23.2
Very Dissatisfied	11.4	4.8	2.2	7.2

Question 1s. Satisfaction with people who live in the surrounding community.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.8%	9.6%	16.7%	4.0%
Satisfied	35.7	47.4	60.0	32.0
Neutral	38.1	34.4	20.0	42.7
Dissatisfied	14.3	5.9	3.3	12.0
Very Dissatisfied	7.1	2.6	0	9.3

Question 5g. Most residents in this complex would help their neighbor if needed.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	12.5%	9.7%	30.3%	4.8%
Agree	27.5	40.3	53.9	28.6
Neutral	32.5	33.2	10.1	28.6
Disagree	17.5	12.4	5.6	28.6
Strongly Disagree	10.0	4.4	0	9.5

Question 5h. Residents in this complex are less trustworthy than people in other areas.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	11.1%	4.3%	11.1%	3.9%
Agree	19.4	10.2	19.4	5.3
Neutral	47.2	39.0	47.2	21.1
Disagree	16.7	36.5	16.7	40.8
Strongly Disagree	5.6	9.9	5.6	28.9

Questions Concerning People and Behavior: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5f. Most people in this complex are friendly.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	9.8%	14.1%	36.5%	9.5%
Agree	34.1	50.2	49.0	38.1
Neutral	31.7	24.4	9.4	23.8
Disagree	17.1	8.6	3.1	28.6
Strongly Disagree	7.3	2.7	2.1	0

Question 5i. There are other residents in this housing complex that I would feel secure leaving my children with.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	2.7%	9.9%	16.7%	4.5%
Agree	40.5	41.6	53.3	25.0
Neutral	37.8	34.4	23.3	43.2
Disagree	10.8	10.0	6.7	11.4
Strongly Disagree	8.1	4.1	0	15.9

Question 5j. I feel secure against crime while in my home.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	2.4%	10.9%	32.6%	0%
Agree	22.0	41.9	52.2	19.0
Neutral	34.1	25.0	10.9	33.3
Disagree	29.3	15.1	4.3	28.6
Strongly Disagree	12.2	7.1	0	19.0

Question 6d. How serious a problem is crime within this complex?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	5.0%	7.3%	0%	21.7%
Somewhat Serious	20.0	15.3	5.7	26.1
Not Serious	45.0	51.4	73.6	15.2
Don't Know	30.0	25.9	20.7	37.0

Questions Concerning People and Behavior: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 6e. How serious a problem is crime within the surrounding neighborhood?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	4.9%	9.6%	3.3%	23.2%
Somewhat Serious	39.0	21.3	3.3	36.2
Not Serious	26.8	35.5	43.3	21.7
Don't Know	29.3	33.6	50.0	18.8

Question 6f. How serious a problem are uncontrolled children?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	37.5%	22.6%	7.0%	36.6%
Somewhat Serious	30.0	30.3	8.1	39.8
Not Serious	22.5	37.6	58.1	21.1
Don't Know	10.0	9.6	26.7	2.4

Question 6g. How serious a problem are uncontrolled pets in this complex?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	5.0%	4.2%	.8%	13.8%
Somewhat Serious	7.5	7.0	.8	23.6
Not Serious	70.0	68.1	76.7	48.8
Don't Know	17.5	20.6	21.7	13.8

Question 6h. How serious a problem are uncontrolled pets from the surrounding area?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	2.4%	5.4%	1.5%	10.4%
Somewhat Serious	4.9	11.9	3.8	23.2
Not Serious	73.2	61.5	74.4	48.0
Don't Know	19.5	21.2	20.3	18.4

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1g. Satisfaction with parking arrangements for residents.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	9.5%	27.1%	36.0%	9.5%
Satisfied	26.2	50.0	48.0	26.2
Neutral	40.5	12.1	16.0	40.8
Dissatisfied	11.9	6.9	0	11.9
Very Dissatisfied	11.9	3.8	0	11.9

Question 1h. Satisfaction with parking arrangements for visitors.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.5%	24.5%	35.9%	4.5%
Satisfied	38.6	49.3	51.3	38.6
Neutral	29.5	14.4	7.7	29.5
Dissatisfied	13.6	8.3	2.6	13.6
Very Dissatisfied	13.6	3.6	2.6	13.6

Question 1k. Satisfaction with the physical appearance of this complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	6.8%	23.1%	45.4%	6.8%
Satisfied	22.7	48.6	47.4	22.7
Neutral	22.7	14.6	6.2	22.7
Dissatisfied	18.2	8.5	1.0	18.2
Very Dissatisfied	29.5	5.2	0	29.5

Question 1t. Satisfaction with the amount of outdoor space available to residents of this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	2.2%	17.1%	24.5%	2.2%
Satisfied	31.1	40.5	50.0	31.1
Neutral	33.3	20.9	16.0	33.3
Dissatisfied	20.0	14.4	5.3	20.0
Very Dissatisfied	13.3	7.2	4.3	13.3

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5k. I am concerned about the possibility of fire in this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	20.5%	12.1%	15.8%	4.7%
Agree	33.3	26.2	36.8	14.0
Neutral	25.6	29.7	36.8	30.2
Disagree	12.8	26.8	5.3	41.9
Strongly Disagree	7.7	5.3	5.3	9.3

Question 8a. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with building entrance security?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	19.5%	55.7%	97.1%	22.2%
Dissatisfied	19.5	21.9	2.9	50.0
No Opinion	24.4	7.4	0	5.6
Not Provided	36.6	14.9	0	22.2

Question 8b. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the keys work?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	65.9%	72.9%	94.9%	53.3%
Dissatisfied	12.2	20.2	5.1	40.0
No Opinion	12.2	5.9	0	5.9
Not Provided	9.8	1.0	0	.7

Question 8c. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the heating?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	54.8%	76.8%	94.0%	41.8%
Dissatisfied	33.3	17.5	5.0	44.8
No Opinion	9.5	5.4	1.0	11.9
Not Provided	2.4	.3	0	1.5

Question 8d. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the stove?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	73.2%	93.0%	100.0%	71.4%
Dissatisfied	17.1	4.7	0	19.0
No Opinion	7.3	2.1	0	9.5
Not Provided	2.4	.2	0	0

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8e. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the refrigerator?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	78.6%	91.6%	98.1%	65.0%
Dissatisfied	14.3	6.4	1.9	25.0
No Opinion	4.8	1.7	0	5.0
Not Provided	2.4	.3	0	5.0

Question 8f. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the kitchen layout?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	76.2%	81.3%	90.6%	68.4%
Dissatisfied	11.9	14.9	3.1	25.7
No Opinion	11.8	3.5	6.3	4.4
Not Provided	0	.3	0	1.5

Question 8g. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the size of the living room?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	83.3%	85.7%	97.0%	61.1%
Dissatisfied	11.9	11.1	0	33.3
No Opinion	4.8	3.0	3.0	5.6
Not Provided	0	.2	0	0

Question 8h. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the size of the bedroom(s)?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	81.0%	79.5%	93.5%	63.9%
Dissatisfied	11.9	17.2	3.2	30.6
No Opinion	7.1	2.9	0	5.6
Not Provided	0	.4	3.2	0

Question 8i. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the design of the apartment?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	62.5%	81.4%	94.7%	70.9%
Dissatisfied	22.5	12.4	2.6	20.9
No Opinion	15.0	6.0	2.6	8.2
Not Provided	0	.1	0	0

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Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1u. Satisfaction with the location of outdoor space available to residents of this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	5.0%	15.8%	21.4%	5.0%
Satisfied	27.5	40.7	54.8	27.5
Neutral	32.5	23.6	10.7	32.5
Dissatisfied	22.5	12.9	8.3	22.5
Very Dissatisfied	12.5	7.0	4.8	12.5

Question 5a. This housing complex is overcrowded.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	7.3%	3.7%	5.1%	1.2%
Agree	12.2	9.1	17.9	1.2
Neutral	46.3	36.8	48.7	29.8
Disagree	29.3	43.9	28.2	50.0
Strongly Disagree	4.9	6.5	0	17.9

Question 5b. My home has enough space for my belongings.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	10.0	13.7%	21.1%	6.0%
Agree	50.0	48.8	55.6	35.1
Neutral	20.0	11.7	13.3	14.9
Disagree	15.0	17.7	7.8	29.9
Strongly Disagree	5.0	8.0	2.2	14.2

Question 5c. My home has enough space to allow privacy from others who live with me.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	4.9%	10.4%	17.5%	10.5%
Agree	61.0	46.5	52.5	28.9
Neutral	19.5	22.2	22.5	21.1
Disagree	9.8	14.5	2.5	21.1
Strongly Disagree	4.9	6.4	5.0	18.4

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8j. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with storage spaces within the apartment?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	66.7%	69.4%	76.9%	50.0%
Dissatisfied	21.4	24.8	15.4	34.2
No Opinion	7.1	3.1	2.6	10.5
Not Provided	4.8	2.8	5.1	5.3

Question 8k. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the storage space outside the apartment?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	17.1%	22.2%	58.9%	6.6%
Dissatisfied	24.4	20.1	14.5	20.8
No Opinion	9.8	9.9	8.1	7.5
Not Provided	48.8	47.8	18.5	65.1

Question 8n. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the plumbing?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	54.8%	87.6%	95.0%	54.8%
Dissatisfied	35.7	7.9	3.0	35.7
No Opinion	7.1	4.2	2.0	7.1
Not Provided	2.4	.3	0	2.4

Question 8p. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the lighting outside of the building?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	73.2%	80.2%	92.2%	42.9%
Dissatisfied	17.1	14.4	3.1	42.9
No Opinion	7.3	4.5	4.7	4.8
Not Provided	2.4	.8	0	9.5

Question 8r. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with air conditioning?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	0.0%	48.8%	97.0%	17.6%
Dissatisfied	5.1	7.2	3.0	17.6
No Opinion	10.3	6.3	0	2.9
Not Provided	84.6	37.7	0	61.8

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8u. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with public hall lighting?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	5.9%	79.2%	98.3%	67.6%
Dissatisfied	0	6.7	.8	20.6
No Opinion	17.6	5.9	.8	5.9
Not Provided	76.5	8.2	0	5.9

Question 8w. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied by laundry facilities?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	18.9%	59.9%	87.9%	36.1%
Dissatisfied	18.9	26.3	10.1	47.2
No Opinion	18.9	6.3	2.0	16.7
Not Provided	43.2	7.4	0	0

Question 6a. How serious a problem are parking arrangements?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	16.7%	6.7%	2.4%	16.7%
Somewhat Serious	21.4	16.0	7.1	21.4
Not Serious	33.3	66.3	76.5	33.3
Don't Know	28.6	11.0	14.1	28.6

Question 6b. How serious a problem is noise from other apartments?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	17.9%	14.4%	4.5%	29.8%
Somewhat Serious	41.0	24.7	6.7	31.5
Not Serious	33.3	57.4	83.1	38.7
Don't Know	7.7	3.4	5.6	0

Question 6c. How serious a problem is noise from the surrounding neighborhood?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	5.0%	7.3%	2.5%	16.9
Somewhat Serious	15.0	13.3	4.2	27.7
Not Serious	65.0	72.7	86.6	53.8
Don't Know	15.0	6.8	6.7	1.5

Questions Concerning Location: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1p. Satisfaction with access to recreation for adults.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	0.0%	11.3%	17.9%	5.0%
Satisfied	35.0	39.2	41.0	22.5
Neutral	32.5	28.9	33.3	35.0
Dissatisfied	10.0	13.8	6.4	20.0
Very Dissatisfied	22.5	6.8	1.3	17.5

Question 1q. Satisfaction with access to recreation for children.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	2.6%	14.2%	29.3%	6.7%
Satisfied	30.8	39.5	42.9	20.0
Neutral	25.6	26.6	17.3	30.0
Dissatisfied	12.8	11.5	6.8	23.3
Very Dissatisfied	28.2	8.2	3.8	20.0

Questions Concerning Location: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1L. Satisfaction with access to schools.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	7.3%	24.4%	50.4%	7.3%
Satisfied	43.9	46.8	36.1	43.9
Neutral	29.3	23.9	13.5	29.3
Dissatisfied	9.8	2.6	0	9.8
Very Dissatisfied	9.8	2.3	0	9.8

Question 1m. Satisfaction with access to public transportation.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	11.9%	37.2%	51.7%	13.2%
Satisfied	54.8	46.5	48.3	50.0
Neutral	16.7	10.3	0	21.1
Dissatisfied	14.3	4.7	0	10.5
Very Dissatisfied	2.4	1.2	0	5.3

Question 1n. Satisfaction with access to shopping facilities.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	22.5%	23.4%	44.0%	10.8%
Satisfied	62.5	49.0	50.0	35.1
Neutral	12.5	14.3	4.0	16.2
Dissatisfied	0	9.7	2.0	21.6
Very Dissatisfied	2.5	3.6	0	16.2

Question 1o. Satisfaction with access to medical facilities.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	12.2%	20.3%	43.2%	14.3%
Satisfied	61.0	49.2	46.9	34.6
Neutral	22.0	20.8	8.6	28.6
Dissatisfied	0	7.6	1.2	17.3
Very Dissatisfied	4.9	2.1	0	5.3

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1a. Satisfaction with management of this complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	2.4%	21.5%	22.2%	2.4%
Satisfied	29.3	42.7	54.0	29.3
Neutral	34.1	22.0	17.5	34.1
Dissatisfied	17.1	9.6	6.3	17.1
Very Dissatisfied	17.1	4.2	0	17.0

Question 1b. Satisfaction with speed with which management responds to residents complaints.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.4%	18.2%	40.7%	4.4%
Satisfied	26.7	37.2	34.6	26.7
Neutral	26.7	23.1	14.8	26.7
Dissatisfied	26.7	15.3	7.4	26.7
Very Dissatisfied	15.6	6.3	2.5	15.6

Question 1c. Satisfaction with the way management handles disruptive tenants.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.7%	15.0%	29.3%	4.7%
Satisfied	27.9	38.7	37.3	27.9
Neutral	34.9	32.6	22.7	34.9
Dissatisfied	16.3	9.4	8.0	16.3
Very Dissatisfied	16.3	4.3	2.7	16.3

Question 1d. Satisfaction with the way management settles disputes between tenants.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	2.6%	12.4%	27.5%	5.3%
Satisfied	34.2	36.9	45.0	21.1
Neutral	39.5	41.9	23.8	36.8
Dissatisfied	13.2	5.9	2.5	15.8
Very Dissatisfied	10.5	2.9	1.2	21.1

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Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1e. Satisfaction with management provided repair work within your home.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	6.8%	19.7%	33.3%	6.8%
Satisfied	27.3	42.7	42.0	27.3
Neutral	22.7	16.1	8.6	22.7
Dissatisfied	20.5	13.4	11.1	20.5
Very Dissatisfied	22.7	8.2	4.9	22.7

Question 1f. Satisfaction with management provided repair work outside your home.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	2.5%	17.0%	30.7%	2.5%
Satisfied	27.5	46.0	48.9	27.5
Neutral	25.0	23.4	13.6	25.0
Dissatisfied	25.0	9.5	6.8	25.0
Very Dissatisfied	20.0	4.2	0	20.0

Question 1i. Satisfaction with rules regarding changing the inside of the apartment.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	2.4%	12.6%	20.0%	8.1%
Satisfied	42.9	46.2	57.8	27.0
Neutral	26.2	20.1	15.6	21.6
Dissatisfied	23.8	14.9	5.6	24.3
Very Dissatisfied	4.8	6.2	1.1	18.9

Question 1j. Satisfaction with rules regarding changing outside of apartment.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	7.9%	13.6%	22.8%	7.9%
Satisfied	31.6	42.3	53.2	31.6
Neutral	31.6	36.2	22.8	31.6
Dissatisfied	21.1	4.8	1.3	21.1
Very Dissatisfied	7.9	3.2	0	7.9

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Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5d. Housing complexes like this one should have resident associations to communicate with management.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	33.3%	21.7%	20.3%	17.8%
Agree	35.9	42.3	54.5	40.0
Neutral	15.4	29.6	22.8	26.7
Disagree	7.7	4.6	2.4	8.9
Strongly Disagree	7.7	1.8	0	6.7

Question 5n. The management of this housing complex is friendly.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	2.9%	25.9%	30.0%	2.9%
Agree	31.4	48.9	52.5	31.4
Neutral	37.1	17.9	17.5	37.1
Disagree	14.3	4.4	0	14.3
Strongly Disagree	14.3	2.8	0	14.3

Question 5o. Maintenance personnel in this complex are courteous.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	10.3%	22.6%	34.1%	10.3%
Agree	30.8	51.3	54.9	30.8
Neutral	25.6	19.7	8.5	25.6
Disagree	17.9	4.3	1.2	17.9
Strongly Disagree	15.4	2.1	1.2	15.4

Question 5p. Management effectively protects my right to peace and quiet.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	2.5%	14.2%	33.3%	2.5%
Agree	17.5	44.9	52.9	17.5
Neutral	27.5	23.5	9.2	27.5
Disagree	30.0	10.6	0	30.0
Strongly Disagree	22.5	6.8	4.6	22.5

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Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5q. I feel well informed about the rules management expects residents of this housing complex to obey.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	7.3%	18.8%	35.6%	7.3%
Agree	29.3	56.5	57.8	29.3
Neutral	24.4	14.8	4.4	24.4
Disagree	22.0	7.0	1.1	22.0
Strongly Disagree	17.1	2.8	1.1	17.1

Question 8L. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with trash disposal?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	41.5%	83.3%	97.5%	41.5%
Dissatisfied	43.9	12.2	.8	43.9
No Opinion	9.8	3.5	1.7	9.8
Not Provided	4.9	1.0	0	4.9

Question 8m. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with mail delivery?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	85.4%	93.1%	99.0%	78.9%
Dissatisfied	9.8	5.1	1.0	13.2
No Opinion	4.9	1.7	0	7.9
Not Provided	0	.2	0	0

Question 8o. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with snow removal?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	26.8%	61.9%	86.5%	26.8%
Dissatisfied	48.8	18.5	9.4	48.8
No Opinion	19.5	18.4	4.2	19.5
Not Provided	4.9	1.2	0	4.9

Question 8q. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the general maintenance outside the building?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	23.8%	74.0%	89.0%	23.8%
Dissatisfied	50.0	15.9	4.2	50.0
No Opinion	14.3	8.4	6.8	14.3
Not Provided	11.9	1.7	0	11.9

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8s. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the cleanliness of public halls?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	6.1%	52.5%	78.0%	27.0%
Dissatisfied	3.0	27.6	18.0	51.4
No Opinion	27.3	10.8	3.0	16.2
Not Provided	63.6	9.2	1.0	5.4

Question 8t. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with general maintenance of public areas?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	15.0%	67.5%	87.6%	15.0%
Dissatisfied	42.5	18.1	7.2	42.5
No Opinion	27.5	11.2	5.2	27.5
Not Provided	15.0	3.2	0	15.0

SUBSIDIZED PRIVATE MULTI-FAMILY HOUSING IN SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA

A Study Based on Resident and Management Attitudes

Part Three: Case Studies

COMMUNITY PLAZA

I. Background

Situated within the Summit University renewal area, Community Plaza includes forty two and three bedroom townhouses located on Central Avenue directly across from the building of its sponsor the Pilgrim Baptist Church, one of the largest predominately black churches in the Twin Cities. Community Plaza replaces a group of extremely dilapidated row houses long viewed by the church fathers as a blight on the neighborhood. The Church had evinced an interest in urban renewal as long ago as 1956, partially at least, as a way of ridding itself of these buildings. The development was finally completed and opened for occupancy in 1971, under the leadership of the current minister of the Church, Reverend Amos Brown.

The Community Plaza townhouses are two story buildings with individual basements. They are contemporary in design of frame construction with wooden exteriors painted a uniform grey color. Each unit has a front and rear entrance with fenced patios around the front door. Each unit has its own doorbell. There are no community open spaces and no playground facilities directly associated with the project.

II. Population

Although questionnaires were sent to forty one addresses only twenty four townhouses turned out to be occupied and twenty two questionnaires were returned for a response rate of 92%. As in all of the complexes the great majority of respondents, 77.3% in Community Plaza, were women 86% of whom were thirty four years of age or under, the median age being between 27 and 28. They divided into age groups as follows:

Under 25	38.1%
25 - 34	47.6
35 - 44	4.8
45 - 64	9.5
65 or over	0.0

Most of the families include children, 70.6% have children between five and eighteen and 28.6% have children under five. Most of the respondents had lived in Community Plaza long enough to have experienced it in all seasons of the year, 63.2% had lived in the development a year or longer while an additional 26.3% had lived in the development between two months and a year.

III. Previous Housing History

Almost half of the residents came to Community Plaza from places outside of St. Paul most of them from smaller places. The 55% from St. Paul is the smallest percentage of any of the developments

surveyed.

One third of the residents moved to Community Plaza from another apartment one third from a single family house and one third from a duplex. Only 15.8% moved directly from the home of parents and apparently had not occupied their own home before.

Respondents were asked where they had spent the majority of their life before age eighteen and also the majority of their total life prior to living at Community Plaza. Forty five percent had lived most of their youth in Saint Paul, 35% had lived in a town or city less than 50,000 and 20% had grown up on a farm. Responses based on their whole lives were somewhat similar except only 10% of the respondents said they had lived most of their life on a farm.

IV. Source of Data

The discussion in the following pages is based on comments of management, on the resident's responses to survey questions and on the written comments of residents in response to an open ended question which asked them to state their likes and dislikes about living at Community Plaza. Most of the residents took the time to write a sentence or two or a paragraph and add detail which the questionnaire could not encompass. They also point out aspects of project living which were not anticipated by specific questions. The comments are included verbatim in the appendix to this section. The responses to the questions are given in tables interspersed in the text.

V. General Satisfaction with the Development

People at Community Plaza are much more likely to express dissatisfaction with life in general at the complex than are people at most of the other developments surveyed. Relatively few say they are satisfied, want to live on in the project and appear to be contented.

When the developments surveyed are ranked and responses to questions concerning general satisfaction are compared with responses to questions about satisfaction with management, design and facilities and with the people's behavior, the results show high positive correlations between general satisfaction and each of these three aspects of life on the project. In each Community Plaza ranks among the developments with the least resident satisfaction.

Clearly expressions of satisfaction have much to do with expectations. This survey did not attempt to go into this relationship. Questions were not included which would allow respondents to compare their present feelings with their expectations upon moving into the project. This might well have been futile because memories of expectations are likely to be highly influenced by

subsequent experience. In this connection it is perhaps notable that fifty seven percent of the respondents stated that they liked Community Plaza better than the last place which they lived ranking ninth among fourteen developments. On the other hand, 38% disagreed, the next to the largest percentage disagreeing. As a relatively large proportion of the Community Plaza residents come from outside of St. Paul, some of the residents may be responding more with their attitudes towards the general community than toward Community Plaza as such.

All respondents were asked five questions concerning their general satisfaction with Community Plaza. They were asked to indicate whether they agreed, strongly agreed, were neutral towards or disagreed or strongly disagreed with the following statements:

- I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends.
- I like this home better than the last place I lived.
- I am happy living in this housing complex.
- I am proud to call this complex home.

Further, they were asked a related question:

How long would you like to live in this complex?

Possible responses were:

- I'd like to move now.
- I plan to live here for awhile but not forever.
- I'd like to stay here as long as possible.
- I don't know.

Community Plaza residents compared with other respondents as shown in the following table on this question.

	Community Plaza	All Respondents	Most Enthusiastic Development	Least Enthusiastic Development
Move Now	27.3%	13.4%	4.7%	28.4%
Live Awhile	36.4	41.3	12.1	43.2
Stay as Long as Possible	18.2	27.2	66.4	10.8
Don't Know	18.2	18.1	16.8	17.6

Thus, Community Plaza people are less enthusiastic about staying in the development than all the respondents taken together. Their response is most like the least enthusiastic development, although 8% more people at Community Plaza would prefer to stay as long as possible. Only one other complex has a larger percentage of people wanting to leave as soon as possible.

Only 20% of Community Plaza indicate that they are happy living in the development. 30% are dissatisfied and 50% are neutral. This is in marked contrast to the response from the complex with

greatest amount of happiness where 83% expressed happiness.

Of all the developments surveyed, Community Plaza has the lowest percentage of people who would recommend their housing complex to friends. Almost half the respondents would not recommend Community Plaza to their friends while only 28.6% would. Community Plaza also has fewer people who say they "are proud to call this complex home" than any other complex. 52.4% disagree with this statement while only 23.8% agree. Yet, 57.2% of the respondents like Community Plaza better than the last place they lived with 38% preferring their former residence. Thus, despite the dissatisfaction with Community Plaza, the complex is providing more satisfaction for a majority of the people as compared to their last place of residence. This may reflect the lack of attractive housing alternatives for low income black families.

VI. People and Behavior

Residents of Community Plaza are less happy about people in the complex and in the surrounding community than are the residents of most of the other complexes.

Residents were asked a series of questions about their attitudes towards people in the development, people in the surrounding community and the behavior of other residents. They were asked their degree of agreement with the following statements:

	Rank Compared with Other Complexes
Most people in this complex are friendly.	14
Most residents in this complex would help their neighbors if needed.	14
There are other residents in this housing complex that I would feel secure leaving my children with.	12
Residents in this complex are less trustworthy than other people.	8

They were also asked about their degree of satisfaction with "people who live in this housing complex" and "people who live in the surrounding community." Community Plaza ranked 11 in the amount of satisfaction on these questions.

Half the respondents are satisfied with the people who live in the complex while 27.3% are neutral and 22.7% are dissatisfied. Community Plaza residents disagree more than residents at any other development with the statement that "most people in the complex are friendly." 28.6% disagree, 23.8% are neutral and 47.6% agree.

Community Plaza people are somewhat less satisfied with people who live in the surrounding community than are all respondents. Only 40% are satisfied, 45% are neutral and 15% are dissatisfied. A couple of people indicated that they do not like the neighborhood because it is too much of a ghetto. Another person mentioned she liked the area because she had grown up in it.

Compared with all other complexes, Community Plaza residents agree the least with the statement that "residents in this complex would help their neighbor if needed." 38.1% disagree with this statement, while 28.6% were neutral and 33.4% agreed.

55% of the residents would feel secure leaving their children with another resident in the complex, 20% are neutral, and 25% disagree. A relatively large proportion of residents lack confidence in leaving their children with other residents.

Over half of the respondents are neutral about the statement "residents in this complex are less trustworthy than people in other areas." 55.6% express neutrality while 16.7% agree with the statement and 27.8% disagree.

No one at Community Plaza stated that they had many friends living at the complex. 52.4% said they had some friends, 42.9% said they have one or two friends and 4.8% have no friends living in the complex.

Community Plaza residents are somewhat less enthusiastic about the other residents and acquaintanceship than the respondents of all the developments. It is possible that conflicts during the rent strike have carried over to interpersonal relationships on the complex for those residents who have remained.

52.6% of Community Plaza people consider uncontrolled children a serious problem while 42.1% do not think it is serious. None of the residents commented on the children specifically in responding to the open ended question. While Community Plaza ranked 7th among the complexes in the percentage of respondents concerned about uncontrolled children, it still loomed as the problem that concerned more residents than any other.

Uncontrolled pets are not a problem within the complex. Seventy percent think it is not a serious problem, while 10% do think it is serious and 20% don't know. Uncontrolled pets from the area, however, is a larger problem. One fourth of the residents consider it a problem while 60% disagree and 15% do not know.

About 35% of the people at Community Plaza consider crime in the complex a serious problem while 45% do not consider it a serious problem and 20% do not know. A larger percentage of people (45%) feel crime in the neighborhood is a serious problem. 25% of the people do not consider it serious and 30% do not know. Only 19% of the residents "feel secure against crime while in my house." One third are neutral and 47.6% disagree.

VII. Attitudes Toward Project Design and Physical Equipment and Facilities

Much of the survey was devoted to resident attitudes concerning design of the development and the dwellings and facilities and equipment provided.

A. Background of Design Problems

Both the management company and representatives of the Pilgrim Baptist Church agree that the design and construction of the development was bad. The design and construction are felt to be inadequate particularly for Minnesota winters. Representatives of the Church felt that HUD had not given them enough advice and guidance during and subsequent to construction of the project.

They cited the following kinds of construction problems. The property manager felt that Community Plaza might not last more than five to seven years. "The nails holding the railings on the stair were not put into any stud in the walls. The closet doors were so cheap that they fall off and are not repairable. The insulation is insufficient. The pitch of the roof is wrong and there is no overhang."

The caretaker also added that water seeps in around the windows and the sod was not staked or rolled.

At the time of the interview the architect of Community Plaza was working on the roof problem. The chairman of the board of directors of Community Plaza said the water seepage and ice formation occurred because there were no air vents. Their architect, a member of the church, said all they have to do is get bigger air vents so that there is enough circulation to melt the ice on the roof. The chairman said this would be the cheapest way to solve the problem. They plan to use \$5000 from their replacement fund.

However, the caretaker thought it would cost between \$18,000 and \$20,000 to solve the installation problems.

The residents also feel strongly about various of the physical aspects of the development as reflected in their responses on the survey. Some 27 items in the questionnaire related to the design of the development and the individual unit, to facilities provided and to other physical aspects. With reference to fourteen of these twenty percent or more of the respondents at Community Plaza were either dissatisfied or negative. In order of the percent who were dissatisfied these are:

	% Dissatisfied	Rank Among Developments
Building Entrance Security	50.0%	14
Physical Appearance of Complex	47.6	13
Lighting Outside Building	42.9	14
Way Keys Work	36.8	13
Storage Space Outside Apartment	30.0	13
Amount of Outdoor Space	29.4	10
Size of Bedroom	28.6	12
Location of Outdoor Space	28.5	13
Heating	25.0	9
Refrigerator	25.0	14
Enough Space for Privacy	20.0	8
Storage Space in Apartment	20.0	5
Noise from Surrounding Area	42.2	13
Noise from Neighboring Apartments	42.8	10

B. General Design and Arrangement

Several of the questions to which 20% or more of the Community Plaza residents replied negatively, relate to the nature of the development as a whole and not to the specific design and facilities within the dwelling unit. Forty seven percent are dissatisfied with the physical appearance of the complex. This may reflect their attitude towards the architecture and general appearance of the buildings or the maintenance of the outside of the development or both. Thirty five percent of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with the outside maintenance at the project and 22.2% that they were dissatisfied with the maintenance of public areas. The fact that a number of units were boarded up at the time of the survey, no doubt, contributed to dissatisfaction.

Fewer than half of the residents at Community Plaza are satisfied with either the amount or location of outdoor open space available to them. Twenty nine percent are dissatisfied and the rest express themselves as neutral. In this regard Community Plaza ranks with the least satisfied developments.

Noise from nearby apartments was noted as a problem by 42.8% of the respondents most of whom saw it as somewhat serious rather than very. A similar percentage was bothered by noise from the surrounding area and in this regard Community Plaza ranked as the next to the most concerned of the complexes surveyed.

Parking arrangements were not seen as a problem by 76% of the respondents at Community Plaza while 19.1% found them to be a problem. On another question it appeared that few were dissatisfied with the parking arrangements for residents but a somewhat larger percentage, 19.1%, were dissatisfied with arrangements for visitors.

Building entrance security is of concern to half the residents at Community Plaza while 22.2% replied that it was not provided, only 22.2% were satisfied. The townhouses at Community Plaza have their own entrances and doorbells. No project wide security system exists.

In written comments two of the residents mentioned that better security was needed. This may be related to the resident concern about outside lighting on the complex. Over 42% of the residents indicated that they were not satisfied with outside lighting provided. As noted earlier and discussed below Community Plaza residents indicate much concern about crime in the area and a very substantial proportion do not feel secure against crime in their homes. Responses about outside lighting and entrance security are probably closely connected with fear of crime.

Over half of the residents in Community Plaza indicate concern about fire with 37% neutral and 11% not concerned. Community Plaza residents are among the most widely concerned about fire among the developments surveyed.

No laundry facilities are provided at Community Plaza although there is space for washer and dryer in the basements of the units. While none of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with laundry facilities in response to the specific question, some indicated a need for laundry facilities in their written comments.

C. Design Aspects of Dwelling Units

Community Plaza residents show more than average concern about a number of aspects of the dwelling units themselves and how they function. These include the way the keys work, the size of the bedrooms, heating and refrigerator. In addition, twenty percent of the residents indicated that there was not enough storage space in the apartment to provide privacy and storage room.

1. Apartment Arrangement and Space

Several questions related to the design, layout and adequacy of spaces within apartments were asked. 81% of the residents were satisfied with the apartment design while 19% were dissatisfied. No one was neutral.

Many of the residents written comments concerned apartment design. Although some people liked townhouses better than apartments, some of the complaints included: that the bathroom is too small and the basin is directly in line with the front door; the patio is not completed; the basements are too small for a three bedroom apartment; there aren't enough windows; the kitchen is right off the living room; there is no dining area; and only one entrance.

Specifically, three fourths of the residents are satisfied with the kitchen layout while 19% are dissatisfied.

2. Space Within Apartment

The majority of Community Plaza residents agree with the statement "my home has enough space for my belongings." 14.3% were neutral and only

9.5% disagreed.

3. Storage Space Within Apartment

Seventy percent of the people are satisfied with storage space within the apartment while 20% are dissatisfied. This does not appear to be as big a problem as in other of the developments.

4. Size of Bedrooms and Living Room

71.4% of the people at Community Plaza are satisfied with the size of the bedrooms while 28.6% are dissatisfied and 85% are satisfied with the size of the living room and 15% dissatisfied.

5. Space for Privacy

Sixty five percent of the people agree that "my home has enough space to allow privacy from those who live with me." 15% express neutrality and 20% disagree.

D. Specific Facilities and Equipment

Residents at Community Plaza were asked about their satisfaction with a number of specific items or facilities. These include: 1) heating, 2) plumbing, 3) air conditioning, 4) stove, 5) refrigerator, 6) way keys work. They ranked as follows:

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
Plumbing	80.0%	15.0%	5.0%	0.0%
Stove	71.4	19.0	9.5	0.0
Heating	70.0	25.0	5.0	0.0
Refrigerator	65.0	25.0	5.0	5.0
Way Keys Work	52.6	36.8	10.5	0.0
Air Conditioning	5.3	15.8	0.0	78.9

Residents at Community Plaza are less satisfied with each of these facilities than the residents at all the developments taken together. One resident commented in writing that there was not enough hot water of consistent heat in the winter and some complained that there was no air conditioning.

VIII. Access to Services and Facilities

Community Plaza residents are equally satisfied with their access to various kinds of facilities as residents in other developments. However, they are more neutral and less satisfied with recreation for adults and children than are the respondents of all the projects. Community Plaza residents are the least satisfied with access to recreation for children.

For each of the types of facility the distributions are as follows:

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dis-Satisfied	Very Dis-Satisfied
Public Transport	27.3%	54.5%	13.6%	4.5%	0
Shopping	27.3	45.5	18.2	9.1	0
Medical	22.7	45.5	22.7	9.1	0
Schools	14.3	52.4	28.6	4.8	0
Recreation for Adults	4.5	36.4	40.9	13.6	4.5%
Recreation for Children	5.3	26.3	47.4	21.1	0

Public transport and shopping facilities are available on Lexington within a few blocks of the complex. The Pilgrims Baptist Church is across the street. A few of the residents work at the Control Data Plant on Selby Avenue which is also close by.

The complex itself has no playground or community room which may explain part of the low satisfaction for adult and childrens recreation. One resident also wished there was a room to do carpentry.

The vast majority of the residents are satisfied with trash disposal and mail delivery. A fairly large percentage of people (31.6%) are dissatisfied with snow removal. The percentage distributions are as follows:

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
Trash Disposal	85.0%	15.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Mail Delivery	90.0	10.0	0.0	0.0
Snow Removal	52.6	31.6	10.5	5.3

IX. Management Operations

Previous studies of multi-family housing have found that resident satisfaction is usually closely related with the quality of management. Generally where management has been friendly and efficient residents have been more likely to be happy and satisfied with the development than where management is inefficient and unfriendly. This study has therefore attempted to probe residents feelings about various aspects of management as well as the attitudes of people involved in management and the procedures which they have followed.

The discussion which follows is based on the responses of the residents to the survey and interviews with the Chairman of the Board of Community Plaza, the Minister of Pilgrim Baptist Church, its sponsors, the president of Chapdelaine Properties which was managing the development at the time of the survey and the Caretaker-Manager.

Originally the board of directors of Community Plaza set out to manage the project directly, primarily through its then chairman who lived three doors away from the project. The board, then and now, was made up exclusively of members of Pilgrim Baptist Church. Currently it includes five deacons, one deaconess, one trustee and two other members of the Church.

In 1973 the board employed Chapdelaine Properties to manage the project. Its contract was up in December 1975 and was not renewed as the board decided to take over the management of the project directly.

The original board of directors was inexperienced in housing management and many of the current problems of Community Plaza are attributed by the people involved to mistakes which were made in the project's early days. However, Community Plaza had been continually plagued by problems of design and construction which have exacerbated the situation. Initially the board established committees for tenant selection, caretaking and tenant relations. When the project opened, the bank which held the mortgage advised the board to rent the units rapidly. To accomplish this, on a stated evening all potential tenants were asked to come to the church to be interviewed. Many prospective tenants were from the area, and known to board members who did not feel it necessary to check their past record and rental histories. Apparently the board was unaware of any HUD application and reporting requirements. Members of the board found it difficult to be firm about rent collection and the eviction of delinquent tenants. The management role tended to conflict with their church conscience.

Originally, apparently, Community Plaza had no bookkeeping system. When a bill came in a board member would pay it with a check on the project account.

Community Plaza did not have enough money in escrow in 1973 to pay its real estate taxes. The board had never applied for a tax abatement and also was apparently paying too much for insurance. The current board chairman feels that HUD never informed the church that it might obtain lower tax and insurance rates.

In 1973 at HUD's suggestion, the church hired Chapdelaine Properties, a small management company now headed by Bernard Brodkorp, who acquired the company from its founder for whom he had previously worked as accountant.

The company's management fee is a percentage of the rents collected. Mr. Brodkorp said he would find it difficult to make the business profitable if he were not able to reduce overhead costs by using the same office space and secretary that he does for his accounting practice. The costs of his operation are also lower because of his own expertise in accounting and because of easy access he has to the expertise of his other two associates in law and realty. If Mr. Brodkorp has any problem in these two areas, he can go to his associates with minimal expense and effort.

Mr. Brodkorp is involved with all operations of the development and keeps a close check on finances. His secretary handles rent delinquencies and appeared in court in eviction proceedings when necessary.

Mr. Brodkorp determined the budget for the complex based on prior experience, rent collections and anticipated costs. Community Plaza was in the middle of a transition in leadership and management at the time of the interview. The chairman of the board, Dick Mangram, resigned in January 1976. Although he felt he had gained the experience necessary for directing a housing project, he had had enough involvement.

Chapdelaine's contract was up in December. The Community Plaza board has now resumed an active role in managing the complex. They have selected a committee to supervise the resident manager and maintenance operations, a committee for tenant selection, and a committee for finance. The full board does not have time to make all the decisions. The other committees will handle individual problems, the finance committee will direct each of the other committees on what they can spend and they will sign all checks.

The board plans to hire a resident manager, who will handle receipts and disbursements approved by the board. They are looking for a husband and wife team like those at St. Phillips and intend to pay them \$300 per month plus rent for a part time job. The wife will be expected to take calls during the day, schedule maintenance and keep the tenants informed. The husband will do repairs in the evening. They hope to find a manager with maintenance skills in order to cut down the costs. Accounts will be handled by a bookkeeper who will report to the board.

When Chapdelaine took over management of Community Plaza from the board it faced the task of eradicating many of the problems created by the board's inexperience in housing management. Since most of the survey response is based on resident's experience with Chapdelaine's management, it is important to note these handicaps as well as looking at the way Chapdelaine carried out management operations.

Prior to the recent changes, Chapdelaine's resident manager at St. Phillips Gardens acted as caretaker at Community Plaza as well. Apparently he handled rent collection, tenant selection and tenant relations in addition to maintenance.

The Caretaker-Manager checked applicant's income, credit and employment before making tenant selections. When a new tenant came in, he showed them around the apartment and complex.

The property manager feels that the resident manager should have maintenance skills. The caretaker-manager handled most of the maintenance including plumbing repairs and exterminating during the evenings and weekends. During the day he had a full time job but his wife answered the phone and took down requests. Mr. Brisco

felt there was too much work for one person to do without the help of a caretaker. Both he and his wife handled emergency calls.

Typically residents do not make repairs themselves. However, management was in the habit of supplying paint to residents who wished to paint their own apartments. Of late only white paint was supplied because it was easier to maintain.

Chapdelaine's management was particularly concerned about the outside of the complex and felt it was important for a manager to know how to enhance the appearance of a complex in order to attract tenants initially.

Chapdelaine's central office contracted out more complicated electrical work and plastering. The caretaker-manager felt he needed a faster response from the central office when they did contract out. Management liked to hire neighborhood people.

The caretaker-manager usually tried to see the apartments once a week or at least once a month when he talked to tenants about other matters. He tried not to make formal inspections which he found created conflict. He had evicted because of bad housekeeping but this took a long time. If he saw a problem with upkeep he tried to talk to the person but often it was difficult to find people at home. The property manager inspected the development weekly. He looked at the grounds and picked three or four units to spot check.

The former chairman of the board thinks maintenance has been a problem at Community Plaza because of the poor construction of the buildings. He also feels many tenants do not know how to care for the units and have done a great deal of damage. Some of the units have been destroyed so badly that they have been boarded up. At the time of the interview, management with the help of others was trying to get the damaged apartments into shape. They were painting and shampooing on weekends.

Rent Collection

Under Chapdelaine management residents were told that all rents had to be paid by the 7th. If not, the resident manager should have been contacted and unless an agreement had been worked out, rent should be in by the 12th. All rents were computerized centrally so that they were easy to audit. If by the 17th of the month the rent was not in, the central office started an unlawful detainer. Tenants were usually two months behind in rent before eviction proceedings were started.

Because of the past leniency of the board when they were responsible for rent collection, and because of the recent rent strike, Community Plaza has a large amount of rent outstanding. When asked about delinquent rents at Community Plaza, the property manager said they

were taking court action against those people who had moved.

Tenant Relations

When management received a complaint about a tenant he would usually tell the person to put the complaint in writing. The caretaker-manager talked to the party in question. He found this usually worked out well and avoided the problem of one tenant confronting another.

If tenants sought the caretaker's advice, he talked to the tenant and tried to be of service. He never referred people to agencies for advice. He found most already knew the agencies and the caseworkers.

The board, however, did not communicate with the tenants. Except for the time of a rent strike, none of the tenants ever came to the board with a problem.

Resident Association

Community Plaza formed a resident association that led a rent strike when the management proposed to increase the rents. Management intended to make major construction repairs and needed an increase in rent to do so. The residents refused to pay more rent until after the repairs had been made.

The property manager felt the tenants made much more of a political issue out of the strike and that the problems could have been resolved if there had been a better rapport between tenants, board and management. The tenants were supported by individuals from the community who came to meetings and asked questions. Apparently there was some disagreement on the board as to how the problem should be handled.

Project management felt the tenants who organized the rent strike were those who did not want to pay rent from the beginning. It was said that the strike dissolved when the other residents realized this. As of September five had been evicted. Six were still there and five left of their own accord. It was said that people owing \$300 who stayed from the rent strike were paying it back slowly.

At the time of the rent strike, the residents association was also demanding that one unit be made into a party room and that management pay the resident's dues to the association. One resident commented that now the residents immediate concerns were the boarded up units, lack of communication with management, and lack of initiation of major construction changes.

X. Tenants Attitudes Towards Management

A relatively large proportion of residents at Community Plaza were critical of management at the time of the survey. An average of 23.2% of Community Plaza respondents indicated their dissatisfaction or disagreed with positive statements. Of the eighteen management and maintenance questions more than 20% of the residents were dissatisfied on eleven. These included the following:

	% Negative	Rank Among 14 Complexes
Speed of Management Response to Resident Complaints	42.2%	13
Way Management Handles Tenant Disputes	36.9	14
Quality of Management Repairs in the Home	36.5	13
Management in General	35.0	14
Maintenance Outside of the Building	35.0	13
Snow Removal	31.6	13
Way Management Handles Disruptive Tenants	28.5	13
Quality of Management Repairs Outside The Home	28.5	13
Rules About Changing Inside of the House	23.8	9
Cleanliness of Public Halls	23.5	8
General Maintenance of Public Areas	22.2	10

On the other hand, the residents by and large feel that management is friendly. Two thirds of them agreed with the statement and only 4.8% disagreed. They believe the maintenance personnel to be courteous, 55.0% agreeing, 35.0% stating they were neutral and 10% disagreeing. Over half feel well informed about management rules although a rather high one third are neutral and 14.3% disagree.

Major points of criticism, included management in general, quality of repairs and maintenance, and managements handling residents problems and disputes.

Less than half of the residents at Community Plaza are satisfied with the management in general, twenty percent were neutral and thirty five percent dissatisfied. A larger proportion of respondents answered negatively on this question than in any other of the fourteen developments surveyed.

Residents at Community Plaza are particularly unhappy with the speed with which management responds to resident's complaints. Only 36.8% are satisfied while 42.2% are dissatisfied and 21.1% indicated neutrality. In only one other development surveyed were fewer residents satisfied than dissatisfied with management's speed of response.

Perhaps related to their feelings about managements response to complaints are residents attitudes on the way management handles

tenant disputes and disruptive residents. Only 26.4% of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied with the way management handles disputes between residents, 36.8% indicated that they were dissatisfied and a similar percentage indicated they were neutral. (This question elicited a very high percentage of neutral responses in most of the developments, perhaps because many tenants are not familiar with any disputes with which management had been involved.) No more than 15% of the respondents in any of the other complexes indicated dissatisfaction.

Less than half of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied with the way management handles disruptive tenants, 28.6% were dissatisfied and an equal number were neutral. A large percentage of neutral response occurred in all of the complexes. In only one other development was a higher percentage of the respondents dissatisfied.

There are a number of areas in which Community Plaza residents are critical about management supplied maintenance service. Almost one third of the residents are dissatisfied with snow removal while 52.6% are satisfied, 10.5% have no opinion and 5.3% indicated it was not provided.

Maintenance of the outside of the building, the cleanliness of public areas and the cleanliness of public halls are all of concern to a significant percentage of Community Plaza respondents.

Less than half of the residents are satisfied with the general maintenance of public areas on the development, 22.2% indicate that they are dissatisfied and an equal percentage state that such maintenance is not provided while 16.7% have no opinion on the matter. Similarly only 45% of the residents are satisfied with the general maintenance outside the building while 35% are dissatisfied, 10% say it is not provided and an equal percentage have no opinion.

Over one third, 36.9%, of the respondents are dissatisfied with the quality of management provided repairs within their homes. Slightly over one half indicated that they were satisfied while 10.5% indicated neutrality. On a similar question about repairs outside of the house, 47.7% indicated that they were satisfied, while 28.5% were dissatisfied and 23.8% were neutral.

Appendix A

TABLES

Questions Concerning General Satisfaction: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5e. I am proud to call this complex home!

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	4.8%	15.9%	27.5%	4.8%
Agree	19.0	36.9	52.7	19.0
Neutral	23.8	30.6	13.2	23.8
Disagree	38.1	11.0	3.3	38.1
Strongly Disagree	14.3	5.7	3.3	14.3

Question 5l. I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends. -

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	0.0%	15.8%	25.8%	0
Agree	28.6	50.6	63.6	28.6
Neutral	23.8	19.4	9.1	23.8
Disagree	33.3	9.6	1.5	33.3
Strongly Disagree	14.3	4.5	0	14.3

Question 5m. I like this home better than the last place I lived.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	14.3%	25.2%	45.5%	12.8%
Agree	42.9	34.1	33.3	23.1
Neutral	4.8	15.5	9.1	23.1
Disagree	19.0	15.5	9.1	30.8
Strongly Disagree	19.0	9.8	3.0	10.3

Question 5r. I'm happy living in this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	5.0%	17.9%	23.1%	7.1%
Agree	15.0	42.7	60.0	14.3
Neutral	50.0	26.4	12.3	42.9
Disagree	15.0	8.1	4.6	9.5
Strongly Disagree	15.0	4.9	0	26.2

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning People and Behavior: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1r. Satisfaction with people who live in this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	0.0%	10.7%	37.6%	6.4%
Satisfied	50.0	45.1	46.2	36.0
Neutral	27.3	29.5	10.8	27.2
Dissatisfied	18.2	9.9	3.2	23.2
Very Dissatisfied	4.5	4.8	2.2	7.2

Question 1s. Satisfaction with people who live in the surrounding community.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	0.0%	9.6%	16.7%	4.0%
Satisfied	40.0	47.4	60.0	32.0
Neutral	45.0	34.4	20.0	42.7
Dissatisfied	10.0	5.9	3.3	12.0
Very Dissatisfied	5.0	2.6	0	9.3

Question 5g. Most residents in this complex would help their neighbor if needed.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	4.8%	9.7%	30.3%	4.8%
Agree	28.6	40.3	53.9	28.6
Neutral	28.6	33.2	10.1	28.6
Disagree	28.6	12.4	5.6	28.6
Strongly Disagree	9.5	4.4	0	9.5

Question 5h. Residents in this complex are less trustworthy than people in other areas.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	0.0%	4.3%	11.1%	3.9%
Agree	16.7	10.2	19.4	5.3
Neutral	55.6	39.0	47.2	21.1
Disagree	11.1	36.5	16.7	40.8
Strongly Disagree	16.7	9.9	5.6	28.9

Questions Concerning People and Behavior: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5f. Most people in this complex are friendly.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	9.5%	14.1%	36.5%	9.5%
Agree	38.1	50.2	49.0	38.1
Neutral	23.8	24.4	9.4	23.8
Disagree	28.6	8.6	3.1	28.6
Strongly Disagree	0	2.7	2.1	0

Question 5i. There are other residents in this housing complex that I would feel secure leaving my children with.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	10.0%	9.9%	16.7%	4.5%
Agree	45.0	41.6	53.3	25.0
Neutral	20.0	34.4	23.3	43.2
Disagree	20.0	10.0	6.7	11.4
Strongly Disagree	5.0	4.1	0	15.9

Question 5j. I feel secure against crime while in my home.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	0.0%	10.9%	32.6%	0%
Agree	19.0	41.9	52.2	19.0
Neutral	33.3	25.0	10.9	33.3
Disagree	28.6	15.1	4.3	28.6
Strongly Disagree	19.0	7.1	0	19.0

Question 6d. How serious a problem is crime within this complex?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	20.0	7.3%	0%	21.7%
Somewhat Serious	15.0	15.3	5.7	26.1
Not Serious	45.0	51.4	73.6	15.2
Don't Know	20.0	25.9	20.7	37.0

Questions Concerning People and Behavior: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 6e. How serious a problem is crime within the surrounding neighborhood?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	15.0%	9.6%	3.3%	23.2%
Somewhat Serious	30.0	21.3	3.3	36.2
Not Serious	25.0	35.5	43.3	21.7
Don't Know	30.0	33.6	50.0	18.8

Question 6f. How serious a problem are uncontrolled children?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	36.8%	22.6%	7.0%	36.6%
Somewhat Serious	15.8	30.3	8.1	39.8
Not Serious	42.1	37.6	58.1	21.1
Don't Know	5.3	9.6	26.7	2.4

Question 6g. How serious a problem are uncontrolled pets in this complex?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	5.0%	4.2%	.8%	13.8%
Somewhat Serious	5.0	7.0	.8	23.6
Not Serious	70.0	68.1	76.7	48.8
Don't Know	20.0	20.6	21.7	13.8

Question 6h. How serious a problem are uncontrolled pets from the surrounding area?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	5.0%	5.4%	1.5%	10.4%
Somewhat Serious	20.0	11.9	3.8	23.2
Not Serious	60.0	61.5	74.4	48.0
Don't Know	15.0	21.2	20.3	18.4

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning Location: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1L. Satisfaction with access to schools.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	14.3%	24.4%	50.4%	7.3%
Satisfied	52.4	46.8	36.1	43.9
Neutral	28.6	23.9	13.5	29.3
Dissatisfied	4.8	2.6	0	9.8
Very Dissatisfied	0	2.3	0	9.8

Question 1m. Satisfaction with access to public transportation.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	27.3%	37.2%	51.7%	13.2%
Satisfied	54.5	46.5	48.3	50.0
Neutral	13.6	10.3	0	21.1
Dissatisfied	4.5	4.7	0	10.5
Very Dissatisfied	0	1.2	0	5.3

Question 1n. Satisfaction with access to shopping facilities.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	27.3%	23.4%	44.0%	10.8%
Satisfied	45.5	49.0	50.0	35.1
Neutral	18.2	14.3	4.0	16.2
Dissatisfied	9.1	9.7	2.0	21.6
Very Dissatisfied	0	3.6	0	16.2

Question 1o. Satisfaction with access to medical facilities.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	22.7%	20.3%	43.2%	14.3%
Satisfied	45.5	49.2	46.9	34.6
Neutral	22.7	20.8	8.6	28.6
Dissatisfied	9.1	7.6	1.2	17.3
Very Dissatisfied	0	2.1	0	5.3

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning Location: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1p. Satisfaction with access to recreation for adults.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.5%	11.3%	17.9%	5.0%
Satisfied	36.4	39.2	41.0	22.5
Neutral	40.9	28.9	33.3	35.0
Dissatisfied	13.6	13.8	6.4	20.0
Very Dissatisfied	4.5	6.8	1.3	17.5

Question 1q. Satisfaction with access to recreation for children.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	5.3%	14.2%	29.3%	6.7%
Satisfied	26.3	39.5	42.9	20.0
Neutral	47.4	26.6	17.3	30.0
Dissatisfied	21.1	11.5	6.8	23.3
Very Dissatisfied	0	8.2	3.8	20.0

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1g. Satisfaction with parking arrangements for residents.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	19.0%	27.1%	36.0%	9.5%
Satisfied	47.6	50.0	48.0	26.2
Neutral	23.8	12.1	16.0	40.8
Dissatisfied	9.5	6.9	0	11.9
Very Dissatisfied	0	3.8	0	11.9

Question 1h. Satisfaction with parking arrangements for visitors.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	14.3%	24.5%	35.9%	4.5%
Satisfied	38.1	49.3	51.3	38.6
Neutral	28.6	14.4	7.7	29.5
Dissatisfied	14.3	8.3	2.6	13.6
Very Dissatisfied	4.8	3.6	2.6	13.6

Question 1k. Satisfaction with the physical appearance of this complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	0.0%	23.1%	45.4%	6.8%
Satisfied	38.1	48.6	47.4	22.7
Neutral	14.3	14.6	6.2	22.7
Dissatisfied	38.1	8.5	1.0	18.2
Very Dissatisfied	9.5	5.2	0	29.5

Question 1l. Satisfaction with the amount of outdoor space available to residents of this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	5.9%	17.1%	24.5%	2.2%
Satisfied	41.2	40.5	50.0	31.1
Neutral	23.5	20.9	16.0	33.3
Dissatisfied	17.6	14.4	5.3	20.0
Very Dissatisfied	11.8	7.2	4.3	13.3

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1u. Satisfaction with the location of outdoor space available to residents of this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.8%	15.8%	21.4%	5.0%
Satisfied	38.1	40.7	54.8	27.5
Neutral	28.6	23.6	10.7	32.5
Dissatisfied	9.5	12.9	8.3	22.5
Very Dissatisfied	19.0	7.0	4.8	12.5

Question 5a. This housing complex is overcrowded.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	0.0%	3.7%	5.1%	1.2%
Agree	14.3	9.1	17.9	1.2
Neutral	33.3	36.8	48.7	29.8
Disagree	52.4	43.9	28.2	50.0
Strongly Disagree	0	6.5	0	17.9

Question 5b. My home has enough space for my belongings.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	19.0%	13.7%	21.1%	6.0%
Agree	57.1	48.8	55.6	35.1
Neutral	14.3	11.7	13.3	14.9
Disagree	0	17.7	7.8	29.9
Strongly Disagree	9.5	8.0	2.2	14.2

Question 5c. My home has enough space to allow privacy from others who live with me.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	15.0%	10.4%	17.5%	10.5%
Agree	50.0	46.5	52.5	28.9
Neutral	15.0	22.2	22.5	21.1
Disagree	15.0	14.5	2.5	21.1
Strongly Disagree	5.0	6.4	5.0	18.4

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5k. I am concerned about the possibility of fire in this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	15.8%	12.1%	15.8%	4.7%
Agree	36.8	26.2	36.8	14.0
Neutral	36.8	29.7	36.8	30.2
Disagree	5.3	26.8	5.3	41.9
Strongly Disagree	5.3	5.3	5.3	9.3

Question 8a. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with building entrance security?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	22.2%	55.7%	97.1%	22.2%
Dissatisfied	50.0	21.9	2.9	50.0
No Opinion	5.6	7.4	0	5.6
Not Provided	22.2	14.9	0	22.2

Question 8b. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the keys work?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	52.6%	72.9%	94.9%	53.3%
Dissatisfied	36.8	20.2	5.1	40.0
No Opinion	10.5	5.9	0	5.9
Not Provided	0	1.0	0	.7

Question 8c. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the heating?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	70.0%	76.8%	94.0%	41.8%
Dissatisfied	25.0	17.5	5.0	44.8
No Opinion	5.0	5.4	1.0	11.9
Not Provided	0	.3	0	1.5

Question 8d. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the stove?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	71.4%	93.0%	100.0%	71.4%
Dissatisfied	19.0	4.7	0	19.0
No Opinion	9.5	2.1	0	9.5
Not Provided	0	.2	0	0

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8e. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the refrigerator?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	65.0%	91.6%	98.1%	65.0%
Dissatisfied	25.0	6.4	1.9	25.0
No Opinion	5.0	1.7	0	5.0
Not Provided	5.0	.3	0	5.0

Question 8f. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the kitchen layout?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	76.2%	81.3%	90.6%	68.4%
Dissatisfied	19.0	14.9	3.1	25.7
No Opinion	4.8	3.5	6.3	4.4
Not Provided	0	.3	0	1.5

Question 8g. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the size of the living room?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	85.0%	85.7%	97.0%	61.1%
Dissatisfied	15.0	11.1	0	33.3
No Opinion	0	3.0	3.0	5.6
Not Provided	0	.2	0	0

Question 8h. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the size of the bedroom(s)?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	71.4%	79.5%	93.5%	63.9%
Dissatisfied	28.6	17.2	3.2	30.6
No Opinion	0	2.9	0	5.6
Not Provided	0	.4	3.2	0

Question 8i. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the design of the apartment?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	81.0%	81.4%	94.7%	70.9%
Dissatisfied	19.0	12.4	2.6	20.9
No Opinion	0	6.0	2.6	8.2
Not Provided	0	.1	0	0

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8u. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with public hall lighting?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	43.8%	79.2%	98.3%	67.6%
Dissatisfied	12.5	6.7	.8	20.6
No Opinion	12.5	5.9	.8	5.9
Not Provided	31.3	8.2	0	5.9

Question 8w. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied by laundry facilities?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	37.5%	59.9%	87.9%	36.1%
Dissatisfied	0	26.3	10.1	47.2
No Opinion	0	6.3	2.0	16.7
Not Provided	62.5	7.4	0	0

Question 6a. How serious a problem are parking arrangements?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	4.8%	6.7%	2.4%	16.7%
Somewhat Serious	14.3	16.0	7.1	21.4
Not Serious	76.2	66.3	76.5	33.3
Don't Know	4.8	11.0	14.1	28.6

Question 6b. How serious a problem is noise from other apartments?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	9.5%	14.4%	4.5%	29.8%
Somewhat Serious	33.3	24.7	6.7	31.5
Not Serious	52.4	57.4	83.1	38.7
Don't Know	4.8	3.4	5.6	0

Question 6c. How serious a problem is noise from the surrounding neighborhood?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	21.1%	7.3%	2.5%	16.0
Somewhat Serious	21.1	13.3	4.2	27.7
Not Serious	52.6	72.7	86.6	53.8
Don't Know	5.3	6.8	6.7	1.5

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8j. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with storage spaces within the apartment?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	70.0%	69.4%	76.9%	50.0%
Dissatisfied	20.0	24.8	15.4	34.2
No Opinion	10.0	3.1	2.6	10.5
Not Provided	0	2.8	5.1	5.3

Question 8k. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the storage space outside the apartment?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	15.0%	22.2%	58.9%	6.6%
Dissatisfied	30.0	20.1	14.5	20.8
No Opinion	20.0	9.9	8.1	7.5
Not Provided	35.0	47.8	18.5	65.1

Question 8n. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the plumbing?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	80.0%	87.6%	95.0%	54.8%
Dissatisfied	15.0	7.9	3.0	35.7
No Opinion	5.0	4.2	2.0	7.1
Not Provided	0	.3	0	2.4

Question 8p. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the lighting outside of the building?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	42.9%	80.2%	92.2%	42.9%
Dissatisfied	42.9	14.4	3.1	42.9
No Opinion	4.8	4.5	4.7	4.8
Not Provided	9.5	.8	0	9.5

Question 8r. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with air conditioning?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	5.3%	48.8%	97.0%	17.6%
Dissatisfied	15.8	7.2	3.0	17.6
No Opinion	0	6.3	0	2.9
Not Provided	78.9	37.7	0	61.8

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1a. Satisfaction with management of this complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	5.0%	21.5%	22.2%	2.4%
Satisfied	40.0	42.7	54.0	29.3
Neutral	20.0	22.0	17.5	34.1
Dissatisfied	15.0	9.6	6.3	17.1
Very Dissatisfied	20.0	4.2	0	17.0

Question 1b. Satisfaction with speed with which management responds to residents complaints.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	0.0%	18.2%	40.7%	4.4%
Satisfied	36.8	37.2	34.6	26.7
Neutral	21.1	23.1	14.8	26.7
Dissatisfied	21.1	15.3	7.4	26.7
Very Dissatisfied	21.1	6.3	2.5	15.6

Question 1c. Satisfaction with the way management handles disruptive tenants.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.8%	15.0%	29.3%	4.7%
Satisfied	38.1	38.7	37.3	27.9
Neutral	28.6	32.6	22.7	34.9
Dissatisfied	19.0	9.4	8.0	16.3
Very Dissatisfied	9.5	4.3	2.7	16.3

Question 1d. Satisfaction with the way management settles disputes between tenants.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	5.3%	12.4%	27.5%	5.3%
Satisfied	21.1	36.9	45.0	21.1
Neutral	36.8	41.9	23.8	36.8
Dissatisfied	15.8	5.9	2.5	15.8
Very Dissatisfied	21.1	2.9	1.2	21.1

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1e. Satisfaction with management provided repair work within your home.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	10.5%	19.7%	33.3%	6.8%
Satisfied	42.1	42.7	42.0	27.3
Neutral	10.5	16.1	8.6	22.7
Dissatisfied	15.8	13.4	11.1	20.5
Very Dissatisfied	21.1	8.2	4.9	22.7

Question 1f. Satisfaction with management provided repair work outside your home.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.8%	17.0%	30.7%	2.5%
Satisfied	42.9	46.0	48.9	27.5
Neutral	23.8	23.4	13.6	25.0
Dissatisfied	19.0	9.5	6.8	25.0
Very Dissatisfied	9.5	4.2	0	20.0

Question 1i. Satisfaction with rules regarding changing the inside of the apartment.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.8%	12.6%	20.0%	8.1%
Satisfied	23.8	46.2	57.8	27.0
Neutral	47.6	20.1	15.6	21.6
Dissatisfied	19.0	14.9	5.6	24.3
Very Dissatisfied	4.8	6.2	1.1	18.9

Question 1j. Satisfaction with rules regarding changing outside of apartment.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.8%	13.6%	22.8%	7.9%
Satisfied	19.0	42.3	53.2	31.6
Neutral	66.7	36.2	22.8	31.6
Dissatisfied	9.5	4.8	1.3	21.1
Very Dissatisfied	0	3.2	0	7.9

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5d. Housing complexes like this one should have resident associations to communicate with management.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	25.0%	21.7%	20.3%	17.8%
Agree	40.0	42.3	54.5	40.0
Neutral	35.0	29.6	22.8	26.7
Disagree	0	4.6	2.4	8.9
Strongly Disagree	0	1.8	0	6.7

Question 5n. The management of this housing complex is friendly.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	19.0%	25.9%	30.0%	2.9%
Agree	47.6	48.9	52.5	31.4
Neutral	28.6	17.9	17.5	37.1
Disagree	4.8	4.4	0	14.3
Strongly Disagree	0	2.8	0	14.3

Question 5o. Maintenance personnel in this complex are courteous.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	10.0%	22.6%	34.1%	10.3%
Agree	45.0	51.3	54.9	30.8
Neutral	35.0	19.7	8.5	25.6
Disagree	5.0	4.3	1.2	17.9
Strongly Disagree	5.0	2.1	1.2	15.4

Question 5p. Management effectively protects my right to peace and quiet.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	4.8%	14.2%	33.3%	2.5%
Agree	47.6	44.9	52.9	17.5
Neutral	28.6	23.5	9.2	27.5
Disagree	14.3	10.6	0	30.0
Strongly Disagree	4.8	6.8	4.6	22.5

Community Plaza

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5q. I feel well informed about the rules management expects residents of this housing complex to obey.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	14.3%	18.8%	35.6%	7.3%
Agree	38.1	56.5	57.8	29.3
Neutral	33.3	14.8	4.4	24.4
Disagree	9.5	7.0	1.1	22.0
Strongly Disagree	4.8	2.8	1.1	17.1

Question 8L. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with trash disposal?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	85.0%	83.3%	97.5%	41.5%
Dissatisfied	15.0	12.2	.8	43.9
No Opinion	0	3.5	1.7	9.8
Not Provided	0	1.0	0	4.9

Question 8m. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with mail delivery?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	90.0%	93.1%	99.0%	78.9%
Dissatisfied	10.0	5.1	1.0	13.2
No Opinion	0	1.7	0	7.9
Not Provided	0	.2	0	0

Question 8o. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with snow removal?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	52.6%	61.9%	86.5%	26.8%
Dissatisfied	31.6	18.5	9.4	48.8
No Opinion	10.5	18.4	4.2	19.5
Not Provided	5.3	1.2	0	4.9

Question 8q. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the general maintenance outside the building?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	45.0	74.0%	89.0%	23.8%
Dissatisfied	35.0	15.9	4.2	50.0
No Opinion	10.0	8.4	6.8	14.3
Not Provided	10.0	1.7	0	11.9

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8s. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the cleanliness of public halls?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	23.5%	52.5%	78.0%	27.0%
Dissatisfied	23.5	27.6	18.0	51.4
No Opinion	11.8	10.8	3.0	16.2
Not Provided	41.2	9.2	1.0	5.4

Question 8t. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with general maintenance of public areas?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	38.9%	67.5%	87.6%	15.0%
Dissatisfied	22.2	18.1	7.2	42.5
No Opinion	16.7	11.2	5.2	27.5
Not Provided	22.2	3.2	0	15.0

Appendix B

Written responses of residents of Community Plaza to the question,
"What are the things you like and dislike about living in this
housing complex?" (Each paragraph is the response of one resident.)

Dislike -- Apartment is not sound proof. Not enough hot water or consistent heat in winter. Cold spots from windows to door. Very small bathroom, with basin in the hall and open directly in line with front door. Patio not completed. Basements much too small for a 3 bedroom apartment.
Likes -- Carpeting on all floors, but could be of better quality. Close to transportation and shopping area

I like the room that I have. It is much better than living in an apartment. I have not been living here long enough to know that much about it yet to tell you what I dislike yet.

Not enough windows. 2. Kitchen right in the living room. 3. Need more than one entrance. 4. Need dining area for table. 5. basement is nice.
6. Bathroom too small.

Nothing.

I like living here, I only wish we had washer and dryer, because of the amount of rent. Also I don't have transportation to go to laundrymat. Thank you.

Dislike - 1. No airconditioner, 2. No facilities for kids. 3, No place to wash clothes, such as a place with pay laundromats, 4. No phone booth close by, even though I have phone., 5. Need more security, 6. The doors aren't well put together, 7. Rent too high. I like the way the apartment is made.

It's rather ironic that you should send out this questionnaire at this time in view of the fact that Community Plaza tenants union has been on strike and escrowing rent since March. Also we've been in touch with the St. Paul Urban League and other community organizations striving for correction of existing facilities. If you are abreast of the local situation, you are also aware of a demonstration in this project which received visual media coverage in at least two instances. Of immediate concern is the continued boarding up of units in this project, lack of communication by management with tenants and lack of initiation of major changes that are necessary to keep the elements under control this winter. I suggest you check with the parent St. Paul Tenant's Union, Twin Cities Courier, Summit, University Free Press, St. Paul Urban League and any past tenants who resided in Community Plaza the past six months (if you can find them).

I'm pretty much satisfied.

I like this general area because I grew up here on Fuller. I like the lay-out of the apartment and the space. I wish we had our own private area outside, air conditioning, more security, because it's too open, better maintenance, the building definitely needs new roofing, because of leakage problems in the spring. A better paint would be nice also; and bannisters.

What I dislike about it they won't fix anything around here. The tops on the houses is not fit right. The water last winter came in the houses. And they said they was going to fix it but haven't not yet. Winter is here again and the same problem.

No place to work (like carpentry). It's basically rude living in an apartment. I hate it. If I had more money I would buy a house.

No opinion.

Likes: 1) price, 2) Location (transportation), 3) racially integrated complex, 4) neighborhood architecture, 5) complex low and open. Dislikes: 1) neighborhood - still too much a ghetto.

No comments.

I don't like the neighborhood or the city, but it's close to work.

SUBSIDIZED PRIVATE MULTI-FAMILY HOUSING IN SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA

A Study Based on Resident and Management Attitudes

Part Three: Case Studies

JAMESTOWN

I. Background

Jamestown is a non-profit 236 project sponsored by the St. James AME Church, nearby. The project opened in 1972.

Jamestown is located at Dale and St. Anthony with interstate 94 on its south side. It is one of several subsidized complexes in the northeast quadrant of the Summit University Redevelopment area where new patio home and townhouse development is now taking place at Central Village.

The 4 four-story buildings are of masonry construction. There are 73 housing units, including ten one-bedroom units, 57 two-bedroom units and six three-bedroom units. Twenty-four of these units are townhouses. Each unit has a stove, refrigerator and air conditioning with utilities included in the rent. Some of the units also have their own balconies. There is a community room where the mail boxes are located. Laundry facilities include six washers and six dryers. The complex does not have any playground facilities but the management is now making plans to provide these.

Jamestown is very accessible to the freeway and public transportation, to downtown St. Paul and the Midway Shopping district.

HUD currently holds Jamestown's mortgage.

II. Population

Questionnaires were sent to 72 addresses. Five of these turned out to be vacant so that the sample was 67. Forty-two questionnaires were returned for a response rate of 63%. As in most of the complexes the majority of the respondents at Jamestown (82.1%) were women. The median age was 26. They divided into age groups as follows.

under 25	41.5%
25-34	36.6
35-44	4.9
45-64	12.2
65+	4.9

The manager estimates there are about 40 children at Jamestown. 45.5% of the families surveyed included children under 5 years of age and 45.5% had children between 5 and 18 years. According to the manager the population is predominantly black with only three white families. There are about 10 elderly people on rent supplement. None of the units are occupied by handicapped people.

Over 60% of the respondents have lived at Jamestown for over a year, while 28.2% have been residents for at least two months but less than a year and 10.3% have lived there less than two months. Thus over half of the residents at Jamestown have lived there long enough to be familiar with the development at all times of the year.

III. Previous Housing History

The majority of the respondents moved to Jamestown from a house or a duplex. 42% came from a house, 12.6% from a duplex and 35.3% from an apartment.

Almost 70% of Jamestown respondents moved from a previous address in St. Paul. Fewer, however, had either grown up in St. Paul or spent the major portion of their life in St. Paul. The distribution for questions related to where respondents had lived at various times in their lives are compared below.

	Farm	Town under 5000	City or town 5000-50,000	St. Paul	Other city over 50,000
Immediately before moving to Jamestown	7.1%	2.6%	10.3%	69.2%	10.3%
Majority of life under 18 years	17.9	7.7	12.8	38.5	23.1
Majority of life	5.4	5.4	16.2	45.9	27.0

IV. Source of Data

The discussion in the following pages is based on comments of management, on the residents' responses to survey questions or on the written comments of residents in response to an open-ended question which invited them to state their likes and dislikes about living at Jamestown. Most of the Jamestown residents took the time to write a sentence or two or a paragraph and add detail which the questionnaire could not encompass. They also pointed out specific questions. These comments are included verbatim in the appendix to this section. The responses to questions are given in tables interspersed in the text.

V. General Satisfaction with the Development

Responding to survey questions people at Jamestown were much more likely to be critical of life in general at the complex than were people at most other complexes surveyed.

When developments surveyed are ranked and responses to questions concerning general satisfaction with management, with design and facilities, and with people's behavior, there is a high positive correlation between satisfaction and each of these three aspects of life on the project. This also seems to be true of Jamestown. Respondents were critical of other people on the project and many aspects of design and management, as well as expressing general dissatisfaction,

All respondents were asked five questions concerning their general satisfaction with Jamestown. They were asked to indicate whether they agreed strongly, agreed, were neutral towards or disagreed or strongly disagreed with the following statements.

I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends.

I like this home better than the last place I lived.

I am happy living in this housing complex.

I am proud to call this complex home.

Further, they were asked a related question.

How long would you like to live in this complex?

Possible responses were:

I'd like to move now.

I plan to live here for awhile but not forever.

I'd like to stay here as long as possible.

I don't know.

In responding to this last question Jamestown ranked 12th in respondents' enthusiasm about staying in the development. They compared with other respondents as follows.

	Jamestown	All Respondents	Most Enthusiastic Development	Least Enthusiastic Development
Move now	25.0%	13.4%	4.7%	28.4%
Live awhile	45.0	41.3	12.1	43.2
Stay as long as possible	12.5	27.2	66.4	10.8
Don't know	17.5	18.1	16.8	17.6

On the general satisfaction questions Jamestown respondents indicated comparatively widespread dissatisfaction and ranked among the developments with the least satisfaction. The percentage of negative responses on each of these questions and the rank among all the complexes are as follows:

	Negative response	Rank among all complexes
I am proud to call this complex home	34.1%	12
I like this home better than the last place I lived	23.1	7
I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends	23.6	10
I am happy living in this housing complex	22.0	12

Obviously there are great differences in opinion among residents. For example, 46.3% agree with the statement that they are happy living in the complex and 31.7% stated that they felt neutral. Fifty percent would recommend Jamestown to friends. In written responses among many negative comments were some positive statements, such as:

There really isn't anything I dislike that much. For as many people who live here, things are run quite well...

I really don't dislike anything, I think it's a very nice place.

Also a large percentage of respondents at Jamestown were neutral to these questions relating to general satisfaction than were the respondents of all complexes taken together. Although Jamestown residents do not appear to be generally as satisfied as respondents at most of the other complexes, obviously their satisfaction is related to their expectations. This study does not attempt to go into this relationship. Questions were not included which would allow respondents to compare their present feelings with their expectations upon moving into the project. This might well have been futile, however, because of memories of expectations are likely to be highly influenced by subsequent experiences.

VI. People and Behavior

In answering a number of questions about their feelings towards people and their behavior, attitudes of residents of Jamestown were more critical than those of the respondents of all of the projects. The following table shows questions that had a negative response of 20% or more from Jamestown residents and shows Jamestown's rank among all the complexes surveyed on these questions.

	Negative response	Rank among all complexes
People in complex	25.0%	13
Most residents would help neighbors	30.8	13
There are residents with whom I feel secure leaving my children	22.5	11
I feel secure against crime in my home	29.7	9
Residents are less trustworthy	35.9	14
Crime within the complex is a serious problem	40.0	13
Crime within the neighborhood is a serious problem	43.9	9.5
Uncontrolled children is a serious problem	57.5	10
Uncontrolled pets in the complex is a serious problem	20.5	13

Forty percent of Jamestown respondents said they are satisfied with people who live in the complex, 35% are neutral, and 25% are dissatisfied. In comparison over 90% of the respondents are either satisfied with or neutral towards people who live in the surrounding community.

Half of the residents at Jamestown view their neighbors as friendly, 32.5% are neutral and 17.5% disagree. Most Jamestown residents have at least one or two acquaintances in the complex. 14.6% said they know no one. However, only 38.2% agree with the statement "most residents in this complex would help their neighbor if needed," while 41% are neutral and 30.8% disagree. Similarly, 35.9% agree that "residents in this complex are less trustworthy than people in other areas," 33.3% are neutral and 30.7% disagree. Forty percent of the respondents indicated that they would feel secure leaving their children with other residents in the complex, while 37.5% are neutral and 22.5% disagree.

Many residents in their written comments also indicated they are dissatisfied with the other tenants at Jamestown. Residents commented on pimps and prostitutes working from the complex, the loud parties and disregard for other tenants and felt the quality of tenants affected the reputation of the complex. Management representatives indicated that they are attempting to supervise tenant selection and will evict people proven to be engaged in prostitution or other serious antisocial activity.

Jamestown residents indicated a concern about crime in the complex. 37.8% of the respondents agree with the statement, "I feel secure against crime while in my home," 32.4% are neutral while 29.7% disagree. 40% of the respondents consider crime a serious problem within the complex, 32.5% do not consider it serious while 27.5% do not know. This distribution is similar to respondents concern about crime in the surrounding neighborhood.

It is clear from these responses that a substantial number of Jamestown residents feel that crime is a real and continuing threat. Continuing efforts must be made to improve the social climate. Housing management should join with other organizations and agencies in the area, including the Housing and Redevelopment Authority to develop a program of crime prevention. Other than crime the major social problem indicated by the residents of Jamestown concerns uncontrolled children. 57.5% consider it a serious problem, 37.5% do not consider it serious and 5% do not know. Residents dislike "children playing in halls," "vandalism of housing complex by children," "the way the children do the halls and mark the walls with pencils." Many also pointed out that Jamestown provided no playgrounds for the children. Jamestown management should join with other agencies in an effort to improve the living environment for children in the area.

20.5% of the respondents also consider uncontrolled pets in the complex a problem while 53.8% do not consider it serious and 25.6 do not know.

VII. Attitudes Towards Project Design and Physical Equipment and Facilities

Much of the survey was devoted to resident attitudes concerning the design of the development and dwellings and facilities and equipment provided. The management considers Jamestown the best constructed buildings it operates. A number of residents commented that they like the layout and appearance of the complex but the survey response indicated that 20% or more of the respondents are dissatisfied or negative about many aspects of the complex's design. In order of the percentage who are dissatisfied, these are:

	Percent Dissatisfied	Rank among all complexes
Noise from apartments	52.4%	12
Laundry facilities	47.2	13
Building entrance security	41.7	13
Space for belongings	40.0	13
Space for privacy	39.5	14
Storage in apartment	34.2	13
Amount of outdoor space	31.7	11
Way keys work	29.7	12
Size of living room	28.9	13
Location of outdoor space	27.5	11
Physical appearance	24.4	11
Complex is overcrowded	23.0	13
Storage outside apartment	20.5	6

A. Overall Design and Facilities

Residents were asked about their feelings concerning aspects of the general design and facilities at Jamestown. The majority of respondents are satisfied with the physical appearance of Jamestown. 58.5% are satisfied, 17.1% are neutral, but 24.4% are dissatisfied. A substantial number of residents are also dissatisfied with the following specific areas of design and arrangements.

1. Building Entrance Security

41.7% of Jamestown respondents are dissatisfied with building entrance security while 38.9% are satisfied, 11.1% of the respondents had no opinion on the subject and 8.3% said it was not provided. A number of residents at Jamestown commented that building security is a real problem because there are no doorbells or intercom system for guests, "causing undue knocking at all hours," "people kicking and pounding on security doors at all hours of the night." According to one resident the complex did have an intercom system which was later removed "without asking residents what they wanted." Other residents complained that the outside doors were not kept locked and were dissatisfied that management would not provide new door locks when they moved in.

2. Noise from other Apartments

More than in most other developments, noise from other apartments is seen as a serious problem at Jamestown by a substantial number of residents. 52.4% consider it serious while 45.2% do not think it is serious and 2.4% do not know. Position of the respondents' dwelling unit in the building has much to do with whether they are bothered by other people's noise. An analysis should be made of the noise problem to determine whether minor changes in design or strategically placed wall coverings, floor coverings or furniture would lessen the annoyance.

3. Outdoor Space

Over 30% of the residents at Jamestown are dissatisfied with the amount of outdoor space provided, 26.8% are neutral and 41.4% are satisfied. 27.5% are dissatisfied with the location of outdoor space, 22.5% are neutral and 50% are satisfied.

4. Overcrowding

Jamestown respondents ranked second to the highest of all complexes in agreeing with the statement, "this housing complex is overcrowded." 23% agree it is overcrowded, while 48.7% are neutral and 28.2% disagree.

5. Lighting

A number of residents commented that there is no lighting in the parking lots at Jamestown. 15.4% are dissatisfied with lighting outside the building, 71.8% are satisfied, 7.7% have no opinion and 5.1% say it is not provided.

6. Outdoor Storage Space

20.5% of the respondents are dissatisfied with outside storage space at Jamestown, 20.5% are satisfied, 23.1% have no opinion on the subject and 35.9% answer that it is not provided.

7. Fire

As in most complexes surveyed, residents at Jamestown are concerned about the possibility of fire in the complex. 59% of the respondents express concern, 23.1% are neutral and 17.9% are not concerned. Management should consider working with the fire department to develop a program of information and fire prevention which reduce the likelihood of fire and also increase resident confidence.

B. Apartment Arrangement and Space

Several questions related to the design, layout, and adequacy of space within apartments. About three fourths of the respondents are satisfied

with the design of the apartment; 13.5% express dissatisfaction and 10.8% have no opinion. Respondents, however, indicated that space within the apartment is a problem. 40% do not think there is enough space for their belongings and 39.5% do not think there is enough space for privacy. 28.9% of the respondents are also dissatisfied with the size of the living room and 34.2% dissatisfied with the amount of storage space within the apartment. The following table shows a comparison of residents responses to their design features in the apartment in order of percentage of satisfaction.

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
Stove	92.1%	5.2%	2.6%	0
Refrigerator	89.5	5.3	5.3	0
Heating	86.5	10.5	2.6	0
Air conditioning	81.6	10.5	7.9	0
Plumbing	73.7	15.8	10.5	0
Way keys work	56.8	29.7	13.5	0
Kitchen layout	76.9	17.9	5.1	0
Design of apartment	75.7	13.5	10.8	0
Size of bedroom	73.7	28.9	7.9	0
Size of living room	63.2	28.9	7.9	0
Storage within apartments	50.0	34.2	10.5	5.3
		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Enough space for belongings		50.0%	10.0%	40.0%
Enough space for privacy		39.4	21.1	39.5

Residents of Jamestown were asked about their satisfaction with a number of specific items of equipment or facilities. These included: 1) heating, 2) plumbing, 3) air conditioning, 4) stove, 5) refrigerator, and 6) way keys work. The way keys work appears to be a problem for almost 30% of the respondents and the plumbing a problem for 15.8%. Otherwise, a number of residents commented that they appreciated the modern appliances and the ability to control the heat even though one person said the heat did not always work properly in the winter.

C. Services

Residents were asked their opinion about various services provided in the complex. These included mail collection, trash disposal, snow removal, and laundry facilities. Jamestown ranked next to last in residents satisfaction with laundry facilities and trash disposal. Only 36.1% of the respondents are satisfied with the laundry facilities while 47.2% are dissatisfied and 16.7% have no opinion. The complaints about laundry facilities that residents expressed in their written comments are that the laundry room is too small, that the entrance to the laundry rooms are outside and that one laundry room is not being used.

57.9% of the respondents are satisfied with trash disposal, 31.6% are dissatisfied, 7.9% have no opinion and 2.6% say it is not provided. The one comment about trash collection was that it was very good although residents are annoyed with the trash thrown in the hall ways.

The percentage distribution for these services are as follows:

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
Mail delivery	78.9%	13.2%	7.9%	0
Snow removal	61.1	13.9	25.0	0
Trash disposal	57.9	31.6	7.9	2.6
Laundry facilities	36.1	47.2	16.7	0

VIII. Access to Services and Facilities

Residents at Jamestown were generally satisfied with their access to various services and facilities. In their written comments residents also noted the convenient location of the complex. According to the manager most residents have cars. However, access to recreation facilities for children and adults appears to be a problem for a large number of residents. Jamestown ranked 12th on resident satisfaction with recreation facilities for children and 13th in recreation facilities for adults. A number of residents also made written comments concerning the lack of play space for children in the complex. The complex does have a community center which the manager said is rarely used.

For each type of facility the distribution is as follows:

	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied
Public transport	83.3%	14.3%	2.4%
Shopping facilities	66.6	19.0	14.3
Schools	62.5	27.5	10.0
Medical facilities	56.1	34.1	9.7
Child recreation	31.0	31.0	38.1
Adult recreation	27.5	25.0	27.5

One other question relates to satisfaction with locational factors. Residents were asked whether noise from the neighborhood is a serious problem. Twenty-five percent agreed, 70% disagreed and 5% did not know. The dissatisfaction expressed may be from residents who live on the portion of the complex closest to the freeway.

IX. Management Operations

Previous studies of multi-family housing have found that resident satisfaction is usually closely related with the quality of management. Generally where management has been friendly and efficient residents have been more likely to be happy and satisfied with the development than where management is inefficient and unfriendly. This study

has, therefore, attempted to probe residents' feelings about various aspects of management as well as the attitudes of people involved in management and the procedures which they have followed.

The discussion which follows is based on the response of the residents in the survey and interviews with the chairman of the board of Jamestown, the head of the management company, and the resident manager.

The board of directors of Jamestown is made up of members of the St. James M.E. Church, its sponsor. Originally, the project was managed by the board through a manager which it employed. The pastor of the church was hired as manager as he was very familiar with the project having been instrumental in getting it underway. When the project began to have difficulties and was facing foreclosure, HUD requested that the Board hire professional management. The Chapdelaine Company has been managing Jamestown since 1974. Chapdelaine is a small company headed by Mr. Bernard Brodkorp, an accountant. Mr. Brodkorp bought the company over a year ago from its founder, Eva Chapdelaine. Mr. Brodkorp had previously been the accountant for the company.

The company's management fee is a percentage of the rents collected. Mr. Brodkorp said he would find it difficult to make the business profitable if he were not able to reduce overhead costs by using the same office space and secretary that he does for his accounting practice. The costs of his operation are also lower because of his own expertise in accounting and because of the easy access he has to the expertise of associates in law and realty. If Mr. Brodkorp has any problems in these two areas, he can go to his associates with minimal expense and effort.

Since Chadelaine has taken over the management, the board is no longer an operating board and does not meet very often. Daily operations are left to Chapdelaine. The board relies on management's figures and approves rent increases and the operating budget fairly routinely. Yet, when decisions concerning major capital improvements are made, the board plays an active role.

Mr. Brodkorp reports to the chairman of the Jamestown Board, Mr. James Bradford. He has had little communication with the rest of the Board. However, at the time of the interview, Mr. Bradford's job as attorney with the State Corrections Department has kept him extremely busy and he has not had as much time to oversee the project.

Mr. Brodkorp says he is involved with all operations of the development and keeps close check on finances. Mr. Brodkorp determines the budget for the complex according to prior experience, rent collection and expected costs. Chapdelaine pays any bill which is necessary for maintaining the development. The usual limit of expense without Board approval is \$500.

Mr. Michael Severin is the part-time resident manager at Jamestown. He deals directly with Mr. Brodkorp and has no contact with the Board.

Since he has a full time job during the day, he has hired a woman to answer the telephone between 1 and 5 pm. He also hired an elderly man as caretaker and another person for snow removal.

Tenant Selection

Jamestown difficulties have been partially attributed to poor initial tenant selection. There was a great deal of turnover when Chapdelaine first came in, but now people are signing year leases. The project has a waiting list and has no problem filling vacancies. Chapdelaine tries to take the best of its applicants. Their manager checks an applicant's background, particularly employment, and the reference from the previous landlord.

Mr. Severin shows people the apartments when they apply. Jamestown has no pamphlet describing the complex.

Maintenance

Chapdelaine hires resident managers with maintenance skills in order to cut down maintenance costs. Mr. Severin and the caretaker do most of the daily maintenance and repair work on the site. They only contract out for large problems such as leaks in the roof or defective plumbing. When they do contract out, Mr. Brodkorp tries to use neighborhood people. The resident manager hires someone in the neighborhood if he knows someone who can do the work.

Mr. Severin handles all emergency calls. He inspects the premises every day and usually sees the apartments when he collects the rent. He has \$100 petty cash per month but finds he usually needs more. He keeps an inventory of a few things in large supply; otherwise he buys what he needs at the store.

When Mr. Severin started at Jamestown he found many units in very bad shape with broken windows, damaged carpets and missing fire extinguishers. Since he has been there he has had to paint the halls two or three times, since the children continue to mess them up.

There is now a problem with defective air conditioners which they estimate will cost two to three thousand dollars to fix. Also much of the original maintenance equipment at Jamestown was misused and is too expensive to replace.

Rent Collection

Residents at Jamestown are told that all rents must be paid by the 7th. If not, the resident manager should be contacted and unless an arrangement has been worked out, rent should be in by the 12th. All rents are computerized centrally so that they are easy to audit. If rent is not paid by the 17th of the month, the central office starts an unlawful detainer action.

Jamestown has had problems with rent delinquencies. Mr. Severin finds that 15 or 20 people are usually late with the rent. He always gives people a chance to pay up. However, he will not let it go more than one month. Usually the rent is 2 months behind before a person is evicted. Mr. Severin finds that the delinquent tenants are most often those who are working. Since Mr. Severin has been at Jamestown he has evicted quite a few of the tenants.

Tenant Relations

Most complaints that the board handles concern maintenance. Mr. Brodkorp finds complaints concerning delays in maintenance and prostitution are most frequent. If Mr. Severin receives a complaint, he tries to take care of it right away.

At times Mr. Severin finds that tenants ask for his advice. He is friendly with the tenants and tries to help if he can, but finds that close relationships can become a problem if a tenant becomes delinquent on his rent. He is not aware of any problems people may have which may require help from social agencies.

Resident Organization

Jamestown does not have a resident organization. When the project opened, efforts were made to establish an organization but it never got off the ground. Mr. Severin thinks a resident association may facilitate more social contact although the residents are already friendly with each other.

X. Tenants Attitudes Toward Management

Responses on the questionnaire indicated that Jamestown residents are more critical of management than respondents of other complexes. A significant percentage of respondents are critical of the following aspects of management and the maintenance operations.

	Negative Response	Rank Among Complexes
Cleanliness of Public Halls	51.4%	14
Repairs in home	33.4	9
Speed of management responses to complaints	32.5	11
Maintenance outside of building	29.7	10
Maintenance of public areas	29.7	12
Management protects my right to peace and quiet	27.5	13
Management in general	27.0	12
Rules regarding changes inside of home	23.0	8
Way management handles disruptive tenants	22.0	11

Management in General

51.3% of the residents express satisfaction with the management of the complex, 21.6% are neutral and 27% are dissatisfied. All the respondents either agree that management is friendly and maintenance personnel is courteous or are neutral on the subject; no one disagrees.

Residents are more critical of maintenance repairs, response to requests and the way management handles tenants.

Management and People

Both the survey response and written comments indicated that some of the residents are concerned with the "way management handles disruptive tenants," and "management protects my right to peace and quiet." Fewer are dissatisfied with "the way management settles disputes between tenants." Neutrality may indicate that the respondent is unaware of any disputes or disruptions. The following table shows the percentage distribution.

	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied
Way management handles disruptive tenants	53.7%	24.4%	22.0%
Way management settles disputes between tenants	53.8	35.9	10.2
Management effectively protects my right to peace and quiet	40.0	32.5	27.5

Some of the written comments give more insight into these concerns.

Dirty tenants moving in and causing a mass collection of roaches.

Neighbors have total disregard for those who are employed. Party all night long, very racist attitude from some of the other residents.

We have dope pushers, prostitutes, people climbing on the roof which is easy access to our balconies. The tenants are dirty, throw trash in the hallways, let their kids play in the halls...

Maintenance and Repairs

Jamestown residents are also concerned with various aspects of maintenance and repairs provided by management, especially the speed of response to complaints, repair work in the home, maintenance of public halls, public areas and general maintenance outside the building. Residents made written comments as well.

The manager ignores our complaints.

The fact that the management is too hard to locate when needed.

It takes a while to have maintenance work done.

Landlord will always fix your apartment. But it will take forever...

I don't like the way the halls and steps in my building are kept because they frequently have food or paper laying around them.

The following table shows the percentage distribution.

	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Not Provided
General maintenance outside the building	54.1%		29.7%	16.2%	0
Speed of management response to complaints	50.0	17.5	32.5		
Repairs inside the home	46.2	20.5	33.4		
Maintenance of public areas	43.2		29.7	24.3	2.7
Cleanliness of public halls	27.0		51.5	16.2	5.4

Many residents expressed particular concern about the roaches on the complex.

Some of the comments were:

The roaches I can't stand them and they always pop up out of nowhere and scare me to death.

Things I dislike - bugs even after you spray.

They can't seem to get rid of the roaches. They are everywhere.
HELP US PLEASE.

Rules of Management

Sixty-five percent of the respondents agree they are well informed about the rules management expect residents to obey. 22.5% are neutral and 12.5% disagree. Respondents are particularly dissatisfied with rules regarding changing the inside of the apartment. Twenty-three percent are dissatisfied, 10.3% are neutral and 66.7% are satisfied. More people are neutral about rules concerning changes outside the apartment (33.3%). The only comment concerning these rules was that management is not always consistent with its rules regarding pets.

Resident Associations

61.5% of the respondents agree that Jamestown should have a resident association; 35.9 are neutral and only 2.6% disagree. The response of residents about resident associations is similar to the response of residents in other projects. It is unclear whether those who responded positively have not started an association because they do not have the organizational skills, or whether they consider it a good idea only if someone else does the work.

Appendix A

Tables

Questions Concerning General Satisfaction: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5e. I am proud to call this complex home!

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	9.8%	15.9%	27.5%	4.8%
Agree	12.2	36.9	52.7	19.0
Neutral	43.9	30.6	13.2	23.8
Disagree	14.6	11.0	3.3	38.1
Strongly Disagree	19.5	5.7	3.3	14.3

Question 5l. I would recommend this housing complex to interested friends.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	10.5%	15.8%	25.8%	0
Agree	39.5	50.6	63.6	28.6
Neutral	26.3	19.4	9.1	23.8
Disagree	33.3 15.8	9.6	1.5	33.3
Strongly Disagree	14.3 7.9	4.5	0	14.3

Question 5m. I like this home better than the last place I lived.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	28.2%	25.2%	45.5%	12.8%
Agree	33.3	34.1	33.3	23.1
Neutral	15.4	15.5	9.1	23.1
Disagree	15.4	15.5	9.1	30.8
Strongly Disagree	7.7	9.8	3.0	10.3

Question 5r. I'm happy living in this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	12.2%	17.9%	23.1%	7.1%
Agree	34.1	42.7	60.0	14.3
Neutral	31.7	26.4	12.3	42.9
Disagree	17.1	8.1	4.6	9.5
Strongly Disagree	4.9	4.9	0	26.2

Questions Concerning People and Behavior: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1r. Satisfaction with people who live in this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	7.5%	10.7%	37.6%	6.4%
Satisfied	32.5	45.1	46.2	36.0
Neutral	35.0	29.5	10.8	27.2
Dissatisfied	10.0	9.9	3.2	23.2
Very Dissatisfied	15.0	4.8	2.2	7.2

Question 1s. Satisfaction with people who live in the surrounding community.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	7.3%	9.6%	16.7%	4.0%
Satisfied	56.1	47.4	60.0	32.0
Neutral	26.8	34.4	20.0	42.7
Dissatisfied	9.8	5.9	3.3	12.0
Very Dissatisfied	0	2.6	0	9.3

Question 5g. Most residents in this complex would help their neighbor if needed.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	7.7%	9.7%	30.3%	4.8%
Agree	20.5	40.3	53.9	28.6
Neutral	41.0	33.2	10.1	28.6
Disagree	23.1	12.4	5.6	28.6
Strongly Disagree	7.7	4.4	0	9.5

Question 5h. Residents in this complex are less trustworthy than people in other areas.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	7.7%	4.3%	11.1%	3.9%
Agree	28.2	10.2	19.4	5.3
Neutral	33.3	39.0	47.2	21.1
Disagree	25.6	36.5	16.7	40.8
Strongly Disagree	5.1	9.9	5.6	28.9

Questions Concerning People and Behavior: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5f. Most people in this complex are friendly.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	12.5%	14.1%	36.5%	9.5%
Agree	37.5	50.2	49.0	38.1
Neutral	32.5	24.4	9.4	23.8
Disagree	15.0	8.6	3.1	28.6
Strongly Disagree	2.5	2.7	2.1	0

Question 5i. There are other residents in this housing complex that I would feel secure leaving my children with.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	10.0%	9.9%	16.7%	4.5%
Agree	30.0	41.6	53.3	25.0
Neutral	37.5	34.4	23.3	43.2
Disagree	15.0	10.0	6.7	11.4
Strongly Disagree	7.5	4.1	0	15.9

Question 5j. I feel secure against crime while in my home.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	10.8%	10.9%	32.6%	0%
Agree	27.0	41.9	52.2	19.0
Neutral	32.4	25.0	10.9	33.3
Disagree	16.2	15.1	4.3	28.6
Strongly Disagree	13.5	7.1	0	19.0

Question 6d. How serious a problem is crime within this complex?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	20.0	7.3%	0%	21.7%
Somewhat Serious	20.0	15.3	5.7	26.1
Not Serious	32.5	51.4	73.6	15.2
Don't Know	27.5	25.9	20.7	37.0

Questions Concerning People and Behavior: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 6e. How serious a problem is crime within the surrounding neighborhood?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	19.5%	9.6%	3.3%	23.2%
Somewhat Serious	24.4	21.3	3.3	36.2
Not Serious	26.8	35.5	43.3	21.7
Don't Know	29.3	33.6	50.0	18.8

Question 6f. How serious a problem are uncontrolled children?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	35.0%	22.6%	7.0%	36.6%
Somewhat Serious	22.5	30.3	8.1	39.8
Not Serious	37.5	37.6	58.1	21.1
Don't Know	5.0	9.6	26.7	2.4

Question 6g. How serious a problem are uncontrolled pets in this complex?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	12.8%	4.2%	.8%	13.8%
Somewhat Serious	7.7	7.0	.8	23.6
Not Serious	53.8	68.1	76.7	48.8
Don't Know	25.6	20.6	21.7	13.8

Question 6h. How serious a problem are uncontrolled pets from the surrounding area?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	7.7%	5.4%	1.5%	10.4%
Somewhat Serious	10.3	11.9	3.8	23.2
Not Serious	66.7	61.5	74.4	48.0
Don't Know	15.4	21.2	20.3	18.4

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1g. Satisfaction with parking arrangements for residents.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	31.0%	27.1%	36.0%	9.5%
Satisfied	57.1	50.0	48.0	26.2
Neutral	7.1	12.1	16.0	40.8
Dissatisfied	4.8	6.9	0	11.9
Very Dissatisfied	0	3.8	0	11.9

Question 1h. Satisfaction with parking arrangements for visitors.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	35.9%	24.5%	35.9%	4.5%
Satisfied	51.3	49.3	51.3	38.6
Neutral	7.7	14.4	7.7	29.5
Dissatisfied	2.6	8.3	2.6	13.6
Very Dissatisfied	2.6	3.6	2.6	13.6

Question 1k. Satisfaction with the physical appearance of this complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	7.3%	23.1%	45.4%	6.8%
Satisfied	51.2	48.6	47.4	22.7
Neutral	17.1	14.6	6.2	22.7
Dissatisfied	7.3	8.5	1.0	18.2
Very Dissatisfied	17.1	5.2	0	29.5

Question 1t. Satisfaction with the amount of outdoor space available to residents of this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	7.3%	17.1%	24.5%	2.2%
Satisfied	34.1	40.5	50.0	31.1
Neutral	26.8	20.9	16.0	33.3
Dissatisfied	17.1	14.4	5.3	20.0
Very Dissatisfied	14.6	7.2	4.3	13.3

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1u. Satisfaction with the location of outdoor space available to residents of this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	10.0%	15.8%	21.4%	5.0%
Satisfied	40.0	40.7	54.8	27.5
Neutral	22.5	23.6	10.7	32.5
Dissatisfied	17.5	12.9	8.3	22.5
Very Dissatisfied	10.0	7.0	4.8	12.5

Question 5a. This housing complex is overcrowded.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	5.1%	3.7%	5.1%	1.2%
Agree	17.9	9.1	17.9	1.2
Neutral	48.7	36.8	48.7	29.8
Disagree	28.2	43.9	28.2	50.0
Strongly Disagree	0	6.5	0	17.9

Question 5b. My home has enough space for my belongings.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	15.0%	13.7%	21.1%	6.0%
Agree	35.0	48.8	55.6	35.1
Neutral	10.0	11.7	13.3	14.9
Disagree	22.5	17.7	7.8	29.9
Strongly Disagree	17.5	8.0	2.2	14.2

Question 5c. My home has enough space to allow privacy from others who live with me.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	10.5%	10.4%	17.5%	10.5%
Agree	28.9	46.5	52.5	28.9
Neutral	21.1	22.2	22.5	21.1
Disagree	21.1	14.5	2.5	21.1
Strongly Disagree	18.4	6.4	5.0	18.4

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5k. I am concerned about the possibility of fire in this housing complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	28.2%	12.1%	15.8%	4.7%
Agree	30.8	26.2	36.8	14.0
Neutral	23.1	29.7	36.8	30.2
Disagree	12.8	26.8	5.3	41.9
Strongly Disagree	5.1	5.3	5.3	9.3

Question 8a. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with building entrance security?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	38.9%	55.7%	97.1%	22.2%
Dissatisfied	41.7	21.9	2.9	50.0
No Opinion	11.1	7.4	0	5.6
Not Provided	8.3	14.9	0	22.2

Question 8b. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the keys work?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	56.8%	72.9%	94.9%	53.3%
Dissatisfied	29.7	20.2	5.1	40.0
No Opinion	13.5	5.9	0	5.9
Not Provided	0	1.0	0	.7

Question 8c. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the heating?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	86.8%	76.8%	94.0%	41.8%
Dissatisfied	10.5	17.5	5.0	44.8
No Opinion	2.6	5.4	1.0	11.9
Not Provided	0	.3	0	1.5

Question 8d. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the stove?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	92.1%	93.0%	100.0%	71.4%
Dissatisfied	5.3	4.7	0	19.0
No Opinion	2.6	2.1	0	9.5
Not Provided	0	.2	0	0

Jamestown

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8e. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the refrigerator?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	89.5%	91.6%	98.1%	65.0%
Dissatisfied	5.3	6.4	1.9	25.0
No Opinion	5.3	1.7	0	5.0
Not Provided	0	.3	0	5.0

Question 8f. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the kitchen layout?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	76.9%	81.3%	90.6%	68.4%
Dissatisfied	17.9	14.9	3.1	25.7
No Opinion	5.1	3.5	6.3	4.4
Not Provided	0	.3	0	1.5

Question 8g. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the size of the living room?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	63.2%	85.7%	97.0%	61.1%
Dissatisfied	28.9	11.1	0	33.3
No Opinion	7.9	3.0	3.0	5.6
Not Provided	0	.2	0	0

Question 8h. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the size of the bedroom(s)?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	73.7%	79.5%	93.5%	63.9%
Dissatisfied	18.4	17.2	3.2	30.6
No Opinion	7.9	2.9	0	5.6
Not Provided	0	.4	3.2	0

Question 8i. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the design of the apartment?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	75.7%	81.4%	94.7%	70.9%
Dissatisfied	13.5	12.4	2.6	20.9
No Opinion	10.8	6.0	2.6	8.2
Not Provided	0	.1	0	0

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8u. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with public hall lighting?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	71.1%	79.2%	98.3%	67.6%
Dissatisfied	5.3	6.7	.8	20.6
No Opinion	18.4	5.9	.8	5.9
Not Provided	5.3	8.2	0	5.9

Question 8w. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied by laundry facilities?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	36.1%	59.9%	87.9%	36.1%
Dissatisfied	47.2	26.3	10.1	47.2
No Opinion	16.7	6.3	2.0	16.7
Not Provided	0	7.4	0	0

Question 6a. How serious a problem are parking arrangements?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	7.3%	6.7%	2.4%	16.7%
Somewhat Serious	12.2	16.0	7.1	21.4
Not Serious	73.2	66.3	76.5	33.3
Don't Know	7.3	11.0	14.1	28.6

Question 6b. How serious a problem is noise from other apartments?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	21.4%	14.4%	4.5%	29.8%
Somewhat Serious	31.0	24.7	6.7	31.5
Not Serious	45.2	57.4	83.1	38.7
Don't Know	2.4	3.4	5.6	0

Question 6c. How serious a problem is noise from the surrounding neighborhood?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Least Problem	Development With Most Problem
Very Serious	12.5%	7.3%	2.5%	16.4
Somewhat Serious	12.5	13.3	4.2	27.7
Not Serious	70.0	72.7	86.6	53.8
Don't Know	5.0	6.8	6.7	1.5

Questions Concerning Design Factors: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8j. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with storage spaces within the apartment?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	50.0%	69.4%	76.9%	50.0%
Dissatisfied	34.2	24.8	15.4	34.2
No Opinion	10.5	3.1	1.6	10.5
Not Provided	5.3	2.8	5.1	5.3

Question 8k. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the storage space outside the apartment?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	20.5%	22.2%	58.9%	6.6%
Dissatisfied	20.5	20.1	14.5	20.8
No Opinion	23.1	9.9	8.1	7.5
Not Provided	35.9	47.8	18.5	65.1

Question 8n. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the plumbing?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	73.7%	87.6%	95.0%	54.8%
Dissatisfied	15.8	7.9	3.0	35.7
No Opinion	10.5	4.2	2.0	7.1
Not Provided	0	.3	0	2.4

Question 8p. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the lighting outside of the building?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	71.8%	80.2%	92.2%	42.9%
Dissatisfied	15.4	14.4	3.1	42.9
No Opinion	7.7	4.5	4.7	4.8
Not Provided	5.1	.8	0	9.5

Question 8r. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with air conditioning?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	81.6%	48.8%	97.0%	17.6%
Dissatisfied	10.5	7.2	3.0	17.6
No Opinion	7.9	6.3	0	2.9
Not Provided	0	37.7	0	61.8

Jamestown

Questions Concerning Location: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1L. Satisfaction with access to schools.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	17.5%	24.4%	50.4%	7.3%
Satisfied	45.0	46.8	36.1	43.9
Neutral	27.5	23.9	13.5	29.3
Dissatisfied	7.5	2.6	0	9.8
Very Dissatisfied	2.5	2.3	0	9.8

Question 1m. Satisfaction with access to public transportation.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	26.2%	37.2%	51.7%	13.2%
Satisfied	57.1	46.5	48.3	50.0
Neutral	14.3	10.3	0	21.1
Dissatisfied	2.4	4.7	0	10.5
Very Dissatisfied	0	1.2	0	5.3

Question 1n. Satisfaction with access to shopping facilities.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	7.1%	23.4%	44.0%	10.8%
Satisfied	59.5	49.0	50.0	35.1
Neutral	19.0	14.3	4.0	16.2
Dissatisfied	11.9	9.7	2.0	21.6
Very Dissatisfied	2.4	3.6	0	16.2

Question 1o. Satisfaction with access to medical facilities.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	7.3%	20.3%	43.2%	14.3%
Satisfied	48.8	49.2	46.9	34.6
Neutral	34.1	20.8	8.6	28.6
Dissatisfied	7.3	7.6	1.2	17.3
Very Dissatisfied	2.4	2.1	0	5.3

Jamestown

Questions Concerning Location: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1p. Satisfaction with access to recreation for adults.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	5.0%	11.3%	17.9%	5.0%
Satisfied	22.5	39.2	41.0	22.5
Neutral	35.0	28.9	33.3	35.0
Dissatisfied	20.0	13.8	6.4	20.0
Very Dissatisfied	17.5	6.8	1.3	17.5

Question 1q. Satisfaction with access to recreation for children.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	4.8%	14.2%	29.3%	6.7%
Satisfied	26.2	39.5	42.9	20.0
Neutral	31.0	26.6	17.3	30.0
Dissatisfied	16.7	11.5	6.8	23.3
Very Dissatisfied	21.4	8.2	3.8	20.0

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1a. Satisfaction with management of this complex.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	21.6%	21.5%	22.2%	2.4%
Satisfied	29.7	42.7	54.0	29.3
Neutral	21.6	22.0	17.5	34.1
Dissatisfied	10.8	9.6	6.3	17.1
Very Dissatisfied	16.2	4.2	0	17.0

Question 1b. Satisfaction with speed with which management responds to residents complaints.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	17.5%	18.2%	40.7%	4.4%
Satisfied	32.5	37.2	34.6	26.7
Neutral	17.5	23.1	14.8	26.7
Dissatisfied	17.5	15.3	7.4	26.7
Very Dissatisfied	15.0	6.3	2.5	15.6

Question 1c. Satisfaction with the way management handles disruptive tenants.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	17.1%	15.0%	29.3%	4.7%
Satisfied	36.6	38.7	37.3	27.9
Neutral	24.4	32.6	22.7	34.9
Dissatisfied	12.2	9.4	8.0	16.3
Very Dissatisfied	9.8	4.3	2.7	16.3

Question 1d. Satisfaction with the way management settles disputes between tenants.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	17.9%	12.4%	27.5%	5.3%
Satisfied	35.9	36.9	45.0	21.1
Neutral	35.9	41.9	23.8	36.8
Dissatisfied	5.1	5.9	2.5	15.8
Very Dissatisfied	5.1	2.9	1.2	21.1

Jamestown

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 1e. Satisfaction with management provided repair work within your home.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	10.3%	19.7%	33.3%	6.8%
Satisfied	35.9	42.7	42.0	27.3
Neutral	20.5	16.1	8.6	22.7
Dissatisfied	10.3	13.4	11.1	20.5
Very Dissatisfied	23.1	8.2	4.9	22.7

Question 1f. Satisfaction with management provided repair work outside your home.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	12.2%	17.0%	30.7%	2.5%
Satisfied	41.5	46.0	48.9	27.5
Neutral	31.7	23.4	13.6	25.0
Dissatisfied	9.8	9.5	6.8	25.0
Very Dissatisfied	4.9	4.2	0	20.0

Question 1i. Satisfaction with rules regarding changing the inside of the apartment.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	20.5%	12.6%	20.0%	8.1%
Satisfied	46.2	46.2	57.8	27.0
Neutral	10.3	20.1	15.6	21.6
Dissatisfied	17.9	14.9	5.6	24.3
Very Dissatisfied	5.1	6.2	1.1	18.9

Question 1j. Satisfaction with rules regarding changing outside of apartment.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Very Satisfied	10.3%	13.6%	22.8%	7.9%
Satisfied	43.6	42.3	53.2	31.6
Neutral	33.3	36.2	22.8	31.6
Dissatisfied	2.6	4.8	1.3	21.1
Very Dissatisfied	10.3	3.2	0	7.9

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5d. Housing complexes like this one should have resident associations to communicate with management.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	28.2%	21.7%	20.3%	17.8%
Agree	33.3	42.3	54.5	40.0
Neutral	35.9	29.6	22.8	26.7
Disagree	2.6	4.6	2.4	8.9
Strongly Disagree	0	1.8	0	6.7

Question 5n. The management of this housing complex is friendly.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	30.0%	25.9%	30.0%	2.9%
Agree	52.5	48.9	52.5	31.4
Neutral	17.5	17.9	17.5	37.1
Disagree	0	4.4	0	14.3
Strongly Disagree	0	2.8	0	14.3

Question 5o. Maintenance personnel in this complex are courteous.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	21.6%	22.6%	34.1%	10.3%
Agree	51.4	51.3	54.9	30.8
Neutral	27.0	19.7	8.5	25.6
Disagree	0	4.3	1.2	17.9
Strongly Disagree	0	2.1	1.2	15.4

Question 5p. Management effectively protects my right to peace and quiet.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	10.0%	14.2%	33.3%	2.5%
Agree	30.0	44.9	52.9	17.5
Neutral	32.5	23.5	9.2	27.5
Disagree	20.0	10.6	0	30.0
Strongly Disagree	7.5	6.8	4.6	22.5

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 5q. I feel well informed about the rules management expects residents of this housing complex to obey.

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Agreement	Development With Least Agreement
Strongly Agree	17.5%	18.8%	35.6%	7.3%
Agree	47.5	56.5	57.8	29.3
Neutral	22.5	14.8	4.4	24.4
Disagree	10.0	7.0	1.1	22.0
Strongly Disagree	2.5	2.8	1.1	17.1

Question 8L. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with trash disposal?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	57.9%	83.3%	97.5%	41.5%
Dissatisfied	31.6	12.2	.8	43.9
No Opinion	7.9	3.5	1.7	9.8
Not Provided	2.6	1.0	0	4.9

Question 8m. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with mail delivery?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	78.9%	93.1%	99.0%	78.9%
Dissatisfied	13.2	5.1	1.0	13.2
No Opinion	7.9	1.7	0	7.9
Not Provided	0	.2	0	0

Question 8o. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with snow removal?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	61.1%	61.9%	86.5%	26.8%
Dissatisfied	13.9	18.5	9.4	48.8
No Opinion	25.0	18.4	4.2	19.5
Not Provided	0	1.2	0	4.9

Question 8q. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the general maintenance outside the building?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	54.1%	74.0%	89.0%	23.8%
Dissatisfied	29.7	15.9	4.2	50.0
No Opinion	16.2	8.4	6.8	14.3
Not Provided	0	1.7	0	11.9

Questions Concerning Management and Maintenance: Comparison of this complex with all respondents and respondents from complexes with most agreement or satisfaction and least agreement or satisfaction.

Question 8s. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the cleanliness of public halls?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	27.0%	52.5%	78.0%	27.0%
Dissatisfied	51.4	27.6	18.0	51.4
No Opinion	16.2	10.8	3.0	16.2
Not Provided	5.4	9.2	1.0	5.4

Question 8t. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with general maintenance of public areas?

	This Complex	All Respondents	Development With Most Satisfaction	Development With Least Satisfaction
Satisfied	43.2%	67.5%	87.6%	15.0%
Dissatisfied	29.7	18.1	7.2	42.5
No Opinion	24.3	11.2	5.2	27.5
Not Provided	2.7	3.2	0	15.0

No opinion.

The management insists on renting to pimps and prostitutes. Senior citizens as well as very young children live here which I don't feel is too good because young mothers don't look after their children. Dirty tenants moving in and causing a mass collection of roaches. They don't provide you with curtain rods. They don't live up to all the rules viz no dogs or cats. I was told that this bldg. was beautiful at one time, but it isn't anymore. They have hardly no lighting facility outside apartment complex.

Plumbing of toilets.

Neighbors have total disregard for those of us who are employed - Party all night long, very racist attitude from some of the other residents.

Satisfied.

1. The fact that the management is too hard to locate when needed.
2. To travel 3 or 4 miles to pick up mail too large for post box in mail room.
3. That there is no outside communication, causing undue knocking at all hours. This disturbs not only the persons intended, but everyone else - also, no t.v. repairmen, or any other delivery can be made.

The apartments look nice, but there are so many bugs around, this will be appreciated if the management can look after this. Thanks.

The roaches I can't stand them and they always pop up out of nowhere and scare me to death!

There really isn't anything I dislike that much. For as many people who live here, things are run quite well. I do wish they had a playground for the children, and a larger place to wash clothes. "Jamestown" is a pretty nice place to live.

They don't do enough about the roaches and the hallways are very dirty.

Modern conveniences, similar to new modern home. Furnaces should be checked annually, tho. Best layout complex I've seen. Hope tenants take care.

It's all on one level and don't have to go through the hall, enter from outside into your own apartment. The rent is cheap. The complex has roaches, it takes awhile to have maintenance work done.

I really don't dislike anything. It think it's a very nice place. Really everything to me seem to be all right. So the most of everything I kind of really like.

No recreational rooms for children or adults, no doorbells and parking lots need lighting.

Things I like is price of rent. Doors being locked at all times. Things I dislike bugs even after you spray. Landlord always will fix you apt. But it will take forever. But when he first comes he always say do you have something for me. Yes, fix my apt. and you will get your rent money.

I like the layout of the apt. But too much noise can be heard from other apartments. The downstairs doors should be locked.

Appendix B

Written responses of residents of Jamestown to the question,
"What are the things you like and dislike about living in this
housing complex?" (Each paragraph is the response of one resident).

Things I like - 1. Very reasonable rent, 2. management friendly, #They allow children, 4. All utilities provided in rent, 5. Very nice apartments when well kept.

Things I dislike - 1. No recreation area e.g. children, 2. Only an outside entrance to laundry facilities, 3. More washers and dryers needed, 4. Children playing in halls, 5. Vandalism of housing complex by children - adults, 6. Most housing complexes have two bedrooms or less.

I like the location and the price. I don't like the type of security they have. I don't like the way the halls and steps in my building are kept because they frequently have food or paper laying around them.

Not having a play area for the kids and not having the security doors fixed when broken.

I enjoy the convenience of this housing unit to work and school. I dislike the inconvenience of recreation room and playground equipment.

No comment.

It is nothing but a cheap dump - for people who cannot afford better housing. It is ridiculous to have such a terribly low standard of living in a city with a huge state capitol bldg. Really my advice would be 1) try not, repeat not, to duplicate this type of no-security, noisy residents syndrome. 2) try to do something to educate people about how to live in places like this without making disaster-managers of themselves. Good luck!

Really like being able to control own heat, garbage collection is very good, and building generally clean.

Would like halls and yard to be cleaner.

I find the apartment to be very comfortable.

All I like - laundry, heat, air conditioner, location, an apartment, and the rent. is all right.

The heat doesn't always work right in the winter. The tile is coming off in the bathrooms. The refrigerators are cheap.

I dislike the landlord he will not give new locks on doors when moving in.

They can't seem to get rid of the roaches,. They are everywhere. HELP US PLEASE.

I like living here.

1. We do not have a fulltime caretaker. He does not live in the bldg. complex. HE ALSO works another fulltime job. 2. There were phones installed in the bldg. when the bldg. was built - for the purpose to call the person you are going to visit so that that person could open the security doors. The phones were taken out last year. To my knowledge, there was only 1 out of 4 phones in service. The management took them out - without asking residents what they wanted. 3. There's been a problem of prostitutes working one of the apts. here. There have been complaints directly to the manager and to the vice squad. This has been going on for the last year. They are still doing their thing. As far as I know they are doing this with the blessings of the management and the HUD. Thank you also.

I don't like the management way of screening tenants. I think if a better quality of tenants were in the buildings, it wouldn't have such a bad name.

There is one laundry room not being used and there isn't any lights in the parking lots.

The security. No doorbells or phon-es for visitors, too many roaches, in and out of buildings.

The size and condition of the complex.

I don't like the way the children do the halls and mark the walls with pencils.

I like the location because it isn't far from grocery store, parents house, and day care center. That's all. I hate the way the place is managed. That's because it isn't. If anything were to happen we have no caretaker or manager to go to because he works another fulltime job someplace else, and doesn't stay here when he isn't, can't get a hold of him. We have dope pushers, prostitutes, people climbing on the roof which is easy access to our balconies. The tenants are dirty, throw trash in the hallways, let their kids play in the halls, people kicking and pounding on security doors all hours of the night. We need phones or push buttons to let people in. The manager ignores our complaints. I don't mind if mine is used by name. I hate this place, it should be condemned. A good place is so hard to find. I'd like a better place for my baby.